'When I am 64' Research

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1. Introduction

Following the democratic transition in Hungary, research on youth increased substantially. This increase included the Sziget research (Sziget-kutatás) and the MOZAIK research (MOZAIK-kutatás), along with the Youth Research, (Ifjúság Kutatás) that started in 2000, also dating back to workshops and trends developed in that period. The data obtained can only be interpreted within a national or regional framework, it might be characterized by cross-border implications and is almost exclusively quantitative. These studies do not address localities as it is not their purpose.

However, young people's lives cannot be interpreted without the local context, since local conditions provide jobs or can be blamed for the lack thereof. Educational institutions might provide career paths, services might provide the frameworks of consumption, and cities and villages might provide various living environments. Older and younger generations surrounding them constitute a reference point on how to live their own youth, offer patterns to be incorporated, or provide an example young people regard as something that should be avoided.

Our research is rendered relevant by trends such as mediatization (which creates a clear dividing line between generations e.g. in using the Internet), educational expansion and young people migrating to cities from rural areas. These phenomena can be interpreted not only in a national but in an international context as well.

The objective of our study is to examine young people's generational plans in the district of Hegyhát. We used qualitative research tools fitting neatly into local studies. The study addresses the theoretical framework of youth sociology, presents the characteristics of the district and the county, and examines the issue of generations focusing on five important matters (the narrative of one's own generation, the description of other generations, the relationship between generations, the local characteristics, and the desired career paths).

The economic and social situation after the democratic transition transformed young people's lives fundamentally. The parents of some became unemployed, social disparities widened, and people in their teens and twenties do not take predictable employment and stable jobs for granted anymore. Meanwhile, the young people's world view is gradually widening thanks to globalization and ICT technology, and it seems to be causing a pronounced divide between different age groups.

The district of Hegyhát, which we have examined, demonstrates the symptoms of crisis. This region was affected by the aforementioned economic and social trends to a higher degree than the national average, since its economy had been characterized by the heavy industry and agricultural cooperatives provided work for villagers. Meanwhile, the demographic situation has also changed: the rising proportion of elderly people, the decrease in the number of children and the change in the ethnic makeup paint an interesting picture. The region's unique geographical features, its ethnic

makeup, the palpable elements of segregation and the tension in the labor market place young people in a situation that cannot be compared to the lives of earlier generations. This is what makes the region attractive for generation studies.

Although our analysis is merely a snapshot, since it conveys young people's views in 2016, the research covers a longer period, because memories from the Kádár regime as well as forecasts and scenarios for the future are included among the family narratives.

Our research problem involved the question of which aspects today's young people regard as relevant when drawing the borderline for their generation, and whether the nowadays fashionable concepts appear among them that almost merge the separating lines and the use of ICT tools into one. We wanted to examine how the signs of a changing family structure appear in young people's narratives, and how this establishes communication between generations within the family. We were trying to find out whether migration plans were part of the envisaged career paths and whether we can observe any differences between them (who is more likely to work abroad and why). We explored how established plans young people have for their lives as senior citizens, and how close their desired life as a senior citizen is to the image they consider realistic. We were interested in young people's outlook for the future of the area and the country. One part of our analysis focused on comparing Hungarian and Norwegian students: we wanted to explore the most important differences between the two groups – are nuclear family structures more prevalent among Norwegian students? Are their intergenerational relationships indeed looser? How can their life goals and prospects for the future be characterized?

We hope our research results will help better understand not only today's youth but the life situation middle-aged generations and local decision makers feel detached from or don't always comprehend. We would like to provide a helping hand to actors of local youth policy. Although our research results – due to their local character – cannot fully be generalized, we believe them to be sufficient enough for other districts and counties to benefit from them. This is the reason why our work could account for the hiatus in the literature of contemporary Hungarian youth sociology.

Our work was part of a project titled "Pilot Project for Quality Aging" (Mintaprogram a minőségi időskorért) submitted by the municipality of Alsómocsolád during the 2009-2014 period of the Norwegian Financial Mechanism. Although the program's main focus is on elderly care, the issue of youth is also very much interconnected with the project, since quality aging can only become a reality if we are aware of young people's main characteristics in the area.

Building on the results obtained, local actors will be able to implement strategies and programs, strengthening the relationships between generations. Quality aging cannot be possible without keeping in touch with the younger and middle-aged generations.[1]

Today's changes in the family structure transform young, middle-aged, and elderly people's lives significantly. We also need to see the younger generation's viewpoints to determine how to bring different cohorts closer together.

It is important to learn about young people's perception of their grandparents and the elderly, and we need to know about the personal and institutional elements connecting them. With the help of narratives, we try to outline the factors forming the basis of "quality aging" from the perspective of young people. In addition to seeing which characteristics and features of the area encourage young people to stay, we need to know why the ones choosing migration opt for this life decision. We believe the results will prove to be a reliable guide for professionals working in regional development.

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[1] This sentiment was also reflected in the interview excerpts, when young people were asked what was necessary for happy aging.

2. The conceptual framework of generations and stages of life and their Hungarian peculiarities

The very first theory about the study of generations probably came from Mannheim, (1969, first published in 1928) who attempted to define the term generation in *The Problem of Generations,* and tried to address the background of each generation's position and status. According to Mannheim, generations denote adjacent age groups with 6-7 year-long cycles indicating the fault lines between generations.[2] The position of different generations is essentially determined by the knowledge they possess, and in particular, the usefulness of that knowledge. If it is considered significant, the generation will occupy a decent position in society, as knowledge possessed by someone generates status. At the same time, the stock of knowledge considered useful varies between time periods and cultures, affecting the status of different generations.

Being exposed to different influences, generations will become different from each other. They are surrounded by differing labor market, cultural and social contexts, and their common experiences also differ. People in their 40s today have concrete memories of pre-democratic transition times, the pioneer movement or communist holidays, and even the transition itself. People in their 20s today spent their early childhood in a period when the entirety of childhood was not intertwined with the Internet. The media shows up as an important shaping context in the lives of different generations – commercial broadcasters, cable television, social media and other segments. Getting this world "all set" represents a wholly different life situation. Taking this further, we can assume that a quick change in the outer context could result in greater shifts and distances, or we can conclude that the shifts between generations will transpire more rapidly.

The American anthropologist Margaret Mead (1974) approached the position of generations concentrating on the direction of the flow of knowledge, making a distinction between postfigurative, cofigurative and prefigurative societies. In the first case, the flow of knowledge is directed from the elderly toward young people, in the second case, it is directed between generations, while in the third case, the direction of the flow of knowledge turns around. The last-mentioned type is typical of the 20th century (And Margaret Mead couldn't yet see the situations reflected in the interviews, namely the predominantly prefigurative spreading patterns of ICT use in postmillennial families). As a consequence of cofigurative and prefigurative patterns, the position of older generations becomes disadvantageous, while young people's social status, along with the marketability of the knowledge they possess, increases.

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[2] However, Mann wrote his work almost a hundred years ago, and the fact that the youth stage expanded in recent decades made this period a lot longer. So we raised it as a research issue, whether young people see separating lines within the period of youth, and if so, where they would draw them.

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Analyzing the international comparative value surveys, Ronlad Inglehart became aware of the phenomenon that one's year of birth affects the patterns of the values they hold (Inglehart 1997, 2008). Although individual career paths and age essentially direct people toward "preservation" and conservative values, one's year of birth definitely makes the picture more nuanced.

How people born before World War II think shows specific patterns. Generations born into a welfare state reveal hedonistic and egoistic elements. External economic and social contexts – as we saw from Mannheim – lead generations into different directions when it comes to how they think. The gaps between generations can be attributed to these specific external contexts.[3]

Looking at theories of generation, we addressed which factors shape the social position and thinking of each cohort, and how. Most interviewees were born in a post-democratic transition world, which surely separates them from older generations. Their childhood and youth was already significantly intertwined with (Western) patterns of the consumer world, although this preceded widespread mediatization. Their perception of the labor market is not based on the employment situation of the Kádár regime, but the more unpredictable and mobile career paths of today. Their thinking on social matters has been shaped by increasing inequalities.

The next point of our conceptual framework examines the characteristics of youth. However, it is important to recognize that youth does not simply mean a time span measurable by age – although it is usually defined in that sense in questionnaires. The relevant theories mostly describe it as a half-independent life situation (Zinnecker 1993, Gábor 1992, Gábor 1993), which became widespread among most social groups in the second half of the 20th century. This stage of life can be described as a special mixture of obligations and freedoms: however, the rights mostly refer to consumption and entertainment, along with autonomous decisions, while the exemptions mainly refer to the obligations of adulthood (work, family, subsistence, housework, etc.). Other permanent attributes of youth include the existence of an intensive human social network, the last major increase in personal development, and experiments on adult roles and tasks. This life situation fits in appropriately with educational expansion. As a matter of fact, universities and colleges (especially their dormitories) form a perfect, autonomous living environment for youth, relatively free of parental influence and removed from the obligations of adulthood. By contrast, a rural living environment with large families is much less likely to steer young people in the direction of the classic youth.

However, we need to recognize that the youth stage can materialize in various forms. Starting from the point of view of the middle class, these phenomena many times do not even appear in the case of marginal social groups among their stages of life (e.g. the Roma in Hungary). In the case of social

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[3] The elements of value preferences can also be observed in the interviews – they repeatedly describe both their own and younger people's life principles with hedonistic elements, while the life of earlier generations was more centered around traditional values. The shift between generations comes with a realignment in the values young people uphold.

groups characterized by having children and entering the labor market early, the youth stage is shortened or disappears completely. In the case of the middle class and the elite, the upper limit of this stage of life is delayed until the age of 30 (obviously, a lot of times this happens with the active support of the parents).

We also need to realize that the former formalized career paths (Kohli 1990) are disintegrating. The uncertainty of career paths (Will I get a job? Should I move to a different area? Will I live abroad? Will I be in a relationship? etc.) carries with it not only free opportunities, but the feelings of unpredictability and precariousness, while the families' memories, in all likelihood, depict a more predictable and safer world. Nonetheless, the lack of stability might present a major risk factor, tempering the effects of the positive phenomena associated with freedom, autonomous decisions, and unboundedness.

The duration of the youth stage cannot be considered a constant phenomenon. While a few generations earlier the shift between childhood and adulthood was quick and sharp, later the youth came to be defined as a temporary period lasting for a few years. According to most contemporary studies, this life stage lasts between the ages of 14 and 29 – which for young people growing up now represents a longer interval rather than a temporary one. The duration of this stage of life might also justify drawing further, internal separating lines between generations (where internal separating lines are drawn is reflected in the interviews). It concludes with forming long-lasting relationships, independently running a household, having children, and integrating into the labor market – for some, at an earlier, for others, a later age.

