



Youth and Regionalism. Research Note on the Hungarian Youth's Value Preferences

Ibolya CZIBERE

University of Debrecen, Hungary
czibere.ibolya@arts.unideb.hu

Éva MOLNÁR

University of Debrecen, Hungary
molnareva880903@gmail.com

Abstract. In Hungary, the geographic and settlement environments determine and influence the youth's present and future opportunities, aspirations and values. Different opportunities in terms of quality and quantity are available on each level of the settlement hierarchy, often creating gaps in the youth groups of the society. Inequality relations cause the most significant disadvantages in the lives of the rural young people that greatly influence their quality of life, values, and plans for the future. In this study, we analyse the results of the latest nation-wide representative research on youth, especially the regional characteristics of the youth's value preferences.

Keywords: youth, regional inequalities, regionalism, youth research

Introduction

In Hungary, the family socialization process has changed a lot during the twentieth century. The grandparents of today's youth experienced strong community and family control in childhood; later, generational boundaries became less obvious. Today, gender discrimination has diminished, parental and community controls have loosened up. However, the changed social and economic situation hinders establishing an independent existence, i.e. a life independent from parents. The boundaries of children's and adult existence have merged, which generates a number of conflicts. During the post-socialist transition, people had to face the fact that young people's life was no longer passing along as easily as planned as in the past (Domokos 2012). Formerly, the primary and secondary socialization

factors integrated young people into different careers in an easily predictable way. Today, however, they learn the rules for adult life from those who were socialized along the traditional ways of life. Young people incorporate a combination of norms, values, attitudes that will determine the development directions of the Hungarian society, the economy, and the policy in the long run (Ságvári 2012).

The political, economic, and social changes, however, have brought forth another kind of institutional framework, resources, services, and opportunities that bring along changed prospects and pose barriers for young people as well (Gazsó and Laki 2004). The increased average age has transformed people's life paths and the various life stages, and generations' paths have changed. Most of the young people schedule to complete their education, enter employment, form long-term relationships, get married, and establish a family differently than their parents have done. The study process and the world of work have changed, gender roles and relationship habits have transformed. The decisions for career and relationship cannot be regarded as final, so the process of growing up is becoming more and more uncertain (Somlai 2013).

Young people begin sexual relationships sooner and they start to make decisions about where and how they spend their free time earlier than the generation of their parents, but they attend school longer, and consequently they marry and have children later. Sexual maturity, growing up in a social sense, and entering employment become gradually separated. The dimensions of growing adult occur gradually and partly shifted in relation to one another. Young people meet most psychological criteria for adulthood, but do not have the essentially defining social features for adulthood, they are not incorporated into the institutional structure of the society (Vaskovics 2000). The milestones in adulthood – as for leaving school, starting a job, moving from the parental home, marriage, or starting a family – do not follow a certain pattern (Murinkó 2010). The formation of the new youth has taken place with the second demographic transition processes, thus changing the whole adolescence.

Changes in the social situation of young people in Hungary after the change of regime

As in other developed countries, massification of graduate education has occurred in Hungary too, as the number of full-time students tripled between 1990 and 2010 (Somlai 2013). The position of learning has changed in the course of a career. Previously, completing school by a specific age was a requirement because then it was possible to begin an earning activity. As in other developed countries, success in the Hungarian labour market requires adaptation to the

changes. The skills quickly become obsolete, so people intent on success in the working world need to continually improve their knowledge and skills. A significant number of young people live under the compulsion of obtaining various qualifications. The middle-class families encourage their children to obtain higher education and greater cultural capital. A growing number of social groups try to hand down their social positions by motivating their children to compete for cultural resources, so the families are investing more time and effort into the training of the younger generations. This phenomenon extends adolescent life (Kabai 2014). By contrast, poor families who strive to meet daily substantial needs have no means to support their children's education for a long time. Children living in poverty can experience their disadvantages at the lowest levels of education, which are further worsened in the future. They become drop-outs, school-leavers without qualifications, taking on a much higher risk than those living under better conditions.

