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Journal R&R strives for innovative theoretical and empirical articles, which are trying to explain some subject from different (innovative) point of view in the field of social science and humanities.

Vsebina/Contents

Conceptualization of mental constructs in clients attending reality orientation therapy

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Abstract

Researches show that the number of mental problems, anxiety and depression and also the number of psychiatric hospitalizations is increasing. Suicide rate is increasing, and so are other destructive forms of manifestation of personal distress, especially alcohol abuse and violent behavior. Other dangerous behaviors are also present – use of illegal drugs, non-chemical forms of addiction, but it has been particularly noted the increase of excessive use of the computer by the young population, who carries without a doubt its part of the burden brought by the crisis.

Besides studying the factors, which influence an individual's mental health, the article highlights the forms of manifestation of distress and searches for answers to the immanent socio-humanistic question, how can an individual maintain or get mental health despite the situation in

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society.

Keywords: *modern society, mental health,reality therapy, choice theory, mental problems*

Povzetek:

Raziskave kažejo, da narašča število psihičnih težav, anksioznosti in depresije ter število psihiatričnih hospitalizacij. Samomorilnost je v porastu, prav tako tudi druge destruktivne oblike manifestiranja osebnih stisk, predvsem prekomerno uživanje alkohola in nasilna ravnanja. Prisotna so druga tvegana vedenja – uporaba prepovedanih drog, nekemične oblike zasvojenosti, zlasti se beleži porast prekomerne uporabe računalnika pri mlajši populaciji, ki brez dvoma nosi svoj delež bremena krize.

Poleg proučevanja dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na duševno zdravje posameznika, pričujoči prispevek osvetljuje načine manifestiranja stiske ter išče odgovore na imanentno družboslovno-humanistično vprašanje, kako lahko posameznik ohrani oz. si povrne duševno zdravje navkljub razmeram v družbi.

Ključne besede: *sodobna družba, duševno zdravje, realitetna terapija, teorija izbire*

Introductory starting-points and research problem

The research question of the article is derived from the presumption that the phenomena as riskiness, insecurity, anxiety, unhappiness and lack of connection are immanent to the risk societies and that contemporary social structure forms individuals with an undefined and instable identity, which manifest itself in the form of numerous mental distresses and because of which the contemporary personal distresses are a sociological, aggregate phenomenon.

Bauman (2002: 202) states that insecurity, instability and vulnerability are the most diffused and painful characteristics of the modern world. "The phenomenon that all these concepts try to embrace and to articulate is an experience composed of *insecurity* (of situation, rights and survival), *uncertainty* (regarding their duration and future stability) and *danger* (of the human body, self and their excrescences: property, proximity, community)." (ibid: 203) The passage into the late modern society (Giddens) means the individual's exclusion from traditional ties, religious systems and social relations, the pluralization of life styles and the competition of values have contributed to the downfall of relationships that gave meaning to an individual's life (Beck, Beck - Gernsheim, 2006). The risk, mentioned by Beck, appears especially on an individual's level and it also brings a risk into personal, intimate relationships that seemed natural and untouchable until that moment.

Contemporary anxiety is connected to the feeling of uncertainty regarding the social situation and social roles and the incessant pressure to adapt and change identity, which lead to feelings of stagnation and emptiness, inexistence and insignificance that go along (Stein, VidichandManning White, 1962: 134). Fromm-Reichmann believes that the numerous emotional and mental states, indicated by psychiatrics as anxieties, are in fact states of loneliness or fear of loneliness in the individual's psychological isolation and alienation from oneself and other people. Personal sources of anxiety are confusion, psychological disorientation and uncertainty regarding norms, values, ideologies and the general sense of things (ibid: 131–132).

The totality of a person's extensions includes the individuals' relation towards themselves, others, their position in society and it reflects itself by their entire activity.

The paradigm of anthropology of health supposes that health and illness are cultural constructs and that their manifestations are part of the cultural patterns of a specific society, which establish the concepts of normality and abnormality, the concepts of illness and health of a specific culture. Different suppositions of an illness demand to take into consideration the social extension of a person's life and an expanded health model, i.e. the bio-psychological model, based on the biologic, psychological and social determinism of health (Kaplan, Sallisand

Patterson, 1993).

With a defined research question, how can a person actualize himself and preserve or return his mental health, taking into account his biologic endowment, the concepts and perceptions of modernity and consequent mental crises, we want to redirect the research attention from the question ‘what is a person’ to the neglected question ‘who is a person’and its living and social extensions.

The main stress of this article is the definition of a person as a social, free and responsible being, who is intrinsically motivated and whose behavior is purposive and proactive. This kind of thinking is in opposition to more enforced conventional approaches, which treat a ‘mental illness’ exclusively as a physiological biochemical dysfunction within a person, wherein the modern neuropharmacology and an increasing consumption of medicaments have an important role in eliminating unwanted feelings and behavior. By this type of understanding we avoid the discussion of the basic factors of the augmentation of mental distress and we overlook the role of the most important agent in the social events – the individual, whose behavior is reflected in the face of modern society.

The manifestation of mental crises in modern society

The psychologisation of mental health is becoming a socially more acceptable form of manifesting emotional dissatisfaction in the modern, highly developed society. The expression of distress with mental pain runs parallel with the processes of individualization, which triggers disintegrative processes on the level of social relationships, culture and an individual's identity.

It is estimated that 50 million people (11 per cent of the European population) suffer because of mental crises, which are diagnosed as mental disorders within the medical model. Depression is the most diffused medical problem in the EU, which according to the data from the member countries still remains socially and culturally more acceptable for the women.In the EU, 17 per cent of adult women and 9 per cent of adult men suffer from depression (EUROPE, 2008).

According to the World Health Organization data, mental health problems are still increasing, and the medical experts predict that in 2020 depression will be the most frequently diagnosed illness in the developed world (EUROPE, 2008).

Alcoholism is considered to be the most frequent form of addiction in the western world (Glasser, 2000: 209), culturally and socially the most acceptable and tolerated form of destructive behavior. The researches show that the (ab)use of alcoholic drinks represents one of the key problems of public health. Numerous negative short-term and long-term medical and social results appear in peoples' medical conditions, their disease and mortality rate. An excessive use of alcohol also has economic effects, due to a lower productivity, diseases, premature deceases and expenses in medical care, traffic and judicature (traffic accidents caused by drunk participants, temporary absence from work because of diseases, injuries and poisoning, which are a direct consequence of alcohol consume, etc.) (ibid).

In the last forty-five years the frequency of suicides in the world also augmented – approximately 60 per cent. Suicide is the leading cause of premature death in Europe – 58.000 cases per year, there are ten times as many suicide attempts (EUROPE, 2008).

The usage of illegal drugs is augmenting, wherein the age limit of the users is lowering.

In the period from 1999 to 2005 in EU the percentage of people receiving medical treatment for the first time because of cocaine problems augmented from 11 to 24 per cent of all new people who are receiving a treatment. More than 12 million Europeans used cocaine once in their lives, its usage is most diffused among young adults. The drug is still in the domain of men (at a ratio of five men to one woman),

but drug abuse is also becoming socially acceptable for girls (Institute for health protection of the Republic of Slovenia, 2010).
The usage of substances shows the purpose of choosing a destructive and ineffective behavior, maybe even more than other painful behaviors – getting depressed, suffering from a phobia, etc. Alcohol or any other drug imitates or activates the chemical activity of the brain that induces a feeling of comfort. That gives a person a feeling that one or more of their needs are being satisfied and that they have control over their life (Glasser, 2003).

Getting drugged is a dysfunctional form of solving problems. A drug can rapidly and without any effort relieve one's distress, solve the conflicts and improve a bad condition, but the satisfaction lasts only as long as the effect of the drug. In order to regain a good feeling, one has to get drugged again, which leads to addiction. Besides getting drugged with a substance, drugging with detrimental behaviors, the so-called nonchemical form of addiction - it is about the process of drugging by behavior, which has the characteristics of a psychoactive substance, a changing neurochemical activity of the brain (Carnes, 2006), can also be classified as modern drugs (feeding, consumption, computer games, internet contents, gambling games, etc.), which represents a modern way of manifesting dissatisfaction and a destructive attempt to gain control over one's own life that could be extremely risky and also potentially fatal for a person.

The definition of the research plan and of the research methods

In the empirical research field of the article we orientate from pathogenesis towards salutogenesis, towards regaining mental health. There were five examples of destructive forms of manifesting dissatisfaction included into the research – mental health problems, psychosomatic problems, obsessive thoughts and compulsive behavior, sexual addiction and difficulties in growing up. The elaborated case studies are supervised and appropriate from a psychotherapeutic point of view, congruent with the chosen psychotherapeutic concepts. The examples were analyzed and interpreted by the choice theory, which was chosen as an interpretative tool for the explanation of the origin of mental crises and which has also led us to the answer to the question, how should a person act and behave in order to preserve or regain his mental health in spite of the biological endowment and the embedment in a specific socio-cultural environment.

The case study represents the client's story and their interpretation of the problems, the therapist's understanding of the client's problems through the concepts of the choice theory, a summary of parts of the conversation that are important for the reestablishment of the relationship, for discovering the client's world of qualities, for understanding the client's endeavors, for the client's shifting from the convictions of psychology of external control to the convictions of the choice therapy. The case study also includes the record of the therapist's internal dialogue and his professional inclusion (the therapist mediates the knowledge of the choice theory to the client). It is also an explicit presentation of the establishing and developing of the therapist-client relationship in the sense of therapeutic means for attaining an end. Ultimately the practical work is a review of the amelioration of mental health through the study of the choice theory and that has an important contribution to an individual's autonomy, a necessary independence from the therapist. Qualitative case studies with a deep insight into the socio-psychological reality of a chosen group of people represent at the same time the the process itself- the case study includes at least six séances with the client, which means that they are watched for at least three months, in most cases for a year.

The analysis of the material was realized in accordance with the basic procedures in the grounded theory, also named inductive theory (Mesec, 1998: 33). The distinction of this theory is the theoretical sampling – it is an intentional assortment of units that would contribute to further development of the theory on the basis of previous knowledge and in the current of analyses of acquired data. With an accurate definition of the characteristic of the content of defined phenomena we determined the notions that represented the conditions in which activities and interactions appear, where these phenomena express themselves and the consequences that they cause. By coding the data we opened the data for an analytic proceeding, defined the concepts, their characteristics and dimensions and we installed them into the context. In the continuation we linked them together and combined them in concepts of a higher level and category. Through the method of constant comparison, we searched for similarities and differences and for particularities of individual phenomena, developed generative questions and formed ad hoc hypotheses. We examined simultaneously the hypothesis in the data, annotated analytic notes (*memos*) that are used for supporting the process of data analyzing, and later we used them as a description of theoretical cognitions. We followed the basic task of the grounding theory, i.e. the research of connections. We turned towards searching common points of different problems and 'diagnoses' in the area of mental health, we studied the factors that have an influence on the manifestation of mental crises, the characteristics of an individual's consideration and activity, and the larger socio-cultural context of mental crises manifestation and treatment.

We concluded the analysis with the formulation of a theory, a contextually bounded theory, which represents a reflection of observations, considerations, inferences, regularities, legalities, typologies, etc. of an individual's forms of behavior, acts, convictions, whereat we took into consideration the psychotherapeutic, psychosocial and socio-anthropological aspect.

We started a method of analysis of qualitative data, case studies exacting and of a long duration by the analysis of the text and by defining terms for notions that seemed the most appropriate, and we also used notions from the theory we chose for the interpreting of the material, i.e. the choice theory. For the coding we used the procedure of direct naming. In this way we named a single description directly with a determined denomination or code, without comparison with other descriptions or search for synonyms, contraries, associations. We continued the open coding with the procedure of categorizing and classifying data. Then we united cognate notions by categorizing them into units. We modeled the notions by abstracting the common characteristics of several different descriptions. The analysis of the notions and categories characteristics followed, in accordance with the choice theory, and the selection and definition of categories (we left the notions determined only operationally) regarding the research problem. We performed the so-called axial coding. In this phase we eliminated also the irrelevant notions – too distant and non-connected with other notions and with the research problem. We compared the obtained and defined units among them, we searched for and constructed relations among them and we organized them into supposed relations, we performed the so-called selective coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss andCorbinova, 1990). There was a theoretical frame formed in the concluding phase, which followed the formulation of forms and gave theoretical interpretations and explanations. Based on the coding of the text we formed forms that we identified in the analysis as distinctive behavior, ‘figures’, ‘structures’ – we present them later in the article.

The analysis of case studies was performed by means of the program for processing qualitative data, ATLAS.ti.The program was used as an expedient for the technical facilitation of the coding proceedings, the development of concepts and their connection into larger units and for establishing correlations among the units. We added the newly formed proper relations to the network of relations that are automatically formed by the program, and in this way we embraced all the recognized relations in the analyzed text.

Concluding conceptualization

The discussed material was full of implicit theories (*'theories in use'*bySchon), those are hidden comprehensions of the clients, comprehensions that the clients do not know or say, but are evident from the viewpoint of the legitimacy of chosen theories. The material is working, implicit, which we say or explain through the client’s reflection, realizations. This is taken into consideration also by the case study, completed by the therapist’s internal dialogue (the interpretation of the perceived), which simultaneously explains and makes people aware of the client’s behavior.

As a generalization, originated from the basis of the analysis of the material and of the elaborated paradigmatic model, we present the elaborated strategy of the client’s ‘behavior’ with an ‘illness’ and the strategy of the client’s renewed control over his life.

Strategy A: ‘The loss of control over one’s own life.’

1. *The assuming and/or performing of controlling behavior*. The clients try failingly to appease their psychical needs with them, which manifests itself in numerous painful ways.

2. *Causative-consecutive deliberation ration and action*. The internalized deliberation that people are beings of reaction, who just react to others’ behavior and do not have any possibility of choice. The clients avoid the cognition that they alone, directly or indirectly, chose the very thing they complain about.

3. *The position of the ‘nutshell’*. Until a person persist in the role of a victim and they blame others for their unhappiness and dissatisfaction, their life quality cannot improve, and by that neither their well-being. The client’s key realization must be that they can control and also change only their own behavior and not others.

4. *Persisting in bad, unsatisfying relations*. People remain for years in unhappy, unconnected relations, where they try to appease their basic needs in painful ways. They often express their dissatisfaction with complaints, disapproval, but they do not link the unhappy relations to the mental health problems.

5. *Orientation towards a physiological and emotive component of holistic behavior*. Emotional (sadness, fear, anger, anxiety, etc.) and physical (unrest, pain, general bad state of health, etc.) feelings are the most frustrating and painful for an individual. This is why they orient themselves towards them and by that they remain in the magic circle of unhappiness and suffering. The active component of the holistic behavior remains practically inactive until the entry into the therapeutic process.

Strategy B: 'The assuming of control over one's own life.'

1. *The orientation towards the client's world of qualities*. A person's internal, personal, unique world is represented by a group of people, things, events, convictions, values, etc. and it is taking shape since birth, all our life, and it represents the best ways we want to appease our needs. The recognition and taking into consideration a person's world of

qualities are necessary for the search of more effective ways of appeasing needs, which represents the creation of a life of quality and the improvement of health.