We need to look for the peculiarities of Hungary in the country's demographic, educational, economic, and other contexts. We need to be prepared for factors considered dominant in the developed world, such as Internet use or social media presence, which, on the one hand, becomes the primary source of the perception of the world and knowledge, and on the other, changes how relationships are fostered and formed. This degree of mediatization, as it has already been mentioned, transforms the family and social direction of the flow of knowledge.

We also need to look at job uncertainty as a similar trend, which becomes evident in the difficulties recent graduates face finding a job, but work morale and work approach differing from earlier generations are likewise important elements, also appearing in the interviews. This, along with the opportunity of migration, results in a completely different type of work attitude.

The massive presence of consumer culture is a somewhat impalpable, yet in reality, very much noticeable characteristic. It might be complemented by theories connected to life style such as Riesman's (1983) human type, which is controlled from the outside, and feels safe when it follows models well-established by others when it comes to spending free time, clothing, or entertainment.

An important phenomenon is involvement in global culture, which is closely related to the Internet. The Internet does away with the intimacy of localities, adjusting the traditional cultural setting to a popular cultural world view and interpretation of Western, mostly American origin (even if the difference between the two seems to be significant). How the Internet is used is massively embedded into social inequalities, so these separating lines can also be found inside youth cohorts.

The life situation of the youth is fundamentally influenced by participation in education. The expansion of secondary education in Hungary took place in the 70s, while higher education became widespread after the turn of the millennium. The increase of student numbers at universities has slowed down in recent years due to demographic and policy reasons, but the system taking shape is already far removed from the world of elite institutions. Early school leaving, which is also shaped by the upper age limit of compulsory education (currently 16), can mostly be interpreted as a characteristic of marginal groups.

Demographic changes are the last phenomenon we address. Hungary's population has been on a downwards trajectory for more than 30 years. The country's population is currently 9.8 million, and the breakdown by age shows the signs of aging: the proportion of children is currently hovering around 15%, while in 1900 they represented 35% of the population (Appendix, Figure 1).

This affects all educational institutions and the entire health network, and it has serious ramifications on the labor market, while also exerting influence over public finances. Young people and children are practically disappearing from some small villages: according to calculations by the Hungarian CSO [KSH – Central Statistical Office], in 2011 there were 350 older people for every 100 children in small villages with less than 200 inhabitants.[4] What makes the situation even more severe is that although they have a registered residence in a small settlement, a number of young people do not habitually reside in these settlements (for example, because they live in a dormitory). The appeal of cities has been complemented by employment opportunities abroad in recent years.

However, the Roma population in Hungary has a unique age structure. Since their life expectancy is lower, and their birth rate is higher, the population pyramid of this minority group shows completely different signs compared to the normal population (Appendix, Figure 2). Accordingly, the proportion of school-age children identifying as Roma exceeds 30% in some counties. Meanwhile, the educational attainment of Roma youth shows a slow increase: a significant proportion of the population has completed secondary education (although mainly at a vocational school).

Studying young people who plan on migrating and working abroad is an unavoidable part of any youth research. Having compared the results of earlier youth research, Hajduk and Pelok (2016) came to the conclusion that between 2000 and 2012 the proportion of people aged 15-29, who plan

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[4] Source: http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/regiok/fogyonep.pdf

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on working abroad multiplied, and even exceeded 50% in the last research. According to the survey taken in 2012, men, people with vocational qualifications or a high school diploma, and people with better language skills are more likely to plan on working abroad. Compared to other regions, Southern Transdanubia did not show outstanding results.

3. The characteristics of the youth in the district of Hegyhát

The following section focuses on the characteristics of the region and the county that are followed by details of the district.

In 2013, the population of Baranya County was about 377,000 which decreases constantly due to migration (mainly people holding university degrees and the youths), the death-rate and the low birth-rate (Appendix, Figure 3). Although 69% of the settlements have less than 500 inhabitants, the distribution of the population in the different types of settlements by their relative frequency indicates a concentration in the cities (39% in Pécs, 26% in smaller towns, and 35% in villages). The age structure of the county is lower than the average of the country. The unemployment rate around 5-6 years ago was above the average of the country, however in the past few years the difference decreased (in 2013 10.4%). In the county's profile agriculture is more relevant while the ratio of the industry is close to the average of the country (at the moment) respectively (this can be explained by the region's industrial changes). Considering the GDP, in the past few years there is a continuous drop compared to the average of the country (in 2013, the county's GDP was 66% compared to the average of the country). The density of the enterprises such as the county's attractiveness for foreign capital stayed far behind the average of the country.[5]

One of the characteristics of Baranya County is the dominance of its county seat. The attraction of the county seat also fundamentally influences the age structure: while in 2012 17% of the youth between 15 and 19 lived in the county seat, this proportion in Baranya County was 38% (which represents the highest country rate). According to Bogáromi (2015) all of this can be explained by the university's influence. Based on the data of Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Hungarian Youth 2012) the youth (between 15-29) of the county can be described with the following figures:

- 10% are married and 19% are in a relationship; 35% has a boyfriend/girlfriend, however 34% are single.
- 26% is certain never to or would rather not get married (this rate is somewhat higher than the average of the country), the number of children planned is 1.8 (which is also lower than the average of the country).
- In the region[6] 48% of this age group takes part in some kind of education. The tertiary studies are overrepresented in Baranya County.
- Considering foreign language knowledge the youth of the county is quite impressive: 79% claim they speak a foreign language. The German language knowledge ratio is outstanding

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[5] http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/regiok/mesz/02_ba.pdf
[6] Here the author only provides regional data.

which is due to the Swab minority. (During the interviews many reported having Swab ancestors and also that this had lead them towards studying German as a foreign language. Also when working abroad the German language can be used effectively).

- 37% of the youth of the county reported that they had lived through either a registered or a non-registered unemployed period(s).

- It was found that the youth of both the region and the county started to work earlier than the average of the country and most of them already had jobs where they earned money (72% in Baranya County).

- Their economic status and their possibilities in the labor market are not the worst in the country but below average. (Bogáromi, 2015)

The district of Hegyhát can be found in Baranya County, with a population of 12,000. There are two towns and 23 villages. The district seat is Sásd, it has about 3,200 inhabitants, whereas the population of Mágocs is around 2,300. The villages are mostly made up of communes and dead-end villages. The data representing the economy of the district has either decreased or stagnated in the past few years. The unemployment rate shows great variation in settlements: in 2015 it was around 4-6% in towns and in some villages close to 17%.[7] At the same time, it is important that the unemployment rates do not include the data of the public servants, however, in certain settlements the local governments appear as the biggest employers. The equal opportunity project in the district emphasizes the internal, towards the cities, migration process. The life opportunities of the youth are made more difficult by the structure of the vocational trainings and by the lack of synchronization of the labor market.[8]

According to the calculations of the Central Statistical Office the employment rate in the district is 32.2%, which is below the rates of the region (36.8%) and those of the county (36.7%) (Appendix, Figure 4). The ratio of the registered job applicants is high (11%, Appendix, Figure 5). The economic situation and the employment rate affect the situation of the children and the youth: the ratio of the disadvantaged in primary schools, according to the Central Statistical Office, is way over the average of the country, whilst in the secondary schools this ratio corresponds to it.

The rate of those whose highest qualification is primary school at the turn of the millennium was between 25% and 74% in the settlements (25% in Sásd, 74% in Gerenyés and Ág).

In the latter settlement the ratio of active aged people without a salary is over 80% (Appendix, Table 1). The ratio of university graduates is lower than half of the average of the county (Jankó, 2012).

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[7] Equal opportunity project for the district of Hegyhát.
[8] Equal opportunity project for the district of Hegyhát.

In her PhD dissertation, Krisztina Jankó, an associate of the Education Research and Development Institute (Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet), dealt with the characteristics and anomalies of the education in the district, focusing on the sectionalization of the schools (Jankó, 2012). This latter tendency is explained by demography on the one hand and by education policy on the other. Commuting for educational proposes – already in primary school – is part of the lives of the interviewees. There is only one institute that offers secondary education in the district, the Vocational School for Catering in Sásd (Sásdi Vendéglátóipari Szakképző Iskola) (for chefs, waiters, and pastry-chefs). A high school degree cannot be obtained in this institution. Secondary grammar school education (gimnázium) is only available outside the district. However, the faculties of the University of Pécs (PTE) are accessible for the youth of this district.

The proportion of different minorities is the highest in the South Transdanubian Region (Dél-Dunántúli régió) – 11% according to the calculations of Central Statistical Office. Baranya county shows a very high number (in numerous districts of Baranya county this value is over 20%, 19% in the district of Hegyhát). At the same time, among minorities the German community is the largest, and only a small proportion is formed by the gypsies. The ratio of the gypsy population varies throughout the settlements of the district. According to the calculations of István Kemény and his colleagues, in 2003 the ratio of the gypsies in Baranya County was around 7.1%.[9] However, due to the differences in the age structure, a significant part of the children are gypsy descendants. In Baranya County the ratio is 18.9%.[10] The gypsies are overrepresented in small villages. In his previous research, Attila Fekete[11] could not find bigger villages where the proportion of the gypsy population had reached 35%, however he named some amongst small and medium-sized villages. (Appendix, Figure 6).

Although in recent years his research focused on the local characteristics of Baranya County and not on the situation of the youth, through the results we can easily describe their living space which creates the platform for them growing into adults. Since during our research we have done interviews in small villages and the residents of the very small villages were present in other focus groups recorded in other settlements, the results of the field research serve as important clues. In his study Váradi (2013) focuses on the village of Tormás, and describes a detectable tension in the labor market, on survivor strategies, on the factors that make commuting more difficult between villages, that create the living space of the youth, also mentions the changes that emerged from the regime

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[9] The results of the countrywide gypsy study were cited in the following document.
[10] The figure of Attila Papp Z. published in MNO (Magyar Nemzet Online): http://mno.hu/belfold/becsulheto-a-roma-tanulok-aranya-a-magyar-iskolakban-1280755
[11] http://gyerekesely.tk.mta.hu/uploads/files/sasd_kesz_2013I.pdf

change of 1989 which made the lives of their parents unstable and transformed it definitively.[12] The study of Szabolcska (2008) is important because it presents the lives of five young women, and lists those factors one by one which led these career paths into a dead-end (school dropout, early parenthood, exclusion from the labor market, lack of integration, intricate family relationships, etc.).

On the whole, we can note that the location of our research is based in one of the most disadvantaged districts where numerous social tensions render the operation of institutions more difficult and complicate or turn possible careers impossible. Therefore, we were interested in how the youth cope with the slimness of the local capabilities (e.g. educational institutes, workplaces), how all these form their image of different generations and what kind of possibilities and compulsions are imbedded in their career.

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[12] It is important to see that the reason for the different attitude of some generations to work can also be found in the economic context. We were able to find several references to this in the interviews just like in the description of two different economic systems.

