Content beyond Vocational Skills: The Broader Spectrum of Students' Socialization

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Abstract

The goals of this paper are to reveal the process of institutional effects in higher education and to identify those components that can be classified as being beyond vocational skills. The topicality of this analysis is embedded in the transformation of universities, which can create a new framework for students' socialization process. Two different methods were used during our research: a questionnaire with students (N = 1502) on a nationwide sample in Hungary and 31 interviews with lecturers. According to our empirical findings, the effects of higher education are very complex, and vocational elements are not the only content that is transmitted. Students can perceive the components of moral effects at a high level, and general knowledge has acquired great importance, too. With the help of the lecturers' interviews, we can identify the most important aims of the teaching process, which extend beyond the vocational elements, and at the same time, the barriers to and possibilities offered by this transmission.

Keywords: higher education, students' socialization, institutional effects, vocational skills, lecturers

Introduction

The process of students' socialization was formed by the ongoing evolution of the mass higher educational system, the efforts of various educational policies, the market-like situation developing among institutions, and the circumstances of universities in terms of culture and lifestyle. The level of students' integration seems to be weakening in the current situation and since practical elements have presumably become more significant, we may suppose the dominance of vocational elements in the field of students' socialization process. In this paper, we intend to reveal this process by focusing both on vocational skills and the elements which are located beyond vocational components—for example, moral elements, beliefs, or socially oriented practices.

The novelty of this paper is primarily in the quantitative techniques applied and the combination of different ones. We created a question block with 16 items that cover the perceived effects of higher education. The elements of this process are generally assessed through interviews in the literature, but this technique creates specific barriers to analysis. We were able to identify the components of institutional effects with means and the patterns of elements with factor analysis. In addition, a linear regression model was used because we intended to map the factors which can form these patterns. Secondly, we completed this method using qualitative techniques. Another novelty of this paper is the location of the research because the Hungarian higher education system has particular characteristics—the effects of post-socialist systems or the semi-peripheral position in the academic field.

The Process of Students' Socialization

After entering higher education, the students' socialization process starts. The final stage of any type of socialization process is a membership of an organization or a group, the transformation and internalization of values, beliefs, and the elements of a culture, and the transformation of identity. During this change, people acquire new knowledge and skills and their dispositions may be changed (Bogler & Somech, 2002). The institutional aims include the elements of preparation for the various professions, so this is the final stage of students' socialization in some models. Three fields of transformation are identified by Kaufman and Feldman (2004): intelligence (e.g., critical and analytical thinking, language use), vocational identity, and cosmopolitanism (wider cultural horizons, a sense of taste or habitus, etc.). Parsons divided the socialization process into technical and moral elements (Gordon, 2005). In this paper, we analyze the transformation of students from a wider perspective, and we highlight that professional elements are not the only core contents.

The educational policy and the transformation of universities generate new circumstances in which this transformation takes place and several changes in the field of students' socialization can be explained from this perspective. The transformation of cultural consumption (Peterson & Kern, 1996), the features of the labor market, and changes in the student body and the faculty (Gordon, 2010) all create a new system of conditions in which this process takes place.

The university is a formal institution, and its features—its size, mission, the type of institutional control, and so forth—can shape the conditions of this process (Weidman, 2005). In the differentiated world of higher education, the system of the conditions can vary.

Besides several subcultures, various institutional climates can be identified within a single institution (Pusztai, 2015) at the level of departments or faculties. Attitudes and characteristics which belong to the final stage of students' socialization process differ according to disciplinary fields—for example, from the perspective of values (Knafo & Sagiv, 2004). McInnis (2010) states that the disciplines' own norms and rules (Neave, 2009) also create different organizational cultures.

The socio-cultural background of students can shape the trajectory and starting point of students' socialization (Esomonu & Okeaba, 2016; Weidman, 2005), and individual investments can be affected by this trajectory as well (Weidman, 2005). Bogler and Somech (2002) analyzed the motivation of students and differentiated between scholastic and instrumental types. Instrumental motivation aims to acquire practical skills, while scholastic motivation prioritizes academic aims. The effectiveness of socialization depends on the level of academic integration. The density of peer interaction can raise the level of integration as well as the feeling of belonging, the acceptance of institutional values, and participation in extracurricular activities (Brower, 1992). Kaufman and Feldman (2004) also highlight the role of interactions.

