
Seeking ways of youth affairs: from leisure sociological dusk to Leisure pedagogical dawn



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I. EXPOSURE- PEDAGOGY AND YOUTH AFFAIRS

“I learned in kindergarten everything I need to know” (Fulghum, 2010)

1. Foundations of the paper

Ever since man is a man, always lived teenagers or twenty-year-olds, and younger but we cannot speak about youth and about dealing with them in every era. After centuries of labor in Hungary, under the Dual Monarchy, at the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century, the circumstances evolved in a way that youth - in addition to individual events (e.g. the symbolic 1848) - could have a role on the stage of society. Since then, of course, the idea about young people has changed a lot, and the concept of youth affairs emerged (the emergence of this concept-pair is somewhat the leisure pedagogical “further-twisting” of the child studying movement and the reform pedagogical struggles.). By the speeding-up of socio-economic changes, the weight of youth age groups adapting to development in the most flexible way increased; in modern societies, youth, in post-modern societies, youth affairs emerged as a separate category and got isolated in Europe around 1968 from the interpretation framework of education/school. In Hungary, one of its’ cornerstones can be put on the time of the 1971 youth law; at that time, youth universe was institutionalized in the legal system autonomously – even though permeated by politics – more or less independently from school.

Beyond the wide variety of pedagogical interpretations (the institutions’ “re-enlisted” clients, the target groups of evolving new knowledge, support of the development of an autonomous personality, etc.), in the social space today, two major philosophies can be extended behind the youth paradigm: we can look at the age group as a group needed to be protected from bad influences, and they can be considered as a resource-option (Nagy et al, 2014). Is it still the case that we see problem situations, conflicts to be solved and issues needed crisis management where we could see an opportunity and unique aspects? Can that strategy become a dominant one that primarily keeps in mind the coming generation, as a dynamising resource’s social “channelling”, efficient development and – emphatically – self-development, as well as the formation and development of the necessary social

catalyst-fields? Do we understand that it is not enough to make gestures that can be arranged by spectacular “fire-fighting” measures; that young people are not just one aspect of social policy whose loyalty can be won with various discounts but stand-alone entities¹ requiring real opportunities to act and participate? And immediately the question arises: in this new understanding and approach, does some kind of pedagogical discourse have a role, and if so, may this role return to the pedagogy discourse itself?

In the field of youth affairs, actually even the coherent, seamless and consistently used term structure is just emerging and in this sense, the generation logic has to fight its battle in the language policy arena as well (Bihari-Pokol, 2009), without which it is not possible to obtain recognition of allied professions and other disciplines. Although one-one segment of sciences (especially political science, sociology, pedagogy, psychology) is investigating in generation section is investigating, the coherence of these segments, possibly the synergies between these sectors may not always be visible. While the methods of youth affairs are not unique in many cases (it borrows the toolkit of sociology, management theory, political science, pedagogy-education, psychology), it has its separate theme: it deals with such a particular life situation that is not the primary subject of other scientific areas. And so youth affairs- as well as social affairs a quarter of a century ago, or the “big” social science paradigms a century ago – became an independent profession, area and discourse by now, and perhaps also in Hungary it will reach that “critical mass”, that resource-concentration to become an adult at home as well. And the question is constantly hiding there; is it sure that it is enough just to dab: ah, we have time for that!

The youth affairs paradigm connecting disciplines is the developmental-psychological, pedagogical and social-psychological approach built on the social media roles and on the changes of maturity. In the pedagogy space- with a term and way of thinking wishing to answer the phenomenon- the foundations of the concept interpreted as leisure pedagogy² are triple: on the one hand, its main key action area is the leisure socialization medium (which is in postmodernism is the terrain of satisfying such psychological-social needs, on which the family-relatives, and nursery-school cannot or do not pay enough attention); its subject are young people (an individual taking responsibility without institutional care for him/herself but not yet for others); its method is the service-based approach (which is the leisure time release of the

state-communal normativity vs. individual freedom paradox; the detailed discussion of all elements see below). The paper, according to its construction, presents the features of socialization terrains³ beyond the family and school and tries to prove that “recreational space” by now is not a simple satellite, an additive besides school and family but it became an equal player of the taxonomy of the socialization and educational venues; it has caught up with the line of socialization media, particularly increasing its influential effect. We agree to describe leisure space and the pedagogical activity occurring in this space as leisure time pedagogy. On the one hand, we intend to indicate the autonomous region/action with this; on the other hand, we indicate that we deliberately wish to avoid the conceptual structure putting school relationship in focus and using “out of school” phrase, even if this terminology carries on its provocative nature on itself.

To do this, first let's analyse pre-modern, modern and post-modern social eras, the interpretation of leisure time in these eras, then we try to theoretically systematize the specific features of these socialization agents: elements and media. In the second step, we are coping with various youth narratives and youth interpretations - documentary, science and statistical approaches - and we are trying through the maturity-terms (biological, psychological and social maturity) to provide a new definition for young people: combining Keniston's (Keniston, 2006) post-adolescence conceptual system with biological, psychological and social maturity. According to this, it cannot be simply defined in ages what is the adolescent stage of life or its parts thereof - of course, this makes it difficult to determine⁴ these age groups by year (and uniformly) (Nagy, 2013a). Youth affairs - at least in our understanding for consideration, in a way proven by theoretical and empirical research results - defines the concept of youth not in age categories but on the basis of the individual's life: from that moment when an individual takes part in “social life” without his/her direct caregivers and institutional teacher supervision, has resort to services, initiates leisure and community activities⁵, until s/he becomes mature enough, and will not be the guardian in charge of other individuals and groups (Nagy et al, 2008). Thus, of course, we make difficult the (common) definition by year but the paradigm takes into account the stages of the individual's development and not the social classification.

According to the youth affairs' model, the definition of youth age groups as well as its stages can be considered as those primarily built on biological,

psychological and social (sociology) features and bordered by responsibility: the youth age group classification is trying to embrace the space between taking responsibility for themselves (decision) and taking responsibility for others (responsibilities with decisions) (Jancsák, 2008). All of this, from another point of view, starts from the interpretation as a member of the peer group becoming typical, from the orientation with the tertiary socialization stage, from the presence of the needs of having a say in decisions, from the sharp increase of the importance of peer groups (without external power) (from the shifting of benchmarks), so specifically from the individual (and not by parents) choice of friends, from the multiplication of group influence (Csepeli, 2006); and lasts until adulthood, employment, homemaking and childbearing (Andorka, 2006)⁶.

Thirdly comes the construction of the service environment⁷ through what necessary knowledge, skills and proficiency, competences and attitudes we cannot acquire or it is not possible to acquire either theoretically or through family and school socialization and education today. We try with the need of modelling (with the help of the so called onion model⁸) to sketch such a notion that defines this tertiary socialization medium's pedagogical and educational essence, the purpose, mission and structure of youth affairs (youth work, profession and horizontal youth activities – dissolving the problems of horizontal or vertical youth approach). To this, it is indispensable to clarify, what the basic concepts of the area are, who the subjects are, who its players-exponents are, what roles characterize them and what skills are needed for them.

Finally, there will be an outline of the competency map and roles of a profession engaged in this: the youth worker.

In general, the aim of the paper is twofold. We consider it to be our task:

- On the one hand – certifying the implications of the phenomenon - to show that pedagogically interpreted phenomenon, as well as its importance, which can be interpreted through YOUNG PEOPLE as independent operators of the social space. Therefore, on the one hand, we briefly describe the unmatched operation of traditional institutions; in many cases, its crisis. The institutional crisis appears on global-European level (the functionality of traditionally established institutions decreases; the systems are bleeding from several wounds; the re-interpretation of concepts can be an answer to this, in a sense e.g.: changes in the

concept of family) but the flexibility of social institutions is much lower (as an example, can be mentioned for long from the emptied city centres and plazas to home leisure time; from muted camps to festivals, from schools unable to fulfil their duties until reality shows). This comes up even more in the case of post-socialist countries (including Hungary) wakening from paternalism or sometimes fleeing back to it, which are often unable to operate even this incomplete world (see the next subchapter below).

- On the other hand, to interpretdealing with young people (YOUTH AFFAIRS) as the component of pedagogical discourse; make it to be part of it (or at least discussing its aspects of education science). We intend to prove that any new phenomenon- the acceleration, the “death of childhood”, the “delayed adulthood”, etc.- formulates messages for education science valid in the universe described by youth affairs. We also try to prove that this education science – including a further-thought theory - gets an important role in the social science space of thinking about the above. While – showing up many new features about itself as an autonomous culture-creating generation – the “youth of camps” from the 60’s-70’s⁹, by all indications, reached the “youth of festivals/plazas” at the millennium, followed by the “screenagers” of the ten years – research, descriptions, reports on youth outline this arc almost without exception – we cannot really talk about the synthesis imaging experiments (reckoning with this epochal change ensemble) in connection with youth affairs. Although, there were ideas in Europe (e.g. the social pedagogy paradigm from the past century, e.g. Mollenhauer, 2000a, or Cousséée, 2009; Cousséée, 2010, Cousséée et al, 2010; Mairesse, 2009; Siurala, 2012, Verschelden et al, 2009) and also at home in this field (Laki, 2006; Gazsó-Stumpf, 1992; Gazsó-Stumpf, 1995, Kéri, 1992), these studies have provided good basis for generational approach but these approaches were combined to a full discourse supported by empirical data in the case of Zinnecker and Gábor (Gábor, 2006) as well as that of Székely (Székely, 2014); all of these mostly with sociological foundations (on European samples, see: the chapters on Narratives in youth affairs and the European tradition of youth affairs). However, we cannot see either the structure of youth affairs or that of youth work in one complex model, so often we may have the impression that we are talking about, analysing

and evaluating the complex space of dealing with young people while we do not really define what that is. In light of this, we intend to contribute to the synthesis imaging experiments, namely with the so-called onion model of youth affairs (see the chapter: Onion model of youth affairs), looking at the issues on the concept of young people, at the differences of youth definitions, as well as at the changes of these definitions took place in recent times, in order for the XXI. century-generation features to be interpreted (see chapter These young people...), as well as for one of the possibilities of breaking-out from the institutional crisis (on the so-called tertiary socialization stage, see: the chapter on this).

The methodological backbone of the work is provided by the desk research, within this, as noted, the pedagogical analysis and hypothesis creation mostly based on comparatistic bases - willing to expand and enrich the educational theory paradigm - certain allegations of which we justify with the analysis of primary data – and where it is not available – with secondary research results (according to our view, the social statistics-criticism undoubtedly existing in postmodernity does not mean neglecting the use of quantitative methods; they only support the need for a more differentiated reflection of them than before).

In the absence of former comprehensive theory, it is necessary – mainly from other areas – to find analogies: in particular, we rely on the Sociology of Anthony Giddens (Giddens, 2006; primarily, in the sections on socialization media and the tertiary socialization medium); on the Education Sociology of Tamás Kozma (Kozma, 1999)¹⁰; on the undeservedly forgotten educational theory of Sándor Karácsony (Karácsony, 2002) and on the works of László Trencsényi (at the analysis of the relationship of school and young people).

So, in this work, we build on three important discourse; these are: youth research and interpretations of them, socialization and recreation, as well as social pedagogy and leisure pedagogy (in relation to these and to the European youth affairs interpretation we are trying to build up the model of youth affairs).

- In the youth research field, we primarily rely on the materials and databases of Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008 and Magyar Ifjúság 2012. These are national, comprehensive surveys in Hungary; conducted every four years with over 8000 people. The results of the research are representative on age, gender, educational level, county and township

type, at the same time, due to legal and methodological reasons, it does not examine the age group less than 14 years of age.¹¹

- In the Sociology of Giddens (Giddens, 2006), he defines as socialization media those groups or social situations, in which the basic socialization processes take place. He makes an overview on those agents that can be interpreted in the socialization space. Based on these, we analyse the two, three-element, etc. socialization-medium theories.
- Kozma (Kozma, 1999) calls the same spaces the community terrains of education taking place in social sizes. He divides socialization terrains into formal and non-formal spaces; rating school into the former and examining its “society”; in the latter, he puts the family (and analyses the family system connections); neighbourhood relations (which is mostly the space of the given locality here); the workplace (as the socialization space of carrier adaptation); the military (do not forget that the military service was only abolished in 2004), as a training ground; political socialization (as the socialization space for public life participation); religious communities (and their role in becoming a member of society) as well as the communication-mass communication space. Trencsényi (Trencsényi, 2007) - following traditional education theory discourse – calls these spaces as educational scenes and is ranking the poles of pluralistic civil societies from their institutionalized nature. According to his view, the school is only one – and by no means the only one - educational scene where teaching and education takes place.¹² He also tells of the dogma of learning = formal learning – in theory, has been refuted in the past (e.g. Mihály, 1999) but in recent decades has become liveable by practice (Trencsényi, 2009).
- Apart from his theologically-founded items, we take some education theoretical items- mostly inspired by social pedagogy- of Sándor Karácsony as a basis (Karácsony, 2002; Karácsony, 1938): such as, among others, “social psychology”, the educational system basically seen in the cooperation of co-ordinating actors, the need for dialogue, the “here and now” point of view, which are foundations¹³ of youth affairs as well; the approach of school as an educational space, which is highlighted though but only one field of education¹⁴; and the recognition of the importance of camping, as a recreational act.¹⁵ However, we note the limit that his thoughts many times do not make a structural unit together so they are

rather essayistic in nature. In light of this, the formulations of learning concepts and pedagogical principles – perhaps because of the distance of time – often seem to be strange.

- In addition, we use the youth professional works of Peter Lauritzen (Lauritzen, 1993) (especially at the chapter Youth affairs). Among the own works, we often use – as the theoretical pre-studies of this work – our works titled *Szocializációs közegek a változó társadalomban* (Socialization media in the changing society), co-written with László Trencsényi (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012), and the work titled *Nagy-Bodor-Domokos-Schád Ifjúságügy* (Youth affairs) (Nagy et al, 2014).

In the light of this, we can hardly identify with those education science interpretations which imagine the world of learning within the school universe (e.g.: Dewey, 1990; Dewey, 1990a); which identify the boundaries of the socialization of pedagogy with the boundaries of the school. Dewey's argument can be regarded as a standard until the point that the school is a social institution, far from being just a subject plant or homework factory and a shape version of the joint-, community life; just like the teacher's¹⁶ main task is not only the development of subjects but also that of social life. However, again, reasoning does not lead beyond the existence of school as the only educational entity, according to which this and only this is the institution of the community's life, which has all the resources, by which it "forces" the child to use their skills for social purposes, and the teacher is the depositary of the completion of these goals. We especially argue with the declaration, according to which the school has to represent all those principles, processes and characteristics which are meant for the child by the home, neighbourhood, playground, etc. (cf.: the school as a power structure, mainly quilted with the Central European realities), namely that society determines the values through the school (Dewey, 1995). And no matter how open is the City-school metaphor (Perjés, 2003), the world of open educations, open schools (Mihály, 1999), community schools (Molnár, 1998; Mihály, 1999), and city-as-schools (Bárdossy-Kovácsné Tratnyek, 1993), these, in terms of pedagogical processes, do not step over the "city limits" of the school (see: The post-modern school of postmodern erasubsection). And – perhaps naturally - we cannot follow determinist schools and those theses which state that the child has no will, therefore that view which ignores it can be justifiable¹⁷ (Dénes, 1979). As we cannot identify with those theses, according to which

the growing knowledge became so complex that it can only (!) be realized in schools and exclusively with the leadership of those anointed to that (Ágoston, 1987). Even more controversial are the intentions of those following Herbart, concerning the regulation and mechanization of education.

The boundaries of the work

It cannot be stated that youth affairs is an area only be interpreted pedagogically and through education science (since one of our fundamental theses is that the young person is “one and indivisible”) but it can be stated that one of the primary disciplinary framework of this field is provided by pedagogy; and the onion model to be presented later can be interpreted most from pedagogical point of view. Our train of thought – though the management of the individual as a partner, the worldview from the child-young person’s side, the limitation of hierarchy and developing positive relationships may be related to visions – gets to the laissez faire approach and to the open-minded, open-ended pedagogy but not to anti-pedagogy (Mihály, 2005; Mihály, 2007), as the denial of all education, i.e. normativity (Mihály, 2005; Zrinszky, 1997) (In Zrinszky’s interpretation, anti-pedagogy only rejects educational goals when describing anti-pedagogy he says that the child does not have to be educated but to be followed. By contrast, Mihály (Mihály, 2008) describes goal-rationality as the irresolvable paradox of education and human freedom (in addition, previously (Mihály, 1999) considered learning without teaching to be absurd from anthropological point of view).

Mihály accuses teachers of subtracting children’s freedom, saying that the teacher (society) assumes any “human ideal” to be right (good, nice, and true) in vain, freedom, by all means, falls as a victim of formulating as a norm. Namely, the pedagogical relationship is equal to the appointment of goals, to which the goal-rational action belongs. However, we never let the goal out of our hands, maximum we modify the methods (Mihály: manipulation tools) used in order to reach it. The communication, pedagogical relationship is always goal-rational; there is no such an exchange of ideas which is not decided a priori, not carrying didactic purposes and which is open and open-ended. “Mutually exclusive two things: I want to be with the child and I would like to develop the child somehow. One of them is some target, the other is some coexistence”- says Mihály. While we restrict the personality into competences, we take the child’s freedom away. Without freedom, there

is no autonomy, no full personality; the child's freedom is only possible if the child can be a partner also in terms of the goals. "If just the road is questionable and the goal is given at any moment, there is no freedom, neither that of the child" (Mihály, 2007).

In our opinion, it is far from being certain that the relegation of any goal-rationality or educational goal is - although it undoubtedly serves the realization of freedom - is actually the child's interest. Surely there is a contrast between education and freedom, and it is also a fact that the limitations of the educational paradigms putting aside freedom are now clearly visible (cf.: the social pedagogy approach) but this does not mean that education should be sacrificed on the altar of freedom. Shouldn't we strive for achieving a delicate and dynamic balance?

Together with all these, we try to adapt to the ethos of human quality of Ottó Mihály, even in school criticism (narrowed-extended school) or in the setting up of the philosophical paradox of freedom and education (Mihály, 1999a; Mihály, 2007).

At the same time, we get around the philosophical debate due to the post-modern society and education, which makes postmodernism – if it steps forward as a metanarrative similar to the ones existing in earlier eras - a self-refuting worldview, and only in spiritual science terms it is interesting that the pedagogy of postmodernism (post pedagogy) and its exemption of value universality goes beyond anti-pedagogy: not that the pedagogy is bad but it does not exist at all (Zrinszky, 1997). Likewise, we do not continue the philosophical roams starting from the "young person is one and indivisible" (NIS, 2009) thread; from Marx's human division; through György Ágoston's or Ottó Mihály's social and private person until the whole human of Lukács (Trencsényi, 2013). The paper does not discuss in details any further the related fields of either the world of young people or the service environment, which are, however, typical co-topics but their analysis is not necessary by all means to the formulation of youth affairs. Thus, we do not deal in details with: the comparison of (free) time-poor and time-rich cultures (Lindener, 2010), with some leisure time areas of activities: neither with the characteristics of sport¹⁸, recreation (Kelly, 1996) or the game world. We also do not deal with the analysis of consumption and the consumer society, dwelling on the social history of consumption; how it is not, how the relations of objects and individuals change society: in modernism, the system of the relative stability

of the successive human generations and that of the objects outlasting them; in postmodernism, the more colourful consecutive swirl¹⁹ of the generations of objects (Baudrillard, 1987). Thus, the liquidation of the illusion of limitless consumption is not our topic, either (Meadows et al, 2005).

Youth affairs, as a multidisciplinary approach in practice is in its infancy in Hungary for several reasons – but in some ways, on the international stage as well – although Bradford notes (Bradford, 2011) that the flexibility and people-centred capacity of youth affairs (for the reason its strength is its weakness at the same time) will never be able to colonize an area as, for example, education did so.

- In Finland, with the population of 5 million, 3200 stated-paid youth workers work (Siurala, 2012), while in the domestic system, according to optimistic estimates, a maximum of 150. In France, the operation of community youth centres by non-governmental organizations has a long tradition; 120.000 trained animators work with 480 youth centres (Verschelden et al, 2009), and hundreds of child governments operate (Trencsényi, 1994). In Germany, there are 45.000 trained youth workers (Siurala, 2012).
- In the Netherlands, since the 1970s, youth workers receive professional training (van Ewijk, 2010); in Germany, social pedagogy is one of the five educational qualifications to be chosen since 1969 (Thole, 2000), which was chosen by more than half of the students in the eighties, while adult education and special education only by 12-12%, and school education and vocational training by only 6-6% (Rauschbach, 2000), what is more, the proportion of those working in the field was multiplied by six in 40 years (almost half a million people).
- The system of the German Jugendklubs, info centres and mobile-youth worker services covers virtually the entire country; the 5 million citizens of Norway get almost 600 youth clubs, while Hungary gets not completely 40.
- In Belgium, the law defines youth activities and organizations since 1980 (Gauthier, 2010); in Finland, there is youth law since 1972. In the latter place, since 2015, a youth self-government is required to be established next to all governments. But Serbia has had National Youth Strategy earlier than Hungary had (2008 vs. 2009) (Krnjaic, 2012).

- In the University of Malta (!), an Institute of Youth Studies operates; in Finland, MA degree can be obtained from youth work (Mikkeli University); in Great Britain, post-graduate MA qualification can be obtained (YMCA, 2015) and in the University of Ghent, there has already been a PhD degree defence with pedagogical content youth work (Schild-Vanhee, 2009).

Stepping out of the analyser's role: our urgent work to do is the fundamental rethinking of our relation to young people so far. Since, while young people are only searching for the liveable present, dealing with them, the operation of the state youth structures and institutional systems – explicitly or implicitly – truly reflect the ideas of those in power on youth, and indirectly, on citizens. In other words, youth issues require more responsibility, more actions from all of us, from the community, society and state, and even from Europe, than that has been realized in the past or present. The student uprisings of 1968 or even the riots in Budapest in September 2006 justify: the beneficial or harmful effects of what we do or fail to do today, will be felt (even in the near) future and thus will mainly affect the youth of tomorrow. With some exaggeration, if we do not help today's youth to obtain the proficiencies, skills and competences articulated in youth affairs (democracy techniques, involvement, individual autonomy, communities, private youth assistance, future planning, prevention, assertiveness and the list goes on), Mazsola will disappear again from the Budapest TV headquarters shattered to pieces. And the situation is further complicated by the fact that the young generations sooner or later - these days it seems as more and more later - just become adults; generations get rid of their "youth" attributes, "change clothes" or their attributes become a symbol of adult generations...

2. Lost permanence- the importance of young people's problems

Below, on the one hand, we take into account such characteristic social institutions and areas, the linkage of which to youth affairs is not insignificant: the overall quality of their integrated existence and operation fundamentally affects adulthood. Trying to have an – although overview - insight²⁰ into the operation of the traditional institutions paving the way for the independence and integration of the coming generation, we will look at the aspects of social exclusion, health world, consumption-culture, deviance, identity and the lives of minorities and the disabled. The individual segments respectively show the phenomenon which is described as the death of childhood (Postman, 1992; Buckingham, 2002²¹); as well as the characteristics of the prolonged adolescence (Zinecker, 1993, Gabor, 2006) and delayed adulthood, which interpretation basically transforms the problem from education sociological discourse into pedagogical drama.

We also try to examine –not forgetting about our educational theory concept involved in the previous chapter and offered for common thinking – that on the basis of youth research conducted since the change of regime in Hungary, what were the most pressing issues raised by young people and how they have changed over time. In the consecutive four large-scale studies, young people evaluated more and more negatively the macroeconomic processes taken place in the last 10 years from the current year's data collection. When assessing the economic situation, in the perspective approach referring to both the past and the future, mostly negative responses predominate among young people. In the analysed period, in both approaches, deterioration can be detected, which reflects the young people's prolonged sense of crisis. From the analysis of the problem map it can be seen (Figure 4) that by 2012, hopelessness took over the "most pressing youth problem" title can be called honoured in no way. In fact, with some lurch, since 2000 this component continues to grow; almost half of young people dubbed it as a problem by now. Moreover, a correlation can be found in between subjective existential problems, specifically, between the sense of hopelessness and migration potential. On this basis, we can say that in the last decade not primarily the objective difficulties (finances, housing, employment etc.), but this former (meaninglessness, hopelessness) controls the intention to emigrate²². And adding to

this, the national youth policy events in Europe constantly call attention to pessimism, to anomie and to the emptying of trust towards traditional social institutions (Williamson, 2002).

Social institutions²³

Social exclusion, poverty

In today's society, the need is not primarily manifested in being declassed but in the exclusion from the developmental perspective (Böhnisch, 2000). Poverty (as a static, material component) and social exclusion (as a dynamic, psychological-social psychological component) has a clear impact "on children's awareness, initiative, future performance, youthful successes and failures (Nyitrai, 2008), especially if they do not have those goods which the social relationships and the peer groups expect to have. The minimizing of this damage may be served by the supportive family, teacher-student relation, social relations, the belonging to multiple peer groups. "Nevertheless ... there are plenty of such life events, development points in the lives of each age group, of which if children and young-aged citizens are left out, neither them, nor the social support system can replace it in adulthood" (Nyitrai, 2008). In Europe, the poverty risk for young people is higher than that of the total population (Szanyi F., 2016), which occurs as an absolute poverty in the former socialist countries, while in the core European, it threatens young people as an unfavourable economic situation compared to the rest of the society.

The world of work

The employment opportunities of young people due to the unfavourable labour market trends are becoming more and more difficult. The changing socio-cultural environment, the employers' expectations, the challenges of the Internet required new knowledge and competences, which the traditionally slowly reacting school system was not able to follow. On top of all this, the first time of employment is increasingly delayed²⁴, thus starting a career is becoming more and more uncertain. Young people often do not see the connection between their school obligations and their future employment and life perspectives, so their actual purpose of life many times is acquiring the skills and the certificate, and not growing up (Böhnisch, 2000). Many young people left school without any qualifications, abandoning their school studies, so

the labour market opportunities have become extremely bad. In the last period, young people in Europe only half as likely to gain jobs as adults (Laki, 2008). Young people as students mainly meet with the forms of employment in the framework of casual employment and in productive tasks of practical trainings.

The youth unemployment rate actually became a mass during the global economic crisis. Although a few years ago almost every young people who finished school found a job, a multitude of young people have been pushed out of the labour market by now (Laki 2008), and among young people, the unemployment rate is many times the average. Institutional structures were not prepared for mass youth unemployment (neither the family, nor the local community, the government, neither the school system, nor the state). In connection with the labour market, youth are “poorly socialized.”²⁵ “The position of young people in the labour market was heavily restructured by the crisis as well, although the problems were detected before 2008. The labour market activity of the studied age group in most countries has decreased, which the postponement of the training period was not able to fully absorb, so as a result of the crisis, the number of unemployed and inactive youth rates has increased”(Szanyi., F 2016, pp. 45). In addition, the exposure rate is growing, and in the case of employed young people, it is a common phenomenon that the proportion of employees working with part-time or with fixed-term contract grows.

Health world

Healthcare is connected to growing up in many respects. On the one hand, good or bad, but a functioning institutional system is available if young people become sick, but we hardly care for them when we are talking about health risks, health behaviour, prevention and healthy lifestyle (Susánszky-Szántó, 2008). Managing young people’s risk behaviour, with a slight exaggeration, is exhausted in the prohibition of drugs - because of today’s chemistry, with small intelligence – and in the sales ban of the tobacco and alcohol products, which is often not complied with and easily circumvented; sometimes quilted with occasional awareness campaigns inherently less effective for an adolescent. The negative consequences of risk behaviours appear only with major time shift so the young person practically does not reckon with that. Most of the risk behaviours (smoking, alcohol, drugs, but widely interpreted,

through mental health risks and sexual health risks until not taking the calorie balance²⁶ into account) “play an anti-stress role in the lives of young people... their stress-relief effect help in coping; their application has immediate “benefits” in the spinning world where you must adapt to changes very quickly and meet the challenges. The endeavour to maximize the current benefits suppresses the concern or responsibility felt for the future” (Susánszky-Szántó, 2005).

Consumption and culture

After World War II., in the USA, and later in Western Europe, habits –typical of only young people - began to emerge, which fundamentally changed the consumer and cultural industry²⁷. Youth age groups emerged as independent consumers who have some (well-defined) needs and have some (well-defined) income, and both their opportunities and needs differ substantially from those of older generations (Székely, 2008), at the same time, their protection was also eliminated towards the market attitude searching for consumers. Their position, of course, depends also on whether we are talking about a young person involved in the educational system and having no independent income, or about a young person already in work. This shift-change fundamentally transforms consumer habits²⁸ even among young people. However, many people challenge such use of consumption or culture, since the interpretation of the young person, as not just a consumer but as a “culture maker” appears strongly in the new youth phenomena (Trencsényi, 2013c). Different research, even earlier, highlighted youth groups requiring the creation of their own culture (eg.: Nemes, 1984; Szapu, 2002; Bús, 2013), but now the possibilities offered by the Web 2.0 applications only confirm this (cf.: content service vs. consumption, as well as Web 2.0 media as a personal space for socializing and learning; Kárpáti, Szálas, Kuttner, 2012)²⁹.

Minorities, Roma, migrants

The low educational and quality of life level of Roma people (Romano Rácz, 2007) is not only Hungary’s problem, but a problem that appears also in the region, and even in many European countries, in which it plays a role that Roma children, as miniature adults, are often full members of the community (Forray, 2013). “Roma children throughout Europe are involved in primary education considerably behind the national average; their number in secondary

and higher education is very low” (Simon, 2001 pp 17). By the end of the post-World War II migration wave, the – at that time – nomadic, semi-nomadic Roma population largely remained in the former socialist countries. These countries, in different ways but still in one way, responded to the problems occurring in most of the places: the Czech policy intended to settle down the mainly semi-nomadic groups (the immobility of schooling and job); Romania did not recognize the Roma people as ethnic minorities, and if it did not ignore the ethnic group, in most of the cases, it meant harassment; Bulgaria was carrying out a 30-year-of assimilation war. The Western-European countries – where Roma people represented a much smaller part in number – behaved somewhat more inclusive: in England, with some limitations, they secured the right for the migrant lifestyle; in Germany, they made public health rules, controlling migration; in France, instead of the “prohibition and repression” policy, they tried to integrate Roma people with new frameworks. After the Central and Eastern European change of regime, the elements of this recipient policy seemed to disappear: in England, they withdrew the obligations of the government regarding the camp-site appointments; in France, monthly check-in has been imposed at the police station; in Italy and in Belgium the possibility of separate study was prohibited. Today, both in the Western and in the Central-Eastern European countries, settled Roma people are in majority, however, their separatism / non-acceptance is an existing reality in the present day (Fraser, 1996). The youth age group of the stratum concerned do not receive the care today, that the ones in the more fortunate position – in many forms of state interference – can enjoy in the educational, social and health benefits.

Little data is available on migrant youth but it is obvious that – sometimes because of objective reasons, sometimes because of rejection – they are in more difficult life situation than their average peers in this regard. The minority existence appears, also today, as a risk factor. In connection with the problems of minorities and young people, it is a feature that all minorities have their own subcultural characteristics. The deep socio-cultural division between the majority and minority life often requires social-pedagogical treatment. “These are such social problems, in addressing which, in addition to financial support, the breakdown of the barriers and obstacles separating social strata have a still unfulfilled task” (Javaslat, 2013).

Disabled

It is an EU principle, but it can be called as a civilizational expectation as well, that the needs of every individual has equal importance, so on the basis of these needs, the resources have to be allocated in a way to ensure the opportunity of equal access. The principle of equal rights, therefore, means that the various systems of society and the environment, such as services, activities, information and documentation become equally accessible for everybody, but especially for the disabled. People with disabilities are members of our society in the same way, and they have the right to be creators of their local community as anyone else. They must receive appropriate support in the common structures of education, health, employment and social services, and as they get equal rights - often forgotten - they also have equal obligations.³⁰ In many places, including in our country, the so-called rigid integration is a characteristic feature, which is although statistically detectable, but it is not implemented in the space of personal and group interactions (eg.: drifting due to lack of special conditions) (Bánfalvy, 2008; Stredl 2015; Pető, 2003). However slowly, but the laws, the definition of international frameworks and social attitudes are changing (Kálmán-Könzzei, 2002), although in many places, disability is still primarily known as a health problem and not a social welfare issue.³¹ Overall, a pursuit for integrating children with disabilities into regular education can be experienced but these are often just scattered initiatives. Even today, there is a gulf of distance between positive legislation and its daily implementation.

Crime prevention, crime

About youth and crime, it is worth talking in two ways: first of all, in relation to victimization, and only secondarily in relation to youth crime (Sipos, 2009).³² The first is undoubtedly less mentioned but we need to know that it is much more typical than the young person committing a crime; just its latency is high, its researchability is low. The growth of youth crime has several reasons, such as social changes, openness, the loosening of constraints and limits, social differences, financial situations and the spectacular changes in consumption opportunities. Out of the reasons, the socio-cultural and ethnic disadvantages, as well as the lack of perspective of the members of youth age groups have to be highlighted. The reasons behind youth crime are known “the generational threat at situational and emotional acts is high” (National Youth Strategy, 2009); this is

strengthened by failed school performance, low education, social and emotional isolation, exclusion and hopelessness. The company and group attraction has large strength; there is a growing number of acts committed in groups and the modes of perpetration are getting rougher. Special attention should be given to the Internet, where the young age group is one of the priority targets of frauds and harassment. From the perpetrator's conduct³³ point of view, it is important that no one will be "accidentally" a perpetrator³⁴ or seriously deviant³⁵ (Géczi, 1980; Nemes, 1984). Around fifth or sixth of small children or young people are potentially vulnerable because of their life situations and capabilities, the reasons of which are: "poverty and the associated stress, housing problems, economic, geographical and emotional isolation, unemployment, low education, genetic predispositions amplified by environmental effects, the quality of meals, drug use, alcohol abuse in the family, the availability of weapons, as well as the lack of moral and spiritual frameworks" (Herczog, 2008).

Religion and youth

According to the youth research data³⁶ regarding the religious behaviour of young people, a turn away from religious institutions can be experienced (Rosta, 2013) (although about religious attitudes cannot be linked to churches, about the so-called religious individualization we have less knowledge). It is especially a characteristic of Europe that young people are far less religious than their grandparents³⁷ are (Nagy, 2010). As in Europe, the religion has a much less impact on their lives than outside it (Bertelsmann, 2011), it can be stated that in post-modern Europe, it is fulfilling its traditional society organizing function to a lesser and lesser extent. It is so even in the trends of hundred years if there are corrections in certain localities or timeframes (cf. religiosity intensified during the regime change (Tomka, 2006), or in certain parts of France, among the children of third-generation immigrant families, the return to the grandparents' religions and life philosophies which, coupled with social exclusion, often strengthening each other, gets a radical form of expression (National Security Agency, 2012)). Although at this point it is enough to detect the fact, they are looking for its reason in the even stronger explanatory power of rational worldview, as well as in the more impersonal nature of the church on the arc lasting from the faith manifestation to the religious institution system (Voigt, 2004) out of which the strengthening of atheism, gnosticism and base communities (Kamarás, 1994) may follow.

The political field

The political-sociological studies respectively show a turn away from the politics of modernity, from “secular prophets”; the political interest of the youth age group is low (Angelusz-Tardos 2000; Lipset 1995). In the lives of young people, politics in the traditional sense is only a marginal element, so they do not follow the daily political battles; they are less responsive to political events, but at the same time, in unconventional participatory modes, their activity can be enhanced significantly (boycotts, petitions, protest demonstrations) (Oross, 2016). Their participation is not based primarily on rationality, but on emotional identification. As it can be experienced in other areas as well, their pacing threshold is significantly higher than the one of older generations. Consequently, we cannot look at them, for the time being, as “political customers”. Young people consider politics to be a less important area; two-thirds of them are not interested in politics and this, in fact, can be considered constant over the last ten years; regarding their future, they are not looking beyond the microenvironment (Oross, 2016). “The majority of young people simply do not see the point in defining their needs and opinions in an institutionalized form, to give sound to their ideas in a constructive way. The majority of today’s young people do not believe that, through their determination, they may become the formers of local, regional or national processes”(Ságvári 2008, pp.110).³⁸ However, although in its quantity it’s small but because of emotional – and not rational – identification, active or very active citizens can be found among young people.³⁹

The most acute problems of young people⁴⁰

It is especially important - and a recurring testing aspect of youth research - to assess how young people feel about their recent past and about their recent future, what they consider as typical problems. About the past and the future, data collection occurred along two questions: the first one focused on the past judgement of the economic situation, while the second one focused on future expectations. Regarding the country’s and people’s perception of past financial situation, the 2004 survey showed the least pessimistic view, while the 2012 survey was the most negative. The judgment of the economic situation in the country rose to 89% in 2012 from the 50% proportion in 2004; the judgement of people’s standard of living rose from the 55% got during the 2004 data collection to 88% by 2012. The data draws attention to the

significant deterioration of young people's social well-being. Young people also became more pessimistic about the future on the two levels tested, so on the overall judgment of the general economic situation and the situation of the general standard of living (the question included the clause: the future opportunities will deteriorate). On both levels, significant deterioration can be observed twice as regards the vision of the future: in 2008 and in 2012. The country's future economic judgement developed negatively (2000/2004: 28%, 2008: 47%, 2012: 71%) and the future judgement of the overall standard of living, as well (2000: 34%, 2004: 30%, 2008: 48%, 2012: 70%). The future vision of young people is mostly pessimistic: the negative perception of the future is also a warning sign, because the personal and generational expectations not only influence personal choices, but also the nature of the socio-economic future, as well.

Although all the four national youth surveys after the millennium (Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008, Magyar Ifjúság 2012) contained questions connected to the judgment of youth problems , differences in the content of the questions and in the possible answers used really made the time-series analysis difficult. In 2000, young people filling in the questionnaires could chooseout of 18, in 2004, out of 20 while in 2008 and 2012, out of 26 problem types (the latter two was also fully identical in its content as well). The easier processing of the question, as well as the easier interpretation of results was served by the fact that the content-related problem types have been merged. Thereby, a problem map including 12 options can be drawn up, the conceptualization of which is included in the table below (Table 1):

	Ifjúság2000 (Youth 2000)	Ifjúság2004 (Youth 2004)	Ifjúság2008 (Youth 2008)	Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Hungarian Youth 2012)
Alcohol/drugs	5. spread of drug 6. alcoholism	1. spread of alcohol 5. spread of drugs	1. spread of alcohol 6. spread of drugs	1. spread of alcohol 6. spread of drugs
Financial difficulties	3. financial failure, low salaries 4. Poverty, insecurity 14. growing social inequalities	12. insecurity 16. lack of money, poverty, impoverishment	18. insecurity 22. lack of money, poverty, impoverishment	18. insecurity 22. lack of money, poverty, impoverishment
Family background	11. family crisis, undermining family values 12. bad family situation	4. crisis and lack of family 17. bad family situation	5. crisis and lack of family 23. bad family situation	5. crisis and lack of family 23. bad family situation
Moral problems	7. crime 15. moral decay 16. non-valuation	2. crime 6. moral decay	3. crime 8. moral decay 12. corruption	3. crime 8. moral decay 12. corruption
Lifestyle, environment	n.a.	n.a.	7. unhealthy, sedentary lifestyle 13. poor state of environment 14. transport difficulties	7. unhealthy, sedentary lifestyle 13. poor state of environment 14. transport difficulties
General bad situation of young people	n.a.	n.a.	9. general bad situation of young people	9. general bad situation of young people

Relationship difficulties	18. lack of entertainment and familiarization opportunities	18. lack of entertainment and familiarization opportunities 19. decline of contemporary community relations	2. lack of friends 15. lack of community 24. lack of entertainment and familiarization opportunities	2. lack of friends 15. lack of community 24. lack of entertainment and familiarization opportunities
Hopelessness	9. bleak future 17. aimlessness	3. aimlessness 9. bleak and uncertain future.	4. aimlessness, they do not know what they want 11. bleak and uncertain future	4. aimlessness, they do not know what they want 11. bleak and uncertain future
Housing problems	2. unresolved housing	11. housing problems	17. housing problems	17. housing problems
Unemployment	1. unemployment	14. unemployment, employment difficulties	20. unemployment, employment difficulties	20. unemployment, employment difficulties
Differences in literacy	8. uncultured, tastelessness 10. narrowing of learning difficulties 13. lack of adequate education and skills	8. school problems, learning difficulties 10. uncultured, ignorance, tastelessness 13. lack or inaccessibility of adequate schooling	10. school problems, learning difficulties 16. uncultured, ignorance, tastelessness 19. lack or inaccessibility of adequate schooling	10. school problems, learning difficulties 16. uncultured, ignorance, tastelessness 19. lack or inaccessibility of adequate schooling
Lack of autonomy	n.a.	7. dependence on parents 15. establishment of self-existence and family	21. establishment of self-existence and family 25. dependence on parents	21. establishment of self-existence and family 25. dependence on parents

Table 1: Classification of the types of problems into 12 problem circles along the original response options of the four questionnaires, 2000-2012
 (source: own editing)

The creation of the standard problem map was made to be more difficult by the different types of questions as well.⁴¹ Besides, the questions of all the four surveys concerned the most pressing problems perceived by young people nationwide. However, the editors did not count with the dominant weight of subjective viewpoints at the questioning. Since the majority of young people defined (or would define) national youth problems not by objective problems but they originated (or would originate) from their own life situations or occupations. For example, presumably a student of sociology (who is considered to be one of the most favourable case of the original researchers' expectations) drawn up a much more different problem map than an unskilled young job seeker. Since in the first case, the weight of objectivity is presumably greater (understand: s/he really outlined the problems of youth, not his/her most pressing problems), that is, the designation of problems is much more influenced by the social indicators known by him/her than in the latter case, who projects the obstacles of his/her own prosperity and lifestyle difficulties to the responses given to this question.⁴²

Longitudinal overview

Based on the results of the first large-scale, national youth research (Ifjúság2000) it can be stated that around the turn of the millennium, the most pronounced youth problems encountered by young people were bound to existential problems (Table 2). Primarily, young people considered financial problems, unemployment and housing problems to be significant. Network building and sustaining difficulties proved to be the least significant in their views; problems experienced in family environment cannot be regarded marked as well; this problem circle was highlighted by only every twelfth young person. However, following the results of the survey made in 2000, it can be summarized that in addition to the existential difficulties, the concern about the spread of deviant and morally problematic behaviour was also significant among young people. This was mainly true for drug and alcohol consumption, but immoral, morally objectionable and partly punishable behaviours have appeared among them, as well. In the light of the data we can say that literacy problems have also appeared in the need to be resolved for many people, just as the bleak vision of the future appeared as a major youth problem in the rankings.

Following the data of the next youth research in 2004 (Ifjúság2004), the problem map showed a shift. Alcohol and drug use appeared in the first place in

the ranking of the most pressing youth problems. Half of the age group considered that mind-altering drugs and the addiction caused by them took on an alarming extent for young age groups. The 15-29-year-olds, after alcohol and drug abuse, considered hopelessness to be the second most prominent problem affecting youth. Morally questionable behaviours (crime, moral decay, etc.) carried out in the third place. However, it is also important to note that on the occasion of the 2004 survey conducted, existential problems performed in front, such as financial difficulties and unemployment, as well as housing problems. On the basis of young people's opinion it can be summed up that networking proved to be the least important youth problem on the occasion of the 2004 survey, just as independence from parents was enumerated among the least acute problems. The duality already experienced before was typical of the data of Ifjúság 2008, as well, according to which the most important youth problems were clustered around two areas in the belief of the generation concerned. This, on the one hand, meant the existential limits of individual prosperity (financial problems, unemployment) and the mental and emotional instability closely linked to it (hopelessness, meaninglessness), on the other hand, alcohol and drug consumption, as well as the lack of compliance with ethical standards. The new types of problems included in the questionnaire, however, were not given a key role on the problem map. Among the tail-enders of the rankings we can find the problem areas linked to both youth lifestyle, the physical environment (nature, transport) as well as to the general bad situation of young people. In addition, differences in literacy, family background and lack of independence also carried out at the back of the line.

As reported, the ranking of problems of the recent youth survey, Magyar Ifjúság 2012, shows an image very similar to the one recorded in 2008. In the youth's eyes, financial insecurity, social inequality, unemployment and poverty remain to have strong significance. The first three places in the ranking are clearly covered by the problem areas associated with the existential difficulties. At the same time - as it became evident also from the results of previous surveys - morally reprehensible forms of behaviour, alcohol and drug consumption continues to be under the burning issues among youth. On the generation's problem map, relationship difficulties, as well as concerns related to being independent from parents, lifestyle and physical environment got minimum weight on the occasion of the recent survey.

	Ifjúság2000 (Youth 2000)	Ifjúság2004 (Youth 2004)	Ifjúság2008 (Youth 2008)	Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Hungarian Youth 2012)
1.	Financial difficulties	Alcohol/drugs	Financial difficulties	Hopelessness
2.	Unemployment	Hopelessness	Unemployment	Financial difficulties
3.	Housing problems	Moral problems	Hopelessness	Unemployment
4.	Alcohol/drugs	Financial difficulties	Moral problems	Moral problems
5.	Differences in literacy	Unemployment	Alcohol/drugs	Alcohol/drugs
6.	Hopelessness	Housing problems	Housing problems	The general bad situation of young people
7.	Moral problems	Family background	Literacy problems	Differences in literacy
8.	Family background	Differences in literacy	Family background	Family background
9.	Relationship difficulties	Lack of autonomy	Lack of autonomy	Lack of autonomy
10.	-	Relationship difficulties	The general bad situation of young people	Lack of autonomy
11.	-	-	Lifestyle, environment	Relationship difficulties
12.	-	-	Relationship difficulties	Lifestyle, environment

Table 2: Rankings of youth problems between 2000 and 2012
(source: own editing)

Problem Types and the development of their weight over time

As we have already seen at the ranking of problems, the youth problems believed to be the most pressing can mainly be divided into three groups. This involves, on the one hand, existential difficulties, on the other hand, moral problems and deviant behaviour, thirdly alcohol and drug consumption. Looking at the existential problems (financial difficulties, unemployment, housing problems and hopelessness), the most striking phenomenon is that while in the period of 2000-2008, specific financial or employment difficulties were sentenced to a primary consideration by youth, in 2012, they found the more spiritual-emotional load and less objective form of this aspect, i.e. hopelessness, to be outstanding (Table 3). The latter is not only ranked in the first place among the existential difficulties, but also in the perspective of the total problem map, this problem is included in most of the concerns viewing young people's situation. In 2000, only tenth of the generation, in 2004 and 2008, one-third of them, and by 2012, nearly half of them believed hopelessness to be the most pressing problem of youth.

Financial difficulties were considered to be youth problems in the highest percentage in 2000; in 2004, a much smaller proportion of the age group had the same opinion. Since 2008, however, we can experience some stagnation in this matter, which states that four out of ten young people felt that social differences and existential uncertainty are serious youth problems waiting for remedy. Unemployment, similarly to the aforementioned problem type, proved to be an outstanding youth problem in the highest proportion in 2000. In 2004, we could see a significant reduction in this problem as well, but by 2008, the weight of unemployment became twice as significant in the youth problem rankings. In 2012, this ratio fell; one in four young people felt that joblessness resulting from the employment difficulties is an inevitable generational difficulty. The weight of housing problems in 2000 have proved to be very pronounced, but its relevance declined much since then: in 2012 only 6% of the age group considered this problem to be urgent.

	2000	2004	2008	2012
Hopelessness	12	31	28	46
Financial difficulties	53	19	38	37
Unemployment	48	18	38	25
Housing problems	33	14	10	6
Moral problems	11	24	21	21
Alcohol and drug consumption	14	50	19	19

Table 3: Evolution of the weight of the youth problem types perceived to be the most significant between 2000 and 2012 (percentage distribution; $N_{2000} = 7756$, $N_{2004} = 7958$, $N_{2008} = 7723$, $N_{2012} = 7986$, source: Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008, Magyar Ifjúság2012) (source: own editing)

To sum up: while in the previous period, the existential problems objective in nature (such as unemployment, housing problems, financial problems) had changing weights for young people (we could experience decline, stagnation and growth, as well), the existential instability subjective in nature (such as purposeless, bleak vision of the future) emerged as an increasingly pronounced youth problem. These two different trends are shown in the figure below.

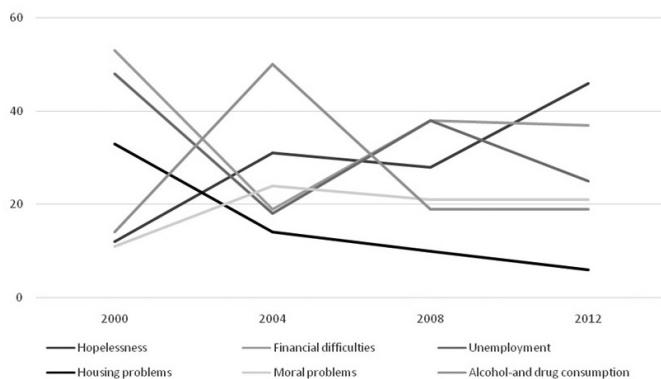


Figure 1: Evolution of the weight of the youth problem types perceived to be the most significant between 2000 and 2012 (percentage distribution; $N_{2000} = 7756$, $N_{2004} = 7958$, $N_{2008} = 7723$, $N_{2012} = 7986$, source: Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008, Magyar Ifjúság2012)

Regarding the rankings of the four surveys we can see that drug and alcohol consumption, as well as moral problems as youth problems received an outstanding ranking position only in 2004 (Table 3; Figure 1). Prior to this, morally objectionable behaviours were considered to be the most pressing problem of youth by tenth of young people, while alcohol and drug consumption, as well as the spread of them by seventh of young people. However, in 2008 and 2012, we recorded stagnation in this area, as well; the fifth of the generation considered the spread of alcohol and drug consumption among young people to be extremely worrying, and the same number were those who perceived the morally questionable behaviour to be an urgent problem.

For other types of problems we can find less such marked changes, as the weight of these issues compared to the problem types discussed earlier is much lower (Table 4). The overall bad situation of young people is included in the survey as a possible youth problem only in two years, which was mentioned by one in ten young people among the most pressing youth issues in 2012. The weight of literacy differences experienced among young people's peers shows a decrease; in 2000, seventh of the 15-29-year-olds, while in 2012, only 8% of them considered this type of problem to be the most significant. The perception of family problems experienced in the immediate vicinity of young people shows a roughly permanence; their weight has not changed much over the years. Becoming independent from parents was experienced as a problem by fewer and fewer of them. This is probably also due to the fact that in everyday life we can meet with the phenomenon of slower detachment and independence more often (post-adolescence, see: at the Youth narratives section). In addition, relationship building difficulties, as well as problems associated with lifestyle and physical environment appeared as an urgent youth problem in the eyes of only the fraction of the age group.

	2000	2004	2008	2012
The overall bad situation of young people	n.a.	n.a.	6	11
Literacy differences	14	11	9	8
Family background	8	13	8	8
Lack of autonomy	n.a.	6	7	3
Relationship difficulties	1	1	4	3
Lifestyle, environment	n.a.	n.a.	5	3

Table 4: Changes in the weight of further types of problems between 2000 and 2012 (percentage distribution; $N_{2000} = 7756$, $N_{2004} = 7958$, $N_{2008} = 7723$, $N_{2012} = 7986$) (source: Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008, Magyar Ifjúság2012)

The impact of the migration potential:

We also investigated the effect of migration intentions, viewing those young people having migration potential who have mentioned that, either for learning or working, they were planning to leave the country at the time of the survey.⁴³ The long-term prevalence of the significant relationship between the weighting of the existential problems considered to be objective in nature (financial problems, unemployment, housing problems) and the migration intention is not clear (Table 5). In contrast, the concern because of the hopelessness capturing emotional and mental existential difficulties was more prevalent among young people planning migration in 2008 and in 2012 (the results of the first two surveys showed no significant relationship between variables). According to this, those who are planning emigration, consider the subjective problems of individual prosperity (hopelessness, meaninglessness) to be more serious, as opposed to the views of those planning no emigration.

