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GLOBALIZATION, LOCALIZATION AND INDIVIDUALIZATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN NYÍREGYHÁZA

In the first part of our study we examined the attitude of the high school students of Nyíregyháza to international mobility, with special attention to the neighbouring countries and different ethnic groups. In connection with that, we also wished to find out about the relationship of the young people to their own region, how powerful their local consciousness is, and what chances in life they envisage. Their international experience and plans, their bonds to their respective region are examined in interrelation. In the second part of the study we concentrate on the international experience of the students related to crossing the borders: how much they have travelled and for what reasons, would they like to study and/or live abroad, and what factors influence these plans. In part three of the study we examine some of the characteristics of the life of the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza at an individual level: the patterns of their leisure activities, their satisfaction with their own life and well-being. Our survey is based upon the data base of an inventory research conducted among 11th grade (senior high school) students in 2015. Locality and regionality play an important role in the life of these students, but their personal relationships reach beyond the national borders. It is clearly seen from the results that students coming from a higher socio-economic status have had more opportunities to travel abroad. Their free time is dominated by social solitude, whereas their satisfaction with life is largely influenced by their social activities and their subjective social situation.

Keywords: cross border mobility, locality, leisure, satisfaction with life

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INTRODUCTION

Areas close to the national borders constitute special geographical, economic, cultural, social and educational regions (Süli-Zakar, 2010) – and these regions are often peripheral (Ilyés, 2004). In Hardi's definition, a "border zone is one the daily life of which is largely influenced by interactions with the territories accross the border" (Hardi, 2008, p. 4). Border regions may also be interpreted as transitory zones: they screen global phenomena for the local area and the individual on the one hand, and collect and focus local and individual phenomena, processes and attitudes on the other (Süli-Zakar, 2010).

That is why it is interesting to examine the regionality among the young people (11th grade secondary school) in one particular city, Nyíregyháza, in the border zone. It is important to see how these students are connected to the region and the location or how mobile they are at regional, international or global levels. Bonds to the location and region indicate a certain integration into a group, a community, thus it is worth examining the students concerned from the aspects of individualization. For the latter, we used an approach through the ways they spend their free time and their ideas about their own well being.

In the first part of our study we examined the relationship of the students to their own region, how powerful their local awareness is, and what chances in life they envisage there for the future. The international experience and plans, local and regional bonds are also examined in an interrelation with each other. The second half of our study concentrates on the plans and experience of the respondents in connection with international mobility. We intended to survey how often the young people of Nyíregyháza travel within the region but across the borders, and how open they are to the possibilities of studying/working abroad. As social distance may be an indicator of global approach, openness to internationalization, we probed into the attitude of the students to various ethnic groups and the nations living in the neighbouring nations. In the third part of our study we focus on some of the individual features of the life of secondary school students of Nyíregyháza: how they spend their free time and how satisfied they are with their own lives as factors related to their way of live and well-being.

PATTERN AND METHODS

The inventory research, upon which the study is based, took place in May and June 2015. It was carried out as part of an international project (Youth in the Central and Eastern European Cross-border Areas), with the participation of secondary school students, preparing for their GCSE, living in the border zones of the Ukraine, Poland and Hungary. In Hungary, Nyíregyháza was chosen as the location of the research. The purpose of the project was mapping the attitudes of the students living in the respective regions to studying, work, foreign countries and their own regions, and surveying their way of life and social background. Since we wished to contact young people preparing for their

GCSE, we visited vocational secondary schools and grammar schools. 359 students attending the 11th grade in five institutions (two grammar schools and three vocational secondary schools). 132 of the respondents attended vocational schools, 201 came from grammar schools, whereas 26 of them did not specify the type of the school they went to. When creating the panel, attention was paid to select approximately the same number of students in each country. With data received from the Közoktatási Információs Iroda [Information Bureau of Public Education], we carried out a stratified group sampling, selecting 18% of the students at both types of schools.

After an introduction of the most important basic statistical data, we analysed the influences of the most important variables of social background (gender, place of residence, qualifications of the parents, parents' occupation and position, objective and subjective financial situation[11]) on the issues concerned. For the examination we used variance analysis and chi-square tests. The findings were compared to the results of the survey entitled Magyar Ifjúság 2012 [Hungarian Youth, 2012] (Székely, Nagy, 2013), and the subsequent Nyíregyháza ifjúsága 2015 [The Youth of Nyíregyháza] (Huszti, Hüse, Takács, 2016) in which they concentrated on young people of 15-29, partly in the issues subject to our own research.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITY

The historical changes that have taken place in the region since the early 1990s, including the free travelling across the borders, the "birth" of the regions, controlled from above, and accession of some of the countries into the Europe Union, have gradually become a part of people's daily lives.

