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Socioecological resources of Polish youth in the perspective of resilience

Zasoby społeczno-ekologiczne polskiej młodzieży w perspektywie odporności

Introduction

Mostly widespread diagnostic pathogenetic model in which adolescents are perceived in the context of their problematic (Jessor, Jessor, Finney 1973; Jessor, Jessor 1977; Arry et al. 1999) or risky behavior (Jessor 1991) appeared insufficient to explain their proper functioning when exposed to various risk factors. Thinking that focuses on youth problems currently diminishes importance for an approach emerging from the concept of resilience, a model based on the influence of protective factors that support positive adaptation of young people, despite experiencing adversity. In this approach, the resilience of youth is recognized as an individual trait (resiliency) (Block & Kremen 1996; Kumpfer 1999; Ogińska-Bulik, Juczyński 2011; Wagnild 2014) or as a dynamic process that reflects an individual's adaptation despite the difficulties they experience (Borucka, Ostaszewski 2008; Connor & Davidson 2003; Luthar 2006; Garmezy & Rutter 1983; Rutter 1987; Werner & Smith 1982). After decades of concentration on resilience as an individual trait and also as a process that helps one's deals with difficulties, currently extended thinking with an environmental perspective appeared in a form of socioecological concept towards resilience (Cicchetti 2013; Clauss-Ehlers 2003; Ungar 2012; Wright, Masten & Narayan 2013). There is a need to acknowledge that this approach is a relatively new phenomenon in which it is important to consider youth interactions with their social and cultural environments, where they are embedded and influenced. Moreover, in this model a key role is played by strengthening impact

of socioecological resources on young people, which are located both in the closest environments (e.g. family, school, peer group, colleagues) as well as further ones, e.g. (neighbourhood, culture, policy).

The aim of the article is to analyze the socioecological resources of Polish youth, which are located in the closer or more distant environments where young people function, based on the Ecological Systems Theory of Development by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979, 2005). Those variables are only part of the resilience process – protection and/or promotion factors, but they may play a key role in conceptualising and implementing preventive and empowering activities towards youth, especially in case of crises and conflict, which are intrinsically embedded in the process of becoming an adult. In Polish social sciences there is a lacks of a study on the issue of socioecological resources of youth, and within this text we attempt to fill in this gap.

Changes in the theoretical approach towards thinking about youth empowerment also contribute to modifications in the way professionals work with young people, by undertaking direct protective activities on a daily basis. The growing awareness of the need to undertake preventive actions, bearing the hallmarks of support, before serious crises occur, prompts educators, social workers and other practitioners to work based on youth strengths rather than weaknesses or to develop supportive environments. Acknowledging factors that promote youth resilience, support social professionals to shape, construct and cultivate such environments that incorporate factors that help them thrive (Clauss-Ehlers 2003). Experiencing protective factors, that promote resilience as well as emphasis on resources and abilities to overcome adversity, helps young people to cope with difficulties and solve problems efficiently towards a fulfilling life.

Socioecological resources as protective factors in resilience concept

Mostly quoted definition of resilience concerns positive adaptation of an individual despite adversity (Garmezy & Rutter 1983; Masten 2001). From the perspective of an individual's resources and potentials, resilience can be understood as "the ability to thrive, mature, and increase competence in the face of adverse circumstances or obstacles" (Gordon 1996, p. 63). Research actually emphasizes the importance of some intrapersonal resources such as e.g. self-efficacy (Bandura 1977), sense of coherence (Antonovsky 1987), self--esteem (Brown & Lohr 1987), cognitive competence, spiritual/motivational

capabilities, social competence, emotional stability, physical well-being (Kumpfer 1999), prosociality (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder & Penner 2006), temperament and skills (Werner & Smith 1982) that protect from risk and may promote adjustment. Other scientists followed the concept that resilience is a dynamic process concerning positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity (Masten & Coatsworth 1998; Rutter 1987; Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker 2000). After decades of concentration on resilience as an individual trait and also as a process that helps one's deals with difficulties, now a novel, socioecological concept gains importance. In this approach 'resilience is defined as a set of behaviors over time that reflect the interactions between individuals and their environments, in particular the opportunities for personal growth that are available and accessible' (Ungar 2010a, 2010b, 2011b). Recently, more researchers insist that resilience is specific to a given context and circumstances. It refers towards broad socioecological conditions such as socioeconomic status, culture, policy and so on. "Social ecological factors such as family, school, neighbourhood, community services, and cultural practices are as influential as psychological aspects of positive development when individuals are under stress" (Ungar 2012, p. 1). Moreover, in this approach resilience is perceived as an interaction between an individual and multiple levels of his or her environment, from the level of genes to person, family, community and cultural groups (Cicchetti 2013; Wright, Masten, Narayan 2013), rather than an individual trait or an attribute that one possesses or even process thanks to which individuals are more resistant towards adversity.