		Total sample	Planning to leave the country	Not planning to leave the country
Financial difficulties	2000	51	52	51
	2004**	19	17	20
	2008**	38	32	40
	2012	37	35	37
Unemployment	2000**	46	36	46
	2004*	18	16	18
	2008**	38	33	40
	2012	25	24	25
Hopelessness	2000	13	16	13
	2004	31	32	31
	2008**	28	31	27
	2012**	46	48	44
Housing problems	2000**	33	25	33
	2004**	14	10	17
	2008**	10	7	11
	2012	6	6	6
Literacy differences	2000**	15	21	15
	2004**	11	13	9
	2008**	9	11	7
	2012	8	8	8
Alcohol/drugs	2000	15	18	15
	2004*	50	51	49
	2008**	19	23	17
	2012*	19	21	18
Moral problems	2000	11	13	11
	2004	24	23	24
	2008**	21	24	21
	2012	21	21	22

Table 5: Differences in the migration potential in the perception of each type of problems between 2000 and 2012 (percentage distribution;

$N_{2000} = 5290$, $N_{2004} = 7362$, $N_{2008} = 7585$, $N_{2012} = 6878$;

significance levels: * $P \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.001$)

(source: Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008, Magyar Ifjúság2012)

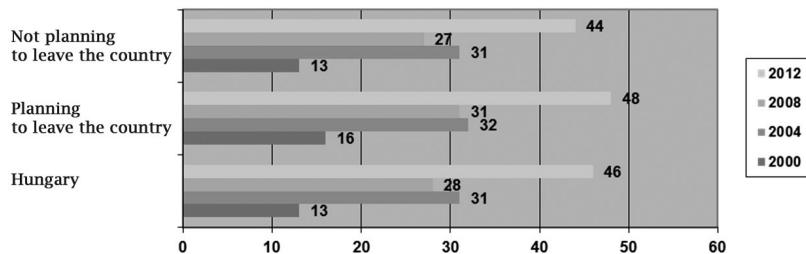


Figure 2: The judgment of hopelessness as the most pressing youth problem depending on the migration intentions between 2000 and 2012 (percentage distribution, $N_{2000} = 5290$, $N_{2004} = 7362$, $N_{2008} = 7585$, $N_{2012} = 6878$) (source: Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Ifjúság2008, Magyar Ifjúság2012)

In 2008, 33% of those ranking hopelessness among the most pressing youth issues, while 29% of those not mentioning this type of problem were planning to leave the country (at national level: 31%). In 2012, 41% of those worrying due to the hopeless, aimless youth vision of the future, while 37% of those not showing any worries from this aspect were planning foreign migration (at national level: 38%). The reverse is also true: among young people planning foreign migration it is more common to view hopelessness as a marked generational problem, than among those young people not planning to leave the country. That is, for the perception of the severity of hopelessness and meaninglessness experienced among young people, the presence or lack of migration intention has an impact (Figure 2). Thus it can be stated that hopelessness (as a subjective existential problem) has/had an effect on the migration willingness of young people, i.e., it can/could become one of the motivations of emigration, and as we all know it, young people are already the most mobile social group prone to migration.

* * *

The situation of youth is not a cause but a symptom. The traditional educational-political science-sociological institutions helping the young generation – mainly the institutions of the twentieth century preferring massive and passive inclusion – are in crisis. As Fukuyama also notes, the confidence raised in traditional, large institutions was shaken (Fukuyama, 2000), and they are kind of wax museums only (Bauman, 2005). The institutions themselves fulfil their functions only incidentally; in many places, seeking ways is typical,

in other areas, they reached problem recognition, still in other places, being aware of the problem situation is not even on agenda. If the institutions and the institutional space are only indicative of a problem, what else we can talk about than youth and social crisis. Society is suffering from its own young people and usually considers them as a group carrying problems, rather than such a resource that emits signals of a declining society” (Lauritzen, 1993). The view of many of these institutions primarily reflects the approach of youth as problems (crime prevention, law enforcement, child protection services, etc.). The society, societies hardly pay attention to the thought of young people as a possibility and do not build up institutions in this regard. Thus it is no wonder that young people are interested in institutional life the least; their relationship to these institutions largely disappeared. Regardless of the fact that the youth mostly cannot really be treated as a homogenous group (Csákó 2004), the overwhelming majority of the authors are actually talking about adverse changes and crisis from the period preceding the change of regime, until the entering of the information society into everyday life. Andorka (Andorka, 1997) talks about more clearly negative trend; Gazsó-Stumpf (Gazsó-Stumpf, 2001) mentions the negative processes of the negative rotation from the workplace, education and the opening of the cultural gap according to the secondary structure-forming factors (settlement structure, regional location, etc.); Gábor (Gábor, 2006) calls attention to the growing autonomy risks, but many authors speak of the core issues of youth (home, workplace, for example.) unanswered for decades, and only talks about the possibility of reducing inequalities (not to mention the requirement of fairness) (Varga, 2015). In Hungary, these crisis phenomena even more came to the fore with the economic and social polarization (Laki, 2008). With the shrinking of the labour market and then its transformation, the cessation of job security, the threat of marginalization, the lack of predictability, the marginalization and drifting in social scales creates discomfort (while a boom occurred in the districts reached by the investments). Dozens of signals have been given about this by the large-scale Hungarian youth research as well (Ifjúság2000, 2004, 2008, Magyar Ifjúság 2012; Szabó-Bauer, 2001; Szabó-Bauer, 2005; Szabó-Bauer, 2009; Székely, 2013; Nagy-Székely, 2014; Nagy-Székely, 2015; Nagy-Székely, 2016). It strengthens the discomfort that the political elite have actually “wasted” the chance for modernization and in this “semi-peripheral global capitalism variant, the production, research, and market etc. networks and systems adequate with global-capitalism did not and could not develop (Laki,

2008 pp 6). In the society, divided after the change of regime, the number and proportion of those sinking into extreme poverty is increasing. They have no or hardly any labour income; the schooling of their children is mainly due to the social network. The generations lacking usable knowledge and competences, and therefore having little chance of employment are getting deeper into the spiral of extreme poverty (Ferge, 2008).

For a quarter of century in Hungary, every government talks about resolving the primary problems of the age group, but the critical nature of the situation has not diminished in a recognized way (Gazsó-Stumpf, 1992), what is more, the primary problems of youth are identified with hopelessness. In solving these problems it only happened that the governments after the change of regime no longer terrorize the youth but rather –going to the other extreme – they leave them alone: they do not react to several warning signals, leaving many unsatisfied needs.

3. Youth affairs as part of pedagogical discourse

In this paper, we - following post-modern philosophies of education, and the national mapping of these -, interpret the concept of pedagogy broadly as a social activity and profession, developing (enriching, sensitizing, restoring, etc.) youthful personality, while we interpret education science as a reflection and scientific space of this (Mihály, 1999b). Although the education science vs. pedagogy distinction has constantly been challenged after the turn of the millennium as well, the idea of education science - unlike pedagogy - increasingly began to interpret itself in in the space of related disciplines (history, sociology, psychology, economics), and its questioning, such as “is the pedagogical knowledge useful if I enter the group” is distinct from the question mark of “whether I can comply with the education science and co-territorial standards (Kozma, 2013).

The social activity issue is no coincidence either. In the reflection of lifewide learning as well as formal, non-formal and informal learning modes⁴⁴ (which have already won space by now, not only as an education science idea, but also as a pedagogical reality), essentially ceases the special negotiation mode of the traditional institutional spaces and organizations, at least its exclusivity by all means (Trencsényi, 2007). The definition has already become inevitable in theory and in scientific reflection, but in practice, post-modern society has made it reality.

On top of this, there is the development of education science in such a direction, which builds on sociology and political sciences more than ever, sealed by one with social work, but is keeping in touch with cultural anthropology and pedagogical ethnography, as well. This allows us to confirm that youth affairs have a strong linkage with education science and that education science not only has sense in pedagogical aspects but it can also be reflected as education science.

In the following, we interpret four such disciplines, the relationship of which to each other is needed to be clarified: youth affairs, youth work, social pedagogy and leisure pedagogy. Briefly defined, youth affairs is the complex activity of dealing with young people (including youth research, public policy, youth work etc.) and its scientific background. Youth work is such practice of youth affairs where pedagogical and social, etc. purpose activity takes place with young people and/or with their small community. Leisure pedagogy is the pedagogical approach to youth work. Youth work largely overlaps with social pedagogy, however, it does not share in its interpretation that some administrative tasks can be interpreted as parts of the area as well (although we should add that the as many components, as many social pedagogical interpretation; perhaps it is due to this fact that the narrative could not stretch beyond certain limits). In addition, social pedagogy does not give leisure time priority (social pedagogy is rooted in modernity, and because of its residual-principle leisure interpretation, it is not imputable).

With the study, we would like to argue for two things.

On the one hand, the breaking down of the youth' world into segments and disciplines makes it difficult to understand. Youth affairs are "... interdisciplinary ... because in youth research, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, cultural studies can be linked together ..., and the encounter of disciplines brings with itself the diversity and complexity of theoretical and methodological frameworks (Szanyi F., 2016 pp. 18.). Thus, youth affairs is youth sociology for the sociologist, leisure pedagogy for the teacher, specialist- and public policy for the political scientist and the protection of vulnerable social groups and individuals for the social worker. And without this interpretation, the communication between each profession becomes a dialogue of deaf people: the sociologist views post-adolescent purely as a social manoeuvre, a cultural moratorium; the teacher does not see young people outside the classroom and school walls; the political scientist does not understand that a young person

is not just part of a social group that sometimes has to be won, etc. As the – document of thinking raised at the level of parliamentary resolution in 2009 – National Youth Strategy⁴⁵ stated (*National Youth Strategy, 2009*): “*We see ... them when they are at school but we cannot see them if they are next to it or outside; we see them if they are acute patients – but we cannot see them when they are risking their health, we see them if they became unemployed - but we cannot see them if they fail because of their lack of ability to work; we host them when they need help and those concerned are notified about the help – but we do not “care about” them if they do not come into contact with the system, etc.*

In addition, the primary purpose of traditional disciplines developed by its scientific communiti(es) is self-identity (Pusztai, 2011) and the definition of separation from other disciplines (demarcation and self-determination)⁴⁶ (Kozma, 2004). These scientific communities standing on disciplinary grounds experience the formation of interdisciplinary fields as an “unauthorized intrusion”, and this is the case in the fields of education research and education science, however, these intrusions are the tokens of revival (Halász, 2013). In fact, according to Mieskes, (Tuggener, 2000) there is a need for a newly-articulated scientific system need a new scientific system; bringing as an example the divergence of medical sciences, education science, sociology and psychology (cf.: *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn, 2000). The paper, in this sense, does not and cannot remain in the frameworks of only one traditional scientific discipline. Although our approach is mostly development-oriented, thus an integral part of education science discipline and it follows education science discourse but it cannot do without the foundations of other disciplines (we cannot deny in this kind the sociological, social work, political science, etc. approach of youth affairs interpreted in this way). According to Kozma (Kozma, 2013), it cannot do without the education science and co-science roots and connections either. Introducing the three traditions of teacher training: humanities, social sciences and natural sciences, it indicates that teacher training in the traditional sense is primarily tied to humanities, and the scientific paradigm prevails especially in the measurement-evaluation criteria, in education science, the social science tradition became dominant after the turn of the millennium.

The relationship of youth affairs with traditional disciplines can be involved into a model as well. After it is based on individual (young) and abstract,

social group basis (youth), two dimensions of our model will be the individual and social group dimension.

- The two extremes of individual dimension are facilitation-prevention, as well as development;
- The two extremes of the social group dimension are the descriptive and prescriptive attitudes

In the light of this, the primary traditional disciplinary context of this narrative is given by education science involved in the development of the individual; social work helping the individual; sociology conducting the description of a social group and political science⁴⁷interested in influencing the same group (Figure 3):

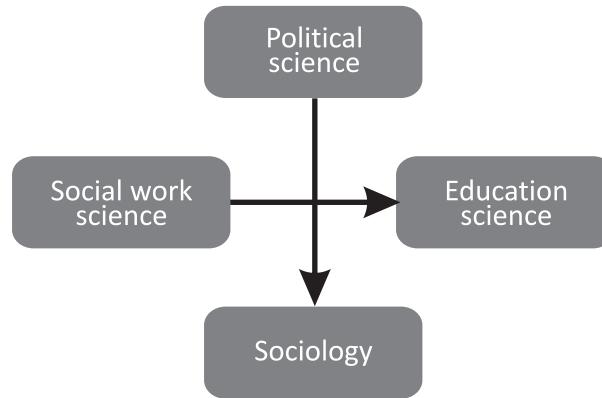


Figure 3.: Co-disciplines (source: own editing)

- In education science, primarily: leisure pedagogy, the development opportunities of the individual beyond the family and school, in psychology, social behaviour learning based on age characteristics;
- In social work: youth work, mental health, prevention of the problems in individual life situations; support of their solutions;
- In sociology: the description of youth research and the stratification, processes and structure of social groups.
- In political science: the changing and correction of youth policy and the relationships of the social group

Of course, this does not mean that in the secondary disciplinary environment, jurisprudence, organizing-organization-management science, psychology and cultural anthropology would not affect the space analysed by this logic.

On the other hand, our argument is the verification of the primacy of the ties next to education science. The main criticism formulated in relation to youth affairs that it is not part of the education science discourse. Right from the start of work it should therefore be clarified: whether youth affairs can be considered to be an education science discipline? To this question, we can answer in three ways, with the help of theory, research methodology and common interpretation:

According to Halász (Halász, 2013), education research – as the theoretical narrative of pedagogy - , is making a research on the issues of learning and teaching, as well as education and socialization: it is such a combination that sets out the development of knowledge about education as a goal (Halász 2013). His definition is based on the Frascati Manual's definition, according to which education research is such a study context, in which education systems operate and learning takes place (OECD, 2002). Education research, at the same time, deals with the individual's personal development (micro level), institutional processes (meso level) and with the education system as a large social system (macro level) (Halász, 2013). This approach assumes that learning occurs through education and can exist only in the light of that.

Trencsényi disputes the approach of Halász. In narrative interpretation, he insists on the concept of education science, because in his view, it gives a more complete conceptual handhold. By quoting Nahalka, he emphasizes that all the changes taking place in personality can be described as a learning process, but this learning by no means can be characterized by the tally activity, education (Trencsényi, 2014f). According to his approach, Halász's interpretation is legitimate but it is merely one possible interpretation, since the post-modern learning activities (from children movies to the youth subculture) quit from the world of – in whatever broad sense it is used – education (Trencsényi, 2014e).

According to Kozma (Kozma, 1999) as well, it is a severe narrowing to interpret education⁴⁸ as school education because the theory and research of the entire socialization process covers the phenomena approached by education science the most. Csapó also sees the foundation of education development in the education science narrative (Csapó, 2008) and interprets education

research as part of it, although essentially he is also thinking in the measurement of new classroom methods and in the efficiency of the education system. Kéri places education science into geographically and temporally wider perspectives and into philanthropic frameworks, indicating, why the Western thought patterns should be used in the non-Western education science approaches, emphasizing that it is a mistake if only the Western institutionalized, formal education is meant by education science (Kéri, 2010).

Trencsényi is not right in saying that these learning elements do not fit into the informal learning concept (cf.: Trencsényi's own definition of informal learning, Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012), but it is no doubt that countless activities remained outside the educational process (all open-ended pedagogical activities are built on this, which, among others, appear in pure form in the youth work shell of youth affairs, but the situation is no more appropriate if these phenomena are part of the school universe. In this case, the total school picture arises (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012), the idea of which cannot be accepted by a single pluralistic society. Thus, for the description of the post-modern pluralistic societies, the space established by school-outside-of-school and education-socialization conceptual couples is not a sufficient narrative (Trencsényi, 2013); and the anti-pedagogical approaches lacking goal-rationality and positing the child's freedom (Mihály, 2008) as a principle certainly do not fit into Halász's definition.

It is a specific item that while chaos theory is displayed in the perspective of education research (Halász, 2013), extra-curricular learning space is not at all (and it is less important, whether it is called social pedagogy, youth work or something else). Likewise, the directions of the Nesse network⁴⁹, intended to introduce the segments of education research (Halász, 2013), basically start from the school, lacking the social embeddedness of learning. The concept of education research certainly becomes doubtful with the interpretation of Lifelong Learning. "The new paradigm of lifelong learning has made a series of previously generally valid concepts and a correlation associated with the world of formal education to be relative, and has made a completely new conceptual approach necessary. Probably one of the best examples of this is the conceptual development, which is resulted in the research ground for non-formal and informal learning ... the education research, entering into this world, not only loses the safe ground that was meant by the world of formal education for it, (which made it possible, for example, to deal with

human knowledge in a broad sense, but only with ‘school knowledge’) (Halász, 2013 pp. 79). Education research not only loses the ground with interpretation of informal learning, but after informal learning, by definition, is not accompanied by education phenomenon, therefore it cannot have an access into the education research narrative.

So youth affairs – although multiply flouncing between Scylla and Charybdis – (see e.g.: social work vs. pedagogy) is especially tied to pedagogy and education science. While with the model of formal-non-formal-informal learning, we inevitably step out of the traditional school walls, so we undoubtedly go beyond the merely didactically designed, formalized learning concept, but with non-formal and informal learning, we do not step out of the conceptual space of learning itself. The existence, conceptual space, as well as the development of social pedagogy and leisure pedagogy all confirms that extra-curricular education has its own right within the education science paradigm.⁵⁰ And since youth work is nourished from social pedagogical roots, and it is not a negligible part of youth affairs (see: the youth affairs onion model) so youth affairs not only be interpreted in education science discourse but denying this item especially distorts it.

Our arguments should include not only the (slightly revised) “object” but the exploration methodology and research methodology aspects as well. An epistemological fact unfolding in front of our eyes that pedagogy-education science, particularly the trend known as pedagogical ethnography, broadens the interpretation of education and considers the intended but not necessarily conscious effect of socialization to be education, as well as the value delivery processes of groups, subcultures⁵¹, the media, etc. (Mészáros, 2003).

Mészáros goes so far as to reject the role of the teacher as a special educator but highlights this impact of the peer groups in school (“what really educates in this environment is far from being the teacher but the impact of the others (Mészáros, 2003).⁵² Mennicke also presents (Niemeyer, 2000) that the success of education is not primarily dependent on a person’s pedagogical individuality, but rather on the community including the young person. Natorp (Natorp, 2000) adds that an individual’s education always depends on social conditions, and even in fact the person becomes a social being not by education, but by the community. Education, and even self-consciousness, does not exist without the community (although he goes so far as because of this, the man’s intellectual property is not his own, and even our perception

is a “common property”), and the education is the “community of minds”. Thus, if we deprive the individual from this community, we do not fulfil his individuality but we simply distort it. Schlieper (Schlieper, 2000) is much more modest: he thinks that the general feature of education is its social nature; social disposition belongs to the essence of man. Müller also considers it important (Müller, 2000) that in a peer group, not the true-false logic of the school prevails, but a kind of social response is reached during the group’s feedback. Furthermore, there is the possibility of the individual of the group for the correction of his acts (and the number of such correction opportunities is not predetermined), so he can experiment his own behaviour patterns to be followed, and not an authority personified in a teacher would assign for him the goal to be followed. What is more, it does not make a specific factual knowledge to be practiced but provides a way for the practicing of common human behaviour - trying to awaken the individual that he is not a solitary being - and so it no longer will be important what he does, but also how he does it.⁵³ Müller calls it the pedagogy of open doors that deliberately renounces to deliver ideals or ideal visual requirements for young people. It can be seen that a series of authors—especially those with social pedagogy inspiration – argue for the need of expansion of pedagogy beyond the school walls and of the education science space.

In addition, one of the main foundations of youth affairs is development orientation and resource and not a problem-oriented approach (whether we look at youth as a problem or an opportunity?), so learning and development can be considered the primary. Moreover, the assistance itself can be interpreted in the system of critical pedagogies, if in postmodernity the border pedagogical interpretation (border pedagogy) is interested in deliberate border-deconstruction (Mészáros, 2014; Trencsényi, 2015a).

If we ask the question in a more common way, we can find that we certainly have a specific pedagogic task in the leisure socialization space. After all, as a parent, as the creator of the community, as a member of society we cannot answer with ‘no’ to the question whether we care about what our child is doing in his/her leisure time: in the afternoon, at weekends or in summer. Furthermore, the authority constructedness of the family and the school (see: the tradition of social pedagogy chapter) does not and cannot give answers (see: the socio-educational tradition chapter) to dozens of questions involving young people and questions they are interested in (Trencsényi, 2007;

Mihály, 2008; Böhnisch, 2000; Mollenhauer, 2000; Natorp, 2000; Nohl, 2000). On the other hand, youth affairs and youth work itself (although its model detailed hereunder is novel) as a concept is not new to Europe. In certain countries, youth affairs is part of education, in other countries, it is the part of the social system, still in others it is relatively independent (Taru et al, 2014). With regard to the European tertiary youth affairs education models (so-called youth worker trainings) four major characteristics can be detected: social work-social sciences, pedagogical-social pedagogical, cultural-and popular education-based and the individual youth or community work models (Table 6).

- Youth affairs tertiary education belongs to the area of social work and social sciences in the following countries: Austria (partly), Belgium (partly), Estonia, Finland (partly), France (partly), Germany (partly), Norway, Portugal, Spain (partly), Greece, Sweden;
- Pedagogy and social-pedagogy training is conducted in the following countries: Belgium (partly), Denmark, Italy, Austria (partly), Finland (partly), Germany (partly);
- Cultural and popular education based: France (partly), Spain (partly);
- Individual youth or community work can be perceived: the United Kingdom, Ireland, Sweden,

Country	Tertiary (university) education
Austria	- 4-year BA in Social Work - Pedagogy BA
Belgium	- 4-year-training in Social Work
Denmark	- 4-year-training in Social Pedagogy
United Kingdom	- Independent BA training called 'Youth and Community Work' - 2-year post-graduate training called 'Youth and Community Work' or Social Work
Estonia	- 3 + 2 (BA and MA), Social Sciences (Sociology, Social Policy, Social Work, etc.).
Finland	- In 2005, a 80-credit course was launched, which is based on a college or BA qualification acquired in Social Sciences or Pedagogy
France	- In Sport and Popular Education, as well as in Social Work Education

Greece	- In Social Sciences Training Social Administration, Social Work
The Netherlands	- N.a.
Ireland	- 'Youth and Community Work' 3-year BA & 2-year MA program
Germany	- Degree in a 4-year Social Work or Social Pedagogy Education
Norway	- 3-year BA+2-year MA in Social Work training
Italy	- 3-year BA + 2-year MA training with Social Pedagogy specialization, and with job opportunities
Portugal	- BA and MA training in Social Work
Spain	- Social Work, Popular Education 3-year BA course
Sweden	- MA training

Table 6: Youth worker trainings in Europe
 (source: Bohn-Stallmann, 2007; IARD, 2001)⁵⁴

In Hungary, between 2002 and 2008, according to the accreditation of the youth worker profession it was part of the education science discipline; since 2008, it belongs to the scope of social work.⁵⁵

In our opinion, therefore, the pedagogical and education science nature of youth work, as something dealing with the world of young people, cannot be denied, especially not in the interpretation of the postmodern deconstructions of disciplines generated in modernity.

II. THE LEISURE SPACE AS TERTIARY SOCIALIZATION MEDIUM IN POST-MODERN SOCIETY⁵⁶

"Died for thirty-six years, lived a couple of days" (Rejtő, 1943).

1. Social eras - pre-modern, modern and post-modern societies

One of the favourite, though perhaps not useless, activities of social scientists is to study, describe and organize the structure of society, social processes and formations. In this regard, they often try to find an easy, usable and appropriate name, with which the given social space can be characterized easily and the given social system of events can be described. Although the course of history appears in its continuity, the sections different in their process can be drawn in connection with major turning points and trends, in which the quantitative changes get a qualitatively new nature. In fact this, is necessary for representation, without which social history would not be very meaningful. In this chapter, we try to outline such a social era that will be useful in the future to place into an era the appearance of some segments of the socialization media and that of the young age.

With the eyes of the social researcher

Bell (Bell, 1973), describing the three major eras of societies, concerned them with the indicatives of pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial. Toffler's (Toffler, 1980) so-called three wave theory is almost identical with it; according to him, social history can be described as the succession of (fisher-hunter-gatherer⁵⁷), farming, industrial and information society. McLuhan (McLuhan, 1964) talks about tribal world, while Gutenberg about galaxy and global village. Hegel (as a representative of modernity) distinguishes between two world statuses: called heroic era and civil era (including the dividing line of modern economic and social system change). In connection with this, Vitányi (Vitányi, 2007) notes that because of changes in the last century, we can talk about a third world status (and it is less significant in this regard whether we call pre-modern societies preindustrial, Promethean age, the heroic age; the modern societies to be the industrial era as well as the post-modern societies to be the risk society, service society, leisure society or a society experience (Winkler, 2000) etc.

Mead's (Mead, 1978) periodization, strongly rhyming with the ones above, indicates three periods of culture:

- post-figurative era when the future repeats the past, in this case, it is the task of young people to imitate the adult generation;
- the configurative era when the present prepares for the future; in this case, adolescence means preparation for adulthood,
- and pre-figurative era when the future comes from the present; then, the takeover of samples is mutual, youth, in many respects, are autonomous and get independent from the adult world. In this case, the potential is that of the young generations, in many cases, older people are learning from them.

Giddens (Giddens, 1991) does not recognize the existence of the postmodern concept; he talks about one form of modernity in today's society. There is no doubt that they often try to construct the concepts from vague concepts and from the imaging of events of practical life (Pikó, 2003), but this failure does not mean that they would not face with this social formation (even if it is difficult for us find an appropriate definition for it).

It can be seen that these periodization however described - though sometimes in different aspects - are similar to each other⁵⁸. Of course, many other types of periodization exist (Marx, Weber, etc.), and as the error of the above classification it can be mentioned that it generously ignores the ancient "success societies" (Greek antiquity, civil Rome etc.). Whereas, however, the long science historical and philosophical discussion is not the aim of this work - social eras subsequently will be used merely as a tool - so instead of the study of the descriptions of various authors, we are trying to present the resultant social attitude crystallizing out of them. So - following the distinctions of Bell, Toffler and others – we compact their similarities into the pre-modern, modern and post-modern society notions, especially with a view to present typical socialization scenes in them, even if the post-modern means different things in literature, architecture, philosophy and by many, it is one of the words used in the most numerous and divergent terms.

In our opinion, he quite clearly describes the concept and social formation, which we experience in the world around us, even if some authors do not consider the concept and its environment to be meaningful narrative (see from

Derrida's deconstructionism (Derrida, 2003), through Foucault's discourse theory (Foucault, 2000), to Jameson's postmodern-modern matrix (Vitányi, 2007, or cf.: Csányi, 2011).⁵⁹

The pre-modern era

In the pre-modern era mainly agrarian societies can be found or societies in the pre-modern state are agricultural societies (Illich, 1971). Their time extent can be measured in thousands of years, they are tradition- and past oriented. The main carrier of culture is speech, and mostly the main pillar of the society is community (with strong anti-individualist tendencies) (McLuhan, 1964). In the pre-modern society, not primarily the individual decided on the time which was not spent with working, but it was filled with sacred, socially bound other activities (Bessenyei, 2007; Róheim, 1984; Róheim, 1984b). The individual innovation is multiply hindered, it is no wonder, then, that their state is characterized by the quasi-permanence from generation to generation⁶⁰ (Tofller, 1980, on the pre-modern societies' characteristics and research see more of: Róheim, 1984; Róheim 1984b).

The medium of socialization remaining from the pre-modern: the family

A typical, still remaining main socialization agent of the pre-modern age is the family (on the socialization agents: on the elements and media, see this title-bearing chapter), although its concept has been transformed many times and in many ways in the time passed. In the era of the great migrations, the military people assigned to the head of the family were the basic unit of accommodation and its protection – apart from some rare examples reminiscing matriarchy (Pozsgai, 2015). The serf family was subordinated to the needs of the farmland; these families included virtually the master, his wife, children, employees, assistants, apprentices, servants, maids, relatives, bastards, about one and a half dozen people (Pozsgai, 2015). The family was actually the household (household, clan, tribe), which is the ensemble of those having blood or dependence relation with each other (Németh-Pukánszky, 2004). “In the pre-modern societies, the distribution of action competences and work tasks was based on traditions, on rules, regarding especially gender, generational and chronological differences maintained and sanctioned by local communities. These differences were considered to be natural between male and female, adult and child, master and servant.... In this social structure, the children were located as servants and maids, apprentices and varlets.

Their workforce was essential to traditional households - and not by chance that child labour and maid work was the first appearance of the individual wage work in the European agricultural societies. In such family households, the lives of children and adults were intertwined in space - and time zones" (Somlai, 1996), and the pre-modern households included the roles of education and healing, as well (Somlai, 2013).⁶¹

The work was carried out jointly, in return, members of the household received the care and safety (the sense of the noble family was not that of today's familia but the ensemble of those having paternal kinship with each other and being descendants by blood from one ancestor. The common meals and sleeping in the same bed was normal (Polcz, 2007). According to the first Hungarian census (1777), those "living on the bread" of the householder, belonged to one family, regardless of marriage or kinship relations⁶² (Thirring, 1938). At that time it was not uncommon for a woman having up to dozens of pregnancies in a marriage. Fortune was needed for her to survive, not to become wretched, and it was also luck if 2-3-4 children could grow up, could survive following these births. Many of them died in crib, many died in childhood in epidemics or had a fatal accident. Cruel, but we can say that this was "calculated into" the lifetime (Polcz, 2007). So much so that often the consecutive children were given the same name at baptism, to be at least one, who carrieson the mother's and the father's name (Nagy- Trensesényi, 2012). The big family's memory reminiscent of the early Middle Ages remained for a long time in the palóc areas, and in its own way, it can be detected in the Gypsy-Roma communities⁶³, as well, living in a poverty-society. But research elsewhere, respectively, have discovered such family models – e.g.: in indigenous peoples, or in communities differently and belatedly integrating into the Euro-Atlantic civilization - which were about the world before the development of private property (Róheim, 1984), what is more, we could mention in the majority of Muslim societies the family often created with more wives, or even within the Judeo-Christian culture circle, the Mormons, where also not the couple relationship was the usual (Nagy-Trensesényi, 2012).

In pre-modern societies, children were grown into a value-and activity system, bequeathed from generation to generation. "Parents involved children in the daily work, in the family, community life and into all the ceremonies. The family was united in the framework provided by the relatives, the village and the Church; it was the scene of socialization, work, housing, social

relationships – with today’s terminology, informal learning “(Bessenyei, 2007). The “pedagogy of goose grazing spaces”⁶⁴, work tasks entrusted to the younger generation – guarding small domestic animals, collecting usable agricultural by-products - quickly herded together (with appropriate rules) the children and youth.⁶⁵ According to Rousseau (Rousseau, 1997) we are born twice: once in existence, other times in life; we born as a human being and as a man, into the latter, when we leave childhood. For others, the transition from childhood to adulthood in pre-modernity was often not that easy as the immediate change in initiation ceremonies by Rousseau. On the one hand, in the northern and western countries, people got married in the mid-late twenties. In addition, at the age of 14 - especially men - mostly went to serve somebody, so they did not become adults directly, but they were apprentices in the service of other adults for a period of time (Cunningham, 2012).

Modernity

Until the pre-modern societies’ interpretation of the world was functioning, people could feel themselves protected from the apathy of the universe, from the dangers and doubts, and they could find answers to the everyday and existential questions of their lives (Hankiss, 2014). Later, the ‘worldview’ started to decay. The celestial spheres surrounding the earth, the angelic hosts, the chorus of Saints, the brilliant symbols and ceremonies, the rituals and institutions of the feudal order, billions of everyday beliefs and superstitions lost their protective power (Hankiss, 2014 pp 50). While the pre-modern age showed the order in its divine command(s), the modern society imagined the individual with his own will, thus social production was no longer primarily driven by the compliance with the rules, but by the needs. The period of these industrial societies has centuries of magnitude; its pre-history can be placed to the Reformation period; their mass appearance is a feature of the XVII-XIX. Centuries (cf. around 1600, Kepler, around 1670, Newton and in 1850, Darwin published his work, reflecting a great deal and causing big changes). Riesmann (Riesmann, 1996) examined in these social eras the changes of characters typical of the society. He claims that the appearance of these characters depends on demographic changes. While in the pre-modern society, the scarce resources preferred the character, which was based on traditions, rituals, the respect of generations and collective identity; in modern society, not only the socio-economic factors, colonization, growth, capital

accumulation and urbanization were relevant but also the character formed partially as a consequence of these: the inside-driven, individualized man, believing in individual self-realization. “The respect for traditions is replaced by the respect for the individual fates” (Pikó, 2003). That is how the divine ordination of the pre-modern society became the work-and business-based world⁶⁶ of modern society. “The fear of the last judgement’s clarions” is replaced by the “fear of the social change” (Mollenhauer, 2000a).

In addition, modern societies reckoned with the sacredness of time; the establishment and transformation of timing accompanies the emergence of modernity; it is actually the order of measurable time and the related rationality (Németh, 2009), as well as the sharp separation of working time and leisure time (on time concepts and categories see more: Boreczky, 2004; on school time structure: Meleg, 2005).⁶⁷ Weber (Weber, 1971) interprets this as the dissolution from magic (the basis of attitude was no longer meant by the bell controlled by the church, but by the mechanical clock (Németh, 2009). Following the industrial revolution, in modern society, earning job got into the axis of lifeway (Somlai, 2007). One metaphor of the industrial society is production; work is the main sociological factor (Dalminé, 1994). It was a determined basis for a series of economic, sociological and philosophical works that work is the common social fundament; “a central constituting fact” (Dalminé, 1994). In the industrial society, work is a social, moral duty, and the norm is the norm of the individual engaged in work. In fact, this work is largely not an autonomous profession, but rather a dependent activity. In this social formation, it was not the family any more who was the basic unit of production, but the company, as well as the wage work, rather than the housework. The mass production revolution, the industrialization overshadowed agriculture and raised new social groups at the centre. The closed, natural and rural communities defined in their roles have been replaced by open, present-oriented societies through urbanization (these provided the foundation of the social structure, by partly holding the rural communities but redefining them in their role, reducing them in their importance) (Bell, 1973; Toffler, 1980). With the development of economic, organizational and communication facilities, nation-state efforts bolstered (previously they did not have the tools– in linguistic, power mechanic, etc. sense –for the national unification) (McLuhan, 1964).

The family image of modernity

The framework of children's growing up was meant by the family for a very long time (Giesecke, 2000). In 1741, an English nobleman (Cunnigham, 2012 pp. 18.) writes to his son as follows: "this is the last letter that I write to you as a small boy... I won't miss your ninth year either, but then I will treat you as a young person. Now you start a new phase of life; there is no levity anymore; you have to put children's games aside and you have to worry about serious things. What was not indecent as a child, it will be inglorious as a young person."

By the XVII-XVIII. century, the modern - secular, bourgeois family emerged, especially as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the appearing and surging bourgeois ideologies(Pukánszky-Németh, 1996; Pukánszky, 2004). As a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, a community with decreasing number of population was able to ensure self-reliance, and there was no longer a need (sometimes it was not possible) for the simultaneous presence of several generations; and as a result of specialization, the residence and workplace were divided (Németh-Pukánszky, 2004). Ties in the pre-modernity (family, church, professional, ordinal) loosen (Mollenhauer, 2000), but this does not mean that new and different ties would not be bound (e.g.: modernity no longer recognizes the household but rather the small family as a bond formation (Mollenhauer, 2000)). The earlier pre-modern social institutions either disappeared or were assimilated into new social institutions, mainly into the state (Mollenhauer, 2000). The so-called nuclear family spread (the man moving to the city and trying his luck in the industry, then the wife following him were not or hardly followed by the grandparents; as for the correlation between the emergence of nuclear families and urbanization, see e.g.: Jankovits, 2000). The closed, home-centred little family detached from the large family, and this small family became the basis of the farmland and one depository of the cultural inheritance. The time spent together, though not with each other, was growing (here, a distinction should be made between quantitative and qualitative time spent together, see: free time, leisure time). The expectation of monogamy became general also from the man, while the opportunity of outcrop from monogamy became a commonplace as well (in defined social groups, lovers or prostitutes often belonged to the expected quality of life). The process of the spread of the nuclear family was strengthened by urbanization and the trend of "from house to flat" trend,

as well as the emergence of modern construction practices (factory colonies, small flat, block of flats etc.) (Somlai, 2013; Boreczky, 2004).

Social relations, changing as a result of economic development, converted also relations. The basis of the relationship became the emotional bond. Relations primarily based on love rather than economy appeared: romantic love; the recognition of the other party and the ideal of devotion for her/him evolved. Meanwhile, caring for privacy and the design of home and the emotional attachment became the woman's task, while the man's task was the rational action on behalf of the family. The father represented the family and had primary power within the family: he was entitled to decide on the education of children, on their marriage and career (Somlai, 2013; Boreczky, 2004). The primary role of the householder is making money, creating financial security, whereas the mother's responsibility is the harmony at home, raising the children, and family representation in social life.

For childhood (and adolescence) not much attention was paid until the XVI-II-XIX. Centuries (Pukánszky, 2004); adopting youth as a life stage can be placed by this time, which is the concomitant of the economic and spatial realignment of urbanization (Böhnisch, 2000). It occurred only at the turn of the XIX-XX. Centuries that society reflected to the childhood / adolescence, and even the single name, youth, spread only after the First World War (Cunningham, 2012). By the XIX. century, as a result of urbanization, and mass urbanization appeared the child's room. These were initially small holes and often did not serve the child's needs, but kept the child away from the sight of the parents' sexuality (one of such cornerstones of modernity was a Freudian thought: the child does not have to and he/she is not allowed to meet sexuality and death too early). Childhood, however, became an independent commodity. At that time appeared industrially the children's toys market (Pukánszky, 2004; Tészabó, 2003), while previously more of an outdoor, group - verbal, singing, movement or hand-made - games were typical (Kriston Vízi, 2005), and thinking about games and indirectly about children got space (Tészabó, 2003).

The public education and public health, even if with gaps, was built then - at home, under the Dual Monarchy. However, the elimination of the suburban estates, poverty and dirt took decades, often struggling with the mentality that those can do about the situation in which they are, who got there or even who were born there. At that time, the compulsory school ceased to exist

after Grade 12, but even younger than this also worked many times. The 1872 Industry Act regulated that the apprentice until the age of 14 can work 10 hours a day, and then 12 hours (Gelencsér, 2004). Less than half (47%) of those born alive survived to the age of ten; at the same time 85% of them in Sweden, but also two thirds of them in Austria lived the same age (Ellen, 1976). The life expectancy at birth was under 30 years (29.4). In the 1870s, certain measures to combat infant and child mortality have been taken (e.g.: the mandatory smallpox vaccine was introduced), but at the beginning of the XX. century, life expectancy still increased only to 37 years (Gelencsér, 2004). The care of children was usually entrusted to mediwitch, so no wonder that the infant mortality rate was very high (Nagy et al, 2014). To this, also contributed the fact that it worked practically on commercial level to give foundling children to nurses, who often killed or left children to die, calling the cruel process ‘angel making’ (but abortion was also named like this). To prevent this, at the turn of the century, respectively, child protection laws claimed that the abandoned children have the right for state care, and within a few years, the building of the nationwide network of children’s shelters began (in France it was launched in 1793) (Gelencsér, 2004).

The emergence of the institutional school⁶⁸

As we have seen, in the pre-modern (conventional, traditional, pre-capitalist, pre-industrial) societies, the family fulfils the economic, biological and cultural reproduction functions. There is essential continuity between the children’s family and adult social role. Urbanisation⁶⁹ (and as a result of these: the massification of transport and post, culture, newspapers), the family’s education and employment functions changed, narrowed and organized in different ways than in pre-modern societies (Cohen, 2006). During the transition to modernity - when the work environment was separated from the family - it was necessary to supplement the family socialization with a new kind of institution, the cleverly organized public institution of social control (Németh, 2009), the school socialization. With the Reformation, becoming of middle-class, with the transformation of farming and trade, with technological revolutions (e.g.: Gutenberg’s invention, the so many innovations of gun ownership, or mechanical engineering, heavy industry, railway construction, shipbuilding etc.) the ‘total social demand’ for literacy increased, etc. In modern societies, easily reproduced writing created the autocracy of visuality

(McLuhan, 1964). In written cultures, individuals perceived things linearly, in a causal (cause and effect) order; in thinking, the chain of inference got prominent role. This process helped the individual bursting from the group; the detachment of the community from nature. The abstractions transformed through urbanization (e.g.: economic processes) were no longer traceable by observation, imitation (Giesecke, 2000). In contrast to the pre-modern family socialization, in modernity, the school socialization created the possibility of systematic learning processes; without school, there would be no purposeful action. In addition, the school also meant the departure from the totality of the family. Thus, in modern industrial societies, institutions directly established for this purpose received the education's tasks manifested beyond the family, those, that the diverse, multi-coloured families were no longer able to perform or there was a need for a kind of homogenization in diversity.

In world history, in the quite rarely created 'People's Front', every social actors said yes to the 'great innovation': the creation of a universal, compulsory elementary / public education. The XVII-XVIII. centuries' civil (and school) revolutions were established as the struggle of Reformation and Counter-Reformation (with the "struggle for souls" motif). Europe, tired of the bloody religious wars bringing plague, understood that not the "dead protestant" will become the best "popish" and vice versa (Nagy - Trencsényi, 2012). The Reformation moved this world not thinking in development before. Comenius formulated first the challenge of schooling for all. The struggle for the living souls increased the institutions, the number of students and education infrastructure by leaps and bounds. The need for "all go to school"⁷⁰ slowly became mature, which unfolded the need for the public and mass education system (Trencsényi, 2007).⁷¹ The mainly religious contents were replaced by secular contents, and the new type of public school required new technologies. Some of these new technologies were rooted in the Protestant, while the other half in the Jesuit tradition. Comenius introduced, following the traditions of the Protestant colleges (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012):

- the grade class: the establishment of a student organization with students in the same age, believed to have similar maturity with naïve psychology, and thus more effectively teachable;
- the subject: as a well-organized teaching unit, built on one science and lesson associated with it - as the time management of the school day, broken into bites thought to be more digestible;

- the school year: the time management adaptable to the needs of farmyard for “unskilled labor” (with the start of the year after harvest) but still commanding order.

The pioneers of the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits ‘patented’:

- the curriculum: the sure document for the check of the well-controlled school system, imagined to be uniform;
- the grading: as the formal expression of the assessment of student progress seemed to be exact, urging for the avoidance of falling behind.

School attendance was far from being general; it became typical mostly by the end of the nineteenth century (Cunningham, 2012); with its proliferation, the end of childhood was tied to it: “When I became 13, I left school and got a full time job. The gray, traditional uniform of the working man turned me from a boy to a man from one moment to the next” writes a working man in 1898 (Cunningham, 2012 pp. 19.). The adolescence was separated by a sharp boundary from adulthood, which border was the start of work (the completion of studies). Elsewhere, they write as such: “At the age of 14, the school and the family authority ends. The lad goes to bed as a boy and wakes up as a man (Cunningham, 2012 pp.20.). Later, the school period lasting until the age of 17-18 is formed, but here they tried to prevent students from thinking about themselves as adults, thus making the precursor of “being a lad” (today: adolescence). Someone counted to be an adult (in this case, rather the man) if he finished his schooling and began to earn money (Somlai, 2007), thus he could make a living out of his income. Together with all of these we can say that the modern societies’ added value, still remaining in the school socialization agent, is the school (cf: the mass production revolution). For these modernity-rooted tensions caused by the growth of time spent in school (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012), a reaction partly within the school (Csányi, 2010), but even more so outside of school (see below: youth movements, appearance of social pedagogy etc.) arrived.

The post-modern society

The so-called modern civilization began to decline in the XX. century is replaced by a new, just emerging one (Hankiss, 2014). As the forerunners of the post-modern⁷² (postindustrial or informational) society, the technical achievements of the beginning of the XX. century can be interpreted: the

invention of the technical and communication devices going beyond literacy, such as the cinema-television or the telephone-radio (first the bilateral, then the broadcast-nature auditory communication). The complex social, economic and technological change, going from modernity to postmodernity, certainly existed only in embryonic form then (Z. Karvalics, 2002). Somlai places the development of a post-industrial economy and post-modern society at the 1970s (instead of oil crisis and, consequently, instead of the energy intensity, information intensity) (Somlai, 1997). In contrast, Z. Karvalics sees its portents already at the end of the nineteenth century (Z. Karvalics, 2002).

With the appearance of the electronic (analog, and later the single and lossless digital platform) media, such changes started, that fundamentally transformed the lives of individuals and that of the community.⁷³ According to György Marx, the man of the 60s has gone through so many changes, as hundred successive generations in ancient Mesopotamia (Kovács, 2007). In this case, visuality became only one element of the individual's sensory system (McLuhan, 1964). The postmodern societies consider the future (Bell, 1973), and expanded in a few decades (Toffler, 1980). Of course, any subsystem (from education, through health care, through technology, until power and administration relations) of this social change and formation can be examined, but its essence is that its concept and scope embraces and permeates the entire socio-economic (and technological) relations system.⁷⁴ Its special feature is that the one single and exclusive interpretation of reality for everyone is ceased to exist, and it is replaced by a variety of frame of references, and the diversity of interpretations. However, the change in the frameworks of interpretation causes a significant fear, since the instant information redraws the individual's "reaction space" and forces new identity on everyone (McLuhan, 1964). In postmodernism, the uniform world-views (history) narrative is replaced by the diversity of interpretations (Featherstone, 1991). In this formation, the social engagement with the work loosens and its classic sense in modernity becomes questionable (Somlai, 2007), that is, earning job is no longer a condition for individual and family living conditions (e.g.: capital income), neither for certain citizen's rights (franchise bound to tax payment). The socialization and personalization (cf.: with the socially valuable, but individually effective (Bábosik, 2004) constructive life style), identity and social existence is no longer primarily related to the job. The transformation threatens with the disappearance of the social integration role of wage labor

(Münchmeier, 2000), because people no longer want to submit themselves to work-oriented lifestyles, they do not want to comply with its frameworks, but with the end of the work society, the relative security is also thing of the past (Winkler, 2000). The post-modern man - in contrast to the man of modernity - was given the opportunity to “decide, within certain limits, when he takes part in the work processes and when he steps out of it” (Juhász, 2007), at least in the postmodern society interpreted within democratic frameworks.⁷⁵ Interestingly, while we are trying to take advantage of our time from expediency point of view according to the modernity tradition at the same time, we often work also in the rest period, and, according to the postmodern, we are becoming more flexible as regards the working hours: “Sunday is becoming Friday, Friday is becoming Sunday” (Keller, 2006).

In postmodernism, time becomes such an equivalent as money (Kuczi, 2010); the use of time is no longer bound by tradition. The chronology, interpreted from modernity as a chronological grid (Kuczi, 2010) seems to spit out from the postmodern alternatives: flexible working hours, telecommuting, more free time management. Thus, the social chronological order unravels, there is “no longer its own time for everything” (this does not mean that the pre-modern societies are free from time (Urry, 2010); in the absence hours, nature is a no less coercive power).

Postmodern family

During the last 100 years, the number of children dramatically decreased, however, the ratio of those living their age of 10 radically increased (Trencsényi-Nagy, 2012). Privacy, to be respected, appeared; the significance of intimacy increased (playing together, talking, holidays, being personal). The modernization (post-modernization), however, did not stop at this point. The secularization, individualization, emancipation, thus the women’s career opportunities, the social and family needs of employment, the fulfillment of sexual rights, the fall of taboos, or even other egalitarian ideologies (from feminism to communism) forced the concept of family again to strong transformation. This transformation involves the lapse of a single family model primacy, and the validity of the only model, for plurality of samples to take its place. Parental roles are reformulated: the breadwinner becomes a dual-earner model; it also becomes versatile, and parental control is reduced. The division of labor within the family is changing; it is becoming unique, and the

roles said to be traditional are mixed. New family models / conditions appear- proving the diversity of narratives, and the cessation of the only way: the divorced parent, the foster parent, the foster grandparent, single woman, single man (single status), single-sex relationship, new partner of the parent, the adoption situation, the registered or non-registered civil partnership, traditional marriage, etc. Among the conscious alternatives of marriage there is the status of those once divorced / widowed and not wishing to get married again, the undertaken single status, and such is “simple” cohabitation as well. The second, third marriages are inherent in our lives (how we relate to this personally it is another, normative question). In addition to the traditional family, in parallel, “alternative” life strategies and family models became typical, so much so that today, according to data, these alternatives are chosen in magnitude in equal amounts in our culture as the traditional family model.⁷⁶ Marriage basically lost from its popularity: the decline of marriage willingness, the increase of the marriage age, the change in the partnership relation and its perception, the increasing number of divorces, decrease in the willingness of childbearing, the postponement of the time of the first childbearing, changes in the perception of sexual relations outside of marriage, the separation of the concept of biological and social parents (Münchmeier, 2000) all indicate that instead of the family, merely its traditional perception and concept is in crisis today (Nagy- Trencsényi, 2012).⁷⁷ It is common that children should grow up in a family, even though the concept of the family in recent decades - as we have seen - again, permanently transformed. It is unchallengeable that children should grow up in a family even though the concept of the family in recent decades - as we have seen - has permanently transformed. This concept has different meaning to the medieval European, to the Mormons, to the modern youngster and to the elderly village woman. In postmodernism, the concept of family is changing according to space, time and cultural environment. Sometimes replaces other socialization spaces; sometimes it is shrunk merely to a sleeping area (Giesecke, 2000). It must change, since it is not a closed, static system, but an open system, being in interaction with its environment, the micro-community and with society. Today the family status, although typically nuclear, a “reverse movement”, a shift in the direction of multi-generational direction, appears as a new trend. In addition, the interpretation of reality has actually always remained at the big family (holidays, reference systems, traditions, rituals). All families are individual cases. Therefore, the concept of the “symbolic family” is

appreciated (Boreczky, 2004), that is, the family that is “perceived as a family” by the given family, i.e. that family is considered to be a family, which is considered by the parties (and was deliberately not written that two parties) as a family.⁷⁸ Symbolic family is a unique and unrepeatable picture, designed from numerous samples, memories, traditions, future visions and desires.

Earlier, assuming modernity as a basic-relation system (Vikár, 1980), the establishment of independent living and career choice were classified to adolescence. As we have seen, in the industrial society, the nature of work, the position in the division of labor described social identity, and career choices could not be corrected over the walk of life. However, today’s decisions can be modified. According to these new patterns of life, the workplace is no longer the second home. In postmodernism, in the youngster-adult relationship, the adult’s influence often weakens (see e.g.: media effects); the view on the growing children is becoming more and more porous. According to the so-called paradigm of the shift of the youth era, while earlier we could talk about the sequentiality of studies then work, today for young people these two areas are increasingly appearing as a double field and as a double life (for details see: at the youth narratives).

In the case of young people, the once linearity of studying and working is broken; often becomes parallel or cyclic⁷⁹, young people often go back to school after a few years of work or in addition to it: man could be once a student, then a worker, then again a student, but he/she can be a student and a worker at the same time, while taking care of a family and living with his/her parents, because society no longer guarantees universal, life-long career arcs, career templates, life-guarantees. A growing number of young people gain a higher education qualification; their independent existence-foundation and their relationships take newer and newer forms (the diversity and narratives of postmodernity appear here as well). Thus, the time spent in school is extended, even up to the thirties; and sometimes it is difficult to find the boundary between school, adult education and lifelong learning. Because of the extended school life stage, economic independence is delayed as well, and even society in general releases the young person “from becoming an adult” (Zinnecker, 1982; Böhnisch, 2003). “Young people live the various roles and situations of the world of work and education in so-so categories; so the two are intertwined and tangled in parallelism” (Jancsák, 2008).

The pre-modern and especially in modern societies, the socialization patterns of boys (men) and girls (women) were sharply separated: the maturation of boys was defined by the earning job, while that of the girls by marriage. In the post-modern society, gender roles change and get equalized; the situation of women changes. The employment rate of women reaches that of men; the rate of female students is comparable to that of male ones (even if the traditionally female and male professions remained) and sexual revolution increased the “degree of freedom” for women. The roles of men also changed, and the military social obligations mainly ceased (while there is opportunity for women to choose the military profession).⁸⁰

The post-modern school of the post-modern age

In connection with the school, at the end of the XIX. century, the bomb of reform pedagogy “exploded”; by the beginning of the twentieth century, we could see the break in the system of pillars introduced by the Jesuits and Protestants. The pillars respectively become the targets of criticism for the school:

- The existence of grade and class structure, in which the natural and mutual-learning from each other between the group members with different ages ceased to exist, is denied by XX. century reformers (e.g.: Montessori) and they demand the return of the heterogeneous age groups.
- The curricular structure is eroded by integrated subjects (e.g.: the idea of the forest school).
- The denial of lessons is given by the epochal system of the Waldorf-school.
- The local curricula constitute a threat to the world of centralized curriculum efforts, but according to some critics of school, usually the school timetable: curriculum, class schedule, has nothing to do with the actual needs of children (Mihály, 1999).
- Probably, grading was criticized the most: the most worried about making motivation external, and many people made it clear that grading, in fact, is the tool of classification (i.e., hard social selection wrapped in learning outcomes).
- It is no coincidence that development-based pedagogies and school images, respectively, joust on the side of written evaluation (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012).

As we have seen so far, as the forms of the flow and disclosure of information were transformed and broadened, the concept of family and social contacts become differentiated and more subjective; the young people's ways of life have become the impressions of major changes. While the concept, environment and characteristics of youngsters were fundamentally transformed, the school defined in modernity has hardly changed (Böhnisch, 2000). Modern society is routine-like and monotonous; its "panoptical institutions", restricting choice or training to exclusionary behaviour is impractical in postmodern society, "in the production of the ideal consumer" (Bauman, 2005). The traditional institutions have failed; social structure became fragmented in the space of education-employment, and family (Beck, 2003). Mihály has a similar view – speaking about students and the school – in his famous study of the radical alternatives of civic education (Mihály, 1999), while Fóti condemns the quantitative approach (Fóti, 2009), through which the real culture, the whole person cannot be accessed. The school also has to face with new challenges, as well as with new roles based on these but in addition to the functions of childcare and preserving, providing equal opportunities and mobilizing, processing labour market needs, etc. -wittingly or unwittingly - received afterwards, the intellectual, organizational, technical and financial resources, designed to ensure this, were not associated (Bessenyei, 2007); their main characteristics hardly changed. With the accumulation of the functions of the school system, less and less attention is paid to each task (Giesecke, 2000), then in postmodernism we get until the case that the performance of the collection of task itself gets more difficult, impossible. The increasing number of functions allocated, is diverting the school from its original duties, thereby calling into life the "second line" of pedagogically designed socializing institutions, the social pedagogy (Giesecke, 2000).