2. *The orientation towards choosing more effective behaviors and deliberations*. When a client learns how to remove the external control from his life, he starts to change his actual unsatisfying relations. The change in the perception and understanding of his own actions and the actions of others enables him a more effective appeasing of the basic psychical needs and the reassuming of control over his own life. The client's key cognition is that he can control and also change only his own actions not the actions of others.

3. *Care for an (equilibrated) appeasing of psychical needs*. Orientation towards appeasing psychical needs by taking into consideration the client's personal world of values, convictions, figures, ideas, etc. a regard for reality and search for solutions, better choices within the given possibilities (environment).

4. *Taking care of relations and/or establishing new ones*. A person cannot appease all of their psychical needs without a basic consciousness that they are a free being who can choose – a series of behaviors and self-perception and the perception of others –, and that they are a social being who can successfully appease their needs only in a satisfying

relation with other people.

5. *The meaning of the relation therapist-client*. The relation therapist-client represents the basis of the whole psychotherapeutic process. We derive from the conviction that the meaning of the relation between the therapist and the client is the one that surpasses the level of single theoretic models and is the key for a 'successful' therapy, despite the essential conceptual separation of different therapeutic modalities. In the relation with the client, the therapist follows the value of human dignity, they accept and respect a person in all of their uniqueness and entity and they do not announce nor control their behavior.

The analysis of the material confirms *the concept of sexually conditional and socio-culturally acceptable behaviors of manifesting mental crises*. Men and women adjust psychical distress to a specific socio-cultural environment and to sexually acceptable behavioral patterns.

The mental health problems of women are closely linked to her social role, they are a network of past educational patterns and consolidate external expectations. Mental pain is manifested by forms that are attributed to women and are the consequence of socialization and later life experiences connected to it. Women express personal dissatisfaction within the accorded sexual roles and a determined cultural context. The form of mental pain manifestation are the result of the 'woman's' socialization. Women express personal dissatisfaction with a silent, inconspicuous ‘woman’s’ behavior (Podgornik, 2012: 6).

The anthropologist Darja Zaviršek (1993: 104,105) establishes that depression as a behavioral cultural pattern is a typical manifestation of mental pain, which “is attributed to the female sex, creates different sexual ideologies and leads to many women with a sexually acceptable behavioral pattern, identifying themselves with it and they adapt the expression of their psychical distress to it”. Resorting to a disease is also frequent, addiction to tablets, addiction to alcohol and addiction to food (refusing food, excessive eating, overeating and then throwing up and combinations of those), coffee, cigarettes are socially more acceptable for women.

The concept of factors that that are conditional to the formation of mental crises is also connected to the socio-cultural environment. The intertwinement of negative factors like class appurtenance, patriarchal sexual pattern, national appurtenance, physical violence, wrong care work, long period of living in a threatening and stressful relationship, unemployment, people’s socio-economic problems are the basis for the manifestation of mental health problems.

From the presented socio-biographies the perception and performing of male and female roles in connection to the sex as a socially constructed category (gender), but not their sensibility for a social construction of both sexes is evident. In other words they understand their actions as a biologic determination of their sexual identity.

Their social roles do not deviate essentially from the ones defined based on a biologic function. Women realize the role of a family and home guardian and educator while men preserve the role of a family provider and representative in the public sphere and in comparison to women they benefit of a superior position. The convictions and actions of the clients reflect a traditional course of socialization, favoring of social roles regarding the biologic gender. Their sexual identity is the result of commonly adopted norms and values of the culture that they belong to. They act appropriately in socially acceptable roles in view of the gender. The qualities in the domain of womens' social gender are tenderness, sensibility, excessive sentimentality, passivity, willingness to subordinate, while in the domain of the male social gender are rationality, aggressiveness, emotional stability and activity. This represents itself as an additional burdening in the manifestation of mental crises. If the behavior does not suit the qualities connected to the gender, they experience a bigger stigmatization – the case of a depressed man and an alcoholized woman.

Demographic factors, gender, age, marrital status, ethnical appurtenance and socio-economic status in interaction with personal qualities influence the formation of mental health problems and also their development and solving. Researchers (Pez etal., 2006) establish that the social network and relationships work as factors of chances or protective factors for the formation and development of mental problems.

The English scientists Brown and Harris (1989) indicated as causes of mental problems disappointment in the family, conjugal fights, change of place or working place, illness or death of a family member financial problems or loss of a certain social role– these kinds of occurrences are present in 30% of precedent mental illnesses. In the process, it came into view that the type of event does not determine the later illness as much as the meaning given to it by the person affected, and its subjective modification. The research showed that women who have a strong, confident mutual relationship with their husband, relative or friend are less susceptible to depression as the women who did not received that type of support in their relationships.

The importance of relationships for mental health is emphasized by the research about Slovenians' mental health condition, which showed that the individuals with mental health problems have smaller networks of emotional support that those without problems. Reports of smaller emotional support networks also came from individuals who in the last month felt strongly limited because of their emotional problems in comparison to the individuals who did not have these kind of problems, and also those who reported that they control their life worse than those who have a feeling of controlling their life. The data statistically also show that the individuals with smaller social networks report more often about feelings of sadness, bad mood, depression, as well as suicidal thoughts (Kamin et. al. 2009: 85).

Violence is a distinctly destructive controlling behavior immanent in Slovenia. The results of a research carried out within the research project Analysis of family violence in Slovenia, in the period between 2004 and 2006, show that the victims of domestic violence in Slovenia (and also elsewhere) are manely women, children and older family members. The occurrence of violence against women in a domestic environment is increasing in the last decade, and the violence against women and children ending in their deaths is also increasing. For a woman in Slovenia the most dangerous place is her home and the most dangerous person is her partner. At the same time, the fact that the level of awareness, especially of violence against women, is low and the level of social tolerance to domestic violence is high, is very alarming (Sedmak et.al. 2006: 6).

We interpret and establish the complete material, from the viewpoint of pathogenesis and salutogenesis, through the espoused theory — the choice theory, *on the construct of interpersonal relationships, the construct of basic needs and the motivational construct*. Regarding the studied material, the choice of a creative destructive behavior is explicitly connected to a person's problems in his interpersonal relationships or unappeased needs (for love, appurtenance, attention, value…) in relationships that are important to him. The therapeutic process, whose objective is for the client to take over the control over his life, is orientated consequently to the amelioration of existing relationships or the formation of more satisfying relationships. We also did not expose the meaning of the relationship, we did not install it among other factors, which induce the evolution of mental crises, but we wanted to singly examine and show how unsatisfying interpersonal relationships or the lack of relationships can considerably influence the evolution of mental health problems.

The reorganized behavior – the manifestation of mental health problems and other forms of destructive physiology (autoimmune and other psychosomatic illnesses) are explained by the choice theory with the use and/or share of external control. Besides the choice theory, which differs from the neo-behavioral theories according to the theological explanation of human personality, the biologic perceptional control theory of William T. Powers (2005) with a systematic-cybernetic model also explains the behavior of live organisms with naturalteleology;. Based on cybernetic experiments of second order[2], by understanding the

[2]Second order cybernetics studies systems that study systems, while first order cybernetics studies is the attitude of a person towards the system, and it

human behavior, Powers defined the variables that a person can control. To supervise or control does not mean reacting to stimuli, as explained in the behaviorism theory, which between a stimulus and a reaction inserts also the processes in the organism and by that explains the diversity of the individuals' behaviors. The control theory and the choice theory explain the gap in the causative-consecutive reaction with the expedience of the behavior of human beings. So the stimulus does not define the behavior, it just passes the information (in the reality therapy – where and how to satisfy the basic needs), but it cannot determine the choice of behavior (by considering the holistic behavior neither the feelings nor the physiological processes) or any other type of constraint. The behavior in a person's autonomy is in accordance with the goal he wants to reach. For the organism, the activity outside itself it does not represent a stimulus, which can trigger its reaction, but an interferences, controlled by the organism. The explanation that people are responding beings is the basis of the *external control psychology*, as Glasser names a group of destructive behaviors, based on the false belief that it is possible to control another person's behavior. With the mass usage of traditional psychology, Glasser connects numerous unhappy relationships and of course persons, who cannot satisfy their basic needs in unsatisfying relationships. In opposition to the external control theory,

does not originate from the phenomenological viewpoint of understanding the systematic theory of oneself.

the *internal control theory* or the theory of personal freedom (Glasser) urges that a man consciously chooses his most complex behavior connected to a personal system of values (images in the quality world). Consequently he can also choose connective behaviors that enable him to establish and maintain satisfying relationships within which he will be able to satisfy more successfully his psychical needs.

From the viewpoint of the internal control theory, the *'illness' theory* also explains an illness in the light of the reality therapy that a client's symptomatic behavior is not caused by pathologic organic changes, but it is about the client's unhappiness which manifests itself through the chosen symptomatology. He perceives unhappiness ad loneliness, the lack of relationships or life in unsatisfying relationships. The client's dissatisfaction originates from his comprehension that other people or external circumstances cause him suffering, which is why he perceives himself as a victim, without any power of influence to make better choices. He tries to regain control over his life with constraint and belief behaviors, by changing other persons' behavior even when they are not willing to do so. The client tries to change a person's behavior and adapt it to his desires and needs through behaviors like criticizing, accusing, complaining, whining, bribing, extorting, threatening, punishing, etc., the sort of behaviors that not only make a person change his behavior, but they also have a destructive effect on the relationship and they destroy it.

Conclusion

We cannot understand a person's mental health problems without taking into consideration the social and cultural frames of their experiencing and expressing. From this point of viewwe try to define mental health as a part of good interpersonal relations, social networks, quality of life, satisfactory self-image and satisfying strategies for mastering the distresses in contrast to the negative concepts of mental health. Along that, we take into consideration the individuals personal history and biography, included in the research work, the socio-demographic and socioeconomic factors of the influence on mental health, outside of the medical treatment of mental health as the absence of mental illness.

The conviction of the indivisibility of mental and physical dictates a holistic and proactive understanding of a person's activity, that is why an approach oriented towards an individual is necessary. With the finished research work, I want to contribute to recognizing needs for a holistic approach in treating mental crises, by placing a person's inter-subjective social world into a larger socio-cultural context.

We recognize the present research as a research of interpersonal relations, of a modern society person's holistic behavior, their response to the pain connected to the risks that it brings to the modern society. The material we studied is rich and it offers the recognizing of numerous social threads – socialization patterns, patriarchy, matriarchy, differences between the genders, other factors, that determined the origin of psychical distresses, a person's creative system, reorganized behaviors as a response to personal crises and a person's other attempts to regain control over their life.

We analyzed a person's behavior and thinking in relation to the environment and persons that the client co-creates their life with. We researched two fields: the happenings in a person and in a (domestic) environment. Separately – individually became the social cultural perspective.

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Motivacijski model dejavnikov formalnega izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih

Motivational model of factors in the formal education of vulnerable groups of adults

Teja Gracin, Marija Ovsenik, Boris Bukovec[3]

Povzetek

Učenje in izobraževanje sta ključnega pomena za celotno družbo. Odrasli, ki se izobražujejo, predvsem tisti iz ranljivih skupin, se soočajo s številnimi ovirami, za premagovanje katerih potrebujejo motivacijo. V članku zastavljeno raziskovalno vprašanje je, ali so stopnja motivacije in motivi za izobraževanje pri ranljivih skupinah manj izraženi. Namen in cilji so raziskati motivacijo pri izobraževanju odraslih, ugotoviti stopnjo motivacije, odkriti dejavnike in ovire, ki vplivajo na motivacijo, ter prepoznati konstante sodobnega modela, ki temelji na specifičnih skupinah, in nove paradigme razvoja motivacije ranljivih skupin. Z anketnim vprašalnikom smo izvedli kvantitativno raziskavo. Raziskava

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potrjuje problematiko ranljivih skupin, nakazuje strategije obvladovanja ustreznega motiviranja izobraževanja odraslih ter kaže in opozarja na trenutno zaskrbljujoče stanje na področju izobraževanja in ranljivosti skupin. Kompetentne ustanove lahko pridobljene rezultate, ki bodo vodilo pri sprejemanju smernic nadaljnjega razvoja izobraževanja odraslih, uporabljajo za izboljšave. Odraslim je treba zagotoviti različne oblike izobraževanja in možnosti za vključitev vanje ter jih ustrezno motivirati. S tem bomo zmanjšali socialne razlike in povečali kakovost življenja, osebnega razvoja in socialne vključenosti.

Pričujoči članek nakazuje ključne elemente motivacije na področju izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih in opozarja na problematiko, s katero se srečujejo. Nakazuje tudi možnosti za strukturne rešitve izobraževanja in s tem povezane motivacije. Oblikovan je inovativen model za izobraževanje ranljivih skupin odraslih, ki zajema vse dimenzije motivatorjev in ovir ter posredne vplive.

Ključne besede: motivacija, izobraževanje odraslih, ranljive skupine, ovire pri izobraževanju, brezposelnost, motivacijski model izobraževanja.

Abstract

Learning and education are vital for the entire society. Adults, engaged in education, especially those from vulnerable groups, are faced with numerous barriers for overcoming of which they need motivation. The

research question in the article is whether the level of motivation and motives for education of vulnerable groups are less manifested. The purpose and aims are to analyze motivation in the education of adults, to find out the level of motivation, discover the factors and barriers that influence motivation and recognize the constants of the modern model that bases on specific groups and new paradigms of the development of motivation of vulnerable groups. We carried out a qualitative research with the help of a questionnaire. The research proves the issue of vulnerable groups, points out strategies of management of adult education motivation and shows and points out the current alarming situation in the field of education and vulnerability of groups. Competent institutions can use the gained results for improvements in further development of adult education. Adults should be provided with different forms of education and possibilities for engaging in them, and properly motivated. This will reduce social differences and increase the quality of life, personal development and social inclusion.

The present article points out vital motivational elements in the field of education of vulnerable groups of adults and highlights their issue. It also points out possibilities for structural educational solutions and related motivations. Formed was an innovative model for education of vulnerable groups of adults that includes all dimensions of motivators, barriers and indirect impacts.

Keywords: motivation, adult education, vulnerable groups, barriers in education, unemployment, motivational model of education.

Uvod

Učenje in izobraževanje sta ključnega pomena za vsakega posameznika in za celotno družbo. Znanje postaja glavna proizvodna sila, vseživljenjsko izobraževanje pa del kulture enaindvajsetega stoletja. Posameznik je danes izpostavljen nenehnim spremembam, ki se jim mora biti zmožen prilagajati in jim slediti. Odrasli se pri izobraževanju soočajo s številnimi težavami in ovirami, da bi jih lahko premagovali in se čim bolj usposobili za življenje in delo, pa potrebujejo motivacijo.

Zastavljeno raziskovalno vprašanje je, ali so stopnja motivacije in motivi za izobraževanje pri ranljivih skupinah manj izraženi. V tem kontekstu sta raziskani tudi usmerjenost v izobraževanje ter pomembnost zunanjih in notranjih motivov glede na delovni status.