Upon the completion of studies, they could begin the integration into the world of work in principle. According to statistics, however, one in four unemployed is under 24, three-quarters of the unemployed young people look for work for more than a year in vain, nearly a quarter of this generation live below the poverty line, and one in five has no option for a profession (Csoba and Diebel 2011). On national level, young people have better qualifications; yet, there has been no increase in their employment. Labour market position was the central organizing force for carrier advancement for a long time. The transformation of the economic structure influenced participation in the world of work and family life. Before the nineties, unemployment was an unthinkable phenomenon, so, when it became a general phenomenon during the transition period, it most dramatically affected the whole population, but especially the most vulnerable social groups. The losers of the change of regime included school-leavers as well (Domokos 2012).

In industrialized societies, most of the young people and their families receive less support in the period of transition from childhood to adulthood, even though education and training are becoming more burdensome (Kabai 2014). Young people are compelled to live in their parents' families for a long time, where there is no way for financing their housing. Leaving the parents' house is a major position change in the lives of young people, wherein the social structure terms and conditions play an important role (Somlai 2010). Independent housekeeping from parents is the start of an independent lifestyle, in which the individual makes everyday decisions independently. In Europe, there are large differences in the average age of leaving the parents due to the structure of the labour market, the welfare system, the different characteristics of the housing market, and different cultural habits. Making decision for separation has different, important factors according not only to countries but also to the type of settlement and social groups (Murinkó 2010). The socialist state regime regarded housing policy

as a priority to create independent housing. The radical decline in the role of the state has limited young people's access to housing and to creating conditions for living independently from parents (Domokos 2012). In becoming adult, family background and state transfers play a predominant role, while the state transfers become more and more limited in the post-communist social context.

The cultural transformation after the change of regime brought a stronger enforcement of western consumer patterns, which favoured the popularity of cohabitation. Today, there exist marriage, cohabitation, the visitor relationship, mosaic families created by remarriage, and a number of other forms of relationships and family forms in our country (Tóth 2012). The life forms are optional and the variety of choices allows more flexibility but may also lead to greater insecurity (Somlai 2013). The youth's behaviour in relationships is adjusting to the transformation that has been taking place continuously since the change of regime. As the most visible sign, they make cohabiting relationships later and with less intensity than the previous generations. The first relationship attempts, however, happen at an early age. In the age of consumerism, personal fulfilment becomes a key issue for individuals and a key element in career advancement. As more and more time is spent on studying or working, people are not able to produce sufficient energy for cultivating personal relationships; thus, establishing and maintaining relationships become a difficult task (Utasi 2004).

Family and parental engagement occur as an option in modern societies, competing with other areas such as professional career or leisure. The majority of young people consider family as an important goal in life, but as they adapt to the changed life opportunities, the realization of the intention to start a family, especially its timing, changes (Vaskovics 1995). In many areas of life, unpredictability increases and life strategies – previously believed to be certain – have lost their guarantee – thus, postponing childbearing seems a realistic choice for many.

The prevailing values always adjust to the current existential conditions, and these changes entail the transformation of values. Younger age-groups tend to find those appropriate life strategies most easily that best adapt to the specific conditions (Ságvári 2012). The post-material values are slowly replacing material values. Individualism has become a strong organization power to manage everyday life, also prevailing in career and family planning (Somlai 2007).

The position in the global consumer culture has become an important factor in shaping identity. The Hungarian youngsters use digital technology like their peers living in the most developed countries, which has changed their communication, work, and learning habits – such devices have appeared that have transformed their way of life, have changed their way of thinking (Rab and Székely 2007). Large masses stay outside of their traditional relations, they only rely on themselves, facing all the risks and opportunities (Kabai 2014).

Hungary's traditionally low confidence level has not changed significantly since the change of regime as the experiences of the parents' generation are inherited in the dimensions of trust and mistrust. Trust is a key component of social integration. In relations burdened with distrust, people establish defensive mechanisms based on pessimism to avoid risks, which deters the creation of innovation on individual and social levels. The communities characterized by trust have better communication, collaboration, and a higher level of tolerance (Ságvári 2012), which favours the progress of young people as well.

Data from the fifth wave of the European Social Survey 2010 conducted on young Hungarians (investigating the age-group of the 15–29-year-olds) showed that their confidence level in the existing economic and political system and institutions is among the lowest on the continent. Moreover, unlike in most countries, young people are more dissatisfied in Hungary than the older generations. The youth considers corruption as a serious social problem which the state should tackle. They regard the citizens' role to be less important in the fight against corruption – most of them are convinced that their attempts would be unsuccessful. Young people have low interpersonal trust level, but this value is similar to the other countries examined (Ságvári 2012).