As we have mentioned, the budgetary expenditure on education have not kept pace with the increase of the numbers; the large student numbers led to the depersonalisation in traditional teacher-student relationship. Less time could be devoted to each student, thus the quality of education is at risk, and the bureaucratic nature is inevitably linked to mass schooling. By the time "clamp" schools emerged and became "perfectly organized", they got their serious criticisms; their existence has been directly questioned. More and more strengthened the opinion that education actually not only does little in the levelling of social differences, but in principle it can and able to do very

little. The large critics of the system such as Bernstein (Bernstein, 1975) or Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 2004), respectively, justify that instead of the distinction by origin; school progress (or apostasy) becomes the mobility's driving force, disguised as the competition of knowledge and lessons learned.

With the multiplication of school contradictions, its entire task together became impossible to perform. As a response to this, on the one hand, the reform pedagogical idea was born, which is trying to take off the school factory nature of modernity and to represent practicality, child-centeredness and self-reliance (Steiner, Montessori, Freinet, Dewey etc.) or new types of learning approaches came to light (Delors et al, 1997), one and another of which would have made lifelong learning as part of education (cf. Mihály Ottó), thereby jeopardizing the informal and non-formal learning characteristics. On the other hand, radical school criticisms appear, which take their places on a ranging from full conversion (Coombs, 1971), to the re-socialization of education and teaching (cf.: Dewey), until the demolition (Illich, 1971) of the traditional school's - one of the Bauman (Bauman, 2005) -type panoptical institutions. But the Russian school critics could also be mentioned (Sackij, 1974; Blonszkij, 1978; Makarenko, 1949), who have been scourged already at the beginning of the century the school, disregarding children and their needs, the "educational informant" role, searching for a way out, among others, in the Russian settlement acclimatized for the American model (Sackij, 1974), in the working school (Blonszij, 1978) or in the commune (Makarenko, 1949). But we can think about Karácsony's education philosophy, rooted in social pedagogy (Karácsony, 2002): "I play the whole life with the small child, I can be his mother or father in the gaming community; I am working with them; I am gleaning with the growing child's team, I am his leader in the work community. I live together the law in the order of adolescents, because I know that in the community of concept I must be its ideal. Finally, I revalue the world together with him when he is becoming an adolescent because I am his friend" (Karácsony, 1938); or about Mintz's critique "traditional education is based on a different principle: on the one which claims that the child is inherently lazy and according to which he must be forced to learn. Of course, it's a self-fulfilling basic principle, which is not true, and apparently only becomes true when we are succeeded in extinguishing the natural learning abilities from children over the years. When this is done, exploiting the state achieved, the ... need of homework can be justified" (Mintz, 2012) (for the

criticism of a particularly interesting segment of the school from our topic's point of view, see: the service environment chapter).

Similarly to the ordinary idea of the "child's place is in the family", it is hardly questionable that "there is a need for a place"- between other sub-systems of the family and society, the job of which is this consistency (it is questioned by more, by what basic objections, how and in what forms it is achieved). The new generations have a huge need to find "spiritual-mental health shelters" within urbanized and even globalized conditions. As they need the organized, supported experiencing of their contemporary relations, assisted by professional expertise, the foundations of their basic learning skills and motivation, for the integration of family's (although very complex, but still unique) world of values and cultural images with other families world of values and culture images.

The school, in this light, can react in several ways to this new "post-modern" situation (Mihály, 2005):

- It can try to tighten up, and encroach on the socialization services and elements outside the enriching school; to influence their operation and the students' access (e.g. tying to academic achievements some services.), trying to win (again) the "unfaithful" parents (total schools, see the examples of Jánoshalma or Landler), including the ideology: still the school conveys the most effectively the standards declared and suggested by society. This version is excluded by a somewhat advanced bourgeois democracy, and notes that student status, being a student is merely one of the roles of young people, and it does not cover the individual in its entirety (e.g.: a leisure space is a kind of opportunity to block the processes marked by Mihály (Mihály, 1999), connected to the totalization "self-induced" by the school).
- It can start to promote its own supremacy, giving a bad reputation to non-school-mediated values, advertising no competition, and no cooperation, but professional isolation (shortlisted school). This idea hatched against television, against the internet, and in the arguments one thing in common: just and only the school can tell what is good. In addition, one way or another, but the in the shadow of shortlisted schools, youth has always created their own empire (Mihály, 1980): from the 'putty-society' (gittegylet), or from the scouts of Karácsony (Karácsony, 2002), through the Lord of the Flies or child republics (Trencsényi, 2014d), until Second Life or World of Warcraft.

- It is glad that modern mediation systems, in some way, still mediate legitimate social values and culture and is searching for intensive cooperation, partnership, not seeking dominance (open schools).

The latter, collectively referred to as “open schools”, raised a component of the “outside world” in the focus of their model: they either organized their activities around work as a cohesive element (see: the work focus of modernity: the work school is considered to be one of the most powerful reform pedagogical streams); or they tried – as a model of the school city-system, and as a modelling of the political and public life in the form of a school republic – to claim to have a say in the entire life activity, although in different ways, but to involve free time, social experience, democracy, reaching up to the public property as well; or placing the activities of culture in the broad sense in the centre, choosing new school functions, they rethought the school image.

However, these “school islands” were usually inclusions in their society image, wherein against the respective establishment, they were maximum tolerated, but rather persecuted by it and managed to reach some air for a short time. It is typical that the large-format teacher personalities⁸¹ who created and operated these schools, in fact, were only able to do so, until they themselves kept together their own initiative as a personal leaven.

Typical examples of work schools:

- Makarenko’s commune-type re-education stone community (Makarenkó, 1949) - based on self-management and productive work;
- Ferenc Loránd’s Workers School in Garden Street- inspired by Makarenkó (Loránd, 1976);
- Lászlo Gáspár’s attempt in Szentlőrinc – based on group property and group decision (and its high school model in Sarkad)⁸² (Gáspár, 1984);
- István Oláh’s high school in Monor (Benedek - Trenčsényi, 2013);

In the case of school republics (Trenčsényi, 2012):

- Prodiger’s attempt in the early last century in Pula;
- Korczak’s Warsaw boarding school – operating a humane children’s court - (cf.: with the pragmatist Mintz, Mintz, 2012);
- Trenčsényi’s initiation in Patak;
- Don Bosco’s oratory - giving priority to prevention;

- Father Flanagan's Boy's Town – following the cast of city life;
- Szthelo's Pax Children's Home rescuing children; his Gaudiopolisz on Hárshegy, building up an entire state structure.
- Zsigmond Ádám's Hungarian Boy's Town in Hajdúhadház;
- Mihály Pataki's and Gyula Szekeres's Boys' Village ('Fiúkfalva') in Ebes;
- László Csáky's decision based school in Dombóvár;
- the United Classes Federation in Budaörs;
- The Krecsmár - type Mechatropolisz in Gazdagrét-although mainly carried out with parents.

Institutions co-opting not only school functions (e.g.: Community Schools, Community Centre's, etc.):

- Sackij's – settlement-type – Vivid Life ('Eleven Élet') (Bodraja zsizny);
- The schools of Priority Education Zones (ZEP)⁸³ established for the development of French poor zones and based on the primacy of education (Trencsényi, 1987);
- Sarud - as actually the first swallow in Hungary;
- Ottó Mihály's educational centre – considering Szentlőrinc further – as a polis of Pécs⁸⁴
- Primary School in Szabó Pál Square, Békéscsaba (G. Furulyás, 1999).

Perhaps Neill's Summerhill - prohibiting all interference from adults - (not reinforcing the rule otherwise) is an exception (Neill, 2009), though it has not become widespread, but at least it remained.⁸⁵

The question arises that why the schools, wishing to include and model the entire life or part of it beyond learning, have not spread; why they remained inclusions in space and time in the history of schooling. It is possible that these schools have not been integrated in the educational mainstream, because the 'small dumpling' ('kisgömböci') principle of school is working as a specific example, especially with humane central masters but not as a system-level principle (c.f. the revolutionary school of Ottó Mihály's school typology, which is always annexed by the state after the victory of the called revolution; Mihály, 1999). Isn't it possible that the inclusion-like nature is constantly present in these experiments, and these models live only for a

short time, because there are only personal, and not institutional guarantees for their operations? Isn't it possible that the school's "expansion" has not been organized not only in practice but it cannot be organized in principle in the educational space?

2. Socialization media

Before we continue on searching for the characteristics of leisure time, we need to make some detour in the world of socialization agents: components and media. To prove that leisure time institutionalized in postmodernity is an equal socialization factor with the family living with us from the premodern and with the school became widespread in modernity, we need to consider the spaces of socialization. The concept of socialization in today's meaning began to be used in the social sciences from the beginning of the XX. century. Its sociological theory was formulated by Durkheim first. Today, according to one of the most comprehensive definition out of many, socialization is considered to be the process, in which individuals acquire knowledge and skills; strengthen their attitudes - in other words, raise awareness and develop their competences - and a process which makes them suitable as the members of society to exercise life activities (Gáspár, 1997). In this process, one learns to know about himself and his environment, to acquire the rules of coexistence, the potential and expected behaviours(Bagdy, 2004; Somlai, 1997). So in our understanding, socialization is very broad⁸⁶: the socialization process can not only be the result of conscious learning, but may take the form of hidden mechanisms (Murányi, 2006)⁸⁷. While socialization can take place unconsciously, education is the intended (and therefore conscious and planned) influencing of the individual; it's an orderly, basically goal-rational interaction, a kind of systematic socialization. (Lately, this process is depicted as an "evolutionary event" and as an almost infinite number of series of these). In these definitions, of course, always the intentions and objectives of the influencing person qualify his/her activity and not necessarily its effectiveness⁸⁸. Thus, socialization is the process of personality changes, "normally" of its development, mostly rather fragmented, interacting with various social (and material) environment. In fact it applies where the personalities and communities (groups); the individuals and society, or any of its sub-systems "meets", "intersects". Its essential elements: the individual

and the community, including the interaction created between them, and its impact and process (Percheron, 1999). Socialization can be examined from the individual's side (the how of integration into society), from the institutions (their role in the mediation of socialization contents and processes) and from the society (how the social norms are transmitted). Not disputing the crucial importance of socialization as a process, those terrains of socialization—out of the otherwise a thousand and more negotiable aspects – are interesting for us now, where socialization takes place. So focusing less on the process itself, we are examining those agents that take place in the socialization space and field, and we are trying to explore some regularity between these agents. To do this, we review the works of international and domestic authors, dealing with socialization spaces, agents, elements and media.

Theories of the socialization scenes

Giddens (Giddens, 2006) calls agencies of socialization such groups or social contexts in which the socialization processes take place. According to him, in certain phases of a person's life, more socializing scenes may play a role; these scenes are structured groups or environments.

Two-element models

Some models differentiate a total of two such scenes, where the family is called the primary or early socialization scene. In contrast, the socialization in the school is the late or secondary socialization (not meaning a minor role, but referring to temporal succession).

Parsons also differentiates primary socialization, which establishes the basic structure of the personality system in the early years (the “basic personality” formation in childhood) and secondary or youth socialization, which is the institutional role learning of the social structure (Parsons, 1955). According to another theory, the most important scenes of secondary socialization are the school, peer groups and the media (Bodonyi-Busi-Hegedüs-Magyar-Vizelyi, 2006).

Three-element models

Other theories follow a threefold division, where the primary socialization is bound to childhood; the secondary one to the school-age, understanding to the processes taking place in the same peer group; while the tertiary one is

placed to the active years of employment (Kiss, 2002). Czeglédi (Czeglédi, manuscript) when examining the socialization scenes in terms of time - where he was searching for the answer whether the obscene language use is retreating after school – considers secondary socialization as being the school age and the tertiary socialization as the period of employment and active activity. Musgrave (Musgrave, 1979) is mapping the areas of employment and profession; he thinks that in the first phase of career socialization, getting to know the occupational roles related to the career systems is the starting point, so that after each decision, this role repertoire is declining, since further options are shrinking. Musgrave is discussing professional socialization in detail, the development phases of which are, firstly the (hidden) role learning of the pre-professional socialization (the time of acquiring career knowledge); then, entrance to the professional life, the time of starting a career, the meeting of career expectations and reality. Finally, the actual professional socialization starts when a person develops his final role behaviour that meets the requirements of that specific career. According to Musgrave, if an individual changes career or activity, tertiary socialization appears.

Still other classifications consider the primary socialization to be the family, the secondary one to be the compulsory (primary) schools, and the third one to be socialization towards the chosen career: the university-and college. According to Csaba Dupcsik (Dupcsik, 2013) as well, tertiary socialization includes the preparation for the profession and career.

Four-element models

The already mentioned Giddens presents four scenes: socialization media can be considered, according to him, the family, peer groups, schools / workplace and mass media, although he indicates that actually as many socialization contexts exist, in as many groups or social positions people spend a significant part of their lives. These media, of course, are not capable of inducing mechanical impact, but they compel the individual to participate in a certain framework in the social practice (Giddens, 2006): sometimes it is required from him; sometimes it is offered as a service; sometimes they include him long-term; sometimes they offer continuous walking in and out.

Czeizel (Czeizel, 2004)⁸⁹, in examining the talents, identifies four (macro) environmental impacts, components: the family, school, peer groups and the general social environment (Figure 4)⁹⁰.

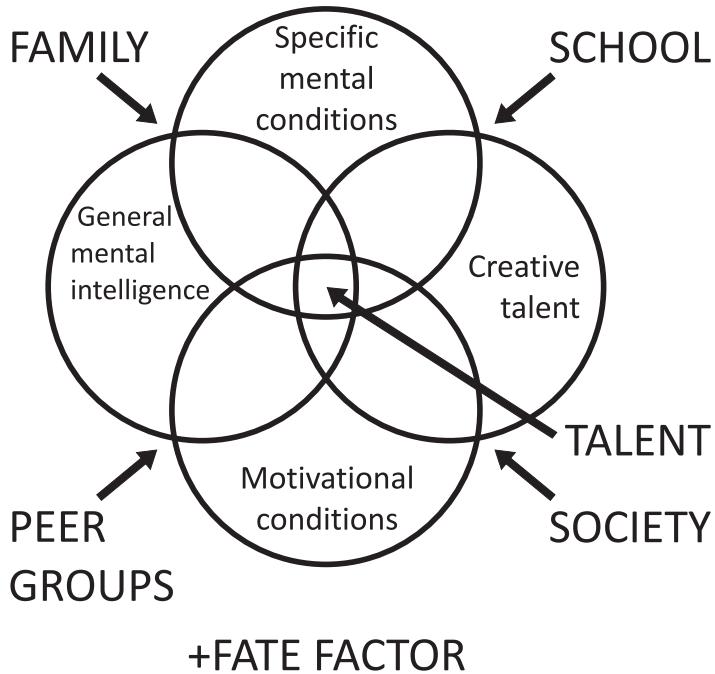


Figure 4 Czeizel's $(2 * 4) + 1$ talent factor (source: Czeizel, 2004)

According to a further classification, socialization has four scenes: the primary socialization is the family, where acquiring the basic norms and rules happen; secondary socialization: kindergartens, schools; the tertiary career socialization (secondary and higher education, and preparation for work) and quaternary socialization: the field of workplaces⁹¹.

Trencsényi (Trencsényi, 2007) breaks up the socialization scenes according to the forms of organization, receiving from the tasks of education (based on the degree of freedom of staying inside and on the state funding relationships), thus distinguishes:

- communities and educational scenes by nature (family, kinship, neighbourhood, peer group);

- State institutions - supervised and funded by the state to some extent - (paediatrician's office, nursery, schools, kindergartens, dormitory, educational consultant, child welfare service, children's homes, crisis homes, reformatory, juvenile prison, boarding-school, art schools, general cultural centres, multi-purpose institutions, community centre, cinema, library, theatre, museums, concert halls, dance hall, stadium);
- Market service providers (babysitting, youth clubs - game room - disco, extracurricular courses, trainings (language schools, driving schools, dance schools), swimming pool, sports hall, gym) and
- Civil initiatives (churches, child and adolescent organizations, sports clubs, cultural associations, art associations).

In this taxonomy, Trenesényi only takes into account the conscious actors (not denying the world of “spontaneous” socialization effects). He challenges the special, exclusive role mainly attributed to the educational institutions and the school, considered to be traditional but historically very young, emerging with the middle-class (Trenesényi, 2007). However, an element of his system going beyond this division into four is raising educational media (children's news, children's books, radio - television, Internet) into the system. This system is also characterized by the fact that the socialization functions defined in the three steps above, do not necessarily represent a temporal succession, but they are mixed and enforced in the complexity of the colourful nature of life.

Multi-element models

Other divisions distinguish seven scenes such as childhood family, adulthood family, school, peer groups, the media, the workplace, and other socialization scenes (e.g.: church and civil communities) (Vukovich, 2006). Kozma (Kozma, 1999) also reviews the socialization spaces, discussing them in details by segment, but he does not examine the space outside the family and the school space as a whole. According to his theory, the scene of formal education is the school, the scene of non-formal and informal education is the family, the neighbourhood, the workplace, the military, politics, religion and the media.

Sándor Karácsony calls the decisive spaces and groups educational communities, which are the following for him: family, school, dormitory, youth group (s), social organizations and society, religious communities and neighbouring peoples, although these do not form a closed shape; in other places,

the family, school, extracurricular groups and society appear as an educator community (Bognárné Kocsis, 2010). However, Karácsony's theses do not come together as models, their lack of systematization makes the items be more isolated.

Special life situation models

Some other theories interpret socialization spaces in the context of special groups and not that of general life situations. Csanád Bodó is examining the issue from the side of ethnic minorities; according to him, minorities can learn Hungarian during secondary or tertiary socialization. "The adult speakers use also the Hungarian language in the tertiary linguistic socialization of teenagers because young people by that time become adults; persons getting involved in working life in the eyes of the community, with whom the language code characterizing the typical community activities, the use of the local Hungarian dialect is considered to be adequate" (Bodó, 2011). Edina Szabó (Szabó, 2011) also uses the term; she speaks of secondary or tertiary linguistic socialization in the prisons.

Socialization media and elements

In terms of their framework of interpretation, some of the theories (e.g.: Giddens, Kozma) focus on a specific stage of life and examining the corresponding terrains, life situation and time as an impression; another part presents and analyses the scenes for the individual stages of development and the main socialization stages (e.g. Parsons, Kiss, Szabó, Dupcsik, Czeglédi). However, there is a difference between both the schools based on the phases of development, and between the schools analysing time households (often within schools as well), partly in the use of concept (we are talking about medium, terrain, scene, group, etc.), and in the number of scenes it is counting with (two three, four, etc.) and, if there is more than two, then what they are, what the main drivers, basic objections are.

The basis, reason, explanation, or even conceptual background of the socialization scenes' names is mostly based on guesswork, on statements (to continue, often on the same terms, but on different concepts) and less on reconciliation, on regularity, or axioms. The writings on socialization media do not indicate on what criterion some space is classified among these media and therefore which areas are left out: what can be considered a new totality

in its quality as well, and what can be considered the parts of these. We do not know whether these - rather arbitrary - classification (s) has/have criterion/a, and if yes, what are they. So the question rightly arises:

- By what criteria something is listed as medium of socialization; what criteria are necessary to consider something to be a medium of socialization?
- On the basis of this, what can be considered a medium of socialization and what, although part of the socialization field, cannot be considered as an independent medium?⁹²

The medium of socialization is such a qualitatively new level of subset of socialization agents, which in the interaction between the individual and the community (society) organizes the socialization elements together into a common regularity. The new level is both understood as an abstraction in the direction of the general from the individual (i.e., my family vs. family), and as an abstraction from the individual elements to the general ones (the role of family holidays or everyday life; the role of penalty and of rewards in childhood, its regulatory role in adolescence as an element vs. the generality of the family as a socialization medium). Experience shows that the socialization elements' becoming of media, that is independent quality, depends on three factors, on their combined presence:

- On the scope: it is an essential requirement that a socialization situation can be called a medium, if the specific agent of socialization has a direct impact on almost everyone in society, that is, for one member of society it is difficult to depart from its impact. So apart from extreme exceptions (truancy, lack of family, "solitary" existence spent in deep poverty, etc.), the individual meets the effects of a medium naturally. (These meetings are of course different in depth, different in richness, and even the possibility of access may be different from each other.)
- On the time spent in the socialization space and on its intensity: it is obvious that an appropriate amount of time is required in order for a socializing element to act as a medium. The intensity, as a primary focus, in our case means the involvement of the individual in the space, the durability and depth of his participation, the threads of binds and other qualities.
- Own system of rules, the specific basic objections of participation: it is essential that a socializing element not only differ in time and scope from

another one, but if we want to interpret it as an independent medium, it should not be described with the fundamentals and rules of another media.

We emphasize that not the individual's media of socialization are taken into account, but we look at the media affecting society (otherwise the efficiency requirements would be meaningless). So it's certainly possible that during the socialization of a particular individual, one such element plays an important role (a socializing medium quality) that cannot be interpreted as a medium of socialization for another individual or at social level. Think about those growing up in religious environment, where often the family, school, or even recreational interactions are taking place among religious frameworks (or about a young person committed towards civilians who spends his free time with charitable volunteer activity, and who is affected by this medium preferentially). The individual can be affected by such agents that he is not directly part of or which he deliberately rejects (the socialization of the individual rejecting churches was obviously affected by, and his thinking was influenced by religion). In spite of this fact, the judgement of these in socialization medium on social level does not change.

The family as a socializing medium

We need to think about the family in two ways: on the one hand, as an institution, giving space to child roles, on the other hand, as the one giving space to parental roles. In both cases, however, we can talk about a fundamental change. After the primer family creates the fundamental attitudes and values that accompany the growing up individual throughout his life - but the basic objects of his lifestyle come from this as well (there is little debate that the family is the primary socializing scene, see below) – it is of particular importance, what the circumstances which are given in the family. The stakeholders acquire in this scene their first samples on interpersonal relations, responsibility, following the norms, the consequences of the transgression of norms and on interpersonal relationships, on ownership and responsibility.

The concept of the family over the centuries changed from the household to nuclear families (Somlai, 2013; Boreczky, 2004), and in recent decades, it changed again permanently: today, we do not only consider a man's and a woman's lifelong marriage as a family (cf.: cohabitation without marriage, single-parent families, blended family, family skipping generations, reunited

families, gay couples and the fulfilment of family functions). The decline of marriage willingness, the increase of the marriage age, the change in the partnership relation and its perception, the increasing number of divorces, decrease in the willingness of childbearing, the postponement of the time of the first childbearing, changes in the perception of sexual relations outside of marriage, all indicate that instead of the family, merely its traditional perception and concept is in crisis today⁹³, while it is unchallengeable that children should grow up in a family.

Not only based on the writings and theoretical considerations dealing with socialization (scope, time-intensity, specific regulations), but also according to concepts used in everyday life and in accordance with the above-described criteria, there is a little debate in that the primary socializing medium (regarding both its temporality and nature) is the family (extended family, relatives). The family's task and function is the operation of the intimate relationship patterns, the development of communication ability, determination of identity, and the formation of basic behaviour (e.g. health behavioural) habits. The family, as a small informal group, is the first base in the sample, where the first "we-experience" is modelled, and it establishes the person's system of habits, manners, the flywheel or braking motivation in the direction of other media. Here we get the first samples of different role-relationships, of symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships, and we learn here the status value of roles, the status hierarchy and the principle of reciprocity. Here there is a possibility for the care and safety provision, for learning about love as the primary social emotion; for ensuring the interaction space (model provision-role learning), for the development of the basis of me, my system and the internal control functions (the development of action excitatory and inhibitory systems, delay ability, frustration tolerance, the capability of the self-regulation of reward and punishment) and for the foundation of the communication order (verbalism, non-verbalism and their consistency). In this space, we learn from personal experience: the people there cannot be replaced, and the foundations for world's interpretations are created in this terrain (and they are very difficult to be changed later).

The school as a socializing medium

Almost all the theories agree in the fact that the school (kindergarten) can be considered as a secondary socialization medium. The school's mostly declared aim is to help students acquire or just arrange at a higher level, be aware of all the information, skills, abilities, values and competencies that society, or a layer or subsystem of it consider to be important, so somehow legitimizes. In addition to a specified school image, duty, reliability, accuracy, altruism, democratic behaviour, loyalty, congruence and courage can be such. According to some school criticisms, such as "the theory of the hidden curriculum," the fraud enforced in competitive situation, hypocrisy, infidelity and acquiring a sense of subordination can also be such (Trencsényi, 2015a), etc. The secondary socialization is expected to pick up later in the progress of an individual's life when different kind of interpretations of the world appear, which shows different segments of society and introduces different hierarchies. At this point - in contrast to the family, where a lot of things were "subjective rights" - the person is primarily assessed on the basis of his performance, knowledge, qualities, on the basis of a future vision dedicated to him by a subsystem of society, and the expectations, norms are increasingly abstracted from specific persons. Among the special responsibilities of the school there is the preparation for the division of labour, the versatile personality development and the intensification of value stream, making it more efficient, more effective, in some ways, its homogenization (Nagy - Trencsényi, 2012). This scene has other tasks as well: on the one hand, loosening emotional relationship to the family, on the other hand, support in the suitability verification to the peer group. In addition, the theories of lifelong learning and lifewide learning (see: formal, non-formal and informal learning) expand these functions, sometimes far beyond the knowledge transfer's official facilities. The future workplace is divided in the secondary socialization space, primarily because we believe that based on its content units, (scope, time-intensity, specific regulations) it is bound here by its characteristics.

3. The post-modern leisure space as tertiary socialization medium

At the end of the XIX. century, the working day was profusely reached up to 10-12 hours, even in the cities, so there was hardly any leisure time, and practically not any institutionalized leisure time (because of the large differences in wealth there were significant differences in it) practically. The Sunday public holiday only appeared from the XIX-XX. centuries, and the working hours were mostly reduced to 8 hours/day at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the ancestor of today's paid leave has become commonplace (except from a few days). Today, leisure time has a wide range of interpretation, open to and may be classified in several ways, and it is permeated by social relationships, different from the characteristics of the school and the family. Metaphorically, youth leisure time is the "actual test time of adulthood" (Fisher-Holder, 1981), the "sweet island of freedom" and the "sacred bastion of individuality" (Marsland, 1993). Winkler said that the socialization process in this case can only be interpreted with the concept of self-socialization. According to him, the socialization process are not taking place informally, but in pedagogically designed institutions (Winkler, 2000), in which the uniqueness is lost, so that individuals must take charge of their own socialization management. The question is, whether the relationships outside the family and the school, and friendship, peer and love relationships are substantially different from family and school connections in terms of their essence? Can the socialization scene beyond the family and school⁹⁴ be considered as an independent, unified tertiary socialization medium, that is, can the space beyond the school and the family be uniformly and separately managed? If so, what is the special characteristic that distinguishes it from the two other media? In the following chapter, on the one hand, we are trying to understand the leisure time perception of the different social eras; we present a variety of highly branched and leisure time ideas, but trying to systematize it somehow. We are trying to make quality difference about the theoretical bases among spaces of socialization, defining socialization elements from socialization media substantially different from these. We propose the three conditions of becoming a socialization medium and on the basis of this we prove that leisure time in post-modern society has become a socialization medium equal to the family and school.

Leisure time-based social visions

For the shaping of the growing up generation to be “society-enable”, the different ages, different cultures, different social groups allocated, allocate and appointed different fields, scenes and people. As the transition from the pre-modern era to modernity produced the need for institutional transfer of knowledge (school), in a way - as we have seen - the school in modernity was not able to meet, in some cases, the task entrusted to it (by the society, the state, the parents and the children). During the transition to post-modernity, educational function of the school and the family became more limited. The termination of the only way's primacy, the possibility of compulsion of decision could be developed much more on the leisure time field, bringing partnership relations to the fore, than, e.g., in school (Giesecke, 2000). By now, it seems that today the (partially mediated) leisure time field appears as a socialization agent equal with the family and the school⁹⁵. Of course, the role of primary and secondary socialization media does not disappear in the post-modern society either (Somlai, 2007; Neill, 2009). The leisure time - we will see its conceptual changes – in its first approach is the sum of all the occupations / activities based on free decision, with which the individual can deal at will, being relaxation, entertainment, freely chosen (self) education and so on (Dumazedier, 1976). According to Murphy, its characteristics are the following:

- Freely-assigned (discretionary);
- It is maintained on the working hours and on the completion of activities needed for subsistence;
- Can be devoted to socio-corporate purposes;
- Its spending depends on the socio-cultural and psychological-mental, etc. situation;
- The free state of the soul;
- It gives an opportunity for self-realization, self-expression;
- It is reflected in the personality's freedom of actions (Kovács, 2007).

Leisure time as one of the basic needs of the human personality (Dumazedier, 1976) is carrying spiritual, aesthetic and cultural interpretations in itself as a status symbol (Brightbill-Mobley, 1977). In connection to this, Kaplan (Kaplan, 1975) presents six leisure time narratives:

- The humanistic model is typical of the ancient Greeks or today's Chinese. The free time (paidia) was meant by leisure contemplation, celebration of life and the arts.
- The therapeutic recreation approach model says the basic principle, according to which the common leisure time is forging a joint community.
- According to the quantitative model, free time is the required amount of time to work beyond time
- According to the institutional model, the differences between the temporal behaviours spent in other institutions are the essential ones (e.g.: religious, political and educational fields).
- The epistemological concept says that activities and reports are hypothetical and this leads to a kind of aesthetic view of the world.
- According to the sociological concept, free time as a construction is the antithesis of work.

One of the main directions of the change in lifestyle today is the growing importance of the acquisition of experience, which transforms society. "While in the traditional European civilization, the "Love your brethren!", "Sacrifice yourself!", "Limit your desires!", "Work!" standards were dominant, the consumer society is loud from the objectives of "Love yourself!", "Realize yourself!", "Live your desires freely!", "Enjoy life!" (Hankiss 1999; Éber, 2008). Due to the increasing and social organization importance of leisure time, many people agree to describe today's society as leisure society - trying to find a narrative which can better describe the social processes, and groups. The characteristics of this terminology include the termination of the sharp boundary between the time aspects, the growing demand for converting quantitative time to qualitative one, and the increase in the role and social prestige of leisure time. Schulze emphasizes the experience orientation of our present society, indicating that we actually realize ourselves in the totality of experiences. He states that who builds this experience orientation into a systematic action system, can be called experience-rationalist; and the sum of these experience-rational, internally driven outlooks on life experience lead to the experience-society, in which experience-oriented professions create the experience market (Schulze, 2000).

But not everyone sees leisure time to be free. The postmodern world's cultural patterns, the development of the consumer society, the benchmark will be

other people. According to Riesmann (Riesmann, 1996), the inner-directed individual creativity of the Renaissance man is replaced by his herd-instinct of mass culture, the outside-driven consumer fever, consumption fascination. If the symbol of premodern society (feudal age), is the cathedral, the one of the modern society (industrial age) is the factory, then the one of today's society is the shopping centre (Langman, 1992; Hankiss, 2014). This symbolic centre of the consumer society is the postmodern successor of the old fairs (Featherstone, 1991). And so the outside-driven, post-modern man becomes a victim of consumption manipulation⁹⁶. "Time was stolen from the ham," as Béla Falussy noted, indicating that people's quality of life as opposed to leisure time paradigm hopes often deteriorates (Falussy, 2004), as well as free time is just as formalized, phalansterized as the work in modernity (Bowring, 2002). Tibori (Tibori, 2004) is similarly pessimistic who said that although, on the basis of the big theories, we – as masses – expected to use our free time in an autonomous way but it did not happen. According to A. András Gergely, that time is decaying first, where the personal existence would have a terrain (A. Gergely, 2004). Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 2010) believes that postmodernity is turning in and out, and leisure time, recreation, entertainment have become an obligation and distorted to be consumed time (Baudrillard, 1998), therefore it is not free time any more, but time has been consumed, getting far from the innocent playfulness of pre-modern eras, or from the free time of modernity.

It is feared, according to Arendt (Arendt, 1960) that if society runs out of work, the only occupation it is capable of doing, will disappear. According to Schaff (Schaff, 1994) there is a risk that without the work tally, free time simply "goes bad", as it will not be possible to interpret the leisure time compared to something. Dumazedier (Dumazedier, 1962) notes at the same time that not the work, but the activity is the basic human need, and thus the opposition of work-free time is already irrelevant, since activity can be the work, creation, civil activities, hobbies, athletic performance, etc. However, the activity cannot necessarily be interpreted on the constraints-based ground of work.

According to Dalminé (Dalminé, 2004) in connection with the transition from a work-based society, four possible scenarios can be imagined:

- The renewed work paradigm, which retains the primary role of work, envisions production as the main driving force of society in the future as

well, but could restore the dehumanized occupations to the nostalgic, not estranged form of work, “refining people”.

- In the information society paradigm, the concept of work remains, but its new interpretation appears. The smoky factories are replaced by the richness of symbols and by symbol management.
- The activity society, where the work is not an external constraint but internal motivation, can no longer be separated from free time. Thus, we could return to our ancient ideals, which we lost when economic rationality of work defeated the ideals of independence and freedom. In the activity paradigm, free time won't be identical with the time is not released from the working time, and there will not be possible to make a distinction between work and leisure time.
- In the leisure time paradigm, the autonomous choice, the freedom of action of the person will be the focus. According to this, we get to such a “cultural era where the function of education and pedagogy not only gets stronger, but also changes because the aim is to increase the individual's autonomy and shaping him to be such a sovereign person, who is able to decide on the use of his leisure time himself, or on its relationship to the “popular” production and consumption of cultural products. To this, education has to be transformed as well: it has to undertake the “impossible” training of autonomous persons (Dalminé, 1994). This kind of vision, of course, leads to the collapse of an intellectual idea, which claims that the intelligentsia determines the society's cultural relations and value preferences.

Beck (Beck, 2009) formulates no fewer than 11 scenarios in the second vision of future, called second modernity by him. In eight of which work plays a central role:

- In the knowledge society narrative
 - Transition to the knowledge society scenario, which is characterized by that “knowledge production” will be the main source of productivity, and this productivity rearranges all sectors.
 - Capitalism without work scenario which, as a dystopia, redefines the concepts of employment and occupation with the mass elimination of employment.

- In the narrative of globalization
 - The wonders of the world market idea, which eliminates unemployment in transnational framework with the realization of neo-liberal economy.
 - The vision of work, bound to locality, according to which although the capital is global, the labour is bound to locality, by which the neo-liberal global market gets refracted.
- In the ecological crisis narrative
 - The long-term ecological wonder vision where the work's centre of gravity is moved from production to maintenance.
 - The global apartheid world, where the gap between rich and poor gets so big that those who are unable to participate in the global operation lose their local funds as well.
- In the individualisation narrative
 - The single entrepreneurial freedom scenario, in which the collective freedom of individual life prevails
 - The disintegration of society worldview, in which social networks are torn apart with the individualisation of work.

In addition, it assumes three plural, not work-oriented scenarios:

- Departure from work societies scenario, where the exclusivity of the earning job is replaced by the diversity of works, assuming the elements of the earning job, family work, "civil work", self-development work and joyful activity to be equal.
- The leisure time-society vision which, as an opposition of work society, is "forced rest condemned to passivity" (it's quite contrary to our leisure time interpretation).
- The idea of post-national civil societies (which actually includes two scenarios), in which the civilian working model is burden-free from the problems of everyday living (he originates, in his parlance, the basic subsistence income from here) and that includes the establishment of the multi-ethnic global society.

Dahrendorf also indicates the transition from working society into activity society, the essence of which is creative activity, self-realization, and the

instrumental purpose and participation, as values per se (Dahrendorf, 1985). According to Kiss (Kiss, 1994), the leisure time concept depending on (wage) work paradigm will continue to reign, at best, built into the narrative of activity society, while the leisure time civilization remains an utopia. Although acknowledging the quantitative expansion of free time, not its qualitative change of form: he thinks that the work-related leisure time concept still remains. The leisure time scenario is dangerous – Dalminé argues (Dalminé, 2004) – because the problem occurs differently for the marginalized, non-qualified groups and differently for the elite, it is feared that the undoubtedly existing socialization effect of work will have just the opposite result and loses its function as the meaning of life depriving society of its meaningful activity. Although the danger undoubtedly exists, in our view, leisure time is an entity considered to have self-value as well, and cannot only be understood in its work relationship (there is no doubt that the concept in this case should be provided with a new phoneme, but it does not substantially affect the meaning of the term).

Kiss (Kiss, 1994), in addition to the growing leisure time, attributes an increasing role to leisure time in the economic role, in the state and non-profit spheres, as well as in the redistribution and re-interpretation of social time. He indicates that the leisure consumption is not only for the quality consumers; there are some who do not experience its creative, recreation kind, and he even draws attention to the “destructive leisure time”⁹⁷, specifically turning into destructiveness, which obviously is related to deviant subcultures, anomie, inequality and skidding. In the divided youth of the divided society of the vulnerable (Azzopardi-Stalder-Furlong, 2004), the excluded and the losers it is especially dangerous when entertainment ethics becomes life ethics.

According to Masuda’s prediction - at the dawn of postmodernity - the leisure time becomes partially rest period and game time, and partially the time spent with learning – mostly with the studying of computers. The leisure time actually serves the development of social life “as well as information gathering and analysis as regards social activity, as well as the development of future plans and ideas” (Masuda, 1988). Following Masuda, at the interpretation of the changed leisure time and its experiencing, we cannot ignore the close relationship with the characteristics of the information society, the mediatization, the fundamental transformation of the information gathering and communication strategies (which, we believe, is more important than technical

background). The media devices, besides the not institutionalized and institutionalized leisure time spaces, also penetrate into spaces that were previously dominated by the family, school, or even by work. The Facebook status updated during the family dinner, online chat during lessons is an everyday activity that often occurs with the conflict of socialization media. It is not by accident that Buckingham, after Postman, (Postman, 1992; Buckingham, 2002) writes about the death of childhood: the Freudian clause, according to which sexuality and death are “not something have to be in the hands of children”, is there in our daily steady income films, on online video sharing sites, on torrents and streaming sites. The Internet is changing our daily life: it is much faster and easier to access information; the info-communication tools are integrated into our lives; our mobile phones, our relationships (e.g. on social networks) are identified with us; they almost become a part of our personality. There is change in our way of work, contact keeping, obtaining of information, recreation and entertainment. Basically changed, for example, the way of contact making and keeping; an increasing role is attributed to other solutions, replacing interpersonal communication and interleaving various ICT tools. According to Postman (Postman, 1992), the distinction between adults and children is disappearing (toys, clothes, leisure time activities, language use, similarities in eating habits). If we compare this with Presky’s (Presky, 2001) theses characterizing digital natives, we can see that today’s young people do not really want to grow up, and they remain children even when they are almost adults: they prefer game-like work; their legal awareness is underdeveloped; they seek to satisfy their desires frequently and immediately.

Today, the cultural identity formation more likely to take place in “TV studios” rather than in the classroom (George, 1997), so most of theorists agree that from the eighties of the last century - and expanded at the millennium – society’s mode of operation fundamentally changed. According Wrozyński (Wrozyński, 2000), mass media devices really showed the social importance of leisure time and with their development, culminates leisure pedagogy as part of social pedagogy. And while to the adaption to the process of similar scale urbanization requiring psychological and social change, mankind had hundreds of years, for the adaptation to this change, at least an order of magnitude less time, a few decades is available.

Pre-modern, modern and post-modern approach to leisure time

Nowadays, when finally the “8 hours of work, 8 hours of recreation, and 8 hours of fun” type of time allocation lost its meaning - and where we are already from the economic and consequent moral commandment of “from seeing until tarnish”- it is even more important to identify and to realize the concept of leisure time. Let’s look at this through the social periodization prism of Toffler-Belli.

Earlier, talking about the ancient “successful societies,” it should be mentioned that, for example: Aristotle attributed special importance to leisure time; to the exemption from external activities(szkolhé); this is the scene of the realization of happiness. The word can be translated as rest time, relaxation but its secondary meaning is tranquillity, getting silent. “ Its opposite is aszkholia, which means that one does not have free time, and therefore is not able to deal with the higher order things, his time is completely obligated to everyday problems” (Luke, 2013). According to Aristotle, it is a social task to ensure for the best people the right to free time, not only as a leader but as a private citizen as well. The social value of leisure activities, accordingly, is that it makes the higher order things possible (Hagymássy, 2013). The szkolhé, at the same time, meant the lack of work tasks, the free immersion into the higher order activities and the internal state of mind where everyday problems are not overwhelming. The free person has free time and is also able to use it, as opposed to those who are servants or constantly have to work for their subsistence (according to Politics,in the ideal state, those without szkolhé cannot be citizens). Plato added to this by saying that “people in their free time must strive to attain the favour of the Gods” (Hagymássy, 2013).

Pre-modern societies are not characterized by the separation of working hours-non-working hours (the concept of leisure time is simply not interpreted, at least nor the pre-modern arts, neither the documents surviving the era reveal leisure time tension). The 10-14 hours of work (even more, depending on the season and the task) was the peasant way of life’s own; “free” time outside of work was primarily obligated to sacred and social-community obligations. In modernity, with the weakening of sacredness, there was an opportunity for people to fully dispose of their own time. Owing to the central narrative role of work, idler contemplation (as opposed to Antiquity) has become a specifically criticisable, reprehensible activity. In modernity, out of the appearance of leisure time, became the social fact and sociological

institution of leisure time, and in this era, the status of leisure time is appointed by the work-based society, and many approach free time in terms of opposition with work (Friedmann, 1971; Brightbill, 1961). Thus, free time can only be examined in contrast to work; they are each other's tallies. The separation of work and leisure time can be linked to Dumazedier.

At that time - as during the cradle of many scientific disciplines and fields of science - they began to intensively deal with the concept of free time as well. According to the technocratic, denuded interpretation of this work-leisure time separation, human activities can be divided into two parts: the economically useful (productive) and useless (improductive) groups, in the latter case of which the reproduction of the consumed resource reserves is realized⁹⁸. This point of view is not only outdated due to its mechanical approach, since it often cannot be predicted in advance what kind of activities will have a productive result, and which will not (just think of the success of garage companies started as a hobby in leisure time), but also because for many people, the work-hobbies, productive - non-productive categories do not occur as sharply, if they apply at all. Most of the leisure time activities, in addition, helping the obligation-sector emergence, develop such skills that can be a competitive advantage there. "Think about it; in regular social life, people can practice, among others, the exposition and discussion of their views, networking, civilized behaviour and tolerance skills; literature and arts promote the development of empathy, imagination and of aesthetic sense; reading newspapers is essential to daily awareness; collecting hobbies develop systematic capability; regular sport, in addition to ensuring the necessary physical fitness and stamina, effectively improves the performance-oriented time and energy arrangements, the ability to the concentration of forces can be mobilized and to the measurement and recognition of performance; hiking can play an important role in the design and development of observation and orienteering skills, perseverance and love of nature; chess, some card games and board games reinforce combination skills, logical thinking and memory ability, and also develop the skills of planned action, risk taking, and the ability to lose" (Falussy, 1993). But it is enough to refer to the work of János Selye (Selye, 1976), or to Csíkszentmihályi's flow theory (Csíkszentmihályi, 2010)⁹⁹.

Dumazedier (Dumazedier, 1976) - according to whom, leisure time is the sum of all the occupations in which the individual voluntarily participates - rejects the simple opposition of work and leisure time and argues for an

at least three-pole interpretation: he distinguishes working hours, other commitments and leisure time (calling these other liabilities semi-free time). According to this, leisure time means the time remaining for activities beyond working hours, other social obligations, and physiological needs (so-called semi-free time¹⁰⁰), where individuals follow their own choices and seek to express and unfold themselves. The semi-free time is the time appearing in the non-working hours, cannot be characterized by free choice (e.g.: activities bound by society and the family and physiological needs).

Friedmann divides the non-work actions (Friedmann, 1971) in four categories: activity categories based on economic needs, social obligation, family ties and cultural - entertainment categories.

According to the interpretation of leisure time derived from work activities, the semi-free time stems from, on the one hand, the obligations of the individual as a social being (learning, transport), on the other hand, from his own physiological needs (sleeping, eating, body hygiene) stem (Falussy, 2004). Social constraints can be classified into maintaining and developing relationships with others, civic obligations and, in a certain sense, the time spent with traveling. To meet the individual's physiological needs, metabolism, physical hygiene, sleep and optional health activities. The freedom of choice in this case can be interpreted as the opposite of obligations, thus social, family, and biological constraints are not considered part of the free time (the failure of which may be associated with conflict or disease) (Ábrahám-Bárdos, 2014). Of course, freedom of choice - how in other areas of life, here as well - is only relative, since a series of determining factors (physical and mental state, financial status, previous socialization effects) applies here as well.

The modern society approach of leisure time is therefore a kind of residual time concept: leisure time is what remains after work and other tasks (e.g.: "Leisure time since the emergence of industrial society has been going through a permanent modification... time gained on work" (Csizmadia, me. pp.5.)). Thus, the leisure time is a reward for which we pay with the time spent with work. The remaining time concept – as a traditional leisure time concept – does not focus on free time and on its functionality, but uses a kind of negative time concept (leisure time is something that is not socially programmed). According to this, "free time is the time that remains after we have performed the necessary things for our existence , those that we have to do - biologically speaking - to survive [...] as well as the necessary things to

make a living" (Brightbill, 1963). Of course, their (working hours, semi-free time, and free time) boundaries are not sharp either (joint activity spent with our child is sometimes semi-free time, sometimes leisure time; for a meal, to eat fast against hunger: semi-free time, dinner together at a restaurant with friends: leisure time - this will lead into the postmodern concept of subjective leisure time). Today we also see that because of the changing time experience and time structure, leisure time is less and less often separated from the working time; other times it cannot be approached as a residual; and there are those for whom because of the overclocked work, the unemployment, and the blurring of the work-leisure time ("my work is my hobby"), the separation of work and leisure time cannot be interpreted. It seems that the leisure time concept based on the ideas of the remaining (residual) cannot be maintained in post-modern society.

Cracks appeared on the wall of the work-based idea and the accompanying modernity-based leisure time concept, when technology has entered a new era. At the beginning of the last century, when the natural sciences reckoned with the absolute nature and objectivity of time, in philosophy and in public opinion simultaneously appeared the concept of time subjectivity, and in the social sciences, also around this time, melted away the time's notion of rational orderliness and objectivity independent of man (Kelvin, 1979). Although it is valid for the "physical" time that everyone's day consists of 24 hours - and as such it is one of the most equitably distributed stuff - but on closer inspection it is not true (e.g.: the ill), and alternatives to the use of time – the differences in their quantity and quality – by no means ensure justice. It is all the more so because there is a difference between objective and subjective leisure time: for example, it can be objective that Sunday is free time, but if someone feels obliged to work in the garden at this time, in the subjective sense it is not. Free time is basically understood as subjective free time, that is, when in an individual's awareness, the event is constructed so that it is independent of any external force or he is in control of his own situation. Thus, the leisure time, does not exist in time and action, but in the actor (Furlong-Stalder-Azzopardi, 2003; Kelly, 1982)¹⁰¹! Thus, leisure time is more of a personal commitment than the possibilities offered by the dominant conditions (Schultze et al, 1991).

The post-modern definition of leisure time is the activity-based approach that considers free time when it is possible to carry out free time activities not

defined by others¹⁰². The difference seems to be minor, yet it is huge. The individual does not become someone because he can devote himself a few days left¹⁰³, but because of the fact that he can feel himself his own master. And thus, in post-modern society, the special place of identity formation by oneself is the leisure space (not denying that the family and school have imperishable role in identity formation, but just the young people are those who form/reform their values and self-image in this space by their peer groups, social relationships and personality. In this sense, the post-modern leisure time paradigm is the counter-paradigm, the antithesis of the work-based approach of modernity¹⁰⁴.

So the leisure time is re-articulated along the transition from modern to post-modern society (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003), and in fact it does not mean time itself, but rather its use. It refers to what we devote on ourselves, and at a time, can be connected to personal identity (free will, freedom of choice) and collective reporting fields social categories (lack of compulsion, economic, cultural and social capital) (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003).

The interpretation of free time not only historically shows differences, as it can mean free time hours used effectively, however, it can also mean free time spent merely without obligation and activities. While in Hungarian, we use the expression “free time” for spending time devoted to all freely done activities, the English language calls the entire free time to be “free time”, and the precious free time to be “leisure time” (the planned, active free time and not spent “just like that”). The twin concepts used by Veblen (Veblen, 1975) in other words: *free time* is all the time not spent with working and its part is *leisure time*, the planned quality, leisure time – within it, man fulfils the sense and possibility of freedom; it gives us freedom to realize ourselves¹⁰⁵. Léna Simányi stresses, however, that while in Veblen’s time, we lived the initial phase of the consumer society (cf.: the roots of postmodern society), in which the individual may change his own situation, “keep pace with the Smiths,” but not on the operation of the system; by now, in the completeness of postmodernity, this single picture broke up; the individual defines himself in the same way in relation to mega organizations (e.g.: Facebook), such as members of small communities. In this light, in the search for new status criteria, the “deviate the more from the Smiths” effort will have primacy (Simányi, 2005).

Leisure is the active free time gaining experience (Friedman, 1971). The free time and activities conducted mainly in free time are primarily characterized by free choice, the upper parts of the Maslow hierarchy (self-realization), pleasure seeking and the enhancing of the sense of joy (leisure) (Kovács, 2007). In leisure, man meets his own freedom and leisure is the escape from necessity (Kovács, 2007). Thus, free time is only a framework, the quality of which is provided by the fact, how we can fill it in with leisure. The meaningful, useful, and enjoyable spending of the increased free time and leisure time for the individual thus become a concern, although many times we are not prepared to use the increased amount of time (free) in the authentic spirit (leisure)¹⁰⁶.

The leisure time functions and its typology

According to Dumazedier, free time is based on three functions: relaxation (detente), entertainment (divertissement), development (développement) (Dumazedier, 1962). It does not accept the recreation, nor as a common frame of reference, nor as a leisure item, saying that the concept is blurring relaxation and entertainment. In the interpretation of Masuda (Masuda, 1988), however, free time has three components: rest time, in which the focus is on rest and play; time for self-improvement: people are studying especially information technology, and computers, to keep up with development; and the time of quality life, which is time for self-realization and life planning. Recreational activities cannot be classified into a closed framework (Gáspár, 1997), mainly because self-activity can be realized in this background, the self-serving development of personality, not tolerating frameworks (Mihály, 1979). But based on the leisure time activity map, we can distinguish between social and individual leisure activities. Social activities include being guests, family activities; non-social activities include reading, watching television individually, the vast majority of computer-internet activities, etc. Three aspects of social free time can be considered: family, corporate and social spheres. These activities can be isolated from the point of view of activity, as well, to the active leisure elements: physically, intellectually, emotionally requiring effort (shopping, eating, reading, searching on the Internet) and to the passive: inclusive (staring, hanging around, watching TV), leisure items. According to Stebbins (Stebbins, 1992) there is serious and casual leisure time. A characteristic of serious leisure time is that it is not job-related; it

has long-term benefits and value content; it is performed steadily; it is personal in nature and contributes to social identity. The casual leisure time is rather game-like, relaxing, entertaining and easy to implement. The former includes reading, sports, learning; while the latter one includes unstructured spending of time. Passive leisure time activities are perfect against boredom; furthermore, they help to exit from everyday life; in keeping distance from problems but they certainly do not contribute to the relaxing function of free time only, although, we cannot agree with that “as a leisure flows away” form (Ábrahám-Bárdos, 2014), they are even exhausting the psychic energy of the individual.

Other division takes into account leisure time activities requiring physical movement vs. those not requiring physical change of location. According to a similar dimension, but a three-item segmentation is the division as regards relaxation, creative recreation and physical and sports recreation. Recreation targets the upload of the individual's resources; the restoration of the maximum of his capacities; as well as the restoration of his physical, intellectual and social status (a possible distinction is the physical and mental recreation as well).

- Recreation covers contemplation, inactivity, conversation, inclusive activities (television, music, cinema, theatre, concerts).
- The creative spending of leisure time mainly covers social life, games, creative activities, tinkering, gardening, artistic activities.
- Physical recreation includes the non-duty-like physical work, e.g.: outing, leisure sports and nature sports.

In connection with the leisure time segmentation it can be detected that there are elements which are equally characteristics of individuals of different ages, quality of life, economic activity and residence (mainly watching television and reading to a lesser extent); and there are activities that are related to specific groups (e.g.: if someone is more highly educated, he has better social position; the value of time increases for him; the range of realistic possibilities is increasing and he will be less vulnerable by the circumstances). Müller holds that the freedom of youth leisure time has a completely different meaning than would be suspected on the basis of teachers' expectations often demanding ‘requirements’; it serves more the fulfilling of wishes than the realization of necessities (Müller, 2000). The leisure time is no longer simply a quantitative issue, but a key (of course, not exclusive) terrain of identity for-

mation, the effect of which is at least rivalling with the significance of family and school identity formation over time (think of the identity-building role of culture, consumption and media or of the religious, political and socialization processes). Featherstone speaks directly about “consumption culture” (Featherstone, 1991). The youth leisure time – different from adult leisure time - is not only activity-based, but also the scene of autonomy, self-management, self-realization and the search for identity. In the youth’s spending of leisure time, Nagy (Nagy, 2008) has separated three main components:

- The so-called high culture¹⁰⁷, as well as activities related to it (classical music concerts, theatre, exhibitions, museums, bookshops).
- Entertainment (parties, discos, cafes, pubs, cinema and music concerts).
- Health orientation (fitness, gyms, nature-friendliness, physical fitness).