One of the first scientists who emphasized that the environment plays a crucial role in youth development was Kurt Lewin. He argues that behavior is a function of the person itself and of his environment (Lewin 1946). Moreover, the constelation of those two interdependent factors was called life space of an individual. According to Lewin, the process of youth development is a continuous modification of the external environment (people and objects) as well as internal environment (thoughts, feelings, needs, etc.), which strengthens or weakens certain behavior (Lewin 1943).

Another scientists who noticed the significance of ecologies in human development was Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979). In his mostly cited work, he emphasized the importance of different systems in which youth is embedded and grow up. He also created Ecological Systems Theory of Development (see: figure 1) which affects the development of young people from various environmental systems. Individual (*ontogenic system*) is firstly nested in *microsystem*, where she or he undertakes everyday activities requiring

interpersonal relations, resulting from social roles, for example in the family, school or peer group. The *mesosystem* assumes the interactions that take place between different settings (e.g. relation between parents and school). The individual and the above mentioned systems are embedded in *exosystem*, where youth does not participate directly, but is influenced indirectly (e.g. parents' workplace). Finally, the last mentioned system, *macrosystem*, refers to the continuity and consistency that can be seen in a given culture or subculture, reflected both in the form and content of its micro, meso and exosystem components. In his first works, Bronfenbrenner mainly emphasized the importance of environmental influences on human development, which he later criticized in the following words: "In place of too much research on development *out of context*, we now have a surfeit of studies on *context without development*" (Bronfenbrenner 1986, p. 288). In later works, he drew attention to changes that take place in the development process of the individual and his environment. Finally, in proposed bioecological model, he reemphasized that while analyzing human development, it should be simultaneously taken into account the specificity and changes of: developing person (e.g. character, cognition), the context of development (e.g. life course in family structure, employment, place of residence) as well as longitudinal process through which development takes place (chronosystem) (Bronfenbrenner 2005).
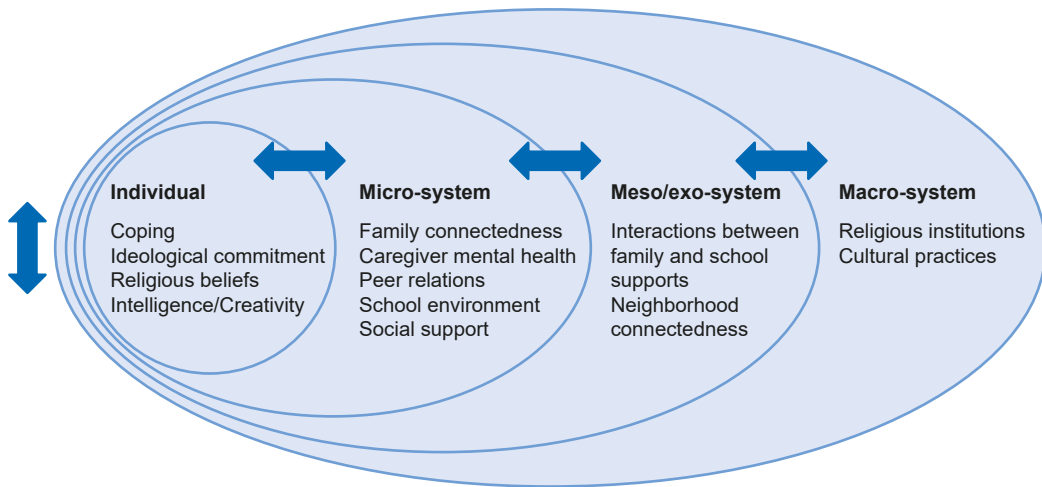

Figure 1. Individual and socio-ecological framework for youth resilience

Source: Tol et al. (2013).