The youth do not constitute a homogeneous social group, but the presence or absence of various resources determines their way of thinking and organizing life. In the nineties, inequalities became bigger between young people, and those in the worst situation start with disadvantages at school and the workplace, which affects other areas of their life. The gap grows between the group of youth who have marketable skills, key competences in the labour market, and perspective and the group of youth who are drifting, permanently living in insecurity (Ságvári 2012). The type of settlement and its endowments where a youth resides have a significant impact on the intensified polarization processes.

The characteristics of regional inequalities in Hungary

The main reasons for the emergence of the significant regional differences in the economy relate to the economic transformation after the political transition. During the economic transformation, the former key sectors degraded, which unilaterally impacted the outdated heavy-industrial regions and the agricultural regions, that is, the eastern part of Hungary. Operational capital mainly arrived in the western and central parts of the country (mainly along the Austrian–Hungarian border zone and the Vienna–Budapest axis) and promoted the establishment of competitive sectors and enterprises of advanced technology. Central Hungary – including Budapest and its agglomeration – and the North and West Trans-Danubian (western) regions had dominance in potentials to promote economic

development, which they have used to gain so much economic advantage since 1990 that the other regions have not been able to compensate.

Typically, these latter regions have an underdeveloped economy, a high rate of unemployment, significant ethnic and cultural differences compared to the social mainstream, and they are hubs of social exclusion. These phenomena are accumulating mostly in lagging regions. By the millennium, the rural poverty had become constant, the unemployment rate of rural youth had reached highs and stagnated there. Consequently, the reproduction of extended rural poverty began. The Hungarian phenomenon is particularly notable; while in the Western European countries poverty is concentrated in big cities, in Hungary, it is rather a rural phenomenon (Kovách 2012). In these settlements, the over-representation of the Roma population is noteworthy as well. The 'settlement comfort' here is substantially below the national average in terms of apartments, institutions, and commercial establishments. The population's age pyramid in the settlements in the greatest risk of poverty is constantly moving towards the young population, which clearly relates to the increased segregation of the population (Bihari and Kovács 2006). Approximately two-thirds of the children in need live in rural areas. Particular attention should be paid to the regions where the proportion of children living in poverty is over the national average, because small villages dominate these regions in terms of settlement structure. As a direct consequence, people living there have real difficulties to access basic health, social and child welfare, and public educational services. Regional dimensions greatly affect education in Hungary as well. In Hungary, mostly the regions and the size of the settlements influence the youth's education and the inequalities therein. The smaller the settlement is, the more likely is the inhabitants' educational level lower compared to the national average, preventing them from a higher educational attainment than a vocational qualification. The proportion of the groups of inhabitants with low educational attainment grows as the settlement hierarchy is lower in Hungary.

The trends in the emergence of regional inequalities in Hungary have two periods. The first period is the first half of the 1990s (the period right after the political transition), when the income gap opened up rapidly and significantly and the inequalities grew, whereas in the second period, in the second half of the 1990s, the emerged inequalities stayed on this high level. In this period, the regional income inequalities could be described in a well-defined way, that is, with the Budapest–country contrast. By the early and mid-1990s, the polarization processes had created a spatial structure strongly embedded in the present, whose essential elements are determined by the urban–rural development gap, west–east division, and the mosaic nature of urban–rural relation (Nemes Nagy 2004). Consequently, the inequalities between settlement types are a determining phenomenon in the Hungarian settlement and social structure, and still in

a wealth of relevant issues that are reflected in the social situation and in the presence of economic potentials. The disadvantages reinforce each other, and the regions in a disadvantageous economy, economic-geographic situation struggle with serious social problems (Obádovics, Bruder and Kulcsár 2011). Since the regional disadvantages have hardly decreased since the political transition, and the economic performance and the condition of human resources also remain heavily differentiated regionally, today, vast welfare gaps occur among people living in different types of settlements as concerns life conditions and perspectives.

The outlined regional inequalities and their effects influence the youth's current situation and future opportunities. The Hungarian youth's aspirations, values, and plans for the future are heavily dependent on the settlement dimensions that distinguish clear groups in this perspective. Consequently, on the lowest level of the settlement hierarchy, the presence of severe income shortage, unpredictable financial existence from month to month, and deprivation are considerably more likely to occur than in the lives of urban youth. We assume what young people over 18 consider the most serious or insurmountable problems belong more likely to problem types related to livelihood and uncertain future than to the lack of social, communal, and other values.