As a result of these, the matrix of leisure time attributes typical of individuals can be created, as well. International researches generally find four groups that, although under different names, but it seems that in terms of leisure time-use, they have general characteristics (investigations were ended in similar results in several countries; they can be interpreted from a social group or activity point of view):

- Passive, low-brow (Peterson, 1981), letting time flow away, strollers: not active in the spending of leisure time; their activities are maximum tinkering-housework, watching TV and “walking”. They are typically labourers or agricultural workers, the marginalized;
- Recreational, middle-brow (Peterson, 1981), mass culture-consumers, entertainment-consumers (Wiesand, 2000): their leisure-activities are family and sport oriented; their cultural activities are characterized by popular culture (watching TV, fairs, visiting balls). Mostly made of employees and this layer makes up almost half of the population. They are basically introverted and enjoy the fruits of the consumer society;
- Educated, accumulating (Peterson, 1981), consumers, hedonists, omnivores (Wiesand, 2000)): those choosing from the elements of culture, but not primarily of high culture. Those interested in public life; active in political life and civil society;
- Privileged, intellectuals, high-brow (Peterson, 1981), they are enthusiastic (Wiesand), autonomous (Vitányi): consumers of high culture, freelancers, intellectuals, leaders, politicians and bureaucrats.

Using this model, Iván Vitányi (Vitányi, 1993; Vitányi, 1993a) divides leisure behaviour types into four elements. To do this, we need to know that in recreational activities today, increasingly value-orientation and lifestyle dimensions are the determinants, and the importance of the occupational-income axis is reduced:

- Passive leisure time: in this segment, we do not do anything in our free time (maximum we are watching TV, doing housework, or we go to the pub);
- Recreational leisure time: we use this part of our free time for recreation, preferring easy genres;
- Accumulative leisure time: wide interests, in general terms, focusing on the attitude of trying; non-engaged behaviour characterizes this segment;
- Inspirational leisure time: free time spent with higher culture (a period caring about self-building values)

Out of the research carried out in connection with leisure time segmentation it emerges that the free time - because of the cyclical nature of the year – can also be classified structurally:

1. daily leisure time: free time on weekdays not spent with work, direct physiological needs and social obligations;
2. weekly leisure time: in European cultures, the cyclical leisure time mainly concentrated at the weekend (in nature, leisure time spent with holidays fall into this category);
3. annual leisure time: longer uninterrupted period during vacation-holiday, taking into account the cyclical nature of the year, when man / young person leaves the mostly traditional, routine daily activities.

All in all, on social level, leisure time functionality can be defined in three fields:

- The economic function, in which leisure time space is manifested in the operation of the industry assisting workforce reproduction;
- The integration function, in which case it covers socialization processes going on during recreational activities;
- The identity function, in relation to which it can be segmented that certain communities and social groups choose some entertainment content, while not the others.

On the individual's side the picture emerges that four functions can be attributed to leisure time. These:

- The free (self) development function, which mainly serves personal development through health orientation, high culture, etc. (while the function of expected self-improvement is rather part of semi-free time);
- The self-expression, self-realization function: be it work, social relationships or contribution to the fulfilment of emotional life¹⁰⁸;
- The charging function, which includes rest, recreation -relaxation¹⁰⁹;
- The entertainment function that contributes to ensure search for experiences¹¹⁰.

The leisure time-based relationship between society and the individual is displayed by the so-called amended Nash pyramid (Nash, 1953). According to it, an activity is socially the more valuable, the more it contributes to social well-being.

- At the bottom of the amended pyramid (level -1), anti-social activities can be found (e.g.: unrest, environmental destruction);
- In the traditional pyramid, at level 0, socially not directly dangerous, but for the individual, harmful activities can be found (e.g.: physical and mental impairment due to excess);
- Level 1 means easy relaxation and entertainment (e.g.: watching television, tabloids, sunbathing);
- The next level is emotional involvement (e.g.: listening to music, exhibitions, theatre);
- This is followed by the active time activities (board games, dancing, hiking);
- At the top of the traditional pyramid there are the creative activities (painting, writing, photography);
- In the amended pyramid, there is one more level at the top; these are charity, altruism, which are the most valuable form of leisure use (and put into a frame the traditional pyramid with the -1. level).

The tertiary socialization medium's interpretation¹¹¹

Examine the fulfilment of our triple requirement system previously imposed on the socialization medium, trying to prove the existence of leisure socializing agent as a tertiary socialization medium.

The scope

A practical examination of leisure time is a much more complicated task than at first glance seems; for a long time, science did not really deal with this ‘softer’ topic¹¹². The time balance sheets show that in the developed countries, everyday life of rapidly improving: in terms of income and free time (and education level, working conditions, housing conditions, also for living conditions) even poorer people have twice the amount of “wealth” than it was after the Second World War. According to calculations, in the developed countries, leisure time increased by 2000 hours per year during the two centuries (and if you put all the time at approx. 8800 hours, we can see that this is a very big change). According to other calculations, paid work was pushed back from 50% to 20-25% of the total time (Dumazédiér, 1976). Research consider the leisure time of the citizens of countries said to be developed quite similar in structure: sleep makes up about one-third (33%) of time, while other physiological needs approx. a sixth (17%); the remaining 50% is evenly divided between work and free time (Kenéz, 1993). Yet, in terms of trends in the centuries, leisure time is a growing period, so no wonder that it raises more and more important questions as regards the physical, mental health and social health of the individual and the society.

And this is true even if leisure time is highly fragmented in its content and structure. There are social groups who cannot cope with spending their generated profits, incomes on free time. And the number of those has increased for whom there is no other than the “free time” deprived of working possibility; and many devote their free time to reduce backlogs accumulated over their obligations (Ábrahám-Bárdos, 2014); the exploiting second or even third shifts of certain periods burned into the older generation’s custom system, or there are landscapes of the world where 12-16 hours of plodding is also not uncommon as child labour.

In postmodernity, free time will not be a privilege of some, but extends to the whole (majority) of society. This process began after the Second World War and even today it is only expanding (cf.: 1958 USA, the 50-hour working week vs. the average of 40 hours these days is or with the part-time pilots of the Netherlands, and the 32-36 hour ones of France). According to estimates (Bukodi, 2015), the existing differences in the amount of leisure time will increase in the future. While the free time of the unqualified la-

bour force is expected to stagnate, the leisure time of qualified labour force will grow and will be richer in its structure.

Thus, data demonstrate that the time outside direct production is increasing, even if sometimes the chase after leisure time just consumes leisure time (see Hungarian time household-studies; Tibori, 2003). In this context, the need for general and professional training and further training grows, but in addition, the need for public activity, self-improvement, self-expression, self-realization and self-serving use of leisure, pleasure and recreation grows, as well. The problematic of leisure time cannot be bypassed even for those people who are less open to this because of their life situations, or for whom, the effects of primary and secondary socialization media less prevail, in fact, many times just in their case, the spread of leisure paradigm can be detected (singles, unemployed, workaholics etc.).

The Magyar Ifjúság 2012 data show (Nagy-Székely, 2014) that there is free time for a significant majority: no more than 8-9% of young people do not have free time in addition to their everyday tasks, and a maximum of 4% of them spend the weekends with their obligations. That is, by now, besides the primary and secondary socialization terrains, a third type is catching up; “next to the family, initially additionally, later as its counter sample, enters a new socialization group agent” (Csepeli, 2006), and it seems that large institutional systems dealing with education (work) and family matters are unable to replace this, largely self-organized and voluntary-based, “leisure time component”, and it is not their task, either. The leisure space is eliminated from the traditional institutionalized (objectively existing independent from the will of the members of a group¹¹³) social network. In addition to family and the school, everyone will meet with the area outreaching these (while not necessarily with some elements: sports clubs, churches, NGOs), thus recreational space affects (almost) everyone in developed societies. While the impact of the traditional institutions of socialization (family, school) is weakening, the weight of peer group, as interaction space, is increasing (Váriné, 1975). While the family norms require obedience and authority-based adherence, this space is based on mutual cooperation and consensus¹¹⁴ (Piaget, 1970).

Time and intensity

We know that in the family and in the school, as a socializing space, the individual spends quite a lot of time, but in adolescence, with the increase of the individual's age, the time spent in the space beyond the family and the school, first reaches and then (even multiply) exceeds the time spent in the family and in the school. And, although the intensity of attendance in the family and in school is quite strong, multi-threaded and deep, according to the authors writing about the space beyond the family and school believe that this relationship in the third space is similar in strength (Csepeli, 2006). European research show that in today's generation, the time spent with the family in free time is around the third of the total leisure time, 32% (whereas previously it was almost half: 46%); time spent with the peer group is quarters of the total leisure time (24%); family and peer group combined add up approx. tenth (11%).

On the basis of the Hungarian time household studies and analyses (Tibori, 2003; Demetrovics-Paksi-Dúll, 2010; Bauer-Szabó, 2009, 2005, 2001; Nagy, 2013; Fazekas-Nagy, 2015) we can conclude that samples of the recreational sphere, after the patterns of the obligation-based (secondary) sphere – appear as a counterpoint of it to some extent – and from their appearance, an ever-increasing slice of time is devoted to them until adulthood. In general, research on lifestyle often mean leisure time studies, the latter of which is considered by Gazsó and others to be voluntary-based and obligation-free activity (Gazsó-Pataki Várhegyi, 1971)¹¹⁵. The time for a 14-16 year old adolescent spent in the family is about 2-6 hours, his school time is circa 5-7 hours, and his time spent in leisure space is 3-9 hours. According to the data of the Magyar Ifjúság 2012, those having leisure time (92%), reported on an average of 3.5 hours of free time on weekdays, and 8 hours of leisure time per day at the weekends. This might mean that the time criteria can be verified, and in our case, there is no particular problem with attention either, since in leisure time, we take or not to take part in some activities based on our own decisions, so the expectation of primary attention seems to hurt less. Thus, an individual spends a sufficient amount of time in at least three areas; at least three impact groups can be separated related to him: the patterns of the family, the school (work) and the leisure time sphere.

Own system of rules

We have seen that recreational space affects (almost) everyone; almost everyone is involved in it, and the individual spends an appropriate amount of time in this space. Thus, out of the socialization media requirements, only one condition system stands in our way, the specific criteria. Below (Table 7) we try to demonstrate that, given today's society, there are properties in this field, which are together characteristics of leisure time activities and which differentiate them from the other two scenes¹¹⁶.

Characteristic	Family	School	(Leisure) activities beyond family and school
Main relationship characteristic	Talent	Obligation	Voluntariness (some parts of the area can be voluntarily used)
Organizing principle	Lack of condition	Conditionality	Free choice (autonomous, self-provision of free time)
Change	It cannot be changed, either in person or institution	Changes over time	Relationships can be freely released and connected ¹¹⁷
Reciprocal relationship	There is no reciprocity	There is no reciprocity	There is reciprocity
Existence of power	There is pre-defined power in the medium as a natural hierarchy (parents)	There is pre-defined power in the medium as an artificial hierarchy (teachers)	There is no pre-determined power in the medium, there is no pre-defined hierarchy ¹¹⁸
Rule acceptance	The discipline-commitment and rule acceptance is not voluntary	The discipline-commitment and rule acceptance is not voluntary	The discipline-commitment and rule acceptance is voluntary
Appearance	A medium existing from birth	A medium existing from school (preschool)	The demand towards its elements appear around the same time
Institutionalisation	More institutionalized	Institutionalized	Rather not institutionalized

Table 7: Similarities and differences in socialization media
(Source: own editing)

While the family itself is given, its main organizing principle is the lack of condition, and the school is based on obligation (Mihály (Mihály, 1999) explains it: the mandatory school attendance, the compulsory curriculum, mandatory time structure and compulsory exams); its organizing principle is conditionality, while to the space beyond the family and school and to its elements we can join (or exit from them) freely, in this environment, individuals freely dispose of their time and voluntarily connect or release relationships (Csepeli, 2006). Family, in terms of its personal essence, cannot be changed (aside from exceptions), and the relations are non-reciprocal, the school is changing in a systematic and orderly way in advance, but its relations are also non-reciprocal. In the recreation space, this mutuality can be found. The family is the rather institutional terrain existing from birth; the secondary socialization terrain is the institutionalized medium existing from school (kindergarten) age. The recreation terrain is less institutionalized; the demand towards its elements wakes up approximately at 8-12 years of age. While in the family and at school there is pre-defined power as a natural or artificial hierarchy (parents, teachers), discipline-commitment and rule acceptance is not voluntary, whereas in the medium beyond these, there is no pre-determined power, there is no pre-defined hierarchy; discipline-commitment and rule acceptance is largely voluntary.

It can be seen that the regulation system beyond the family and school medium is fundamentally different from the rules and foundations of the family and school socialization space (Figure 5 tries to illustrate this), it seems, therefore, that we could fulfil the third condition related to the socialization media. However, it is important to stress that the processes taking place in agents of socialization and media are actually parallel, and because of their connections, they can only be interpreted together.

Based on the above it can be stated: there is a leisure time (tertiary) medium of socialization beyond the family and school, and this is different from the family and school environment. The tertiary leisure socialization medium is thus an agent that is without predefined power; the demand for its elements appear around the same time for children; the relationships therein are freely soluble and can be connected; its organizing principle of free choice; its main feature is voluntariness (and in all these, it is different from the family and school - primary and secondary - socialization scenes). All this does not mean that the search for identity would be purely the recreational

space's own, but it means that the postmodern interpretation of leisure time, the amount of time, etc. will help to make identity completion to have priority in the recreational space.

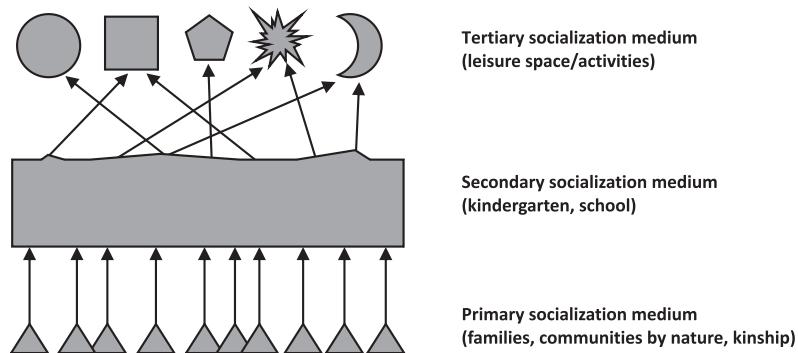


Figure 5: Socializing media (source: Nagy- Trencsényi, 2012)

III. THESE YOUNG PEOPLE...

“When I was fourteen years old,
I considered my father to be so ignorant,
I could hardly tolerate his presence.
When I was twenty-one, I was astonished,
how much he learned in seven years “(author unknown¹¹⁹).

1. International and national documents regarding youth and the traditional statistical model

With the appearance of young people on the stage of society, the question arises, who can be considered young people; which are the age groups with which it is worth dealing with from the point of view of youth affairs, because the youth stage of life now starts earlier and lasts much longer than previously (Böhnisch, 2000). According to Szapu (Szapu, 2002), adolescence is the time for the man to find himself and to form his identity. Looking at the definition of adolescence psychologically it can be interpreted in a way that in certain age groups, what kind of mental and cognitive, affective, social skills are typical, and how they are changing. In sociological sense, however, it can be interpreted differently and it is difficult to accept that if the “single individuals above 30, with no independent household are listed in the “adult” category on age grounds and they are left out of the test circuit, the twenty-year-old parents with autonomous existence are treated as “youngsters” “ (Szanyi F., 2016). Beyond the uncertainty of the name (youth, adolescence, puberty, and then the extended adolescence: post-adolescence, etc.), the time of the young age is “chosen by author” (e.g.: Bühler 13-21 years, Super 15-24 years). It complicates the situation that sociology, social psychology, pedagogy, law and who knows how many science defines, analyses, presents, classifies, describes, discusses children, adolescents, teenagers, youth, young adults, etc.in different ways. In this conceptual cacophony it is hard to hear those canons, which may provide conceptual handrails. In this chapter we review youth generations interpreted in the social space, and firstly we present, what is said about young people in the relevant international documents.

The literary formulations of the young age would worth separate analysis, which are also numerous. The following statement, for instance, is connected to Socrates: "Today's youth love luxury. They have bad manners, have contempt for authority, have no respect for old people, and their mouth is running, instead of working. The young people do not stand up when a senior comes into the room, they answerback to their parents and brag in company. They stuff sweets when eating, throw their feet on each other and tyrannize with their teachers". But here's Albert Schweitzer: "The measure of youth is not the age, but the state of mind and soul: the will power and imagination, intensity of emotions, the victory of fun and adventure over laziness". György Timár's definition is endlessly ingenious: "Young is the one who has no idea that the good old days is now". Perhaps people sometimes have the feeling that artists know more about life than we scientists?

The period prior to adulthood has been classified by dozens of authors; only based on some of them, we can meet a variety of segmentation, and even with respect the life stages investigated, there is a difference (Table 8):

Sigmund Freud 1905	László Nagy 1908	Charlotte Bühler 1928	Jean Piaget 1966	Erik Erikson ¹ 1950	Donald Super 1957	T. Nowogrodzki 1965
Age 1: oral stage in the context of breastfeeding Ages 2-3: anal phase, characterized by purity discipline, the joy of possession and defiance Years 4-5: the phallic stage,	Ages 0-3: Sensual interest stage Ages 3-7: Subjective interest stage Ages 7-10: Objective interest stage Ages 10-15: Permanent objective inquiry stage	Age 1: Development of momentary self-awareness, the formation of movements. Ages 2-4: for the first time, turning towards-subjective phenomena, realization of the	Ages 0-2: sensorimotor stage Experiments on own body moving Ages 2-7 before operations stage The ability of taking into account one property at the same time	Until Age 1: infancy (trust vs. mistrust) Ages 2-3: early childhood (autonomy vs. despair) Ages 3-5: pre-school age (initiatives vs. guilt) Ages 6-11: school age.	Ages 0-14: the growth stage a) fantasy phase (4-10 years) b) interest period (11-12 years) c) ability phase (13-14 years) Ages 15-24: The discovery stage a) probed phase (age 15-17)	Until the Age of 3: early childhood Ages 3-6: kindergarten age Ages 6-14: school age Ages 14-18: puberty, older school age Ages 18-25: adolescence

<p>which is characterized by rivalry with parents of the same gender (Oedipus complex). From Age 5 to puberty: latency period, which is characterized by the retraction of instinct demands and identification with the ideals</p> <p>From the beginning of puberty: genital phase, in which love-and affection, ambition tendencies and competition struggles are amplified</p>	<p>From Age 15: Logic interest stage</p>	<p>meaning and value of things</p> <p>Ages 5-8: integration into the community; realization of duty, achievement, work and work of art. Ages 9-13.: Knowledge-thirst, attitude to realization, the pursuit of personal liberty and highlighting the „I”</p> <p>Ages 14-19: synthesis of subjective and objective relations, integration into the surrounding world, the consolidation of contact with reality.</p>	<p>(one-dimensional thinking).</p> <p>Ages 7-11 concrete operational stage</p> <p>Abstract operations, perception of rules, but only for specific objects</p> <p>After Age 11: Formal operational stage</p> <p>abstract logical analysis and systematically checked hypotheses</p>	<p>(achievement vs. inferiority)</p> <p>Ages 12-20: adolescence (identity vs. role confusion)</p> <p>Ages 20-25: young adults (intimacy vs. isolation)</p>	<p>b) convers-ion phase (18-21 years)</p> <p>c) trial phase I. (22-24 years)</p> <p>Ages 25-44: Consolidation stage</p> <p>a) trial phase II. (25-30 years)</p> <p>b) stabili-zation phase (31-44 years)</p>	
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Table 8: Youth life stage segmentation (source: Jancsák, 2008)

From the perspective of children's rights, mostly those under the age of eighteen can be considered children, as according to the Children's Rights Convention (CRC) (1989, New York) being used by most countries, a child is a person who has not reached eighteen years of age, unless under the laws applicable upon him, he reaches his full age earlier¹²⁰.

Each of the technical branches of laws, with regard to the different age characteristics can further differentiate the range of persons under the age of eighteen. Of course, in each country, limited and full legal capacity and the temporal categories of criminality are quite volatile, although most of the countries adapt to the category of CRC determining the age of 18. The law does recognize the concept of youth and young people as well, but they do not have a generally accepted age limit like the concept of child has. The UN General Assembly in 1995 issued its decision (UN, 1995), on the Youth Action Programme after 2000, which intends to draw up national strategies with a focus on 14-25 years of age, integrating education, employment, hunger, poverty, health, environment, drug addiction, juvenile crime, leisure activities and the effective and full participation in decision-making in the social field. It must, therefore, be noted that in referred UN documents (and in many other places), the child and the young person are not two different and distinct but interlocking sets, but the combination of overlapping conditions. Also, in certain relationships - such as granting state aid- in many countries, the differentiated treatment of those over eighteen years of age (but below a certain age), however, in respect of such persons, having total discretionary ability, state intervention has much less space than in connection to children. The European Social Charter provides special legal protection in the field of employment for those children and youth at the age of 15 and under 18.

The so-called African Youth Charter defines young people between the age group of 15-35 (UNESCO, 2013). In Victoria region of Australia recently changed the definition of youth from between 12-25 years of age to 10-25 years of age (although Australia as a whole works with the 12-25 year old age group) (Brooker, 2014). In Canada, youth workers are dealing with 4-18 year old age groups (their definition - like in the United States - covers the children's age group as well) (Brooker, 2014). In Malaysia and Sri Lanka, those under the age of 40 are treated as young people (Brooker, 2014). In New Zealand, also the 12-25 year old age group is the youth age classification (Brooker, 2014).

Document/ Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
UN General Assembly (youngster) 14-25																															
New York Convention																															
European Social Charter																															
African Youth Charter																															
EU Youth Strategy																															
Council of Europe																															

Table 9: The youth interpretation of international documents

Notation¹²¹: child (white, youngster (light grey), adult (dark grey)

(Source: own editing)

The definition of youth is various all over Europe (Williamson, 2008); its definition accepted by all, does not yet exist. The youth has now become much more a sociological concept rather than biological determinant, which although historically coincided (the sociological concept of youth and the biologically-psychologically interpreted adolescence), from the second half of the XX. century, however, this joint definition has been broken, and the concept of youth seems to increasingly expand both to the direction of childhood and adulthood as well. Thus, the concept of youth has much less covers the age, as various issues and ideas, how it is not the same that these issues and ideas are placed as elements of a resource or a problem-oriented approach (Williamson, 2002).

The European definitions of youth emerge from three alternatives: youth as a social category, youth as a phase of life, and youth as generation, which is reflected in age classifications as well. In this sense, the task of youth affairs is different: on the arc ranging from the support of the growing up to assisting youth as a state of being (Williamson, 2002).

In connection with the concept of youth for each country it can be seen that there still have difficulties in drawing up interpretation types; sets can hardly

be formed, as there are countries where they interpret youth age groups from birth, and there are some where it is interpreted from the age of 15. While the other age limit is perhaps a little more consistent - countries interpret this between 25 and 30 years of age - the interpretation is far from being uniform. In connection with the many interpretations it can be seen that there are at least three marked approaches. One of these is the "quasi-Anglo-Saxon" school, which considers the individual belonging to the age group from birth, and there is a "southern European" interpretation, which considers an individual to be youngster from around 15 years of age until 30-year-old and there is a "Scandinavian and Central European" school that is working with the narrowest, 15-25 years old age group (however important that these age group classifications were made before the adoption of the EU Strategy for Youth, so with time, there can be hope for a shift towards uniformity).

In April 2009, the EU Youth Strategy (EU, 2009), expands its focus to 13-30 year olds (instead of the former 15-29 year olds). The Council of Europe has adopted different rules again (CoE, 1993); this institution means 14-25 (30) year olds under young people, while respecting the different age definitions of the individual Member States (see Tables 9 and 10)¹²².

Country/Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
The Netherlands																															
United Kingdom																															
Estonia																															
Austria																															
Luxembourg																															
Greece																															
Italy																															
Portugal																															
Spain																															
Belgium																															
Denmark																															
France																															
Sweden																															
Czech Republic																															

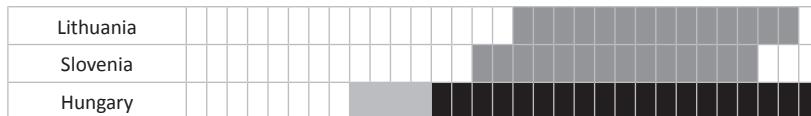


Table 10: Youth ages in European countries (source: Ministry of Social Affairs, manuscripts; Williamson, 2002; Williamson, 2008)

Youth affairs itself played a role in the change of perceptions about young people and in its generational expansion. At the beginning of the XX. century, under the youth age group, mainly the puberty period, mostly the 14-18 age group was understood (Kozma-Tomasz, 2000). Only after the Second World War, this period began to be extended more and more, when both the modern social pedagogical interpretation, both the underlying definitions of resource expansion systems began the broadening of the age limits. By the 80s, (see e.g.: Youth for Europe program 1988-1991, 1991-1994, 1995-1999) 15-25 year-olds were considered to be youth by official institutions. The EU Youth Strategy born in 2009, is counting with the 13-30 year-old age group, while the National Youth Strategy with the approx. 8-12, 25-30 year-old age group (of course - as we have seen – as many countries, as many definitions)¹²³. Several European countries (e.g.: The Netherlands and England) makes no distinction between children and young people (Williamson, 2002). Williamson argues that it is not possible to distinguish between children, adolescent and post-adolescent characteristics, although they are marked phases of life, with own desires and needs (Williamson, 2002). We do not share this argument because in our approach, youth embrace the responsible childhood, adolescence and post-adolescence period as well. Even though the Council of Europe is commendably trying to propose uniform generational approach to the countries, it determines it- in our view wrongly - in the 15-25 years of age.

The statistics (and for example, in part, the law) mostly defines 15-18, 19-25, 26-29-years of age categories in the youth dimension. It is true that this categorization is favourable in terms of measurement (read: it provides easy measurability), but the majority of the humanities are not working with a simple and well-defined age limits, but is trying to capture the social components of various life situations. Sociology, social psychology, psychology, pedagogy, etc. also determine - sometimes in many ways, but sure to be strange from statistics - the youth age groups. For example, a young person is who is

no longer a child but not yet an adult (Andorka, 2006), or who does not yet have independent decision-making powers in the social position sustained for adults; does not have all the rights provided for adults (Andorka, 2006), the young age is the stage of the intellectual and social skills development; the sense of responsibility, values and norms are not yet stable, so the individual is not yet independent and not suitable for self-determination (Gazsó-Stumpf, 1992; Gazsó-Stumpf, 1995), a young person is who has not yet started to work, not started a family (Andorka, 2006), etc. It is certain that this group is different from adults; the process from birth to mature adulthood is unique and unrepeatable (Szabó, 2012). The statistical interpretation is no regard to the individual's development, maturity, life situation; only considers the young person to be a social variable.

Common categorization has a fairly good estimation of generational boundaries: that is, we can say quite simply that someone is a small child or still a child, adolescent, young adult, or adult (this allocation is not likely the knowledge of age, but is based on other "soft" variables: body size and shape, inspection of motor functions; cognitive functions during a conversation, the inner motivation of the feeling of primacy for protection or self-realization, etc.). However, the scientific measurement has not followed these softer variables yet. Therefore, the question can be raised: do we actually measure who we want; does the simple (and easily measurable) age classification comes through; are our statistical methods adequate to the actual adolescence? (By the way, statistical, legal or pedagogical (development) psychological considerations take precedence over the social sciences description and during the analysis of youth).

2. Young people in society - XYZ generations

Since the proliferation of Information and Communication Tools (ICT), the world of young people can hardly be compared to the life of young people from earlier eras. Their time establishment, their family, education and labour market status has been transformed; they economize their free time differently and use it for different purposes; they have different information-gathering and communication strategies, as well as the concept of relationship, community, entertainment has also been transformed for them. One of the major problems of the information society era is that how the rising

generations born into the digital age transform the society known and how they are influenced by it (Rab-Székely-Nagy, 2007). In this section we introduce generational logic, and we are trying - largely according to information and communication strategy - to provide a kind of generational periodization.

According to Mannheim, an age group can be considered to be a generation if they are characterized by some common immanent quality, generation knowledge and community feature, and three conditions are necessary to this: common experience; the actual orientation to each other and the common interpretation of the situation, attitudes and forms of action (Mannheim, 1969). Mannheim puts generational logic in parallel with the concept of class (the person does not enter into the class but is born to it, and does not step out of it intentionally, but only if his/her status has changed). However, this certainly does not mean that in case of the validity of generation logic all members of the age group show specific characteristics (cf. the paradigm of youth epoch change, with the marginalized strata of the school youth age, see below; or the contrast of segregates vs. e-services), but it means that there is a generation pattern shown in the description.

According to Strauss and Howe's model (Strauss-Howe, 1991), the generation change in the Mannheim sense takes place in society roughly in every 20 years, which has a kind of cyclical feature. Marc Prensky also interpreted in the generational dimension the relationship with the information society. We call for help the development (Székely, 2014) of his digital natives-digital immigrants model (Prensky, 2011)¹²⁴ and incorporate it into the Strauss-Howe model.

- *Silent Generation(veterans)*: The generation of those born before World War II.; on their youth socialization, the Great Depression and political division pushed onto its mark. They are characterized by maintaining the status quo, the pursuit of safety, early marriage, they are family-oriented, and they have faith in social institutions. Karácsynotes about this generation that “they live social life with pleasure, efficiently and in large quantities” (Karácsny, 1942, pp. 71).
- *Baby boomers*: The generation of those born after World War II is characterized by the mixed fear of atomic bombs¹²⁵ and the idealism of “never again war” (Mead, 1978) and by the extremely high population. In Hungary, the large number occurred not only as a result of the natural development of society, but by reason of the “glory and the duty” of the

Ratkó measures. Thus, to the baby boom generation, at home mostly the Ratkó-children correspond, who are probably the most different from the same generation of the Western world, as the socialist ideology printed its mark the most on young people's living possibilities and environment here. Hegedűs and Forray (Hegedűs-Forray, 1989), calling them the children of reconstruction, indicates that this is the first generation that has not been defined either emotionally or legally by origin. The baby-boomers (baby-boom; in Hungary, often called as the "great generation") generation was born after World War II until the mid-sixties. They got to know the computer as an adult, some of them use it during their work, but it does not nearly provide the primary means of communication.

- *Generation X (digital immigrants, McDonalds-generation)*: Forming the main body of today's labour market; the members of the generation born in the second half of the 60s and in the 70s met with the IT toolbox in their young ages; actually, they were just dropped into the digital world. They witnessed how the computer technology developed into information technology, then into information society. In their lives, the Internet is more or less present. In the Western countries, they grow up under the impact of electronic media. Its Hungarian members grow up in socialism, but in its easing phase; they are the so-called Ratkó-grandchildren.
- *Generation Y (digital natives)*: the members of the age group born in the 80s and 90s met with the Internet in their childhood; as digital natives, they are confident in the management of tools, in the orientation in the network space; digital universe is their natural medium; their web/Internet personality is consciously formed. They are characterized by strong media dependence; they respond quickly to technological changes. This age group is the generation of the information society: they naturally started to use information and communication technologies in their childhood. "The Hungarian Generation Y practically caught up with the delays which were common previously. Generation Y becomes a youth from a child mostly after the change of regime; s/he encounters with the computer and the Internet, if not at home, surely at school" (Székely, 2013). The social relations are taking place at the same time in the real and virtual life; with the usage of mobile phones and the Internet, their place dependence is much smaller than that of previous generations. Generation Y is different in many ways from previous generations; its

members are receptive to cultural content, are attracted to group activities, to community space, they are performance-oriented, confident, they mostly (!) identify with their parents' values, they are highly qualified (for most of them, school and good school performance is important). They receive information quickly; they prefer image and sound rather than text; they give preference to random links (hypertext); they strive for the immediate and frequent satisfaction of their needs; they prefer games instead of "serious" work; in technology, they see a friend instead of inconvenient but necessary companion (Prensky, 2001). Members of this generation are moving along with global trends, they are able to master the use of new technical devices first, sometimes even changing the educational direction; they are at home in the digital world, the older ones are only immigrants.

- *Generation Z (the Facebook-generation)*: they were born at the millennium and after. Its members, when they lost their "computer-virginity", met with Web2.0¹²⁶ and with the entire social networking space; they do not know, what life is like without the Internet; their primary communication interface is no longer the e-mail but the social network. This generation is not only characterized by network behaviour and the usage of the Internet as digital socialization but in addition to information consumption, they also provide information services. This generation no longer knows the world without wired network, mobile phones and the Internet. The most important cultural and generational differences from the previous generations is that they do not only consume content but they also provide it, just think of Youtube, Facebook, Twitter and the different torrent sites (and if we believe that this merely a game, remember, for example, the 2013 snowstorm in March, when the traditional media failed and instead, the social networking sites have taken over the primary information provider function). Their device management is on skill-level; they are characterized by multitasking, parallel actions: at the same time, they are writing blogs, listening to music, they follow their email and social network turnover; their decision making gets faster. The members of this generation not only embrace these devices and contents but they form them to their own needs and use them in their everyday lives; practically they are not stationary. The socialization environment of generation Z is radically different from that of the previous generations consequently,

they learn differently, make friends differently and have fun in a different way (Tóbi, 2013). This difference is not primarily subcultural (not manifested in clothing, use of language), but in the information gathering and communication strategies. At the same time, they “consume” on multiple channels (multitasking); their combined consumption exceeds the quantity “physically” available to one person, and most of them do not have any reflective awareness towards the legal and institutional environment of their typical and normal Internet use (e.g. downloads, exchange of files). In addition, changes in the world do not only influence the rational part of the psyche but they fundamentally influence their emotional lives, too. Many of them “pour out” the emotional tension from themselves without cathartic experience. To this “emotional incontinence” related the expectation that “other people should diaper us” (at least emotionally) (Tari, 2010). So we experience our own feelings through them (we can think of one part of blogosphere, thousands of comments, but also of certain identity situations, relationship aspects or of the world of work as well). As regards Hungary, the difference between generations can be experienced in magnitude from the Western part of the world disappears forever; and a sense of global youth culture develops, as innovations typically appear on the Hungarian market with a few months’ delay.

- There already exists a category called Alpha-generation, which indication refers to those born in 2010 and thereafter. Although we do not know if there will be any changes compared to Generation Z; whether they can be characterized as an autonomous generation in the Mannheim sense but they already have a name, as a prime example of the side-actions of social scientists. Surely, they will be different in the sense that they will not believe that they were not downloaded but were born (paraphrase of an unknown caricature).

According to Strauss and Howe, the basis of this cyclicality typical of these generations and social characteristics is the social structure and attitudes change, and four-generation features can be identified in it. Today’s Generation Z is a reminiscent in character of the silent generation of the 40s, that is, it can be defined as a new silent generation (Székely, 2014).

3. Narratives in youth affairs¹²⁷

After the change of regime, broadly defined youth research interpreted “the analysis of socially fragmented youth layers, the stratification itself, youth local sections, its development, convergence and organization as a task. This research area is mostly identified with sociology, but is far from being the case: social psychology, pedagogy, psychology, management theory, force field analysis, public policy; many areas, and it’s hardly countable methods, tricks, instruments, procedures and views help to learn about and understand young generations” (Nagy et al, 2014). Understanding the youth age groups and the technical, social, economic subsystems underlying youth affairs is an area that requires a multidisciplinary approach, and where we can and must rely on the results of various sciences. In this chapter, the two essential narratives are interpreted: the youth epoch changing theory and the paradigm of the new silent generation. With this we also indicate that we cannot introduce all the definitions of youth; we especially carry out the interpretation of those which appear as a narrative-broadened and solidified interpretation-ensemble. In addition, there are dozens of definitions, which remained at the level of non-stabilized, sometimes a little diffuse, clue-free interpretation totality (in this section, we are “just” dealing with young people ; not with the analysis of the narratives of institutional systems dealing with them (e.g. Lauritzen, 1993).

The theory of youth epoch change¹²⁸

In his work of Risk Society, Beck indicates that traditional institutions failed; the social system got fragmented in the space of education, work and family (Beck, 2003). He says that the pre-defined and consecutive phases of development of the transition to adulthood are primarily characteristics of modernity and they are inherent in the so-called normalized life; while in the so-called choice of life, certain elements are omitted, others repeated again, or run in parallel. For the description of school or prolonged adolescence the term of this choice biography is used (biography here is actually an individual's life course: his social status, the sum of relations) (as opposed to the so-called normalized biography of the traditional, modern society transition adolescence). The theoretical foundation connected to this was laid down by Zinnecker (Zinnecker, 1993a) built on Bourdieu's types of capital, according to whose thesis, the so-called transitional youth stage of life is characterized by economic capital, while at the school youth stage of life it is shifted to cultural capital.

According to the theory of the youth epoch change dating back to '68 and rooted in it, therefore, modern society is characterized by transitional or so-called limited youth stage of life (normalized life), which is primarily intended at the preparation of adulthood and the obtaining of the profession (followed by the early employment, marriage, children), since the change of social reproduction, the appreciation of knowledge extended and made adolescence independent.

By today, social environments given in modernity became disintegrated (bourgeois milieu, worker milieu, rural milieu); young people are less and less tied to their subculture of origin; everyone must formulate for themselves their own youth world (Böhnisch, 2000). Adolescence is no longer the status transition between the world of school and work (Böhnisch, 2000), but a separate stage of life, in which the intention of being an adult is no longer the exclusive, but often not the dominant pattern, and the activities of young people can no longer be understood solely as preparation for adulthood. That is, in post-modern society, transitional adolescence is replaced by the school youth stage of life (or life choice). In this much more autonomous period, compared to the previous ones, young people choose their patterns of action and their values themselves; their specific cultural elements develop, which are increasingly different from the ones of adults. The work and family, community, neighbourhood control roles are weakened; while the controls of the media and leisure industry are strengthened. During this period, as the new class of society without work - referring to Veblen's expression (Veblen, 1975) - youth can "institutionally idle" because the society during this period dismisses young people from social tasks (e.g. family formation, job etc.).

In this regard, today the youth ethos is transformed: not the occupational successes represent for them the pole, but individual decisions, prosperity, well-being, etc., which, according to Wyn-Dwyer (Wyn-Dwyer, 1999) is inaccurately described as leisure time in the literature. Undoubtedly, between the new ethos and leisure time, there cannot be put equal sign, but it is also essential that putting together the elements of this new ethos "due to construction deficiencies" in the family and in the school, is only possible in free time, that is, free time is the primary terrain for youth identity construction (which does not mean that before, when these young people were little children, the family would not be in the centre of identity formation).

Dwyer and Wyn (Dwyer-Wyn, 2006), building on this, presents a five-item typology: the model focusing on vocational training and work; the contextual, the altered and the mixed samples (the latter three are as sub-divisions of the choice of life; the previous two as sub-divisions of normalized life). According to the data carried on the Australian sample, normalized life is the characteristic of only 40% of young people; and more than half of them no longer get around the traditional, linear way.

The choice biography is based not only on own decisions and freedom; it just provides the opportunity, and the youngster is forced to reflect on the decision opportunity. The choice itself is mandatory and it means not just freedom, but also a burden (Kozma-Tomasz, 2000). Moreover, the hopelessly many alternatives can be crippling also, not just facilitating the decision. That's why Giddens (Giddens, 1991) considered the idea of the choice biography to be mature for criticism, as the overall vulnerability and threat of young people increases (Zinnecker, 1993; Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003), which severely limits the opportunities for work, career development, personal satisfaction, and reduces the chance that young people protect themselves from risk (which rhymes quite well with Beck's risk society (Beck, 2003)). The groups of decreased quality of life and poorer groups, such as groups and individuals stemming from gender, cultural, ethnic and political discrimination, are more vulnerable (girls, those from lower social groups, immigrants, in fact, usually the young people). Somlai (Somlai, 2007), shares the ideas referring to the splitting of post-modern society youth: while in the lives of post-adolescents, studying and work are congested, the young people living in extreme poverty do not learn, but they do not have a job either. Moreover, for the poor and the marginalized, not the self-realization, self-training of leisure time is the desired value, but to ensure the daily livelihood from work and security in Maslow's sense (Fukász, 1993). According to Giesecke, by contrast, the socialization of middle-class youth has become just as vulnerable as the one of the lower layers (even if this vulnerability occurs in a different way) (Giesecke, 2000).

Münchmeier notes that with the appearance of the choice biography, life situations have been individualized, so the problem situations will always be unique and specific, and intervention can only be imagined in an individualized way (Münchmeier, 2000). The individualization does not sweep away the social inequalities (Böhnisch, 2000), but it will no longer be able to

specify in general terms the objectives and the opportunities for action, as they will always depend on the specific situation.

While traditionally youth stage of life can be interpreted as an investment in the future (we give up on something today, to have something more tomorrow), today many young people are thinking just the opposite (live today, we do not know what tomorrow will bring) (Böhnisch, 2000), and by no means it is true that young people would be future-oriented.

Between the lifeway experienced by individuals (life-choice) and the normalized life imagined by the institution, there is a growing gap (Kozma-Tomasz, 2000). What seems to be deviant (getting off, achievement denial, consumer captivity etc.) in terms of normalized careers, may seem, based on the logic of choice biography, to be a form of alternative lifestyles, the demand for a work style or an unconventional self-realization experiment, so the problems cannot be reduced to the good-bad, normal - deviant opposites (Münchmeier, 2000). Increasingly, we face the fact that such alternative forms of participation are necessary to be supported “without judgement”, that is, without classifying them into this normal-deviant scheme.

According to Gábor (Gábor, 2006), extending the theory to Hungary as well, in post-modern society, there are two alternatives available to youth age groups: one is the unemployment scenario, when as a labour market reserve, the increasing number of disadvantaged youth mass forms a sort of under-class layer (British example in the seventies)¹²⁹. The other says, this is not a stigmatized unemployment status, but can be spent on learning, as well as on the increased leisure time (the German model). According to Gábor, youth epoch change in our country, compared to the mainstream western countries (70s and 80s), came 15-20 years later in the ‘90s, partly because of the overall lateness, partly due to the suppress before the regime change. The former scenario, besides the international survey’s results, has also been confirmed by the results of the domestic post-socialist value research, as about the “split” value groups we have strong data already from the 70s. It seemed that the disintegration of traditional values was not associated with the development of alternative community identities, but rather led to atomization. The increase and individualisation of inequalities has brought the diversification of individual lives. Schulze (Schulze, 2000) combines individualisation with experience as a goal. The concept of social experience framing it indicates, on the one hand, the virtually unlimited enlargement of opportunities, on the

other hand, the increase of the feeling of insecurity. However, young people want to belong somewhere, the joints of their relations are not strong enough, and do not protect the individual from mistakes and from the dangers. The contacts will also be choices, encouraging / forcing the youngster to make continuous decisions. This often narrows the scope of the individual, reduces the number and quality of alternatives. Schulze interprets this experience society articulated by milieus as the structure of mutual incomprehension.

As the two main topic of the youth research of this narrative, transition discourse and cultural discourse can be considered. “The central question of the first is the relationship can observed between social status and changes in way of lives , giving a central role to class affiliation,” meaning by this the transition into the labour market from the school and the transitional period of family formation-independent household formation (Szanyi.F, 2016). Here, actually, the young person does not indicate an age group, but a life situation, strongly rhyming with the vision of normalized biography in modernity. As a criticism of these trends it emerged that in the post-modern society, there is no clear direction of the transition (Cohen and Ainley, 2000), highlighting the new uncertainties in postmodernism (Beck, 2003) and the individuation-globalization (Giddens, 1991).

The postmodern culture discourse building on independent youth picture focuses on the identity, social role, the role of subculture, and on the penetration of young people into these spaces. Gábor (Gábor, 2006) highlights the areas of lifestyle and cultural consumption (music, clothing etc.) as a leitmotif, and claims that because of the mass media, young people’s separation became more characteristic (Szabó, 2002; Gábor, 2006). Further research (Nagy, 2014; Székely, 2014) suggest that in the XXI. century, these effects strengthened even further.

This discourse using more qualitative methods (ethnographic observations, interviews, focus groups) confronted with the situation that in many cases, young people were approached through a particular problem situation;, made them see through deviance and subculture and forgot about that the majority of young people are not involved in these (Cieslik, 2003). Thus, the media, legislators, etc. only perceived the youth as a problem. In connection with this trend, the concept of structured individualism discourse is increasingly taking over the stage, as well as the concept of “social / societal generations”, the basis of which is that the living situation and lifestyle of today’s youth

generations little or not at all comparable to the ones of previous generations (Szanyi F., 2016).

Dealing with the choice biography, as the criticism of the theory, Giddens (Giddens, 1991) emphasizes that the young existence all in all can be interpreted as a kind of reflexive process. Moreover, the processes taking place in the agents of socialization are actually parallel but because of their connections, they are certainly only understandable together. Further criticism is that the theory makes a clear distinction between the child and a young age, although it is far less clear. While the vanguards of the prolonged adolescence theory (Zinnecker, Gábor) examine merely the transition between youth and adulthood in one extreme, they ignore that as a result of the leisure industry and media often quoted by them, the young age is extended “downwards”, as well (see the argument concerning the death of childhood (Postman, 1992; Buckingham, 2002)).

In addition, the expansion of the school system is not new, but it is a process in modern society and one indicator of it, lasting since primary schooling - previously slower but accelerated in our decades. Until the beginning of the XX. century, the primary education, until the end of the XX. century, secondary education has become widespread, and in the third stage today, we are witnessing the extension of higher education (Kozma, 2004).

Youth research data seem to refute also in Hungary, that the economic capital is converted to cultural capital, as the Hungarian youth primarily and increasingly consider the social capital by Bourdieu to be necessary to succeed. It is also worth paying attention to the difference that exists between Hungary's reception of the postmodern theories and the German and post-socialist Hungarian societies of the 80s and 90s. While Kolosi's analysis in 2000 (and Fábián et al, 1998; Bukodi, 2006) does not attach very layer-forming role to the (in part) emergence of the consumer society, Utasi and others (Utasi et al, 2006) already indicates a change in the quality of life that refers to the development of a new stratification model. This is confirmed by the phenomenon - particularly experienced amongst the Hungarian youth, which has created new consumption milieus (Csíte-Kovách-Kristóf, 2006).

In addition, the theories of the youth epoch change, and choice of life theory examine the age group in question exclusively through sociological lens, not taking into account any other aspect of it. Yet, in the educational space, the background of “institutionalized idleness theory” may become clearer, as the

adolescent is lazy as a result of biological changes and because of his nature; not a social reason lays behind the phenomenon (Vekerdy, 2014). However, the diversity of individual ways is not at all certain that will lead to work or family formation in post-modern society. The individual making sense in this model, is in the fetter, the prison of society, rather than existing in symbiosis with it.

The junction of this narrative is the vulnerable youth concept (Azzopardi-Furlong, Salder, 2003), according to which the school youth-age young people, because of the immanent logic of risk society (Beck, 2003), severely limited in their possibilities than other social groups in respect of personal satisfaction, both in stable employment advancement, both at school and leisure time socialization agents.

The paradigm of the new silent generation¹³⁰

According to research data (Székely, 2013), today's young people are much less characterized by commitment, however, they much better accept the ideals of their parents (nearly half of them fully, a further third of them partially accept the values of their parents) and they are much less rebellious than previous generations. Hurrelmann (Albert-Hurrelmann-Quenzel, 2010) got similar results, who said that young people are much less rebellious; their relationship with the previous generation is much less antagonistic than it had previously prevailed. According to Böhnisch (Böhnisch, 2000), the generation gap is disappearing, but it is much more limited than decades ago, and the conflict model will be replaced by the pragmatic coexistence of generations. Thus, the family ties and the demands for the acquisition of autonomy are no longer in contradiction; economic dependence within the family does not mean a clear cultural and personal dependence as well. Young people want to achieve cultural elements previously only reserved for adults (sexuality, disposal of time, consumption facilities) much earlier. Compared to the previous young people, fewer establish a relationship, they move together later, the ratio of those who have never lived in a relationship is increasing, and childbearing seems to disappear under the age of 30. In education, the uncertainty, in unemployment, the becoming stronger involvement is typical¹³¹. Similarly to education plans, in the world of work, strong intentions does not point in the direction of the activity either, but rather stagnation, lack of change can be experienced¹³². Young people, concerning the future,

make security, stability, and the preservation of the current situation to be likely. We can see young people who are more satisfied with themselves, but not with their environment and their capabilities, who do not believe in new jobs, foreign employment, own businesses or learning a new language. “The high rate of young people left out from the educational system and the labour market, the almost negligibly small size of those groups who are students and are also working, as well as the plans and intentions referring to wait and see and no change can be interpreted as a sign of silence; only dissatisfaction with the job opportunities points to the opposite direction” (Székely , 2014).

The free time is dominated by the passive activity at home¹³³. Most of them spend their time in front of the screen; half of them are watching TV; four-fifth of them is a regular web and community site user; while the traditional cultural spaces are becoming less visited, and even a quarter of them do not have any friends. In the free time, now the Internet leads the activity line; the television is only the second most important activity. They have little to do with NGOs; the majority of them are not involved in any public activity (not even in sharing news). The young people are also characterized by outage in the area of sports; two thirds of them do not do any sports, and the results in connection to risk behaviours (smoking, alcohol consumption, drug use) registered largely stagnation, sometimes improvements. We may say cynically that “they cannot even get drunk properly “.

Thus, the features of quietness:

- conformity - they do not want to overthrow the existing status quo, they mostly accept their parents' idea of living;
- uncertainty –they spend most of their time in front of screens, sedentary lifestyle and stagnating deviant behaviour characterizes them.
- passivity –in public issues they remain apolitical and are characterized by withdrawal.

According to the critics of the narrative¹³⁴, it is far from proven, that a theory of American generations can describe the Hungarian reality: it is in doubt, whether the Hungarian “tally” is adaptable to the American generation. Although the theory itself raises doubts in this respect, in addition, it remains a debtor in expanding, what uncertainty is based on; what can be the different consequences and constraints of comparison of the American and Hungarian social development.

Critics say that in relation to the empirical foundations of the theory of the silent generation, further issues arise. Péter Róbert and Tibor Valuch's (Róbert-Valuch, 2013) study written about generations draws the attention, "the results available on Hungarian generations are based on cross-sectional images. In such data, people of different ages (age groups and cohorts) can be isolated from each other and the differences between them can be investigated, but we do not know, for example, how much the difference between a younger and an older person comes from their different ages and how much from their different socialization. For the search, the ideal type of data is longitudinal in nature, where the same people are asked, first in younger, then in an older age. Such data can be replaced to some extent when the same questions are repeated in the same form in subsequent empirical surveys, which cover a sufficiently long time horizon over which the examination of changes over time could be interesting". In terms of the empirical foundations of the theory of the silent generation, the amount of existing data is problematic: we do not have retrospective regime change such cross-sectional data on which the different generations would be investigated. On Hungarian young people, there only exist large-scale cross-sectional data since 2000, while the ESS database comparing the entire society with international data contains information only from 2002 onwards. Although some correlations can be analysed, more than only one data collection would be needed (Magyar Ifjúság 2012) for the proof of the phenomenon.

The narrative is not talking about the causes of silence, but it appears that dissatisfaction, hopelessness etc. in youth social deep structures do not appear in political actions (Szabó-Kern, 2011, Oross 2013); there are no traces of youth organized into a political generation. "The question persists: the reasons for this should be sought only in young people? After all, if in the traditional democratic institutions, youth are less actively involved (and to prove this, empirical data are available), it is the function of their absolute interest, or the result that the mobilization channels are not available to them. Maybe this generation is shouting with its own means; it is not silent, but adult society has no ears to hear because they got used to other devices, other forms of expression, where the young people cannot appear (Oross, manuscript)? "

Other youth affairs discourses

The so-called emerging adulthood theory can be considered to be a semi-autonomous narrative (Arnett, 2000). Arnett calls the period between 18-25 years so, arguing that there is no definition for the phase of life after adolescence, but before adulthood. He considers it a more appropriate name than young adulthood, because the latter shows as if the persons concerned had reached adulthood, despite the fact that those in this age declared to the contrary. Furthermore- he argues - young adulthood is more typical of the thirties. Arnett does not really prove that how the unfolding adulthood is a different paradigm than Keniston's post-adolescence (who says that it is also the time of extended role exercising between adolescence and young adulthood). Arnett's critics (e.g.: Bynner 2005) claim that it is not a suitable terminology to describe the concept of adolescence, especially not the 25 years of age limit, stressing that the theory can only be applied to social groups can be described by school phase of life, but not to the lagging layers, who can be described by transitional adolescence. Additionally, they express the need for a shift from the categorization based on the age sections towards a theory interpreting life stages in a wider sense.

4. The generational model of youth affairs

We have to get to the realization that - at least from the point of view of dealing with youth – it cannot be defined simply in ages, what is the adolescent stage of life, or parts thereof (think e.g. about the documents' wide variety of children and young people interpretations). By this of course, the (uniform definition of this age group by year becomes more difficult, but in this case, the individual stages of development are relevant, and not the statistical analysis criteria¹³⁵. According to this, the calendar age is not a credible indicator of norms and lifestyles, and even the calendar age, based on which we make children to be adults, includes a number of contradictions and arbitrary assumptions (Featherstone-Hepworth, 1997)¹³⁶.