Namen in cilji raziskovanja so raziskati motivacijo pri izobraževanju odraslih, ugotoviti stopnjo motivacije ter odkriti motivacijske dejavnike in ovire, ki vplivajo na motivacijo. Namen je prav tako prepoznavanje konstant sodobnega modela, ki temelji na specifičnih skupinah, in nove paradigme razvoja motivacije ranljivih skupin.

Pomen izobraževanja v današnji družbi

Življenje postaja vse daljše, družbeni razvoj pa vse hitrejši. Izobraževalni sistem mora zato zagotoviti kontinuiteto učenja skozi vsa življenjska obdobja. Izobraževanje med drugim vpliva na kakovost življenja, ugled v družbi, samopodobo in kakovostnejšo izrabo prostega časa. Prav zaradi tega je izobrazba v današnji družbi eden izmed ključnih dejavnikov, ki poleg materialnih dobrin in vzpostavitve socialnih mrež omogočajo tudi manjša tveganja, ko gre za nezaposlenost ali izpostavljenost različnim negativnim dejavnikom okolja. Drofenikova (1998) ugotavlja, da se razvijajo nove socialne mreže; znanje in izobrazba pa sta pogoj za lažji dostop do teh mrež. Jelenc (v Javrh 2008, str. 9) govori tudi o tako imenovanih pragmatičnih premikih v filozofiji ter sistemu vzgoje in izobraževanja, ki smo jim priča v zadnjih desetletjih.

Eden izmed ključnih dejavnikov za zviševanje ravni znanja in usposobljenosti za različne življenjske vloge je razvoj izobraževanja odraslih. Človekov ustvarjalni potencial je namreč najpomembnejši dejavnik, ki omogoča raziskovanje, razvoj inovacij in ustvarja absorpcijsko sposobnost za uporabo novih tehnologij. Kot glavni cilj se v teorijah in raziskavah poudarja dvig izobrazbene ravni prebivalstva in s tem povezan boljši splošni položaj posameznika. Po nekaterih pesimističnih napovedih (Barle Lakota, 2007) naj bi se oblikovale tri skupine; v prvo naj bi sodili tisti, ki bodo predstavljali razvojni potencial družbe, v drugo tisti, ki bodo izvajalci, v tretjo pa vsi tisti, ki ne bodo nikoli zaposleni in bodo povsem odvisni od raznih oblik socialnih podpor.

Za družbo prihodnosti (Barle Lakota in drugi 2008, str. 176) naj bi bil značilen nov način proizvajanja, kjer ne bo pomembna samo količina, temveč tudi kakovost. Tylor (v Ovsenik 2000, str. 86) je mnenja, da je izobraževanje pri organizaciji pogoj za uspešno demokratizacijo, višjo motivacijo in boljše možnosti napredovanja.

Izobraževanje (Mohorčič Špolar in drugi 2010, str. 44) postaja vse bolj pomemben dejavnik pridobivanja socialnega in kulturnega kapitala ter socialne kohezije, kar se kaže v splošnem izboljšanju kakovosti življenja in razvoja družbe. Učenje postaja vseživljenjski proces, izobraževalna dejavnost pa najhitreje rastoča panoga na svetu (Bukovec 2008, str. 215). Življenje (Bukovec 2009, str. 49) je »učenje za nenehno obvladovanje sprememb«. Izobraževanje odraslih je torej usmerjeno v vseživljenjsko izobraževanje in pripeva k učinkovitosti in funkcioniranju v vseh življenjskih obdobjih.

Perspektive motivacije izobraževanja odraslih

Motivacija je zelo kompleksen pojav. Marsikaj še vedno ostaja nepojasnjenega in veliko dosedanjih raziskav je samo delno obšlo podrobnejšo definicijo motivacije. Odrasle k učenju spodbuja veliko dejavnikov, od interakcije z drugimi do užitka, zadovoljstva, želje, da bi preizkusili svoje znanje, radovednosti ali želje po dokončanju prekinjenega izobraževanja. Na odločitev za vnovično izobraževanje po navadi vpliva več motivov, ki se med seboj prepletajo in spodbujajo (Jelenc 1996, str. 39). Krajnčeva (1982, str. 205) trdi, da je motivacija pojav, ki se neprestano spreminja.

Motivacijo opredeljujemo kot notranje stanje, ki pobudi, usmerja in vzdržuje neko vedenje (Ščuka 2007, str. 65–66). Vsako naše vedenje je motivirano. To pomeni, da se ne pojavlja samodejno, temveč ima svoje potrebe, želje, motive, cilje, interese in vzroke (Podgornik 2012, str. 104). Červova (2012, str. 33) meni, da brez motivacije ni mogoče uspešno opraviti nobene aktivnosti in zadovoljiti potrebe.
Cilji, ki si jih posamezniki zastavljajo pri vstopu v določeno izobraževanje, so usmerjeni predvsem v njihov osebni razvoj ter pridobivanje novih znanj in spretnosti. Odrasli udeleženci izobraževanja bi radi čim bolje opravljali svoje družbene in gospodarske naloge in vloge, ki jih od njih pričakuje družba. Pomemben cilj posameznika je vsekakor zadovoljiti skupne družbene, kulturne in gospodarske potrebe. Cilji so torej različni in se oblikujejo glede na posameznika. Pomembno je le, da ta stremi k poti do cilja ter ga uresničuje z voljo in motivacijo.

Na motivacijo pri izobraževanju torej vplivajo različni dejavniki. Ustrezno motiviran je tisti udeleženec izobraževanja, ki je notranje in zunanje motiviran, se pravi, da ga motivirajo tako učitelj in družina kot širše okolje. Motivacija je torej pojav, ki se neprestano spreminja, kot se spreminjajo ekonomija, družba in kultura. Gruden (2012, str. 47) še meni, da je treba razviti kompetence, ki jih potrebujemo za življenje, in zagotoviti kakovostno učenje s kakovostnimi učitelji.

Tako kot poznavanje motivov pri izobraževanju odraslih je pomembno tudi poznavanje ovir. Velikokrat so namreč v ospredju takšne in drugačne ovire, zaradi katerih se posamezniki ne odločijo za izobraževanje. Jelenčeva (1996, str. 46–47) in Hrvatova (2008, str. 12) jih delita na situacijske, institucijske in dispozicijske ovire. Situacijske ovire zajemajo pomanjkanje časa, stroške izobraževanja, družinske težave, oddaljenost od izobraževalne organizacije in podobno. Institucijske ovire zajemajo ponudbo izobraževalnih programov ter načine in možnosti izobraževanja, dispozicijske pa so povezane s psihološkimi značilnostmi posameznikov, kot so samopodoba, stališča, odnos do učenja in izobraževanja in podobno. Pri programih temeljnega izobraževanja se pojavljajo predvsem dispozicijske ovire. Zaradi slabih šolskih izkušenj iz otroštva je lahko njihova samopodoba slaba, samozavest velikokrat omajana, predvsem pa se jim dozdeva, da v izobraževanju niso uspešni. Pomemben dejavnik vključevanja v izobraževanje je dostop do potrebnih finančnih sredstev. Sofinanciranje od pristojnih institucij povečuje vključevanje odraslih v izobraževanje. Vedno manj je podjetij, ki bi zaposlene spodbujala z dodatnimi formalnimi izobraževanji, prisotna pa je tudi prednost generacijske menjave. V deprivilegiranem položaju se tako znajdejo po navadi tisti, ki imajo pomanjkljivo izobrazbo, so starejši, nimajo veliko delovnih izkušenj ali se sami (brez pomoči institucij) preprosto niso sposobni prijaviti v izobraževanje in si izboljšati položaja v družbi.

Odrasli imajo torej možnost izobraževati se v formalnih ali neformalnih oblikah, odvisno od posameznika in njegovih potreb. Pri izobraževanju imajo različne cilje, prav tako se soočajo s številnimi ovirami. Pomembno je, da so za izobraževanje pripravljeni in motivirani v vseh življenjskih obdobjih.

Identifikacija ranljivih skupin, položaj v družbi in na trgu dela

Ranljive skupine so zelo širok pojem, ki se zaradi trenutnega stanja večajo in spreminjajo. Različni avtorji (Trbanc 2003; Zaviršek 1998, 1994 in drugi) kot ranljive skupine opredeljujejo različne skupine oseb. Najpogosteje se navajajo: dolgotrajno brezposelni; predvsem ženske, mladi, ki so zaradi dejavnikov revščine izpostavljeni večjemu tveganju izključenosti, ter druge marginalizirane skupine, kot so brezdomci, Romi in priseljenci. V današnjem času je poseben poudarek treba nameniti tudi zaposlenim na negotovih delovnih mestih. Opredelitve ranljivih skupin se torej razlikujejo. Dejstvo je, da se vsaka ranljiva skupina spopada s svojimi specifičnimi težavami, številne težave pa so skupne vsem. Položaj ranljivih skupin na trgu dela in po pridobljeni izobrazbi je v povprečju zelo slab.

Ekonomska in socialna marginalizacija ali ranljivost sta v današnjem svetu velik problem. Vedno več ranljivih skupin se namreč srečuje z revščino tudi zaradi pomanjkljive izobrazbe in posledično slabših možnosti na trgu dela. Vedno več se jih znajde v določeni situaciji, ko se morajo spopadati z revščino, brezposelnostjo in diskriminacijo v družbi. Največje težave pri ranljivih družbenih skupinah se pojavljajo na področju zaposlovanja. Gre za skupine, ki so zaradi svojih lastnosti, oviranosti, načina življenja, življenjskih okoliščin in/ali pripisane stigme pogosto manj prilagodljive pri odzivanju na hitre in dinamične spremembe, ki jih prinaša sodobna družba, in manj konkurenčne na trgu delovne sile ter drugih področjih, ki delujejo po načelih tekmovalnosti in kjer so viri omejeni. Te skupine so zato pogosto odrinjene na družbeno obrobje in ogrožene s socialno izključenostjo (Trbanc in drugi 2003, str. 5).

Spremembe na trgu dela, ki jih je povzročil prehod iz socialističnega v tržno gospodarstvo, so pomembno vplivale tudi na izobraževanje delovne sile. Pojavile so se potrebe po izobraževanju in kvalifikacijah ter spremembe v vsebini potreb delavcev. Vse to pa je pripeljalo tudi do naslednjih dejavnikov, ki jih opredeljuje Ivančič (v Drofenik in drugi 1999, str. 225): krčenja delovnih mest, malih podjetij z usposobljenimi ljudmi in deregulacije trga dela.

Zaposlene osebe iz ranljivih skupin so po navadi zaposlene na nestabilnih delovnih mestih. Negotovost delovnih mest in zaposlitve se torej ne porazdeljuje enakomerno na vse socialne skupine (Ignjatović 2002, str.

140), temveč po navadi prizadene skupine, ki so tako ali drugače na periferiji socialnih stikov in delovanja družbe. Fink Babič (v Pezdirc Žulič 2012, str. 87) pa še poudarja, da se morajo organizacije zavedati pomena znanja in ustvarjalnosti, saj le tisti, ki generirajo nove ideje, postajajo najpomembnejši vir konkurenčnosti. Družba pa osebe iz ranljivih skupin nekako vedno bolj vidi kot neustvarjalne in apatične.

Vključenost ranljivih skupin v izobraževanje odraslih

Posamezniki, ki jih uvrščamo v ranljive skupine, imajo pogosto slabo izobrazbo, zaradi česa imajo že v izhodišču slabši položaj na trgu delovne sile. Izobrazba je torej eden ključnih dejavnikov v procesu preprečevanja povečanja ranljivosti skupin in dvig izobrazbene ravni za posameznika pomeni možnost za uspešnejšo vključitev v družbo. Kaj pa je država naredila, da se prilagodi spremembam? Strinjamo se z navedbami Rončeviča (2009, str. 40), ki trdi, da se slovenska zakonodaja, ki ureja izobraževalni sistem, od osamosvojitve ni znatno spremenila. Morala pa bi se nenehno prilagajati.

Vključenost oseb iz ranljivih skupin v izobraževanje ima pomembno vlogo, prav tako njihova motivacija za pridobitev boljše izobrazbe in s tem posledično izboljšanje svojega življenjskega standarda. Izobrazba tako preprečuje reprodukcijo marginalnosti ranljivih skupin. Posameznik je danes izpostavljen raznim spremembam, ki se jim mora biti zmožen prilagajati in jim slediti, to pa lahko stori tudi z motiviranostjo in usmerjenostjo v izobraževanje.

Problematika brezposelnosti v povezavi s socialno izključenostjo

Problematika socialne izključenosti temelji na novih oblikah revščine, ki vedno bolj stremijo h globalno socialno izključenemu posamezniku. Ule in drugi (2000, str. 38) opozarjajo na problem, da socialno in materialno ogrožene osebe večino življenja preživljajo »v sivih conah« med zaposlitvijo in nezaposlenostjo. Revščina in brezposelnost vse manj sledita razrednim stereotipom in ju vedno težje identificiramo. Če je bila revščina v preteklosti »usoda razreda«, je sedaj postala individualizirana osebna usoda. Kobal Grumova in drugi (2009, str. 39) navajajo še zanimivo dejstvo; trdijo namreč, da socialna izključenost zmanjšuje zmožnosti izključene osebe, da vzpostavlja interakcije z drugimi člani skupnosti, da se integrira v družbo, je v njej udeležena, se potrdi in doživi spoštovanje do same sebe.

Za večino držav po svetu je značilno, da se stopnja brezposelnosti dviguje. To opozarja na globalne procese, kar je posledica intenzivnih procesov spreminjanja vseh področij človekovega življenja. Če se osredotočimo na Evropo, je dejstvo, da so se razvite države z brezposelnosti srečale že veliko prej kot Slovenija in imajo dobro razvite strategije za njeno odpravljanje. Posebno pozornost namenjajo ukrepom za dvig izobraženosti brezposelnih.

Problemov brezposelnosti pa sicer ne bo reševala le čista poklicna izobrazba (Dovžak v Jug in drugi 1996, str. 77), saj ta vodi do še večje brezposelnosti mlajše in starejše generacije. Ljudem je treba ponuditi alternativno rešitev, da bodo dobili priložnost, da zgradijo svojo identiteto in samospoštovanje z razvijanjem drugih vrednot. Brezposelnost se torej povečuje, gospodarski in socialni razvoj pa kaže, da kontinuirano izobraževanje postaja nuja. Brezposelni se v svojem življenju srečujejo s številnimi ovirami. Srečujejo se s pomanjkanjem denarja, čedalje večjo osamitvijo, pritiski, izgubijo zaupanje in samospoštovanje, ne nazadnje pa jim je zaradi brezposelnosti onemogočen dostop do nekaterih informacij. Menimo, da postaja prav socialna izključenost posledica brezposelnosti. Notar (2004, str. 59) navaja, da pravi problem čedalje bolj predstavlja trajanje brezposelnosti, saj skoraj 60 % vseh brezposelnih išče zaposlitev leto ali več, prevladujejo prav mladi do 25 let. Na problematiko brezposelnosti mladih opozarja tudi Rapuš Pavel (v Kobolt in drugi 2008, str. 26), saj meni, da je ta vse večji in splošen problem sodobnih družb. Klemenčič in Vilič Klenovšek (v Svetina 1995, str. 89–90) menita, da se soočajo s številnimi težavami. Poslabšanje gmotnega položaja, ki ga mnogi brezposelni zaznajo že kmalu po nastopu brezposelnosti, vpliva tako ali drugače na celotno človekovo življenje. Poleg pomanjkanja nastajajo vse večje socialne in psihične težave, ki pa se med seboj prepletajo.