The young generation of our society was born into these changes, so crossing the border freely or living in administrative regions is natural for them. Various research projects (Egedy, 1996; Ristić, Nagy, Kicošev, 2013) indicate that young people approach their place of living, their region, country, the neighbouring countries and Europe primarily from an emotional aspect. Research into regionality (Somlyódiné Pfeil, 2007; Palkó, 2009; Murányi, Szoboszlai, 2000; Nárai, 2009; Paasi, 1989; Ludescher, 2009) have been dealing with regional identity, the attitude of people to locality for decades. Any research into the local identity of young people is, however, only present in

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[11] The questionnaire testing the respondents' objective financial situation: Please indicate, which of the following does your family possess*: 1. Dishwasher, 2. Mobile phone, 3. Plasma, LCD or LED TV, 4. Computer, 5. NoteBook or NetBook, 6. Weekend cottage, 7. Automobile, 8. Permanent Internet-access, 9. Desk specifically for learning, 10. A room of your own.* The questionnaire testing the respondents' subjective financial situation: Please indicate, which of the following best describes your family's financial situation? *1. We are very poor, hardly able to buy the bare essentials; 2. We live in a moderate way, managing to make ends meet; 3. We live in a mediocre way, we can meet our daily needs, but we cannot afford to buy more expensive things; 4. We are fairly wealthy, we can buy what we need; 5. We live a fairly luxurious life, we can buy expensive things and save up money.*

empirical studies to a limited extent (Ristić et al., 2013; Egedy, 1996). Unfortunately, the various research programmes dealing with young people devote relatively little attention to their local and regional attitude and identity. It would be desirable to pay more attention to these issues, since the space in which young people live, largely shapes and influences their identity. It is an elementary assumption in most theories dealing with social spaces that spatiality is an important dimension of social activities. Space may be interpreted as a context in which social life takes place, and space is, in turn, a reflection of social life (Strassoldo, 1990).

Studying the expectations of young people in connection with their future is at the same time suitable for measuring regional awareness. In our inventory we included questions regarding the ideas of the young people about their own future. We asked whether they believed that they would be able to achieve their objectives in their own region. Nearly half of the respondents gave an inconclusive answer; maybe and maybe not (47,9%). Only 8,9% of them said no, 13,9% answered probably no. 15,9% of the students had a positive opinion about their chances of achieving their goals, and 10,6% believed that they have some chance. The data suggest that more than one quarter of the participants saw their chances in the region positively, and nearly half of them say "maybe or maybe not". No connection between the answers and the genders has been observed.

In the findings of Ristić et al. (2013), the concepts of place are often associated with various ideas regarding a community, whereas the places do not necessary mean communities at the same time, though places contribute to shaping and influencing the generation of communities. Similarly to other projects, the research in Nyíregyháza addressed the issue of communities linked to places of various sizes. Closed inventories were used in order to map the relationship of the students with various communities (for example, the citizens of other countries, family, city, county, region etc.). The respondents were requested to evaluate the importance of a community on a four-grade scale. They also had the opportunity to avoid the evaluation of any or all the communities when they did not have any opinion regarding those communities, or they merely did not wish to answer (Table 1).

226 students oout of the 359 (63%) reported very strong ties with their families, and this finding coincides with the results of other empirical research programmes conducted among the youth in Nyíregyháza (Fedor, 2016). A comparison with the related literature revealed that our respondents have somewhat weaker bonds to their own respective ethnic groups. In our research, the second most cohesive community is their own ethnic group with very strong ties (24,2%), further enhanced by 33,4% of the students, who reported strong ties to their ethnic groups. A surprising outcome of the research is that one fifth of the students involved in the programme was unable to deal with the question

or did not wish to respond (20,1%). Ristić et al. conducted a survey at a secondary school in Temerin (a Hungarian ethnic area in Serbia's Voivodship province) in 2013.

Table 1. On a four-grade scale, how strong would you classify your connection with the communities listed? (per cent) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

	Very strong	Strong	Weak	I feel no connection at all	I do not know/I do not want to answer
The citizens of your own country	3,6	22,8	42,3	17,3	13,9
Family	63	29	5,8	0	2,2
The city where you live	7,2	35,1	40,1	10,3	7,2
Your county	2,2	19,8	46,5	18,9	12,5
Your region	3,6	14,5	46,5	21,4	13,9
Europe	7	18,4	31,2	27,6	15,9
Your own ethnic group	24,2	33,4	17,5	4,7	20,1

They concentrated on locality and identity. Both the Serbian and Hungarian students ascribed greater importance to belonging to an ethnic group than to any other–often ethnically mixed–community (region, settlement). The two surveys are not directly comparable, but a similar finding in both is that belonging to an ethnic group is more important for young people than their bonds to the place where they live, the county, country and Europe.

The links binding them to their village/town/city, and their satisfaction with the settlement where they live is important from the aspect of preserving the population of a settlement. Only a small group of the respondents (7,2%) reported very strong ties to their settlement, whereas 35,1% believed they had strong ties, 40,1% weak ties, and 10,3% of them did not have any noteworthy emotion regarding Nyíregyháza. In the face of related literature[12], we formerly

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[12]In Hungary, it was Egedy who conducted an empirical survey in two cities (Győr and Budapest) and a town (Szarvas) in 1996. The first question in his inventory was related to the students' general satisfaction with their respective city. The overwhelming majority (89%) of the youth of Győr was satisfied, a similarly high

assumed that the bonds of young people to their city are stronger than the ones linking them to their ethnic community or to their larger geographical environment. The findings only partially justified our preliminary assumption, since the share of the respondents reporting very strong and strong bonds remained below half of the total.

Our inventory included a question as to whether the young people living here believed that living in a border county influenced their life. 10,9% of the students believed that it indeed affected their live, another 11,1% said that it often affected, 29,5% of them believed that in some things it did, in others it did not. The life of 22,6% is largely unaffected by the proximity of the border, and 24,5% of the respondents did not experience any influence of the border region at all. We wished to find an explanation to these proportions. At that question, no considerable differences were found among the respondents according to gender, the qualifications of the parents and their subjective welfare. Objective welfare, and the knowledge of the language of the neighbouring countries, on the other, led to significant differences. Those experience the effects of the border region who live in a high objective welfare and speak the language of one of the neighbouring countries. It was also observed that travelling across the border for whatever reason (shopping, the employment of the parents, friends or relatives there, planning studies or moving over there etc.), also considerably influence the opinion of the respondents regarding the influence of the border region on their life. Young people who travel to the neighbouring country/countries and/or speak the language(s) of those countries, tend to believe that their life is influenced by the border region.