Research and sampling

The Hungarian Youth 2012¹ Research is the fourth youth research in Hungary that uses a large sample. The research was carried out in 2012, interviewing 8,000 people who were between 15 and 29 years old. The major topics (family, childbearing, education, labour market, working and studying abroad, political attitude, media, sport, leisure, politics and religion, sexuality and drugs, housing situation and life conditions) of the questionnaire contained a total of 260 questions. Our study does not analyse the age-group of the 15–17-year-olds due to the characteristics of the chosen research topic; it particularly describes the correlations among young people over 18 (signifying maturity) that characterize their future, values, and visions about their future on the basis of regional-settlement dimensions of the place where they live. The sample formed on the basis of the above criteria contains 7,143 people over 18 years old, 49.9% of them are male (3,565 people) and 50.1% of them are female (3,578 people). The average age is 24.01 years, and divided into age-groups the proportion of people between 18 and 23 years old is 46.2% (3,297 people) and that of the people between 24 and 29 years old is 53.8% (3,844 people). A vast majority of people over 18, exactly 42.6% of them (3,160 people), have a certificate of final examination in secondary or vocational school and they are currently not studying in higher education. The second

1 Hungarian Youth Research 2012 made by 'Kutatópont'.

largest category is made up by people with primary education: they represent 25.3% (1,794 people) of the sample. The proportion of people with vocation (acquired in vocational or vocational secondary school) is 18.8% (1,328 people). Consequently, the proportion of people without a certificate of final examination in a Hungarian secondary school is large within the sample, it is larger than the proportion of people with a certificate of final examination, 44.1% (3,122 people). The rate of graduates or people attending higher education is 13.3% (939 people). In the sample, the majority of the young people live in East Hungary (42.5%, 3,034 people), 26.91% of them live in Central Hungary (1,930 people), and 30.6% of them live in West Hungary (2,185 people). According to the settlement type, the distribution of the sample is the following: 32.7% (2,335 people) live in villages, 33.2% (2,371 people) live in towns (not ranked), 2.4% live in one of the five towns with county rights (172 people), the proportion living in county seats is 16.7% (1,196 people), and 14.8% is the rate for the capital (1,067 people).

7.5% of the interviewed young people² are Roma or Gypsy (536 people). People who declare themselves to be Roma live mostly in villages (3.4%, 247 people) and in small towns (other towns) (2.5%, 182 people). The proportion of metropolitan Gypsies who live in big towns, that is, in Budapest, county seats, or towns with county rights is 20% (107 people) in the sample.

Most young adults assess their financial situation – based on subjective self-classification – as unstable (58.8%, 3,903 people), 38.2% of them (2,537 people) having hardly enough income, 16.3% of them (1,082 people) having financial problems from month to month, and 4.3% of them (284 people) living in poverty. The majority of the people who claim their financial situation to be stable (41.2%, 2,733 people) live well by managing their money (34.8%, 2,308 people); however, only 6.4% of them (425 people) live without worries.

Primary education (32%) characterizes mostly people living in villages – evidently, the lower the status of a settlement, the higher the rate of the young people with primary education. Most people without a certificate of final examination (primary school, vocational school, vocational secondary school) live in towns not ranked (other towns) and villages; from this point of view, 45.2% of young people living in small towns and 54.2% of them living in villages have low educational attainment. According to the data on the Roma's educational situation, the proportion with primary education is significantly³ larger (64.0%) compared to non-Roma young people who mostly have vocational secondary or secondary school attainment (45%). There is a significant gap in the top of the educational hierarchy since the rate of young Roma people with a diploma is only 2.7%, while this rate is 14.1% among non-Roma young people.

2 We consider those respondents to be gypsy who chose the 'Roma, gypsy' option for the question: "Which ethnic group do you belong to?"