As youth resilience is a multidimensional concept, it may depend on the ability to adapt and cope with risk factors, but also on the quality of different ecologies for life and grow. Youth constitute a specific group due to the fact that they are between childhood and adulthood – not children anymore, but not adults yet. In this period when young people intensively shape their identity, they are particularly susceptible to influences from the surrounding environments. In socioecological perspective, special attention is paid to the physical and social environment in which young people function as places of experiencing the impact of risk and protective factors and the space for searching of resources for personal growth and development. The proposed theoretical framework (see: figure 1) relates to conditions of Polish youth development, taking into account the impact of risk and protective factors in different socioecological systems. Below, diverse sociocultural resources and protective factors that strengthen Polish youth development in case of adversity are presented.

Methodological assumptions

The study constitutes a review of findings of the most recent research conducted among Polish adolescents. In the process of selecting publications that are presented in this paper, four substantial criteria were adopted, namely: 1) type of studies, 2) year in which study results were published, 3) study subject and 4) sample size and sampling methods. Firstly, the publications that were taken into consideration were those presenting most of all results of empirical studies and not theoretical ones. Secondly, the oldest articles or reports taken into account were those published by 2013. Thirdly, their subject should cover areas connected with socioecological resources of Polish youth. Furthermore, the focus was put on findings of studies on the current situation of adolescents, particularly: family environment and social support, education; employment; living conditions, relations parents-school, local labour market, political, economic and cultural conditions including risk factors and protective factors. Fourthly, the studies considered in the paper were conducted on large samples with a preference for those where representative sampling was ensured, and in cases where studies of this sort have not been yet conducted in a given problem area, the sample had to be large, that is, groups should be comprising over 100 people.

Socioecological resourses of Polish youth

MICROSYSTEM: family and social support, education

The studies presented in the *Młodzież 2018* report (Roguska 2019), show that vast majority of the respondents (aged 18–19 years) are living with both parents (75%); every fifth young person was raised in single-parent families (19%), majority of which are living with their mother. This is also confirmed by the HBSC report (HBSC 2018, p. 27). In the final decade, the percentage of students raised in families with both parents decreased, which is related to the divorce rate increasing in Poland. Regarding the assessment of financial conditions, a significant difference is observed between the respondents from complete families, and those living with one of their parents only. As many as 74% of the respondents from complete families describe their financial conditions as good (Roguska 2019, p. 18). Most of parents are working, although in 2018, the percentage of working parents increased compared to that of 2014 both for fathers and mothers (fathers 91.1%, mothers 79.6% in 2018).

An important element that constitutes and consolidates a family is sharing conversations and meals. According to the HBSC report, only 20% of 15-year--olds have daily meals with their family, while 20% seldom or never. It is more frequent along boys than girls, and the frequency of meals shared with family decreases with a given adolescent's age (Bójko 2019, p. 118). As for the frequency and the subject of conversations upper-secondary school students have with their parents, these pertain primarily to school, learning and future plans, and less often to personal and political matters, and least often to sex (Roguska 2019, p. 28). Most often, it is mother whom young people trust the most and with whom they speak of important matters. This is confirmed both by subsequent editions by CBOS studies of 2016 and 2018, and the HBSC report. Adolescents talk with their fathers less often not only about school and future plans, but also about personal problems. It is only conversations about politics that are conducted by several percentage points more often with fathers (31% of the students often and sometimes conversed about politics with their fathers, while 27% of them with their mothers) (Roguska 2019, p. 29). The studies also clearly indicate a stronger bond between mothers and daughters, who nearly twice more often and with higher frequency discuss their personal problems (18% of boys and 35% of girls talks often about their personal problems) (Roguska 2019, p. 31). Majority of the adolescents (76%) have a sense of their

parents expecting them to continue learning, but also point out to their parents attempts at developing their cultural interests (49%); this is more often done by parents who received higher education (Roguska 2019, p. 33). Nearly 80% of parents expect young people to help them run a household. On the one hand, the high level of teenagers involved in household chores can be hence read as attaching a high degree of importance to skills training and, on the other hand, as teaching co-responsibility for the commonly run household.

Young people most often seek support in two social groups that play completely different and complementary roles, namely, family and peers. Most often, teenagers seek safety, acceptance and authority of important adults in their family, whereas in the peer group they find role models to follow, shape their worldviews and attitudes, develop passion and hobbies and spend their free time. A peer group also serves as a social reference plane.