Brezposelnost je torej težava današnje družbe, stabilnost zaposlitev se zmanjšuje. Vedno več je tudi del s krajšim delovnim časom. Problematika brezposelnosti je najjasneje izražena v Pomurju, kjer se soočamo z velikim številom oseb iz ranljivih skupin. Delovna mesta se ne razporejajo na različne socialne skupine v enaki meri, trg dela pa se nenehno spreminja. Zaposlitev za posameznika pomeni eksistenco, lastno preživetje in preživetje družine. Možnosti za to pa lahko poveča tudi z izobraževanjem.

Dolgotrajna brezposelnost po navadi pripelje do ranljivosti določenega posameznika, Revščina torej ni več usoda razreda, ampak usoda posameznika, ki ni kriv. Tako se mora posledično zaradi svoje socialne izključenosti soočati z diskriminacijo na ekonomskem, socialnem in kulturnem področju.

Metoda dela

Raziskava ima značilnost kvantitativne raziskave, saj temelji na statističnih meritvah. Kvantitativna raziskava je bila izvedena z vprašalnikom, ki je služil kot instrument za pridobivanje informacij o motiviranosti za izobraževanje odraslih ter za izbor rezultatnih standardov za definiranje motivacijskega modela. Za opisovanje dejstev, odnosov in procesov ter proučevanje domače in tuje literature je uporabljena deskriptivna metoda.

Za potrebe razvoja ustreznega motivacijskega modela, ki temelji na intenzivnosti motivatorjev in intenzivnosti ovir ter drugih neposrednih vplivov na motivacijo v izobraževanju, smo izvedli raziskavo na področju izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih. Na osnovi številnih dosedanjih raziskav ter literature in lastnih prepričanj menimo, da je splošna izobrazbena raven prebivalstva odločilnega pomena za družbo in njen razvoj. Osebe, ki so brez temeljne izobrazbe, brez dohodkov, spodbud in zaposlitve, se soočajo s številnimi težavami in posledično s socialno izključenostjo, zato jih v raziskavi opredeljujemo kot ranljive skupine.

Rezultati

V vzorcu, ki zajema 153 odraslih oseb, vključenih v izobraževanje, prevladujejo ženske z 62,7 %. Po analizi starosti anketirancev najmanjši delež vzorca (6,5 %) predstavljajo anketiranci v starosti manj kot 20 let. Dobra četrtina (28,1 %) je starih med 20 in 29 let. Največji delež anketiranih (42,5 %) predstavljajo stari med 30 in 39 let, dobra petina (22,9 %) pa pripada najstarejši starostni skupini, to je od 40 do 49 let. Večina anketirancev (51,6 %) ima nizke prihodke, to je le do 300 evrov mesečno. V kategoriji mesečnega dohodka od 301 do 400 evrov je 17,0 % anketirancev, 9,2 % jih prejema od 401 do 500 evrov, 6,5 % od 501 do 600 evrov, 9,2 % od 601 do 700 evrov in 6,5 % nad 700 evrov. Iz rezultatov tako razberemo, da jih večina živi po minimalnih standardih, lahko rečemo, da na pragu revščine. Skoraj polovica sodelujočih v raziskavi (48,4 %) je dolgotrajno brezposelnih, se pravi, da so brez zaposlitve že eno leto in več, 24,8 % pa je brezposelnih za kratek čas, kar pomeni, da jih je več kot tri četrtine brezposelnih. Le slaba desetina (9,8 %) je zaposlenih na stabilnem delovnem mestu, nekaj manj (7,2 %) pa na nestabilnem delovnem mestu. Samozaposlenih je 2,6 % anketiranih, 4,6 % je gospodinj, 2,6 % kmetovalcev, ena oseba pa je delovno nezmožna. Omenimo še, da 36,6 % anketiranih nima nobenih delovnih izkušenj. Anketiranci so kot glavni vir dohodka navedli, da dobivajo socialne transferje države, in sicer denarno socialno pomoč (34,2 %) in denarno pomoč zavoda za zaposlovanje (16,4 %). Zelo malo (19 %) jih je zaposlenih ali jih preživlja nekdo drug (24 %). Iz rezultatov ankete je razvidno, da socialne transferje pridobiva skupaj več kot polovica anketirancev (50,6 %). Dobra petina anketirancev (22,2 %) nima dokončane niti osnovne šole, slaba petina (19,0 %) pa ima končano zgolj osnovno šolo oziroma še nadaljnji 3,9 % nimajo dokončane srednje enoletne ali dvoletne šole. Skoraj desetina anketirancev (9,2 %) ima končano eno- ali dvoletno srednjo šolo. 7,2 % anketirancev ni končalo triletne oziroma poklicne srednje šole, 18,3 % pa jo je zaključilo. 15,0 % anketirancev ima nedokončano štiriletno srednjo šolo.

Izobraževanje pri odraslih ni primarna funkcija, zato je potrebna še večja motivacija za določen uspeh. Večina anketirancev (57,5 %) ni zadovoljnih s trenutno stopnjo izobrazbe, dobra četrtina (26,1 %) pa jih ne ve, ali so zadovoljni ali ne. Preostalih 16,3 % meni, da so s sedanjo stopnjo izobrazbe zadovoljni. Vzroke za nezadovoljstvo lahko iščemo v pomanjkljivi motivaciji v mladosti, v finančnih ovirah ali drugih parametrih. Vsekakor pa lahko vidimo, da jih je več kot polovica nezadovoljnih s svojo izobrazbo. Anketirance smo povprašali tudi o verjetnosti, da dokončajo določeno izobraževanje. Približno tretjina meni, da jim ne bo uspelo doseči želene izobrazbe, oziroma dobra desetina (10,5 %) je skoraj prepričana, da jim to ne bo uspelo, 22,9 % pa jih meni, da je to malo verjetno. Največji delež (42,5 %) jih meni, da jim bo to verjetno uspelo, 24,5 % pa jih meni, da jim bo to zelo verjetno uspelo.

Na vprašanje, kdo je denarno podprl izobraževanje, je večina (57,0 %) odgovorila, da so dobili denar od Zavoda za zaposlovanje RS. Dobra petina (21,9 %) anketirancev se sama financira, 18,5 % jih financira družina, 2,6 % pa delodajalec. Iz tega je razvidno, da je resnično malo udeležencev izobraževanja, ki imajo željo in lastne finančne zmožnosti za financiranje izobraževanja. Sodelujoči v raziskavi so navajali številne razloge za opustitev prvotnega izobraževanja. Več kot polovica anketiranih (58,8 %) navaja denarne razloge. Naslednji najpogostejši razlog je subjektivni, ki se nanaša na pomanjkljivo učenje oziroma prepozno začeto učenje (40,5 %). Slaba tretjina anketirancev (32,0 %) navaja prezahteven program, nekaj manj pa jih navaja, da so imeli premalo časa za izobraževanje (31,4 %) oziroma da so se zaposlili (30,7 %).

Slaba polovica sodelujočih v raziskavi (46,4 %) je za dalj časa prekinila izobraževanje. Križanje tega vprašanja z vprašanjem, ki se nanaša na doseženo stopnjo izobrazbe, pokaže, da je med tistimi, ki so prekinili izobraževanje, poleg tistih, ki nimajo dokončane osnovne šole, tudi precej takih, ki imajo dokončano triletno poklicno šolo, enoletno ali dvoletno poklicno srednjo šolo ali osnovno šolo. Dobra desetina anketirancev (10,5 %) je vedno visoko motivirana za izobraževanje, skoraj tretjina (32,7 %) pa ima na splošno dovolj motivacije. Podoben delež jih navaja (34 %), da imajo le občasno dovolj motivacije, 22,9 % pa jih navaja, da jim motivacije vedno primanjkuje.

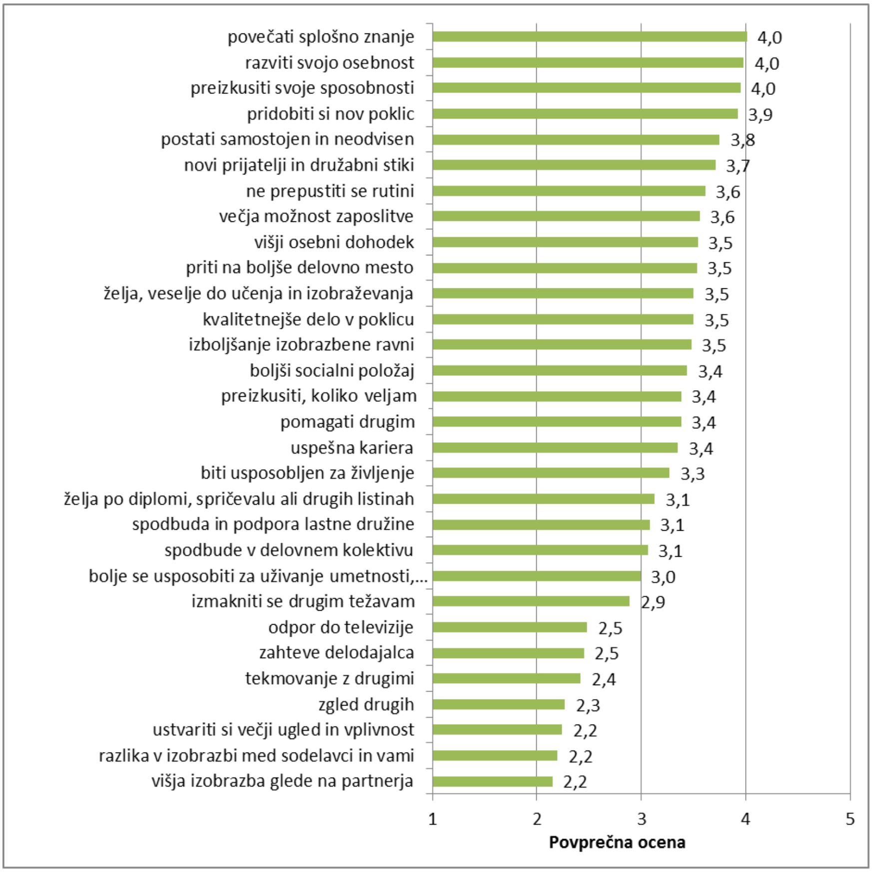
Analiza motivov in vpliva na ranljive skupine

Za potrebe motivacijskega modela izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih smo analizirali pozitivne in negativne motive udeležencev izobraževanja glede na parameter ranljivosti ter vplive, ki so najbolj izraziti. Osredotočilo smo se tudi na raziskovalno vprašanje, kjer se sprašujemo, ali so stopnja motivacije in motivi za izobraževanje pri ranljivih skupinah manj izraženi. Primerjali smo tudi ugotovitve specifike ranljivih skupin z ugotovitvami različnih domačih in tujih raziskav. Analiza je osnova za oblikovanje motivacijskega modela, ki temelji na modelu pozitivnih motivatorjev, ki sta ga zastavili Cosman-Rossova in Hiatt-Michaelova (2005, str. 4).

Pozitivni motivi ranljivih skupin

Po primerjavi pozitivnih motivov glede na ranljivost ali neranljivost lahko ugotovimo, da so udeleženci izobraževanja, ki pripadajo ranljivim skupinam, v vseh postavkah, razen v postavki »preizkusiti svoje sposobnosti«, pozitivne motivatorje ocenili z nižjimi ocenami. Iz tega lahko razberemo, da obstajajo razlike med motiviranostjo ranljivih in neranljivih skupin (slika 1).

Slika 1: Pozitivni motivi ranljivih skupin



Vir: Gracin, lastna raziskava (2013).

Po primerjavi naše analize raziskave z drugimi avtorji ugotavljamo, da obstajajo skupne ugotovitve in tudi razhajanja. Izvedene raziskave drugih avtorjev namreč ne določajo enakih parametrov, še posebej pa se ne osredotočajo na ranljive skupine. Krajnčeva (1982, str. 242) je v svoji raziskavi, ki je bila ena prvih v slovenskem prostoru, ugotovila, da so v ospredju motivi, kot so pridobivanje novega znanja, boljše opravljati svoje delo, napredovanje, višji osebni dohodek in sprejetost v družbi. Ugotavljamo, da so tudi v naši raziskavi precej v ospredju motivi osebne narave. Tudi rezultati ankete motivov, ki jo je izvedel Scheffield (v Krajnc 1982, str. 229), kažejo, da so v ospredju znanje in ostali motivi dimenzije osebnega in kariernega napredovanja.

Jelenc (1989, str. 101) v svoji raziskavi ugotavlja, da trije najmočnejši motivi zavzemajo 2/3 vseh anketiranih, to so »pridobitev novega znanja, lasten razvoj«, »izboljšanje svojega položaja« in »uspešnost pri delu, poklicu, stroki«. Ponovno lahko vidimo, da je v ospredju dimenzija osebnega in kariernega napredovanja. Po raziskavi (Jelenc 2007, str. 22), ki v slovenski populaciji odraslih motive odraslih za izobraževanje razvršča v naslednje skupine: povečati svojo uspešnost bodisi pri delu bodisi na drugih področjih življenja (75,5 %), doseči stopnjo izobrazbe (4 %), različni drugi motivi (14 %), lahko ugotovimo skupne parametre, ki spet temeljijo na skupni dimenziji. Skupne značilnosti lahko najdemo tudi pri raziskavah, ki sta jih izvedla Kumpova in Jelenc Krašovčeva (2005, str. 252), ki zraven pomembnosti notranje motivacije v smislu zadostitve intelektualne radovednosti ter obvladovanja lastnega življenja nakazujejo tudi možnost za vzpostavljanje novih prijateljskih vezi in medsebojno pomoč.

Če analiziramo zunanje in notranje motive, lahko ugotovimo, da so notranji motivi bolj izraziti. Tako ugotavlja tudi Houde (2006, str. 91), ki meni, da so med tem, ko se odrasli odzivajo na nekatere zunanje dražljaje (boljša delovna mesta, napredovanje, višje plače in podobno), najbolj močni motivator notranji pritiski (želja po povečanju zadovoljstva, kakovosti življenja in podobno). Anketiranci so najvišje ocenili motive, da si pridobijo več znanja, so bolj usposobljeni za življenje, si pridobijo nov poklic in postanejo samostojnejši in neodvisni. Kot notranje motive so izpostavili kakovostnejše delo v poklicu, priti na boljše delovno mesto in boljši zaslužek. Udeleženci izobraževanja so najbolj motivirani, če so njihove notranje potrebe izpolnjene (Willans in Seary 2007, str. 443). V naši raziskavi ugotavljamo vzporedne parametre.