3 Value of Chi-square: 504,236, $p \leq 0.001$.

Some summarized results of the Youth Research

The youths today are extremely conformist and adapt to the prevailing system seamlessly. They accept their parents' values and ideals of life without any particular criticism, and only 10% of them reject those, that is, rebellion is not typical of them. In fact, the youth living in Budapest are more rebellious (29% accept their parents' values) than those living in rural towns (47%) or villages (52%). Young people are passive, do not join organizations or care about politics, and do not voice their opinions. Their choice for a political value is characterized by the effort to be neutral and reserved towards politics. Very few of them would answer questions related to public life and politics because they could not answer or were so suspicious that they did not want to answer. Two-thirds of them did not answer the question 'which party would you vote for?'; only 30% want to vote in the next election and only 19% of them are certain to vote. The youth – 78% of them think so – share the opinion that Hungarian politicians barely care about young people's opinion. Their level of trust in social institutions is extremely low. They do not trust government, parliament, banks, or – as novelty – the president or the Constitutional Court despite that the latter has been one of the most popular institutions since the political transition. Young people do not believe in the system so much that only 40% consider democracy to be the best possible system; 33% of them gave the following answer for choosing between democracy or dictatorship: "For people like me, one system is just like any other", that is, the proportion of those who are insecure and would possibly accept dictatorship is really large.

Youngsters think that presently the biggest problems are uncertain future and unemployment. Young people spend their free time passively; usually, they just stay at home in front of a screen – TV, computer, etc. Few do sports; only one-third of the respondents say that they do some kind of sports outside of school at least once a week. They do not want or cannot move from home: 71% of young people between 15 and 29 years old live with their parents. They do not really know what to do with their lives: they are not willing to marry, have children, or even to have a relationship. It is proved that not only the rate of people living in marriage (10%) but those living in cohabitation has decreased; moreover, the rate of young people who never want a child has increased (10%) and so has the rate of those who live alone. Only 15% of young people between 15 and 29 years have a child.

Despite their uncertainty, they strive for an orderly life; mostly, they consider family, children, and homeland as values. Although they find it difficult to decide on marriage, 63% of them fancy a married life. They view the future quite pessimistically: they see few possibilities in employment, even though 40% of them work. The rate of unemployed among them is high (25%), but only 14 percent of them are searching actively for a job. They are aware of the economic

recession and they do not see the end of it (the last time when Hungarian youth considered the economy to be in such a bad situation was in 1994). A growing feeling of aimlessness has been affecting them since 2008.

Settlement-regional differences as regards financial situation and level of subjective welfare

The results of the analysis of financial situation show that the settlement slope is a financial slope at the same time, when we primarily focus on whether the money, that is, the available income in the families, is sufficient for a month or they run out of it by the end of the month. As young people in bad financial situation (indigent) are concerned, people in Budapest experience the least money shortage, whereas people in villages experience shortage most regularly at the end of the month. The indigent young people living in villages usually have only primary education, the number of women exceeds that of men, and a significant majority of them live in East Hungary, but South Trans-Danubia is also overrepresented in this respect.

The vast majority of these young adults live in households regardless of the type of the settlement, where they cannot regularly spare, save, or make reserves. Therein, the fewest young people live in Budapest, while the rate of young people living in this type of household is extremely high in villages. The young adults who live in the most stable financial situation, in households where money never runs out by the end of the month, seem to live in Budapest and in county seats. From this point of view, the welfare divide occurs between the types of settlements as well as in contrast with the two previous settlement categories only about one-third of the people living in county seats, other towns, or villages say that they do not run out of money by the end of the month. The results on the possibilities of making money reserves reinforce this coherence. The ratio of households able to save money is equally low in all settlement types, but the advantage to people living in Budapest is clearly perceptible as compared to the people living in the other settlement types.

The ratio of occasional saving is much higher in each settlement type; the highest proportion is in county seats and Budapest, and it is below 30% in the rest of the settlement types. Debt is one of the substantial reasons for the strikingly difficult, sometimes severe financial situation. We cannot tell the extent of the indebtedness since the research did not aim at examining the pattern of spending, but the rates of indebtedness can be detected. The dividing line of indebtedness seems to be between Budapest and the other settlement types. The extent is the smallest in Budapest, while it is around 30% in the other settlement types: in county seats and

towns with county rights, 33.7% of the respondents have debts; this rate is 29.9% in the other towns, while 32.1% of the village residents have debts. Regardless of the settlement type, a significant proportion of the debts are housing loans, that is, the reason of indebtedness is the loan taken for housing in 40–50% of the cases.