THE APPEARANCE OF INTERNATIONALITY IN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

In order to survey the border identity of the young people living in the area and to learn more about the effects of the border zone on the life of people, it is indispensable to examine the cross-border activities of the young people concerned in the neighbouring countries. We examined the frequency of their journeys abroad, and their attitude to the neighbouring nations. A characteristic feature of living in the border zone is that crossing the border for different reasons, work, visiting friends and relatives, studying or spending leisure time, is part of people's daily life (Hardi, 2008). 50,1% of the students of Nyíregyháza has friends in at least one of the neighbouring countries, and 37,3% has relatives. 25% go shopping in one of the neighbouring countries on a regular basis. Also high is the proportion of those who speak the language of one of the neighbouring countries (38,4%). More than one quarter of the students plan to

proportion (83%) of those living in Szarvas was also satisfied, while the students in Budapest appeared to be more divided, as only 70% of them said that they were satisfied with the place where they lived.

settle down in a neighbouring country (29,8%) or to study there (20,3%) (Figure 1). It is, however, possible that the high proportion at the last three instances is caused by the high number of students who study German and intend to move to Austria. This assumption appears to be underpinned by an analysis of the future plans of the students. The regional bonds of the students of Nyíregyháza seem to be powerful, despite all these circumstances.

Figure 1. The Regional Experience and Plans of the Students of Nyíregyháza. Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015](N=359)
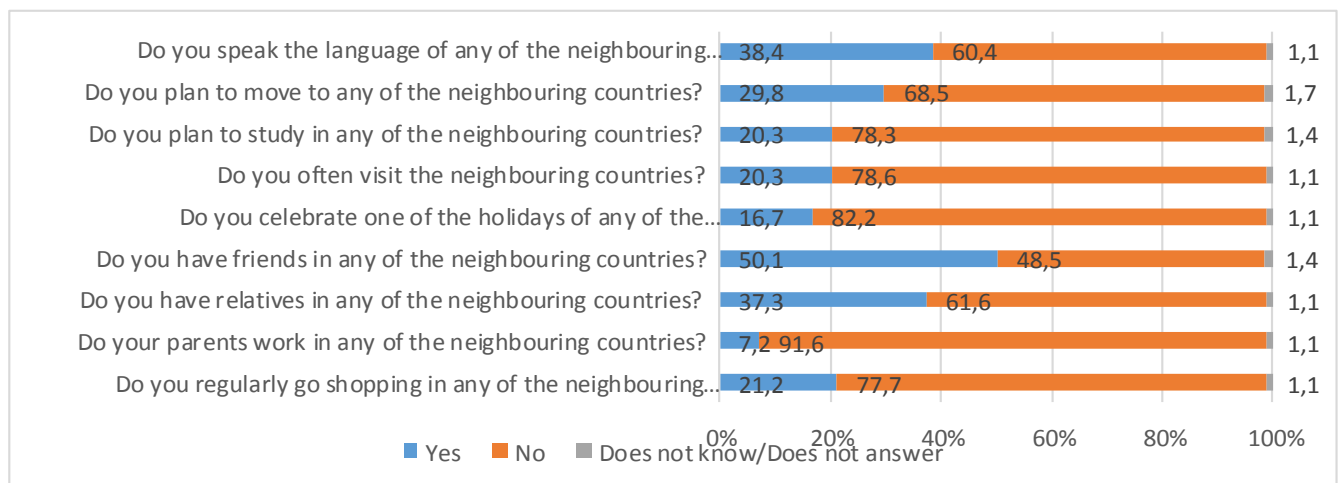
Before discussing the future plans of the young people of Nyíregyháza, let us briefly survey their travel experiences and their attitudes to other nations. The majority of the respondents have been abroad, 6,6% of them crosses the border several times a month, 42,7% several times a year. 39,3% of the young people have been abroad once or twice, whereas 11,1% has never crossed the border. The responses related to crossing the border several times a month and several times a year and "I have been abroad once or twice" have been combined into a "Has been abroad" category, and the "I have never been abroad" answer was treated separately. The answers in the "I have been abroad" category were analysed according to the purpose of the journey abroad. The most common reason was tourism (71,2%), and 5,5% of the respondents stated business as a reason, which meant the purchase or sale of various goods. 13,7% visited friends or relatives abroad. The financial situation of the families was found to be largely influential to their travel experience. Both capital indicators used to measure the financial situation of families were in close correlation with the travel experience of the families. The higher the objective and subjective well-being of the families are, the more frequently the young people concerned have had an opportunity to travel abroad. Similarly strong is the interrelation between the qualifications of the parents and the travel experiences of their children. The children of the parents with the highest qualifications reported the highest number of foreign trips. Among the children of parents with low qualifications

the proportion of those who have never been abroad is higher. A variable usually in close interrelation with the financial situation and qualifications of the parents, that is, the type of school the children select, is also directly linked to the foreign travel experience of the students. Those attending the highest type of secondary schools, that is, grammar school, tend to leave the country several times a year. Less powerful, but a still detectable factor is gender; boys travel somewhat more frequently than girls do. The type of settlement where they live does not appear to influence the students' habit of travelling abroad.