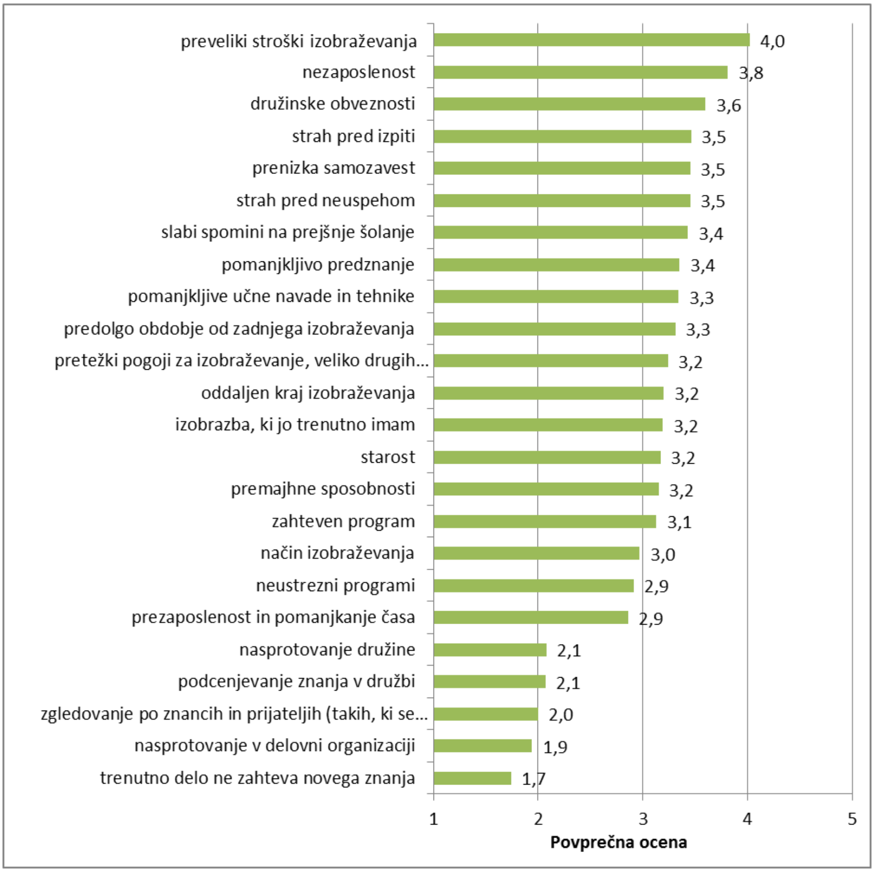
Nekatere skupine motivatorjev so torej skupne, za motivacijski model izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih bomo uporabili parametre motivatorjev, ki so najpomembnejši, in jih razdelili glede na intenzivnost na močne, srednje in šibke.

Negativni motivi ranljivih skupin

Po primerjavi in analizi negativnih motivov oziroma ovir (slika 2) ugotavljamo, da imajo udeleženci izobraževanja, ki ne sodijo v ranljive skupine, manj ovir in so te ustrezno nižje ocenili kot udeleženci izobraževanja, ki jih uvrščamo v ranljive skupine. Enako so ocenili le prezaposlenost in pomanjkanje časa ter nasprotovanje v delovni organizaciji. Neranljivi so tudi bolj izpostavili oviro, da trenutno delo, ki ga opravljajo, ne zahteva novega znanja. To je razumljivo, saj so udeleženci izobraževanja, ki smo jih opredelili kot »neranljive«, večinoma tudi v delovnem razmerju ali krajši čas brez zaposlitve.

Najbolj izraziti negativni motivi so torej povezani s socialnim in finančnim položajem udeležencev in se nanašajo predvsem na pomanjkanje finančnih sredstev, oviro nezaposlenosti, družinske obveznosti, strah in pomanjkanje samozavesti, nespodbudno preteklost ter pomanjkanje znanja.

Slika 2: Negativni motivi ranljivih skupin



Vir: Gracin, lastna raziskava (2013).

Rezultati raziskave, ki sta jo izvedla Kumpova in Jelenc Krašovčeva (2005, str. 253), kažejo, da se s starostjo večajo ovire za izobraževanje. Mlajši navajajo predvsem situacijske ovire (prezaposlenost, družinske obveznosti, stroške izobraževanja, kraj izobraževanja), starejši pa bolj dispozicijske ovire (starost, prejšnjo izobrazbo).

Nekatere skupne parametre lahko najdemo tudi v raziskavi, ki je sicer temeljila na mlajših udeležencih izobraževanja odraslih in jo je izvedel Grcić (2011, str. 53). Ta navaja, da se mladi pri izobraževanju in izbiri poklica soočajo ovirami, kot so slaba samopodoba, neuspeh, nepoznavanje izobraževalnega sistema in podobno. V primerjavi z našo raziskavo se razhajanja kažejo v tem, da imajo odrasli vsaj nekaj delovnih izkušenj, poznajo dejavnosti in poklice, vendar se zaradi ovir ne morejo ustrezno motivirati in pridobiti zaposlitve ter vstopiti na trg dela.

Grcić (2011, str, 53) je v svoji raziskavi ugotovil tudi, da se brezposelni pri izobraževanju in izbiri poklica srečujejo z naslednjimi ovirami: neustrezna izobrazba, negativne izkušnje, nemotiviranost za zaposlitev, pomanjkanje ciljev in nepoznavanje razmer na trgu dela. Tukaj spet vidimo sorodne parametre, s tem, da v naši raziskavi ugotavljamo pomanjkanje finančnih sredstev kot eno glavnih ovir pri motivaciji za izobraževanje.

V naši raziskavi je bila zelo visoko ocenjena tudi ovira »strah pred neuspehom«. Skupne parametre smo ugotovili z raziskavo, ki jo je izvedel Boekaerts (2002, str. 10), ki ugotavlja, da lahko strah pred neuspehom vodi do pasivnosti ali izogibanja pri učnem procesu. Glavni razlog za slabo motivacijo pri določenih predmetih je pomanjkanje sposobnosti. Sledita pomanjkanje napora in neustrezna strategija uporabe predmeta.

Semmar (2006, str. 3) meni, da je neuspeh le začasna ovira, ki se jo da s časom premagati. Galeša (v Kožuh in Kramar 1994, str. 223) dodaja, da imata tesnoba in strah dolgoročne učinke na učenje in mentalno ter telesno zdravje.

Skupne parametre ugotavljamo tudi z raziskavo (Belonozhko in Khitu 2008, str. 59), ki je bila izvedena v Rusiji in je pokazala, da sta največji oviri pri izobraževanju starost in finančni položaj. Anketiranci so najbolj izpostavili finančne ovire in nezaposlenost, kar je razumljivo, saj je trg dela danes drugačen, kot je bil pred dvajsetimi leti.

Odrasli udeleženci izobraževanja se danes srečujejo predvsem z ovirami finančne narave, oddaljenost izobraževanja je v času, ko je družba postala mobilna, postala manj pomembna ovira. Kot močne ovire lahko opredelimo še ovire, ki so povezane z učenjem, strahom in samozavestjo. Veliko anketirancev ima namreč zelo slabo šolsko samopodobo.

Posredni vplivi na ranljive skupine

Po ugotovitvah in analizi smo izpostavili tudi nekaj najpomembnejših vplivov na motivacijo pri izobraževanju ranljivih skupin odraslih. Glede na parameter »ranljivosti« smo analizirali še vpliv učiteljev, izobraževalne ustanove kot celote, vzdušja v učnem okolju ter lastnega interesa za izobraževanje.

Vpliv učiteljev

Če primerjamo rezultate analize glede na parameter »ranljivosti«, ugotavljamo, da je pri ranljivih skupinah bolj izpostavljen vpliv učitelja na motivacijo in pomen te za posameznika. Udeleženci izobraževanja iz ranljivih skupin torej potrebujejo več spodbud in motivacije, saj so nenehno izpostavljeni različnim oviram pri izobraževanju. Učitelj lahko ima pri tem pomembno vlogo.

Strinjajmo se z navedbami Holčeve (2010, str. 12–13), ki trdi, da učiteljeva vloga danes ni več v prvi vrsti preganjalna in nadzorna, temveč stimulativna in podporna. Uspešen učitelj (Brajša 1995, str. 82) je proaktiven in ima jasno določene cilje.

Vpliv izobraževalne ustanove kot celote

Vilič Klenovškova in Klemenčičeva (2002) navajata, da so svetovanje in pogovori med izobraževanjem zelo pomembni. V naši raziskavi glede na ranljivost udeležencev izobraževanja ugotavljamo predvsem pomembno dejstvo, da je pri njih bolj izraženo svetovanje ob učnih težavah.

Rezultati raziskave pri neranljivih skupinah so bistveno slabši. Iz tega lahko torej povzamemo, da se udeleženci izobraževanja iz ranljivih skupin pogosto srečujejo z učnimi težavami in potrebujejo več pomoči kot ostali udeleženci izobraževanja. Prav tako je višji rezultat pri želji pogovorov in svetovanja med potekom izobraževanja in po izraženi želji. Obstajajo torej velike razlike (Clardy 2005, str. 17) v željah odraslih, njihovih sposobnostih in pripravljenosti za učenje. Mi pa trdimo, da obstajajo velike razlike tudi glede na parameter ranljivosti. V sklopu vpliva izobraževalne ustanove kot celote smo glede na parameter ranljivosti analizirali tudi vprašanje, ali imajo udeleženci izobraževanja občutek, da jim je v izobraževalni ustanovi vedno kdo na voljo.

Ugotovitve so pokazale, da so udeleženci iz ranljivih skupin višje ocenili pripravljenost zaposlenih za pogovor. To pomeni, da je to pomemben parameter motivacije in da so udeleženci izobraževanja iz ranljivih skupin ugodno naravnani do izobraževalnih ustanov. Pomoč ustanove je torej pomemben dejavnik vpliva na motivacijo.

Vpliv vzdušja v učnem okolju

Iz rezultatov primerjave glede na ranljivost ugotavljamo, da ne obstajajo bistvene razlike glede mnenja o vzdušju v izobraževalni ustanovi. Vsi anketiranci so torej večinskega mnenja, da je vzdušje dobro, sproščeno in ugodno za izobraževanje.

Vpliv lastnega interesa

Kot najpomembnejši vpliv smo opredelili vpliv lastnega interesa za učenje in načinov učenja. Menimo, da lahko udeleženci izobraževanja največ k motivaciji prispevajo sami, saj lahko veliko dosežejo, če imajo interes in pozitivno samopodobo.

Raziskava je torej potrdila problematiko ranljivih skupin in nakazala strategije obvladovanja ustreznega izobraževanja odraslih. Kaže in opozarja na trenutno zaskrbljujoče stanje na področju izobraževanja in ranljivosti skupin. Iz rezultatov raziskave smo razbrali, da večina anketiranih udeležencev izobraževanja živi po minimalnih standardih, rečemo lahko, da na pragu revščine.

Na izobraževalni poti se srečujejo s številnimi nihanji in ovirami, predvsem s težavo pomanjkanja materialnih zmožnosti in znanja. Zaradi tega so manj motivirani za izobraževanje. Na raziskovalno vprašanje, ali so stopnja motivacije in motivi za izobraževanje pri ranljivih skupinah manj izraženi, odgovarjamo pritrdilno.

Zasnova po predhodnih motivacijskih modelih

Pri zasnovi motivacijskega modela dejavnikov formalnega izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih smo najprej podali stališča in smernice, ki so produkt učinkovitega izobraževanja odraslih. Upoštevali smo ugotovitve Kisamorea in drugih (2008, str. 4–20), za katere menimo, da nakazujejo pomembne smernice prav pri marginaliziranih skupinah.

Kot osnovo za oblikovanje motivacijskega modela ranljivih skupin odraslih smo si kot najbolj relevanten model izbrali model za motivacijo Cosman-Rossove in Hiatt-Michaelove (2005).

Vprašalnik, ki smo ga oblikovali in z njegovo pomočjo izprašali udeležence izobraževanja odraslih, akumulira ta model kot temelj motivacijskih pogledov. Omenjeni avtorici sta razvili model, ki ni osredotočen na gmotni položaj ali katere druge, nam pomembne prametre. Kot osnovi sta povzeli izhodišča Bandure (1986) in svoje ugotovitve primerjali z osnovami Herzbergove (1959) teorije. Študija prav tako temelji na delih Kowlesa, Holtona in Swansona (1998) ter Vroma (1995) in Wlodkowskega (1999).

Njuna raziskava je pokazala, da so bili udeleženci izobraževanja motivirani za učenje predvsem zaradi občutka izboljšanja samega sebe in prepričanja, da so nekaj dosegli. To sta opredelili kot močne motivatorje.

Kot srednje motivatorje sta opredelili med drugim pridobitev stopnje izobrazbe in povečanje zaslužka. Med najbolj šibkimi motivatorji pa so bili uporabnost, karierni dejavniki in veselje do učenja. Menita, da obstajajo povezave pri motivaciji glede na to, ali si udeleženci izobraževanja sami plačujejo stroške izobraževanja ali jim stroške krije kdo drug. Ugotovili sta, da udeležencem izobraževanja veliko pomeni, da pridobljeno znanje lahko akumulirajo za reševanje težav v dejanskem življenju.

Eden pomembnejših modelov je tudi Kellerjev, ki temelji na pozornosti, pomembnosti, zaupanju in zadovoljstvu. Zasledili smo tudi model izobraževanja odraslih (Mihevc in drugi 1995, str. 41–42), ki temelji na visokošolskem izobraževanju. Tudi Radovan (2001) je oblikoval model motivacije, ki temelji le na brezposelnih. Ni specificiran glede na starost, spol in položaj v družbi. Juriševičeva (2006, str. 107) je razvila integrativni model, ki učno motivacijo opredeljuje kot večplastno. Model, povezan z motivacijo, je razvila tudi Marentič Požarnikova (2004), ki navaja splošni model, ki se nanaša na učno orientacijo, motivacijo učnega stila in rezultatov.

Jarvis (1995) je za potrebe izobraževanja odraslih razvil splošen model učnih in poučevalnih procesov in ga razdelil na štiri komponente: metode in organizacija, vsebina, namen in cilji ter končna evalvacija. Model lahko delno umestimo tudi v naš zastavljeni model, saj je povezan s splošnim izobraževalnim procesom, ker prikazuje štiri temeljne komponente izobraževalnega procesa.

Model, povezan z motivacijo in dosežki, je razvil Atkinson (Ivanov, 2012) in se nanaša na obnašanje, ki temelji na treh glavnih motivih: motivu za doseganje uspeha, motivu za družbeno sprejemljivost in motivu moči.