This extent of indebtedness should explain the households' poor capacity to make reserves and that a great many experience money is running out by the end of the month. In addition, this reveals another problem: the incapacity to repay the loans and additional difficulties. Apparently, repayment means a big problem for 50% of the people in debt regardless of the settlement type. In connection with the experienced financial poverty, the analysis of the perception of subjective financial well-being clearly demonstrates the hierarchical differences between the settlements. The lower the settlement on the hierarchy, the bigger the proportion of the people with financial difficulties, or the indigent. This proportion exceeds the rate of 25% in the case of young people living in villages. Examining those who live in continuous financial insecurity (who can hardly make ends meet), the dividing line clearly appears between Budapest and the other settlement types. It also means that young adults living in households in Budapest experience uncertain financial management to a lesser extent than people in the other settlement types. Actually, young people (and the households they live in) with a stable financial situation claim that they live well by managing their (or their household's) money: the biggest proportion of them lives in Budapest (61.5%), whereas only 34.0% of young adults living in villages are satisfied with their or their households' financial situation. Ethnicity has significant influence on life conditions in Hungary. Because of the specific situation of Roma people, we should highlight the coherence that a significantly⁴ great proportion, exactly 62.3%, of the Roma people in the sample struggle with financial problems every month or are indigent in contrast with 17.2% of the majority society. Non-Roma young people have considerably more capacity to save money, 84.2% of young Roma people (or their households) are not able to spare or save money. Consequently, the young Roma people (70.9%) struggle with money shortage at the end of the month, more than the young non-Roma people (24.4%).

The most serious issues considered by the youth in regional dimensions

According to the surveyed young people, today in Hungary, the most serious problems arise neither from the shortages in social, environmental, communal, family or personal-individual relations nor from improper operation but,

4 Value of Chi-square 649,080, $p \leq 0.001$.

above all, the currently unpredictable future, the lack of aims, and the risk of unemployment pose insolvable problems. This ‘problem-map’ reflects some kind of anomic conditions and shows little differences between settlement types, only that the rural and urban youths prioritize the issues differently. Examination on regional differences perfectly demonstrates correlations to be in accordance with settlement types; the young people in East Hungary define the most serious and insoluble problems chiefly as hopeless, uncertain future, unemployment and employment difficulties, uncertainty of existence and aimlessness, just as the young people in West Hungary do. Unlike the other two regions of the country, the young people living in a better situation in Central Hungary define unemployment and employment difficulties as the most serious problems, but a hopeless, uncertain future, aimlessness and uncertainty of existence are also among their priorities.

Decisive factors of values – what is needed for success?

In the light of the aforementioned, answers to the question “what factors are especially necessary for the young people’s individual success in Hungary?”⁵ become more essential. In all these three regions of the country, people indicated the most essential factors for success in the same categories at a regional level. Unanimous opinion in accordance with statistics shows that the most determining factor is a stable job, then good connections and acquaintances, and, thirdly, willpower and ambition. In contrast, there are some factors (very similar in the three regions of Hungary as well) that they never consider necessary for success, including good manners, enterprising, IT skills, manoeuvring, luck, violent behaviour. In East and West Hungary, language knowledge is dismissed as a factor for success, this being only considered in Central Hungary by a small rate (2.9%). In this case, we do not mention the analysis of settlement types because there is no visible difference between the opinions at regional and settlement level (from village to city) as we can find the same views in all settlement types as at regional level.

Regarding the individual techniques for success, young Roma people’s values have some focus differences as compared to young non-Roma people’s opinions. As detailed before, young people mostly consider the stable job – good connections, acquaintances – willpower and ambition trio to be the key for success regardless of regional affiliations. In contrast, according to young Roma people living in Central

5 There were 19 options that the respondents could choose from: 1. willpower, ambition; 2. honour, morality; 3. stable job; 4. health; 5. violence; 6. good diploma; 7. good manners; 8. good family background; 9. hard work; 10. intrigue, insolence; 11. language knowledge; 12. good connections, acquaintances; 13. money, finances; 14. suitability; 15. computer skills; 16. luck; 17. knowledge, preparedness; 18. manoeuvring, 19. entrepreneurship.

Hungary, the most crucial factors for success are good connections, acquaintances, then good employment, money, and finances. In East Hungary, they think the most important thing for success is a stable employment, then money and finances, and, thirdly, good connections and acquaintances. West Hungary is the only region where the Roma people think the same factors to be essential for success like the other young people do in the region. They think having a stable job is the most important, the second is willpower and ambition, and the third is good connections and acquaintances as well as money and finances.