When surveying the attitude of the students to the neighbouring nations, we offered a five-grade scale to express their ideas. Grade 5 is a positive attitude, while 1 is a negative one. The result was the following: the young people of Nyíregyháza found the Americans and German the most attractive (both receiving an average of 3,8 grades, with deviations of 0,9 and 1 respectively), followed by the Polish people (average: 3,6, deviation: 0,9) and finally the French (average: 3,5, deviation: 1). The medium range is occupied by the Czechs (average: 3,3, deviation: 0,8), Russians (average: 3,2, deviation: 1), Lithuanians and White Russians (average: 3,1, deviation: 0,8 and 0,8). The least popular are the nations in the neighbouring countries: the Ukrainians and Slovakians (2,9 average, deviation: 1,1 and 1,1), and the Romanians (average 2,7, deviation: 1,1). In addition to the Romanians, the other unpopular ethnic group is the Muslims. The Muslims, are however, not an ethnic community but a religion, and the term is here used collectively to denote Arabs, Turkish etc. peoples (average: 2,7, deviation: 1,1) (Figure 2). The results match those of similar research programmes dealing with young people: the neighbouring nations are found the least attractive, followed by nations from other continents ("Congolese", "Chinese"). Western-European nations are the most attractive, followed by the Finnish people, who are ethnically related to Hungarians, and the Hungarian minorities living in the neighbouring countries (Murányi, Szabó 2007; Murányi, 2012).

There is no considerable difference in grading the various ethnic groups according to the type of school and the settlement where the respondents live. As for the qualifications of the parents, the highest qualification of the father seems to influence the acceptance of four ethnic groups. The higher the qualifications of the father were, the more accepted the Polish, German, White Russian and Czech people were in the family. There were no differences in the acceptance of the other nations, but in general the higher the qualifications of the father are, the more open the children are to other ethnic groups. In the case of the mother, similar tendencies were observed with the acceptance of the Polish, German, Lithuanian and Czech nations. There are some significant differences in the case of some of the ethnic groups: women tend to be less prejudiced towards the Americans, Romanians, Slovakians and Muslim nations. There is no difference between the social sexes in connection with the Polish people. The

objective financial situation of the family only influenced the attitude of young people to two nations: the children of families with above the average objective capital has a more positive opinion of the Poles and Germans. The subjective financial situation only appears to influence the respondents' attitude to the Germans. An above the average subjective financial situation brings about a more positive attitude to Germans. Our findings are similar to the results of other research programmes concentrating on young people in other countries (Murányi, Szabó, 2007).

We also examined whether the attitude of students to other nations is influenced by their knowledge of the language of the neighbouring nations, or friends and relatives living in those countries. Similarly, we examined whether the frequency of their crossing the border has any effect on their opinion about the neighbouring nation. Our results do not indicate that these factors influence the attitude of the young people to the neighbouring nations. We have also observed that the students are less open and acceptive towards ethnic minorities.

Figure 2. Sense of Distance from the Nations Listed (average scores – 5: very positive opinion, 1: very negative opinion) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary
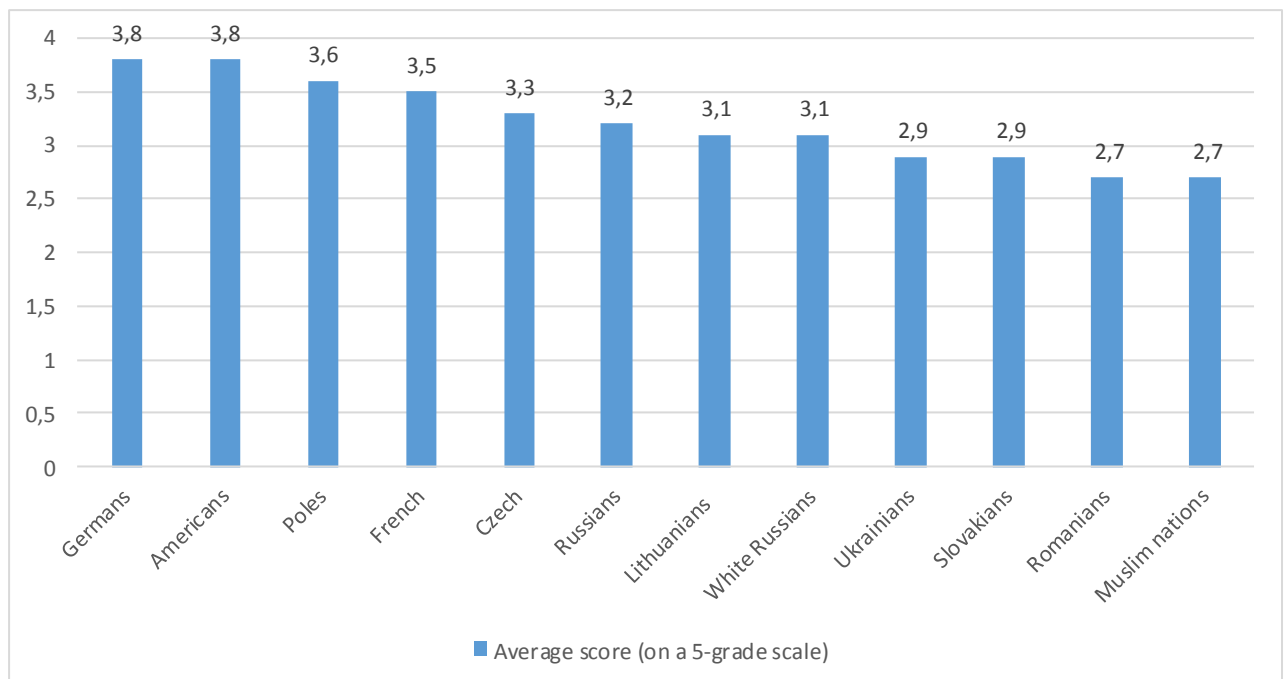
School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