4. Research methods

Information was gained through qualitative research. We mainly used focus group interviews in which the method of the semi-structured inquiries was found to be the most efficient. The main points of the interviews are the following: the description of their own generation, the borderlines of their own generation, description of children and the youth, description of the middle-aged group and the seniors, the relationship between generations, the local and the Hungarian characteristics, and finally their own vision of the future. Since semi-structured interviews were applied, sometimes the characteristics of certain groups led to the introduction of novel "blocks": for example, when the participants, members of a family, talked about their experiences when working abroad (since all of them disposed of such an experience) during an interview in Sásd. While interviewing the focus groups, through monitoring we tried to register the most information possible: subcultural features, clothing, behavior, visible ethnic characteristics. The age of the respondents was between 19 and 32 practically covering the youth age group. (The 32-year-old interviewee was part of one of the university-student-groups – not by coincidence).

When recording our focus group interviews, the book of Lilla Vicsek (2006) titled *Fókuszcsoport* [Focus group] was used as a reference. In this book the author suggests two optimal grouping methods: homogeneous and heterogeneous. During our research we chose the first one and organized homogenous groups by settlements. When selecting the location of our focus groups – as the probability sampling was not an option – we strived to follow the ratio of small and bigger settlements. According to the latest census of the district, 30% of the population lived in villages with less than 500 inhabitants, we recruited the youth based mainly on this proportion, one time we interviewed a village with less than 500 inhabitants and two times from settlements with more. Beyond this, we formed three university-student-groups. However, young people from different villages were "mingled" in certain focus groups – e.g. in the village focus groups there were some members who earlier lived in other towns of the district, while residents of villages were present in the university-student and the town groups as well. As our research was not set out to study representativeness (it being a qualitative research) we found that the collected data reaches a wide range of the youth, therefore it is relevant.

Document 1 in the Appendix contains the drafts of the focus group interviews.

The interviews were recorded in October 2016. Some of them took place in person in the district, while others were carried out through Skype. An audio recording was made for all of the interviews. The opinion of Norwegian university students was also recorded in an interview, both written and oral (a questionnaire accessible through the Internet).

The question blocks provided the main points of the interview analyses, the point of views of the youth are exemplified by citations (in the document these appear in italics and between quotation marks). Throughout, we aimed, in the analyses of the interviews to compare the pre-established theoretical background, and to interpret the opinions and narratives on a theoretical basis.

5. The narrative of one's own generation

As mentioned above, the literature defines the borderlines of the youth as a stage of life between 14 and 29/30. However, with the prolongation of life expectancy, this indicates a stage which cannot even be considered coherent by the youth. This explains why the interviews started by the definition of the borderlines of their own generation, and continued with its description.

From different focus groups, the youth indicated diverse years as borderlines, nevertheless the results showed some similarities. The most representative is, whilst the literature classifies the high school student as part of the youth, the 19 and 20-year-old separate themselves from this generation. They place the upper limit of the generation in the late twenties. It is important to note that in those groups where relatively older age groups were also represented (e.g. the 30-year-old interviewee amongst university students), the borderlines were placed higher.

It appeared mainly in the answers of the university students, elements that not only focused on age borderlines but also mentioned similar surrounding contexts and challenges affecting the different age groups – as one of the interviewees said: the people born in the same year face the same problems.

Only in one of the interviews did the facts, known from the literature, that the stage of life of the youth can be counted not only in years but also through semi-independent characteristics of this period (within one of the university-student-groups). They attached in several cases the upper limit to the disappearance of these semi-independent characteristics – this was most representative for the couples with children living in small villages. The parental obligations have changed their entire lifestyle, such as their pastime activities and even their relations. A characteristic of their narrative was that they would no longer consider themselves as youth but rather as middle-aged (even though they were in their mid-twenties).

It is notable that they consider the older generations (thirties-forties) closer to themselves and to their life style than the youth. This generation seemed to feel a more significant rupture from the "bottom".

When describing their own generation – like with the description of any other generation – the usage of ICT tools occupies a crucial role. It is important to note that they perceive that the goal and the way, the quantity and even the "quality" of usage are factors that differentiate age-groups from one another. They consider it important to emphasize that their generation still has memories from before the Internet, although they have grown into it during their school years. Now, everyone has a Facebook profile, however they did not create it as children. On the social media platforms, the

protection of their private life remains significant, they use them to maintain their already existing relationships, and not for creating new ones. They use the Internet – according to them – with a critical eye, sometimes elements of their studies get mixed into its usage. The view of a world filled with Internet and social media platforms is quit controversial. "*The world has become too modern, and therefore it has become somewhat corrupted, as well.*" says one of the interviewees from a small town. They find that one of the main characteristics of their generation is the constant need to adapt to changes of the technical environment.

"*Take me for example. I've always learnt something new, and I just can't imagine having a new gadget at 60 and not being able to learn how to use it.*" (extract from a small village focus group)

"*I think I should have been born a few years earlier because I had smartphones for six years now, and I could have lived a bit more before the appearance of the smartphones.*" (extract from a university-student-group)

When describing their own generation, as characteristics they mentioned liberty, innovation, flexibility and as an important external context the open borders. They think of their lifestyle as more hectic, and more dynamic as opposed to those of older generations. They consume the products of pop culture through the Internet, whereas the university students read books as a pastime activity (also considered as a high culture activity). For this generation, watching television, is not one of its characteristics. As a negative aspect, the unpredictability and the accelerated life rhythm appeared, next to which the youth mentioned a narrow-minded life style caused by Internet usage.[13] Their biological and social maturity – according to them – was slower than those of the younger generations. However, they take part more often in the housework which is due to the work of their parents. Their commitment in the labor market is stronger, their life goals are more mature – at least according to them.

"*I've always liked stability. I had goals, and I lived to accomplish them and I never really diverted from them. I had more stable ideas (than the youth have today).*" (extract from a village focus group)

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[13] During our gender research we recorded interviews with women from the intelligentsia. We found a trace of this in the description of their own children, this also shows a lifestyle established with the prolongation of their relationships and the foundation of a household.

6. The adolescents, the middle-aged and elderly people – as young people see them

As we have already mentioned, the interviewees draw a sharper lower dividing line for their own generation. They think that these lines are sharper than the lines between themselves and the older generation. It is important to remark that the characterization of the younger age class kind of penetrates into the upper section of the primary school due to the continuous widening of the life stage of youth. There were no significant differences according to settlement type in terms of how the youth is characterized – though the image is rather negative than neutral in general.

The use of ICT tools has a key role concerning the lines that divide generations. This was remarkable even when the own age class was characterized, though every single interview represented an important element of this in the case of younger people. According to the interviews, today's subteeners and adolescents are born into the world of the Internet, they have their own Facebook profile from 8-9 years of age which they use regularly as well. They spend an important part of their lives (managing their relationships is part of it) on the Internet, in a different type of reality, with other emphases, other goals and in other ways. Their private life ceases to exist: moments which cannot be shared are of no significance. Their presence on the Internet has an impact on their communication skills as well – this was obvious from the focus groups in villages formed by university students and employers. Although they can type quickly, their verbal skills are weak, they are better at expressing their thoughts in writing.

The younger generations much rather have characteristics regarded as a monopoly of adults which are connected to dressing (provocative clothes or makeup on girls) and behavior (relationships, consumption of alcohol, smoking, nightlife etc.), while their knowledge of the labor market is insufficient (e.g. average entry level salaries). They find the youth who give up things easily short-tempered, while they think their taste and life objects are less determined. Their style is said to be 'mainstream' in one of the university focus groups while they actually try to avoid these characteristics (as mentioned earlier, even the characteristics of the subculture of the youth have appeared in the university focus groups). The knowledge of English comes up in many interviews as a positive feature which is also connected to the use of ICT tools.

"I think they hang on the Internet all day (the 13-14-year-olds). They're posting all day. They get up in the morning and go on Facebook. And it's not good that they share everything. The whole world knows how they spend their days... and it's not sure that they're happy because this can be deceptive. They even post their feelings. They just don't communicate face to face at all." (extract from a focus group in a town)

"I took my school-leaving exams in 2006. The expectations were high back then, no nail polish, nothing. I don't think that expectations should be so high, but what I see these days... well, I think that certain things have nothing to do with schools. Our generation didn't look like this." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"They are quite narcissistic. The appearance counts a lot (for younger people). And they look absolutely the same. They feel a mental pressure that they have to look good... Girls wear very tight trousers. Trousers are torn, and really, as if they were all lookalikes. The same goes for the boys' hairstyles. V-necks." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"12-year-olds are complaining on Facebook that they've just broken up and how sad they are. Quite funny, I think." (extract from a university focus group)

Young people consider the older generations to be closer to themselves. The middle-aged appear in a rather neutral or positive (but not negative) way in the narratives. In the case of middle-aged people, pressure at work is a frequent element of interviews, which is described almost as a general phenomenon – however, in the theoretical part we have already referred to the characteristics of the employment of the district. Young people feel that the career of the older generations is more stable, which is obvious from the lower number of workplaces (for example, the parents have/had been working in the same position for decades). They draw a kind of idealistic image of this generation in many cases, while the more critical elements appear in the university focus group only (e.g. reference to the large number of alcoholics in the age class).

Young people reckon the higher level of inflexibility and the limited use of the ICT tools among the main characteristics of the middle-aged. The parents of the interviewees have mainly done manual work, and the younger generations have to face its impact on the aging process day by day. They usually say that the conditions of a happy adulthood are the fulfilled life goals, a family/relationship and a stable existence.

"My parents let no signs of aging be seen. They bear it with patience, though they complain a lot about pains they feel sometimes. They don't have that much energy and days start harder. They need help." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

"As I can see, middle-aged people have no real targets. They've found their position at their workplaces, they work as much as they need to and wait for retirement. That's not good. The general way of thinking needs to be changed. There is no need to renounce life because of being middle-aged. There is an opportunity to make a fresh start or begin a new enterprise even when you are middle-aged." (extract from a university focus group)

The young people set 60-65 as the beginning of old age, but the thought came up in many interviews that this age is preceded by a transition period which may last 10-15 years (for instance, this completely complies with the WHO definition). They also remark several times that the people in their environment do not even live to old age due to their worsening health condition. We saw a great deal of examples of this when the individual family structures were introduced (this is especially true for grandfathers). When the old age is introduced, we get an idyllic image focusing on free time activities. Though, regarding the disintegration of the families, the isolation and the worsening health condition of people, we get a worse overall picture. Young people mention that those who were able to learn how to use the Internet or attend retirement clubs – in one word, those who live an active life – at the age of 70 are positive examples.

On the other hand, we can find a negative image of the old population, made up of elements like feeling nostalgic for the Kádár regime, or complaining a lot but their means of subsistence are basically narrow, so the interviewee is not surprised by this at all. What we can add to this picture is that they quit too early from the labor market and that they have a passive, restricted way of life.