In the Polish 2018 HBSC studies, 39.4% of young people declared a high level of support received from their family, while 38.3% reported it to be low. Regarding a peer group, a high level of support was declared by only 14.1% of the teenagers (a drop in 9 percentage points compared to 2014). A low level of support from peers was reported by two-thirds of the respondents. In the years 2014–2018, the percentage of adolescents who considered peer support to be low increased from 47.1% up to 66.6% (Małkowska-Szkutnik 2015; Zawadzka & Korzycka 2018). In summary, when it comes to the obtained study results regarding social support, one can notice a drop in the meaning of a peer group in young people's lives on the one hand and an increase in the authority of closest family members on the other hand.

As for individuals whose support young people could count on, in 2018 the person indicated most often (59%) was the mother (a rise by 1 percentage point in 2016), while friends (34%) were indicated twice less often, along with partners (30% in 2018, a rise by 3 percentage points in 2016) and the father (29%) (Roguska 2016; Roguska 2019). Young people declared to a small extent to receive support from their siblings (13%) or colleagues (3%) (Roguska 2019). The above noted trends can be also observed in other studies, according to which over half of the respondents almost always could receive help and care from parents, and only every other adolescent could count on his or her best friend (Sierosławski 2015).

Usually, young people could count on their beloved ones, which may prove that they are most inclined to invest and engage in individual relations and bestow their trust in a small group of people. This may be due to the progressing individualization of social relations, which is a result of the increasing level

of individualism in the culture and many relations of lesser importance (for instance, with colleagues) being transferred into the virtual world. Another important conclusion is that young people do not indicate their peer as those whose validation they value, whom they eagerly spend their free time with; therefore, it can be concluded that the meaning of a peer group as an upbringing environment is decreasing (Rogulska 2018, p. 9).

If we talk about Polish education system, it is worth emphasizing that Poland has one of Europe's lowest rates (4.8%) when it comes to the number of teenagers abandoning formal education (ESL, Early School Leaving) prematurely. According to Eurostat data, the percentage of adolescents who end education prematurely, that is, young people aged 18–24 years who abandoned formal education before graduating a lower secondary school reached 10.6% in the EU in 2018. Poland was ranked fifth (among others, after Lithuania, 4.6%) among the lowest-rating countries; the highest number of teenagers who ended education prematurely are in Malta (17.5%) and Spain (17.9%) (Eurostat 2018).

MESOSYSTEM: relations parents-school, local labour market

An important factor protecting young people in the meso dimension is the relationship between parents and school, and their dependence on such elements as good atmosphere, trust and a high level of social financing (Dubis 2019; Nerwińska 2015). Another important factor is teacher's right attitude to parents, his/her open and friendly approach, willingness to share his/her knowledge of the student with them as well as their readiness to listen to parents' ideas, expectations and considerations. Good cooperation between parents and the school, does not only boost teaching results and students' concentration in the classroom, but also promotes a greater sense of security and the educational environment's quality (Smith, Reinke, Herman, and Huang 2019).

Research shows that parents notice four areas of their real impact on school life: safety at school (66%), organization of events at school (e.g. competitions, festivals, social campaigns – 58%), management of children's free time (e.g. extra-curricular activities, leisure for children, excursions – 54%) and helping children learn (49%). About one third of parents are involved in school life at least several times a year, and 61% are involved at least once a year. Other research summarizing the results of external evaluation prove that despite parents' declarations that they have an influence on decision-making in

schools (72% of parents), practice shows that they usually participate in the organization of school events (58%), and only 19% of them participate in consultations, 13% in trainings and courses offered by the school, and 14% of parents share their expertise and skills. It is worth emphasizing that 22% of parents participate in events integrating a local community.

The condition and specificity of the local labor market are also important from the perspective of the resources of the environment. In February 2019, the unemployment rate in EU member states among young people below 25 years of age was 14.6%. At that time in Poland it was at 11.3%. The unemployment rate among young Poles results both from a highly favourable economic situation (which manifests in the lowest level of unemployment in Poland since the economic transformation of the 1990s), but also processes related to the accession to the European Union and the opening of labour markets characteristic of countries of Central-Eastern Europe.

The Polish local labor market is characterized by a high level of network capital and informal contacts ("informal connections") (Sławecki 2010). In the light of the report "Osoby młode na rynku pracy" ("Young people on the labour market") prepared by GUS, young people aged 15–34 years found work primarily owing to help of their friends, acquaintances or family (44.5%), as well as by direct contact with the employer (26.9%) (GUS 2017, pp. 18–19). The mediatory role of acquaintances and friends was important particularly to individuals who received vocational and lower-secondary education (54.8% and 51.3%, respectively).