In addition to the new frameworks and internal content of students' socialization, we can identify the most important resources of the effects. Knowledge elements, the influence of various disciplines, the lecturers, the formal and informal networks inside the universities, cultural and vocational events, and professional practice can all impact interactions, learning, involvement, and integration. Pusztai (2015) emphasizes that students have an important role in building socialization frames and improvement of institutional norms and culture; so, the picture of purely passive and receptive students is not valid.

The Changing Features of Universities

The transformation of higher education obviously creates a new framework for students' socialization. This process is widely analysed and described (Bok, 2005; Fitzgerald, 2012) and several elements (marketization, closer relationships with industry, quantification of lecturers' work, regarding students as consumers, the dominance of market-oriented applied research projects, etc.) have been identified. Naidoo (2005) highlighted that the consequences of this turning point are, among others, the following: academic practices have become "goods", a passive and instrumental attitude toward learning has been created, and the predisposition to create knowledge and critical attitudes has been reduced.

If the process of teaching becomes alienated (Barnett, 2000), the mechanism of students' socialization changes. The content of teaching narrows the range of skills that need to be transferred, and the practical and instrumental effects become more and more dominant. The most important goal of the students is to get a good grade, along with practical and quickly utilizable skills. The effects of universities are complex but, as a result of this situation, the elements beyond the vocational content may lose their importance. If the attitude of students has changed, and the institutions must follow the demands of the student body, it creates a shift that is also manifest in the whole process of teaching.

Integration into campus life is also a particularly important feature. However, some changes in undergraduates' lifestyles—taking part in paid work or in joint training courses, attending a "commuter campus," and so forth—may reduce the extent of on-campus peer networks, attendance at social and cultural events, the probability of research activities and the time students spend on campus. Large groups of students on the same training course or in the same classroom can make conversations with lecturers inside and outside the classroom less frequently.

Lähteenoja and Pirttilä-Backman (2005) point out that the role of universities in students' lives has changed due to the fact that institutions have become more vocation-oriented.

Beyond the vocational Elements

We can identify those elements which are located beyond the limits of vocational content. One optional field is the transmission of values throughout the whole educational system (Bonnett, 2005; Currie, 2000), and the academic literature defines this content as norms, use of language, behavior, moral principles, and many cognitive elements which are not deeply involved in the framework of the given disciplines. Usherwood (2010) highlights that in the past, universities used to be places where critical thinking, exchanges of views, and intellectual debates could take place. General knowledge is still closely related to this additional content. If students' attitudes toward higher education institutions are rather utilitarian and practical, it may be questionable whether we can expect undergraduates to be involved in the transmission of these elements. If undergraduates do not consider these elements to be important enough, they are more likely to avoid courses that are theoretical or which extend beyond their profession. The disciplines, the size of the institution, the features of the student body and the faculty,

and the position of universities on the research or teaching-oriented axes can influence this transmission. The dominance of mass culture and the all-consuming culture, the appreciation of leisure time in young adulthood, and the working method of universities, which regards students as consumers, have changed in the in-campus cultural space.

About the Situation of Lecturers

Gordon (2010) highlighted that research projects which try to reveal the identity and working conditions of lecturers received greater attention after the Millennium. Enders (2009) summed up the earlier and later characteristics of this profession. In the past these professions operated as guilds and organically integrated the elements of teaching and research with autonomy and academic freedom which were all important parts of this occupation. Of course, these earlier circumstances were not the same in every country and every segment of higher education, and we can find differences in different disciplines, as well (Reuben, 1996). According to Enders (2009), several shifts—a new type of leadership, marketization, globalisation, quality assurance and audit process, and so forthreated a new situation in which this profession lost its earlier prestige (de-professionalization) and some of its core elements—autonomy, academic freedom—and became a "mass occupation." In this new situation the distance between teaching and learning became wider (Naidoo, 2005; Scott, 2005), and the growing importance of research, the increasing number of students, the need to publish in the field, and the clearly defined fields of research projects can all reduce the importance of teaching—especially the transmission of content which is located beyond the sphere of vocations understood in a narrow sense. Naidoo (2005) noted that the whole profession had become fragmented and the internal, immanent value of teaching had lost its relevance. White (2012) suggested that the role of ideas and inspiring students take a back seat. Lecturers must adapt to this new world of higher education—and this can be complicated because these lecturers were socialized in more closed and more elitist institutions. This may generate a feeling of discrepancy. But the consequences are not only negative: lecturers are required to turn to the outside world and communicate in other forms.