"They have a lot of free time. It's good to be old for those who can spend this time doing things that make them happy. For those who have absolutely nothing to do, the old age is not good." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"The life stage of middle-aged people is more and more prolonged, beginning at the age of 35 now. But people are aging later, too, which is not bad. What's painful is that 65-year-old people retire and being at home bores them to death. Because they can't do anything, so the retirement age should be increased... But it can even be a solution that we gradually decrease the number of hours (namely the number of working hours), and we drive them out of the labor market in 5-10 years. During this, companies could train the young employees." (extract from a university focus group)

7. The characteristics of relationships between generations

One segment of the interviews studied the family structures of young people and the forms of contribution between generations. Although a district is basically made up of small villages and even the towns have no more than 3,000 inhabitants, only an insignificant part of the interviewees mentioned a working joint family household structure. Characteristically, when the interviewees talked about the living together of three or four generations, the circumstances have changed, or disintegrated with the death of grandparents or great-grandparents (a girl from one of the university focus groups, coming from a settlement with less than 100 inhabitants, had spent her childhood in a coexistence of four generations which has disintegrated by the time of the interview). The number of siblings is rather small, there are rarely 3-4 of them.

The family networks of young people are mixed, and this diversity complies with the Hungarian tendencies. In the majority of cases, young people lived with their parents, though not in the same household as their grandparents (typically, the young generations lived a few streets or a few settlements away from their grandparents, while we could rarely see a spatial mobility of larger scale originating from the Great Hungarian Plain, Budapest or Northern Hungary). In the case of the university focus group and the already working young people of villages and small towns, we could see an individual household management which provides an opportunity for relationships (like a couple from one of the village focus groups with children already, and a girl in the second half of her twenties who became independent from her parents quite early which had an impact on her career and decisions as well). Commuting is the characteristic way of life of university students in cities, which sometimes continues even into the middle of their twenties.[14]

According to young people, it is not the geographical distance which forms the quality of the relationships with their grandparents to the greatest extent. In some cases, even the geographical vicinity does not provide an opportunity for basic communication (there is no common talking point, "old people are just complaining"), while in other cases the family relationships have worsened with one of the sides to such an extent that this led to the ceasing of contacts between grandchildren and grandparents (in this case, the reaction of young people is acquiescence).

"We used to go to see the grandparents often, but not anymore. Why? Because my parents are idiots, they've divorced and married five times so far. This takes too much out of them to get in the car and go to the grandparents. The first

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[14] We could see another interpretation of this phenomenon in the gender studies of the project. In this part, we did interviews with women from the intelligentsia. Young commuters visit their parents every week or every month, while in other cases this commuting way of life may result in this lifestyle with full of movement which may last until they reach the age of 30. In other cases, the members of the young generation remain with their parents because it's comfortable for them without housework, which pushes the borders of the young life stage even further.

time they broke up was very bad, but when it happened for the third or fourth time, I didn't take it too seriously." (extract from a university focus group)

"Unfortunately, my rapport with the grandparents is rather bad. With those who live in Pécs. Though, they are lecturers at the university. So they were active for a very long time, but they didn't even take care of their own children. The brother of my father helps them, though they took better care of him earlier as well." (extract from the university focus group)

"There were many conflicts (with the grandparents on one side). The family ties are not tight, we visit them very rarely (in the neighboring village). And I don't have that big family feeling. I like living my own life. Usually my mom talks with my grandmother on the phone, though even she doesn't pay a visit to her own mother." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"It's only my grandmother who's still alive. She is very sickly, she has pain everywhere. I help her, but we don't really talk to each other because when I visit her, she is always complaining about her pain. And she always says bad things. I can't talk to her actually. If I can speak at all." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

However, we can say it is a more frequent version that the connections between generations don't break up and these ties give an opportunity to mutually help each other (household work, giving advice, etc.).

"My father's parents live on the Great Hungarian Plain, we meet them three or four times a year. It's only us who go there, they don't come. They're over eighty. We talk to each other on mobile phone. They've got used to it and they use it well. They carry their ages well, they still use their bikes. My mom's parents live in the neighboring street, they're younger. We help them do the shopping, we take them to the doctor, they have a garden and we try to help them with everything." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

"Our family is completely scattered and we come together on holidays only. And holidays are just rushing and eating a lot." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"Even here in the village living together with grandparents is very rare. There's maybe one example of this. It is more common that old people are helped by the family members. We have this "adopt-a-grandparent" program in our village... When I was a child, we lived in a joint family. My parents worked in other settlements. They left early in the morning, but I took care of myself almost alone and my grandpa was with me." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"My grandmother is 73 years old, but she's quite fit even today... However, she's going through a rough patch right now because they are about to divorce after 26 years of marriage. And now I feel that she is devastated. She takes

sedatives and she can't concentrate on talking... we generally talk to each other on the phone, personal meetings are rare. We give her pieces of advice, try to be with her in order that she goes through this change with the feeling that it is a new opportunity." (extract from a focus group in a village)

Family networks are often formed by divorces and remarriages. Unique patterns have appeared in almost every focus group (older interviewee "bringing up" the younger siblings, step siblings after remarriage, and completely broken connections with one side of the family after the parents' divorce were also mentioned many times). There was an interviewee whose mother is a foster parent and whose task in part is to bring up some smaller children belonging to their household. The long-lasting or permanent separate life of families is an almost everyday experience because a family member works abroad.[15] There are cases when a companion, a sibling or the parents are abroad. In extraordinary cases, more members of the family live abroad and they keep in touch through Facebook or Skype.

"My brother and my father live abroad." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

"My husband has been working abroad for a year now. I Skype with his father in the evening. We meet every month or every two months. But now we think it's my turn to go... This will surely be a big change for the kid (the mother raises their child at home). But she (the child) says that she wouldn't go with pleasure... The grandparents say that I can leave the granddaughter at home and I can go with my partner. They would take care of the granddaughter and bring her up but me and my partner wouldn't like that." (extract from an interview in a small town)

Upon recalling their childhood, for example, young people often mentioned the massive help of their grandparents in raising the children. According to them, it was important even because their parents' generation used to work, so they could take less care of their own children.

If we ask young people about their plans for the future in connection with their relationships between generations, we almost always get an image of a nuclear family. The living together of more generations is advantageous in terms of everyday routine and economic functions, though it can also be a source of many conflicts and this generation does not want to take responsibility for them. However, they would like to help their parents (if there is a good rapport with them) – as they do it now as well. According to them, it is characteristic for this generation that they help their parents and grandparents (in contrast with younger people whose lives already don't involve such obligations).

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[15] This topic has also come up in the gender interviews – from the point of view of the other generation.

"If a joint family lives together, there are a lot of problems. Everything can become a problem. Noises, listening to music... they have another rhythm of life. It is normal for them to go to bed at 7. For example, I don't visit my grandparents after five o'clock because they have a bath and then go to bed... I don't really plan to live together with my parents because I plan to lead another way of life, I would like to raise my children my way." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

"We used to have four generations living together. The rooms were separated: one for the great-grandparents, one for the grandparents, one for the parents, while one for me and my older sister. It was a big, single-story house. There were many conflicts. Everything can be a source of conflict, for example, the cooking or the places where things were put. I plan to stand on my own feet, I don't plan to have a large family." (extract from a university focus group)

8. Desired paths in life and careers

The interviews ended with a segment of questions regarding the future. Young people drew a conclusion of their plans one by one regarding their family, work and dwelling places, and they talked about their own old age, as well as about the future of the district and the settlement.

In the first step we outline the plans regarding the family. We have already mentioned the tendencies in the country and the relevant county statistics from Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (a sociological research on the youth) as well. An important lesson of these is that the last decades have drifted some young people away from the traditional family models, though the majority still imagines life with a family and children. We can see these patterns in the imagination of young people as well. In the focus groups of villages and small towns, children are almost always part of the plans. In general, couples plan to have one or two children. (A girl from a small town didn't plan children because actually she brought up her younger siblings whose mother had passed away, while a young man from a village would like to travel and have a job abroad and he was not sure whether a child could be part of his life later.) However, in the university focus groups, there are many examples that having a child is not part of the plan – for different reasons (e.g. "I've never liked children."). In one of the focus groups, a couple had been together for a long time, said that they did not plan to have a child. Though having a child is never a compulsory element of the career of young people; it's more of an opportunity which they will "realize" if their lives make it possible, when there is a lucky conjunction of circumstances. There was an interviewee, aged 29, who says she cannot provide convenient circumstances with her companion for children so they wait. In any case, they all want to have a relationship (or at least a companion). Family relationships are said to be an important factor of happy adulthood and old age, which help alleviate and prevent isolation and solitude.

"I wouldn't like to get married. A partner is enough. What I can see in my circle of acquaintances is that there are so many divorces. There's a lot of cheating. But I'd like to have a child. Only one. Or at most two." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

"I would like to have a child but I don't know when. I'm 29 years old. It would be about time now to have children, but due to our financial situation, we don't dare to take this risk. We'd like to have two so we should begin soon." (extract from a focus group in a small town)

"I don't plan to have a family soon, that's for sure. I'd like to see the world and visit several places. Other cities and countries. I'd love to go to Thailand... And I would go diving to a lot of places. I've already been to Malta." (extract from a focus group in a village)

"These days I'm thinking a lot about what would be good. If had a baby after school, I couldn't work. Which is better: to earn my living or to have a baby as a young woman?" (extract from a university focus group)

All the young people – both the men and the women – would like to work, if possible, in their profession. On the one hand, they have the expectation that their work should be a basis of their secure livelihood. On the other hand, they would like their work to be a calling for them. They see their chances in the labor market rather pessimistically – for instance, students studying at the technical training of the town don't know about job advertisements complying with their professions. They see more favorable opportunities in the nearby cities, in other areas of the country and abroad. The members of the university focus group can estimate their salaries quite precisely in advance, and they would like to stick to their chosen professions in spite of this.[16] The university level programs with favorable opportunities for finding a job and having a good salary are precisely listed in the university focus groups, while physical work is also added to this list of which there is shortage and which ensure a good living. In the focus groups of villages and small towns, mainly in the case of young men who are just before entering the labor market, the expected entry level salaries are often unrealistic (the older participants say they shouldn't even dream of it), and interviewees have mentioned physical jobs only in terms of good salaries. Those who have obtained a degree but live in a village have a more realistic image of the labor market and they can see well that the villages are hardly capable of providing workplaces for intellectual young people. There are more favorable opportunities for physical workers in smaller settlements, while those with a degree usually work for local authorities or in connection with tenders. This latter one, however, is accompanied by a more unstable employment.

The existential goals of working have a more significant representation in the interviews done in villages and small towns, while in the case of the intellectuals of the villages and the university students, we can see a kind of a calling for their work and the intrinsic motivation. It is quite expressive that they didn't plan to have considerable careers (not even the university students) – there was only one exception: a young man gave an account of serious plans and joined political life on a party level.