MACROSYSTEM: political, economic and cultural conditions

According to the analysed approach, the protective factors in the macro scale include: a broadly understood sense of security and belonging to various types of communities, a sense of influence, stability and trust in institutions, the availability of social services, but also the quality of politics and the possibility for young people to fulfill themselves in it. Contemporary adolescents are characterised by a high distrust level. In 2018, only 11% of young people claimed that people can be trusted (in previous years this rate was even lower, e.g. in 1996, it was estimated that only 8% of young people trusted others). Concerns arise particularly in the context of building social capital and participation due to the percentage of young people who believe that "when it comes to dealing with people, there is no such thing like being overly cautious" – 82% in 2018

compared to 76% in 2016 (Boguszewski 2019, p. 149). Trust is an important predictor of public activity, which can be clearly seen in studies on adolescents' voting behaviour. Young people convinced that people should be trusted vote more often (e.g., in about 80% of 'trusting' young people and slightly over 60% of 'distrustful' young people intended to participate in 2018 municipal elections) (Boguszewski 2019, p. 149).

The vast majority of young Poles (80%) declare that they are somehow interested in politics and public affairs; as Pazderski points out, this is a very positive result, because a similar question was positively answered by a half--smaller group of young Slovaks and Hungarians (Pazderski 2018, p. 27; Gyárfášova, Molnár, Krekó, Pazderski and Wessenauer 2018). Young people indicate that they feel excluded from politics and believe that Polish politics lacks a voice of the young generation (over 40% of respondents, *Młodzi Polacy* 2019). As for the sense of belonging, young people identify most strongly with their own nation (92%), followed by Europe (80%) and their religion (74%). They also have a strong sense of belonging to the local community (71%), which can be considered an important macro-protective factor (Pazderski 2018, pp. 22–23). Young people also positively assess the sense of their own safety, 75% of young people do not feel threatened and are not anxious about their own safety (CBOS 2019).

The level of the actual engagement and participation of teenagers can be measured, among others, by the activity and sense of influence at the level closest to a young person: school and students' council, which is a kind of incubator of democracy. Young people have a fairly good opinion of the activity of student self-governments (38% very good and good, 44% on average, *Samorządność*, p. 29). Using the symbolic barometer of feelings (on a scale from 0 to 100 degrees), the students rated their relationship to local governments at 57 degrees (moderately warm). However, the inability to influence the decisions, behavior and actions of the authorities of their student councils declared by as many as 83% of the respondents may seem disturbing, which – as the authors of the study indicate – proves that "student self-management is far from the assumptions of participatory democracy based on universal and real participation in the decision-making process". Students also do not feel that they are influencing the school life (30% yes, 38% no and definitely no).

While the reports and studies on the youth do not actually mention issues related to social services or health care, Pazderski presents interesting conclusions confirming the awareness of the importance of these issues,

pointing out that young people consider health care, cost of living and the pension system to be the most important problems to be solved in Poland. "The youngest voters, taking the democratic procedures developed in Poland for granted, can expect politicians to lead the country to the next stage of development, in which greater emphasis will be placed on the systemic equalisation of social differences" (Pazderski 2018, p. 5).

Although there is currently no single strategy in Poland dealing only with young people and their problems (in 2012, the State Strategy for Youth for 2003–2012 adopted before joining the European Union ceased to apply, which "was and is the only document defining the directions of development of Polish youth policy"), the issues related to youth issues have been included in other strategic documents; e.g. the Strategy for Responsible Development until 2020 (*Polityka młodzieżowa w Polsce* 2019, p. 6). There is also no single statutory representative of young people, although there are bodies such as, for example, the Council of Children and Youth of the Republic of Poland at the Minister of National Education and the Polish Council of Youth Organizations. An important role is also played by such bodies guarding the observance of human rights, such as the Ombudsman for Children and the Ombudsman, which enjoy a high level of public trust.

Also at the regional and local level, there is a desire to represent the interests of young people; we do not only deal with regional and local strategies, but also youth representative bodies (e.g. in 9 voivodships there are bodies such as the *sejmik*, parliament, youth spokesperson or council, which most often perform the consultative function of the voivodeship marshal). There is also a tendency to appoint youth consultation bodies at the commune level: in 2007 there were 224 such bodies, in 2017, and in 2017, in 2,478 communes, there were 408 youth councils. The only youth representative office that has been functioning so far is the Union of Associations, the Polish Council of Youth Organizations (PROM), established in 2011, which currently includes 39 organizations. The union is represented by over 250,000 young people (*O młodzieżowych radach* 2018, s. 13).