The question arises: if not by age, then by what other criteria can someone fall into the youth age group. It is visible that in terms of becoming adult and social factors, we can talk about new youth and a new image of youth. As the criticism of the “traditional” statistical model, we try to present a youth cohort model competing with it, the basis of which are not the life years

(physiological age), but the responsibilities (the individual for himself and for others), and its internal structure is given by the various maturity terms (biological, psychological, social maturity).

According to the model of youth affairs, the definition of youth age groups and their stages can be regarded as those primarily built on biological, psychological and social (sociology) features, and are bordered by responsibility: this classification tries to embrace the space between responsibility for himself (decision), and responsibility for others (the responsibilities associated with the decisions) (Jancsák, 2008). All of this, from another point of view, starts from the interpretation as a member of the peer group becoming typical, from the orientation with the tertiary socialization stage, from the presence of the needs of having a say in decisions, from the sharp increase of the importance of peer groups (without external power) (from the shifting of benchmarks), so specifically from the individual (and not by parents) choice of friends, from the multiplication of group influence (Csepeli, 2006); and lasts until adulthood, employment, homemaking and childbearing¹³⁷ (Andorka, 2006). So the period, when the first task of those came into contact with a small child is defence (early childhood¹³⁸), do not belong to the youth age groups, just the phase of life after this period and between adulthood can be considered adolescence.

In pre-modern societies, the child became a full member of the community by going through some kind of ceremony, ritual, although they often meant a kind of apprentice or traineeship (Cunningham, 2012). In modern societies, these two periods were separated by the young age (now renamed as adolescence), which meant a special preparatory period for the one who is “no longer a child, not an adult yet”. In the limited youth stage of life in modernity, people must start work as early as possible; the primary purpose of the era is acquiring the profession, and soon after the marriage, the first child follows (Zinnecker, 1993). In post-modern society, adolescence is increasingly extended, which is related to the increase in school time. Erikson (Erikson, 1963) defined that adolescence is not capable of expressing the entire young age, and Keniston introduced the expression of post-adolescence (young adult) (Keniston, 1970), for the prolonged adolescence. Its meaning has now changed somewhat; those in this phase are not fully independent from the parents’ house because financially and socially they are not autonomous yet. They are already adults psychologically and biologically, but not socially;

their situation cannot be described in conflict and cooperation situations by the characteristics of other age groups (Keniston, 2006, Vaskovics, 2000).

The youth experience world is different, both from the family orientation of early childhood's experience world, both from the social orientation of adult experience world (Böhnisch, 2000). Within adolescence, such sections with specific properties can be established that characterize the individual development (Szentmihályi, 2007). With the periods wedged with post-modern society, roughly three relatively homogeneous age groups can be distinguished¹³⁹ within the youth age group (Böhnisch also divides young age into three stages (kids, youth, young adults, Böhnisch, 2000).

In every era, some kind of maturity concept was linked to adulthood, to growing up. However, this definition of maturity, due to its physical, emotional, intellectual, sexual, moral aspects seemed quite difficult (Cunnigham, 2012). The biological interpretation of puts the biological processes of maturation in the focus; socio genetics turns the main focus on socialization processes; the psychological-cognitive approach's priority is the development of the spiritual and mental (intellectual) functions (ability of logic operation performance) (Cole-Cole, 1997; Piaget, 1978). We, based on these, interpret the maturity concept by biological, psychological and social aspects for the description of the three age groups above:

1. From the completeness of motor functions, from autonomous subsistence, from the start of detachment, from the appearance of responsibility *until biological maturity: the responsible childhood* (separated from early childhood) (Andorka, 2006). The period of “responsible” childhood between (approx. 8-10 years of age¹⁴⁰) and 12-14 years of age¹⁴¹ is characterized by the identification with the task and the game as work task and real performance (Erikson, 2002).

The responsible childhood, pre-pubertal period, is characterized by the so-called first change of shape bodily. The muscle mass increases, the rate of limb / body increases, and movement needs also increases. Movement itself will be more regular, harmonious, persistent and purposeful, and the demonstration of power needs is redrawn. In this age, not only the result of some tasks, but the process of creation itself appears as a source of joy.

“For the joy of task performance, he is able to make greater effort and endurance; his activities are becoming increasingly complex. As the age pro-

gresses, the individual's interest turns to the outside world. He becomes a good observer, his inferential ability develops. He forms an increasingly real picture about the outside world, approximate to reality: he discovers, or at least suspects the cause-and-effect relationships, so his curiosity - in addition to the scientific issues – covers the problems of birth and sexuality as well, asking embarrassing questions on the subject “(Nagy et al, 2014). He is more and more able to identify and remove inconsistencies (Piaget, 1999). There is a stronger passion for collecting, classifying things, the intention of “taking them into possession” (Izsó, 2008).

In this age, they are increasingly observing the behaviour of others, they get to know its causes (Szekeres, 2008), while they become more and more “detached” from the parents, trying to become members of more and more groups, which widens the horizon, and assists in setting up several benchmarks and considerations. “With the separation process begins the period of defection from adults to peers, which culminates at the end of the period. [The young person] feels better among his friends, as he can be equal there, the adults’ “greatness” does not weigh on him and it makes an appropriate medium to him for advocacy “(Nagy et al, 2014). Emotionally highly motivated sense of duty appears, as well as the peer group rules and the deliberate adaptation to them (Izsó, 2008). During this period, the content and method of the game changes: the child in “role and rule-games recreates his experience, relations, and in the meantime, he learns new ways to adapt to the rules” (Cole-Cole, 1997).

“In this age, the sample providing and guiding role of adults in their environment (reference persons with reward power: parents, teachers, other adults, living in their environment) is still important to them” (Nagy et al, 2014), although, not by identifying them with the image of omnipotence and trueness, but in the light of an increasingly strong reality-control. The child in responsible childhood is increasingly capable of comparing his own experience with earlier information, media fragments, indirect or power instructions, so no longer accepts entirely the parents' or teachers' authority.

Some phenomena of the mediated society refers to the changing adolescence and childhood. The game consoles, mobile phone use lying down to earlier ages, but even the success of media contents in early childhood also draws attention to the fact that “the interpretation of childhood should be more consciously and emphatically extended ever” (Rab, 2005).

2. From biological maturity to psychological maturity: adolescence (from around 12-14 years of age to about 18 years of age).

“Authors dealing with adolescents ask the question: can it be possible that there are no limits of development after sexual maturation?... According to what criteria can we determine the mature and stable personality?... In any case, a new concept emerges on the individual. It’s “no more tied to the traditional model of gender roles and personal identity, but starts from the various constructions of the personality, the stages of life, gender roles, sexuality and family concepts” (Somlai, 2007 pp. 40).

The period following childhood period, the change following the 12-14 years of age¹⁴², adolescence is characterized by the re-organization of social life and the completion of the development of the highest human potentials (Cole-Cole, 1997). This is the period when the child’s moral realism, externally managed, regulated consciousness is reformulated to questions; starts the search for individual identity, replacing the assimilation to traditions¹⁴³ (Allport, 1997). Characteristic of this phase is thinking about the possibilities, the use and testing of hypotheses, meta-level thinking and the overrun of habits; the testing of new ways (Cole-Cole, 1997), and then appears the contrast between the generations (generation gap, Cole-Cole, 1997). In any case, it is clear that this period is different from childhood (either its early or responsible phase), and different from young adulthood¹⁴⁴.

With the strengthening of the secondary sex characteristics, the adolescent is experiencing the feeling of infinite freedom and gut-wrenching anxiety at the same time. If supportive environment and positive self-image fell to his lot, this anxiety given by changes is more easily overcome (the individual is characterized by positive self-realization intent, cooperation and healthy risk-taking), but if the negative self-image is scarred on his development, two responses are possible: “if the anxiety factor is accompanied by the over-emphasis on the superego, a more quiet, retreating behaviour can become a characteristic. If the anxiety factor is accompanied by aggressiveness, he is most likely to become a leading figure of his peer group with negative behaviour. Admittedly, he does not practice this pattern of behaviour for the first time in this age, but it can also appear in the preceding ones as reaction to the negative feedback on his problematic behaviour (Nagy et al, 2014)”.

Vikár (Vikár, 1999) also puts the beginning of puberty at the time of sexual maturation. He also raises the dilemma that sexual and mental maturation

is separated from each other (not to mention social maturation). According Vikár (Vikár, 1999), those can be considered as adults, who reached in his sexual development the degree that he finds satisfaction in a partner from the other gender (SIC!); finds a partner outside the family and takes on the adult, individual way of life and fate liability. The problem not only covers the opposite sex partner's somewhat outdated idea in 1999, but that in the three criteria, characteristics of intellectual, psychological and social maturity are mixed (cf.: Criterion 3 and 2).

Spranger (Spranger, 1929) describes adolescence as the period of the autonomous psychic development, which is not primarily based on biological and social grounds (Vikár, 1999). Similarly, Bühler puts formation of the individual self at the centre in adolescence (Bühler, 1925). According to Wallon (Wallon, 1971), the most important feature of puberty, beyond the sexual maturation, is that no specific action or goal-oriented friendships are made during the period, but the spiritual community dominates. Piaget determines the adolescence period as the internalization of mental operations, the systematic way of thinking, the ability to try out the possibilities in thought (Piaget, 1970).

During adolescence, parental authority, but in general, the reassessment of attitudes to power, the search for new reference group (Bandura, 1992) and consequently increase of the importance of the peer group. In this context, interesting dichotomy can be observed in adolescence: while in the "real" focus of conflicts stands the family and all its corollary, the importance of family shows a declining trend, while that of the contemporaries an increasing one (Csíkszentmihályi- Larson, 2012). The adolescent is less and less satisfied with the answers of his parents; he is increasingly looking for his own self-determination. First of all, the personal spatial interactions help in carrying out this process of self-determination; provide a realistic reflection and help in the orientation in the dichotomy of uniqueness and the community, and that of personalization and socialization. Such a self-measuring situation, among others, is the peer group, where the adolescent can experience himself, getting assistance to adapt to the new challenges of life (Buda, 2005)¹⁴⁵.

3. From psychological maturity to sociological and social maturity: young adulthood (post-adolescence) (approximately from 19 years of age to 25-30 years of age). In postmodern societies, between adulthood and adolescence, a new stage of life fits, characterized by a greater autonomy than in the case of

adolescents (Cole-Cole, 1997), but its responsibility going for adults is less. Thus, in young adulthood, the autonomy of action for young people increases, meanwhile, their protection ceases, while the full potential repertoire of adulthood has not yet passed by the society (Vaskovics, 2000). The career postponement separates the psychological and social maturity from each other; from the stage of life legally interpreted as adulthood, social integration¹⁴⁶ is fulfilled in the period of young adulthood (Somlai, 1997). There are more and more young adults, who are not independent in socio-economic sense (Böhnisch, 2000), thus cannot be considered an adult.

During this period, perception of reality becomes realistic; the thought processes are on high level; there is a wide range of susceptibility. Full mental maturity is typical; those at this age have their own opinions; they are very receptive to new things and are purposeful (József, 2011). With the termination of institutional, mandatory group membership - class -, the number of friends decreases, but the emotional content of friendships deepens. Integration needs to social life is also a characteristic of this phase of life, as well as the search (search for place, answer, partner) functions become more purposeful (Nagy et al, 2014). According to Zinnecker, this stage of life is a kind of moratorium, when the society gives exemption from adult liabilities (Zinnecker, 1993, 2006), and together with it, a specific youth culture¹⁴⁷ develops, forming a distance at the same time between the family roles of childhood and social roles of adulthood (Parsons, 1982).

This (extended) period is the era of dating, and the experience of intimacy, but increasingly belongs to this age the career start, self-ownership (private home, car etc.), due to the acquisition of which, the first childbearing is shifted to a later stage. Many young people are experiencing this period without too much difficulty, mostly with the facilitating support of friends and family, with the minimal recourse to the professional and non-professional youth services (facilitators, see: below). Many, however, as a result of the rapidly changing social conditions have to "face such challenges that are outside of their immediate environment's experience and practice. For this reason, they need to request for external help: to turn to such a youth service turn where they offer a wide range of possibilities assisting in the solution of the situation - but in a way to let them make their own decisions, so they can exercise, and experience their increasing autonomy, as well"(Szabó, 2009). Among adults criteria belong the biological-calendar and sociological maturity (legal

maturity and the rights and responsibilities involved; independent, purposeful and realistic view of life and decision-making ability and the awareness of inherent responsibilities; the suitability to live independently, in relationships, and to start a family). According Vaskovics (Vaskovics, 2000), those of full age (1), leading a separate household in an own apartment (2), financially independent (3), making important decisions without parental intervention (4) and accepting themselves as adults (5) can be called actually adults¹⁴⁸.

The detachment started earlier gets stronger in adolescence, but it is delayed beyond the end of adolescence. It is also the basis for our statement: the detachment lasts until the end of young adulthood. Zinnecker characterizes the access to and participation in cultural, political and consumer segment to be adulthood (regardless of the earning activity and family formation). Typical events of the family separation are the following (of course, not in a predetermined order; this no longer can be set up today):

- legal separation;
- the first moving out of the parental home;
- starting the first regular work-financial independence;
- completing the school giving the highest level of education;
- marriage or cohabitation, childbearing (see: Table 11).

Looking at these patterns we can conclude that previously each turning point occurred in one's life in general before the age of 30. Today, this image, the separation process of the young people from the family has also changed. While their biological maturation occurs in increasingly earlier ages, their social maturation does more and more later, so adolescence is getting more prolonged. The former linearity of studying-working is broken, often becomes parallel or cyclic, young people often go back to school after a few years of work, or in addition to it.

Detachment dimensions	Addiction (youth)	Independence (adulthood)
Detachment in the legal sense	Underage status, limited capacity of making businesses, making decisions under parental scrutiny	Obtaining opportunities for making businesses without limitation, pushing forward own actions without parental control
Detachment from under one roof	Parents' household	Moving out of the parents' house, and leading an own, independent household, independent of the parental home
Material and financial detachment	Financial indigence	Financial independence by own earning opportunities, regular creation of financial assets above subsistence level
Completion of school	School attendance	Eliminated school attendance
Relationship, birth of the first child	Lack of permanent relationship, childlessness	Permanent relationship or birth of children

Table 11: Detachment dimensions and characteristics of growing up
 (source: based on Vaskovics, 2000)

In fact, some elements of the description have already been available, but the involvement of dealing with youth, leisure pedagogy, its interpretation from the youth affairs' perspective (defining boundaries, age groups and maturity terms) as well as the involvement of responsible childhood in the youth interpretation framework have not happened yet, furthermore, it can be used and used in theory and practice as well (e.g.: National Youth Strategy).

5. Immature?- Proof of the age classification of youth affairs paradigm based on large-scale youth research data¹⁴⁹

Below, in the light of the large-scale youth research data of Ifjúság 2000, 2004, 2008 and Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Youth2000 2004, 2008 and the Hungarian Youth 2012) - using the data of the age and the biological, psychological and social maturity - we try to empirically prove that the age measured in years and the age based on maturity concepts are different. The data collection of research was conducted in a representative sample of 15-29 year olds in Hungary, by asking 8,000 people¹⁵⁰. Similarly, for the year-based classification, maturity model supposes a dichotomy, namely, according to the different maturity dimensions; the studied age group is divided into mature/not mature groups, "tertium non datur".

Methodological characteristics

A question giving the indicator of biological maturity was not included in the 2000 survey, thus we had no opportunity to create a complete typology. However, as studies associated with physiological maturation almost unanimously place its occurrence before the age of 14, the 15-29 year-old age group providing the sample of data collection was treated as homogeneous in this respect. The physiological maturation for girls (although the process starts earlier with the strengthening of secondary sexual characteristics) is connected to the first period (menarche), while for boys, to the first ejaculation. Both the average and the median menarche and ejaculation occurs at the age of 12.7, which means that the sexual maturation practically occurs at the same age, and even these data are essentially unchanged for a decade (Forrai, 2009). Other research has shown that the average age of the first sexual experience among boys can be put at the age of 13.56, while at the age of 13.97 among girls (Antropometria, 2013). This means that the complete biological sample was "rightly" categorized as mature.

However, the surveys in 2004, 2008 and in 2012 included questions on sexual habits, although, as in previous studies, we had to face serious methodological problems here, as well. In our understanding, biological maturity means reproductive function, i.e. the ability of sexual life and not the start of actual sexual activity. The questionnaires, however, only asked about the start of sexual life, and so it has become one of the most problematic points¹⁵¹ of our analysis. The questions in the questionnaire were as follows:

- In 2004: “At what age you lived sexual life for the first time?”
- In 2008 and 2012: “At what age did you start your sexual life?”.

Based on the answers can be given to questions, therefore, those youngsters were considered to be biologically mature, who have already started their sexual lives, while those were categorized immature in these terms who were inexperienced in this field until the response period, that is, they have not lived sexual life yet. Without a doubt, this is a weak point of our analysis, since the biological maturation does not occur with the start of sexual life, but with the emergence of the ability for it, but it was not possible to measure due to the lack of data.

The existence of psychological maturity was measured basically on relation to the personal plans, based on the questions of Ifjúság2000 (Youth2000) large-scale youth research. We considered those young people to be mature, for whom one of the purchases of their own house, independent living, and independence from the parents or family formation was considered to be due or desirable in the upcoming future. This means that among their future plans (personal ideas to be implemented within 5 years), occurred the included response options (in the first or second place). By contrast, under our logic, those young people counted to be psychologically immature whose personal plans for the near future did not show needs for self-sufficiency and independent decision-making. That is, their future plans were not defined by family formation, childbearing or the creation of their own household and home.

Looking at the 2004 data collection, we were able to grasp the criteria of psychological maturity in independence. Psychologically, we considered those young people to be mature, for whom at least two of the following statements are true:

- independently comes and goes,
- has been on holiday alone,
- s/he has already been in some kind of festival.

The 2008 survey did not include any questions associated with psychological adulthood, so in this timeline, we cannot provide information on the psychological maturity, what is more, our model is also breached so. However, the most recent, that is, the 2012 survey has been given the opportunity to place the measuring of psychological maturation’s centre of gravity primarily on behavioural and mentality beyond the plans. Those young people were clas-

sified into the group of matures, for whom the independent decision-making, planning for the future, responsible action and identification with adult identity is more typical than the average. We made a major component out of the four statement-related responses:

- In important issues of his life decides independently.
- Has specific plans for the future.
- Always considers the possible consequences of his decisions.
- Feels to be an adult.

As a result of this, we considered those young people to be mature from psychological aspects, the sum of whose responses, that is, their major component values have shown an above-average value.

As the indicator of social maturity, the realization of independence linked to different was considered. Sociologically, we called those young people to be mature who share a common household with their spouse / life partner or have their own children or live in separate households from their parents / grandparents. These three indicators were obtained from the data of all the four studies, so there was no need for correction; that is why the sociological dimension tends to be the most powerful in its continuity.

Biological maturation

In 2004, 84% of the 15-29 age group counted to be biologically mature, while in 2008 and 2012, 81-81% of them. The breakdown by age groups suggests that in respect of biological maturation, mostly the 20-24 year-olds and 25-29 year-olds are close to each other (see: Table 12). While among the youngest, generally every second young people live sexual life, among the older age group this figure is nearly double that number; in their case, a minimal difference can be experienced.

	2000	2004	2008	2012
Total	n.a.	84	81	81
15-19-year-olds	n.a.	54	53	50
20-24-year-olds	n.a.	93	92	93
25-29-year-olds	n.a.	98	96	97

($p \leq 0,001$)

Table 12: Proportion of young people biologically considered to be mature by age group, 2000-2012 ($N_{2000} = 3392$, $6552 = N_{2004}$, $N_{2008} = 7823$; % distribution) (Source: own editing)

Psychological maturation

It can be said that by examining the 15-29 age group, two out of three young people are considered to be psychologically mature, while in 2012, only every second (see: Table 13). The data show that psychological maturity is more typical of over 19 years of age than under it. Among the 15-19-year-olds, in case of 3-4 young people out of ten the signs of psychic maturity can be measured which statement was true in each test year. Among 20-24 year-olds, an average of three out of four young people are prone to this kind of maturity, and the result of the oldest age group does not show a significant leap from this either. With an amount of caveat that in 2012 the age group rates are 10-15% lower than the previous ones. In the case of young people over 25 years of age, only seven out of ten young people considered to be mature in terms of the psychological dimension.

	2000	2004	2008	2012
Total	66	65	?	54
15-19-year-olds	38	40	?	30
20-24-year-olds	73	74	?	59
25-29-year-olds	80	77	?	69

($p \leq 0,001$)

Table 13: Proportion of young people psychologically considered to be mature by age group, 2000-2012 ($N_{2000} = 5359$, $3392 = N_{2004}$, $N_{2012} = 7823$; % distribution) (Source: own editing)

Social maturation

Based on the data, the lowest level of maturity can be experienced in this respect among young people. In 2000, 36, in 2004, 39, in 2008 33 and in 2012, 34% of the age group studied counted to be a mature individual in the dimension of social maturity (Table 14). In the youngest age group, the number of young people can be called socially mature is insignificant; although this proportion is increasing among 20-24 year-olds, but still remains a minority. The fact that among the 25-29-year-olds, only two-thirds of the age group has some criteria of social maturity is consistent with the phenomenon of post-adolescence known from the literature (Vaskovics, 2000; Somlai et al, 2007).

As we have seen so far, while biological maturation characterizes the whole of the oldest members (25-29-year-olds) of the age group studied, the psychological and social maturation is much more protracted. The psychological and social maturity of a quarter or third of the age group is yet to come. These two values of indicators show that both the independent action and the accompanying responsibility, both independent living and detachment from parents is shifted to a subsequent period for many. Presumably we can find in this area a real homogeneity among young people in their thirties, that is, maturity typical of young people as a whole in psychological and sociological terms, as well.

	2000	2004	2008	2012
Total	36	39	33	34
15-19-year-olds	6	6	5	9
20-24-year-olds	29	31	28	28
25-29-year-olds	66	68	63	63

($p \leq 0,001$)

Table 14: Proportion of young people socially considered to be mature by age group, 2000-2012 ($5359 = N_{2000}, N_{2004} = 3392, 6552 = N_{2008}, N_{2012} = 7823$; % distribution) (Source: own editing)

Maturity model

The 15-29-year-old age group was classified into 6 types along the three dimensions of maturity (see: Table 15). Those who are not considered to be mature in biological, psychological or social terms were considered to be members

of responsible childhood. Those young people were tagged as adolescent who already live sexual life, but do not show the signs of either psychological or social maturity. Young adults, in addition to the biological maturity, carry the signs of psychological maturity as well, but they are not independent from sociological point of view. Those young people were considered to be adults who count to be mature based on the indicators of all the three dimensions, that is, they are biologically, psychologically and socially mature.

In addition, however, atypical categories were born as well, but two of these (1. biologically and psychologically immature, sociologically mature; 2. biologically immature, but psychologically and socially mature) possessed a minimum (maximum 1%) ratio (so out of the 8 principle category, the 6 the actual type were established). Young people can be characterized by the lack of biological and sociological maturity, however, with psychological maturity were tagged as precocious, and those characterized by sexually and socially mature, but psychologically immature recalled to be forced adults.

	Biological maturation	Psychological maturation	Social maturation
Responsible childhood members	-	-	-
Adolescents	+	-	-
Young adults	+	+	-
Adults	+	+	+
Psychologically precocious	-	+	-
Forced adults	+	-	+

Table 15: The logic of typology can be drawn based on the three-dimensional maturity (Source: own editing)

In 2000, the responsible childhood category was not relevant, since all the young people in the sample were considered biologically mature. A quarter of the age group was made up by adolescents, nearly four-tenths by young adults and three tenths by adults¹⁵². However, in addition, almost tenth of the generation was called to be forced adults who are mature in biological and social terms, but are not characterized by psychological maturity. The category of psychologically precocious was not interpreted either, in the absence of the measurability of biological maturity.

In 2004, members of responsible childhood made up one-tenth of the age group studied, adolescents close to eighth of it, while every third young people counted to be young adults, three young people out of ten were considered to be adults (see: Table 16). In 2012, compared to previous measurement data, we can experience growth in the rate of the members of responsible childhood and adolescents, however, decrease in the rate of adults and young adults.

This supports the phenomenon mentioned earlier, which claims that young people become mature later, get independent later, that is, responsible childhood and adolescence is prolonged and young adulthood is dated later. Adulthood only reached a fifth of the age group studied already, despite the fact that in 2012 the 25-29-year-olds made up 35% of the entire age group studied. This means that even this age group cannot be considered clearly an adult.

	2000	2004	2008	2012
Responsible childhood members	n.a.	11	?	13
Adolescents	26	13	?	22
Young adults	38	32	?	27
Adults	28	28	?	22
Psychologically precocious	n.a.	5	?	5
Forced adults	8	11	?	11

Table 16: Evolution of the maturity model, 2000-2012 ($5359 = N_{2000}$, $N_{2004} = 3392$, $N_{2012} = 7823$; % distribution) (Source: own editing)

The correlation of certain types of the maturity model with different age groups is shown by Tables 17-18-19. From these it is clear that the majority of adolescents (39-62%) belong to the 15-19 age groups, like the vast majority of adults (64-75%) are members of the 25-29 age group. Half of young adults (46-50%) can be classified in the group of 20-24-year-olds. Six-seventh of forced adults (58-71%) strengthens the group of those above 24 years of age.

	15-19-year-olds	20-24 -year-olds	25-29-year-olds	Total
	column percentages row percentages total percentages			
Responsible childhood members	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Adolescents	62	31	7	100
	60	22	5	26
	16	8	2	26
Young adults	24	49	27	100
	34	50	29	38
	9	19	10	38
Psychologically precocious	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Forced adults	5	24	71	100
	2	5	15	8
	0	2	6	8
Adults	4	32	64	100
	4	24	50	28
	1	9	18	28
Total	27	37	36	100
	100	100	100	100
	27	37	36	100

(p ≤ 0,001)

Table 17: Evolution of the maturity model by age group in 2000
 $(N_{2000} = 5359; \text{ % distribution})$ (Source: own editing)

	15-19-year-olds	20-24 -year-olds	25-29-year-olds	Total
	column percentages row percentages total percentages			
Responsible childhood members	90 35 10	7 3 1	3 1 0	100 11 11
Adolescents	48 22 6	33 14 4	19 6 3	100 13 13
Young adults	24 27 8	46 48 15	30 24 10	100 32 32
Psychologically precocious	66 11 3	29 4 1	5 1 0	100 5 5
Forced adults	8 3 1	30 10 3	62 16 7	100 11 11
Adults	2 2 1	23 21 7	75 52 20	100 28 28
Total	27 100 27	37 100 37	36 100 36	100 100 100

(p ≤ 0,001)

Table 18: Evolution of the maturity model by age group in 2004
 $(N_{2004} = 3381; \text{distribution})$ (Source: own editing)

	15-19-year-olds	20-24 -year-olds	25-29-year-olds	Total
	column percentages row percentages total percentages			
Responsible childhood members	88 39 12	8 3 1	4 1 0	100 13 13
Adolescents	39 28 9	45 28 10	16 10 4	100 22 22
Young adults	18 16 5	50 39 13	32 24 8	100 27 27
Psychologically precocious	70 10 3	22 3 1	8 1 0	100 5 5
Forced adults	11 4 1	31 10 3	58 19 7	100 11 11
Adults	5 3 1	27 17 6	68 45 15	100 22 22
Total	31 100 31	35 100 35	35 100 35	100 100 100

(p ≤ 0,001)

Table 19: Evolution of the maturity model by age group in 2012 ($N_{2012} = 7609$; % distribution) (Source: own editing)

The tables recorded significant correlation between the created typology, that is, the maturity model and the data measured between the age groups. On this basis, it can be summed up that the importance of the age groups is demonstrated in the development and levels of maturity of young people. The age group studied cannot be considered unified from this point of view, since the levels of biological, psychological and social maturity levels are not nearly synchronized with the age of the individuals. To this, the 25-29-year-olds can be mentioned as marked examples, because among them, every fourth-third young people cannot be considered mature from social point of view, that is,

does not lead independent households, strongly linked to his parents from sociological point of view, is not yet independent in this area. Such as the third of adolescents, and even nearly half in 2012 has to be sought among the 20-24-year-olds, and not among those aged 15-19. The data suggest that young people become mature later; get independent later, that is, responsible childhood and adolescence is prolonged and young adulthood is dated later.

In 2000, only 28% of the studied age group under 29 years of age could be considered entirely mature, that is, an adult, based on our maturity model, that is, about a quarter of the young people were in controversial situation based on the two models (it is a paradoxical situation if those younger than 29 years of age are considered adults based on all three dimensions, and if those over the age of 29, are not according to one dimension, but the research did not ask those over older 29 years of age).

In 2004, we could also experience a similarly big difference between the two concepts of adults: on the basis of the maturity model, 28% of the 15-29-year-olds were considered to be an adult.

In 2012, based on the complex model taking into account three types of maturity, 22% of the age group counted to be an adult, that is, mature in terms of all three dimensions.

The situation is further overshadowed by the fact that we examine the various maturity levels separately. In 2004, 2%, in 2012, 3% of young people older than 18 considered being immature in all the three terms, i.e. in terms of biological, psychological and social maturity. In 2000 and 2004, one in four (25-25%) in 2012, one in three (33%) young people older than 18 years of age - that is considered legally an adult - were characterized by psychological immaturity. In terms of social dimension, the gap between adult concepts is even more pronounced. In 2000, 56% of young people aged over 18 was immature in the social sense; in 2004, this ratio was 51% and by 2012, it increased to 58%. That is, only four or five tenths of young people legally considered an adult possess the marks of social maturity. It indicates the continuity and intensity of the phenomenon of post-adolescence that in 2012, the proportion of young people categorized immature both psychologically and socially showed an increase compared to the results in previous years.

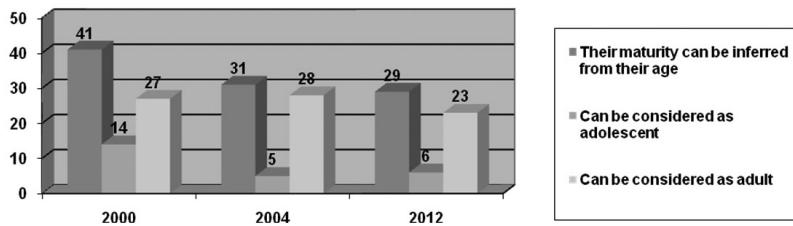


Figure 6: The correlation of age and the maturity model studied ($N_{2000} = 5359$; $3392 = N_{2004}$, $N_{2012} = 7823$, % distribution) (Source: Ifjúság2000, Ifjúság2004, Magyar Ifjúság 2012)

In 2000, the under-18s accounted for the fifth of 15-29 year olds (21%); in 2004 and 2012, a quarter of them (i.e. 24%) could be classified in this age group. It reflects the weakness of the age-based classification of young people that it shows the extent of biological, psychological and social maturity of only a fraction of the age group. In 2000, the age of four out of ten young people, for 2004, however, only that of three out of ten young people marked his real maturity, which ratio remained nearly the same degree for 2012. Thus, in 2000, on the basis of age (15-18 years old) and the maturity typology examined, only 14% of the age group were said to be adolescent; the statement was true for 5% of them in 2004, while for 6% of them in 2012. For adults (over 18 years of age), a decreasing trend can be experienced: in 2000 27%, in 2004 28%, but by 2012, only 23% was the percentage of those young people who can be considered mature, partly because of their age, and partly in biological, psychological and social terms. It seems, therefore, that the saying is valid for the projection of youth as well: age is just a number; results of the model confirm that age nowadays is increasingly unable to serve as a guide to the understanding of the actual level of maturity of young people (Figure 6).

According to the criticism of the paradigm, the age-group model is too simplistic; instead of its sharp age boundaries, the “soft variables” proposed by the train of thought may be suitable for the “more realistic” definition of youth, however, what the model wins with the frame of reference selection, loses at the group classifications. In addition, the loss of the statistical classification of age complicates the possibility of measurement. And although its strength is the synthesis of the theories of various disciplines, its weakness is the empirical proof: since to its verification, it is essential to take into account

the age and overall, it creates less homogeneous (clearly defined) groups.

The biggest difficulty of the paradigm is given by the data used. The four national youth research completed so far build on, so to say, four largely separate toolbars (variable list) is built; the variability of the issues involved and the question modes, the sub-samples, as well as the presence or absence of deep drillings put into question the longitudinal verification of the life course approach, and the measurability of its legitimacy. Yet the validity of the approach can be supported by even the long-term, trend-like, comparative data analysis recording changes, and by modelling based on these. In addition, following the differences in the structure and content of the questionnaires, creating each maturity dimension requires and allows strong research subjectivity. Besides, the problem raised in connection with the new silent generation paradigm is given (Róbert-Valuch, 2013): building on the results of the panel research would allow for a better assessment of the validity of the maturity-based approach, since the comparability of the available databases is limited because of the differences discussed earlier. Further critical aspect to be emphasized: since the youth affairs paradigm is based on cross-sectional research, uniqueness in the lives of individuals cannot be known; the previously mentioned non-linear walks of life (see Beck, 2003; Dwyer-Win, 2006) remain hidden, only the life situation and attribute known at the time of the survey is recorded. Think of a newly unemployed young person who is forced to move back to his parents, although in recent years, he has led a separate household, had a permanent job with independent living. This case, in terms of the paradigm, only records the current situation and does not recognize the life history characteristics.

IV. A POSSIBLE THEORETICAL DESCRIPTION OF LEISURE PEDAGOGY: THE SERVICE ENVIRONMENT

*"We see ... them when they are at school
but we cannot see them if they are next to it or outside;
we see them if they are acute patients –
but we cannot see them when they are risking their health,
we see them if they became unemployed -
but we cannot see them if they fail because of their lack of ability to work;
we host them when they need help –
and those concerned are notified about the help –
but we do not "care about" them
if they do not come into contact with the system,
etc.
(National Youth Strategy, 2009)*

1. The tradition of social pedagogy and animation

To youth affairs, mostly the socio-educational tradition stands close, as youth work actually became independent from social pedagogy (Hamalainen, 2012), even if counter-balancing it in many places (target group, evolution, etc.)

The concept with German origin, used in almost half of the European states, (Teleki 2010), as well as socio-educational thinking has always questioned the raison d'etre of the authority based education, but at least its primacy (see, Natorp, Baumer, or even Wilker's Lindenholz (Kozma-Tomasz, 2000 , Neill's Summerhill (Neill, 2009). But even belong here Pestalozzi's Lenard and Gertrud or Stansi's letters (Pestalozzi, 1959)¹⁵³ or Key's Children centuries (Key, 1976)), taking into account the child's interests, which means both the autonomous fulfilment and the social inclusion aspects.

The concept of social pedagogy is in itself an admission that education is a community process and not just a relationship depending on an educator (Natorp, 2000), and even the existence of social pedagogy means the admission of social and pedagogical vulnerability (Winkler, 2000). The development of social pedagogy is largely due to the fact that the school could not compensate, during the transition from the pre-modern era to modernity, for the altering of the family and neighbourhood environment (Niemeyer, 2000).

In the development of social pedagogy probably played a role, in fact, that pedagogical individualism in modernity gained an almost exclusive field in education science (Schlieper, 2000).

The fundamentals of the domestic social pedagogy are rooted in the study of children, and appear in free education, talent management, folk high schools, in variations of alternative pedagogies¹⁵⁴(Kozma-Tomasz, 2000).In a sense, the tasks of domestic social pedagogy are still characterized by the compensation of the individualism-based, traditionally selective, competitive and rigid school (Pornói, 2016). We try to introduce those, from the youth affairs' point of view relevant, aspects with which the school (and the family) is struggling in the post-modern social space.

To the concept of social pedagogy

According to Baumer, social pedagogy is all that is education, but not school and not family, that is, education is the theory and practice of this “third field”, encompassing all educational territories, which are outside the school and the family (Baumer, 1929).Nohl identifies the concept with caregiver education (Nohl, 2000), and considers f youth care to be his field instead of youth protection (Müller, 1992), which considers not only treatment but prevention as well, prompting the individual to take responsibility.Mollenhauer (Mollenhauer, 2000) understands the sum of institutional assets under the concept.Schlieper considers these definitions to be inaccurate. In his view, neither the state activities of youth care, nor the education outside the school and the family covers well the concept of social pedagogy, because social education is going on within the family and school as well, on the other hand, while the task of state education task is, for instance, vocational training, it is not part of social pedagogy (Schlieper, 2000). Mollenhauer also goes beyond Baumer’s definition, saying that it would mean only pragmatic considerations. In his view, the essence of social pedagogy is meant by the individual’s social-integration and by the intergenerational relationships (Mollenhauer, 2000).While support, as a community activity, is meaningful without pedagogy, pedagogy and social pedagogy cannot be interpreted in the lack of the environment. According to Rauschenbach (Rauschenbach, 2000), social pedagogy does not designate a clear space for himself; according to Baumer’s categories, adult education, special education and vocational training would be part of the social pedagogy, but in fact it is not the case.

Schlieper (Schlieper, 2000) considers social pedagogy to be a scientific discipline, while calls its practice to be social education. In his interpretation, we consider the social environment in vain, when during education, always the immediate and never general environment of each individual can influence only. While Baumer (Baumer, 1929) considers social pedagogy as one segment of pedagogy, Natorp (Natorp, 2000), standing on the ground of constructivist pedagogy, generally considers social pedagogy to be the true pedagogy, arguing that education in principle is not possible at all without attitudes to social environment. Natorp, therefore, does not recognize social pedagogy as part of pedagogy, but as a sense of understanding of pedagogy, which puts the community, not the individual, at the centre (Natorp, 2000), thereby putting an equal sign between pedagogy and social pedagogy. Because of the wide range of ideas, Tuggener (Tuggener, 2000) not accidentally notes that the manifold practical application of social pedagogy is inversely proportional with its clarity.

Overall, social pedagogy considers two main traditions of its own: on the one hand, education science, on the other hand, the social work. Diesterweg, probably the first user of the concept likely wished to express that the concept has educational and social "responsibility" at the same time (Tuggener, 2000); it is part of both education science and social work discourse (Rauschenbach, 2000). "The development of social pedagogy has occurred within the education science, but later, combined with social work, has grown into a new discipline, in which both elements play an equally important role," - says Thiersch (Thiersch, 2000). Thole (Thole, 2000), on that basis, outlines four models of social pedagogy:

- Social pedagogy, such as school pedagogy, comparative pedagogy or pedagogy history is a branch of pedagogy that will embrace the concept of community life education outside the school, so based on its theory, it is entitled to have a place in the education science.
- Social pedagogy is the "care science" of social work.
- Social pedagogy is part of both social sciences and education sciences because neither the "social work-science", nor the education science alone is able to mean an exclusive system of reference for social pedagogy.
- Social pedagogy, as a kind of scientific "wanderer", is sometimes acrea-

tive-artist, sometimes a healer- empath, but is not looking for a scientific home for itself, “according to its own wish, it is a scientific stateless”

According to Thole (Thole, 2000), social pedagogy has no real identity; its theoretical interpretation is accidental and not shared by all relevant actors; its practical location is not always clear; the training is not unified; its reference points and coordinates are not stable; it has no closed semantic system, and even its basic concepts are controversial. According to also Rauschenbach (Rauschenbach, 2000), there is no disciplinary identity of the concept. In fact, the social-pedagogy expression also describes a residual category, and the discipline has been placed at a disadvantage by its naming: the concept does not speak for itself; it has no analogies and images, cannot arouse unified association; it is only an artificially created technicality, thus it always needs to be explained. The scientific community contests its scientific identity and considers it to be too practical; for the professional field, it is far too general and theoretical. Yet here a kind of mutual learning process would be possible: the scientific logic could provide to the other a starting point, connection, connectivity options in the field of theory and of general developments, while professional experience could do so in connection with the practical norms (Thole, 2000).

We cannot forget either that, according Thole (Thole, 2003) “the identity of social pedagogy lies in, the still unchanged, absence of identity: social pedagogy has non-equivalent and clear place in practice; the training has non-unified image; it has no scientific basis accepted by all representatives; it has no solid theoretical, scientific and technical co-ordinates and reference points”. The definition of social pedagogy is extremely heterogeneous (Hamalainen, 2012); it means, among other things¹⁵⁵:

- one of the theories and practices of education that treats social affairs prominently;
- an item, for social development on the importance of training;
- A social movement, which underlines the importance of training in the social development;
- an education theory rule, a special slice of education, or an independent discipline;
- a system of social work which sees the management of social exclusion in training.

Social work and social pedagogy

According to Thiersch (Thiersch, 2000) social pedagogy (but the entire education science) (would be)absolutely necessary to open in front of social tasks; social pedagogy has not only education science, but also social work roots. Tuggener draws the attention (Tuggener, 2000), that counselling in social work has always been a good way of problem management, which assumes equal partnership relationships, but which pedagogy was often able to interpret only hierarchically, in educator-educated relationship. It is no coincidence that while pedagogy tried to set up long-range theories, making itself to be locked up and static, as well as slowly reacting, social work remained open and dynamic in terms of social aspects. However, he thinks, in any human activity - if not otherwise, hidden - there is an educational intent.

According to Thiersch (Thiersch, 2000), social pedagogy the possibility of compensation for those in difficulty, and Teleki (Teleki 2004) also classifies social pedagogy to social work, and he even sees social responsibilities - through social pedagogy - at school. Mollenhauer (Mollenhauer, 2000) sees in social pedagogy, the one hand, the intent of rising of the lower strata population, on the other hand, the intention of learning about social facts and interpretations, under the banner of which the most diverse intentions and goals are set together (c.f.: the interpretation of the Hungarian development of social pedagogy: national education, talent management, free school, etc.).

According to Winkler (Winkler, 2000), the task of social pedagogy is the processing of market economy risks. Social pedagogy today does not only appear in crisis situations, but it considers its prevention to be its own as well. It is no longer responsible for the management of problem situations, but the design of such abilities and skills, which enables integration into society and the prevention of these problem situations. While social pedagogy synthesizes a social being from the individual, it has to unleash him from social determination (Winkler, 2000).

According to Thiersch (Thiersch, 2000) because of the spread of choice biographical model, the universal consultant (the actual decision instead of the young person) approach is no longer possible; it must be replaced by the helping attitude ("everyone is the greatest expert of his own life"). In light of this, according to Tuggener (Tuggener, 2000) social pedagogy –as it sets the pedagogization of poor care as a target in front of itself, but it has no image of education in general - in fact, is social work, which historically can

be divided into the sections of volunteering, professionalization and modern social work.

Thiersch (Thiersch, 2000) commits himself to the institutionalization and professionalization of social pedagogy (Thiersch, 2000): according to him, the more widespread nature of socio-educational tasks also integrated successful life worlds into its service structure¹⁵⁶. However, other skills are required to pregnancy-, marital- or career guidance in a general sense than to dependent youth or those affected by crime. He makes a distinction between the pedagogical aspects of social work and between the antropagogy-related so-called social work (irrespective of the age group, support for the most commonly expressed learning and life skills activities in connection with those in need). Fischer (Niemeyer, 2000) indicates that social pedagogy represents a new group of social professions. Trost and Mollenhauer (Schlieper, 2000), interprets social pedagogy as the basic discipline of social work, which aims to bring people back to the social unit from isolation. In this context, Schlieper (Schlieper, 2000) draws attention to the fact that by this, we just lose sight of the pedagogical goals.

Education science and social pedagogy

Nohl, unlike above, considered social pedagogy to be part of pedagogy, it is true that in addition to the leisure institutions, he assigned social work-type activities and official permissions to it (youth welfare office, Müller, 1992; Nohl 2000; Niemeyer, 2000), which is directly contrary to the present-day social pedagogy and youth affairs interpretation (see the chapter on services). In his interpretation, social pedagogy embraces the arc from marriage counselling, pregnancy support through the infant's care and parents' support, as well as through educational consultant until kindergarten, day care, vocational guidance and folk high schools (Nohl, 2000). Nohl is debating with the social-work approach, arguing that social policy needs an opposite pole to display an individual responsibility as well, because the problematic situation is not only a function of the conditions; in it, the individual responsibility - at least in the recovery – can be searched. According to Niemeyer, social pedagogy “is the uniform pedagogical and psychological concept of those left to their fates” (Niemeyer, 2000).

According to Wrozyński (Wrozyński, 2000), in the development of modern society, there was a strong belief that to all the problems of youth education,

school education will be able to give answers, among other things, creating opportunities for everyone to start a career from the same situation. However, the introduction of compulsory education was not able to handle the transition to modernity alone, so it was necessary for the socio-educational institutions ‘calling for life (Giesecke, 2000). Social pedagogy’s - but Wrozyński (Wrozyński, 2000) considers the name of social pedagogy to be more appropriate - formation just meant the failure of this hope and the response given to it (which of course does not mean that the school did not help in this meritocratic idea, but in any case, it meant that the school is not the only one, just the first step, on this road). In fact, just the school, “revealed the complexity of conditions ensuring the initiation of the life course”, the extreme prerequisites became evident then (Wrozyński, 2000).

In Kozma’s interpretation (Kozma, 1999), education sociology¹⁵⁷ stands out from the many approaches; that education is the “problem” and social research is the device to it, while its essence is the introduction into society (education). In our interpretation, this is not really different from the frameworks of social pedagogy, as both paradigms put education issues into social context. The question is whether we understand the professional sociology of education or the social context of education under education sociology. The latter is what we would rather call social pedagogy, leaving the former as the concept of education sociology (all the more so because Kozma often calls the sociological analysis of education, that is, the sociological analysis of the social environment of socialization to be education sociology; Kozma, 1999).

According to Giesecke, while the school is historically a top-down construction (it was completed from the elite and become accessible to all social groups), social pedagogy developed bottom-up (Giesecke, 2000), since first it became available to the marginalized sections of society; it has emerged in relation to dealing with disadvantaged youth, and fulfilled so that it became accessible to all young people. In light of this, while previously the primary task of social pedagogy was the pedagogical work with the marginalized strata of society or with those physically, mentally or socially at risk or prevented (Schlieper, 2000) (e.g.: poor care, law enforcement); by now, this has become a service comprehensive to the entire social spectrum in such a way that for the traditional clients, social pedagogy remains as “hard social pedagogy”, while for the other young people, it appears as a kind of “soft social pedagogy” (Kozma-Tomasz, 2000) (saying that the mental health and

ventilation are necessary for those as well who are not struggling with declassification, socio-cultural or mental challenges). The latter social pedagogy is responsible for ensuring youth well-being, which is an activity at the intersection of social science and education science (Niemeyer, 2000).

According Schlieper (Schlieper, 2000), social pedagogy is not merely “first aid”, but “the characteristic of the whole educational immanence”, education for community by community. However, according to Natorp not the individual people are the target groups of social pedagogy, but the community itself, and the purpose is its formation (Natorp, 2000). In this regard, Schlieper calls the attention (Schlieper, 2000) that communities have to be interested in promoting their members’ goals, so even though the man is a social being, but not the individual is for the community’s welfare, but the community is for the individual’s. We can see the torsos of this misunderstanding, misinterpretation raised to “public pedagogy” in the communist, but also in the national socialist endeavours (Schlieper, 2000), which may be sufficient to influence the mass, but not to education. Schlieper also rejects that social pedagogy is integrated into any school subject or take over its location. He considers the main task of social pedagogy as to align that education is taking place in community, in the network of social contacts, while the “order of operations” is happening on the individual as an autonomous, arbitrary entity (Schlieper, 2000).

Karácsony - who can be interpreted as a social pedagogue (cf.: establishment of partnerships, holistic approach; Karácsony, 2000) - considers education to be an indirect activity which is based on social existence, social psychology, in which the partners are equal. The educator educates in any situation, and in the education situations, the focus is not on the methods, but on the depth of the relationship between each other. In the learning process, both sides are active, which can and will only be effective in the light of interactions (Karácsony, 2004), particularly in the field of the education importance of activities outside the school hours (Karácsony, 2002).

According to Winkler (Winkler, 2000), social pedagogy- based on the sample of school-needs to be institutionalized because due to the socialization become controversial and complex (Giesecke, 2000) in postmodernism, the pedagogically designed space is transformed as well. It is possible to design only certain parts of it (e.g.: schooling), so it is necessary to incorporate corrective systems. Today, it is not possible to fulfil all the tasks of socialization

in a single institution, therefore socialization can only be interpreted in the context of pedagogically designed institutions, and the individual institutions should define their pedagogical tasks here (Giesecke, 2000). Today, while the school has a task interpretation, in social pedagogy there is no accurate and unified professional profile, shape and collection of methods (Rauschenbach, 2000). This reduced role of school specifically implies the existence of over-curricular educational spaces. Social pedagogy can be a suitable device to fill these spaces, even if its spatial and temporal extensibility is much lower than that of the school space, but regardless of this, social pedagogy also has to struggle with the dysfunctions of the school environment. Thus, social pedagogy can become an equal partner with the designed educational space. According to Fischer, social pedagogy, seeking for the elimination of itself, is searching for the answer to whether the re-pedagogization of the school and the family is possible by which education beyond the school and family becomes redundant (Niemeyer, 2000).

According to Giesecke, social pedagogy has always been the stepchild of education science (Giesecke, 2000), because those thinking in institutions mainly imagined ‘normal’ socialization between the walls of the schools, while those unable to this for some reason, were left to social pedagogy. At the end of the XX. century, however, with the reinterpretation of social pedagogy –in Beck’s risk society, more or less, but everyone is at risk –its customer base widened, so the number of those working in the profession and participating in the training was increased as well (Kozma-Tomasz, 2000); it demands its own emancipation: in its minimum program, it forms its needs to make social learning taking place in the socio-educational space known besides cognitive learning in the school.

Social pedagogy in the new millennium

In connection with this emancipatory expectation, Winkler (Winkler, 2000) notes that social pedagogy has a role not only in the social care system and in educational infrastructure, but also in the interpretation and thematic (sociology and political science criteria) of social issues. Winkler also advocates for social pedagogy which is making themes of public life (Winkler, 2000) compared to the only clinical-curable self-interpretation.

The common European features of social pedagogy (Cameron-Pat, 2009) is that it deals with social problems, it approaches them multidisciplinary,

focuses on the relationship of the children-young people and adults, strengthens inter-generational relationships, it is located in the client's life situation. In addition, it is reflective, theory-based, context-oriented, creative, group and customer-focused.

While earlier in pedagogy, the appearance of community criteria should have demanded, the over-emphasis of the social side of education (or even the mention of its exclusivity) also resulted in a trap situation (Schlieper, 2000), in which thefounding fathers of the socio-educational discipline often fell into: education and pedagogy must be both individual and social.Niemeyer points out the duality of the situation: on the one hand, social pedagogy has a still long way to go to become an equal educational science, on the other hand, school education does not deal with the “problems of youth left to their fate”(Niemeyer, 2000) and “presumably, it will never acquire jurisdiction in this field”(Niemeyer, 2000).

In Kozma's approach,social pedagogy is a European practice, unfolded from the theory of milieu research, and belonging to education sociology. In the United States - although the dichotomy of pedagogy and social work they is also present - now social pedagogy rather belongs to social work that appears with each of its face in the school as well (Teleki, 2010): “the social pedagogue plays a lively role in helping for schoolchildren of all ages. S/he builds a bridge between the family home, the school and the community.... Is part of the school staff... has peculiar interdisciplinary knowledge. S/he deals with many problems of students, in particular: emotional problems weak self-confidence, child endangerment and family violence, poverty and unemployment issues, suicide and addiction issues, teenage pregnancy and their parenting tasks, unjust discrimination and with problems related to the school visit. His/her competencies include the exploration of the basic needs and necessities of the students, the design and construction of treatment and - if necessary –sending the cases to other professionals, offices”(Teleki, 2010 pp.4.).

All institutionalized education produces and recreates the former power situation (Mollenhauer, 2000). The school - due to its immanent properties – is forced to treat the personality of students on an equal footing, therefore the individual's personality will only be revealed just outside the school (in the activity field of social pedagogy). While the school is interested creating the teaching discipline, social pedagogy keeps sensitivity towards the

(spiritual-intellectual) needs in mind (Niemeyer, 2000), so the school gives support by only “keeping distance” for the completion of personal identity (Giesecke, 2000). In fact, in a sense, it just takes the freedom of students away (Mihály, 2008).

The school from evolutionary point of view... is a very important institution; we owe to it the democratic apparatus of modern states... without school... there would be no modern society “(Csányi, 2011). But not only because it teaches us to write and read, but because only “casually” (but according to Csányi, from evolutionary by-products there will often be selective advantage, cf.: hidden curriculum) it will teach to rebel against the teacher, but in general, against the power¹⁵⁸. Fóti (Fóti, 2009) and Mihály (Mihály, 2008), see the school functions fulfilment just in the breaking down of this power. The leisure time medium, among others, will be different from the school in that the roles are evolving in the function of spontaneously (or even manipulated, but showing spontaneity and not power, in Csányi’s formulation, “tyrannical”) developing community.

Coombs (Coombs, 1971) also puts dozens of crisis phenomena under the microscope, but for him, extra-curricular education means only adult education (as he is talking about life-long education). Vészi (Vészi, 1980) also suggested the critique of the classical school pictures, who, in the model of the “extended school”, complex educational centre and cultural institution - the “theme-park” of culture - imagined rather to include the world of the non-school effects.