They think that their lives will be accompanied by work till they live. Due to the fact that the retirement age will be even higher 40 years later, it was mentioned in many interviews that they will work till the end of their lives and they see no opportunity for having a happy retirement age. They have further plans to study, but these plans rarely refer to higher education (a new bachelor's degree as a goal of life appears in the university focus group).

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[16] The average salaries in the county are shown in figure 7 by the national economy branch.

"I'm not interested in going to Austria just to wash dishes at all. I'd rather start my own business. If someone would like to live his/her own life, it has to be done independently from others. I think this area is computer science, which is independent from place. (extract from a focus group in a village)

"I used to plan on being a journalist but I couldn't find a job. Then I started a library program. I thought that I'd sit behind the counter and it would be good. But now I see that it's not like this. However, I'd be happy if I could do something with this program. But I would be satisfied even if I did nothing." (extract from a university focus group)

8.1. Territorial Mobility and Emigration

On the one hand, the phenomenon of territorial mobility can be traced in young people's career paths that have already been accomplished. The current daily commute is partly related to the movements of the families (e.g. between the villages of certain districts, between the cities and smaller towns of the given area). This phenomenon was partly induced by the parents' employment. Besides this, we can mention certain changes in the life of the family as contributory factors (e.g. divorces). On the other hand, territorial mobility of young people is in connection with their education. For instance, there is no high school level education in the Hegyhát district. Moreover, the University of Pécs attracts young people to the county seat – and not only from this region, since I have already met students in Pécs coming from Budapest and from the Southern Great Plain region. A certain number of students who are in the second half of their twenties have already studied or worked abroad (e.g. they participated in an Erasmus program or they worked abroad as waiters, etc.), but for some reason they returned home. When interviewing young people, concerning their self-determination of their generations we could notice that they had considered mobility as one of the characteristics of their cohorts.

One of the questions asked during the interview concerned future territorial mobility. However, it's the limited possibilities of the labor market that form their prospects mostly. Although young people will try to find a job in their district or in their county, they find it unlikely that they will get one, and even if they did, it would not be well-paid. Despite the fact that for young people territorial mobility would mostly be a career path chosen out of necessity, they still consider it a realistic prospect that is almost inevitable. Domestic mobility mostly points towards small towns and bigger cities like Pécs and Budapest. It's a general trend nowadays that smaller and bigger cities tend to become the main housing destinations. Villages are only considered ideal living environments by young people who managed to find a job there (they also returned to their residence or they moved from small towns to small settlements), and by a few people who were raised in a village, but have yet to be employed. As for them, small settlements are ideal places of residence (they are calm, inhabitants know each

other, the environment is beautiful, etc.). However, among the students with village origins – who are currently students – this kind of ideal image about these villages does not exist at all.

"Truth be told, I do not know why I say I want to live in a village. Only because I was raised here. I don't want big things, just a nice house in a good village, a good car and a hot girl beside me. Where I live by the way is near the city." (Extract from an interview taken in a small town, with a villager)

The other aspect of territorial mobility is working abroad. As mentioned before, working abroad has become usual in the families of this area, since the inhabitants' parents, siblings and friends started working abroad: mainly in Austria, Germany or England. Many people consider working abroad an unavoidable part of their career – this way of thinking was more prevalent among appropriately qualified young people or young people coming from small towns. When making interviews in the village focus groups we encountered people that had already come back from abroad. A small number of students plan to spend the rest of their lives in another country. Nevertheless, there are not only existential motifs in the background of this relocation, but also e.g. the love of English culture and language, or the prejudice, the introverted behavior and thinking that characterize Hungarians. Based on the lessons of focus groups, migration plans are partly formed by qualification –e.g. there is a young man who is qualified for being a waiter, but is currently a student, and 80% of his classmates work abroad. Besides that, language proficiency affects these migration plans. (One of the students in the student focus group said that more than fifty percent of his classmates from the bilingual secondary grammar school live in England at the moment.) Language proficiency is a common barrier to emigration: for this, students usually blame themselves and the education they got. Their generation was mostly taught by retrained Russian teachers. Besides, the Internet with its English speaking environment did not surround young people's lives back then as it does today. According to the interviews, the possible countries, sites of employment will put an end to the dominance of English. A significant part of young people tend to turn towards Germany and Austria, where without the knowledge of German language, it's impossible to get along. They think cities abroad are cleaner, the salaries are better and life is more predictable. Furthermore, their parents – as told by the interviewees – accepted the fact that their children will live hundreds of kilometers away from them. The main reason for this acceptance is that they want their children to live in a livable word that can provide a good quality of life for them. A smaller, but significant portion of the youth refuses the idea of emigration, because they do not want to be apart from their families. Thus, patriotism and an emotional bond towards the country can also be noticed in the student focus group.

"I would like to get married and would like to have kids, three maximum. I would like to live and work abroad as well. I would prefer living in a city. Till now I have lived in a village, but now I wish to move to a city. I would like to

live in Frankfurt, where my partner has already been to and where his brother lives. Cities are much cleaner, tidier and people are wealthier over there." (Extract from a small town focus group)

"I would move literally anywhere. The point is to get out of here. For me England would be the main destination. I love the language itself. However, I would gladly move to Germany as well. People are more tolerant with everyone and they are more open-minded. What I mean by this concerns people's attitude towards me. I have an extreme appearance, which often offends people abd they verbally abuse me. Recently a man told me that if he had a daughter like me, he would cut her hair with a clipper or lock her up in a room. When I went abroad, nothing like this happened to me… I have known it for a long time that I want to live in another country. I feel like I belong somewhere else." (Extract from a student focus group)

"I came home from abroad, since being there did not have any benefit for me. I returned, because I love Hungary. I did have money, but after a time it's not the money that you care about. I was not really homesick. I was Pécs-sick I would say. I could not find my comfort zone over there. Then the time came when I started to think what the hell I was doing there. Is it really worth it? I spent three years away in total." (Extract from the student focus group)

8.2 The main characteristics of young people's visions

With regard to young people's visions, the interviewers concentrated the discussions around two main topics: the possible characteristics of aging and the fate of the settlement-district. Young people's image about ageing can be described by two extremes. On the one hand, this image includes idealized elements, such as a lot of free time, a happy family and grandchildren. These idyllic images are often completed by the vision of a detached house. According to the interviewees, they do not wish to experience isolated aging. In fact, they wish to be a part of the greater society and they wish to have active aging. On the other hand, the interviews depicted a dark vision as well. None of the participants expects to receive a pension when they are retired. This is why they feel the necessity of securing sufficient financial resources on their own during their active years for the days of retirement. It's also noteworthy that none of the focus groups mentioned the option of seeking help from their children; except for one group (this also leads towards nuclear and geographically dispersed family traditions). At the same time, their children set the support of their parents as an expectation for themselves. Some of them already have a well-planned scenario for the next decades - years, for the time when their parents cannot take care of themselves or even if they can, only until a certain extent.

"I could not imagine living in a nursing home. That would be a complete disaster for me. When I go into a nursing home, everything seems so cold and unfriendly. It's all about resignation, passing and acquiescence…" (Extract from a village focus group)

The plans and visions concerning the settlement and the district are more negative. The best scenario would be a change of function – e.g. the settlements would expand and would take the function of a resort which residents of Budapest and foreign people would also join. Logically, this would result in the exchange of the population and immigration. The underlying reason behind this process is to be found in real estate prices and the natural assets. All these massively contribute to the process of natural aging: we will look like a large nursing home – said one of the interviewees from a village.

On the one hand, the contents of the negative visions are related to aging. The "disappearance" of young and middle-aged people is a tangible phenomenon, even if there are attempts to stop this process at a local level.[17] Besides, there are some areas with more positive trends as well. On the other hand, the change in ethnic makeup is also a present phenomenon that was negatively commented in a few interviews. Furthermore, participants do not consider the district's economic situation and economic potential favorable either.

"According to my observations, there are more old people than young in these villages. Young people leave because they have to. It's just not possible to commute between the village and Pécs every day, just because of the work. Despite of all this, these villages will never be empty, since a lot of people buy their holiday cottages over here. This is the quiet place where they come to enjoy the open-air bath." (Extract from a small town focus group)

"I do not predict a prosperous future for our settlement. I believe its downfall is about to come. There are less and less young people, because they go abroad and find a job over there." (Extract from a small town focus group)

"I believe that the number of young people will increase in the settlement. The ones leaving right now just want to see and travel the world, but they will come back and have a family over here after all. Therefore, there will be more children than now… Actually there are four-five children in the village right now. That is a lot." (Extract from a village focus group)

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[17] Based on interviews conducted with women in leading positions, one of its aspects includes the extension of child care institutions. The second one is to take the properties under the ownership of the local government so that they could be given for rent in a form of company housing.

"What do I think the world will be like in forty years? I think our world will end in ten years due to a world war." *(Extract from a student focus group)*

"Unfortunately, the situation of this area is quite uncertain, as well as the country's. The pension scheme will collapse in a few years. That is why it's difficult to make any predictions." (Extract from a student focus group)

"I do not care what it is going to be like in 40-50 years. In Hungary everyone lives for the present. The current problems should be solved first of all. Our world over here is doomed. And the leaders… they stick to the unreal and doomed visions." (Extract from a small town focus group)

9. A glance at the international situation– examining Norwegian students

Another part of our study involved conducting interviews with Norwegian students who study in Hungary, or asking them to answer our questions through an online interface. With the help of this method, we managed to collect the remarks of 30 students. Our goal was to perceive the things that Norwegian and Hungarian students disagreed about, and to point out the ones they had in common. Nevertheless, we cannot leave the economic context out of consideration: one of the Norwegian students who attend the faculty of medicine said that his scholarship is currently more than the average salary of Hungarian doctors. As we have already referred to this in the theoretical part, the external, economic and social characteristics substantially define the image of generations. They also create peculiar schemes for the career paths and for the structures of reflection.

The Norwegian interviewees were all in their twenties. When determining their own generation and when comparing their generation to others, certain important features were revealed. In the Norwegian focus group the feeling of affinity, of a common culture, and certain social impacts were noticeable characteristics between the members of the same cohorts. However, in the Hungarian focus groups, it was the use of media and the behavior/dressing that seemed to be present as dividing lines. Additionally, the role of the attitude towards work also represented a significant topic (there was no reference to anything like this in the Norwegian interviews). Some Norwegian students often consider increased age the upper limit of their generation (some of them extends it till the age of 40). The characterization of their cohorts resembles the Hungarian examples (we used to climb trees, and the world was much smaller). It depicts their cohort as a transitional generation between the generation that did not use the Internet, and the one that grew up using it. There are some additional elements to this description as well (e.g. social skills, paying attention to each other, material prosperity, peace. Besides these, environmental protection-related global problems emerge, to which none of the Hungarian interviews referred, except one). Rarely though, but in this description some negative features appeared as well (e.g. laziness and self-centeredness). As a negative factor of today's world they mentioned excessive stimuli, climate change or the antisocial way of life that derives from using the Internet. Furthermore, external expectations are also significant. It's important to see that when talking about the border lines of their generation, Norwegian students mention ideological differences as contributory elements. In other cases, they define religiousness a breaking point. Some of them said that the dividing line in their generation is the difference between Muslim and Christian Norwegians. A lot of them mentioned the good English skills of their generation that facilitate their lives in many ways – if we take a quick recap we

see that in the Hungarian interviews the attributes of foreign language skills appeared completely differently.