One of the special segment of the migration plans of young people is mobility for higher education. The respondents were asked whether they wanted to continue their education after secondary school, and if yes, where. In general, 63,2% of the secondary school students would like to continue their studies, and

a further 20,9% plan to study while working, and only 10% would like to take up work. 5,9% is the proportion of those who want to stay at home or do not know at all what they will do after they have completed the secondary school. This result is similar to the findings of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county sub-sample of the findings of the survey titled Magyar Ifjúság 2012 [Hungarian Youth]. In that survey, 41% of the respondents expressed their intention to continue their studies (Szabó, Nagy, 2015). The overwhelming majority (53,2%) of those who wish to continue their studies have higher education in mind. In the face of earlier surveys of a similar kind (Ruff, 2013; Székely, Pitó, 2010; Pusztai, Nagy, 2005), it is surprising that the desires to study abroad are not influenced by the students' gender, the qualifications of their parents, the objective and subjective well-being of the families or the type of settlement they live in. The only factor that seemed to influence the decision of studying abroad was the idea of the young people regarding the place where they wanted to live. Those who planned to study abroad, typically planned to stay abroad to settle permanently.

The following question addresses the location of the planned further education. The answer options included Nyíregyháza, another settlement within the county, another settlement in the country and studying abroad. Only one answer was to be chosen, and 39,6% chose Budapest. 24,2% chose another town outside the county (predominantly Debrecen), and 12,8% selected Nyíregyháza. These figures were followed by learning abroad with 5,8%, another town in the county with 3,1%. On the other hand, though the students were supposed to choose one option only, and they did not choose abroad, when they were asked to name a country where they would like to study after the secondary school, the figure of those planning to study abroad jumps from 5,8% to 22% (79 people). In the 15-18 year sub-sample of the research entitled Nyíregyháza Ifjúsága 2015 [The Youth of Nyíregyháza] the respective proportion was 42,2% (Kállai et al., 2016). As for the specific countries, England was the most popular (34,2% of those who plan to study abroad named England as the target country), followed by the United States with 19%, Austria with 11,4% and Denmark (8,9%). Some (12,7%) of the students who would like to study abroad did not name any specific country. France, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Japan, the Republic of South Africa and Romania were also mentioned sporadically, only one or two respondents name these countries. Surprisingly low was the number of students who named Germany as their preferred target country. In national patterns of migration the most popular target countries are Germany, the United Kingdom and Austria (Blaskó, Gödri, 2014). When it comes to studying, France and Italy also appear among the target countries (Kiss, 2014; Dusa 2015).

Our multiple-choice inventory tailored to survey the motivations of students to study abroad revealed that the most common reason for wanting to learn abroad is wanderlust (91 students said "I want to see the world"), and the

hope of a better life (76 students mentioned that "upon completing my studies it will be easier to find a job and build a career"). 73 students mentioned that "the living standards are higher there." 47 students believed that "there is better education there." Well-equipped laboratories and libraries, safe location and the geographical proximity were the least motivating factors (see Table 2). In the course of the survey titled Magyar Ifjúság [Hungarian Youth] 2012, general question were asked regarding the motivations of mobility–not specifically concentrating on studies–and better living conditions, the desire to gather experience and career building were the most important factors behind the motivation (Ruff, 2013).

Table 2. Motivation behind the Desire to Learn Abroad (number of items mentioned) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

"Why do I want to study abroad?"	Mentioned, number
I want to see the world	91
Upon completing my studies it will be easier to find a job and build a career	76
The living standards are higher there	73
There is better education there	47
More interesting life, better ways of spending one's free time	43
Better self-development, better chances of improving my skills	42
I can be independent more easily	39
Earning a degree abroad	34
Studies abroad will help in moving to that country	28
There is democracy there and freedom of speech	14
There is no corruption in education there	11
Other	11
Better equipped laboratories and libraries	5
Safer location, far from the conflict zones	4
There is a higher education institution close to where I live	3

We asked questions, in general, about migration, whether migration is included in the plans of the young people, whether they plan to live abroad

permanently in the future. With the question we wished to find out where they thought they would live after finishing the secondary school. Only one answer was expected from the students. 11,7% of them wants to live where they live now. 3,9% plans to live within the county but at a different settlement. 17% of the students wants to move to some other part of the country after obtaining the GCSE, and 14,5% intends to move to the capital city. 24% of them does not yet know or does not want to answer. 29%, however, wants to leave the country. We see therefore that even when studying abroad after secondary school is not primarily important for young people, migration is still present in their future plans, and more than one quarter of the students involved in the survey plan to leave the country at some point in the future. 35% in the 15-18-year group in the survey titled "Nyíregyháza Ifjúsága 2015" [The Youth of Nyíregyháza] finds it possible to move to a foreign country, and another 47% would try it, even if not permanently (Kállai et al., 2016). The plans for the future appear to be influenced only by the gender and the type of settlement of the respondents. A higher number of girls plan to leave their county and move to an other town in Hungary. Similarly, a higher number of girls and those who live in cities plan to leave the country and settle abroad permanently.