The majority of the young people think that they have a chance to get the desired job (regardless of what problem they have previously highlighted as the most serious one on the 'problem-map'). 54.3% of them in East Hungary, 60.9% in West Hungary, and 53.6% of them in Central Hungary express optimistic views. These results also show that people in West Hungary are significantly⁶ more optimistic and confident in that their career moves in the desired direction on the labour market. The young people in East Hungary, however, are significantly more pessimistic: 13.5% of them do not believe that they would ever get their preferred job. This rate is 10.4% in West Hungary, while in Central Hungary it is only 8.5%. The proportion of those uncertain about their future job is relatively high (it is between 20% and 30% in all the three regions of Hungary), proving that a great proportion of young people struggle with planning the future, and they are uncertain to ever get the desired job on the labour market.

The examination of the factors⁷ that are most required to get the desired job or a good one in the views of young people shows significant⁸ relations in the regional comparison. Young people in East Hungary think that the least needed factors to get a good job are family background (3.84), language knowledge (3.93), continuous learning (4.00), whereas the most needed factors are good connections (4.37), professional knowledge, skills (4.35), professional practice (4.31), support (4.26). There is a minimal difference in Central Hungary: young people think good connections (4.44) and professional knowledge, skills (4.46) have equal importance on the way to the desired job, and professional practice has similar effect (4.42). Outstanding is the role of support with the greatest value (4.34) in this part of Hungary. The young people in Central Hungary value the importance of language knowledge the least although this rate is 4.18. There is a significant difference in West Hungary, where family background (3.79), good educational attainment (4.03), and continuous learning (4.03) are the least important dimensions on the way to success on the labour market.

All these regional coherences confirm and strengthen the results of this research, stating that:

6 Value of Chi-square: 43,134, $p \leq 0.001$.

7 Graded on a scale of five.

8 Examining with the ANOVA test.

Conformity is typical of them, they do not want to overthrow the existing status quo, and most of them accept their parents' ideals of life. Uncertainty can be observed among them, while commitment is missing in many cases, they are aimless, which they perceive as a problem in their generation, meanwhile they desire order in life. The passivity of the 15–29-year-old people has increased in the recent years, civil activity is missing from most of their lives, and they are apolitical and refrain from the issues of public life. They mostly spend their free time at home in front of screens, and sedentary lifestyle and stagnant deviant behaviour characterize them (Székely 2014:26).

Summary

This study aims at summarizing the situation of young people over 18 according to the dimensions of settlement and habitation, primarily through factors and possibilities that determine chances on the labour market. The geographic, settlement environment determine and influence young adults' present and future possibilities, aspirations, and values. Different possibilities emerge on each level of the settlement hierarchy that often create gaps in terms of quality and quantity among the society's young age-groups too. The most determining social disadvantages arise from the inequality relations and occur mostly in young people's life who live in villages. The lowest rate of people with diploma and the highest rate of people with primary education exist here with all the short- and long-term consequences. Noteworthy is the phenomenon that confirms the effects of settlement levels, that is, the settlement slope is a financial slope at the same time. This means that money shortage at the end of the month mostly occurs in young people's lives who live in villages, while it occurs the least frequently in Budapest. In addition, an analysis on the young people's financial situation verifies that a so-called income gap can be detected between the group of towns with county rights, smaller (other) towns, villages, and the group of county seats and the capital city. Moreover, the capacity of young people living in villages to make money reserves and to establish investments to stabilize their future is reduced; they are more likely incapable of saving money as compared to young people living in big towns or in the capital. Consequently, young people who are in the most stable financial situation mostly live in big towns, that is, on the top of the settlement hierarchy. The problem of debts present in young people's life (or in their households) is an expressively influencing factor in their ability to make money reserves. Examination of indebtedness in accordance with settlement types shows the dividing line between Budapest and the other settlements, that is, the young people in Budapest experience debt the least, while regardless of

the size of the settlement, the rest of the young people experience it the most. The indebted young people chiefly live in villages or in small towns and have a certificate of final examination; a vast majority of them live from month to month or are indigent, or rather, they can only avoid money shortage at the end of the month if they manage their (or their household's) money shrewdly. The type of their (or their household's) debt is mostly housing loans regardless of the settlement type. The ability to repay the loans does not depend on the settlement type and it creates clearly critical situations in young people's lives. Repayment means a regular problem approximately for half of the indebted young people. One noteworthy result of the research demonstrates and confirms that the problems appearing in the first place of the youth's 'problem map' that seem to be the most insurmountable are fear of losing secure livelihood and aimlessness. This lets us conclude that they do not perceive that they control their own fate, and the concern for losing control over their own fate causes serious tensions for them. Nevertheless, they fear an unplannable future, aimlessness, and unemployment, which all point to this direction.