The image about younger people contents negative elements even among Norwegians (they don't know much about the world, they are naïve, their future is uncertain and they are more narcissistic). Despite this, the overall image about young people seems to be more positive. Norwegian young people's dressing styles are considered to be similar to the Hungarians' (they use makeup, they dress like adults and they look completely the same).

The limit of the aging life stage is estimated quite differently, but we can see high estimated ages as well (e.g. 75 years). The work-focused way of life with all its negative consequences – that characterizes Hungarians – is a lot less characteristic for Norwegians (in certain interviews taken with Hungarians, young people gave a long list of their parents' illnesses). When reviewing the hardships of adulthood and the challenges of aging, the existential problems do not emerge: the answers refer to the reconciliation of the family and work, to the acceptance of the aging process, to the loss of our loved ones and to the separation from their children. Norwegian students know more elderly people in the group of their acquaintances who live a happy, satisfying and active life. There was no cynical overtone in their answers when describing old people, unlike a few Hungarian students (they argue over the seats on the bus, they gossip while sitting on a bench in front of the house). It's also important that in order to maintain quality aging it's necessary to have an improved network of health care institutions and institutions charged with taking care of elderly people, and also, to have sufficient financial resources. All these are present in Norway. They also highlight the importance of maintaining their friendships and their hobbies that can make aging happier. One of the interviewees mentioned that people can retire at an earlier age in Norway. According to the Norwegian interviewees, among old people even using ICT tools is more popular and more advanced. One of the Hungarians said that since in our country (in Hungary) the family relationships are closer, Norwegian old people must be less happy. Besides, there was a Norwegian student whose grandparents lived in a nursing home – there was no such example found among Hungarian students.

The family structures of Norwegian students mostly bear the characteristics of nuclear families. And because they study abroad with a scholarship, the amount of communication between them and their families is even less at the time of the interview. However, even when they are home, most of the students do not meet their grandparents more than 1-2 times a year – these occasions are mostly related to celebrations. They try to compensate the lack of communication with the help of the Internet and phones, just like us.

In the answers of Norwegian students we could notice a handful of references to the population of immigrants. Generally, these references did not include negative overtones – with regard to the immigrants' family structures they noticed that they have tighter family relationships and also that they often live in a big family. On the contrary, "native" Norwegians can be characterized by nuclear family structures and looser relationships, and rare communication. The changes in the family relationships are perceived by the students as well – in the past different generations had more bonds to connect them. Admittedly, all this had underlying financial reasons as well. The country's vision is evidently formed by the phenomenon of immigration.

The typical element of all Norwegian students' career plans is to go back to their country. Travelling is also an aim to achieve in their lives, but this plan does not come along with the desire or the constraint of living in another country.[18] The diverse approach towards travelling and working abroad (more precisely, the differences between Norwegians and Hungarians) was formulated by one of the interviewees: Norwegian people travel to see the world, but then they return home, unlike Hungarians, who go abroad to start a new life somewhere else.

On the one hand, the differences between the two countries occur due to the financial situation, to which the deficiencies of the institutional system are mostly related. These issues are to be traced in the field of social benefits, elderly care and education. Norwegian students can feel the uncertainty that Hungarian students face. They also name this as the reason why Hungarian students extend the age limit of adulthood (they cannot manage a household on their own due to their financial situation). Besides, the differences occurring in the financial situation and the institutional system, there are some elements that are less related to the existential problems (prejudice, xenophobia, and the current political situation). Furthermore, these differences are related to the structure of the society (weak middle class, increasing gulfs between the layers of the society and poverty). In regards to Norway's future, there are only a few concerns – these concerns prognosticate the deterioration of the financial situation, as well as the increase of inequality in Norway, which will conclude in the fact that the support of parents will become more and more necessary.

Norwegian students' desires, wishes are the same as Hungarian young people's purposes: to be married, to have children (at this question we did not notice any reference to the intentional avoidance of parenthood, only some uncertainty), a well-paid job, and – rather in a smaller settlement or in a city – a cozy house. Evidently, Norwegian students' visions are more positive. There is no uncertainty due to the existential elements (e.g. whether they will receive a pension or not). Also, their plans include positive expectations for their future (medicine will become more effective, which will result in a higher quality of life, the options for medical care will improve). The

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[18] There were two students who said they did not want to live in their home countries. One of them planned to move to Denmark, while the second one did not name any specific country as a destination.

phenomenon of immigration usually appears either in a neutral, or in a positive context. This is because diversity can bring people closer to each other – said one of the Norwegians. In other cases, ethnic lines turn out to be a border line between young people that specifically means a breaking point between Muslim immigrants and "native" Norwegians. The context itself, in which they comment on this phenomenon, is not explicitly negative; they can rather be described as an objective approach.

Some elements of the "wide world" are also present in Norwegian students' visions: The elements of Norwegian students' answers touch topics from Trump's presidency to Mexican immigration. All this proves that their concept of the world is "wider". Their answers concern Brexit, and they also comment on Hungary's political situation. It seems like the image they formed about the world is more open to politics.

10. Summary

In our study we undertook to outline an overview about the situation of the district's young people in the light of national trends and theoretical frameworks. On the one hand, the youth's image about their generation, their career plans and purposes match the international trends (e.g. due to individualism, mobility or the unpredictable future). On the other hand, young people are influenced by the changes of the country (e.g. in relation to the employment abroad). All these factors are complemented by local features that characterize Baranya county or the district (the attributes of the labor market, the directions of local territorial mobility). Moreover, the attributes of the focus groups' locations (e.g. city or village) gave a result of various patterns; however the differences are not always appreciable. The reason behind this is the dissolution of local characteristics, the mobility of young people, and the common living sphere induced by mass communication and the Internet.

A coherence is also known from different studies, which claims that student life can neutralize the territorial differences in a way – what really makes a difference for young people with a rural background is whether they have access to universities or not. Higher education institutions offer a common sphere that may alleviate the differences between the students at the start.

The outlining image seems to be full of uncertainty and career paths are chosen out of necessity. Adapting to unpredictability and economic pressure are considered basic experiences for young people who are currently in their twenties along with the changes of residence. In addition, they desire a meaningful life and profession, and to find themselves. Concerning their family backgrounds, the separation from the large family is noticeable, which principle they preserve in their own relationships. Overall, the visions show diverse, but identifiable curves. These curves' components are connected – even if many times involuntarily – to geographical mobility.

There is a smaller group of young people in the second half of their twenties – in contrast to those doubtful students who are still finding their way – who already have an entrenched way of life. In all likelihood, these ratios can be explained by the process of the prolongation of the young life stage. It's also possible and imaginable that a follow-up examination of the current interviewees would show a greater presence of the fix and stable points, in case of a later and longitudinal examination.

The ideas about their generations, the family structures and the career plans of Norwegian students differ in many ways from the ones we gathered from the interviews with Hungarian students. These differences can be explained by financial characteristics, in fact, they extend beyond. One thing is sure, when interviewing Norwegian students, references to global processes were present more often. Also, due to the country's financial situation, and the quality of its services, all students plan

to go back to their home countries. Also, their perception about their own aging is more positive and more promising.

Summary of the research

The theme of our research is the life situation of young people, the youth's image about their own and another generations, and relationships between generations. In order to better understand the youth's opinion, we made a local research among young people living in the district of Hegyhát, and with the help of students of University of Pécs.

The life stage of young people in the Western societies has changed significantly during the 20th century – this points to the emergence of youth subcultures, student's movement in the sixties, change of family role of young people, and countless other factors. These changes are also presented in international literature and our work contains the most important conceptions. The situation in Hungary has similar characteristics to this change, but historical, political, cultural and social characteristics of the country affect to the life of Hungarian young people and lead it toward another direction. We reflect to this by summarizing the results of researches in Hungary and national statistics. Conceptual framework contains the characteristics of the sociological concept of generation, the changes caused by mediatization, and information on the presence of the youth in the labor market.

The economic and social situation after the democratic transition transformed Hungarian young people's lives fundamentally. The parents of some became unemployed, social disparities widened, and people in their teens and twenties do not take predictable employment and stable jobs for granted anymore. Meanwhile, the young people's world view is gradually widening thanks to globalization and ICT technology, and it seems to be causing a pronounced divide between different age groups.

The district of Hegyhát, which we have examined, demonstrates the symptoms of crisis. This region was affected by the aforementioned economic and social trends to a higher degree than the national average, since its economy had been characterized by the heavy industry and agricultural cooperatives provided work for villagers. Meanwhile, the demographic situation has also changed: the rising proportion of elderly people, the decrease in the number of children and the change in the ethnic makeup paint an interesting picture. The region's unique geographical features, its ethnic makeup, the palpable elements of segregation and the tension in the labor market place young people in a situation that cannot be compared to the lives of earlier generations. This is what makes the region attractive for generation studies.

Although our analysis is merely a snapshot, since it conveys young people's views in 2016, the research covers a longer period, because memories from the Kádár regime as well as forecasts and scenarios for the future are included among the family narratives.

Our research problem involved the question of which aspects today's young people regard as relevant when drawing the borderline for their generation, and whether the nowadays fashionable concepts appear among them that almost merge the separating lines and the use of ICT tools into one. We wanted to examine how the signs of a changing family structure appear in young people's narratives, and how this establishes communication between generations within the family. We were trying to find out whether migration plans were part of the envisaged career paths and whether we can observe any differences between them (who is more likely to work abroad and why). We explored how established plans young people have for their lives as senior citizens, and how close their desired life as a senior citizen is to the image they consider realistic. We were interested in young people's outlook for the future of the area and the country. One part of our analysis focused on comparing Hungarian and Norwegian students: we wanted to explore the most important differences between the two groups – are nuclear family structures more prevalent among Norwegian students? Are their intergenerational relationships indeed looser? How can their life goals and prospects for the future be characterized?

By making our research we made focus group interviews in small villages, small towns of the district and within students of University of Pécs. By making the research we reached a group of Norwegian students. Therefore our research can be described as quality research.