A FEW ASPECTS OF THE WAY OF LIFE AND WELL-BEING OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN NYÍREGYHÁZA

The last part of our survey concentrates on the way of life and well-being of the secondary school students at an individual level; what they do in their free time, to what extent do they spend their free time alone or in the company of their peers. The study is also designed to survey their satisfaction with life and to map the socio-cultural factors that shape and influence their satisfaction with life.

The way the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza perfectly matches the national average: they are, in fact, screenagers (Horkai, 2002), who tend to spend their free time alone at home in a digital world, just like the young people of Hungary in general (Huszti, Takács, 2016; Nagy, 2013). 70,3% of them chat on a daily basis, 69,9% listen to music, every fifth youngster plays computer games, and passive rest is chosen by every second young person as a form of recreation. It is a positive fact that 38,8% of the secondary school students does some sport, 38,7% of them go for walks, 14,2% play games, several times a week. In the course of our former research programmes dealing with the way of life of the students of Nyíregyháza we verified that the proportion of those doing sports was very high among them (approximately 70%), but once they have finished the secondary school, there is a drastic drop in that figure (Kovács, 2016). As for social activities and entertainment, 44,6% of the students goes to discotheques several times a month, 38,4% of them goes to cafés, bars, one third

them play pool, bowling or go to cinema. Extracurricular learning plays an important role in the life of the students, as one third of them mentioned some form of daily self-educational or self-improving activity. 37,3% of the students likes learning foreign languages. Watching TV, on the other hand, is losing its popularity: only 36,5% of them watches TV on a daily basis. The most popular programmes are feature films (16,7% of the respondents said that they preferred films when they watched TV). Films are followed by entertainment shows, contests and sport programmes in that order. The least popular TV programmes are video clips, business information footages and political programmes.

Figure 3. The Frequency of being involved in the specific leisure time activities. Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)
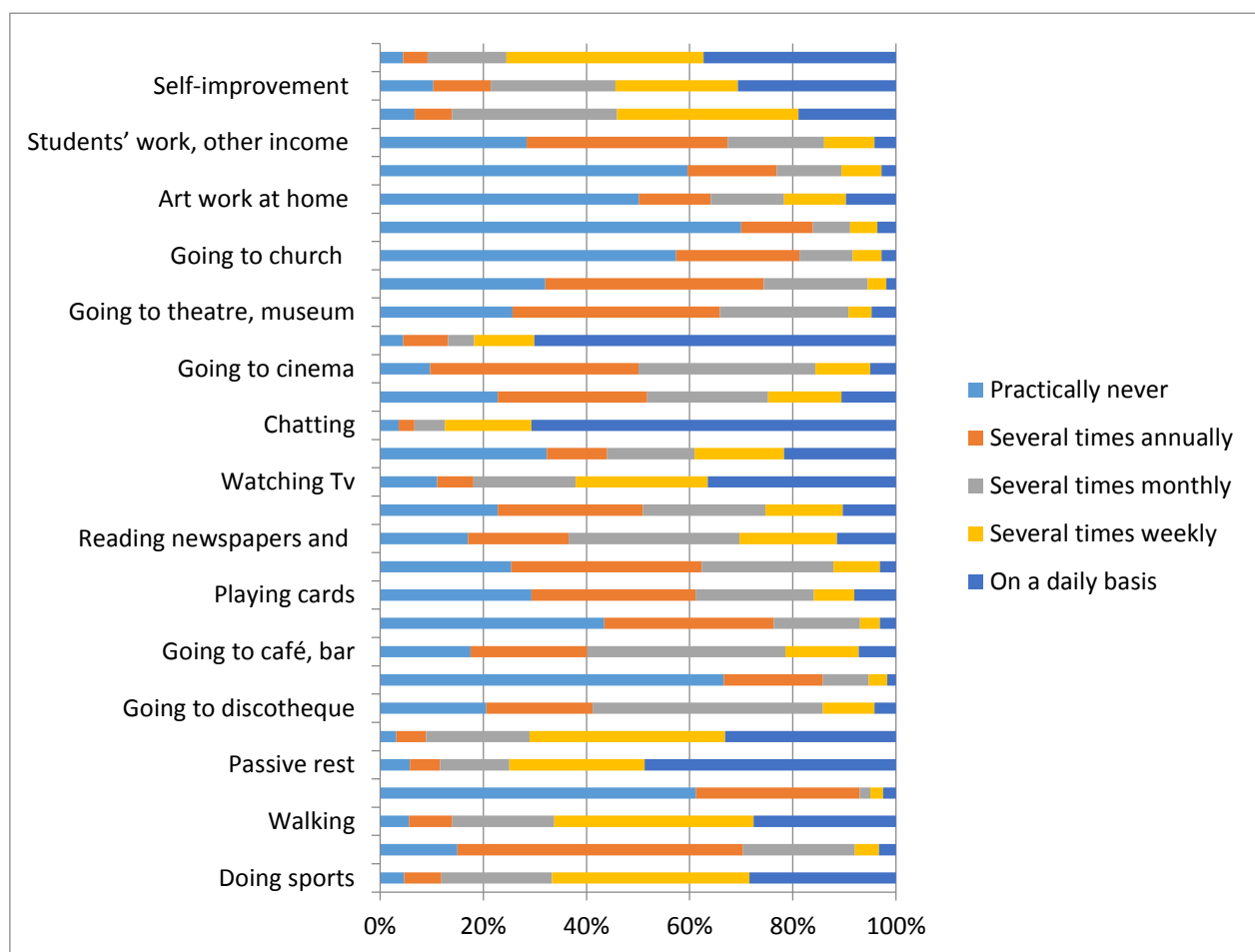
69,9% of the secondary school students practically never participates in any art clubs, two thirds of them do not play chess, 57% does not go to church, 59,6% does not do any technical-technological activity. On third of the respondents never go to concerts, and 22,8% of them does not read fiction. These figures aptly indicate how differently the so-called Z–now almost α-

generation–spends their free time from the way their parents used to do. For the frequency of the specific leisure time activities, see Figure 3 below.