One of the most frequently cited important factors that protect young people is faith, religion and religious practices (Łoś, Hawrot, Grzelak, Balcerzak 2017; Bronefenberger 1979). As indicated in the Youth 2018 Report, currently almost two-thirds of the surveyed students (63%) declare that they are religious or deeply religious. About one fifth (21%) describe themselves as undecided, and a little less (17%) – as non-believers (Głowacki 2019, p. 153). Although the percentage of young people participating in religious practices has been systematically declining since the 1990s, it is still high: over 60% of young

people declare participation in religious ceremonies, including 35% at least once a week. About 70% of young people also participate in religion lessons (Głowacki 2019, p. 163).

The way of spending free time, contact and access to cultural institutions, reading books, but also using the offer of art schools may significantly affect the resilience of young people. Young people declare that their favorite forms of spending free time include meeting friends (86%), playing sports (over 30%), computer games (25%), surfing the Internet (25%), but also "doing nothing" (approx. thirty %) (Feliksiak, Omyła-Rudzka, Bożewicz 2019, p. 183). Although households spend more each year to purchase cultural goods and services (2.4% of expenses in 2019, GUS 2020, p. 31), most of these expenses are fees related to the use of media, especially electronic media. Data on the increasing expenses on cinema and theater tickets in households (by 4.5% in 2019, GUS 2020) and the increasing number of cultural institutions and events organized and extracurricular activities organised by them (GUS 2019) also create a basis for the development and strengthening of the potential of young people. Thus, the number of young people using out-of-school education facilities is growing; in the 2017/2018 school year, compared to the 2016/2017 school year, it increased by over 8% (GUS 2019, p. 47). It is also worth noting the increase in the number of young people attending art schools. In the same period, the number of students in art schools increased by 36.3% (GUS 2019, p. 48). Young people are also still the most frequently reading age group in Poland (55% of young people declare that they read books) (Koryś, Chymkowski 2018).

In Poland, despite the high enrollment rate we are dealing with so-called 'reverse effect', which can be illustrated suing a metaphor of a queue to desired high social positions where teenagers from high-status families have a clear lead over adolescents of a lower financial status, because the quality of their education and the possibility to continue and improve it are considerably higher. And so, for instance, the data indicated by Długosz show that Poland, next to Italy, Slovakia and Turkey, takes one of the highest positions in terms of educational inequalities. From among individuals whose parents received higher education, 80% graduated from universities or colleges, and from among those whose parents did not receive higher education, only 29% (Długosz 2018, p. 109).

Despite the still existing differences between rural and urban areas, when it comes to equality of educational opportunities – as shown by Wilkin & Nurzyńska – educational distance has been notably reduced. In the years 2012–2013, the percentage of residents of rural areas who received at least secondary-school

education (38%) was for the first time higher than the percentage of those who received only primary school education (28–31%). When it comes to studying adolescents of the biggest cities and in villages 93% and 96.7% of people receive education, respectively (Wilkin, Nurzyńska 2016, p. 67). Inequalities can be generated by spatial organization of education. As shown by, among others, the 2019 GUS data, the majority of primary schools, but most of all lower secondary schools, are located in cities. The net enrolment rate for lower-secondary schools in the 2018/2019 school year was 101.4% in cities and 61.9% in rural areas, which consequently increases the occurrence of adolescents commuting from rural areas to lower-secondary schools in cities (GUS 2019).

Living conditions and the state of education are also an important factor influencing the situation of young people on a macro scale. It is estimated that in 2018, as many as 6% of children and adolescents below 18 years of age were living in extreme poverty (Statistics Poland 2019). In 2015, the scope of absolute poverty in this group reached about 9% (Statistics Poland 2016), to then gradually decrease to 5.8% in 2016 (Statistics Poland 2017) and to 4.7% in 2017 (Statistics Poland 2018).

Studies show a rise in the percentage of young people who positively assess their families' financial situation, and a drop in those assessing them as mediocre or bad. Compared to 2016, in 2018 seven out of ten respondents (69%) described their families' financial resources as either good or very good (a rise by 5 percentage points), every fourth respondent (26%) considered them mediocre (a drop by 4 percentage points), while every twentieth respondent (5%) perceived it as bad (a drop by 1 percentage point) (Omyła-Rudzka 2016; 2019).