The most important results of our survey can be summarized as follows: the youth's image about their generation, their career plans and purposes match the international trends (e.g. due to individualism, mobility or the unpredictable future). On the other hand, young people are influenced by the changes of the country (e.g. in relation to the employment abroad). All these factors are complemented by local features that characterize Baranya county or the district (the attributes of the labor market, the directions of local territorial mobility). Moreover, the attributes of the focus groups' locations (e.g. city or village) gave a result of various patterns; however the differences are not always appreciable. The reason behind this is the dissolution of local characteristics, the mobility of young people, and the common living sphere induced by mass communication and the Internet.

A coherence is also known from different studies, which claims that student life can neutralize the territorial differences in a way – what really makes a difference for young people with a rural background is whether they have access to universities or not. Higher education institutions offer a common sphere that may alleviate the differences between the students at the start.

The outlining image seems to be full of uncertainty and career paths are chosen out of necessity. Adapting to unpredictability and economic pressure are considered basic experiences for young people who are currently in their twenties along with the changes of residence. In addition, they

desire a meaningful life and profession, and to find themselves. Concerning their family backgrounds, the separation from the large family is noticeable, which principle they preserve in their own relationships. Overall, the visions show diverse, but identifiable curves. These curves' components are connected – even if many times involuntarily – to geographical mobility.

There is a smaller group of young people in the second half of their twenties – in contrast to those doubtful students who are still finding their way – who already have an entrenched way of life. In all likelihood, these ratios can be explained by the process of the prolongation of the young life stage. It's also possible and imaginable that a follow-up examination of the current interviewees would show a greater presence of the fix and stable points, in case of a later and longitudinal examination.

The ideas about their generations, the family structures and the career plans of Norwegian students differ in many ways from the ones we gathered from the interviews with Hungarian students. These differences can be explained by financial characteristics, in fact, they extend beyond. One thing is sure, when interviewing Norwegian students, references to global processes were present more often. Also, due to the country's financial situation, and the quality of its services, all students plan to go back to their home countries. Also, their perception about their own aging is more positive and more promising.

Our research has its own unique characteristic, because works focusing on similar theme can hardly be found. On the other hand, it is important to notice that the life situation of young people changes fast (you only need think of mediatization), therefore the results of analysis written in the past few years soon becomes out of date.

In conclusion we can say that the vision of the youth of Barany County can be described with negative features, and it includes the elements of unpredictability and insecurity. But it also important to see that the careers set for themselves, are only plans, and a longitudinal research in the future should give important results on the implementation of these plans and on the changes of wished objectives.

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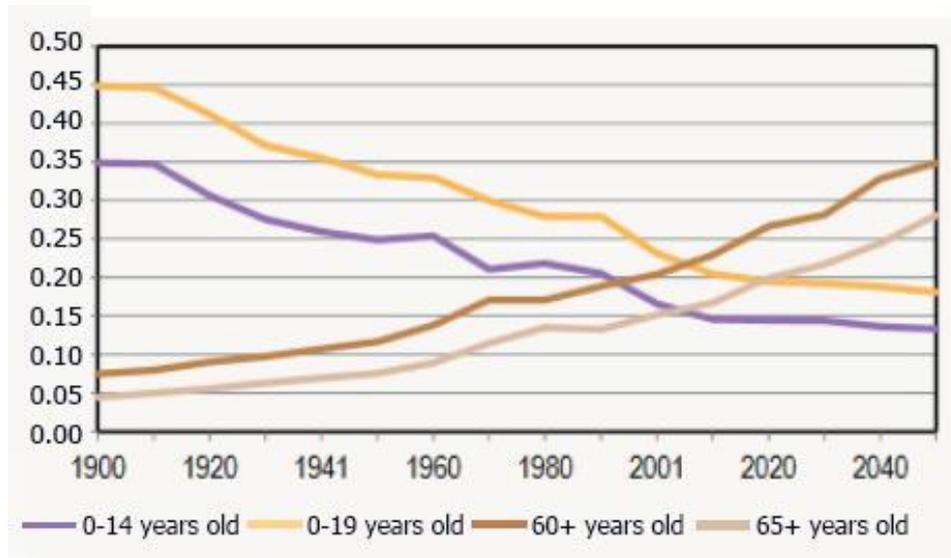
Appendix

Figure 1. The proportion of older and younger people based on the Hungarian Central Statistical Office calculations (past and present data, and prognosis)

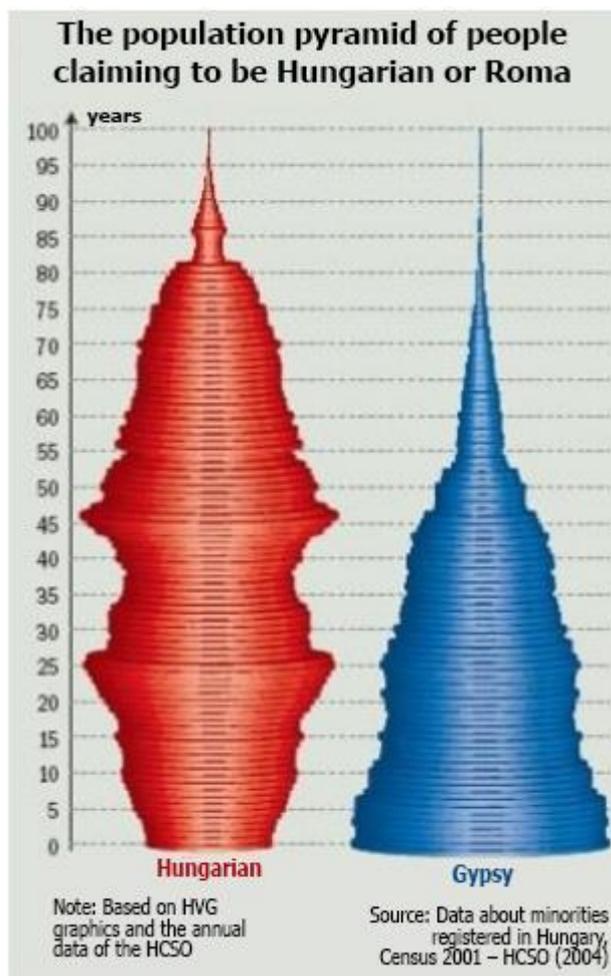Source: http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/veneuropa.pdf

Figure 2. The population pyramid of the population with Roma or non-Roma identity based on Central Statistical Office calculations from 2004

Source: based on data by the Central Statistical Office, the figure was made by HVG, and published by http://romakerdes.blog.hu/2009/05/14/magyar_korfa_cigany_korfa
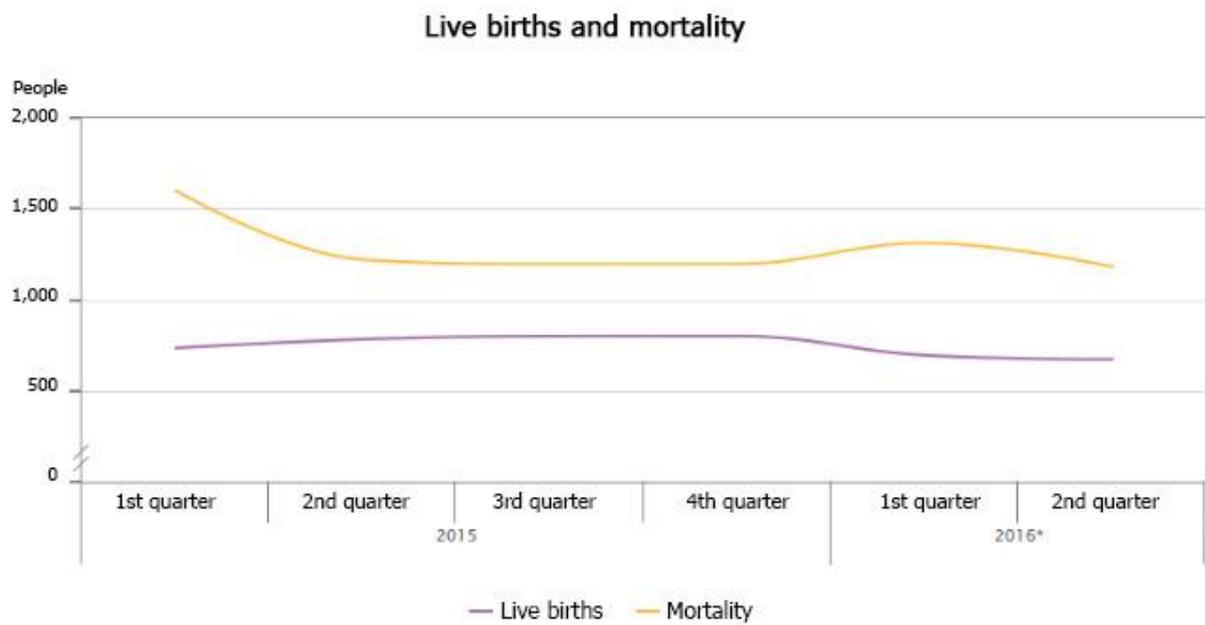
Figure 3. Live births and mortality in Baranya County in 2015 and 2016

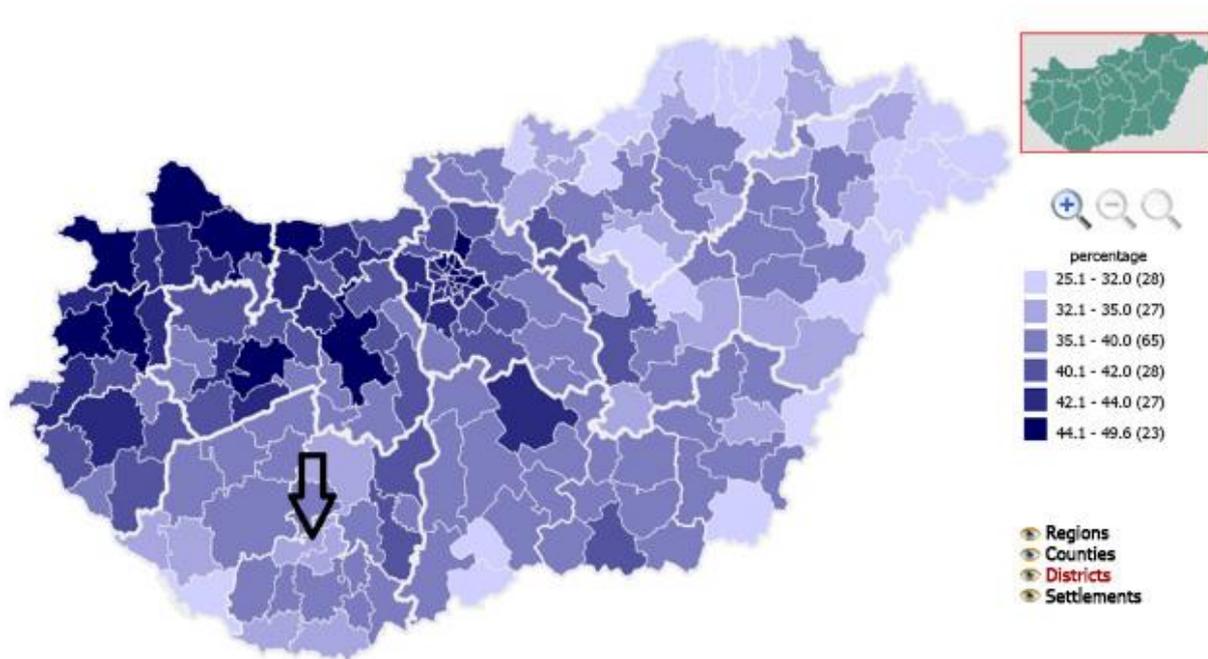Source: https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/megy/162/index.html