For data reduction, we use factor analysis and introduced eight free time activities.[13] *Social* activities include going to (pop) concerts, discotheques, playing games, going to the cinema. *Recreation* comprises passive rest, on-line chatting, listening to music, whereas *culture-consumption* contains going to the theatre, museums and reading fiction. The dimension of *learning* includes self-improvement, studying foreign languages, but even doing sports may be be listed with this category. *Active* ways of spending one's free time are doing various arts and crafts students' work, and going to church. Watching TV, reading newspapers, magazines and visiting friends belong to the dimension of *information gathering*. Playing various activity- and computer games belong to the category of *playing*. The last category, termed *"hanging out,"* includes walks in the city/town, going to bars and cafés and going on excursions. Students in this category appear to be fond of being outside their homes. Factor weights were converted into a scale from 0 to 100. 0 means that the individual concerned is not characterized by that factor at all, and 100 means that they are fully characterized. Then the average figures were examined: in social preferences our students scored 34.1, in recreational they had 69.6, in culture consumption they accumulated 47.9, in learning they gathered 39.4, in the active category they had 54.7, in information gathering 57.7 was achieved, in games the figure is 25.4, and in "hanging out" the respondents averaged 45.3 points.

In the following we examined the socio-cultural factors that influence the specific preferences. We wished to map the differences in a breakdown according to gender, financial situation, type of settlement, and the qualifications of the parents (Table 3). It is only the category of the learning dimension where no considerable differences are detected between the genders. Male students appear to prefer social, culture consuming and active ways of spending their free time, hanging out, whereas female students prefer recreational and information gathering ways. We found these preferences in full compliance with the traditional roles of the sexes. The active ways of spending free time are primarily characteristic of those living in small towns, and least common among those who live in villages. That fact is probably the consequence of the lack of facilities and possibilities. Still, information gathering and visiting friends/relatives are not characteristic of the people living in a rural environment either, which is surprising. Subjective and objective welfare and the qualifications of both parents play a significant role in social ways of spending one's free time. Children with highly qualified parents have a definite edge over the others, since going to a café or bar, and consume drinks

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[13]With Principal Components, Direct oblimin rotation. KMO value: ,811, the value of the explained variance is 56,1%

there as they wish, or going to pop concerts, often require considerable financial resources. The qualifications of the father as a cultural capital has an influence on the active ways of spending one's free time. It is noteworthy, however, that learning primarily characterizes the children of parents with low qualifications. The reason for that might be that these children need more time to cope with the material required at school, and their parents are unable to help them. This figure is to be treated with precaution, since the sample, the number of respondents, is small. Fathers with advanced qualifications seem to make sure that their children spend their free time in an active and creative way, in the company of their peers. Our findings, that the consumption of high culture is the privilege of those in an objectively good financial situation, matches the observations in the related professional literature (Nagy, 2013; Kovács, 2012; 2016; Bocsi, 2014).

Table 3. Average Numbers of the Factors of Free Time Spending Preferences, According to Social Background Variables (points). Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

		Social	Recrea-tional	Culture-con-suming	Learning-oriented	Active	Infor-mation gatherer	Play-ful	Pion-eer	N
Gender	Female	31,9*	72,1*	43,9*	38,6	52,2*	60,3*	29,9*	42,4*	194
	Male	37*	67,5*	53,8*	39,5	57,8*	55,4*	41,5*	49,1*	147
Type of Settlement	City	36,8	73,5	47,9	41,1	52,3*	64,9*	33,3	46,4	43
	Town	35,4	71,5	48,8	38,1	55,2*	59,1*	35,7	44,4	65
	Small town	32,6	69,5	49	39,1	57*	58,4*	35	45,2	136
	Village/farm	33,6	68,2	46,4	38,7	51,2*	54,5*	35,9	44,4	92
Subjective Welfare	Below average	30,5*	68,2	47,4	40,8	53,3	56	34,4	45,4	171
	Above average	36,6*	71,3	48,5	37,7	56,5	59,6	35,4	45,5	167
Objective welfare	Below average	30,4*	68	45,4*	41,5	53,6	55,8	33,8	44,9	145
	Above average	36,8*	71	49,4*	37,8	55,3	59,1	36,5	45,6	206
Mother's	Elementar	33,9*	64,2	47,8	44,4	57,5	58,2	34,7	43,5	25

education	y									
	Secondary	32*	69,8	47,4	39,9	54,3	58,8	33,4	46,4	190
	Higher	37,5*	71,4	49,6	36,5	54,7	57,2	37,4	43,7	122
Father's education	Elementary	31,6*	63,9	50,4	48,5*	53,1*	55,4	33,3	47,1	31
	Secondary	33,2*	70,4	48,5	39,2*	53,3*	59,3	34,1	44,7	204
	Higher	37,1*	70,7	46,9	36,2*	58,1*	55,7	37,2	45,5	100