Satisfaction with financial conditions among adolescents depends primarily on several factors, namely, parents' education, place of residence and adolescents' commitment to learning. Higher satisfaction with their financial situation characterises adolescents whose parents received better education, residing in large cities and students who obtain better grades at school (Omyła-Rudzka 2016; 2019).

Young people obtain money for their expenses from many sources, one of which is paid labour, including summer break work (62%, a rise by 3 percentage points compared to the year 2016), temporary work (47%, a rise by 9 percentage points), online trade (14%, a rise by 2 percentage points) and apprenticeship (13%). Moreover, study results (Omyła-Rudzka 2019) revealed that few young people receive money from school grants, this percentage is only 7%. It is worth to notice that vast majority of upper-secondary school students get money for their expenses from their parents, either not

systematically (51%, a fall by 4 percentage points) or systematically (43%, a rise by 4 percentage points).

Improved financial situation of adolescents in Poland is primarily due to progressing fall in unemployment rates among their parents, the quantity of job offers and employment prospects, undertaking work abroad and increasingly higher professional activity of teenagers, which most often taken on the form of temporary work or summer break work.

According to Eurostat studies, in 2018 23.6% of the young population aged 15–29 years in the EU states are living in overcrowded apartments (for the entire population this rate is 15.5%). These rates are particularly unfavourable for Polish adolescents. As for overpopulation rates, Poland is ranked fifth (behind Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Latvia) and these rates are over 50% for the entire population of young people aged 16–29 years. These characteristics are complemented by taking due consideration of rates such as percentage of young people (16–29 years old) living with parents – the percentage higher than the EU average by over ten percent. In turn, Poland is ranked relatively favourably on the background of other countries regarding the poverty risk rate, which for adolescents aged 16–29 years is lower than the EU average. We obtain an in-depth depiction of this phenomenon when taking into consideration the youth residing with parents and those running separate households. Scandinavian countries (particularly Norway, but also Denmark and Sweden) and of others Germany and the Netherlands are examples of countries where about three quarters of adolescents in the analysed age group no longer live with their parents. In these countries, poverty risk rates are considerably higher (in the case of Norway and Denmark even twice as high). However, in countries such as Poland, Ireland, the Czech Republic and Malta, where adolescents residing with parents prevail, poverty rates are considerably lower (Eurostat 2019, Young people – social inclusion).

Conclusions

Important, but also the best recognized factors protecting young people are those included in the microsystem. Financial stability, family and peer group support, family rituals, conversations at the table, help in fulfilling household duties build a safe, supportive educational environment. On the ontogenic and microsystem levels, there is a growing body of promising findings that may inform the development of interventions (see above).

As for family environment, inevitable and aggravating changes in the family structure are noticeable also in Poland. However, important data on family support indicate that its position is not threatened. Still, inclusion of men into family life (also in the emotional dimension and not solely regarding household chores and upbringing) should be emphasised to a greater extent (e.g., in educational processes, school and academic programmes). The traditional role of a manager of emotions is taken by the mother, yet fathers' engagement in, for instance, conversations with teenagers would have undoubtedly make family relations more 'symmetrical'. The amoral familism (E. Banfield) that is noticed in Poland, which manifests itself in a high level of group solidarity and a low level of social trust that can be also observed among Polish adolescents, a growing level of individualism, as well as isolating oneself in family communities and virtual peer groups should serve for entities handling the planning of civic education as a signal to change direction: stronger attachment to cooperation, teamwork, less emphasised individual success and that related to excessive competition. Increased mobility (e.g., trips abroad) of adolescents and increased student exchange (the Erasmus programme plays a great role in breaking cultural barriers) will unquestionably have a positive impact on the quality of adolescents' social capital in the long run.

As indicated previously, good cooperation between parents and the school, does not only boost teaching results and students' concentration in the classroom environment, but also results in a greater sense of security and better quality of the educational environment. Parents' involvement, even though manifested in such minor activities like co-organisation of school events or providing assistance in organising school trips, is likely to turn into a significant impulse for creating the environment on the meso scale which will be based on the triangle students, parents and the school.