Figure 4. The employment rate in the Hegyhát district in proportion to the total population (Made with the interactive map of the Central Statistical Office. The black arrow indicates the district. https://www.ksh.hu/interaktiv_moterkepek)
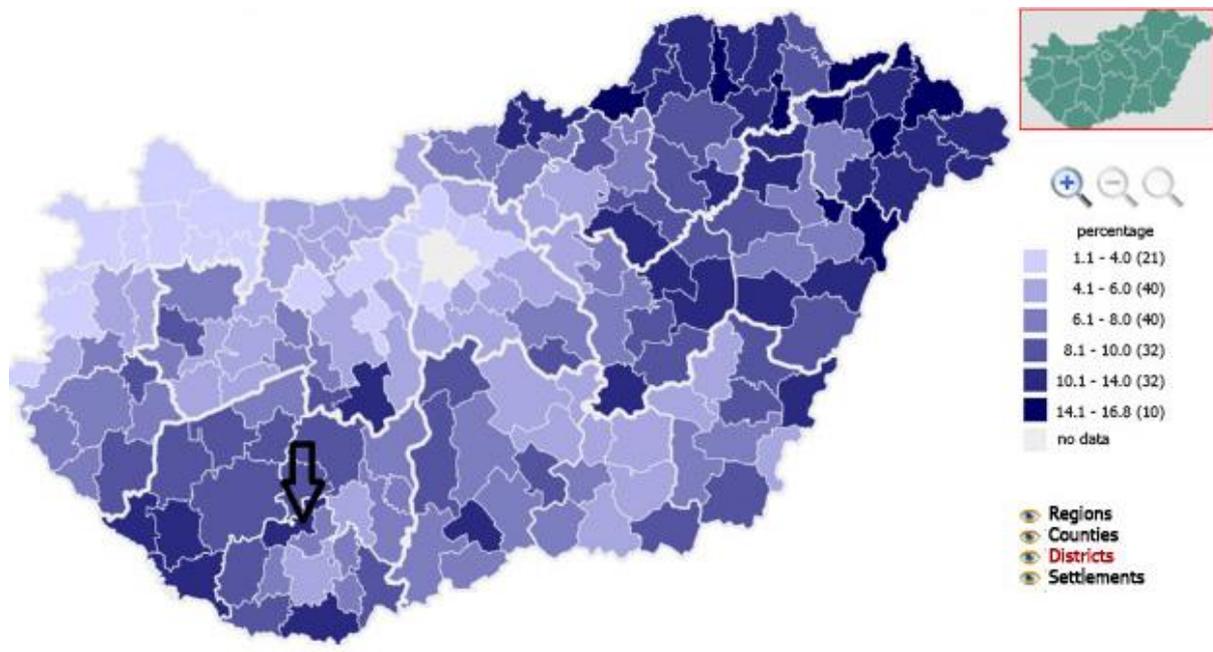
Figure 5. The ratio of registered jobseekers (Made with the interactive map of the Central Statistical Office. The black arrow indicates the district. https://www.ksh.hu/interaktiv_moterkepek)

Settlement	Number of residents	Proportion of residents in their working ages(15-59 years) who have at least primary school level education	Proportion of residents in their working ages (15-59) who do not have regular income
Vásárosdombó	1158	49,9	60,0
Meződ	166	38,0	54,3
Oroszló	329	41,9	57,6
Bikal	885	29,5	44,0
Baranyaszentgyörgy	208	63,3	71,9
Kisbeszterce	93	71,9	76,6
Mágocs	2696	38,2	46,9
Kishajmás	219	56,7	58,3
Vázsnok	155	37,3	68,7
Kisvaszar	337	66,3	76,7
Nagyhajmás	438	56,5	66,2
Felsőegerszeg	153	55,1	60,2
Gerényes	266	74,4	77,6
Tarrós	119	56,6	52,6
Mindszentgodisa	1023	47,3	58,5
Alsómocsolád	323	52,6	60,0
Bakóca	337	47,3	64,5
Tormás	361	45,4	64,9
Palé	117	49,3	57,3
Baranyajenő	528	58,9	58,2
Ág	197	74,8	82,7
Szágy	194	64,3	70,5
Tékes	275	58,5	76,0
Varga	141	63,2	71,3
Mekényes	330	61,7	57,3
Sásd	3558	25,4	44,6
Gödre	977	45,0	48,7

Table 1. Data of Sásd district, based on the database of
https://www.palyazat.gov.hu/doc/1326 website (Uploaded in 2008).

Smaller settlement with low Roma proportion	Kisbeszterce, Oroszló, **Palé, Tarrós**, Vázsnok, Alsómocsolád, _**Mekényes**_,
Smaller settlement with medium Roma proportion	Bakóca, Felsőegerszeg, **Meződ**, Baranyaszentgyörgy, Kishajmás, Nagyhajmás,
Smaller settlement with high Roma proportion	**Gerényes**, Szágy, **Tékes**, **Ág**, **Baranyajenő**, **Kisvaszar**, Tormás, Varga
Bigger settlement with low Roma proportion	Bikal
Bigger settlement with medium Roma proportion	**Gödre**, _**Mindszentgodista**_, Mágocs, Vásárosdombó,
Bigger settlement with high Roma proportion	
Regional centre	**Sásd**

Figure 6. Attila Fekete (2013) used these categories above in one of his previous regional studies for the regions. Categories: ratios under 10%, between 11-35 %, and above 35 %[19]

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[19] http://gyerekesely.tk.mta.hu/uploads/files/sasd_kesz_2013I.pdf

The net monthly salaries of full time employees per sections in average, I. half-year 2016
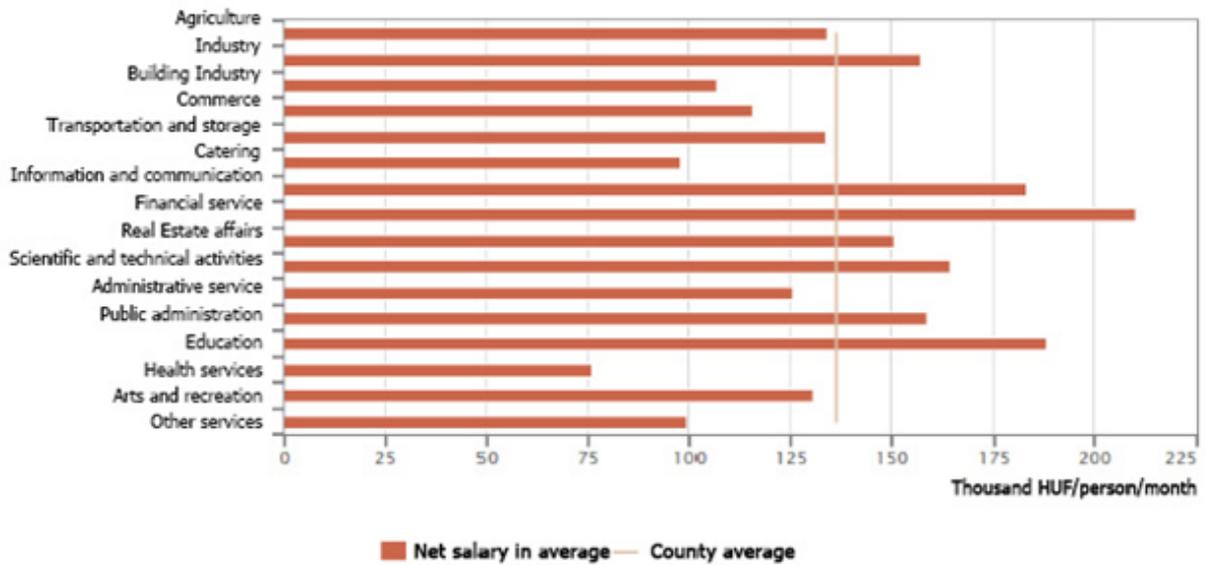
Net salary in average — County average

Figure 7. Evolution of average earnings in Baranya county, in 2016

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/megy/162/index.html

Document 1

Interview draft – "When We Turn 64" (for focus group interviews)

1. Question block: Defining generations. Description of one's age group.

How would you define the concept: generation?

Where would you draw the borderlines of your generation? Why?

Describe your own generation.

What is your generation like?

Why is it good to be young these days? Why is it bad?

How coherent is your generation? What causes ruptures in it?

2. Question block: The younger generations

Where would you draw the borderline for childhood? Why? From when is a person considered as "Youth"?

What do you think about the younger people? (e.g. primary school, high school students) How they dress, behave? How much do they know about the world? Are they any different from you when you were their age? How are they different?

In what ways is the life of the children nowadays easier than yours was? In what ways is it more difficult?

3. Question block: The older generations

Where would you draw the borderline between the middle and the old age? Why? What do you think about the middle-aged? And the seniors? What does it take to become a happy adult? And to become a happy senior? Do you know someone like this personally? If not, why?

What are the biggest challenges, difficulties of middle age?

What are the biggest challenges of old age?

When older, is it better to live in a city or in a village?

How do seniors live according to you? Do they live an active life? What are their social relationships, health etc. like?

4.   Question block: The relationship between generations and the description of their own family.

What are the relationships between generations like in your family (multiple generations living under the same roof or separately, how are the relationships maintained, how often do you see each other, how do you help one another, what types of joint activities do you have…)

What do you think of other families' relationships?

What is the situation like regarding the relationships between generations? What was it like before? What can we expect in the future? What are the biggest deficiencies?

5.   Question block: Local characteristics

What is it like to be young where you live? How about in small villages? In cities?

What is it like to be middle-aged…?

What is it like to be senior…?

6.   Question block: Own career path, middle age, old age

How do you imagine your middle age years? Children, work, etc.? Where will you live? In your home country or abroad, in a small town or in a city?

If you wish to stay here, for what reasons? If you wish to leave, for what reasons?

What line of work are you interested in? At what age would you like to stop working?

How do you imagine your senior years?

What will it be like to be a senior 40-50 years from now? (technical means, communication between people, pension, ethnic ratio, situation of Hungary, situation of the district…)

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Mintaprogram a minőségi időskorért
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