The Hungarian Situation

The roots of the Hungarian higher education system were similar to the Humboldtian model. During the communist regime, the number of students was limited, and the control of the state was strong in all respects. The expansion started in the late '90s, and it seems to have stopped in the last five years. During this process, a strongly fragmented system

was established: the number of students rose intensively but the number of lecturers did not change. The turn to marketization, a consumer attitude (Veroszta, 2010), and more controlled forms of lecturers' working conditions (Pusztai & Szabó, 2008) are visible. The educational policy tends to be centralizing; Polónyi (2013) analyzed the texts of the transformations of Higher Educational Acts and highlighted that the aim of the courses is increasingly limited to vocational elements. Barakonyi (2009) collected the features of the so-called "Bologna Hungaricum" and emphasized the presence of the early specialization in the vocational field right at the beginning of the course, the centrally directed course offers, and the lack of "intellectual" elements in the course contents.

Hypotheses

According to the theoretical frameworks, the following hypotheses were formulated:

> H1. When describing the system of institutional effects, the highest effects correspond to vocational content, according to Bok (2004) and Fitzgerald (2012). The vocational items are the following: "competence in your own discipline" and "knowledge of scientific literature"—we suppose that these items have the highest means when a scale is used.

> H2. The institutional effects are embedded primarily in disciplines if a linear regression model is run—the dependent variables are the factors of institutional effects: public-oriented, social and moral, vocational—according to Reuben (1996). Significant relationships and coefficients are analyzed in this case. We suppose that the coefficients for disciplines are higher than those for socioeconomic variables—gender, parental education, economic capital, and so forth—, the size of the university, the type of training program, student performance, and the level of "on-campus" integration. We also assume that every factor of institutional effects is embedded in the disciplines.

In the qualitative section of our study, hypotheses have not been formulated, but we analyze the following research questions:

> R1. Regarding lecturers' intentions during the teaching process (what elements they would like to transmit), what segments can be identified behind vocational contents (moral, knowledge-oriented, etc.)?

> R2. What barriers are identified to this transmission process from the lecturers' perspective?

Materials and Methods

Quantitative Analysis

Our quantitative analysis is based on data from a nationwide survey conducted in 2018 in Hungary with 1502 respondents (Family and Career Research project under Ágnes Engler's supervision). Students from eleven Hungarian higher education institutions were selected to participate through stratified sampling with respect to the field of study as well as the geographical region and size of the institution. Of the eleven institutions in the sample, which were chosen based on their location and the disciplines of their offered programs, three were based in the capital city of Budapest, while the others were based in other towns. The sample included data on full-time undergrduate and graduate students as well as students of undivided programs which offer a master's degree. Students in their first year of university were not included in the sample.

As far as the field of study is concerned, a classification was put in place to reduce the number of disciplines throughout the research project. As a result, nursing was regarded as a field of medicine, social sciences included business studies, economics, and law, while computer science was classified as engineering. Teacher education students were characterized based on the discipline they would become teachers of: for example, prospective foreign language teachers were considered students of humanities.

In the course of the research project, we used the literature to create a questionnaire containing eighteen items, which were meant to investigate all aspects of intellectuals' activities as well as their role components. Each item was evaluated by the surveyed students on a 1−4 scale (ἁ = 0.812). During the mapping of institutional effects, 16 items from this list were used (two elements could be not interpreted from this perspective, ἁ = 0.822). The factors of institutional effects were identified based on these items.

In the linear regression model, the independent variables were the following: disciplines (with dummy coding, the reference category was Agronomy), the location of the institution (capital city or other towns),[1] the size of the student body in the institution (0=below 15,000 students, 1=above). One group of variables relates to the students' background: gender (1=man, 0=woman), economic capital (measured by an index with consumer goods in the family),[2]

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[1] One institution was considered separately because some parts of its courses take place in the capital city and others in smaller towns.

[2] The elements of the index were the following: Does the family have its own apartment or house, holiday home or other similar-sized property, a car, a flat-screen television, a personal computer, or laptop with broadband internet access at home, a tablet or e-book reader, mobile internet (on the phone or on the computer), a dishwasher, an air-conditioner, and a smartphone? Overall, 10 items were used (0=not possessed by the household, 1= possessed by the household). The mean of this index was 7.26 (SD = 1.64). 19 items were used, the maximum value was 10, and the minimum was 0 in the whole sample.

the type of settlement (with a dummy coding, the reference category was the smaller city) the type of training course (bachelor, master or combined; the reference category was the bachelor course), the integration into peer networks on campus (measured with an index, so this was a continuous variable),[3] parental educational background (measured with years and used as a continuous variable,mother and father separately) and student achievement during high school and university years (measured with an index and used as a continuous variable).[4]

Qualitative Analysis

During the qualitative part of our research, 31 interviews with lecturers from 12 disciplines and 10 towns were recorded from September 2019 to July 2020. These were semi-structured interviews, and the lecturers were asked to reflect on their opinions about intellectuals and intellectual roles, the features of the student body and students' socialization, the institutional climate, their teaching methods, and their own work. In this analysis, only the elements they would like to transfer and the barriers to this process will be discussed. The outline of the interview contains the following two questions: "In what way can the university shape students?" and "What content would you like transmit to students during the teaching process?" The barriers to the transmission and the techniques used we associated with the other parts of the interviews.