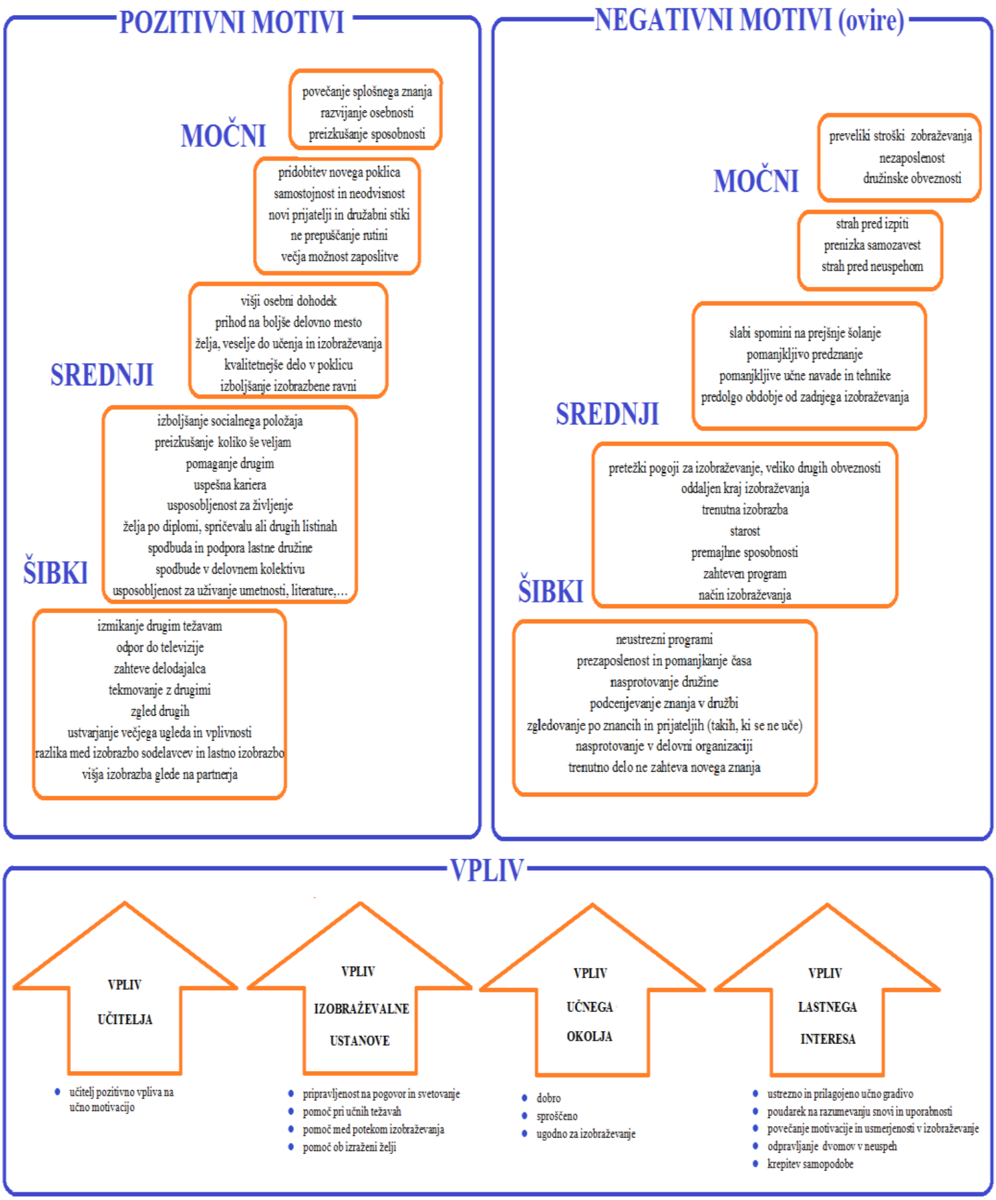
Motivacijski model dejavnikov formalnega izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih

Motivacijski model (slika 3), kot produkt znanstvenega raziskovanja izhaja iz raziskave, ki smo jo izvedli, in temelji na skrbno načrtovani poti razvoja posameznika. Pri zasnovi smo upoštevali populacijo ranljivih skupin, ki že sama po sebi v večji meri deluje v monotonem socialnem in ekonomskem okolju, ki ni naklonjeno izobraževanju.

Model temelji na intenzivnosti motivatorjev in intenzivnosti ovir ter drugih neposrednih vplivov na motivacijo v izobraževanju.

Zagotavlja nazorni prikaz močnih motivov, ki jih je treba krepiti, in močnih ovir, ki jih je treba v čim večji meri zmanjšati in odpraviti. Model prav tako zagotavlja intenziteto pomembnosti vpliva na motivacijo s strani ustanove, zaposlenih in učnega okolja ter nazorno povezuje intenziteto motivatorjev in zajema prav problematiko motivacije ranljivih skupin.

Slika 3: Motivacijski model dejavnikov formalnega izobraževanja ranljivih skupin odraslih. Vir: Gracin, lastna raziskava (2013).


POZITIVNI MOTIVI
MOČNI
povečanje splošnega znanja
razvijanje osebnosti
preizkušanje sposobnosti
pridobitev novega poklica
samostojnost in neodvisnost
novi prijatelji in družabni stiki
ne prepuščanje rutini
večja možnost zaposlitve
SREDNJI
višji osebni dohodek
prihod na boljše delovno mesto
želja, veselje do učenja in izobraževanja
kvalitetnejše delo v poklicu
izboljšanje izobrazbene ravni
izboljšanje socialnega položaja
preizkušanje koliko še veljam
pomaganje drugim
uspešna kariera
usposobljenost za življenje
želja po diplomi, spričevalu ali drugih listinah
spodbuda in podpora lastne družine
spodbude v delovnem kolektivu
usposobljenost za uživanje umetnosti, literature,...
ŠIBKI
izmikanje drugim težavam
odpor do televizije
zahteve delodajalca
tekmovanje z drugimi
zgled drugih
ustvarjanje večjega ugleda in vplivnosti
razlika med izobrazbo sodelavcev in lastno izobrazbo
višja izobrazba glede na partnerja
NEGATIVNI MOTIVI (ovire)
MOČNI
preveliki stroški zobraževanja
nezaposlenost
družinske obveznosti
strah pred izpiti
prenizka samozavest
strah pred neuspehom
SREDNJI
slabi spomini na prejšnje šolanje
pomanjkljivo predznanje
pomanjkljive učne navade in tehnike
predolgo obdobje od zadnjega izobraževanja
pretežki pogoji za izobraževanje, veliko drugih obveznosti
oddaljen kraj izobraževanja
trenutna izobrazba
starost
premajhne sposobnosti
zahteven program
način izobraževanja
ŠIBKI
neustrezni programi
prezaposlenost in pomanjkanje časa
nasprotovanje družine
podcenjevanje znanja v družbi
zgledovanje po znancih in prijateljih (takih, ki se ne uče)
nasprotovanje v delovni organizaciji
trenutno delo ne zahteva novega znanja
VPLIV
VPLIV
UČITELJA
učitelj pozitivno vpliva na učno motivacijo
VPLIV
IZOBRAŽEVALNE
USTANOVE
pripravljenost na pogovor in svetovanje
pomoč pri učnih težavah
pomoč med potekom izobraževanja
pomoč ob izraženi želji
VPLIV
UČNEGA
OKOLJA
dobro
sproščeno
ugodno za izobraževanje
VPLIV
LASTNEGA
INTERESA
ustrezno in prilagojeno učno gradivo
poudarek na razumevanju snovi in uporabnosti
povečanje motivacije in usmerjenosti v izobraževanje
odpravljanje dvomov v neuspeh
krepitev samopodobe

Pozitivni motivi

Intenziteta najmočnejših pozitivnih motivov temelji na notranjih motivih. Ugotavljamo, da je najmočnejši motiv »povečanje splošnega znanja«. Človek mora znati hitro in uspešno reševati težave, se prilagajati različnim situacijam in razvijati odgovornost za svoje delo in izobraževanje. Drugi najmočnejši motiv je »razvijanje osebnosti«. Osebnost posameznika je posebna in edinstvena. Z leti se pod vplivom različnih okoliščin tudi spreminja. Vrednost posameznika se kaže v njegovi osebnosti, zato pa mora vlagati v svoje izobraževanje in razvoj. Težiti mora k želji po boljšem. Imeti mora perspektivo v prihodnosti, za katero pa Green in DeBacker (v Leondari 2007, str. 19) menita, da je zelo močan motivator. Tretji najmočnejši motiv je »preizkušanje sposobnosti«. Posameznik rad preizkuša svoje sposobnosti, da vidi, koliko še zna in velja, da se poistoveti ali pozicionira v družbi.

Glavni vzrok odločitve za izobraževanje in motivacijo je videnje boljše prihodnosti v poklicni karieri. Tako je motiv »pridobiti si nov poklic« eden močnejših. Prav tako sta močna motiva »samostojnost in neodvisnost« posameznika. Udeležence izobraževanja motivira tudi navezovanje »novih družbenih stikov« in »neprepuščanje rutini«. V izobraževanju posledično vidijo »večjo možnost zaposlitve«.

Nekateri od pomembnejših motivov (Lesley 2008, str. 25) so nadgraditi svoje znanje, boljše plačilo za delo, izpolnjevanje svojih sanj. To lahko povežemo z močnimi motivi in delno tudi s srednjimi motivi. Udeležence izobraževanja motivira tudi »večji osebni dohodek«, ki je lahko tudi posledica »prihoda na boljše delovno mesto« in »kakovostnejšega dela« zaradi »izboljšanja izobrazbene ravni«. Posameznik pa mora imeti tudi »željo in veselje do izobraževanja«.

Motivatorji, ki jih zaznavamo kot srednje močne, so povezani z izboljšanjem socialnega položaja, s pomočjo drugim, z graditvijo uspešne kariere, usposobljenostjo za življenje in željo po listinah. Med šibkejše motivatorje sodijo zunanje spodbude družine in kolektiva ter zgledovanje po drugih in grajenje večjega ugleda in vplivnosti.

Negativni motivi ali ovire

Intenziteta najmočnejših negativnih motivov, ki posameznikom v bistvu predstavljajo ovire, se nanaša na najpomembnejši dejavnik pomanjkanja denarja. Udeleženci izobraževanja namreč kot najmočnejšo oviro navajajo »prevelike stroške izobraževanja«. Tako potrjujemo dejstvo, da izobraževanje postaja nedostopno ranljivim skupinam. Finance so tudi glavni vzrok, ki so ga navedli udeleženci izobraževanja, za opustitev prvotnega šolanja. Vedno več je namreč revščine, ki omogoča sprejemljivo življenje v državi in družbi ter posameznike prikrajša za družbeni in osebni razvoj. Zelo veliko oviro tako predstavlja posledično tudi »brezposelnost«. Dejstvo je, da udeleženci izobraževanja lahko ohranijo primerno motivacijo le takrat, ko imajo zagotovljene najpotrebnejše pogoje v okolju in izobraževanju, kjer delujejo. Če pa se srečujejo s finančnimi ovirami in problematiko nezaposlenosti, je težko zagotoviti ustrezne pogoje. Začasne sive cone med negotovimi oblikami zaposlitve in brezposelnostjo povečujejo stiske posameznikov in onemogočajo izgradnjo osebne kariere. Velika ovira so tudi »družinske obveznosti«, predvsem pri ženskah, ki morajo skrbeti za družino in gospodinjstvo. Na to problematiko opozarja tudi Kanjuo-Mrčela (1996, str. 74), ki meni, da imajo ženske več obveznosti v zvezi z družino kot moški.

Naslednji negativni motivi, ki jih navajamo, so povezani z osebnostjo in nezaupanjem posameznika vase. V ospredju so namreč motivi »strahu« in »pomanjkanja samozavesti«. Veliko jih »na prejšnje šolanje vežejo slabi spomini«, ki se pojavljajo v obliki ovire. Opustitev prvotnega šolanja oziroma »predolgo obdobje od zadnjega izobraževanja« pa ima za posledico »pomanjkljivo predznanje« in »pomanjkljive učne tehnike in navade«. Tudi Gopalakrishnan (2006, str. 43) trdi, da na odločitev za izobraževanje vplivajo navade, pretekle izkušnje in prepričanja. Srednje močni motivi so med drugim povezani z »dvomom v lastne sposobnosti«.

Udeleženci imajo zraven izobraževanja še »veliko drugih obveznosti«, ki jih prav tako ovirajo pri izobraževanju. Srednje močne ovire so med drugim tudi »starost« in ovire, povezane z »zahtevnostjo programa« in »načinom izobraževanja. »Oddaljenost od kraja izobraževanja«

posameznikom prav tako predstavlja negativen motiv. Ko najmanjše ovire so navedeni »neustrezni programi«, »prezaposlenost in pomanjkanje časa«, ovire, povezane z izobraževanjem in vidikom znanja v družbi, nasprotovanjem ter zgledi po prijateljih in znancih, ki izobraževanju ne namenjajo pozornosti.

Posredni vplivi

Na motivacijo pri izobraževanju vplivajo tudi posredni vplivi. Kot najpomembnejše smo uvideli vpliv učitelja, izobraževalne ustanove, učnega okolja in lastnega interesa. Učitelj je pomemben dejavnik učne motivacije, saj lahko prispeva k motivaciji posameznika. Če je učitelj motiviran in ima ustrezen pristop, to prispeva k motivaciji posameznika. Ta se rad izobražuje v ustanovi, ki jo odlikuje kakovost in mu je pripravljena pomagati in svetovati. Gutknecht-Gmeiner in drugi (2009, str. 41–43) kakovost določajo glede na izpolnjevanje ciljev, povezanih z izobraževanjem. Za kakovost sta pomembna dostopnost svetovalnih storitev, kakovost svetovalnih storitev ter rezultati in učinki svetovalnih storitev. Učno okolje, ki vzpostavlja ustrezno motivacijo, mora biti dobro, sproščeno in ugodno za izobraževanje. Ne smemo pa pozabiti na vpliv lastnega interesa, saj si udeleženci izobraževanja želijo za uspešno izobraževanje ustrezno učno gradivo, ki temelji na razumevanju in uporabnosti snovi. Uspešen udeleženec izobraževanja je ta, ki je usmerjen v izobraževanje, ne dvomi vase in ima pozitivno samopodobo.

Sklepi in predlogi

Iz rezultatov kvantitativne raziskave smo razbrali, da večina anketiranih udeležencev izobraževanja živi po minimalnih standardih, rečemo lahko, da na pragu revščine. Skoraj polovica jih je dolgotrajno brezposelnih in z zelo nizko stopnjo izobrazbe. Razumljivo so nezadovoljni s trenutno stopnjo izobrazbe, a niso povsem prepričani, da jim bo uspelo doseči želeno izobrazbo. Na izobraževalni poti se srečujejo s številnimi nihanji in ovirami. Več kot polovica kot poglavitne razloge za prvotno opustitev šolanja navaja denarne vzroke, kar kaže na veliko ranljivost posameznikov. Pri sedanjem izobraževanju pa se soočajo s težavo pomanjkanja materialnih zmožnosti in znanja.

Preko dimenzij motivov, ki smo jih razdelili na karierne motive, osebno rast, okolje in znanje, potrjujemo raziskovalno vprašanje, da so stopnja motivacije in motivi za izobraževanje pri ranljivih skupinah manj izraženi. Vse dimenzije motivov so namreč višje izražene v skupini, ki ni ranljiva. Stopnja motivacije in motivi so torej pri ranljivih skupinah manj izraženi in osebe, ki so dolgo časa brezposelne, so manj usmerjene v izobraževanje, saj posamezniki po takšnih izkušnjah postanejo apatični, ne vidijo izhoda in se prepuščajo vsakodnevni ruti, ki se posledično lahko odraža tudi v celotni družbi.