In the institutionalized education space, the teacher is thinking by starting from this institution and role, rather than from “the socialization of children and young people’s perspective.” In addition, the over-achievement-oriented institution, little taking into account the needs contributes itself to the threat of the socialization process (Giesecke, 2000). The institutionalized school system strives to steer the generation-socialization processes to one institution if possible who are unable to comply with this institutional framework; those are trapped outside the institution (Giesecke, 2000)¹⁵⁹. In addition, school stage of life according to the Zinnecker cannot achieve its full potential just in the school, because there the increased autonomy, by other segments of society have long accepted, of the youth is not recognized, and it still conserves the traditional youth image. However, the school reaches a certain integration performance, because of its competitive and selection mechanisms, it just really does not promote social integration (Böhnisch, 2000).

According to Niemeyer (Niemeyer, 2000), the question arises: who transmitted to pedagogy the right to interpret the educational process only in the relation of the educator-student, and the unrealistic nature of institutional education is simply and additive to this. The all-day school gave such power to the teacher's hands, for the limits of which limits there is no guarantee but these guarantees can be found even in shelters, in the resticrated classes, in convents or in prisons (Illich, 1971). Illich also complains that society adopted without thinking those premises of schooling, according to which: the child's place is at the school, children learn in the school and the children can be taught only in school. Likewise thinks Mihály (Mihály, 2007) who raises the question of who and how somebody believes himself to be legitimate to educate anything from children. Mihály (Mihály, 1999) characterizes the problems of school as a social institution in six segments:

- The school forces us to conceive schooling as the only option;
- The school, as a total institution, is trying to annex the greater slice of life (in age, in numbers, in spaces for action);
- The school mainly serves the maintenance of social order;
- The school artificially generates additional education needs;
- The school preserves and transmits social inequalities and produces new ones;
- The school is an impersonal institution oppressing individuality and uniqueness and does not serve the development of the personality.

Mihály says that what seems to be necessary from here, in fact, creates fear, anxiety and frustration, creates anti-socialism, destroys the intellect and is contrary to the real needs of the individual: "individuality, uniqueness, spontaneity... at best are tolerated, but rather... considered to be a phenomenon triggering condemnation" (Mihály, 1999, pp. 87), thus creating an institutionalized childhood. The school might even be willing to distort lifelong learning into lifelong schooling (Mihály, 1999). It is also preposterous - say the school critics - that according to the logic of school, learning is the result of teaching, even though we acquire the majority of our knowledge outside of school (Illich 1971; cf.: non-formal and informal learning), e.g.: "from their age-group peers, comics, from random observations" (Illich, 1971). "The teachers and ministers are the only ones who feel empowered to horn in [without permission] people's private affairs" (Illich, 1971)¹⁶⁰.

Where the teacher, the school, the school system does not reach –Do we have, therefore, task and object of pedagogical investigation in the space outside the school?

Generally Mihály (Mihály, 1999 pp. 95) collects the school criticism characteristics:

- The school content and knowledge provided are subject of criticism;
- The organization of knowledge, the compulsory curriculum, which is impersonal and alienated are subject of criticism;
- The conditions, contents, as how this knowledge broadcast is happening are subject of criticism;
- Teaching and influencing personality are subject of criticism;
- The assumptions of school related to children (as well as to the knowledge-learning) are subject of criticism;
- The internal atmosphere and management of the school are subject of criticism;
- The relationship of educator and educated issubject of criticism.

So what are the activities, characteristics, qualities that seem to be necessary in the post-modern society, whilein the relation system of the school (especially the traditional school) and family,they are largely ignored¹⁶¹, while in the framework of a subject, it is trying to implant 20-50 000, and in the whole of primary school curriculum, about 500 000 knowledge elements into students' heads"(Gáspár, 1984)?

The elite-oriented nature of the education system does not make it easier, but also makes it difficult to step over to the youth school era, as "it selects and discriminates strongly in crisis and stagnant zones... hence it does not reduce but increases the origin- and geographical inequalities... and utterly leaves the risk of youth in the school youth era without response, and it is indifferent to young people's vulnerability" (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003).The school shows the sore lack of equal relationships between person-to-person (interpersonal) where because of the dominance of the pre-determined power positions (teacher-student), also in theory, equal relationship may be barely possible. Even the "open schools" arestruggling with this tension and alsothe formationsrelated to child protection strongly integrated in thelocal government system (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2013).

Furthermore, although by living in the society, we are all involved in various organizations, groups, companies, in fortunate cases, communities, the school is the world of artificially assembled (mostly homogeneous by age) and hierarchical groups. In this respect, in the school there is almost no possibility for the world of groups evolving free and dynamically changing group roles. The alternative schools often bump into this challenge; it is common that they fail; only in a few cases - basically between alternate forms – they succeed in the development of such communities (Nagy- Trencsényi, 2013).

Education systems not building on cooperation and based only on competition (such as most Central-European educational structures) do not build open social nets (OECD, 2014). We learn that we cannot trust in the institutions, therefore we circumvent them, but we do not build new institutions, because then we would have to rely on the organized cooperation, which we would experience as a limit of our freedom, and barrier of our prosperity (Matolcsi, 2007).

The school often does not see “beyond the classroom” while dozens of classics dozens write about the double life of the class, the revolution under the desk, eight-year war, about selection advantage from evolutionary by-product (Domokos, 1935; Buzás, 1961; Karácsony, 1999; Karácsony, 1946; Csányi, 2011). The school, with its functional approach, has difficulties tolerating errors, so it is actually against learning, since learning often scrolls forward-through errors (Winkler, 2000). It does not perceive that what cultural changes can the networks and the virtual space create; what happens in the digital space with young people and their communities (while tons of signs see the light of day in connection with this; see details at the virtual youth work). But the school - perceiving how much time young people spend on the Web – has to decide it now: it utterly expels the society-shaping force of information transformation, thereby tearing itself from reality, or is trying to adapt itself to the earthquake-like changes.

Nor is it typical that the school could support the individual in relation to identity issues: how to shape our answers, how we respond to stimuli, how we organize, express, improve ourselves, our physical, mental and spiritual selves¹⁶². Basically, in the school framework, there is no way to use the benefits of laissez faire (see also: self-improvement, self-expression, self-realization) pedagogy. Pedagogy history keeps track of rare alternative education exceptions: the Szentlőrinc attempt, school example of Jánoshalma or the

example of the true vision days can only characterize this rare example of refutation (Neill, 2009; Fóti, 2009; Gomboczné Erdei, 2015)¹⁶³.

The school's specialized subject world practically everything is lost that affects an individual's future. The young person in the structure of the subjects barely get (effective) support in connection with life strategy, personal and professional future planning, and the awareness of necessary competencies for employment, career planning, etc.

In the school, primarily, the activity of creation "with" them showing beyond "for them" is also limited. The school hardly gives ground for such an own, unique series of activities with specific aim, which is created for youth and / or with youth, a (project) limited in time, and ensures such a protected environment where the consequences of a possible failure can be reduced by educational awareness (cf.: education republic-type of student governments, Trencsényi, 2014d). Think of the fact how mainstream schools are unable to manage over-curricular and beyond the curriculum ideas, having separate set of goals.

There is hardly any way - and today it is certainly not expected from the school or from the families - to participate in service-type tasks, whether it's regular or intensive-based youth activity (clubs, camps, etc.). According to Karácsony it is important for teachers' work to happen not only in the classroom, but in addition, outside of the classroom constraints (Karácsony, 2002), although he is not in favour of "specialized" or development camps because he thinks that there, the primary aim is to get to know one another better and the common joy (this thesis is arguable, because such a latent content is hidden in it that the rest of life is joyless). If there is a possibility to do so, it takes place under the rules of predefined positions of power in the school (Trencsényi, 2007).

Yet in the age of postmodernity, the wide variety of socialization samples is not an obstacle but a precondition for successful socialization, so it is not tolerated, allowed, overlooked phenomenon, but essential, however, with the teacher only one can apply out of the many value systems (Illich, 1971)¹⁶⁴. One of the essences of youth work, however, is the possibility to offer different socialization patterns (cf. Karácsony, 2002; there is just no need for the classroom teacher of young people in youth camps).

The school does not (or hardly, but certainly not effectively) facilitate the participation of young people in public affairs (Fóti, 2009). The sum of activities asking for parts from community affairs and involved in them; activities targeting the better interiorization of democratic operation and institution systems; or the ways of learning about involving and practicing human rights are generally not typical of institutions. It does not or hardly (often under certain alternative self-definition) interprets the children's rights, the rights of young people; it is not aware of that the current state has existing obligations in connection with the enforcement of children's rights (and often teachers, regardless of their political worldview, consider children's rights codified in law to be too much) (Bíró-Nagy, 2008). School system cares little with law-awareness, neither with customers and public citizenship¹⁶⁵ nor often with the conceptually stupid exclamation of "and where are the obligations," (Nagy-Bíró, 2008). Even so, if occasionally various non-governmental youth "utopias" border the youth initiatives extending beyond the school boundaries (Bezenye, Levél, Térje's child governments (Trencsényi, 1994); the Catcher in the Rye-model, but we can talk about the sometimes accepted, sometimes outcast attempts penetrating to school from outside: from crime prevention lectures to the dispute circles).

In fact, our world will be viable if the citoyen attitude, altruism, volunteerism will be a liveable reality. At school, out of its criteria (free will, showing beyond the circle of friends, the lack of financial compensation, a public good moment), the nature of free will misses the most; the obligation-based nature of the school barely allows for pro-social activities stemming from the actual free will¹⁶⁶.

The - often homogenised-world of the lesson's logic mostly does not allow for inter-cultural sensitization, either. In fact studies of Hunyady have shown (Hunyady, 1977) that the school does not remove the external social inequalities, but also creates interior ones, a learning standards-based prestige system that permeates all other relations. The school deals with difficulties beyond the walls of the subjects (social inequalities, deprivation, deviance, learning disabilities, prevention, health promotion, etc.) only as an ancillary activity (Kozma, 1999). Health status indicators do not justify the effectiveness of school education for health and prevention (Meleg, 2013).

Intercultural learning does not only include sensitization to the differences of cultural, national, ethnic, religious affiliation; the "ordinary otherness" falls

into this category as well: the disability, sexual diversity, sexual identities, different ideological thinking, age, generational or geographic differences (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2013; Farkas, 1994) or the acceptance or the surrounding peoples (Csapó-Czachesz, 1995). However, the intercultural education - at least in principle – focuses on the tasks of not only minorities (historical, ethnic, migrant etc.), but those of the majority as well (Cs. Czahesz, 2007). "Nice" example of this lack of sensitivity, when children from Vietnam need to learn to write their names in runic script.

It is not the school system's competence to see young people not only as a student, so the examination of socially fragmented youth groups is not even particularly interesting for it, and likewise, the school system does not deal with young people, as not just a social planning related to students (and it is also not its task, in spite of all totalizing school ideas, as one condition of autonomous personality is the diverse identity, composed and compiled of a wide range of samples). This is true even if some interesting uniqueness-making a virtue out of necessity - can be caught from Makarenko's communes, through Sztehlo's Gaudipolisto Mintz's stable tennis study group (Trencsényi, 2014; Mintz, 2012). Just think about, in how many schools methodologically thorough youth research are carried out, actually exploring the living conditions, lifestyles, problems of those affected or where it is followed by youth planning - partly embracing the extracurricular space outside of learning, and considering diversity to be valuable.

The school has no interpretation of young people as future employees, entrepreneurs, unemployed, as consumers- culture producers (cf.: Trencsényi, 2013c), but there is no other social institution that would deal with the local, national and European identity, political and religious socialization, mobility and its consequences, or even migration of young people.

The school institution hardly knows what to do with the particular community creating, consuming and learning, etc. structure of marginalized groups (see also: Bernstein's language codes, or Bourdieu's concept of capital¹⁶⁷, but even the vast majority of social pedagogy tradition is such as well), with those deviating from the social norms to this or that direction, with deviances or even with criminal acts or victimization¹⁶⁸ (Mészáros, 2003).

Sometimes the situation is even more difficult if the school is trying to take on these responsibilities because its structure, processes and power structure does not really make it suitable for the treatment of these situations. If the

logic of the subject does not change, that is, beyond curricular activities only complement the formal subject-order and will not be an integral part of it, young people will consider free time residually (with the modern, outdated interpretation of leisure time), only as a complement of school time (and then work time) (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003).

For this reason, we cannot agree with Kozma's statement that if we narrow the world of social phenomena and processes to educational activity, we get social pedagogy as a result (even if with the second half of the statement, according to which the essence of social pedagogy is the realization that the educational work is intertwined with the social environment, our view is consistent).

The ones above, of course, in no way are demanding a right for a full school criticisms structure; they are not even comprehensive school assessments (see it from Goodman to Illich onwards; Goodman, 1960; Illich, 1971); they are only trying to collect the hiatus of the school as an educational-social institution from the point of view, provided that they seem to be necessary from the individual / small communities' side in terms of human quality (Mihály, 1999).

The sociocultural animation¹⁶⁹

Although the social pedagogy is the most typical pre-image of youth work (Coussé, 2009), French animation, as a community development method, strongly influenced it, as well as its socio-cultural forms (including child and youth animation).

Animator is actually the person, who encourages others for positive activity (while the meaning of anima / animus is soul, vitality; the one of animation is to vitalize, to make alive, to pin, to inspire, to fill someone with a certain feeling or atmosphere (Giczey, 2013; Udvardi Lakos, 1983). In this sense, to animate: filling a soul, a spirit into a community or society, by causing movement, activity; giving life to a group, allowing to evaluate, develop and complete itself (Udvardi Lakos, 1983). The animation is the methodology of stimulation, motivation, to which it uses as a device the common objectives and the search for the meaning of aims; actually it is the precursor of facilitation (Giczey, 2013). The animation is rooted in social work, it is an expression that everyone has the right to the resources that will allow the realization of human dignity, as well as the quality of life ensuring participation in the democratic process (Ferge, 2000).

The animation, with the internal consciousness-raising of individuals and small communities, puts these small communities in the centre of its approach. It captures the transformation of society in small community changes, as well as in the relation of communities and the social environment (according to the animation's philosophy, society itself can be activated by small groups - as the smallest individual cells (Limbos, 1985)). The animation as a concept is inherently a social psychological approach: the animator activates within a specific community, from inside, identifying with the community (Péterfi, 1987). "The animation work is designed to give participants the opportunity to discover themselves, their group, their communities, and to actively participate in its shaping. It helps relationships resulting from the coexistence of people living in different circumstances, accepting and respecting each other's values, opinions and habits, and with it, it provides an opportunity for everyone to know and locate themselves in their own communities, to be able to develop their capabilities as much as possible there" (Vercseg-Kovács, 2012 pp. 46.).

The essence of animation can be expressed partly in inducing (encouraging and assisting) an internal, intrinsic activity. Key features of animation (Udvárdi Lakos, 1983; cf.: with the organized nature of social pedagogy):

- educational-type activity outside working hours;
- meets people initiative needs, necessities and entertainment needs;
- based on voluntary activity;
- open, in principle, anyone of any age, gender, profession can be involved;
- in theory it does not have pre-requirements (exams, degree, etc.);
- generally it takes place in groups, in institutions offering versatile options;

The animation is a postmodern and community-oriented activity: working with the local population to solve problems, "creating" independently acting, responsible citizens, while dealing with problems globally in a comprehensive way: it does not only treat the partners as passive recipients, but also involves them in its activities, it knows that the same problem appears in a variety of ways such as in schools, family, workplace (Zrinszky, 1996).

The animation's approach is not inherently revolutionary: it does not want to implement social changes with the change in the economic and political

funds, but with the inner empowerment of individuals and small communities (Udvardi Lakos, 1983). The social-psychological point of view as basic a priori means: it puts small communities in the centre of its perceptions; it can capture social transformation primarily as changes in small communities, as well as in the relation of communities and the social environment. In societies, socio-cultural animation's often pronounced (and experienced) daily concern is social alienation, manipulation, and action against the trends of the "consumer society". Such a notion of animation essentially builds on the acceptance of specific "rules of the game", that is, after all on the interior improving of the foundations of the existing social order. It is closely related to the fact that animation appears essentially as a method for inclusion and participation in a community that – with the animator's mediation – serves the improvement of social relationships.

The animator, in this way, is the person who brings to life the energy of the groups and individuals; capable of helping self-organization and self-unfolding; a catalyst for community activities and is a leader without power. The animator is a person who promotes self-steering implemented by the group's own members, active participation in the life of the group, of self-awareness; that the group can determine its own goals and choose the most appropriate means to achieve them. The animator is the member of the group in its particular unique status. In essence, he gives up his privileged leadership role in which all would depend on him; he does not want to use the situation to enforce his own point of view, values and goals on the group (Limbos, 1985). The animator for the community attempts to awaken, induce creativity and the free self-expression of members, focusing on¹⁷⁰:

- the active participation, self-expression of members;
- free connection to the objectives set, the common elaboration of tools, the awareness of opportunities;
- positive personal relationship among the members;
- commitment to the development of society;
- the personal autonomy of the individual members, while respect for others' values and individuality;
- connection, communication with other communities.
- enlightenment: for the members of the group to clearly see their situation and problems;

- objectivity: for the members of the group to realistically judge the situation;
- adaptability: for the individuals to be able to adapt to the always different and always changing situations of life;
- creativity: to develop the ability of constant renewal (Udvárdi Lakos, 1983).

The public education (socio-cultural)¹⁷¹ animation is intended to awaken and develop the educational (self-educational) and cultural activity. The socio-cultural animation is such an individual- and team developing activity, through which individuals or groups will be able to formulate and define, to deploy and to practice their needs in cultural field (Dankó, 2010), i.e., the aim of animation development is independence from the developer (Péterfi, 1987). The socio-cultural animation - intrinsically - wants more than the delivery of cultural products to masses: it wants to achieve activity, active participation, engagement, identification, etc.: if we organize an exhibition, it is the dissemination of culture, but if a discussion or debate session follows, then it is already animation (Limbos, 1985; Udvárdi Lakos, 1983).

The animation can be classified within non-directive pedagogies, indicating that the subject of the socio-cultural animation is mainly made up of not individual but of collective relationships, the essence of which shows Limbos (Udvárdi Lakos, 1983): "The youth group can be compared to a crowd, which is wandering at pitch black night in a park, which is full of sculptures, thick-trunked trees, lush vegetation, rocks and boulders, ditches, and all sorts of other obstacles, which hinder the free movement. Everyone is going slowly, in complete uncertainty to here and there, because there are no safe points, everyone is afraid of being injured, bumping into something or someone or getting lost. The animator can be compared to a person who suddenly turns on the lights and the spotlights: from now on, everyone can see clearly and move safely and well; finds the most suitable and the most convenient way for himself. In essence, the park, the environment remains the same: the animator did not change violently anything, did not instruct or command anyone anywhere: just helped shed light on the situation, the problem (including the difficulties and opportunities) - and let the group find its own purpose and direction. So it is in the life of the communities living in society." The animation - unlike conventional group management - do not take forward predefined content categories in the group, but by "announcing" some activities, he is

seeking for them a group organized from “entrepreneurs”, volunteers. Thus, it builds on the spontaneous grouping spirit, creates the possibility of encounter and dialogue and unfolds the potential of the group; develops individual and group activity, only initiating if others do not do so in the group (Udvardi Lakos, 1983). In light of this, the animator is capable of creating and operating an institution; knows and uses the methods for community development and volunteerism, thereby helping the recognition of common goals, supporting the more effective representation of interests and accelerating community organization. Its services are freely accessible to any age group (Giczey, 2013).

The principles of the animator’s work according to Giczey (Giczey, 2013):

- democratic leadership style;
- collaborative, integrative methods;
- openness, flexibility;
- acceptance, tolerance, empathy, person-centred attitude;
- divergent thinking;
- coordination of individual and group interests;
- protection of the individual and the group members;
- volunteering;
- joint decision-making;
- motivation, stimulation, facilitation;
- providing a model, undertaking the supportive role;
- indirect methods;
- independence, autonomy, empowerment;
- non-violent communication;
- constructive, non-violent conflict resolution;
- credibility.

2. The European tradition of youth affairs and the interpretation of youth work – similarities and differences regarding social pedagogy

Social pedagogy, because of the age of its emergence, had not yet been organized, could not have been organized in leisure time (see the modern vs. post-modern interpretation of leisure time). The social-pedagogical approach, has been characterized by historical construct today, has been replaced by current components committed to youth affairs paradigm.

In fact, we consider it one of the youth innovations that youth affairs is not characterized by the negative formulation of “beyond something”, but it is identified with the transcendent leisure time in postmodern societies, i.e. it becomes “on this side of something”. On the other hand, in this work, we are expanding and narrowing the socio-educational frame of reference. Expanding because we involve not only educational situations, but the total space of socialization into the interpretation, however narrowing, because we do not consider the authority area (cf. Gönczi, 2015) as part of social pedagogy¹⁷² (Kozma-Tomasz, 2003).

The European mainstream¹⁷³ understands youth issues as a sort of triangle (so-called magic triangle; Milmeister-Williamson, 2006; Williamson 2002; Williamson, 2007 Chisholm et al, 2011) where youth research (as a theory), youth policy (as public policy) and socially oriented youth work (as practice) affect each other. The youth work, as one element of the magic triangle – feeding from social pedagogy but different from it¹⁷⁴ – is characterized by two approaches (Siurala, 2012): one of them treats youth as an independent entity, the other considers young people as participants in the social integration process. According to the American idea, child and youth work is a practice based on participation, contextualized and adaptable - at the same time educational, therapeutic and socially caring (Fusco, 2014), which focuses on new-born infants, children, adolescents - including those with special needs - in the context of family and community (Curry et al, 2012). According to Fusco (Fusco, 2012b), knowledge test and a strong professional advocacy can lead to professionalism, which is based on youth clubs, extracurricular programs, residential homes, street youth work and youth spaces¹⁷⁵.

The training and lifelong learning - whether its school or non-formal variant – is a central element of youth affairs (Williamson, 2002), where it is abso-

lutely necessary to pursue the real use of non-formal education. Although educational space Europe-wide is loud from this, but in reality it is still very accidental (Williamson, 2008; Williamson, 2002), but the renewal of education in such spirit is one of the most important European task. Still, it seems that education means the place, where the teacher transmits knowledge, rather than the place where students develop understanding (Williamson, 2008).

Hungary is not in a disadvantageous situation in terms of its theoretical developments. Kátai (Kátai, 2006) interprets youth affairs similarly, he states that in this space appear youth research, public policy and youth work, and this is bounded by four sectors: the for-profit, non-governmental¹⁷⁶, public and media sector. His approach can be perceived not as a process, but rather as three, partly overlapping sets. But in practice, our country has fallen behind very much: in 2008, a report prepared on behalf of the Council of Europe (European Council, 2008) pointed out that the weak positioning of youth work is partly justified by the fact that in Hungary the practice of non-formal learning is still too little recognized (Oross, 2016)¹⁷⁷. It is certain that education systems must recognize everywhere the importance of non-formal learning and non-formal education need to be integrated (Mairesse, 2009).

The definition of youth work

According to the European Commission, the youth work is such an action directed towards young people in which these young people voluntarily participate and which are intended for the promotion of their personal and social development with non-formal and informal learning tools (European Comission, 2015). Therefore, the definition does not make youth work depend on the specific action, nor on its environment. In connection with the above, the model of the European interpretation of youthaffairs can be outlined (Figure 7):

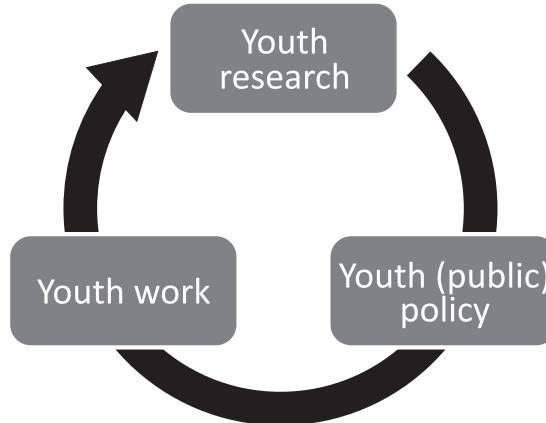


Figure 7: The European youth affairs-interpretation (Source: own editing)

According to this interpretation, youth work can be interpreted on two axes: according to the target group and the targets. “The target group axis is universal; it ranges from activities open to all young people to the other extreme, to a narrow youth work, targeting specific groups of youth. The axis of the targets lies from the very general purpose of the personal development, to the youth work relating to specific problem areas”(European Union, 2014), but they also need to be attractive for young people (volunteering); need to use non-formal tools and must display personal and social development.

In terms of this interpretation, youth work is also possible within the framework of the formal education system, if it tempts to voluntary participation, uses non-formal learning methods and serves the personal and social development. This definition makes a difference from sport and cultural activities in such a way that it would scrutinize the target system and activity, i.e. the sporting events that are primarily intended for performance-enhancement cannot be considered as youth work, regardless of the voluntary participation of young people.

In this sense - not shared by us -, youth work is being done also by those who do not keep the young person as an individual, but youth as a social group in the focus of their attention. That is, fiscal experts conducting the planning of youth organizational funding, administrators controlling the norm system

of youth agencies, or the experts carrying on the development of the trainings' requirements, absurd politicians encouraging youth law would be carry out youth work. All the more it is difficult to agree with this idea, because, according to this document of the European Commission (European Commission, 2015) the difference between youth work and social work is that in social work, youth must participate (SIC!), while youth work is voluntary (to no avail personal and social competence development is similar, its area can be prevention and social inclusion and non-formal learning elements are in vain). What is more, free time is irrelevant in this sense; it only specifies a time interval in which some activities (youth work, sports activities, cultural activities, and social work) are realized, without taking into account that free time for young people is a special segment of the search for identity. In this definition, however, leisure time activity suggests having the element of entertainment and attractiveness, but it is not aimed at the personal and social development of young people. This statement simply mixes up the leisure time activities with entertainment activities. Since entertainment activity is possible outside leisure time as well and not only entertainment activity can go on in leisure time either¹⁷⁸.

Yet youth work has very strong ties with leisure time (Mollenhauer, 2000), since the expectations, which are raised by young people in relation to youth work, refer to the recreation areas being outside from the scope of the traditional educational institutions (Mollenhauer, 2000). That is, leisure time traditionally is in the primary focus of youth work (Williamson, 2002). The cultural and leisure time activities, on the one hand, are the grounds recreation-experience search, on the other hand, as much the ones for self-improvement, because the self-management, self-control abilities can be developed in this area the most (Williamson, 2008).

Youth work is becoming more prominent not only in youth organizations, youth centres, but also in new service areas (Thole, 2000): the youth equivalent of street social work is the visiting youth work, adventure parks, the supporters' projects, community programs, youth counselling are all the new types of social pedagogy: the youth work's own.

While in the interpretation of many authors (Nohl, 2000; Rauschenbach, 2000), social pedagogy includes the activities of pre-school education¹⁷⁹, educational institutions, poor care, guardianship etc., youth work includes only part of this; the service-based (i.e. non-statutory and non-liability based)

activities with young people performed during leisure time, where—as we tried to prove it before—the terrain (in which the action takes place) also has educational function.

Müller makes a distinction between general and specific youth work. The latter takes place with pre-defined groups having different characteristics, while the former is not tied to social emergency situations or to social part of interests; in it, “young people often talk, act or stay together” (Müller, 2000). That is, not some kind of end product of youth work is important, but the fact that it helps young people to socialize in groups formed as their own.

In general, therefore, youth work is the area of communicative self-regulation, the educational concept of which explicitly encourages the questioning, independence and the autonomous approach (Mollenhauer, 2000). Its characteristics are open-endedness and person-centeredness (Taylor, 2012). Its pedagogical relevance is that it is customer-focused and open (open-ended), that is, there is no pre-ordained content, method or form; it is formed by the participants within (Mollenhauer, 2000). The pedagogically authorized person does not have a direct and exclusive influence to be followed on the processes to be followed, so s/he does not act as a traditional teacher. In this sense, youth work is well defined activity with “unfinished” definition because it indicates an ever-changing and evolving practice (Davies, 2009). Spence (Spence, 2011) highlights: unlike social work and school pedagogy, youth work does not have day-based targets for young people; non-formal learning methodology just creates openness by eliminating this (which is interpreted not just in space, but in terms of future planning). Youth work – in terms of its approach – is located on the position of “take it or leave it”, which is significantly different from the approach of the formal education system (Cousséé et al, 2010). According to Mairesse, the main aim of youth work is to give young people opportunity to shape their own futures, that is, it engages and involves young people in society (Mairesse, 2009). Verschelden records the basics of youth work pedagogy as such: “guidance without dictation” (Verschelden et al, 2009). It assembles well with Sándor Karácsony’s wordings: “my real crime is that I wanted to teach and educate at all costs, even though I was given unmistakable signals to love my little neighbours such as myself” (Karácsony, 1998).

Youth work characteristics, according to Mollenhauer (Mollenhauer, 2000):

- As regards the intensity of educational rules, although predetermined standards and frameworks have a role here as well, their significance are much lower than in the case of schools groaning the burden of social sanctions.
- As regards didactic specifics: educational contents - unlike in the school - are not already pre-determined, more properly they are formed during the process of communication.
- By social function: within the field of youth work, only the participants decide on the establishment or change of certain structures and institutions; there is no a priori element.
- By methods: the methodical repertoire of youth work is much wider than any kind of other educational activity.
- By age group: youth work only deals with young people.

To this, the following conditions are associated:

- The voluntary nature of participation: due to the lack of coercion - including the relief from abstract constraints - probably the openness of the participants for admission is much higher than in the “inevitable educational institutions.”
- Prohibition of teaching tricks: it does not adjust to the needs for such purposes that the participants themselves would not want to achieve.
- Motivation: the interest determines the content of youth work.

According to Vanhee and Schild, the often misunderstood youth work is such a social practice which, on the one hand, provides space for the activities, on the other hand, with qualities to be developed, provides support and experience to the process of becoming adults (Vanhee-Schild, 2013). The terrains of youth work according to the European Union (European Comission, 2015):

- Youth centers;
- Youth projects;
- Visiting youth work;
- Informal youth groups;
- Informing young people;
- Youth organizations;
- Youth movements.

Williamson has progressed so far that “youth work is an act of faith, not an act of science” (Williamson, 2002, pp. 66-67.), which, however, is beyond the scope of rational interpretation possibilities.

The roots of youth work

According to Mollenhauer (Mollenhauer, 2000), youth work affected not only social pedagogy, but also pedagogy as a whole in a new way. Indeed, according to Mollenhauer it is no longer an educational area that could deal with each of the pedagogical problem situations (Mollenhauer, 2000). However, youth work is an accompanying activity; it is carrying on its activity not instead of the traditional institutions, but in addition to them.

According to Müller (Müller, 2000) as well, youth work has changed and expanded the concept of education. Unlike the school, it certainly does not have such a general regulation, which would sum up the learning processes and objectives required by society (cf.: basic curriculum and national curriculum), however, he thinks that it is not a missing piece of youth work, but the feature of its characteristics.

By detouring the proper pedagogical conditions to only regular social institutions, rigid educational fields are created only, as the educator's role, tasks and procedures are provided. These areas include schools, professional training, and foster home. The less institutionalized educational space (cf.: with the de-institutionalization of leisure time), is more mobile, dynamic and always starts from the specific life situation (Mollenhauer, 2000), so it re-creates the earlier power situation the least. Youth work in this sense is not just the expansion of the traditional institutional space. The essence of youth work lies in its contradictory and diverse nature, which much more “models” the real world than the closeness and planned nature of the traditional educational institutions (Mollenhauer, 2000).

According to Giesecke, in the institutional space interpreted as the terrain of youth work and independent from school, the actions for the rising generations often take place against society's expectations (Giesecke, 2000). For this reason, the integration of youth work in the school space is a theoretically flawed step, because the school cannot establish the conditions necessary for the implementation of this kind of space (Giesecke, 2000).

The youth work - similarly to social pedagogy—is bordered by two main ideas: on the one hand, that it is a slice of pedagogy with social orientation (its key words: self-management, participation, self-education), on the other hand, that it is an element of social work with education orientation (its key words: equal opportunities, community, culture) (Hamalainen, 2012).

Youth work is basically directed at becoming an adult, but not every moment of it is a pedagogic activity. Such as youth work has pedagogical theory, it can also have social activity theory (Mollenhauer, 2000). According to Hamalainen (Hamalainen, 2012) linkages of youth work are binding both to social work and social, as it sets the management of social problems with pedagogical tools as its aim. That is, it is educational and social practice at once (Coussée, 2010). If social connections are not taken into account, it is actually a unique pedagogical approach, which is not an independent youth work anymore, but only a - no matter how specific - part of the pedagogical practice. If there is no social, cultural staple behind it, we actually consider youth work as a tool that can in solving a problem specified by others, but cannot take part in identifying the problem itself. In fact in this case, the social gap, the cultural gap between the lower and upper social strata of young people is not closed, but deepens and opens further. If we take away pedagogy from the formula, we cannot get closer just to the solutions (Coussée, 2010).

Coussée underlines in connection with youth work that youth work is both psychological-pedagogical and sociological-social rooted, as it has to support young people to become autonomous citizens and to find their place in society (Coussée, 2010). Youth work is actually the socio-pedagogical buffer zone between the individual and society (Coussée et al, 2010), the pedagogical tool of the desired social “order” a (Coussée, 2010). In this sense, youth work is an integration tool as well: the tool of social inclusion and integration into adult society. Verschelden also emphasizes that the pedagogical objectives of youth work can never be independent of the social context (Verschelden et al, 2009).

Hamalainen, against the two traditions, interprets three traditions of youth affairs (Hamalainen, 2012):

- The development-psychological aspect (traced back to Rousseau) infers the world of young people from psychological processes of the life-cycle human development, or from part of it (youth);

- The sociological approach (rooted in Durkheim) interprets youth from the field of generation features, from the area of socialization, social inclusion and its disturbances;
- The socio-pedagogical roots (originating from Herbart and Pestalozzi), which takes social aspects to the world of pedagogy, going beyond the individual approach of pedagogy.

According to Bradford (Bradford, 2011), youth work has three trends and each of them is based on volunteering and participation:

- One of them are the leisure-oriented activities organized by youth workers (in youth clubs, events, camps);
- The other one is the therapeutic direction in which the youth information, advice and assistance, consultation is at the centre;
- The third one is the educational, pedagogical direction, in which sense, youth workers help us to understand the linkages to public citizen, health, etc. worlds.

According to Van Ewijk (Van Ewijk, 2010) there are five models of youth work: the healing idea, the training model, the justice model, economic model and the social model. Verschelden takes a different division; he thinks that youth work has three possible approaches (Verschelden et al, 2009):

- The socio-pedagogical approach provides such a perspective on youth work, which includes the social, political and cultural aspects, and which supports critical reflections in terms of the educational institutions of the society.
- The cultural approach emphasizes the fact to processes to counterpoint de-individualizing processes and puts the individual forward in the social context,
- The social work approach focuses on the break chances of youth, giving a way broadly to the reshaping of the wider social working environment (Verschelden et al, 2009).

Devlin also portrays five aspects of youth work (Devlin, 2012):

- Through non-formal learning, the new type of relationship established between the assistants and young people;
- A global approach consisting of the full development of young people's personality;

- The freedom of choice and of voluntary participation principle for young people;
- The unity of individual, social and community development;
- The recognition of the importance of youth work.

Coussée considers youth work as a strong educational tool promoting social sensitivity of youth (Coussée, 2009). According to him, youth work is a versatile and multivalent practice in diverse subjects and terrains, which aims to achieve a wide variety of young people on the arc from unstructured activities to the planned programs (Coussée, 2009). In Kátai's (Kátai, 2006) formulation, youth work is the practice of the sum of complex educational and service processes which is directed at young people. Sinczuch goes further, according to whom, youth work is dozens of activities, which was actually developed by the successive generations (Sinczuch, 2009). Other approaches stress the importance of participation, active citizenship (European Union 2014a; European Union 2014b) and volunteering (European Comission, 2015).

The tensions of youth work

Since according to most authors, youth work belongs to at the same time social welfare institutions and the education system (Mairesse, 2009), it is no wonder that in some countries the socio-pedagogical tradition is stronger in relation to youth work (e.g.: Germany) and in other countries (e.g.: Great Britain), social work relations are the stronger (Coussée, 2009). Today, we are witnessing more and more that youth work, from the direction of volunteering is turning to the paid, trained and "professional" direction (Britain, The Netherlands) (Coussée, 2010). In historicity, youth work until the round of the 60-70's basically rested on socio-educational foundations (Bradford, 2011): meaning the practice focusing on the problems of young people's growing up, and wishing to reach the autonomous and self-regulating but community individual at the same time through experiential learning.

By the millennium - in the conceptual space of risk society – extending beyond this definition, interpreting young people's identity-risks, behaviour-risks and life-strategic risks, rather equality got priority: youth work became responsible for the eradication of all forms of inequalities contributing to the equal chances of young people at the level of the individual, group and society, supporting young people in the process of becoming adults. At this

time appeared the specialized youth work (youth work with the disadvantaged, youth work with homosexuals struggling with themselves, youth work with Blacks, e.g.: Watt, 2012).

After the millennium until today, the pedagogical definition was amplified: youth work is an activity based on the voluntary participation of young people and making use of educational opportunities.

Deltuva portrays the educational opportunities in a four-element structure (Table 20) (Deltuva, 2014)

- Non-formal education: social and personal competence-development activity mostly taken care of by youth organizations and centres. The methods and content is based on a common understanding of young people and the trainer; the assessment is mostly based on formative principles.
- Interactive teaching: it is mostly expanding the formal curriculum with interactive elements, with competence development attitudes, often going beyond the subject logic.
- Additional education: mainly provides training in specific areas (music, art, sports etc.), content and methods are supervised by the Ministry of Education.
- Traditional teaching: mostly targeted at the understanding of conventional knowledge.

	Non-formal bases	Formal bases
Enabling-participating approach	non-formal education	interactive teaching
Direct teaching approach	additional education	traditional teaching

Table 20, Training spaces and methods (Deltuva, 2014)

Verschelden identifies five oppositions in youth work:

- Historicity of youth work: in this context, the issue is, whether youth work should be formulated as a youth or a social question: as a youth issue, young people as a distinct social group should be made visible in society, as a social issue, youth work is the tool of reducing social inequalities.

- The pedagogy of youth work: usually because of the gap between working with young people and working with disadvantaged people, the opposition between the mainstream vs. the outsiders can develop.
- The self-image of youth work: in this case, the issue is the flexibility and complexity of the ability to respond to social trends and the needs of young people, that is, not to simplify youth work to a method or device, but also to use its complexity.
- The public policy of youth work: in this regard, it is important that youth work is a complex social practice, because otherwise we just lose track of the larger picture that is able to respond to social problems, changes.
- The practice of youth work: the counterpart of individual aspirations and collective expectations shows that one without the other does not lead to success, as approaching from the individual there is the ability to support the autonomous personality, but there is no power to implement it; while in the system perspective, the concept can lead astray, though there is the power to carry it out.

According to Cousséé (Cousséé, 2009), youth work is faced with three main problems today:

- The theory of youth work is pedagogically-based, but barely funded in practice;
- The political bases of youth work are losing importance of the individual approach;
- Youth work –according to its origin –evolved from the middle class youth movements, and even today, they carry on the characteristics of this (while social pedagogy just won medium first in the lower social strata).

Based on the latter, according to Lorenz, youth work itself is struggling with identity-crisis because it must meet the task of social integration and today's (i.e. digital) social challenges (Lorenz, 2009). After the youth samples have been pluralized, they are levelling between the socio-cultural sovereignty and constriction (Böhnisch, 2000). Thus, youth work not only provides the necessary support for growing up, but because of the present-orientation, it just have to contribute to the life situation management related to the present. All the more so because for many people, youth age does not appear in an extended way, but because of social or other reasons, it is shortened.

Identity crisis is characterized by that while youth work accepts differences and diversity, it puts equality and togetherness on its flag (Cousséé, 2010). In this connection, Lorenz outlines two scenarios as regards the future of youth work (and other human services): according to the functionalist approach, not the debate of paradigms is important, but the effectiveness and the users' interests, in this respect, the language structure of "work" is irrelevant (social, youth, etc.). As for symbolic approach, however, in the war of „we were here first" competence, however, only customers can lose (Lorenz, 2009).

Overall, in addition to the many similarities, youth work differs from social pedagogy in that it does not require an official, but only a service role; believes in the primacy of non-formal methods; gives priority attention to the leisure time medium and is thinking in open-ended educational process.

Based on Böhnisch and Münchmeier (Böhnisch, 2000; Münchmeier, 2000) we can formulate the re-interpreted task of youth work: in connection with the choice biography, supporting the diversity of autonomous life worlds and the reconciliation of reintegration into society in the young age, as a distinct stage of life, and as through the process of growing up (cf.: the National Youth Strategy mission), in order to preserve the continuity of careerfree from major breaks.

3. The service environment and the onion model

It can rightly arise that if education (employment) and family policy are existing concepts and public policies, then whether society will prompt a line for answering the questions raised by the lack of uniform leisure policy. More clearly: will there be socio-professional consensus on whether we, the community, the society, the state, all of us have responsibility that in the leisure space - in addition to family ties, school obligations - what they do, what happens to us? Is it necessary to have a say in where "freedom does its job"? Or finally have a system of relations, which is "a private matter" in which the community, society and the state does not intervene? Is it necessary in this space to offer pointers for those in need of help and support, should there be development in leisure time areas, are those knowledge and skills are necessary, which are not/cannot provided by the family and the school? Of course, a negative response can be legitimate as well, but this should be a thought out reaction, not the sum of accidental part of all elements cannot be

organized into unity, which are by no means integrated in a uniform leisure time policy¹⁸⁰. In our opinion, society has the responsibility in the successful integration of its citizens into the community and for youth ages, this responsibility requires special actions and attention.

The time has come to express the inner system of youth affairs, some elements of which already “were available” but these units have not hassystem features yet. The onion model, as a structure, is the central element of youth affairs and the central novelty of the thesis that allows us to turn over the needs not satisfied by the family and the school, into a conceptual space desired to be answered by youth affairs. In its background, stands the novel interpretation of youth (see: Chapter II) and “emancipation” of leisure time (see: Chapter I). With the help of this, we are able for the arrangement of such elements, far from each other in their content, in terms of youth affairs, such as camps, youth offices, virtual youth work, and retirement benefits or youth research. In this model - uniquely compared to other European models –are embodied those layers(youth work, youth profession and horizontal youth activities) and activity areas¹⁸¹that can provide systematic answers to earlier educational hiatusesviewed from the individual/small community’s side. Such areas, topics and problem situations to which the family or the school does not respond. Either because it is not given sufficient attention, or because the logic of the lesson, or perhaps the power structure are not suitable for the management of the given problems.

Thus, freedom of choice and social expectations can only be reconciled, if not the liability-based nature of the secondary socialization medium (and not the official-regulator role of the state), but the serviceas supply-orientation prevails. In this light, the fundamental objective of the area is outlined: with regard to the members of the youth age groups (1) the irreplaceable support of becoming a citizen responsible for himself and for his communities, (2) especially with the tertiary socialization medium’s (3) service-based machining (4), but in (re) socialization emergency situation, either all terrains of socialization (5)¹⁸².

While the family norms still require largely the authority-based affection, and those of the school the obedience, inthe leisure timespace, the freedom (and constraint)of choice prevails; the peer group is based on cooperation and consensus, where there is possibility to exercise the reciprocity principle¹⁸³. Gáspár (Gáspár, 1997) classifies learning, socially useful activities,

social-community life and pedagogically encouraged activities among free time educating and development activities, but only emphasizes pedagogically encouraged, and not pedagogically oriented activities (Gáspár, 1997); the latter would just lead to the eradication of the essence of leisure pedagogy. According to him, leisure time is made up of study, work and play components (Fazekasné-Villányi, 1990). In leisure time, educational possibilities are almost limitless, and their presence is essential (Gáspár, 1997)¹⁸⁴. Indeed, “where there is a lack of leisure time service, or where the service is not available to all strata of society, such a shortage occurs which will contribute to young people’s not satisfactory psychological and social development. So points of risk and pathways to vulnerability come to the surface as such” (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003).

The life of the age groups affected in the process of growing up is unified and indivisible, cannot be treated by specializations, and therefore we must have a concept across sectors on the actions to be taken on the emerging generations. As it is clear from the chapter’s motto, the state perceives them if they participate in some institutions, but ignore them if they do not “institutionally get in trouble” (National Youth Strategy, 2009). In particular, we have seen earlier that in the majority of young people, the individual is simply absorbed by the student role (Golnhofer-Szabolcs, 2005). We can only agree with Karácsony, „not just parents misunderstand holidays, but also the school”. Homework and even special homework is assigned; good advice is given to the students not to forget to “make up for what they have missed” (Karácsony, 2002, pp. 132).

Together with this, there are the activities preferred (and non-preferred) by the society in the leisure space. We are happier, for example, when our adolescent kids at camp than if “he is hanging out on the stairs of the block of flats with his junkie buddies” or when he has study group’s occupation instead of “band-sawing with his biker buddies.” However, there may be problem situations in one’s life (i.e., e.g.: I have drug problems and I have problem with this; I’m homosexual and I have problem with this; I’m alone and I have problem with this - obviously the “I have problem with this” passage is the important in our case) for which neither the family, nor the school is able or willing to respond in a legitimate way (Giesecke, 2000). Think of an adolescent detached from his family, trying to loosen or tear the ties or of the school power situation and even of the lack of required anonymity.

The growing child, the rebellious adolescent, the clueless young adult mostly cannot or do not want to ask for help from the accompanists of the first two media (the child is trying the peer group, the teenager just contradicts everything, what his parents consider to be right, the young adult is trying to detach from the family). Is there a need for such a situation where the recipient of the service can choose help for himself (and its presence is not given like in the family, or he gets into a situation like in school)? Is there an institutional support system in a problem situation? In our view, the formulation of the assisting task is required in this area.

According to also László Gáspár, there is educational task in free time, which is beyond itself, and this is even a privileged terrain of the preparation for social life (Fazekasné-Villányi, 1990). Although in his opinion, it would be wrong to banish the freedom and responsibility of decision only to free time, but after all, the individual learns about irreplaceable aspects (e.g.: the time provision) here (Gáspár, 1984). Moreover, the school would be responsible for laying the foundations for this self-development opportunity because we cannot prepare somebody for free time with just free time, but neither in deprivation of it (Gáspár, 1984).

If we accept that there is such a pedagogical task, how the conflict between the individual's leisure time freedom (recalling the post-modern, activity-based interpretation: "I can do what I want"), and between the preferred activities of the community-society can be resolved? As in the leisure space, on the one hand, freedom does its job, on the other hand, there is a kind of normativity-based social expectation which considers some activities to be more valuable than others. This can only be based on intrinsic motivation: so the activity offered as a service provider and chosen by the individual (in the absence of these, either the leisure time concept of normativity is damaged). To do so, there is a need to provide service offerings to the community (that the individual either chooses or not).

Youth affairs - as an area focusing on these service offerings and putting young people at the centre - has several interpretations known by content: the political and horizontal approach, the youth work approach, the youth management approach and the integrated approach – offered by us below and exerted in detail later.

- In the first case the subset of public affairs in the broadest sense: can be anything that has the aspect of youth, so youth affairs, tuition fee loans, child benefit, children's meals, etc. (first generational, horizontal approach). According to the idea, youth activities are horizontal: they permeate society, so that the individual disciplines, public policies and thus administrative branches. In light of this, youth affairs does not have its vertical, "private" area; it is provided by the sum of the individual disciplines, public policies and areas, which means that youth specificity is lost, youth affairs' uniqueness and difference specifics. This model interprets itself in one dimension (Figure 8).



Figure 8: The one-dimensional youth affairs model (Source: own editing)

- The second generational interpretations already identify own areas, those that only the youth affairs 'own' (e.g. personal youth assistance, camping, youth services, counselling etc.), thereby maintaining the horizontal elements of the first-generation model and complements it with the vertical characteristics (Figure 9). One sub-case of this is youth affairs in the narrowest sense, which loses the benefits of horizontality, because accordingly, youth affairs is just the tender support youth initiatives envisioned by the state; to decision-making mechanisms to ensure this and the service institutions (youth management approach). This approach skeletonizes the individual and the community to be a simple and impersonal administrative act.

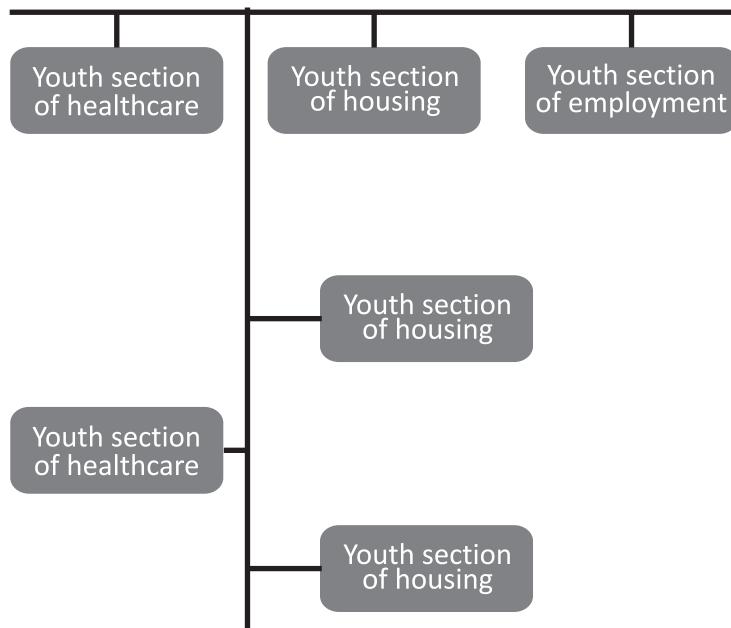


Figure 9: The two-dimensional youth affairs model (Source: own editing)

- Our vision outlined below (onion model) in addition to the existing framework of interpretations sets a new one, combining the earlier approaches to one model (third generational or integrated approach). That does not narrow down the sphere only to the way of decision-making; to the impersonal nature of the sociological point of view converting the young person into youth; but does not merely identifies it with non-formal pedagogy either. It seeks, in an integrated fashion, to take into account the duties may appear necessary in relation to dealing with youth, which include, among others, the support of youth initiatives, the creation of participation opportunity; the inclusion of the concerned age groups in decision-making processes; the support systems of youth organizations and communities; youth research, design, as well as the analysis of the relationship between young people and the legal subsystem. The model consolidates, in relation to dealing with young people, such fragmented and not uniformly interpreted elements often seen in practice, as drug

cases, the camps and festivals, youth offices, participation-involvement or pension; thus resolves the earlier approaches, trying to use their advantages and to eliminate its disadvantages. The model, on the one hand, combines the characteristics of the horizontal-vertical approach, on the other hand, instead of a top-down approach (the generation breakdown of social subsystems) produces a bottom-up (individual and community-based) logical chain.

- The onion model illustrates the activity map of youth affairs - taking into account the necessary activities and areas often theoretically cannot be supported by the school and the family (Figure 10). Its basis is the activity's, related to the individual / community, immediate (specific) and indirect (abstract) nature. The model focuses on the individual (or his community) itself, with whom, with which the (educational) activities take place. In our case, youth activity can be understood as an activity carried out in leisure time, voluntarily with youth age groups¹⁸⁵.
 - Within the inner skin, the scope of those activities is located, in which the individual or the community (youth work) is directly involved. In the areas of youth work, therefore, we look at the terrains, in which the activity taken place closely related to youth generations and to their members. We consider being youth work all the activities that appear in the interaction between the youth age groups and actors in direct contact with them. A society-, community-, and personal development helping work, assisting the solution of the specific problems arising from the life circumstances of the age groups concerned, and the development of their social participation, building on their participation and on a specific professional device system. Keywords of youth work: the completion of self-image, self-awareness, self-activity, community dialogue, group socialization, preparation for the challenges, recreational activities, informal learning. Youth work is mostly related to the factors including the direction of development (personality, community, group-, area-, settlement- development...) all these show the signs, promise and needs of support, innovation and renewal, such as the concepts of "positioning", encouragement, involvement. It includes the concept circles of solidarity, and the active ability and skills (and, as part of it, the development of empathy) of the acceptance of diversity.

Its service offering is different from the youth services of the business world that (in principle) it is readily available to anyone, so-called low-threshold service, that is, its use is not depending on financial or other pre-conditions.

- The central onionskin (youth profession) includes all activities that come into contact with the individual (community) only indirectly; “merely” organizing it; it provides its framework and creates its abstraction. So we call the areas of the youth field those segments where in a more abstract way than direct work –on a higher level of abstraction –the work is going on in their interests. This includes all the activities, which can provide help in its content and methodology to the youth work in direct interaction with young people. So this is the sum of activities located at a higher level of abstraction, which is responsible for the provision of „background” for youth work.
- The outer onion skin (youth and society) is the terrain of horizontal youth approach where interdisciplinary linkages to other professions are located. Horizontal youth activities include any activity which has a role related to youth age groups and it partly belongs to the profile of another “issue” (education, social work, culture, economy, etc.). Such of these are from the competences of family planning and support systems to the development of labour market and entrepreneurial skills, through the child benefit system and learning support to the area of youth media and culture (here is available the horizontality of the one-dimensional model).

As we have mentioned, we are not facing the top-down interpretation of youth policy (youth policy approach) - which builds on the “generation section” logic of society and social subsystems- our approach isnot foundedon public policy, but organized along s professional “issue “. This bottom-up) system is made up of individual and collective needs of young people, on the basis that while the impact of the traditional institutions of socialization (family, school) is weakening, leisure (and media) space as an interaction terrain’s weight is growing.