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[3] The elements were the following: whether there is a person at the university who talks with you about your learning problems, private problems, future, career plans, academic issues, literature or culture or public issues, fine arts, who spends their free time with you, who looks after you if you are sick, from whom you could borrow a book or broadsheets, someone you study together with. Overall, 11 items were used (0=not possessed at the campus, 1=possessed at the campus). The mean of this index was 8.47 (SD=2.72). The maximum value was 11, and the minimum was 0 in the whole sample.

[4] The elements were the following: I have a CV in a foreign language, I am/was a member of a talent nurturing program; I am/was a member of a college for advanced studies; I have got my own research topic; I got extra points during the admission due to my results in academic competitions; I got extra points during the admission due to my comprehensive (i.e. written and oral) language exam at intermediate level; I got extra points during the admission due to my language exam at advanced level; I have passed a basic level comprehensive language exam; I got extra points during the admission due to my results in the field of sport; I won a scholarship during my high school years in the field of fine arts or sport; I won a scholarship during my high school years in an academic field; I have got or had a private student; I wrote a thesis for the National Academic Students' Association Conference or other conference or I have had work published; I am/was an instructor at the university or I take part in the student union; I won a scholarship during my university years due to my academic activities and I won a scholarship during my high school years due to my high grade point average. Overall, 16 items were used (0=not possessed, 1=possessed). The mean of this index was 3.24 (SD = 2.60). 16 items were used, the maximum value was 16, and the minimum was 0 in the whole sample.

The following categories collected from the texts are those which are to be found beyond the "pure" vocational content: professional ethics, moral elements, critical thinking, tolerance, adequate and critical usage of information resources, language and behavioral components, the consumption of high culture, international perspective and the wider framework of thinking, general knowledge, helping attitude, creativity, and public activity. The presence and lack of categories were analyzed with content analysis (Kvale, 1996). The barriers to the transmission process were determined by content analysis too, and we distinguished three main explanations.

Results

Quantitative Analysis
Participants

The female share in the sample amounted to 56%. As for the level of education, the overwhelming majority were undergraduate students, while about 10% were masters students or students of undivided programs. Most students in the sample studied engineering (N = 388), medicine (N = 277), or humanities (N = 266). The least popular fields of study were theology (N = 55) and agricultural sciences (N = 26). The latter was used as a reference category in the linear regression analysis. As far as the parents' educational attainment is concerned, 16.2% of mothers and 27.4% of fathers did not have any substantial qualifications. In contrast, the ratio of those with a tertiary degree was 38% among mothers, and 30% among fathers. As for the original place of residence, 25.5% of students came from a rural background. As much as 45.8% of students were originally from a small town. Relatively few students came from county seats (19%) or the capital (9.4%).

Three institutions are in the capital, Budapest, and 24.5% attend these universities. When we separated the smaller institutions from the larger ones (the limit was set at 15,000 students in the year of the research), 52.9% attended institutions with more than 15,000 students. These universities are the largest research universities in the country, with a broad spectrum of disciplines.

Quantitative Findings

Table 1 illustrates the institutional effects. These effects have a mixed pattern because vocational and other (moral, knowledge-oriented, independence, habitus-based, and so forth) factors seem to be intertwined in them. Items that refer to the macro level are displayed at the end of the table. According to previous empirical research, Hungarian students often display utilitarian characteristics (Veroszta, 2010).

The table highlights how students are influenced by institutions in a complex way, which is in slight contrast to the transformation of higher education institutions towards a rather vocational path as highlighted by the literature. It seems that macro-structural factors and public considerations are not that important.