As for the resources that the external environment "has" at its disposal (meso, macro system), the most important in the situation of Poland are, first of all, still high level of religiosity and participation in religious practices, sense of security, access to education and good, although currently worsening situation on the labour market. A strengthening role is also played by attachment to communities (nation, local environment) and the conviction that democratic procedures are an indispensable element of the contemporary social order, and that politics is an important element in building a more just state, alleviating social inequalities. Despite the low level of social trust and trust towards intermediary institutions between the citizen and the "imagined" state, the attitude of young people towards such entities as the Ombudsman for Children and the Ombudsman

and public services (fire brigade, ambulance service, etc.) seems promising. The unsatisfactory level of social capital and participation of young people may be worrying, but the awareness of the importance of "practicing" democracy by young people at various levels and of actions to break up with the illusion of student self-governments and other representative bodies allows to hope that in the future it will also have a protective/empowering character.

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SUMMARY

Diagnostic pathogenetic model appeared insufficient to explain appropriate and adequate functioning (positive adaptation) of youth affected by various risk factors. That is the reason why in social sciences we observe increased attention towards resilience concept. After decades of concentration on resilience as an individual trait and also as a process that helps one's deal with difficulties, a novel, socioecological concept gains importance. In this approach resilience is defined as a set of behaviors over time that reflect the interactions between individuals and their environments, in particular the opportunities for personal growth. The aim of the article is to analyze the socioecological resources of Polish youth, which are located in the closer or more distant environments where young people function, based on the "Ecological Systems Theory of Development" by Urie Bronfenbrenner. The analysis were conducted on empirical studies published by 2013 concerning socioecological resources of Polish youth such as: family environment, social support, education; employment; living conditions, parents-school relation, local labour market, political, economic and cultural conditions. Best recognized factors protecting young people are those included in the microsystem. Financial stability, family and peer group support, family rituals, build supportive educational environment. Good cooperation between parents and the school (mesosystem) promotes a greater sense of security and improves educational environment's quality. Finally, in macro system the most important is still high level of religiosity, sense of security, access to education and good, although currently worsening situation on the labour market. A strengthening role is also played by attachment to communities and the conviction that democratic procedures are an indispensable

element of the contemporary social order, and that politics is an important element in building a more just state, alleviating social inequalities.

STRESZCZENIE

Diagnostyczny model patogenetyczny nie jest wystarczający do wyjaśnienia prawidło-wego i adekwatnego funkcjonowania (pozytywnej adaptacji) młodzieży dotkniętej różnymi czynnikami ryzyka. Jest to powód, dla którego w naukach społecznych obser-wujemy zainteresowanie koncepcją odporności. Po skupianiu się na odporności jako indywidualnej cesze, a także jako procesie, który pomaga radzić sobie z trudnościami, na znaczeniu zyskuje nowa koncepcja społeczno-ekologiczna. Odporność definiuje się tutaj jako zestaw zachowań zachodzących w czasie, które odzwierciedlają interakcje między jednostkami a ich otoczeniem, w szczególności możliwości rozwoju osobiste-go. Celem artykułu jest analiza socjoekologicznych zasobów polskiej młodzieży – na podstawie ekologicznej teorii rozwoju systemów Urie Bronfenbrennera. Analizę prze-prowadzono na opublikowanych do 2013 r. badaniach empirycznych dotyczących za-sobów socjoekologicznych polskiej młodzieży, takich jak: środowisko rodzinne, pomoc społeczna, edukacja, zatrudnienie, warunki życia, relacje między rodzicami a szkołą, lokalny rynek pracy, uwarunkowania polityczne, ekonomiczne i kulturowe. Najlepiej rozpoznanymi czynnikami chroniącymi młodych ludzi są te wchodzące w skład mikro-systemu. Stabilność finansowa, wsparcie rodziny i grupy rówieśniczej, rytuały rodzinne, budowanie sprzyjającego środowiska wychowawczego. Dobra współpraca między ro-dzicami a szkołą (mezosystem) sprzyja większemu poczuciu bezpieczeństwa i poprawia jakość środowiska edukacyjnego. W makrosystemie najważniejsze są: wysoki poziom religijności, poczucie bezpieczeństwa, dostęp do edukacji oraz dobra, choć obecnie po-garszająca się sytuacja na rynku pracy. Wzmacniającą rolę odgrywa także przywiązanie do społeczności i przekonanie, że demokratyczne procedury są nieodzownym składni-kiem współczesnego porządku społecznego, a polityka jest ważnym elementem budo-wania bardziej sprawiedliwego państwa, niwelowania nierówności społecznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: zasoby społeczno-ekologiczne, odporność, polska młodzież

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