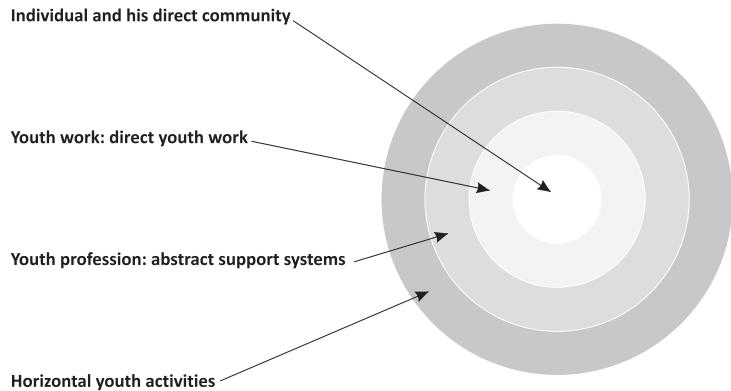


Figure 10: Youth Affairs onion model (Source: own editing)

Consider, therefore, those areas which - mainly because of the non-power situations (see: the foundations of the leisure time socialization medium) - can be better enforced outside the family and school space than inside. In this work, we propose on 12 areas of youth work, on an additional 8 areas of youth profession and on 9 areas of horizontal activities such as a topic focus (Table 21, Figure 11), trying the activities related to be typed.

The areas of youth work	The areas of youth profession	Horizontal youth areas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development areas • Individual autonomy-development; • Future planning; • Volunteering-development; • Participation-sensitization; • Personal youth work; • Youth community development. • Terrains¹⁸⁶ • Informal groups, movements; • Non-formal and formal organizations; • Youth camps; • Youth community spaces (points and offices); • Virtual space; • Youth projects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth and law; • Youth research; • Youth-related design; • Task systems; • Human systems; • Financial systems; • International youth activities; • The civil-non-profit youth segment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth and family; • Learning and its environment; • Youth and the world of work; • Youth and healthcare; • Young people as consumers; • Young people and identity; • Marginalization; • Deviance; • Liveable environment.

Table 21: The system of youth affairs (Source: own editing)

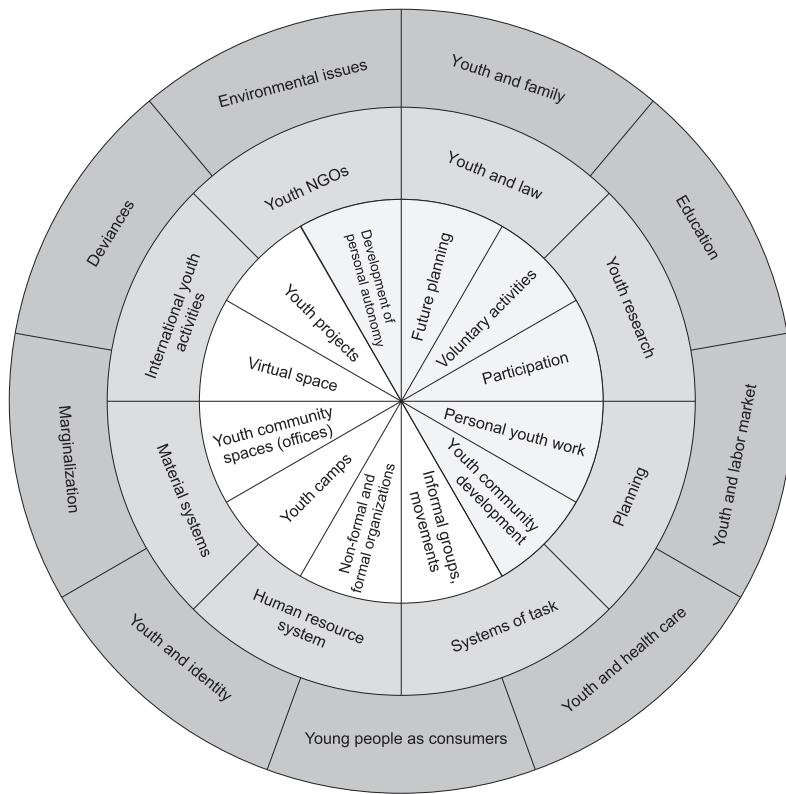


Figure 11: The system of youth affairs (Source: own editing)

4. The field of activities in youth work

In the youth work-created space it is possible to practice intensive social intercourse, critical ability, pro-social activity etc., all those activities for the exercise of which the school and the family have limited capacity (Mollenauer, 2000). In this chapter - calling it youth work – we have an overview of the internal onion skin of the youth onion model, on those activities in which we can directly be in development-helper pedagogical, support and

prevention-type contact with the individual or small community. In this space we identified nine areas in which connection we experienced strong socialization deficits as regards the socio-educational functions of the family living with us since the pre-modern societies and the school involved from modernity.

Development areas

Individual autonomy-development

“Everyone is the greatest expert in his own life” - if this sentence is not in all circumstances perfectly true, it shows well that self-knowledge and dealing with the self is essential to human life. During the development of the personality, the individual gains such knowledge, skills, attitudes, stereotypes that determine this development and are the repercussions of the own personal evolution. In the early stages of life, rather dependence of others (parents, family, and other social environment) is typical and the effects of learning processes, especially following the sample, prevail. During the gradually developing process of being independent, there is the possibility to realize their individual autonomy, and youth work provides and should provide assistance to this. This requires the mastery and exercise of self-knowledge, communication and assertive skills. To do this, the area analyses four aspects, these are self- and co-knowledge, self-expression, self-realization and self-improvement, self-reliance and self-advocacy, as a part of the latter, discussing prevention as well (Czakó, me.). In this area, we can learn such health prevention and development competencies (from sexual life to calorie balance), to which the school does not really pay attention.

Future planning

“The future-oriented person’s decisions and actions are more driven by his future intentions, goals and desires than his past experience. The driving force of his activities is inspired by the future “ (Nováky-Hideg-Kappéter, 1994). In this area it is described, how youth work can contribute to the establishment and development of life strategy, to the development of parental-family roles; to further education, guidance and career planning, to develop key competencies, to the strengthening of personal contact space, to the intention of family formation and home-making and to interculturalism, intercultural learning¹⁸⁷. Here are discussed the problems arising from the lack of future orientation as well.

Volunteering

This segment of youth work is dealing with volunteering criteria (free will, going beyond the circle of friends, the lack of financial compensation, a public good moment) as well as with the altruistic behaviours of the individual accepting this. The history of free, voluntary work for the benefit of others goes back to many centuries; not only in modern, post-modern societies, but in previous eras it was a common practice, particularly as part of charitable good service activity through the offices of religious organizations. Currently we are witnessing that the importance of voluntary activity - because of its role in the process of social development - is further growing nowadays. While its function is not only identified as a step towards the extension of social welfare, but it also has an impact on the sustainability and the further development of the community as well as on the individual's personality development. Accordingly, while earlier the literature described the voluntary, community service activities primarily as socially useful activities, today we can talk about it as both socially and individually important activity. Moreover, with the use of non-formal, experience educational devices it has become one important field of youth affairs that helps the development of the relations of young people engaged in volunteer activities and the community in a complex way (Nagy et al, 2014).

The volunteer work, however, is much more to helping others. It is an important step in the process of becoming adults, and in acquiring work experience and social capital. The volunteer work does not mean that the energy invested is not compensated for, just not immediately and in a tangible way, so it is more an investment, rather than a sacrifice. However, volunteering does not mean final commitment, so it gives an opportunity to try, to explore areas of interest, to a better understanding of personality. All this is done without "learning money" paid to the labour market (Nagy-Földi, 2010). During volunteering, young people can try out various social roles and taking responsibility for their own actions is strengthening. Volunteering promotes social participation; public civic engagement can be expressed; it increases trust, reciprocity and integration. Volunteering helps in intercultural learning, collaboration, makes more open and flexible which is a factor reducing discrimination and xenophobia¹⁸⁸.

Participation-sensitization

The participation of young people in public affairs is a prerequisite if they intend to play an active role in social changes; if they want to shape their environment “to their own image”. It assists in integration into society; promotes the need for change; responsible thinking and searching for solutions. The responsibility of society is to create the conditions to enable young people to assume their part in decisions that affect them. In today’s world, the natural and artificial supports circle is often uncertain, so the autonomous and institutionalized forms, methods and organizations appropriate to civil societies develop with difficulties that are able to support the growing up process and, where appropriate, to prevent and manage problems affecting young people. Such set of conditions must therefore be created, operated and developed, in which the younger generation can learn, exercise and apply methods for actively influencing his environment, and promote the enforcement of his special interests and values. Young people do not need that others represent their interests, others solve their problems instead of them, but rather to be sensitive to the problems of their own and their peers and enable them to stand up for themselves and others.

Thus, this area includes the participation of young people in public affairs. This includes the sum of activities requesting a part from and involvement in community affairs by young people, developments aiming at the understanding of and at the sensitization toothers’ living conditions; the activities carrying out the better interiorization of the democratic functioning and institutional system by other means or the modes of getting to know, practice and accept human rights, etc. (such as, but not exclusively, youth participation in the life of the town: the creation and operation of local youth governments, advocacy). Therefore, the existing interest reconciliation and lobbying forum activities must be confirmed, and the creation of local models to facilitate direct participation need to be encouraged, in which there is the opportunity for youth to show the generational interests. Members of the age group, due to their maturity, experience and knowledge, are already suitable - or can be made suitable - to be able to articulate their situation, needs and problems, and to be sensitive for the situation, needs and problems of others, to recognize their action opportunities and to be engaged in activities to achieve their private and community goals.

Personal youth work

At all supporting-developer professions, it is an important fact that most of the professionals are working with their personalities. In youth work—by the nature of the work - this is even more pronounced. Personal youth work shows a much larger surface area from us than e.g. an activity taking place from behind a teaching cathedra, in a formal position (Nagy-Földi, 2010). The emergence and spread of youth counselling services reflects the preventive approach of youth affairs (Münchmeier, 2000), so by now it is not only crisis counselling, but overall it became general psychosocial, and lifestyle counselling with a mission to contribute to the success of transition in youth life stages.

Due to the equal interpersonal relationships and the exceeding of predefined power positions, this area is built on equal relationships, somewhat strange from the family and the school, the part of which are information services, counselling and assistance (but it includes thematically the topics of burnout and supervision as well; Teleki, 2004):

- Validation of the right to information: “young people have the right without reservations to full, understandable and reliable information and counselling in each and every problem and in every sector without exception and every sector in order to enjoy complete freedom of choice without discrimination ideological or other influence” (Council of Europe, 1990). To enforce young people’s right to basic information, information and counselling services - e.g.: youth information and counselling offices, youth information points - operate. The information service is individualized, non-discriminatory, possibly immediate, low-threshold (pre-condition free), building on anonymous equal relationship, free of charge, available. The service is based on young people’s autonomy and freedom of choice, and independent from other professional institutions—and provides help for young people in solving information problems in their everyday lives and in meeting their information needs.
- Counselling¹⁸⁹ is the activity in which beyond the question-answer relationship, the one engaged in counselling, tries to be positioned into the recipient status and role *on a topic*, suggesting possible solutions, directions, and applications. Its purpose (the expression of intervention is also often found in the literature) is that young people oversee and understand the problems of their background better; get to a higher level

of self-knowledge and to be able to make decisions for the solution; be able to change their situation. The professional approach interprets counselling very broadly:

- it covers from informative and counselling activities (career and partner choice);
- through the assistance given in the awareness and solution of the problem situation (consultation);
- even until the awareness raising of unconscious motives (Béta, 1999).
- We are talking about help in a case when the young person is confronted with *general (and often global)* life management problems and is asking for help to resolve them. The aim of facilitating is the creation of a relationship in which the young person realizes and understands events in his external and internal environment, and is able to act on these in order to develop and make them better (Schein, 1999). The assistance does not offer ready solutions but also helps to expand problems and finding their own solutions. The essence of the process is that the young people will take part in the facilitating process; in the dialogue taking place together with the consultant, they diagnose the cause of the disorder together, and are jointly seeking for a solution. The young person learns in the process, how to think about the establishment of a diagnosis; what phenomena to pay attention to; what possibilities to take into account and how to organize and prioritize the data obtained. In the process, the counsellor accompanies the young person, helping him to a comparable be able for the resolution if a similar problem occurs.

Youth community development

Community development is such a social development practice that responds to a wide variety of social problems and opportunities; in the collective action of the narrow and broad groups of people, believes in the ripening of community problem-solving and supports these processes (Kátai, 2006). Community development is primarily the development of the community by itself (!), to which the community developer might. The term reflects the view that a group or community, in order to define self-evolution directions, has the ability to take the initiative and is able to participate in an active way in its own life (Nagy-Nizák-Vercseg, 2014).

Beyond the start-up of social processes, communities have a strong cohesive power, protection function for the youth. If a community is organized around positive values (whether it be hobbies, sports, orchestra rehearsal etc.), beyond the individual's development and the reach of community target, it provides a kind of protection for its members, as community members keep in touch, thereby paying attention to each other (Nagy et al, 2014). For those who are not members of a community, it is easier to drift to the periphery of society; gets into problematic situations easier and by a smaller or barely existing social control, has a greater chance to add up self-damaging habits. The existence in communities - in addition to the positive value mediation and value creation – can be perceived as a kind of tool system serving diversion and prevention. In this area, the world of non-artificially assembled (so not homogeneous by age groups) and non-hierarchical groups can be completed. The experience of community belonging stimulates the search for future communities and even self-community initiatives (in order to become a community man, wanting to do for a community, first he has to experience what it likes to “be in a community”). This area deals with young people as social beings; with their group needs (sense of belonging, group roles, etc.) and with their development aspects as well.

The youth community development is a development process where young people seek opportunities necessary to achieve their needs. It aims to strengthen young people's self-confidence; to enhance their spirit of action; to develop a sense of responsibility towards the community; to promote the self-organization of their communities and to publicly display their interests. In this way, young people will be able to join in the given locality's lives, in shaping the local issues that could lead to real participation (Kátai, 2006). In the youth field, community development partly means a joint work with youth groups, on the other hand, it includes the ability to cooperate with these groups and with a variety of “adult” social organizations and representatives as well. Therefore, the involvement of this age group in the discussion of issues affecting the community; in the exploration of needs, problems, resources and possibilities, and in the inventing of solutions is necessary.

Terrains

Youth groups and movements

The mobilization of social capital essentially takes place in informal groups, so informal cooperation, movements and the networks of these mean an essential element of the youth world. The informal organizations are exempt from all legal obligations; they are actually the most obvious and most common fields of youth co-operation. In general, a common purpose and a sense of belonging create them (dance, sports, music, and view system). Their operation is not regulated by literacy; its specific set of rules happens rather on the basis of traditions, rituals than by co-conscious system of principles. Its membership is not registered; it is constantly changing. Their role is becoming increasingly important (young people view formalized organizations less as a model); their organization is becoming easier (social networks). While there may be a link between the stability and the formalization of the organization, this is, due to the above, is far from true on their importance: it cannot be said that an informal group would be organized only for ad-hoc cases or that its role would be unimportant.

Formal and non-formal youth organizations

This area takes care of the communities', organizations', especially of youth organizations' information outside the projects, going beyond them and connected to management; is trying to negotiate the characteristics organizations set up and operated with youth. The youth organization management¹⁹⁰ activities include the short and long-term planning and management of the youth organization's life and operation; the development, implementation and monitoring of organizational strategy; as well as the planning and management activities necessary for the functioning of the organization, such as the organization of source creation and use; human resources management; the organization of the work of the governing bodies; the administrative activities of the organization and the organization's communication activities (Trencsényi, 2011). Here young people can learn how to deal with money.

Youth community spaces

Young people interpret and understand a variety of community spaces to be their own. They use the streets, cafes, cinemas, clubs, cultural centres, plazas,

playgrounds, telecenters, playrooms and playgrounds as community spaces. In these public spaces that take place the most important peer interactions; they purchase a significant amount of experience here, in short, these are the special social learning spaces. The youth spaces mean increasingly an alternative socio-cultural space for young people - not having social milieu¹⁹¹. In the countries with advanced youth policy, the creation of youth clubs, youth centres, playhouses, playgrounds, children's homes, youth centres, sports fields, music rooms, exhibition spaces, art spaces, youth hostels, multipurpose youth community areas has long been a priority. These are such public spaces where the use of rules, in an optimal case, are formed together by young people and adults and are jointly responsible for complying with them (Diósi, 1984; Nagy et al, 2014).

Youth work in some cases can only be interpreted in connection with the settlement (town, village, township or part thereof) where the young people live, study or work, that this, this is a sum of activities carried out and organized in their interest or by the communities and organizations of the youth age group. At this area, we can point with the phrase "all that is happening locally" the best (see e. g.: Karácsony, 1942).

The youth information and counselling services are principles prevailing in their mission, their objectives, their tasks and through their work and are the same in respect of their activities. The youth information and counselling services (offices, centres) provide such a service system or space where young people can appear with any questions and problems free from bureaucracy and traditional customer service frameworks (in this field, not the service itself, but its space is the object of study). There is stationary and visiting type of them. The levels of stationary youth information and counselling services (Bodor-Rapi-Takácsné, 2012):

- Youth information point: it provides information services mainly for young people.
- Youth information and counselling office: it provides information, counselling, helping and additional services especially for young people.
- Youth professional methodological centre: it provides information, counselling, helping and additional services especially for young people, and provides methodological support to the youth offices and points, and contributes to the development of the network.

The visiting youth work, in addition to the above, includes all those approaches, during which youth workers and those dealing with young people achieve youth by visit them where they live, work and study or spend their leisure time, rather than to expect young people to resort the supply of the youth worker institution system or youth organizations by coming to the institutions or organizations. These services are mostly supplemented by the specific elements of community development, and we must not forget the special means of streets and housing estates social work, either. The visiting youth work is targeted at socially vulnerable, disadvantaged young people in their spare time on the street, in the cafe, in the park, in the pub, when the youth are staying in the place of their choice, among conditions which are established by them.

The visiting youth work includes the mobile youth work services and street work. The street social work is designed to the special help of young people threatening their physical, mental and intellectual development with their conduct; spending their free time on the streets, neglected and straggling; as well as the tracing of young people arbitrarily leaving their place of residence, or expelled from the apartment by their caregiver, left without care and supervision; promoting their moving back to their residential places, and if necessary, initiating temporary care or child protection¹⁹²(Kiss-Takács-Csóka, 2011; Nagy et al, 2014).

Youth camps¹⁹³

The youth camps are such institutions, suitable for being together intensively, wherein terms of the number of persons there is the ability for youth work and where there are some kind of development objectives (training, professional goal etc.), beyond entertaining and entertainment. Although, social development in recent decades is not in favour of the proliferation and the renaissance of youth offices, points (cf.: the Z generation spends a highlighted portion of its free time at home), and youth camps (cf.: the idea of youth festivals), “only the experience is worth it, but in fact it is much more than that.... In the background of the experience, an extremely intense development process takes place, not seen in other media. The close and very intensive co-existence and co-operation could be established on weekdays only in isolated (in space and time), and therefore less effective sessions and intercourses” (Nagy-Földi, 2010). This area deals with the specifics of the organization of the camp, with the methodology of the camps, with the diversity of its types, with its age specifics, etc.

Youth projects

The youth projects have three typical conditions, which is complemented by youth specificity: The project in general: a single series of activity (1), which has its own specific purpose (2) and is bounded (has beginning and end), by time (3). We can talk about youth specifics where the project, in addition to the above, is made for youth and / or with youth (+1). On the one hand, it means that it has some kind of social (particularly education and development, but often social) goal (projects for young people), and that we create an environment where in case of the project failure, the risk (financial, moral and professional) is less (e.g.: an experienced mentor assists the project, material liability is limited, etc.), but the success is similar than at non-youth-specific projects (projects prepared with young people).

The youth project management analyses the system of project stakeholders (internal and external stakeholders from the project manager through the project sponsors, until the beneficiaries); introduces the project cycle management (idea, planning, organization, implementation and feedback, “no go” conditions “point of no return”) and project management areas, as well as their youth specifics. These include: project scope, project integration, time management, project financial management, project quality management, project human resources management, project risk management, project communication management.

However, for certain youth programs a two-level socialization appears, on the one hand, the open target group of which is the program participant, on the other hand, its latent target group is the organizer, the animator. The participant, in that particular case, can learn something about tolerance; get some new patterns of socialization, at best, the event remains as a nice memory for him. However, the creators of the youth event socialize truly, and learn many things from advocacy techniques, through project management until game pedagogy: and experience a sense of belonging given by common experiences. The latent goal is the organizer himself, as the “contamination”, the joy of the activity, experiencing the activity in and for the community, the further chance of doing for the common good can particularly be experienced by the creators. This is also true: “Even bathe in yourself, you can just wash your face in somebody else” (József, 1924).

Virtual youth work¹⁹⁴

The use of ICT tools has become part of everyday life. While previously young people spent a significant portion of their time in peer groups, in “face-to-face” situations, today they spend more and more time with their peers online. According to research (Székely, 2013; Nagy-Székely, 2014; Nagy-Székely, 2015), the youth of today can be described most with the screenager attributive. As a result of convergence, information and communication devices have become not only capable of obtaining information, but to build and take care of relationships as well. The subjects of youth work, young people are largely available in the online world, so digital environment is becoming more and more important, primarily those parts of it that are used specifically for community activities by young people. For the use of ICT, there are many opportunities in youth work; with technological developments, these are constantly growing and changing. The virtual youth work aims to provide help to young people and their communities in solving their real (emotional, intellectual, physical, etc.) problems, using the virtual space as a tool (ensuring, where appropriate, low threshold, location independence, etc.) and support them to avoid and solveth the problems of the digital space. This feature gives the opportunity to the “always dreamed of” youth work, where - unlike, say, in a small town - the person of the customer can remain anonymous indeed (e.g.: when he is communicating through an avatar), but the physical distance is not a problem either. There are additional opportunities for communication between the state and young people, as new methods are created for young people (or even more broadly: public citizens) to have a say in the legislation; the new institutional spaces of social debate, can be created etc. (Kátai, 2007).

However, virtual space itself can generate such problem situations that should be able to be handled. These include security problem (impersonation, harrassment,etc.); the prevention and management of abnormal usage; the awareness of information rights or information on illegal activities and contents as well as distancing from it (here not think of films think, but sharing school fights or posting more serious crimes). It follows from the foregoing, the tasks of virtual youth work¹⁹⁵:

The tasks of e-youth work include:

- Providing space where young people can exercise their “my-messages” without much risk; has ways of self-development, as well as to obtain and exchange information in this regard.
- Providing interface where the personal youth assistance functions can be exercised.
- Providing environment and methodology in which young people can internalize the norms of critical thinking.
- Providing interface where the community development functions can be exercised.
- Creating spaces where young people are not threatened by the danger of victimization (and the possibility of using sin).
- Providing an environment where young people as active citizens can issue an opinion; can represent (individual and collective) interests and thus join into the social processes that they can affect as well.

Type of activities of virtual youth work¹⁹⁶:

1. Online youth work: this is the online reflection of traditional youth work, that is, it means the personal assistance of known or even unknown youth or online group youth work; in addition, activities organized in the online space are also included here (protest actions, collaborative interfaces).
2. Online-offline youth work: the online support of some parts of offline youth work (e.g.: a program can begin online and continue in person or vice versa). Part of it, for example, is the online promotion, which is the publication of youth projects existing in the “real world” (too) using information and communication technology (SMS or Facebook campaigns, online advertising, banner etc.).
3. Online prevention: the essence of which is to promote the getting along of young people in the digital world and the reduction of risk factors. The aim of youth work in this case is the presentation of threats (abnormal use, data security, Internet crime, law) and the assets of how to avoid them.

5. Areas of the youth profession

Areas of the youth profession are all those activities where no longer the young person or his small community itself, but their abstraction: youth get into the centre of our reference system. In the following, the analysis of those six identified areas will take place, which can be approached through this abstraction; in this conceptual space, a - not only educational, but also often political or organization scientific etc. - operation can be carried out with them.

Youth and the law

Youth affairs has daily contact with such frameworks, which designate the system of rules of a community. Of course, “those rules of conduct, by which any local, national or supranational community (operationally, the primary level of this, of course, is the state) seeks to regulate human activity, and the enforcement of which are ensured with penalties, sanctions or even discounts by the state, have fundamental basis from the youth affairs’ point of view” (Nagy et al, 2014).

Since one of the basic tasks of law is to develop and maintain order and security necessary for the functioning of society - and it plays a role unconsciously shaping the behaviour of people living in the society –in the legal system, questions related to young people’s protection, development and daily life should be reflected accordingly. Another role of the law is to reflect social relations, to map the relations system of social coexistence, which is also difficult because young people of the post-modern society have behaviours and needs different from modernity and today’s legal system rooted in the modern era is not really able to follow the process of their growing up (Sommody , 2008).

Some specific legal entity circles belong to youth affairs as well, such as children’s rights¹⁹⁷, the significance of which is that the specific subjects, because of some situation, such as weaker enforcement ability, require special attention while their fundamental rights of special protection (Szebenyi-Hoffmann, 2012). One important difference is that while in respect of the enforcement of children’s rights the state usually actively participates, for those over 18 years; we can rather talk about support and operation of advocacy systems.

This area also deals with youth legislation (with specific youth field and, in the whole legislation, youth-oriented) and with justice, with its investigation and enforcement. It deals with the still undefined, legally not settled issues e.g.: with the system of rules legally underpinning youth affairs (and with the need, elements, lack of it).

The legal system is faced with newer and newer social issues¹⁹⁸, for the solution of which some new rules should be made from time to time (or modify, reject the old one). Putting legal statements relating to young children and youth into practice is typically such a social need, to which the law on several points could not yet give a really good answer: these are, among others, the hiatuses existing in the field of child protection; the difference between the beauty of principles and the difficulty(often averageness) of practice. The state, with the change of regime, often withdrew from those places - emphasizing parental responsibilities and rights –from which it would not be allowed to blow a radical retreat, thereby making the child to be the his parent's toy (Makai, 2000). The law today does not answer the issue either that the rights and duties of those no longer children but not yet adults are not in line with each other in many respects (Nagy et al, 2014)¹⁹⁹. The various branches of law view children and young people differently, as constitutional law uses other terminology (children, youth, fundamental rights, etc.), civil law and administrative law (incapacity, limited legal capacity, legal capacity), family law (legal protection of children), labour law (employment regulation) and the criminal law (children, juvenile) etc. We know that the young age in post-modernity is different than in the era of modern societies. The question then arises: would it not be necessary to revise legislation dealing with children and young people in accordance with the new social conditions (e.g.: making specific rules concerning the post-adolescents)?

Youth research

“Everyone who comes into contact with youth affairs or with one of its aspects, they inevitably form their first impression in possession of some earlier impressions, experiences or systematic information. The previously lived educational experience, the current media scandals or even the monitoring of young people’s lives living in the direct environment all put such lenses in front of our eyes, which amplify, distort, filter and colour our picture created on the age group”(Nagy et al, 2014). If we want to understand the

youth's life situations, way of life, the most urgent problems, motivations, attitudes, etc. as professionals dealing with the age group, we have to enforce the systematic instruments and scientific logic of understanding. "On selective, often fraudulent everyday heuristics we cannot base any development program, professional monitoring nor status reports describing the situation" (Nagy et al, 2014). In the service-based environment, however, they must be adapted to the needs respectively, and it is not conceivable without the knowledge, namely the science-based and in-depth knowledge of youth age groups, recreational space and the characteristics of the service environment. "Research and analyses within insufficient expertise and criticism, without taking into account the methodological limitations can lead to misdiagnosis and inappropriate or even harmful interventions in generational processes" (Nagy et al, 2014).

"So the competence of this field is the investigation of socially divided youth layers, of the stratification itself, of the local sections of youth, of small and large groups organized along specific values, recreational and work activities. This research paradigm besides the sociological bases has been initially used some of the various psychological perceptions and a part of their tools, social psychological perspective and its test methods, combining the procedures of sociology, management theory and pedagogical- educational scientific research (Nagy et al, 2014)". Understanding the professional, social and economic subsystems underlying in the background of youth age groups and youth affairs is a uniquely interdisciplinary field; we can and should rely on the results of multiple disciplines in the cognitive processes.

Youth-related design

This area deals with social planning related to young people. As part of this, with the alignment of the local, intermediate or national long-term (10-20 years) youth perspective actions according to specific target(s); with setting the resources of this service (strategy), with the resulting short-term (2-4 years) actions, and with the so-called action plan, assigning resources and responsible to this. It also deals with the monitoring activities examining the reasonableness of the measures taken and comparing them with the plans (because neither the strategy nor the planning and development of youth services and programs can do without the comparing of the goals with the achieved status)²⁰⁰ (Nagy et al, 2014). "The youth strategies and action plans

based on it... are the most important planning documents of activities and services to meet the necessities and needs of youth age groups. They cannot do without either the theoretical - even social-philosophical - frames, without the incorporation of the experiences of research and analyses aimed at the understanding of situation analyses and age group processes(evidence-based policy) or without the definition of the target system based on these –tailored to the local or national needs” (Nagy et al, 2014).

In general it can be said that the beneficiaries of the future plans and programs are members of the next generation, but the strategy will have of youth, that its content concerns the youth age group of the given area (of course not ignoring the adult population either).If we stop for a moment and imagine that part of atarget group of youth strategy of 10-20 years have not yet been born, we can realize: the responsibility of strategy making is far more than letters on a paper. By examining the target group’s life situation, problems, activities we get a very heterogeneous picture. Through education to social needs,from entertainment options to cultural programs, from the acquisition of driving licenses to effective advocacy and to employment and housing, the needs and tasks are quite diverse.

The strategies and action plans, however, are “youth-like” not only from this. One of the most fundamental methodological features of youth affairs is the involvement those concerned in the decisions and processes affecting them (Nagy, 2007). The strategies and action plans, therefore, only become truly “youth-like” when in theircreation andimplementation; young people, their communities and organizations take an active role (Nagy et al, 2014).

In connection with the content, a viewpoint needs to be mentioned: the narrow or broad interpretation of the strategies and action plans. That youth strategy and action plan can be called narrow, which focuses on the terrains of tertiary socialization, youth services, youth communities and civil society organizations, as well as on youth work and profession, on their methodology and instruments. Such ideas do not or only extremely briefly include horizontal developments referring to the educational, health, social and child welfare, public education and the labour market, etc. fields. Broadly-interpreted is the strategy or action plan that quits from the fundamental methodological boundaries ofyouth work and profession not only during the definition of targets, andis not only counting with youth work and profession as regards programs to be implemented and institutions and services to be developed (Nagy, 2008a).

“In youth strategies for the vast majority of cases, the action program should be created in response to a needs-based, that is, an emerging deficit or growth needs, but the youth needs, with the change of growing generations, are changing dynamically as well” (Nagy et al, 2014). It is, therefore, necessary to rethink the related actions and services, that is, the strategy needs to be reviewed from time to time (rolling wave planning), since it is impossible to think ahead in 10-20 years’ perspective. The rolling wave planning is a corresponding flexible design technology that provides periodical updating of the target plan values and that the plan complies with the latest information as well.

Task systems

This area can be described the most as the ensuring of the conditions and resources. Each paradigm waiting for cultivation, each profession can lay claim to independence, if we are able to define what are the tasks that the segment provides (or should provide) and is served by what financial and human infrastructure²⁰¹. The so-called task systems are designed to cover the activity network, which characterize (should characterize) the particular area, in this case youth affairs, and what is not relevant to other area²⁰². First of all, it is necessary to define what is considered in that area to be community task (public task) and what is not. It does not necessarily mean that if an activity is understood as a public duty, it should be supplied directly by the state: i.e., the government or municipality. Public tasks are needed to be committed to those, who are trained and intended to carry out these tasks.

Human systems

The provision of youth tasks and the ensuring of supply, the human subsystems (experts, NGOs and government segments) are able to cover. Therefore, this area analyzes the need and the specifics of formal trainings; the youth workers’ competency map; the vocational-training structure as well as the relationships between tasks and competencies of volunteers, the characteristics of non-formal trainings. This area takes stock of the think-tank, data formation, interpretation and contextualization workshops, the youth affairs’ dissemination surfaces (publishing options, conferences, data warehouses) and the value chain deficiencies.

Financial systems

The financial resources of youth affairs are ensured (must be ensured) by the financial systems. This area scrutinizes the analysis, possibilities access, quantity, structure, parallelism and transparency of governmental, EU and private resources. Here is analysed the targeted, recipient, normative or tender nature of funds, and the process of decision-making, the obligation structure of use, as well as societal effects generated by the funds.

International youth activities

Activities dealing with young people increasingly transcend national borders. Youth organizations, governmental structures and research processes by now outgrown their initial framework, and they provide such services, opportunities and challenges which are only possible with extensive collaboration-sand transnational cooperation. In the EU, social policy areas are primarily so-called Member States' competences (e.g.: Youth Policy); in this respect, the Union regularly makes recommendations. In youth policy, the individual Member States have the main responsibility, and while the compliance with community policies have institutionalized monitoring system, hardly has the Member States study of recommendations. So in in EU countries, many youth policy development taking place in parallel, sometimes contradicting and only partially related to each other. It is important to add, however, that all of this can be found at European level as well, so that there is no single definition of youth; to determine it, is a Member States competence (We recall that the European Union's Strategy for Youth born a few years ago is talking about 13-30 year-olds).No wonder that many Member States' responses to the youth crisis phenomena do not have access beyond the documents' level.However, in recent years, the EU's youth policy engagement seems to strengthen, likely, because the total Member State freedom in many cases has not led closer to the targets selected as recommendations.But it is suspected that, as long as the youth policy will not become community policy, the coordination of developments has little chance.It is therefore necessary to deal with the purpose, content, methods and forms of international youth activities interpreted across borders; with the institutions and organizations providing framework; with their operation, interdependence, structure, important documents, support programs, primarily - but not exclusively –in European dimension (Nagy et al, 2014).

This area also covers the typology of youth policies; characterizes the governmental youth policies' organization; in the national parliaments, youth affairs and the non-governmental youth organization of different countries, and their evaluation methods.

The civil-non-profit youth segment²⁰³

The area deals with the theory of the civil youth segment. The space ranging from the civil-volunteer attitude to the small community and organization is covered by the area of volunteering-self-organization of youth work; this area is ranging from organization establishment to sectorial cooperation; the area tries to walk around its practice and theory²⁰⁴.

In our post-modern, multi-identity society, the cooperation and organizations aggregating a variety of interests, displaying values and civil affairs are permeating each other. Without them, society would not be able to detect, process and display the individual, community and social problems arisen. The other side of the coin is that in the society of millions and billions, the individual can feel to be the creator of society, as an actor and not as a passive, solitary element, if his life situations and problems are displayed by organizations persuading the similar ones to cooperate. The vast majority of young people in the absence of this is opposed to the usual forms of participation. The majority does not see the point in formulating their community and social needs, is unable to find a community experience that would affect their lives on the merits (Kárpáti, 2010). Young people thus increasingly experience their goals of participation outside organizations.

The approach of youth participation based on organizations in sum can be called modern forms. In this case, the organization, in exchange of the community and the opportunity to activities, within the framework of a kind of latent contract, expects identification, membership and symbolism from its members (see: the children and youth mass organizations of the twentieth century). In addition, legal and financial requirements for the operation of the organization - that is, all the legislative framework, that have to be followed by the NGOs for the registration or for becoming non-profit-cause a serious burden not always undertaken so today an increasing number of youth communities show beyond the boundaries of organizations and being organized. The young person less and less provides his name for the organization; is less willing to advertise the symbolism of a community, but is using more

and more services, is taking part in events; organizes programs at a higher level of cooperation, so he is a participant of a different kind of cooperation (Nagy, 2008a). Experience and research (Nagy-Székely, 2014) show that while young people are mistrustful against the traditional institutional forms, are more inclusive of “alternative” activities (social networking ad-hoc initiatives, protests, etc.). Their ties and identities are weaker, but more diverse and more complex (like the Y and Z Generation’s multitasking, but difficult to immerse nature). These non-membership-based options can be summarized as “post-modern forms of youth participation” (Nagy et al, 2008).

The above distinction clearly does not have value content²⁰⁵. Do not think, therefore, that modern forms of participation should be forgotten, and instead, attention should be paid exclusively to forms of participation implemented in postmodern frameworks, or the other way around: we should stick to modern forms with tooth and nail. On the one hand, there is a need for those organizations that operate to be understandable for administration and often formed to their image, because through them, youth opinion and will can be communicated more clearly for the municipalities, the government and institutions. On the other hand, however, today's society develops more rapidly; today's youth identity is more complex than it could be followed by this conserved XX. century world view, clenched between slow and administrative frameworks. So the data of organization should also be treated with caution because at the beginning of the XXI. century - counterpointing the XX. century's mass organizations as well as the hidden psychological contract of “legitimacy for a tie” created there - no longer the membership, but also the service and its use can mean the organizational legitimacy and social impact (cf.: from the youth of camps until the youth of festivals).

6. Horizontal youth activities

The horizontal youth activities – could be called youth and society - are those activities that do not belong exclusively to the competence of youth affairs, but can be interpreted as parts of other areas and social segments, where youth affairs extends to other youth-related areas (or they appear in the youth affairs framework of interpretation). Although their detailed “deep drilling like” analysis extends beyond our competence borders, the presentation of their relationship with young people cannot be left out for the completion of

the onion model. We can take stock of nine such areas where the generation logic is in collision with other specialty logics, yet analysis of these areas makes the youth onion model to be completed, as it can be understood in this context that youth affairs is both a separate entity and at the same time, an area cooperating, extending to and competing with other professional fields.

Youth and family

To the family, we must think in two ways: on the one hand, as a childlike (issuer) institution, on the other hand, as an institution giving space for parental roles. This area deals with the relations and bounds of the young person and the family; with the family concept changes: from the household, through the nuclear family, until the concept of symbolic family (Boreczky, 2004); with the changes in family functions (newly, with their softening, cf.: weakening reproductive function); with the diversity of the family forms; with transitional and school adolescence; with the phenomenon of post-adolescence; with the detachment, family planning, family formation-childbearing and with child welfare and child protection systems (basic and specialized services etc.).

Learning and its environment

This area attempts to conceptually follow those social changes, according to which, long ago, in a slow-changing world, it was enough for a lifetime to acquire the pre-defined (because it can be defined) knowledge assets at school, now the amount and obsolescence of knowledge is much faster, and in obtaining the necessary knowledge not only the formal education system can help. This area tries, with the development of non-formal learning opportunities, to solve the effects of the traditionally stiff, competition oriented and selective schools (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012) and to interpret the theory and practice of extra-curricular learning, addressing, *inter alia*, the non-formal learning design, and the informal learning characteristics²⁰⁶. In this area takes place the examination of other “special pedagogies” under the umbrella of free time pedagogy (from cyber-pedagogy to the zoo-pedagogy).

Youth and the world of work

“Young people leaving the school and differently arriving at the world of work, obviously need help with a variety of corrective tasks, human assisting

servicesin addition to the existing public instruments” (Szabó, 2012), so this area will aim to itself that while young people participate in the training system, will also have the opportunity to acquire the occupational competencies, the fundamentally changed and changing labour market requirements and minimizing the distance between learning and the world of work, but here can be interpreted the youth unemployment situation (cf.: absolute, friction-friction , structural-sectorial and cyclical-economic youth unemployment), the labour market structure, the foundation of entrepreneurship, reaching out as far as the generational or wider field of care and self-care.

Youth and health world

We hardly care about young people, when we are talking about health risks, health behaviour, prevention and healthy lifestyle. We recall, “the state” sees “them... if they are acute patients - but cannot see them when they are risking their health” (National Youth Strategy, 2009).Thus, this theme includes the theoretical background of youth and healthcare.”A number of national and international research indicates that health awareness and health- investment inclination is poor but it can be significantly increased in this age group. In the education of the age group to healthy lifestyle, we should primarily concentrate on the social environment around young people”(National Youth Strategy, 2009).Health behaviour, especially at this age, can almost entirely be formed outside the health system (Susánszky-Szántó, 2008) and it is much more than taking actions against tobacco products and alcohol, or drugs, because the abnormal - chemical and psychological - dependency (and abnormal independence) behaviours’ space is much broader than that.

This includes the sports field, where the review of social attitude is not a task to be delayed: today we still mainly seethe spectacle, the excitement, the competition, the uniqueness, instead of prevention, education through sport or the joy of movement or to discover community life (it is perceptible that the sports facilities are primarily bound to competitive sports: while the country spends billions on the infrastructural background of each spectacular sports, the city “ravings”, the village courts disappear, and to the sports grounds of schools, young people often cannot enteroutside school hours). In some places, some gold medals are still worth more than the increase of social “momentum”, while hundreds of thousands of young people are affected by the latter, up to the daily activity level.

Here appears youth tourism²⁰⁷ that is both generational characteristic and a social issue (the richer travel more; does the society, the state has balancing role in this); learning and value-creating characteristic (inter-culturalism, tolerance, adaptability, environmental awareness, getting to know other localities), and a market segment.

Young people as consumers

We know that today's youth age groups are fundamentally different from the youth of previous generations throughout, and this difference is not primarily manifested in clothing or in the use of language (they are similar to previous generations in the denial of adult styles), but also - as we have seen - in the information gathering and communication strategies. From the world of media and consumption, young people cannot be kept away long ago - because of the engagement of the socio-educational approach towards social environment it is not necessary - although the traditional pedagogy did not support "educator staff" in this area either (Böhnisch, 2000). The leisure industry serves the needs of young people; treats them as independent consumers, and young people's consumption patterns are not primarily influenced by parents, but by the peer group (Böhnisch, 2000). Therefore, the responsibility of youth affairs increases in that it can exploit those active and supportive elements that lie in the media so that young people be not victims, but creators of the media space; they use the media and not the media uses them (remember that the school today serves less with samples and models). In any case, youth affairs in the media space sees a potential to take advantage of (e.g. social action patterns, formation of critical thinking etc.), and not primarily a threat. In this area, therefore, it is particularly important that young people become, one the hand, conscious (culture) consumers, on the other hand, conscious (culture) producer and service provider (Bús, 2013; Bús, 2013a; Bús, 2013b). For young people in the leisure space, but in the totality of the search for identity as well, it has utmost importance that members of the young generation create groups and subcultures with symbols cannot be confused with anything else, and do so often with medial support. The outlines of youth subcultures basically defined in that young people especially distinguish themselves from small children and adults. It is striking that today the youth groups and symbols are virtually free from adult's social policy ideologies, but not even around former religious belonging to a community or around cult film

actors these groups are organized. In addition, the symbols have also been globalized, a “punk is just as the same in Copenhagen as in Hódmezővásárhely, and the plaza cat is also the same everywhere”(Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012; cf.: the domestic Y and Z Generations’ catch up to the youth of sample countries).

The media has not just symbolic importance, so that young people can get rid of the adult controlbut it is a means of social appearance; consumption exactly conveys this present-orientation, against which the future-orientation of the school is voided. Thus, the use of consumption in order to increase awareness and social capacity is an important asset of youth affairs.

Youth and identity

It has long been known that multiple identities - up to the same level of abstraction identity –donot mean incompatible contents of consciousness. Thus, this area includes the grading of belonging to the human, regional (in our case European²⁰⁸), national and local identities and groups, but here appear the different “professional identities” and their compatibility, in particular, the relations of young people and religion - by now losing its traditional social organization function– and political socialization (the area is different from the individual autonomy area of youth work in that is not the individual but the large social group is in focus).In this field it is to be discussed that the policy is still stick to the old image of youth, according to which only adults can have suffrage, not counting with the fact that today’s adulthood is the same maximum in age as the adulthood existence of modernity (Böhnisch, 2000).In addition, in this area we are talking about rural and urban youth and this area is dealing with youth migration, social and geographical mobility, housing and homelessness.

Marginalization

According to the (obviously idealistic) vision of meritocratic society, it must be ensured that everyone deserves a share from goods, according to his merit, knowledge and performance, by ensuring a certain minimum as an expectations of civilization for all in the XXI. century²⁰⁹. The prevention of skidding, the theory of assisting peers and fellows, the eradication of poverty and exclusion, the understanding and acceptance (or rather the culture of inclusion) of minoritiesor those with obstructed and disability fate as a significant risk

factor in itself, is the hallmark of this area. The exclusion, failure, segregation and lack of success is not only the individual's, but the society's failure as well; in this respect again, youth affairs can have a defining role, all the more not to create equality at the level of poverty or exclusion (Nagy et al, 2008).

Deviance

From the point of view of the prevention of socially negative and blatantly deviant behaviours it is important to be able to develop conscious patterns of behaviour in young people (cf.: positive deviances or the friction of autonomous, internally driven personalities with the society). Thiersch explains the growing up problems and frustration of needs of these dissocial youth, as well as the factors and processes promoting these, saying that dissociation is actually “is a misfit compensation of a failed identification,” which leads to uncertainty replacement action or aggression (Thiersch, 2000)²¹⁰. The prevention and treatment basically depends on how much the individual can be involved in activities that promote socialization and integration. The “efficiency of the overall crime prevention, and its successful prevention-oriented operation solely depends on how we can help those becoming an adult but be involved in criminal situation building up their lives and to be able to acquire such constructive means through which they can become value-creating, constructive adults” (Szabó, 2009). This area, in terms of our train of thought is primarily a remedial human service and not a law enforcement task²¹¹ (Szabó, 1992; Rácz, 1989; Nemes, 1984), for a treatment of which packages of proposals are made for decades (eg.: Illyés-Darvas, 1990; Szabó, 1992).

Liveable environment

The three components of liveable environment are the physical environment (bio-capacity and ecological footprint etc.), the human environment (the everyday social interaction, the social costs following from it, the rule of law and democracy quality deficits based on this) and the information environment (level of comfort, vulnerability, etc.), which is now asking for space as an equal player besides physical and human environment, all the more so because the research indicate the positive effects of the information environment on the equality of opportunity (cf.: Digital Divide Index, Székely-Urbán, 2008).

V. THE LEISURE – EDUCATOR: THE YOUTH WORKER

*“We only have two valuable legacies:
our roots and our wings”
(Author unknown)*

With the professionals of youth work, with youth workers we can meet in youth offices, clubs, youth points, youth organizations, youth events, training sessions, camps, etc. We know that our young people in the current media have skilled or less skilled, but watchful attendants: in the primary medium, the family's “lay” attendants given by nature, and the children and family protection institutions helping, in principle, when this relationship is damaged; and the skilled attendants of the secondary medium in the school environment. The active actors of the tertiary socialization medium - be peer volunteers or trained animators - are no in lack of pedagogical responsibility and “achievement-obligation”. They accompany young people as assisting professionals in search of their identity; they can provide proper orientation to their interests and talents. Their helping attitude comes from “social assignment” and it can be applied effectively and efficiently if it is essentially free of obligation gestures and free of the role behaviour of teachers. In addition, to all those tasks to be achieved, all those needs to be satisfied and all the progress to be created that is essential to human development, representatives of various disciplines have to cooperate. In the process of the individual's growing up, he requires the existence of specialized areas of specialized care, as well as their operation and co-operation.

The youth worker²¹²as a supporter

There are many specialist areas, the characteristics of which are that the subject of the activity is the man himself and its purpose is his assistance. Without being exhaustive, according to the list, these are: the health visitor, the doctor, the nurse, the infant- and child caregiver, the kindergarten teacher, the social worker, the special education teacher, the conductor, the school teacher, the teacher, the psychologist, the priest, etc. In some ways, the youth worker fits for this circle as well.” To the conceptual grasp of the assistant relationship in the public mind there is hardly any other model than the traditional

doctor-patient relationship. In this special relationship, there is no other task for the individual, but to accept the doctor's opinion, to follow the instructions and to submit himself to the interventions deemed necessary "(Nagy et al, 2014).

In contrast, the assistant relationship actually can be modelled with a dynamic character in which the task is the exploration and strengthening of the development potential inherent in personality; as well as removing the obstacles opposing evolution –the young person resolves this together with the youthassistant, but even more with his/her support²¹³. The assistant relationship is a process in which in the area of the particular human problem, amore integrated (more collated) personality (ignore for a moment fellow support) - that is, the assistant - helps through guided sessions to people in need to manage or resolve their psychological problems, behavioural disturbances and their social concerns and difficulties"(Nagyné Schiffer, 2010). Assistance is an altruistic, pro-social behaviour; conscious, constructive activity, serving the improvement of the other person's, community's living conditions (Schád, 2014).

The assistance can have individual and collective forms. In individual terms,assistance is "the response action of the man to the wordless or verbal invitation of his troubled fellow mento dispense them from the tight squeeze"²¹⁴ (Gebssattel, 1989; Hárdi, 1992)."Any activity can be understood as community assistance that is carried out by an existing community to be able to handle itsand/ or their members' problems and which support people facing particular problems to be able to create and successfully operated a community in order to address their problem (Tóbiás, 2011).

Due to the nature of the assistant relationship, the youth worker is in increased emotional connection with the people, thus it is particularly important to gain such psychological qualifications and experience, on the basis of which is better able to get through in the fieldof emotions and human relations (Fodor-Tomcsányi, 1990).It is important, therefore, that anyone can give help (family member, neighbour, friend, co-worker, etc.), but a distinction must be made between professional assistance and assistance offered by laymen. Good intentions and a willingness to help can be useful at a certain level, but the border must be recognized when trained professionals are needed (Nagyné Schiffer, 2010). The inexperienced assistant can be dangerous not only for young people but can cause injury to himself, as well.

The youth worker as a developer

Although perhaps it can bestated that we are all struggling with numerous problems, and some of these can be interpreted as personal, interpersonal problems; moreover, in the case of young people this problem map²¹⁵ is often more colourful, not everyone think about solving and handling their problems with helping professions andprofessionals. In addition, the need of this is not the only characteristic of those seeking help. We would like to learn certain things, we are looking for relationships, we strive to feel good, we change, and we want to develop.In terms of the substance of youth work, in addition to assistance, its tally activity is development. In this case, we consider any process or area to be a development activity that supports the personal development of the individual and the development of the communitynot due to recovery from the problem. The youth worker is, therefore,a pedagogically competent developer, as well.

The development in this sense also has two aspects: the personal development and development in the communal space. The latter is also fortunate because it is a specific characteristic of the youth age group that it has the needfor the community, to live those experiences in peer groups that are creating for himthe feeling of being a member of the community.The more positive experiences he lives, the more he is used to the community in which these areensured to him. These are also the scenes of non-formal learning: here communication skills, attention to the other person, tolerating otherness can develop;such modes of behaviour can be learned by the social relations, which are essential for the maturation process (cf. hidden curriculum in schools).That is, public spaces provide the possibility of such a non-specific learning, which can mean the path to the process of successful growing up²¹⁶. The youth worker, to achieve, appliesmainly locality-based work methods (local, professional, virtual etc.), as well as civil action techniques.The professional intervention of community development, due to the multitude of unexpected turns impossible to plan,does not, or only in the later phase of the process, makes possible the contractual and service work; so this work is a so-called initiator-intervener type.The community development organizes and generates communication between the community actors, and by it - with creating so-called networks of reciprocity –it is building trust. Community development (in principle) involves all stakeholders in joint thinking, and those addressed are building community institutions in the community.These

institutions assume and perform a number of new and alternative community and social functions. By all of this, community development contributes greatly to the acceleration of the culture-creating capacity of our changing society (Nagy-Nizák-Vercseg, 2014).

The youth worker as a ...

In addition, of course, the youth worker is a part of many “such as”, including:

- As the guardian of social problems, is also a social researcher. He must be aware of local or national social relationships; has to know social groups and their relations to young people, the processes, the living conditions, the lifestyle and the most pressing problems of young people.
- As a public citizen, local or national public figure, is a public policy actor, a public actor, whether appearing in an analyst, or in a performer role. He needs to know the interest and value formation conditions, the players and trends of the public force field, and even as consciously applying the law and as an initiator, has to be an active participant in the formation of these processes (see also: the co-science system presented in the introduction).

These additional features overgrow the limits of this work, all the more so because the youth work dichotomy is basically interpreted on the assistance-development axis (social work vs. pedagogy). After all, youth workers especially help and develop: help, since he might be the powerless actor in the young person's whom he can access in case of problems; and develops as he tries to unfold the resources and talent in the young person, or at least to create opportunities to this.

The competences of the youth worker

With some boastfulness we can say that what is the general practitioner for the patient, it is the youth worker for the young person: at the same time, a gatekeeper-customer manager and an assisting-developing specialist. Following from the youth onion model, we see the role of the youth worker mainly in the deeper, problem solving, competence-level application of youth work and in the knowledge of horizontal youth activities capable of dispute. So a youth worker is a person who is operating in a direct personal relationship with the young person and the community of young people voluntarily

turning to him during his work, and for whom he has assumed responsibility within certain limits (following Nagy-Földi, 2010). The youth worker must have a rich methodological warehouse to be able to adapt to the continuously changing circumstances. This makes it possible to meet the challenges of the here and now situations.

His main responsibility is to put the young people into a position so that they can identify and articulate their problems and the challenges ahead, and to be able to respond to them individually along community strategies, as a responsible, autonomous and conscious public citizen. His task is to activate youth with socio-cultural methods; protect their interests; support the local society and local communities; building and taking care of relationships between subcultural groups; as well as facilitating the establishment of dialogue; helping those at risk with consultancy and supporting their appearance in the labour market. He is carrying out his activities in educational, social and public educational institutions, as well as in different areas and organizations of the civil sphere.