Table 1

Institutional Effects as Perceived by Students

	M	SD
Competence in the field of your own discipline	3.2	0.72
Knowledge of scientific literature	3.0	0.84
Benevolence and beauty	2.9	0.91
General knowledge	2.8	0.83
Being a role model. Improving the local community and society.	2.7	0.92
Spreading and using research findings. Improving society.	2.7	0.83
Independence (from institutions and politics)	2.6	0.93
Consumption of high culture	2.5	0.89
Creating scientific or artistic products	2.5	0.94
Analysing and criticizing social phenomena	2.5	0.94
Preservation of national identity and culture	2.5	0.97
Mediation between social groups or pressure groups	2.4	0.92
Contribution to and spreading of European and/or global culture. Setting up international relationships.	2.4	0.89
Taking part in public affairs and fulfilling public functions	2.4	0.93
Participating in public debates and having a presence in the media	2.1	0.95
Controlling authority, criticizing, and taking part in demonstrations	2.0	0.93

Note. N = min. 1208 per row

Table 2 provides detail on the factors concerning institutional effects. The model includes as many as 12 items, which shed a unique light on institutional roles. It is straightforward to interpret the "public-oriented" role. The role of a "social and moral" encompasses various items in relation to the readiness to provide help, engagement with the local community and national culture, and mediation between different groups in society. The "vocational" role, which includes, among others, the "consumption of high culture," resembles to a large extent the vocational model as well as the classical idea of a higher education institution aimed at research. We may conclude that this institutional effect is not unambiguously oriented towards the market or commercial purposes.

Table 2

The Factors of Institutional Effects on Intellectual Roles

	Public-oriented	Social and moral	Vocational
Competence in the field of your own discipline	-.060	.263	**.436**
Taking part in public affairs and fulfilling public functions	**.675**	.251	.128
Participating in public debates and having a presence in the media	**.818**	.155	.130
Consumption of high culture	**.355**	.274	**.472**
Knowledge of scientific literature	.022	.174	**.567**
Creating scientific or artistic products	.296	.108	**.526**
Being a role model. Improving the local community and society.	.206	**.627**	.175
Independence (from institutions and politics)	.209	**.430**	.175
Benevolence and beauty	-.044	**.678**	.271
Preservation of national identity and culture	.255	**.539**	.194
Controlling authority, criticizing, and taking part in demonstrations	**.602**	.101	.011
Mediation between social groups or pressure groups	**.357**	**.518**	.140

Note. N = 1502. The extraction method was a maximum likelihood method with varimax rotation. KMO = .0.842. Factor loadings above .30 are in bold. The value of explained variance was 42.520%.

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In the next phase of our quantitative analysis, linear regression models were run and the independent variables were the factors of institutional effects. The list of dependent variables is summed up in the Methodology section of this paper. Table 3 contains the results of linear regression models.[5] The effects are slightly embedded in the undergraduates' social background (except the effect of the capital city in the case of the "social and moral" factor), but the presence of students on campus and the features of training courses and institutions can shape the analyzed fields. The effects of disciplines can work in the case of the "social and moral" factor.

Table 3

The Regression Model of Institutions Effects (beta values)

	Public-oriented	Social and moral	Vocational
	β	β	β
Constant	.529	.636	-.171
Gender[a]	-.056	.048	-.013
Type of settlement[b]			
Village	-.018	-.021	-.071
County town	-.066	.009	-.011
Capital city	0.44	**-.123****	-.066
Parental educational level			
Mother's educational attainment (with completed years of education)	-.046	.003	.090
Father's educational attainment (with completed years of education)	.051	-.052	-.086
Economic capital (with index)	-.063	-.045	-.020
Achievement (with index)	**.092***	-.019	.084
Integration with peers on campus (with index)	**-.113***	**.099****	**.099***

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[5] The "public-oriented" factor is equal to + 0.529 + 0.092 (ACHIEVEMENT) - 0.113 (INTEGRATION WITH PEERS ON CAMPUS) - 0.210 (Master's course) + 0.274 (THE SIZE OF THE UNIVERSITY). A significant regression equation was found $F_{(19, 474)} = 5.303$, $p < .05$) with an adj. R^2 of .147. The "social and moral" factor is equal to + 0.636 - 0.123 (CAPITAL CITY) + 0.099 (INTEGRATION WITH PEERS ON CAMPUS) + 0.146 (Master's course) − 0.223 (ENGINEERING) + 0.223 (THEOLOGY). A significant regression equation was found $F_{(19, 474)} = 5.164$, $p < .05$) with an adj. R^2 of .143. The "vocational" factor is equal to - 0.171 + 0.099 (INTEGRATION WITH PEERS ON CAMPUS) - 0.111 (COMBINED COURSE). A significant regression equation was found $F_{(19, 474)} = 2.373$, $p < .05$) with an adj. R^2 of .0.52.