Raziskava je potrdila problematiko ranljivih skupin in nakazala strategije obvladovanja ustreznega izobraževanja odraslih. Kaže in opozarja na trenutno zaskrbljujoče stanje na področju izobraževanja in ranljivosti skupin, zato je na temeljih motivacijskega modela nujno oblikovati tudi strategijo za v prihodnje. Motivacijo udeležencem izobraževanja v veliki meri onemogočajo ovire, s katerimi se ti, ki so že tako ali tako večinoma v podrejenem položaju v družbi, srečujejo. Najmočnejša ovira, na katero opozarjamo v našem modelu, je povezana s financiranjem in z gmotnim položajem posameznika. Zato menimo, da bi država morala to uvideti z ustreznimi strategijami. Izobraževanje in dostojno delovanje v družbi je namreč pravica vsakega posameznika. Finančne težave, s katerimi se srečujejo, in vse večja brezposelnost posameznikom onemogočajo izboljšanje položaja. Programi aktivne politike zaposlovanja in strategije morajo dajati več pozornosti ranljivim skupinam, saj potrebujejo več priložnosti. Posamezniki zaradi nenehnega odklanjanja ter življenja med takšnimi in drugačnimi sivimi conami v družbi izgubljajo samozavest in vero vase. Treba je krepiti motivacijo in posameznika dvigniti tako, da bo lahko uspešno deloval v družbi.

Odraslim je treba zagotoviti različne oblike izobraževanja in možnosti za vključitev vanje, hkrati pa jih je treba tudi ustrezno motivirati in spodbujati k nadaljevanju in dokončanju opuščenega šolanja. S tem bomo zmanjšali socialne razlike in povečali kakovost življenja, osebnega razvoja in socialne vključenosti. Dvignili bomo stopnjo splošne izobraženosti in ohranili identiteto. Izobraževanje pa mora biti naravnano glede na potrebe trga dela.

Model za izobraževanje ranljivih skupin kot prispevek k znanosti je torej temeljito načrtovan model, ki zajema vse dimenzije motivatorjev in demotivatorjev ter posredne vplive, ki jih lahko imenujemo tudi gradniki motivacije.

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Losing Jobs in Crisis: Impact on Corruption Experience, Perception and Trust in Fighting Corruption

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Abstract

This paper compares Slovakia and Slovenia in terms of investigating causal relationships between the corruption experience and corruption perception and their impact on the trust in public institutions' performance in fighting corruption. Additionally, the study examines how these relations are influenced by the personal impact of the financial crisis. The main contribution of the paper is that it analyses the Eurobarometermicrodata from September 2011, the time of the "eurocrisis." Another novelty this paper brings is the specific dimension of institutional trust that has not been investigated before: the trust in state's institutions' fight against corruption. The added value is also in

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the method we use, Structural Equation Modeling, which allows separating different causal paths between the corruption perception, corruption experience, institutional trust, crisis and other variables. The SEM method also allows us to model and estimate the reverse causation between the corruption perception and the trust in institutions' anti-corruption performance. Additionally, we disentangle direct and indirect causal paths influencing the trust. The findings suggest that the personal impact of crisis does not have direct influence on the corruption perception. The influence of job loss effect on the anti-corruption trust is statistically significant only in Slovakia. We found the direct influence of corruption experience on corruption perception also only in Slovakia. Regarding the relationship between the corruption perception and the anti-corruption trust, the analysis shows that it is the latter one that influences the former.

Keywords: Corruption Perception, Corruption Experience, Trust, Anti-corruption Measures, Slovakia, Slovenia, Crisis

1. INTRODUCTION

Corruption has been gaining an increasing attention by media, politicians, policy-makers and thus it is hardly surprising that the academic research of corruption is growing as well. While some authors focus on explaining corrupt behaviour (e.g. Tavits, 2010), others investigate the effects corruption has on economy (Uslaner, 2007), society (dellaPorta, 2000; Pharr, 2000) or politics (Mishler& Rose, 2005). Considerable amount of research is also devoted to the relationship between the corruption and trust (Anderson &Tverdova, 2003; Chang & Chu, 2006; Hakhverdian& Quinton, 2012). Li and Wu (2010) showed how the trust, corruption and economic growth are interdependent.

This study focuses on distinct dimensions of corruption and relationships among them. In this study we differentiate between the corruption perception and corruption experience and include both of them into our investigation. In addition we link these two to a special kind of trust: the trust in public institutions' anti-corruption performance. Although distinct types of trust, mainly personal and political/institutional have been investigated before (see Anderson &Tverdova, 2003; Dalton 2004; Chang & Chu, 2006, Hakhverdian& Quinton, 2012; Wroe, Allen & Birch, 2013; etc.) we have not found any similar research that would narrow down the institutional trust in this particular way.

Another contribution of this paper is that we not only separate the corruption perception from experience, but also disentangle the previously suggested reverse causation between the corruption perception and trust (dellaPorta, 2000; Wroe et al., 2013). Additionally, we investigate the influence that a personal experience with the financial crisis, in a form of a job loss, might have on the corruption dimensions.

In this paper we the Eurobarometer micro-data that is not so frequently used. However, it provides several items on corruption and thus allows us separating the three dimensions. We apply structural equation modelling techniques to estimate direct and direct effect as well as the reverse causal relationships.

Structure of the paper is as follows. After introduction we review the theories linking corruption and trust. In the following section we discuss the distinction between the corruption perception and corruption experience. Subsequently we define our variables, describe data and method in a more detailed way and discuss the instrumental variables employed in the model. What follows is the empirical analysis and presentation of the results. Before concluding we discuss the main contribution of this study as well as limitations encountered.

2. TRUST AND CORRUPTION

The link between the trust and corruption has been very well documented in the previous research. The voluminous amount of literature focuses on the effect of corruption on the general trust towards political institutions (Mauro, 1995; Knack & Keefer, 1995; LaPorta et al., 1999;Pharr & Putnam 2000; Seligson, 2002; Rose-Ackerman, 2004; Clausen, Kraay&Nyiri, 2011; Hakhverdian& Quinton, 2012; and others). There is a consensus among scholars, that corruption has a negative effect on the trust in government, political parties or other political institutions or actors. Previous research that proves the relationship between the corruption and general political trust is large and convincing enough so that we feel no need to go into much details on this place.

In addition to general trust in political institutions, several scholars investigated the link between corruption and specific elements of trust, or trust in particular sectors of public sphere. As the previous research shows, higher corruption apparently leads also to lower trust in civil servants and state administration (Tverdova& Anderson, 2003; Hacek, Kukovic&Brezovsek, 2013), lower evaluation of the performance of and trust towards justice system and police (Kaariainen, 2007) and decrease satisfaction with public services (Bratton, 2007). Kaufmann and Wei (1999) analysed firm-level data and found that the increased level of corruption leads to more time that managers waste with state officials.

However, the causal path does not necessarily lead solely from the corruption perception to the political trust. Several authors have analysed the opposite causal relation recently. Wroe, Allan and Birch (2013) claim that they excluded the possible causal mechanism from the corruption perception to the political trust by two factors: temporal order of the respective items in the questionnaire and the hypothetical nature of the corruption perception items (for further details see Wroe et al. 2013, p. 182). Using the OLS regression, authors found the effect of the political trust on the corruption perception. However, they admit that there is a possibility that “respondents’ level of trust will have been influenced by their previous real-life perceptions of corruption” and thus the effect represents more the “quasi-experimental setting” of the data set “rather than the real world” (2013, p. 182)

Chang and Chu addressed the problem of mutual effect of the two phenomena in Asian countries differently. Authors employed the structural equation modelling and they modelled both of the causal effects simultaneously. As well as Wroe et al. (2013), the authors found the influence of the institutional trust on the corruption perception and concluded that there is a "vicious circle between corruption and institutional trust" and the two reinforce each other. Morris and Klesner (2010) focused on Mexico and approached the endogeneity problem in the same fashion as the previous authors. Additionally, they included also the interpersonal trust in the analysis. They conclude that the corruption perception does not influence interpersonal trust. However, they confirmed the incidence of the "vicious circle that perpetuates corruption, the perception of corruption, and low levels of trust" (2010, p. 1275). Babos (2012) attempted to isolate the one-way causal link leading from corruption experience to political trust by employing the multi-level modelling and operationalization of the concepts. The trust towards political institutions was based on the individual level questionnaire, while the corruption perception was operationalized at national level using the Transparency International's CPI. By definition, there is no causal mechanism that would explain how the individuals' replies in the survey would influence the country experts' opinion on the corruption perception, considering the country experts might not even be familiar with the opinion poll or its results. Babos (2012) found the effect of corruption perception on political trust at about the same magnitude as Anderson &Tverdova having more than 10 years gap between the collection of the respective datasets.

3. CORRUPTION EXPERIENCE vs. PERCEPTION

Clausen, Kraay and Nyiri (2011) published an exhaustive study on the relation between the corruption's perception, corruption experience and trust towards public institutions (military, judicial system, national governments and fairness of elections). Their findings show that the corruption in both forms decreases public confidence in the state institutions. However, the lowering effect of the corruption's perception is three times larger than the personal experience of the corrupted behaviour. As noted above, Morris and Klesner (2010) also highlighted the intertwined role of the corruption experience and perception in regard to institutional trust.

Olken (2009) studied the relationship between the corruption perception and corruption reality in Indonesian villages. He concluded that the link between the corruption perception and corruption reality (measured as 'missing expenditures') is rather weak. However, an important finding of Olken is that, in their perception, people can distinguish between the probability of general corruption in the country/district and corruption related to the specific project. The importance of this finding lies in the fact that it casts the shadow on the intuitive link between the corruption experience and perception. According to the logic of Olken's study, if people distinguish between the general corruption and the corrupt behaviour in a particular situation, there is no reason why experience with corrupt behaviour should automatically lead to higher corruption perception in general.

As it is clear, some of the authors confirmed that there is a link between the corruption experience and perception (e.g. Clausen et al. 2011), whileothers provide contradicting evidence (Olken 2009) arguing that people distinguish the general perception of corruption from the corruption specific to a project or an issue in their village or district.

We address this problem in the following way. Our analysis tests distinct causal paths leading from the corruption experience to the corruption-fighting trust. Firstly, we will model the direct causal influence between the two variables. Secondly, the model will test also an indirect causal path from corruption experience to the anti-corruption trust, leading through the corruption perception. Additionally, the model will also include the reverse causation leading from the anti-corruption trust towards the corruption perception. Actual method is discussed in further details in the section below.

Regarding the hypotheses, it is not easy to draw hypotheses for several reasons. Firstly, the previous research provides often contradictory or no evidence regarding the relationships we study. Since our focus is on a particularly narrow dimension of the institutional trust, to the best of our knowledge, there is no previous study exploring these dimensions. Therefore we cannot base our expectations on the previous research.

However, intuitively one could expect that higher corruption perception might decrease the trust in public institutions' anti-corruption measures. Therefore we will not speak about the hypotheses, but about our expectations. Regarding the two dimensions of corruption, experience vs. perception, the evidence is mixed. Additionally, none of the previous research focused particularly on Central Eastern Europe, which we do in this paper. Therefore we consider our research rather exploratory in this regard and therefore will not draw explicit hypotheses.

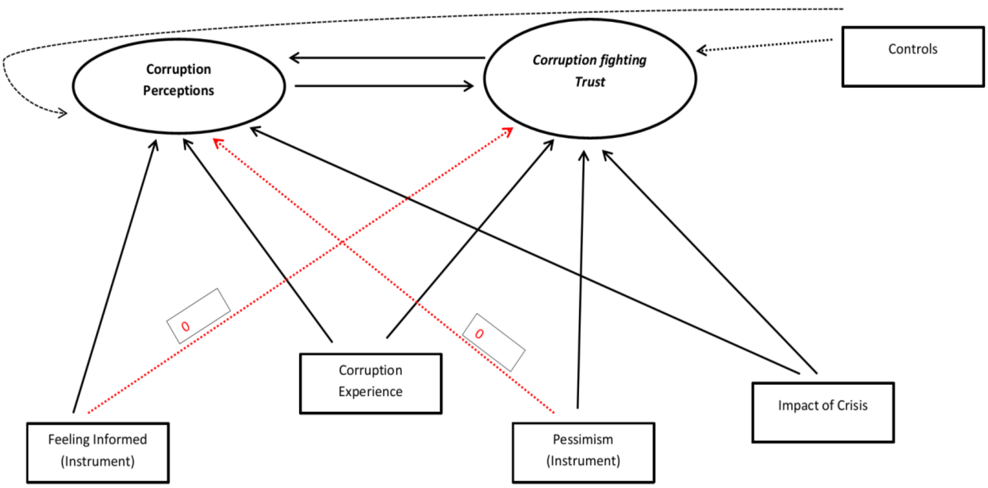
4. DATA AND METHODS

Conceptual Diagram

In order to estimate the strength of the expected relationships we employ the structural equation modelling. This method is especially appropriate in situations when the latent factors and/or reverse causation are present in the analysis (Hoyle, 1995). One of the advantages of the SEM is that it allows disentangling the reverse causation and separate direct from indirect causal paths. The SEM estimates a set of regression equations while it adjusts the standard errors according to specified mutual relations among the variables. As the estimation method we use maximum likelihood.

Conceptual diagram below shows the set of expected and tested relations, while simultaneously it represents the estimated equations. The observed variables are in squares, latent factors are depicted as an ellipse. For better readability the diagram does not show the error terms associated with the observed variables. The arrows indicate the expected causal relationships between variables.

Figure 1: Conceptual Diagram for Structural Equation Model



Briefly, what this diagram shows is a set of the expected causal relationships. According to it, the corruption experience should influences the corruption perception and the trust in anti-corruption performance. The job loss due to the crisis is expected to increase the corruption perception and decrease the trust in anti-corruption measures. The diagram also depicts the reverse causality between the corruption perception and trust.

In order to model and estimate the reverse causation we need instrumental variables. Consider our case – the reverse causality is expected between the corruption perception and corruption fighting trust. Instrumental variables should then, in theory, be related to the corruption perception but not to the trust, and the second instrument vice versa. As the instrumental variables we use the following. Firstly, the level to which a respondent feels he is informed about the corruption in a country. This level of informedness is related to the corruption perception, however, not to the anti-corruption trust. Secondly, there is the question asking about respondent's opinion on the future economic development. Since the economic indicators and forecasts are given and same for all within a country, we label this item as respondent's pessimism. Person's pessimism is then, in theory, related to the trust in anti-corruption performance and not related to the perception corruption. Section below discusses the dataset we use and operationalization of the main variables of interest.