*p≤0,05

In our research we measured the most important indicator of subjective well-being, that is, the satisfaction of the people with their own life (Ryan, Deci, 2001; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, Griffin, 1985). It is an important social indicator of the mental state of the young people, since those who are not satisfied, tend to find their health also worse and they will use harmful drugs sooner than others, and all this is a serious risk factor of mental and psychical problems. (Székely, Susánszky, Ádám, 2013). The majority of the students (57,1%) are largely satisfied with their lives, every fourth student (24%) is highly satisfied. A mere 14,2% said that they were dissatisfied with some dimension of their life. The average number of points was 67 on the scale from 0 to 100. We detected hardly any difference between the genders, which refuted the tendencies observed in the previous research programmes, according to which men tend to be more satisfied. Neither the type of home settlement, nor the qualifications of the father appear to exert any influence on the satisfaction of life. The mother's education, on the other hand, did: the children of mothers with advanced qualifications scored 72 on the scale of satisfaction with life, whereas the children of mothers with elementary or secondary education reached 66 and 60 respectively. This result is probably explained by the interrelation between education and social-financial situation. That idea is further reinforced by the fact that students living in a subjective, and especially those living in an objective welfare, are considerably more satisfied with their lives (70.7 and 76.4), than those living below the average (63.8 and 59.8 points). Similarly, the children of parents in high prestige jobs (managers, company owners and engineers) scored highest on the scale of satisfaction with life (father: 77, 80.7 and 68,5; mother: 74.2, 76.4 and 72.8 points). It is in close connection with the higher qualifications and income of the parents. The lowest scores were achieved by the children of unskilled workers (father: 50.9; mother: 48.3). In the case of fathers, the children of low clerical positions also scored very low points (52.8). The children of unemployed mothers also scored low on the scale (54.8 points) on the scale of satisfaction with life. In the case of the mothers, the uncertainty caused by the

unemployment status, coupled with the potential financial difficulties, will make the children dissatisfied with life. The results in connection with the position of the parents are treated with precaution, since the number of elements in each category is very small. It is to be pointed out that subjective welfare is a more powerful influencing factor than objective well-being, despite the availability of different commodities. Spearman's correlation also justifies that: subjective welfare is the most powerful factor ($r_{Spearman}=0{,}362**$)[14] followed by objective welfare ($r_{Spearman}=0{,}164**$) and the education of the mother ($r_{Spearman}= 0{,}144**$).

In the course of our research, we examined the interrelations between the ways of spending one's free time and their satisfaction with life. We found correlation with two dominant ways of spending free time and satisfaction with life: young people who are fond of partying and the company of their friends tend to be more satisfied with life. On the other hand, who spend a lot of time learning are usually less satisfied. In accordance with the results of our earlier research project (Kovács, 2015), we have found that social activities and spending time with their peers play an important role in the life of secondary school students. Although spending time alone in a digital environment is now an organic part of the life of teenagers, spending time with friends and partying are still factors that considerably influence the quality of their life ($r_{Spearman}=0{,}195**$). The extra time spent with studying, on the other hand, is often regarded as a burden that mars the quality of life of the students ($r_{Spearman}=-0{,}167**$).

SUMMARY

An analysis of the findings of our inventory-based research conducted among 11th-year (grammar school) students (N=359) in 2015 provided us with a large amount of data regarding the plans, ideas, local and regional identity, foreign experience, desire for mobility of the young people of Nyíregyháza. We also obtained data regarding the patterns of their spending their free time and their satisfaction with life.

Our research findings indicate that locality has an important role in constructing the identity of young people. They do not have very serious ties to their region, county or country, and it is clear from our data that the students participating in the research have the strongest bond to their families. Their relationship with their locality is not more intensive than with their own ethnic group. It is surprising that the connections of the students with people in the neighbouring countries do not influence their attitudes to the neighbouring nations, although the strong regional bonds of the students of Nyíregyháza are indicated by the fact that they often visit the neighbouring countries. In connection with the travel experience and habits of the secondary school

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[14] **p≤0,001

students of Nyíregyháza we have found the characteristic patterns that we also find in the related literature: young people from a higher socio-economic status tend to travel abroad more frequently. The attitudes of the students to other nations and their orders of preferences are also similar to the findings of previous nationwide research projects. The sense of social distance is shaped and influenced by the educational level and financial situation of the parents: families in a better financial situation often have a more positive opinion about other nations. The international mobility plans and ideas of the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza also appear to be highly similar to the findings of other nationwide or regional research projects. Definite study plans show a somewhat lower popularity among the students of Nyíregyháza, but migration plans for the future (taking up jobs abroad and settling in foreign countries) are similar to the results of other research programmes, though the system of motivation behind the plans are not full clear.

We found it important to complement globalization and localization with individualization; therefore certain segments of the life of the young people of Nyíregyháza, including their preferences of spending their free time and their satisfaction with life, were examined. In that process, emphasis was placed on the role and importance of individual activities and social variables behind their preferences. It is clear that today's youngster are characterized by some sort of a social solitude, as they chat on-line in their free time, and with partying and other social activities they compensate for the solitude, as partying is still an important free time activity. Partying is, however, a socially determined activity: the children of families in a better socio-cultural situation are able to afford to spend money on partying and going out to the movie or concerts on a regular basis. An analysis of the satisfaction with life as an indicator of subjective well-being also shows that it is primarily influenced by the financial situation of the family, and the objective well-being is only second. The better the social situation of a young person is, the more satisfied they are with their life. Other factors, such as the occupation and position of the parents also play a role in this, since a higher position in a job and the higher social position coming with it will make a secondary school student more satisfied with their life, together with the socially determined activities with the peers.

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