	Public-oriented	Social and moral	Vocational
	β	β	β
The type of training course			
Master's course (0=no, 1=yes)	**-.210*****	**-.146*****	-.013
Combined course[c]	-.30	-.082	**.111***
Disciplines[d]			
Humanities	-.043	-.083	.068
Social sciences	.134	-.064	.067
Science	.047	-.131	.078
Engineering	-.016	**-.223***	.010
Medical Studies	.059	-.085	-.014
Arts	.032	-.002	.126
Theology	.097	**.223****	.075
The size of the university[e]	**.274*****	-.068	-.105
Adj. R²	0.147	.143	.052

Note. N = 1502, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.
[a] 1=man, 0=woman   [b] Dummy coding, ref.: smaller city   [c] 0=no, 1=yes
[d] Dummy coding, ref.: smaller city   [e] 0=below 15,000, 1=above

Qualitative Analysis
Participants

The features of respondents with their numbers are shown in Table 4. With the sampling method, we attempted to cover all segments of the Hungarian higher educational system. Two church-run institutions were selected, too—one runs theology courses as well, and the other does not. The lecturers from these institutions taught humanities (2 interviewees), social sciences (1 interviewee), and health sciences (1 interviewee).

Table 4

The Number of Interviewees, According to Disciplines and Cities

Disciplines	Cities (with codes)									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Fine arts	1, 2									
Medicine		3, 4								
Health science			25						26	

Disciplines	Cities (with codes)									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Agronomy			5, 6							27
Law	7, 8									
Engineering		9	10							
Economics				11, 12						
Social sciences (social work, sociology, social pedagogy)		23					24		29	
Humanities and pedagogy		20, 21			13, 14	15		22		
Science	30			28			16, 17			
Informatics	18, 19									
Sport science				31						

Qualitative Findings

We formed the following categories, which are based on the academic literature and the texts of interviews: professional ethics and professionalism, moral elements, critical thinking, tolerance, language and behavioral components, international perspective, general knowledge, helping attitude and public presence. We analyzed the presence of these contents in the texts of the interviews but during the processing of the texts, we had to create other categories which were frequently used by lecturers (consumption of high culture, creativity, and problemsolving, tolerance, the adequate and critical use of information resources, and transformation of personality). Some interviewees take part in mentor programs and formal spaces within the talent nurturing system—in these frameworks the transformation of personality is an important factor.

We observed that some categories contained persistent additional elements—professional ethics, the so-called "calling" (Hirschi, 2011) and the pleasure of being in the profession (interviewees 3, 4, and 6) and the moral components fitted into the transmission of traditions and values (1, 2 and 27). Critical thinking was linked to the formation of independent opinions (10 and 20), having an international perspective to thinking in wider systems, and searching for alternatives (5, 8, 19, 21, and 23). Tolerance remained in a close relationship with the removal of prejudice (9 and 29).

The helping attitude category included justice and solidarity in two cases (21, 26), and the use of information resources generally contained the conscious use of the Internet and the filtering of fake news (both in the field of general news and in terms of vocational content—18, 22).

In terms of the frequencies of the categories, two lecturers typified their aims in the field of teaching only through vocational content (4, 31). These interviewees come from the disciplines of medicine and sports science. In the other cases, a comprehensive set of planned effects can be seen, and we can identify a wide range of planned aims in the field of teaching (Figure 1).