Data and Variables

This study makes use of the Eurobarometermicrodata from September 2011. The survey included a special module on corruption and asked several questions regarding the corruption perceptions, experience and trust in state institutions' anti-corruption performance. This allows us to investigate the relations among different dimensions of corruption and the corruption-related institutional trust. Additionally, the survey includes also items on the financial crisis and thus enables analysing how the personal impact of the financial crisis conditions the relationship between corruption and institutional trust.

Regarding the corruption related variables, we use one original survey item and two constructed variables. For the corruption perception the survey asks respondents if they think “that the giving and taking of bribes, and the abuse of positions of power for personal gain, are widespread” (Eurobarometer 2011) in any of the 13 listed sectors (e.g. police, justice, health, education, etc.). Respondents can answer either yes or no. We use these answers to construct a variable representing person’s perception of corruption by adding up the number of positive responses on the corruption perception in the individual sector.

The variable indicating a direct personal experience with corruption is based on a similar question. The survey asks whether, within the last 12 months, has has anyone asked the respondent or expected the respondent, to pay a bribe for any service in the same 13 sectors as used in the perception question. If a respondent replied yes to any of the options, indicating that she was asked or expected to give a bribe in one of the sectors then such a person would have “yes value” on our corruption experience variable. In other words, our constructed variable indicates whether a person was, at least once over the last 12 months, asked or expected to pay a bribe regardless of who might be the bribe-taker.

Our analytical model treats the trust in the public institutions’ anti-corruption performance as a latent factor. The questionnaire includes several items that ask respondents about their opinion on different measures of the state that are supposed to eliminate corruption. In our model, we include four items asking about the efficiency of governmental efforts to fight corruption, successful prosecutors, court sentences and the transparency and supervision of the financing of political parties.

We define the personal impact of the crisis as a loss of job of a respondent or his/her family member as a direct consequence of the crisis. We acknowledge that this indicator is slightly problematic due to the fact that it is self-reported. It might well happened that a person blames the crisis for a job loss although the true reason might lie elsewhere. However, out of available measures in the questionnaire, we find the job loss to be most likely to influence one's behaviour and / or attitudes, compared to the general self-reported impact of the crisis or opinion on how economy is doing.

For the control variables we use both the standard demographic variables (age, gender, education) and some specific variables that are closely related to the topic under investigation (social level, left-right political orientation, level of informedness, etc.). The list of all the variables included in the model, together with the basic descriptive characteristics is listed in the Appendix 1.

5. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Before presenting the SEM estimation results we will briefly inspect some of the descriptive statistics. It seems that people in Slovenia are perceiving corruption to be more widespread than in Slovakia, with the mean score of 8.218 and 5.556, respectively. On the other hand, the direct experience with bribery seems to be much more encountered (or at least admitted having been encountered) in Slovakia. More than 30% of respondents admitted that they have been asked or expected to pay a bribe. There are only 7.64% respondents admitting the same in Slovenia. In Slovenia, on average, also more people claim to be informed about the corruption in their country, compared to Slovakia. In the former it is almost 50% of people, while 41.4% in the latter. As for the main socio-demographic variables, the two countries appear to be very similar, with the only one exception being the job loss as a direct consequence of the crisis. In Slovenia, about 26% of people claimed that they or their family member lost a job due to the crisis. In Slovakia there were more than 41% of such respondents. The full table with descriptive statistics listed separately for Slovenia and Slovakia is in Appendix 2.

The results of empirical analysis can be presented in different ways, either in a form of a conceptual diagram with the regression coefficients filled in, table with the regression coefficients or table with the direct, indirect and total effects the predictors have. Since the main goal of our analysis is to explore and test the specified relationships in a comparative perspective, we present the results in a form of a table with the regression results (table 1 below). Table with all the direct, indirect and total effects is in Appendix 3.

Table 1 presents three different model estimations. Although the model specification remains the same across models, the sample varies. The first model includes the pooled sample of Visegrad group countries (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia). Two remaining models represent national samples of Slovenia and Slovakia, respectively.

Table 1: Regression coefficients for selected models

Dependent Variable	Predictor	V4	Slovenia	Slovakia
Perception	Asked for bribe	0,480**	1,345	0,562[a]
	Feeling informed	0,604***	2,048**	0,804**
	Job Loss	0,344*	-0,446	0,100
	Social Level	0,062	-0,317	-0,040
	Left-Right	-0,019	-0,196	0,073
	Age	-0,015***	-0,016	-0,016[a]
	Male	-0,128	0,960[a]	-0,247
	Education	0,006	-0,007	0,022
	A-C Trust	0,997***	3,627[a]	1,036[a]

Trust	Asked for bribe	0,125	0,113	0,327
	Pessimism	0,489***	0,241*	0,313**
	Social Level	-0,132***	0,028	0,004
	Left-Right	-0,035 (a)	0,034	-0,050
	Job loss	0,212 (a)	0,246	0,412*
	Age	0,005*	0	0,010*
	Male	0,213**	0,017	0,213
	Education	0,009	0,019 (a)	-0,011
	Corruption Perception	0,108	-0,170	0,055

Source: Eurobarometer 76.1, September 2011

Note: (a) – significant at 0.1 level

* - significant at 0.05 level

** - significant at 0.01 level

*** - significant at 0.001 level

The aim of comparing the larger groups of countries in addition to just Slovenia and Slovakia istwo folded. Firstly, the causal mechanisms and behaviour might not be the same across countries and thus we wanted to inspect whether the causal links connecting different dimensions of corruption and the crisis impact varies in different countries or group of countries. As it is clear, not all the effects are shared across the selected models. Secondly, the sample size of a single country model is relatively small. Comparing the results, particularly the statistical significance of the coefficients might tell us whether the non-significant results might stem from the lack of statistical power (and thus committing the type-II error) or the effect is truly missing. We see that the significance is indeed higher (e.g. effect of informedness on corruption perception, or the effect of anti-corruption trust on corruption perception) with the larger sample size. This indicates that at least some of the statistical insignificance might stem from lack of power.

Regarding the substantial results, firstly we address the difference between the corruption perception and personal experience. The personal experience was measured as being asked or expected to pay a bribe in any of the given sectors of public life. Within the whole Central Eastern Europe the correlation between this measure of experience and corruption perception ranged from 0.045 (Estonia) to 0.180 (Bulgaria). In our final model, we dichotomised the corruption experience variable so that it distinguishes between encountering either none or at least one situation when asked for a bribe. The empirical analysis shows that there is a direct positive relationship between the two variables in question. In other words, persons who have been asked or expected to pay a bribe tend to perceive higher general corruption, although this varies across countries. In Slovakia the effect is at level of 0.562 (however, significant at 0.1 level). In Slovenia it seems to be larger than 1.3 point, however, not statistically significant.

As for the trust in public institutions' anti-corruption performance, the analysis provides no evidence that the corruption experience would have statistically significant direct effect. As well, the indirect effect leading to the trust through the corruption perception appears to be statistically insignificant.

When modelling the relationship between the anti-corruption trust and the corruption perception our model took into account the issue of possible reverse causality. Using two instrumental variables we estimated the separated influence the two factors have on each other. The results show that, on the one hand, there is no statistically significant influence that the corruption perception would exert on the anti-corruption trust. On the other hand, lower anti-corruption trust appears to be increasing the corruption perception. Simply, people perceive higher general corruption because they don't trust public institutions to be fighting corruption effectively, and not vice versa.

Our research also asked what has been the personal crisis impact on the corruption perception and anti-corruption trust. The crisis impact is measured as a job loss of a respondents or his family member directly due to the crisis. Firstly, there seems to be no statistically significant influence of the job loss on the corruption perception either in Slovenia or Slovakia. However, the indirect influence of the job loss is exerted via the anti-corruption trust. Person who has lost a job or his family member lost a job due to the crisis, is less trustful in the institutions' anti-corruption fight and consequently perceives higher general corruption. This indirect effect seems, however, statistically insignificant in Slovenia.

6. DISCUSSION&CONCLUSIONS

This paper investigated the relationship among corruption experience, corruption perception, anti-corruption trust and how the effect of the personal impact of crisis conditioned it. The structural equation modelling was used to address the possible reverse causality between the corruptions perception and anti-corruption trust.

Firstly we asked what the relationship is between corruption experience and corruption perception. The analysis provides evidence of only a weak link between the two. In Slovakia, corruption experience has a positive direct effect on the corruption perception, significant at the 0.1 level. In Slovenia, the effect is even larger, however, not statistically significant. Secondly, we addressed the problem of the possible reverse causation between corruption experience and trust. The findings show that there is no evidence for the effect of the corruption perception on the anti-corruption fight trust. Rather the contrary, the analysis indicates that it is the trust that influences person's perception of corruption.

Thirdly, we investigated the effect of the personal crisis impact on the corruption perception and anti-corruption trust. Having lost a job within a family does not seem to influence the corruption perception directly. However, the job loss does have a negative direct effect on the anti-corruption trust (insignificant in Slovenia, significant at the 0.05 level in Slovakia). This in turn means that the job loss influences the corruption perception indirectly, via lower trust.

The results of our findings are in line with some of the recent research. In accordance with Wroe et al. (2013) our analysis shows that the causal path goes from the person's trust to the perception of corruption, not vice versa, as suggested by others (e.g. Seligson, 2002; Hakhverdian& Quinton, 2012). Although it should be reminded that we operationalized trust rather narrowly – as the trust towards state institutions fighting corruption effectively. However, we don't see a reason why the relationship between the corruption perception and general institutional trust on the one hand, and between corruption perceptions and the anti-corruption trust on the other hand, should be diametrically different.

Our findings do not necessarily mean that there is strictly no effect of corruption perception on the institutional trust. What matters is indeed the operationalization. In our case, both of the variables were at individual level. In other words, we investigated the relationship between the trust a person holds towards the state institutions and the corruption perception of the very same person. In our research, we investigated the abovementioned relationships in separated country models (Slovakia and Slovenia). However, there is still a possibility that the corruption perception does have an effect on the institutional trust, if it is operationalized as a contextual variable in cross-country study design.

The effect of corruption experience on corruption perception in our analysis does not go against the Olkin's conclusions (2009). Although there seems to be positive relationship between the two (statistically significant at 0.1 level) in Slovakia, the maximum effect is 0.562 at the 15-point scale. This leaves considerably large space for many other factors to determine the corruption perception other than the direct experience. So the interpretation could be that people with the direct experience with corruption will only slightly increase the perception thereof, which is still compatible with Olkin's conclusion that people can distinguish the general corruption and the specific one. Assume that people would not be able to distinguish the general corruption from the specific experience they have had. Would we not expect a considerably higher maximum effect, possibly approaching 15 points?

Despite our best efforts to address the reverse causation issue and the relationship between the experience and perception of corruption, many questions remain still unanswered. If the previous research found that the corruption perception influences the institutional trust, while our study shows that it is the anti-corruption trust influencing the corruptions perceptions, the future research should answer to what extent the two types of trust are different. Although intuitively we would say that the trust as we operationalized it is the subcategory of the more general institutional trust, the intuition is not always right. Another way to go in the future is to study the difference between corruption perception of an individual (with varying values within a single country) and the corruption perception as a contextual variable (that is of the same value for all individuals within a single country). Thirdly, when it comes to the reverse causation between the corruption perception and trust, some interdisciplinary research with psychology could shed more light on the issue. Involving some processes regarding the formation of trust towards an institutions and formation of opinions on corruption might reveal more causal mechanisms in the problem that remains the notorious vicious circle for political scientists and sociologists for now.

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Appendix 1: Descriptive statistics

	Obs.	Mean	St.Dev.	Min	Max
SLOVAKIA					
Male (0 female; 1 male)	870	0,500	0,500	0	1
Asked for bribe (0 no; 1 yes)	870	0,300	0,459	0	1
Feeling informed about corruption (0 no; 1 yes)	864	0,414	0,493	0	1
Job loss due to crisis (0 no; 1 yes)	868	0,410	0,492	0	1
Pessimism	863	3,117	0,926	1	4
Social level self-placement	857	2,467	1,419	0	5
Political left-right self-placement	747	5,179	2,594	1	10
Age	870	43,809	16,590	15	90
Education (in years	860	16,869	6,468	0	39
Anti-Corruption Trust	839	9,086	2,114	0	12
Corruption perception	870	5,556	3,443	0	14
SLOVENIA					
Male (0 female; 1 male)	925	0,506	0,500	0	1
Asked for bribe (0 no; 1 yes)	925	0,076	0,266	0	1
Feeling informed about corruption (0 no; 1 yes)	918	0,497	0,500	0	1

Job loss due to crisis (0 no; 1 yes)	925	0,262	0,440	0	1
Pessimism	908	3,420	0,732	1	4
Social level self-placement	892	2,375	1,447	0	5
Political left-right self-placement	505	5,322	2,378	1	10
Age	925	46,716	17,831	15	90
Education (in years	918	16,785	7,545	0	72
Anti-Corruption Trust	887	10,165	1,782	3	12
Corruption perception	925	8,218	3,931	0	14

Note: Sampling weight was used

Appendix 2: Table of Direct, Indirect and Total Effects in Slovenia, Slovakia and the V4 Group of Countries

		SLO			SVK		
DEP. Variable	Predictor	*DIRECT EFFECT*	*INDIRECT EFFECT*	*TOTAL EFFECT*	DIRECT EFFECT	INDIRET EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT
Trust	Corruption experience	*0,113*	*-0,184*	*-0,071*	0,327	0,053	0,38
	Corruption perception	*-0,17*	*0,065*	*-0,105*	0,055	0,003	0,059
	Job loss due to crisis	*0,246*	*-0,047*	*0,199*	0,412	0,031	0,443
	Education (in years)	*0,019*	*-0,006*	*0,012*	- 0,011	0,001	-0,01
	Male	*0,017*	*-0,107*	*-0,09*	0,213	-0,002	0,211
	Age (in years)	*0*	*0,002*	*0,002*	0,01	0	0,01
	Left-Right self-placement	*0,034*	*0,008*	*0,041*	-0,05	0,001	-0,049
	Social level self-placement	*0,028*	*0,023*	*0,051*	0,004	-0,002	0,002
	Feeling informed	*0*	*-0,215*	*-0,215*	0	0,047	0,047
	Pessimism	*0,241*	*-0,092*	*0,149*	0,313	0,019	0,332
Perception	Corruption experience	*1,345*	*-0,258*	*1,086*	0,562	0,394	0,956
	Trust	*3,627*	*-1,382*	*2,245*	1,036	0,063	1,099
	Job loss due to crisis	*-0,446*	*0,721*	*0,275*	0,1	0,459	0,559

Education (in years)	*-0,007*	*0,045*	*0,038*	0,022	-0,01	0,012
Male	*0,96*	*-0,328*	*0,632*	-0,247	0,219	-0,029
Age (in years)	*-0,016*	*0,007*	*-0,009*	-0,016	0,01	-0,005
Left-Right self-placement	*-0,196*	*0,15*	*-0,046*	0,073	-0,05	0,022
Social level self-placement	*-0,317*	*0,183*	*-0,133*	-0,04	0,002	-0,038
Feeling informed	*2,048*	*-0,78*	*1,268*	0,804	0,049	0,853
Pessimism	*0*	*0,54*	*0,54*	0	0,344	0,344

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