References

- Bihari, Zsuzsanna, Kovács, Katalin. 2006. *Gyermekszegénység vidéken: Magas szegénységi kockázatú települések a magyar településállományban. Településtípológia és rangsor*. Budapest: MTA Gyermekszegénység Elleni Program.
- Csoba, Judit, Diebel, Andrea. 2011. A fiatalok és a pályakezdekők helyzete a munkaerőpiacon. In: J. Csoba (ed.), *Munkaerő-piaci változások, leszakadó társadalmi csoportok*. 95–113. Debrecen: Szociotéka.
- Domokos, Tamás. 2012. Magyar fiatalok és a demográfiai átmenet. In: L. Székely (ed.), *Magyar Ifjúság 2012 Tanulmánykötet*. 9–37. Budapest: Magyar Közlöny Lap- és Könyvkiadó.
- Gazsó, Ferenc, Laki, László. 2004. *Fiatalok az újkapitalizmusban*. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.
- Kabai, Imre. 2014. *A késleltetett felnőtté válás jellegzetességei*. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kiadó.
- Kovács, Imre. 2012. *A vidék az ezredfordulón. A jelenkori magyar vidéki társadalom szerkezeti és hatalmi változásai*. Budapest: Argumentum – MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont.
- Murinkó, Lívia. 2010. Mítől lesz valaki felnőtt? A családi szerepek és az önállóvá válás szerepe a felnőtté válás megítélésében Magyarországon. *Demográfia* 1: 7–37.
- Nemes Nagy, József. 2004. A fekvés és az iskolázottság hatása a területi egyenlőtlenségekre Magyarországon. In: Zs. Cseres-Gergely, K. Fazekas, J. Koltay (eds), *Középkép. Munkaerő-piaci egyenlőtlenségek és földrajzi mobilitás*

- Magyarországon*. 133–144. Budapest: MTA – Országos Foglalkoztatási Közalapítvány.
- Obádovics, Csilla, Bruder, Emese, Kulcsár, László. 2011. A gazdasági és szociális helyzet területi egyenlőtlenségei a vidéki Magyarországon – hasonlóságok és eltérések. In: F. Bódi, G. Fábíán (eds), *Helyi szociális ellátórendszer Magyarországon*. 141–155. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó.
- Rab, Árpád, Székely, Levente. 2007. Változó ifjúság az információs társadalomban. In: Á. Nagy (ed.), *Ifjúságsegítés – Probléma vagy lehetőség az ifjúság?* Budapest: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó.
- Ságvári, Bence. 2012. Az átmenetek kora? – A magyar fiatalok társadalomképéről. In: I. Kovách, Cs. Dupcsik, T. P. Tóth, J. Takács (eds), *Társadalmi integráció a jelenkori Magyarországon*. 63–82. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó.
- Somlai, Péter 2007. A posztadoleszcensek kora. In: P. Somlai (ed.), *Új ifjúság*. 9–43. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.
2010. Változó ifjúság. *Educatio* 2: 175–190.
2013. *Család 2.0. Együttélési formák a polgári családtól a jelenkorig*. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.
- Tóth, Olga. 2012. Társadalmi integráció és család. In: I. Kovách, Cs. Dupcsik, T. P. Tóth, J. Takács (eds), *Társadalmi integráció a jelenkori Magyarországon*. 369–382. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó.
- Utasi, Ágnes. 2004. *Feláldozott kapcsolatok – a magyar szingli*. Budapest: MTA Politikatudományi Intézet.
- Székely, Levente. 2014. Az új csendes generáció. In: Á. Nagy, L. Székely (eds), *Másodkézből. Magyar Ifjúság 2012*. 9–28. Budapest: ISZT Alapítvány – Kutatópont.
- Vaskovics, László. 1995. A család és a szülő szerepe, értéke, illetve értékelése az európai országokban – összehasonlítás. *Demográfia* 38: 7–17.
2000. A posztadoleszcencia szociológiai elmélete. In: *Szociológiai Szemle* 4. (http://www.szociologia.hu/dynamic/VaskovicsL_tanulmany.pdf – last visit on May 11, 2016).