Figure 1

The Intended Aims beyond the Vocational Content, According to the Interviewees (the Presence of Categories in the Case of Respondents)[6]
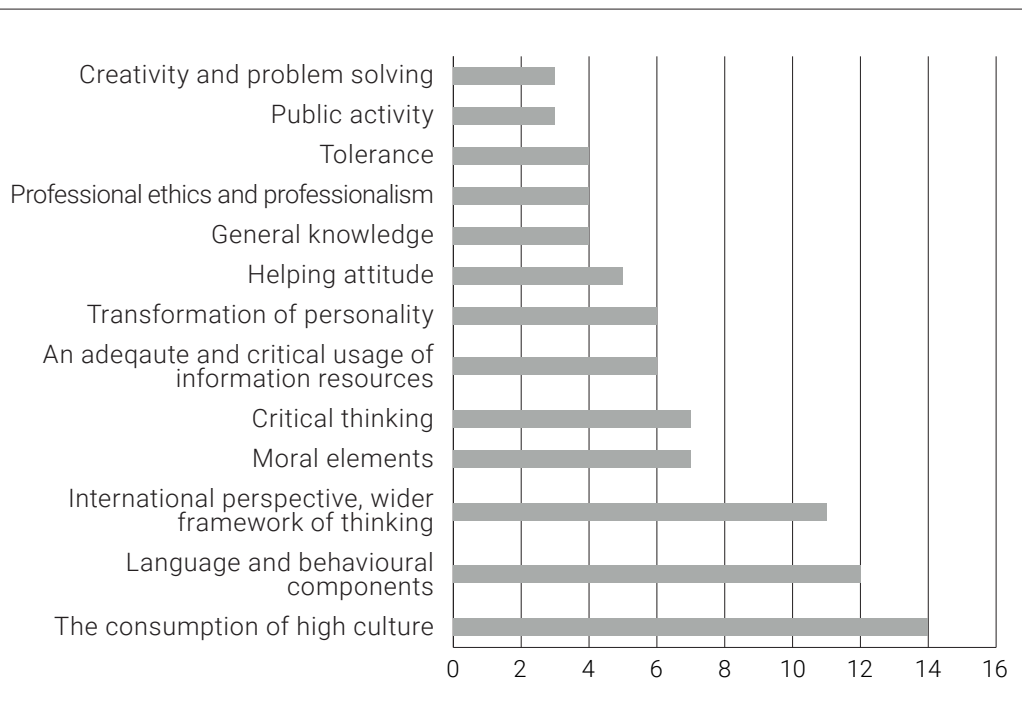
[6] The categories can be observed in the case of the following interviewees: the consumption of high culture (1, 2, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, and 27); language and behavioural components (2, 5, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, and 28); international perspective (5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, and 30.); moral elements (1, 2, 10, 21, 26, 27, and 29); critical thinking (7, 10, 12, 13, 21, 23, and 24); use of information resources (7, 12, 19, 27, 28, and 29); helping attitude (3, 13, 21, 26, and 29); transformation of personality (8, 9, 10, 13, 26, and 29); general knowledge (1, 2, 12, and 27); professional ethics and professionalism (3, 4, 6, and 27); tolerance (9, 20, 21, and 29); public activity (7, 23, and 24); and creativity and problem solving (27, 29, and 30).

The lecturers try to reach these goals consciously and using various methods. These practices are part of their classroom activities, and they try to transmit them with the help of dialogues or training sessions with students (1, 9, 13, and 27). The use of literary texts (13, 14, 17, 22, and 23) visits to galleries or social events (1, 2, 6, 11, 19, 22, 24, and 26) or the recommendation of films and books seem to be typical (1, 8, 10, 20, 24, and 27). Lecturers are sometimes seen as role models who can shape students' behavior or thinking (10, 17, and 24).

The barriers to transmission can be identified, too. Three different explanations can be identified within the lecturers' opinions. Firstly, there are the problems which derive from secondary education—and sometimes from primary school—and the process of expansion (8, 10, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30). Skills in the field of reading, writing, and mathematics belong to this group, and specific problems can be observed in the field of Science due to the shifts in the curricula which generate the lower number of classes e.g., in Chemistry, Biology, or Geography. The repetition of the earlier syllabus makes the whole climate of the university similar to secondary education. The second barrier is embedded in the working method of the institution and the features of students' life (4, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, and 26). The high number of students and working hours, the fragile balance between teaching, research, and administration reduce the possibilities of transmission for lecturers. The teacher-fronted teaching style of secondary schools may restrict dialogue in the classroom and widen the distance between lecturers and students—sometimes breaking down this gap takes two or three semesters. Moreover, the features of students' campus presence have been changed by paid work and commuting. The third explanation is based on the features of the young cohort (1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 23, 24, and 27). The different ways of using the Internet, accessing information resources, and the contents of peer dialogues create a dividing wall between lecturers and students and the different cultural spaces reduce the efficiency of dialogue. These differences can show up in the attitudes toward education and knowledge, too. The lower efficiency of lectures is mentioned by interviewees (11, 13, 15, 22, and 24). In two cases (10, 14), the distance between generations seems to be wide, but this distance does not have a negative or restrictive sense.

Discussion

In our first hypothesis, we assumed the dominance of vocational elements among institutional effects. As Table 1 shows, this hypothesis can be verified because "competence in the field of your own discipline" was ranked first and "knowledge of academic literature" second. However, undergraduates perceive other segments of

institutional effects, and these elements do not belong to the more narrowly interpreted vocational skills and contents. Moral elements, general knowledge, independence—which may be related to free-floating intellectuals (Mannheim, 1993)—, the improvement of local communities, and high culture are in the top half of the list. We can state that despite the utilitarian and practical aspirations of national and institutional policies, the universities' effects are complex, and the public and critical elements seem to be less important.

Our second hypothesis supposes the significant effects of disciplines in the regression models. This hypothesis was not verified. As Table 3 shows, the effects of the universities are hardly embedded in the disciplines. Only two significant relationships can be detected: engineering and theology can form the "social and moral" factor. At the same time, students' presence on campuses seems to be more important, and this result confirms theories of institutional socialization such as those of Weidman (2005) or Pascarella and Terenzini (1991). However, the directions of peer integration are diverse —it can increase the "social moral" but not the "public-oriented" factor—so the high level of integration cannot mediate the whole spectrum of institutional effects. As we could see earlier, these macro-social and critical elements are perceived less by students, but they are characteristic of some segments of higher education—the large research universities above 15,000 students—and remain in a close relationship with high-level achievement. The Master's course—perhaps because it fits more closely into the labormarket— reduces both this "public-oriented attitude" and the "social and moral" at the same time. The combined courses include training courses—such as lawyers, doctors, or teachers— that can be considered "professions" (Fónai, 2012)—perhaps this is the explanation for the significant relationship in the case of the "vocational" factor.

Two lecturers characterize their teaching goals as "purely" vocational, but some of them explain this attitude as resulting from the barriers to transmission—the high number of students, the significant workload of students and lecturers at the same time, and too much curricular content. Most lecturers try to transmit a wide range of elements—the consumption of high culture, moral elements—, and have specific techniques to do this. These techniques are developed during classroom practice or in the framework of extra-curricular activities, as well. The barriers to this transmission process are complex: some elements are embedded in the secondary education system, and others in the operation of universities, the current features of students' life, and the effects of the age gap between students and lecturers. It is obvious that these educational circumstances require adaptation from lecturers, who have had to change their working process and teaching methods as the whole spectrum

of students' socialization—aims, frameworksand so forth—has shifted. According to the interviews, the transformation of the student body and this process form undergraduates' skills, habitus, and knowledge. Lecturers need to use new teaching methods and communication forms, and need to start the vocational socialization from other funds—but their opportunities can be limited, and they may find this new situation less comfortable.

Our quantitative and qualitative results confirm the fact that students' socialization process cannot be described by vocational elements alone, but also by the working methods of institutions, the working conditions of lecturers, and the exceptional students who move the whole system in these directions. The patterns of these effects—which were identified with various factors—are embedded in institutional features—the size of the university—, the type of training course, the different fields of students' integration and behaviour—integration with peers, achievement—, but less so in socioeconomic variables. The effects of different disciplines are not significant, except for the "social and moral" factor; however, according to the academic literature, we suppose there are sharp distinctions among arts, sciences, and social sciences. The patterns seem to be different in the case of the master's level, which may indicate the existence of a special form of student integration at this level. The patterns of the institutional effects of the large research universities seem to be more public-oriented.

With the help of the interviews, we can describe lecturers' intentions. However, we must be aware that intentions are not the same as real effects and the methods of transmission which operate in every situation. Some institutions have a strong profile in the fields of "helping attitude" and "moral elements" (these are the church-run universities—26, 29, 20, and 21), and "transformation of personality" is more significant in those segments of higher education in which the socio-cultural background of students is lower—humanities, social sciences, agronomy or engineering. In these cases, the elements of transmission are frequently formalized—mentor programs, a system of tutoring, special lectures in the curricula—, and students turn may to lecturers with their private problems—death in the family, problems with accommodation, and so forth. Lecturers can generally see the barriers to this transmission process; sometimes they feel in an alienated situation (8, 11, and 25). The explanation of this feeling may be the transformation of the universities—the lecturers' socialization process was conducted in a different context, and generally occurred before the expansion process. Some lecturers (8, 9, and 11) high-lighted that the integration of students seems to be less intense than in earlier decades, so the institutional effects—whether they be the starting point, lecturers, social events, peer-group effects, and so forth—operate at lower efficiency in the current situation.

Naturally, our research has some limitations. Firstly, although we tried to reach a wide range of institutions and disciplines, our database and interviewees are not representative. Secondly, the analysis was conducted before the global pandemic. To sum up our empirical findings, we cannot create a model which describes the entire Hungarian higher education system—instead, we can observe specific subcultures which can be considered typical with respect to the size of the institutions, the type of the settlement, or in some cases the disciplines. At the level of these subcultures, the patterns of institutional effects are different, which are not confined to vocational elements only.

Acknowledgements

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