The youth worker's competency map can be divided into four segments: to skills necessary in relation to him, individual youth worker job-related skills, skills needed in community space as well as workplace-professional spatial skills (based on Nagy-Földi, 2010).

In respect of his own, the youth worker is capable of:

- The objective assessment of his quality of life, the exploration of his development opportunities.
Implementation: self-assessment, self-improvement.
- Pursued harmony with himself, thereby becoming congruent.
Implementation: self-acceptance.
- The development and review of his life strategy.
Implementation: future planning.
- Creating positive relationship system with others.
Implementation: empathic behaviour, empathy development.
- Be the creative component of his community.
Implementation: role identification and acceptance.

- Taking part in the society.

Implementation: Acceptance of public citizenship.

- Following a problem-solving approach, tolerating and managing stress well.

Implementation: sensitivity to the problem, finding a way out, stress management.

With regard to their personal youth work job:

- Youth workers during their work keep in mind the viewpoints of those affected; during their information service, counselling and assistance tasks involve those affected; get in contact with them on emotional level as well. They understand that they are a kind of mirror in the assistance process and cannot use the assistance process for their own purposes; they understand that the facilitating process is not about them.

Implementation: at the time, devoting special attention to the direction of those affected, in which neither political nor religious (similar or different) beliefs cannot play a role. In the process, the youth workers do not but those affected do have free choice of value.

- Youth workers teach those involved to learn: provide adequate learning guidance and feedback; use a variety of learning methods and techniques; take advantage of spontaneous learning and development opportunities; recognize the specific learning / educational needs; make it natural that the assessment is a self-evident part of a process.

Implementation: to raise awareness and to facilitate that those affected consider the processes to be learning process as well.

- Youth workers help those affected to be able to recognize own interests, values and shortcomings; to independent thinking and action and to identify and implement their own goals.

Implementation: The involvement of the stakeholders into the design, implementation and evaluation of the activities; gently confronting them with themselves.

- Youth workers help those affected in creating their future strategies and developing their individual autonomy.

Implementation: awareness of the necessary competencies and areas for future planning; the exploration of the opportunities for self-expression, self-realization and self-development.

- Youth workers are able to internalize altruism, volunteerism and civil nature.

Implementation: creating situations and behaviours promoting volunteering.

- Youth workers help the stakeholders in recognizing their own cultural background; to determinetheir place in a changing world, and also to promote active tolerance and interaction with people from other cultures;
Implementation: showing the situation, human nature, struggles (strictly respecting the personal space). successes and failures of other stakeholders.
- Youth workers are striving for that the services provided by them - without discrimination- be accessible to all and that the stakeholdershave the opportunity to choose their youth workers.

Implementation: If the use of the youth assistance service is bound to some commitment, it has to be communicated in advance to the relevant stakeholders (youth workers inform those affected in advance about the possible financial conditions of the services used by the; they must not ask for other compensation and must not accept it).

With regard to their community activity:

- Youth workers design and use the various forms of participation; help the recognition and development of the social competences of those affected.
Implementation: the involvement of stakeholders.
- Youth workers show the potential in the collaboration opportunities, methods of conflict management and the need for competition.
Implementation: finding and creating cooperative situations.
- Youth workers know and use methods of community development; promote forming a community out of a group.
Implementation: proficient knowledge of animation techniques, problem-solving knowledge of community role conflicts.
- Youth workers design, implement, supportand manage projects: treat stakeholders, manage processes, plan costs, find resources, manage others, work in team, make quality targets and implement them, analyse risks, plan the time.

Implementation: participation in projects, constantly controlling increasing projects.

- Youth workers implement youth service activities; manage regular and intensive professional events.

Implementation: camps, youth offices, youth points, operation, organization and leadership of public spaces.

With regard to their working environment (workplace, profession theory, profession policy space):

- Youth workers carry out youth work in the virtual space as well.

Implementation: working through social networks, e-mails and lists etc.

- Youth workers cooperate with their colleagues; they are understanding with them, respecting their autonomy and recognize their limitations of competence, contribute to the development of the organization, and know that their work can basically be effective and efficient in team. Recognize the limits of their solidarity, the injury of the sense of justice or the masking of problems.

Implementation: teamwork, solidary collegiality.

- In each case, they make complaints relating to them or to other youth workers to be examined, according to the needs of the parties for involvement.

Implementation: an opportunity must be provided to the anonymous and non-anonymous communication of complaints; they must be handled.

- Youth workers administer and, if necessary, present their work or its individual elements, even with the help of modern tools.

Implementation: by developing their presentation / administrative skills, tracking with the help of information technology equipment park.

- Youth workers monitor the development of the profession and integrate its results into their work; are striving to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of services provided by them.

Implementation: following the literature, participation in evaluation and supervision, participation in professional trainings, training courses, conferences, and meetings.

- Youth workers cannot be influenced by their position outside the professional field in the quality of their professional activities.
Implementation: efforts that all factors hindering objective work to be eliminated.
- Youth workers cannot be participants of processes and events against the law, human and humanity, and of exclusionary processes and events.
Implementation: analysis of the objectives of the specific event.

Youth professional roles in practice

Below we take in line those areas affected by youth work where youth worker knowledge is essential (in many places, of course, it comes in handy, too, for example: family support, child protection), and it is important that the terminology describing the activity often tells more than qualification. Therefore it is necessary to distinguish between the person qualified in youth affairs, and the person performing a task related to youth affairs²¹⁷. It is indicative that the degree today often does not require youth activities, nor the activities (although with differing clamping force by areas) the education.

It is important that in our view, the youth worker expression cannot be used for the roles and activities because it is occupied with respect of qualification. Thus, here it would be not known, whether we are talking about the qualification or the occupation. As “the chief accountant, the chief financial officer, the labour economics professor and the person carrying out academic research all have economics qualifications” (Körösényi-Tóth-Török, 2008), a number of occupational and professional groups and roles emerged by today, where those with youth profession qualification appeared or even play (should play) a decisive role. “The same logic applies for the use of most concepts related to social science. Economist is a person who completed a training providing such degree - regardless of whether he later works as a banker, economic analyst, as a civil servant or even in a completely different area. However, at their “official” speaking, economists usually define themselves as bankers, economic analysts or even brokers. The situation is similar with the categories of lawyer, prosecutor, judge, etc., all having legal qualifications” (Körösényi-Tóth-Török, 2008). Such role interpretation experiments and expert-involvement descriptions exist in social profession as well (Woods, 1994).

Consider, therefore, what kind of activities and jobs can be imagine in the field of youth work by occupation:

- Youth leaders can be called especially the organizational volunteers, participants and organizational controllers active in youth non-governmental organizations, who are primarily (though not exclusively) carrying out their activities with event- and service focus in a given location, or through a network-like organization. The uniqueness of the youth leader is volunteering and vision through the organization, and characterized by (usually) a project-based approach. Their knowledge is practical and specific personal and community development knowledge, which they generally exploit as a volunteer. Their areas of action are the camps, events and programs; their success criteria are these events and the success and reputation of the organization itself; in a long term, the development of those socialized in that given community.
- Youth officers (generals) are youth professionals working in apparatus, especially in governments (be it in most places local-settlement, town or even county governments, regional association, cooperation performing regional tasks). The staff of the area (sometimes department, general department, Deputy Secretary of State) responsible for government youth affairs, working in the bureaucratic apparatus can also be called youth officers, when we consider that, in fact, they are also responsible for the relationship between civil society organizations, youth and the ministry, and for systemic operation just as the ‘classical’ youth officer in local governments. The uniqueness of the youth officer is the creation of the relationship at the administrative side with young people and their organizations. Their activities’ aim is to coordinate, organize, conduct, monitor and evaluate the strategic cycle in their jurisdiction. It is usually a full-time job. Their advanced knowledge is the knowing the organizational, official course of business and their social capital with the youth non-governmental sector. Their specific areas of work are considered the corporate-, commission-, and workgroup sessions. Their criteria for success are the recognition of recognition of those standing above them in the structure; and the locality development of youth affairs in the long run.
- Youth politicians are considered to be the representatives legitimized through an election or some kind of delegation procedure in some kind

of structure. Youth politicians are members of the youth committee of the parliament; government representatives dealing with youth issues, but also in the youth resource expansion and distribution boards, the civil, professional and government representatives. They are the delegated, co-opted, elected representatives to various organizations, who mostly occur on behalf of and in the interest of their electorate. They represent, provide participation for the stakeholders, impact upon and exercise interests. Youth politicians' uniqueness is the authority in decision-making and decision-making. Their task is political, professional policy action and, in some cases to maximize votes through this. Their knowledge is an active knowledge in the political and professional space, as well as information service and information-recording. They can be professionals or volunteers; their specific arena are committee meetings, briefings, and press-release. Their success criteria are the strength of the policy position; the operability of the given institution, location, structure in the long run.

- Youth experts are considered to be those working in professional workshops, teams and think-tanks who know the youth area, or part of it in a special way. Those researchers, academics are included who, independently, in various professional workshops, in higher education or in the environment of professional periodic, optimally within institutional framework, carry out, publish, initiate and manage research, are involved in research in relation to youth ; those can indirectly raise the quality of youth work related to youth generations. They can facilitate that the decisions on different levels related to the youth generations be able to be born with duly justified, sufficient knowledge. They make the generation trends and socialization contexts appearing during growing up to be cognizable and to be monitored, and they may also contribute to the strengthening of a variety of activities related to growing up from professional point of view, that is, to remain in line with the challenges occurring together with the growing up of the age groups. In this sense, the uniqueness of the youth expert role is that it is only legitimized by its professional knowledge. Youth experts, if they exert their activities in a university or research institute setting, can be called as youth researchers. Their basic purpose is research, analysis, understanding, explanation. Their knowledge is theoretical / basic or applied / empirical

scientific nature. Typically, it can be performed as a full-time job; less often performed as a hobby or voluntarily. Its specific action space is the professional dissemination network. Its success criteria are the academic and professional recognition; the expansion of the youth professional body of knowledge in the long run.

- Youth workers can be called those working in a permanent youth service medium (mainly, but not exclusively, in youth offices, points, public spaces) workers (this name in the terminology was used for other concept before, and in everyday language, because of the possible bad sounding of it in the past, it is possible but not easy to capture a more apt concept to this activity). The uniqueness of the youth workers are the employment-like service activities on a daily basis. Their knowledge is practical, specific personal and community development knowledge. Their basic purpose is the supply through constant activity. Its specific action place is the youth office, community space; its area are the professional networks, meetings. Its success criteria are the recognition of customers and clients; increasing recognition of the given service space in the long run.
- Youth artists, publicists (including other artists and “media personalities” as well): the cultural areas (youth literature, youth music and music publishing, children’s theatre, youth films), the press or electronic media, and more recently the various forums of the Internet provide countless opportunities to not only make the happenings related to the new generations to be known, but also to indirectly convert and influence the process of growing up. Culture and media professionals deal in a wide variety of aspects with the younger generations, both at local and national scale. The uniqueness of this role is making contacts between public life and the youth sector; its aims is to learn about and introduce youth world. Its knowledge “is to communicate knowledge”; its communication space is the media; its success criterion is the awareness (readership, audience, viewership, number of clicks); the socialization of youth affairs in the long run.

The activities and characteristics are summarized in the table below (Table 23, Table 24):

	Youth leader	Youth officer	Youth politician	Youth expert (youth researcher)	Youth worker	Youth artist, publicist
Typical roles	Youth organizational leader or dealing with (not necessarily only civil) youth	Municipal, government bureaucrat	Decision maker in municipalities, in the parliament and in bodies	Researcher and analyst working in research institutes, think-tanks	Employer dealing with young people on a daily basis	Public use about, with and for young people
Basic aim	Service through projects or organization	The coordination and organization of the strategic cycle in the jurisdiction	Reaching political, policy, professional goals, actions, maximizing votes	Research, analysis, understanding, explanation, expansion of youth professional body of knowledge	Supply through constant activity	To get to know and introduce
Nature of knowledge	Practical, concrete personal and community development knowledge	Bureaucratic knowledge, social capital with the youth non-governmental sector	Action knowledge in the political space, information service and information-recording in the area of youth work	Use of theoretical base or applied, empirical sciences	Practical, concrete personal and community development knowledge	Ability to communicate knowledge

Relation to the role	In general, voluntary	Official	Official or voluntary	In general, official	Official	Official
Specific arena, space, its action and communication space	Camps, events	Local government, commission, corporate meetings, working groups office chairs	Committee meetings, briefings, conferences, press-release	Professional conferences	Youth office, community spaces, professional networks, meetings	Media
Success criteria	Success of the event, organization	Recognition of the principal	(Profession) political empowerment	Scientific recognition	Recognition of clients and customers	Readership, audience, viewership, number of clicks, awareness
Long-term success	The development of those socialized there	The development of youth affairs in the given locality	The functionality of the institution, locality, structure	The expansion of youth professional body of knowledge	Increasing recognition of the service provider space	The socialization of youth affairs

Table 23: Youth professional roles classification (Source: own editing)

In addition, of course, more categories, future occupations can be formed (the separation of experts and researchers; youth counsellor, youth lobbyist), but experience shows that these activities are only performed by a few people (or nobody) independently, so that these categories, although covering possible activities and occupations in theory, and therefore should be mentioned, their analysis in practice hardly seems appropriate today.

	Youth worker	Youth officer
Type of the relationship with the age group	Direct, pragmatic, customer-oriented activity	Indirect, official administration; tasks defined by rules of procedures and regulations
Nature of the task	Organizer, service tasks	Coordination tasks
Place of work	Working mainly in the field	Working mainly in the office
Target group	Working with individuals and groups belonging to the age group	In particular, working with the generational organizations, advocacy and policy makers
Role	Mentor role in the enforcement of the age group (e.g. young people-young people, young people-parents, young people-teachers etc.), advisory role besides young people	Link, connecting role between decision makers and the age group; advisory role in addition to the decision-makers
Approach	Supporting decisions affecting individuals and small groups; promotion of individual-small group advocacy	Preparing decisions affecting the age group, representing the interests of age groups

Table 24: The differences of a youth worker and a youth officer
 (source: Nagy et al, 2014)

The players in the youth activities

So far, we considered activities requiring youth worker qualification; we try to describe below the roles that work (besides the youth workers), with or without expertise, directly with young people. In all of these activities, not only the direct link is decisive, but an active, specific engagement, through which the assistant is supporting the growing up of those affected within a particular context. In the intermediate process, we distinguish the range of natural-lay assistants and the professionally prepared or (from youth professional point of view) partially prepared scope of assistants. However, we need to know that life is much more diverse than the following models: the receptionist is often the most professional leisure time organizer, the guardian is a legendary community developer citywide, and the bartender is the best master of youth projects²¹⁸.

- The scope of natural and lay assistants: “Natural assistance, when you think about it carefully, is quite well known expression in everyday life. The natural urge to help is probably one of the oldest, defining motif of a variety of social roles of man “(Szabó, 2012).Natural assistance is rooted in the social world of man; in many situations of everyday life it is simply indispensable.Supposedly every lay and institutionalized engagement can be derived from this primary (assistant) activity. Its physiological basis in essence is the protection and pro-social needs of man. Such assistants include: the issuer family (relatives); a circle of friends and volunteers (peer and fellow supporters, support groups).
- The scope of professionally prepared assistants: “Youth work being in direct contact with youth age groups requires professionally well prepared professionals. In the full spectrum of growing up, in accordance with its diverse areas and aspects, there is a need for various, qualified professionals “(Szabó, 2012). Those carrying out such activities are the teachers, psychologists, professionals of (children and) youth protection, family protection specialists, animators (trainers, leaders of study groups, art- and other groups), social workers and public education professionals (public educators, cultural managers, community managers) etc.
- The scope of professionally partly prepared assistants: “In everyday life, there are many professional fields that require different levels of professional skills of youth exists, that occasionally (for example, because it is necessary for a task performance) is linked to young people.To be able to carry out their work, their tasks effectively in relation to the growing up generations, the representatives of these professions need extra and specialized knowledge. All this may occur in a special preparation or professional training.For some professions, however, there can be/is a need for the development of specific, distinct professional and occupational fields even within the same profession” (Szabó, 2012). The representatives of these professions do not get into in the youth field space primarily in connection with their professional activities, but when in their particular (own) professional life situation,they are confronted with youth problems (e.g.: the general practitioner is not in a youth affairs role as he is prescribing the recipes, but he is in it when he is trying to answer adolescent problems). Those carrying out this activity: doctors,

health care job providers, the drug prevention specialists, employment specialists and law enforcement personnel (police, and those active in crime prevention or law enforcement).

Activities of the youth workers include coordination of the activities of the various lay and professional practitioners engaged in different roles- in order to create the autonomy of the generation entering adulthood - and adjusting it to the specific processes and needs of those becoming adults (Szabó, 2012).

Of course, the line can be continued for a long time (e.g.: those engaged in military training), but the point is not the endless listing of core players beyond their introduction. None of the youth actors (with a few exceptions, amplifying the rule), is able to fill the youth field alone. Cooperation between sectors is therefore very important; players working for youth and with youth in different areas should work closely together. Thus, these roles cannot be isolated from each other because the quality of youth activities as a whole just depends on how the various activity groups with different aspects reinforce each other; how they enable the youth age groups' growing up. The professionals should recognize each other's work, the performance of other institutions, their methods and techniques so that those working in the youth field be able to join somewhere when reaching their own competence borders (of course the teacher is not only part of youth work among the school setting; the parents and families are not just part of it in relation to the family socialization, and the professional working in family support is not only the one applying legislation, while the cultural manager is not only leisure time organizer etc.). So it is a crucial issue that what contents and forms the partnership and cooperation of the players involved takes up; and in particular how to improve the expertise of dealing with youth age groups by each other. Put simply, when they are working professionally in their own areas of expertise, they have to operate the signalling system in a coordinated manner, with the necessary knowledge and skills possessed; to communicate; seek for common solutions; work in such a network system, which will keep, promote and make the affected person to take further steps.

VI. CODA- FINAL THOUGHTS

*“Young is the one who has no idea
that the good old days is now”
(Timár, György)*

Previously we tried to establish, present and analyse the onion model of youth affairs and tried to prove that it is rooted in education science and is permeated by the educational work. The relation of school pedagogy and youth affairs shows strong parallels with the relationship of the traditional computer network (web1) and web2 contents. While pedagogy in traditional school settings has an intensive need for resource and is a data transmission type; is traditionally based on mass passive inclusion (currently is struggling with both resource problems and with the outbreak from the informative, traditional passive role); youth affairs, by its foundations, builds on the inclusion and natural activity of participants, and as such, its resource demand is much lower (just think of how much human resources are required by a news website and how less by a blog network). This does not mean the denial of the nature and need of traditional (frontal) data communication; simply - as we simultaneously gather information about news and blogs –it indicates that youth affairs asks for a seat at the table of education science.

1. “All are seated equally...”

As we tried to prove, to autonomous personality, to real communities and to an open society, such knowledge, expertise and skills are essential, for the creation, development and promotion there is a possibility mainly in the leisure time space in post-modern society. In addition to the traditional school settings: public education, vocational training, higher education and adult education (Kozma, 2013) a fifth wheel, youth affairs defined by leisure pedagogy and social pedagogy requires space. Thus, the leisure pedagogy (and through it, youth affairs), is asking for space - and the thesis proposes to get it –at the table of education science pedagogy. Because without it:

- The activity-based approach of leisure time and social normativity is not compatible. Think of the post-modern leisure time approach set out above, which - in contrast to modernity –does not approach leisure time

residually any more but considers it as the new field of autonomy and identity (search), in the spirit of activity basis ("when I do what I want"). Nevertheless, society still assigns (and does not) and prefer (and unprefer) values to each activity in leisure time. The individual's autonomy, free will and social normativity is able to be reconciled only by leisure time pedagogy (and their sub-pedagogies) as well as by its service-based functionality; without this, either the freedom of leisure time is breached, or we consider the leisure time as having no social cohesive strength and compulsion.

- First of all, the socialization of young people can only be interpreted in predetermined positions of power. Lacking of intended leisure time socialization, i.e. leisure pedagogy, the situations non-predetermined in a sense of power are lost in the space of socialization. Not that these situations without control would always lead to the right way (cf.: Lord of Flies, The Hunger Games, and dozens of other young-adult movies based on peer group interaction), but their absence would deprive young people of a very important terrain.
- There is no community only with strongly limited control, and a much more limited reflection terrain provided by peer groups. The school's construction group rules restricting freedom of choice do not allow the natural clustering of the group to leave and to enter into the group (i.e. mainly: the class) is not really possible. No doubt there is such a terrain of our life (cf.: workplace), but dozens of identity-building communities in our lives can be and are chosen freely, and the necessary skills are lost, or at least do not develop properly if there is no interaction terrain for such groups chosen freely.
- Personal youth work and the prevention and resolution of personal problem situations has a limited terrain only. During the establishment of their self-identity - often by struggling with their own life goals, reason, sense and foundations - young people are often faced with themselves; get into decision-making situations cannot be solved or into identity crisis. Managing the "I have problem with this" situations cannot be simply imagined in the school space. But even in the case of young people not experiencing identity problems as a crisis, experience show, that some open-ended situations or personal interaction situation for ventilation have benefits.

- Future planning and development of individual autonomy is only possible in a strongly limited way, if implemented at all. After all, the rather rigid system of lesson's logic in this respect does not support either the self-development, self-realizing possibility of lassiez faire pedagogy or the future orientation at the level of the individual, while this segment of the leisure pedagogy is able to achieve the “no young people left behind” principles of personalization and individual treatment (paraphrasing of the “No Child Left Behind” education initiative, and the name of the law putting it into form; US Congress, 2001).
- Freedom of choice and responsibility prevails in a much more limited way; the probationary period of success orientation is not served by a protected environment. Without leisure pedagogical support, the tools and methods, attempting to make youth active in the hope of the completeness of success and in the partial protection from the failure, shall not apply. The projects, public citizenship engagements, bursting the framework of the school are lost in the absence of leisure-time pedagogy.
- The development activity in the virtual world is certainly undermined. Today, as our social and education science concepts are barely developed as regards the virtual space, scientific world lags behind the practice road length, because as we know, the young people spend two-thirds to three-quarters (Nagy, 2013) of their free time in mediated environment (where is the “blessed”, community mapping world of plazas?).

But it is equally important that the educational foundations outlined in work: the involvement-inclusion-participation, the assistance of young people, the support of the creation and development of communities, youth work carried out in cyberspace, youth professional activities laying the foundation of and supporting youth work may contribute not to see risk, threat or problem in our children and young people, but rather individuality, uniqueness, opportunity and the real depositaries of the future. And the self-fulfilling prophecy will work...

VII. REFERENCES

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Databases

- *Ifjúság2000 questionnaire and data file*;
- *Ifjúság2004 questionnaire and data file*;
- *Ifjúság2008 questionnaire and data file*;
- *Magyar Ifjúság 2012 questionnaire and data file*;

Endnotes

1 The young men of March 1848 or the student riots of 1968, but up to the September 2006 riots in Freedom Square justify: what we do or do not do today, will make its beneficial or harmful effect to be felt even in the (near) future, and thus, the youth of tomorrow will be particularly affected. With some exaggeration, if we do not help today's youth to learn techniques of democracy: Raisins will disappear again from the TV headquarters shattered to pieces.

2 As part of antropagogy, pedagogy is primarily interpreted in connection with the education of children and young people.

3 Our reference as a family actually means family socialization space and our reference as a school means school socialization terrain.

4 Still, if we want to indicate ages at all costs: the period between from 8-12 to 25-30 years-of-age be called as adolescent phase of life.

5 In the age group, research report on the appearance of new forms of public activity. "Youth earlier experienced their participation goals through association membership, but nowadays they do so increasingly outside of it. Young people provide their names less and less to an organization; less willing to advertise an organization's symbolism; they use more and more services and organize programs at a higher level of cooperation; they are part of a cooperation. Their bounds and identity are weaker, but more various and complex. These options not based on membership can be summarized as postmodern youth forms of participation" (Fazekas-Nagy, 2015).

6 So early childhood does not belong to the youth age groups (cf. Golnhofer-Szabolcs, 2005). According to The Association for the Education of Young Children, early childhood lasts from birth to 8 years of age (Naeyc, 2014).

7 The terminology earlier - saturated with paternalism - used the concept of supply. In this paper, we propose a thinking exceeding this concept to be enforced.

8 The description and classification of which I could assume and what I present here in a modified and completed form.

9 Hegedűs and Forray (Hegedűs-Forray, 1989) have a detailed analysis of the micro-worlds of socialism generations (see later: baby boomers, Generation X) seem to be manageable and of its taboo-laden (beyond the Freudian death and sex, in respect of differences, social relationships and money) macro world. "The living space for this generation is the world of residential buildings, where children have 4-5 hours of uncontrollable free time" (Csobánka, manuscript).

10 In Wrozyński's interpretation (Wrozyński, 2000), education sociology and social pedagogy is the sociological and education science discipline mapping of the same reality.

11 The Ifjúság2000 survey concentrated on 12 topics (Bauer-Laki-Szabó, 2001); these are demographics-family, household, school lifeway, the labor market lifeway, economic resources, housing situation, social welfare,

religion, the topics of value and identity, sports, health and deviance, as well as cultural consumption. Deep drillings (with sub-sample) have not been made. The project administrator was a public institution; the project was made by use of direct state (budget) funds. The database has never been officially made public.

For Ifjúság2004 (Bauer-Szabó, 2005), the original blocks remained, and many of the questions remained unchanged. At the same time, seven new theme blocks have also been appointed (revealing them by deep drillings carried out in 4000 sub-samples), these are: the migration-abroad, the prejudice-nationality issue, the significant life events, leisure time, disability and its perception and the Internet world. Also as a result of public institutions and resources, the database again was not made public and besides the flash report and the related CD (as well as its English mutation) an analyst volume did not appear. Starting from the 2004 data collection, there were separate control questions all the time for the interviewers.

In Ifjúság2008 (Bauer-Szabó, 2009), as a change, the child-bearing block got a much more detailed set of questions; a group of labor market issues, however, was interested in essentially the employment status as a lifeway. The quantity of questions related to the sports is less; leisure and culture block became bigger. It appeared as a new block in thematics (with a 2000 subsample): local public life, youth field and sexuality (while most of the topics appeared as new blocks in 2004, disappeared) and focus group interviews accompanied the survey. The similarly state institutions and resources still do not result in a public database (although almost all researchers received hand-common the raw data). A total of one flash report appeared about the research.

The Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Székely, 2013) intended to indicate that data collection is managed in a different structure and by different data administrator. The survey asked in a total of 10 areas: family-childbearing, education, labor market, migration- foreign countries, political attitudes, media, sports and leisure time, politics and religion (self-administered), sexuality and drugs (self-administered) and in the fields of housing situation, living conditions (sub-sample was not formed). For the project, only symbolic state resources were needed; a total of one flash report and four volumes appeared to publish analyses. The database - although somewhat circumstantially - but was made available. It is important that for the first time, professional civil organizations were involved in the waves of research for control.

12 This is somewhat different from our interpretation of socializing elements and media (collectively agents, see: below). According to Giddens, in previous societies, mostly the family has appointed the trajectory, today – although influences significantly – but does not define so clearly. The school – in Giddens' interpretation – on the one hand, is a regulated process (teaching subjects), on the other hand, covers hidden socialization processes (cf.: hidden curriculum). In the hidden curriculum's latent effects system, “something happens regularly and effectively in conjunction with the content and requirements of teaching, which is not envisaged, which does not appear as a goal in conscious, declared educational aspirations” (Szabó, 1988). This, in a hidden way, includes the non-study nature of student's behavior (not just the right answer, but the obligations to communicate it, the relations system with the teacher and peers, the togetherness and separateness of intentions and the actual action, institutional expectations etc., that is, how to live) under the authority of a power which has no regard for their personal autonomy and uniqueness (Szabó, 1988). According to the logic of the hidden curriculum, students at the school form notions mainly on how power operates (Szabó, 1988), and only secondarily relate to the curriculum content. While in respect of the declared objectives, the students, at least formally, have equal chances; hidden rules mainly reward conformist, sometimes submissive attitude and “divide the chance” according to who and to what extent can comply with this attitude.

The peer group as socialization media, according to him, means that individuals do not passively learn and socialize, but actively, again and again, mainly in interactions in line with each other (the author especially refers to gender socialization, but it can be widely understood). According to Giddens, the fourth factor to be highlighted is the mass media tools, although it fails to mention the importance of networking devices (the first edition of the book is from 1989, but it remains unchanged in the 2006 version as well). Otherwise, Giddens himself does not tell us, on what basis he classifies (or does not classify) a socialization situation into socialization media (see: the socialization media section).

13 “I never consider and I do not even treat the child as a future taxpayer, but all the time as an actual ten-twelve-year-old and I do not prepare him for the future, but I cater for his present needs. I cannot imagine that something else could educate him” (Karácsony, 1938).

14 The classic location of teaching... is the school (Karácsony, 2002), but "the school's teaching suasion could hardly do otherwise than to continue, direct on the right track, bring to a good end (in the street, in the family, in the lower secondary school) the already prevailed educational effects (Karácsony, 2002).

15 "Vacation as leisure time differs from term-time in that nothing is a must at this time, ... but we can do anything"- says Karácsony (Karácsony, 2002).

16 Unlike Falus (Falus, 2003) the pedagogue is interpreted in its general educator role, while the teacher in a special school pedagogue role. That is, we make a difference between the teacher as an institutional official teacher-educator and the pedagogue, as a professional assisting learning and development in any fields. We could also formulate that the concept of the pedagogue is from the boy-accompanying slavery role ever (Szentirmai, 1997) through the institutional educator sense, in our understanding, became a kind of study animator, developer.

17 The much-criticized education degrees do not have critical importance in terms of our topic.

18 Undoubtedly, the advantage of this is that we do not have to deal with the excesses whether sport is indeed a superior form of the game (Kiss-Ganbecz, 2004).

19 How earlier, the people provided the life rhythm of the objects, today the objects force it on people; they appear, work, go broke, replace each other, thus changing the society's attitude to objects as such.

20 The organization of problem world, the, former argumentation of major junctures, see: Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012.

21 Although sometimes adults trapped at the level of children, sometimes behaving as adults are defined by this concept.

22 Of course, it can be the subject of further discussion, that the key syndromes together describe coherently the problem world.

23 After the family and school socialization media repeatedly analysed, they will not be shown here (not here).

24 Do not consider now the effects by the annual term policy measures.

25 In Hungary after the regime change the labour market situation fundamentally changed. The established and steady unemployment rate resulted

in compromised situations for young people as well. Youth unemployment moves together with trends in Europe (Laki, 2008) and consequently, for young people, the risk of poverty is particularly high.

26 Although competitive sports are characteristics of mainly young people, research have shown that regular physical activity, as a health promotion technique have not built into the generation members' everyday lives (Susánszky-Szántó, 2005; Perényi, 2013).

27 The change in the habits in Hungary has occurred with a 15-20 year delay (for more information see: the theory of youth epoch change part).

28 The Hungarian incomes do not follow European trends. The unfavourable financial situation of Hungary in the European comparison not only alters the possibilities of growing up, but also makes it extremely difficult to meet the basic (real or perceived) needs. In Hungary, in terms of cultural consumption, the data of youth research data suggest that a strong "lack of motivation" can be experienced; there are a growing number of young people who have never visited traditional cultural fields (Nagy, 2013). The cultural activity carried out in a few free times mostly irregular; connected to an individual's life in a disorganized way. In terms of cultural consumption sites it is to say that the divided nature of society is continuously increasing since the regime change, the cultural gap opens. The theme of youth sub-cultures is not an area to bypass, either. This is one area where it seems clearly that the traditional culture mediating- and training institution even is able not to connect to the world of young people, not even with following features. Clothing as a cultural symbol, greeting, similar verbal and nonverbal tools etc. clearly show that the world of adults has little influence (even more triggering counterproductive effects) on youth groups (Szapu, 2002; Mészáros, 2003).

29 Although the culture-creating activities of youth can be interpreted as a sign of turning against the consumer society; post-modernity much more can be described by consumption, since even in this turning against, typical consumer items can be found.

30 For more information see: the document of United Nations 1994, titled: The basic provisions of the equal opportunities of people with disabilities, (Chikán, 2001).

31 Shows the disadvantage of the disabled along the religious background (Nagy, 2012)

32 The number of child and juvenile (under the age of 14 or 18) victims, according to 2006 data: 5276 children and 8394 juvenile victims, in 2007, 4568 children and 8417 juvenile victims were registered (collectively, they make up about 5% of the victims). The number of offenders in the case of children is less, in the case of juvenile more than the number of victims: in 2006, 3565 children and 11 287 juvenile, in 2007, 3587 children and 10 909 juvenile offenders were registered.

Out of the 15-18 year age, out of all ten thousand people, 39, in the 25-29 age group, 41 people were victims of violent crime, and in most cases the perpetrator was the same age. The relatively high rate of youth crime in itself is not specifically a Hungarian phenomenon when compared to other developed countries. Compared to the 1998 high point, there is an overall decline in the numbers as well (1998: 53 thousand, 2005: 42 thousand people), but somewhat the proportion of young people also improved (decreased from 38% to 32%). Research and experience has shown that the endangerment is drastically reduced after the age of 25; in the case of those who had not committed a crime until that time, there is 90% reduction in the likelihood of it in later years.

33 According to a survey behind the recommendation of the Council of Europe R(2003)20 (Council of Europe, 2003), behind juvenile offenses the most common reasons:

- Growing child poverty and increasing income disparities, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe;
- The rise in the number of divorces, more frequent family break-up;
- More young people and more in a more younger age experiment with a variety of psychoactive substances, including alcohol;
- The narrowing of young people's employment opportunities is resulting in rising unemployment among young adults, particularly among unskilled or low-skilled young men;
- Social and economic problems and the associated crime and violence concentration in certain areas, often in inner city neighbourhoods inhabited by the poor and in suburban housing estates;
- Ethnic minorities', particularly the Roma people's mass migration into and within Europe;

- The increased risk of psychosocial disorders among young people, especially among young men.

34 Except from, of course, the situational acts e.g. negligent injury, accident, etc.

35 Youth crime is an event typically carried out in groups, often accompanied by irrational acts of violence. With regard to juvenile delinquency, crimes against property make up about three-quarters of the total amount of crime and about tenth of crimes against public policy. Crimes against the person also have some relevance (the amount, however, transportation and economic crimes, and crimes against the state is negligible). About 90% of the perpetrators are boys and “generational threat at the situational, emotional acts is high” (National Youth Strategy, 2009), these are strengthened by failed attempts of school performance, low education, social, emotional isolation, exclusion and hopelessness. The company, and group affection has great strength; there is a growing number of acts committed in groups and the modi operandi are coarsening.

36 In 12 years (2000-2012) the proportion of religious people, both according to the church and both in their own way decreased to two-thirds, and today more young people consider themselves not to be religious than the one belonging into the two categories above (Rosta, 2013).

37 Religious changes much more take on intergenerational character, rather than flanking the individual's lifeway (Rosta, 2013).

38 It is clear that the representation of youth is not implemented by young people; those under 34 (!) years of age respectively represented around 10% in the Hungarian Parliament (refreshing exception is the 1990 situation where the rate was 18%) (Ilonszki, 2009).

39 So perhaps it becomes clear why two “youth” protest parties - one quasi-European and one nomadic - were able to get into the Hungarian legislation.

40 The basics of the present chapter previously appeared: in Nagy - Székely, 2016, Special thanks to Anna Fazekas for help in analysing the data.

41 In 2000, researchers asked about two national youth problems, without prioritization. In 2004, the question expected the indication of three problems, which also included the prioritization between them. In 2008, also the naming of two national youth problems followed, where the first and second

place problems needed to be indicated (this year, they also asked about the township level youth problems, but present research does not include the results of this). In 2012, a similar methodology prevailed than in 2008, thus also the first and second most pressing youth issues were named by young people.

Given the different number of problems identified, the unification was served by keeping the (first) two possible answers. In addition, the lack and existence of prioritization also pointed to differences; in addition, determining the possible weighting values would have been difficult. We do not know about the degree of difference in the respondents' minds between the two problems identified. Accordingly, we rejected the use of weighting, any by creating the problem map it was taken into consideration, which of the 12 problem areas were mentioned at least once in the two responses given to the question. The questions were included the following way in the case of the four surveys:

- *Ifjúság2000*: "What do you consider to be the two most pressing problems of youth?"
- *Ifjúság2004*: "On the basis of the card, please tell, what you consider the most pressing problem of youth! And what do you consider the second most pressing problem out of these? And the third one? "
- *Ifjúság2008*: "Out of the things can be read on the sheet, what is the most pressing problem of youth in Hungary? And what do you consider the second most pressing problem out of these? "
- *Magyar Ifjúság2012*: "Out of the following, what is the most pressing problem of youth today in Hungary? And what do you consider the second most pressing problem out of these? "

42 As a result, keeping in mind the subjective dimension can be recommended, while rephrasing the question: instead of national-level problem detection, inquire about the pressing situations experienced in the individual's life.

43 In 2000, 7% (N = 5290), in 2004, 42% (N = 7362), in 2008, 31% (N = 7585), in 2012, 38% (N = 6878) of young people aged 15-29 were planning shorter or longer periods of migration due to studying abroad or work commitments.

44 Tót (Tót, 2008) calls these learning modes to be learning environments, while Komenczi (Komenczi, 2004) calls them forms of learning.

45 Interestingly, Friedman (Friedman, 1971), has the same argument in relation to leisure and work (read: there are no two people, the same is in work, as the subject of free time).

46 Within the (intellectual, cultural) space, where the rules of discipline are respected and enforced, the sub-and super ordination manifested in discipline prevails... i.e. a form of distribution of assets and powers and the negotiated and transferred rules of its acquisition and transfer... for those having academic career, the discipline and integration into it provides access to higher education and career within the institution (Kozma, 2004, pp. 167).

47 With one specific example, e.g. the camping for pedagogy is camp pedagogy; for sociology, the change in the youth of camps (into youth of malls, festivals); for political science, resource allocation and maintenance of institutions; for social work, the camp as a terrain of equal opportunities-equity terrain and prevention options will appear.

48 Under education, we understand the socialization subset defined by the intentionality.

- Disparities and social justice in education;
- Parents, schools and the local community;
- Globalization and the knowledge economy;
- Curriculum, teaching methods and evaluation;
- The social situation and development of children;
- Information and communication technology in education;
- The gender-related issues;
- Creativity and innovation;
- The management of education;
- Research policy and practice;
- Training, Work and Lifelong Learning;
- Teachers and teaching.

50 Nahalka (Nahalka, 2003) considers extra-curricular learning - on constructivist pedagogical foundations - as one feature of the pedagogical activities

51 According to Szapu, as youth group culture operates as a real living space, where young people find their joy (Szapu, 2002). Mészáros describes

this as “a cultural world, can be connected to a group living in a bigger, more comprehensive cultural media, social media, space and layer” (Mészáros, 2006, pp. 61). “Whereas previously this concept was firmly tied to deviance, Mészáros looks at them instead as real alternative socialization scenes which assist the integration of young people into adult society” (Csobánka, manuscript).

52 The students do not feel that teachers would have an effect on their values, character and personality “(Mészáros, 2003). “The young person, practically parallel to the school, will be a part of a real learning process where he has to acquire values, norms, language, symbols, behavioural styles, but - if you like - lexical knowledge as well (just think of a large amount of presenter and his data, which otherwise, compared to school data, a young person belonging to a music subculture learns without difficulty). In addition, this study does not take place in the grey, boring space, but it is fun, and experience-related “(Mészáros, 2014 pp.62).

53 “Baal Shem had a young apprentice, a clairvoyant, a heckler, who has always been one step ahead. Bad-tempered, kept and distributed the others; in fact it was said that he is “intriguing”. Which may have been true in that sometimes he took-up, end exchanged fractions of news just as the one who is throwing a stone into the water for the sake of sheer delight. He was (never!) driven by underlying goal or steward interest; only the world’s too eager faggen, curiosity unable to die down if it is not going otherwise, then winking out by “gossiping”, what he can, and to make sure about his assumptions. Because sometimes it made him mad that he almost knows everything about the other one, and knows nothing about him; so he was pecking back from here and there what he could find; but most were too small for him; dull, shallow and full of disappearance. He was searching for the gateway between nothing and everything; and perhaps this unifying aspiration explains that on one occasion (sacrilege?) he found to the tell of his Master: “I did not go to him to listen to the Torah from him, but to see him as he feeds out and threads his shoe ” (Hankiss, 1989).

54 Some of the data in the table refer to a ten-year state, so their validity is limited.

55 It is a specific illustration that according to the Hungarian Accreditation Committee (HAC, 2014), the BA degree program accredited for neither has a social training direction, nor is a psychological-pedagogical training type:

“Neither the teacher education indicated in the document, nor in the social science education area, the establishment of this BA degree program is not justified because according to the petition, it would not be a social training, but rather a pedagogical and psychological training. As such, - belonging to the liberal arts training area - the establishment may be justified, but this does not solve the basic problem of academic vocational training, that the training (social work) is a social training belonging to the social sciences field, while its specialization (youth worker), according to its content, would belong to other training area. The planned JRC of the BA degree program has contacts in a number of points with the social elements of the social pedagogy BA program- as a social training, included in the social sciences education area”

56 This chapter of the volume is based in the work of Nagy-Trencsényi: Socializing media in a changing society (ISZT Foundation, 2012, Budapest).

57 Several authors (Vitányi, Cipolla, Ervin László, etc.) also defines a “zero” period as well; the period until the hordes were formed to agricultural societies, calling this transformation Promethean revolution, referring to the fact that these societies took the fire and thus began their socialization (Vitányi, 2007).

58 At the same time, Kéri (Kéri, 2010) indicates that periodization of social history may differ from each other in cultures, so the outline of a uniform, cross-cultural, education science-historical nature is almost impossible (reaching the characteristics of nations, peoples with no independent statehood, as well as until the ethnic groups merged by now).

59 Jameson (Vitányi, 2007) has set up a matrix in which modernity and postmodernity are characterized in not one, but in a separate dimension. Thus, the positive or negative commitments towards these will result in four fields: post-modern anti-modernism, post-modern for-modernism, anti-post-modern anti-modernism and anti-post-modern anti-modernism.

60 It is important, of course, that such permanence is not perfect; a variable, developing element can be traced in these societies as well; a perfectly stable social formation beyond that it does not exist, it could not justify the other attitudes of later ages.

61 Somlai talks about pre-modern, civil and new family forms, strongly rhyming with the social-historical structure followed by us (Somlai, 2013).

62 “Numbered as one Familia all those, consequently, are written into the table of an Arkus Familia who do not cook separately for themselves, but are fed by the same Father or Master or Housekeeper, commonly together, and they are on one Table and one bread with them, whether they are Married or not; according to this, those who feed someone, are considered as the head of the Familia...”(CSO, 2015; Thirring, 1938 pp. 150). The 19th-century non-nobility census followed the same practice (*popularis conscriptio ignorabilium*) where those living on common bread with the head of the family, were considered to be members of the family (Pozsgai, 2015).

63 The observable different family socialization of gypsy families remaining in traditional lifestyles is primarily a social and not an ethnic issue. Difference from non-Roma families is the richness of social stimuli - the whole family and neighbourhood move around the new-borns, they care for them - so there is hardly any sign of division of labour around the child. Because of the unstructured nature of family life, the time experience or the concept of time does not, or hardly occurs. The child is fundamentally not trained and fear of separation and defiance age is left out of their lives. This affects the ability for self-control: they express their feelings more freely and openly, but in their lives, there is not much system. Often there is a lack of - or lives in more archaic, more naive forms - the history, the consciousness of history, national consciousness, patriotism and they are characterized by a lack of written memories. The rules are specific, usually only to their own communities, and private property has a lesser role. Early mate choice and endogamy (mating within the social group), the father-centred nature, respect for the elderly, the brotherhood within the colony, but separation from outside it and the use of limited language code are typical.

64 László Trencsényi's metaphor.

65 Note: that from birth to death, all individuals in the medieval and later Europe were accompanied by the Christian church's teachings put into practice: the holidays evoking the magic order of the year round (also), special days: from Advent to Advent, as well as holidays indicating the individual life stages from 'cradle to grave'. For a long time, the individual was unable to be torn out of this double circle.

66 According to the biblical explanations and the pre-modern concept of work before Protestantism (Keller, 2006), in the Hereafter, there will no longer be work, since it is the appearance of the earthly tribulations, which

is a consequence of the fall. How in the Bible (Moses I / 3/19 “You eat your bread with the sweat of your face”), so in a good part of the mythology (e.g.: Greek mythology) work is a kind of punishment; in the golden age, work was not necessary (the earth grown itself, etc.) (Németh, 2009). According to Karácsány, work is a direct consequence of original sin, a punishment that Adam and Eve refused to obey God (Karácsány, 2004).

67 Modernity’s “grey lords”, with the constant demand to save time, symbolize the duality of working time-leisure time (Ende, 2015)

68 4,000 years archaeological artefacts from Mesopotamia prove that there was a “house” (House of the Board), where “Nebula” went to learn literacy, numeracy, the respect of ancestors, gods, saints, etc. (not always children, sometimes adults too), but we can only talk about school as we know it today in the context of “cultural revolution” took place in the wake of the Reformation. Apart from a few prominent historical exceptions (such was the ancient Judaism living in diaspora, and Greeks living in ordered polis), “schooling”, learning, the lesson, obedience, and all that we call student role, was a way of life for an infinitesimal minority of society as long. There were vocational training institutions training intellectuals though (small or larger groups of the chosen, and those wanted to be chosen visited these institutions, and gained the document, degree, title, religious rank etc., meaning “to make a hit”), but the “simple son of people” was more or less “raised” by free spaces of society (see above: the goose pastures pedagogy).

69 In England in 1770, 20% city dwellers, while 50% in 1850 (Kovács, 2007).

70 The single Hungarian public education has actually emerged by the XVIII-XIX. Century: the Ratio Educationis issued in 1777 was trying to organize a public education system. At that time, public schools providing a basic level, the middle level five-grade secondary school and two-grade academy became widespread. Public school education is compulsory from 1868 and is free from 1908 are free.

71 Not one poor state of the world outside Europe gets here recently. In some places, the school gives protection to mere survival. It does not only offer human life to the 1\$ breadwinner miner children; the prevention of a variety of serious respiratory diseases, but sometimes hot meal, vaccination,

or just protection against large predators lurking around the village (Nagy-Trenčsényi, 2012).

72 We use the post-modern expression – mainly considering it to be appropriate – in spite of the fact that it is one of the most hackneyed word, having the most varied concepts in different disciplines and professional fields (see: literature, architecture, etc.).

73 The most typical social aspects of the information relation system of post-modern society are the following:

- the propagation delay of information stops, and the individual is available, if he wants so (interconnectedness);
- new products and services appear in relation to information; such an industry develops that produces the necessary information.
- the society organizes itself around knowledge, where the production of not material, but the one of information assets (their free creation, distribution, access and consumption) is the driving force and the economic resource;
- humanity has a possibility of a new type of lifestyle, a higher quality of life (but it is not necessarily fulfilled).

74 Thus, the simplifications that often identify the information society with the Internet (*ad absurdum* with computers) (although there is no doubt that network of computers is a good symbol of the information society), are all the more problematic because the Internet-services, and the interfaces are the plurality of the media, while the information society is a social coexistence formation.

75 Although we have more experience about the postmodern autocracies, the nature of dictatorships in post-modernity is beyond the scope of this work. What is certain is that leisure time becomes much less typical in this framework, not only because of its intrinsic property that it appears as the space of free will, and as such, dictatorships are trying to limit it.

76 In 2012, 36.200 marriages were bound which is the third of the about 100.000 total marriages in the 1970s, (CSO, 2012), while the number of relationships is almost stagnant compared to the population ratio.

77 The first demographic transition from high fertility and mortality population was transferred to low fertility and mortality population (Somlai 2013).

The second demographic transition is the concomitant of the development of post-modern society. Its features (the first demographic transition characterizes decreasing child mortality and the increasing age lived):

- The fertility of the population is reduced that is not enough for reproduction, so that the population is aging;
- The number of marriages decreases, the number of divorces and partnerships increases, new family forms appear;
- Childbearing outside marriage, childlessness and the number of abortions increase;
- There is delayed marriage and child-bearing age;
- Immigration increases.

78 Be it also independent of what others consider to be a family, that is, a conservative couple only considers the coexistence of a man and a woman sealed in marriage to be a family - and their family will be like this. A more permissive couple also considers the relationship between two men and their adopted child as well to be a family, so their family is specified in this way. And it is also possible that three people mutually loving each other would define themselves as a family, so it will be necessarily their family. Or take the case that might seem strange today in which a dog can get family member status, so that family will have a dog as a member, too: just think of a blind man living alone with his dog.

79 Some post-modern societies tend to be characterized by changing career several times (cyclic lifeway), while for others, learning and working at the same time (parallel life) or work-based learning is the typical (Somlai, 2007).

80 However, today one-third of children and almost half of the large families live in extreme poverty. According to the Hungarian research investigating poverty (eg.: Bagdy, 1997; Bagdy-Telkes, 1998), the labor market situation of the household, the number of children, the conditions of housing, the nature of settlement, and above all the Roma origin-are the most important factors enhancing poverty risk (Darvas-Tausz, 2006). It can be said that in our country, children are poor in a much greater proportion than the social average, and childbearing means a serious risk of poverty. This is especially true in a European comparison: compared to the European average, child poverty is strikingly high (Darvas-Tausz, 2006). "The children of disadvantaged families – in the absence of effective interventions - have worse learning

opportunities. Among young people got into marginalized position, less people go to high school; they will be unemployed or working poor people, and disadvantaged parents later. The reproduction spiral becomes “self-sustaining” that the traditional institutions are less and less able to handle “(Darvas-Tausz, 2006). “The lack of a stable supply system leads to a reduction in the autonomy of families with children; it increases the vulnerability of families with children and that of children” (Darvas-Tausz, 2001) (cf. the non-functioning institutions and youth crisis). In 2006, the statistics reported 210 thousand children at risk and 19 thousand children taken under protection. Since the child protection law took effect, the number of children at risk, decreased overall.

81 We do not dispute that there and then it both symbolized the noblest educational intention and achieved the most successful educational results.

82 The Szentlőrinc study was designed to develop a sense of work school (Gáspár, 1984), which rested on four foundations; activity system guaranteeing complex development, problem-oriented complex subjects, advanced school community and self-governance (Gesztesy-Kocsis, 2001). In Gáspár’s logic, for this complex development, teaching and learning, production and management of public affairs, the area of necessity, the leisure area of freedom has given space (Gáspár, 1984).

83 Zones d’Education Priorities – zones formed by multiply disadvantaged where children’s education was solved with differentiated development (Szabó, 1986).

84 The so-called “Szentlőrinc model” of László Gáspár in the 1960s, divided the social activities of man into four school elements: the production-management-value-creating work; education-culture-store of value; public life-politics-communication and leisure time segments. Ottó Mihály removed the last one (saying that it cannot be annexed by school), and he replaced it with health world, with “activities serving healthy lifestyle” (hygiene, mental health). (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012).

85 We do not count with those schools that do not go beyond the narrowed-school model without functional enhancements or only occasionally as a reverse day; and the republic-experiments working in the non-academic, that is, in a non-obligation based space – i.e.: the individual can exit from the given framework at any time –are not subject of this statement. The latter

goes beyond the limits of the statement not primarily because of the time difference (c.f.: the length of a camp as opposed to the school year) but because of the aforementioned different organizational criteria. It also falls under a different perception when young people initiate a republic-world themselves and in this, the teacher only supports, mentors, although these initiatives did not survive in the lifetime horizon.

86 Barbarian army invade us with the birth of each new generation, aptly says Parsons (Parsons, 1982). The “domestication” of these barbarians is the task of socialization and education.

87 The socialization, such as one of the basic concepts of psychology and sociology, in this sense is not the same as social development, the part of which, beyond socialization, is separation as an individual, the own feelings of world, the formation of individual behavior as well.

88 Education is also what does not work, or even – e.g. through the “hidden curriculum”, unlike the goals of the educator – changes and develops (or re-develops) the personality in an opposite way (Nagy-Trencsényi, 2012).

89 And four genetic endowment: general intelligence, specific intellectual talent, creativity and motivation.

90 We believe that its model can be well extended in general to analyze personality development.

91 The division of course is overshadowed by the fact that sometimes we go or do not go to the theater, restaurant, stadium, disco, cinema, church, Boy Scout trip or a pioneer camp under the influence of the family or directly together with the family.

92 To avoid the conceptual confusion, the socialization interface new also in quality (scene, terrain) will be called medium, and the socializing agents that cannot be considered a social medium will be called socialization element (interface, group).

93 The number of marriages per thousand inhabitants between 1970 and 2001 fell to 4.3 from 9.3, and until 2007, it continued to fall to 4.1 with a small wave (Statisztikai tükör (Statistical mirror), 2007). Today, the typical age of marriages significantly changed. In the group under the age of 19, men had rarely come into marriage, and for women, there is also a sharp drop in the incidence of those getting married. The 20-25-year-olds, in the case of both sexes, are also significantly less likely to enter into marital

relationship. The distribution of the first long-term relationship between marriage and cohabitation in the periods between 1980-1984 and 2000-2004 fundamentally changed. In the first period, the 80/20% rate with rounding changed to 30-70% by 2000-2004, so in a dominant way, cohabitation became decisive (Spéder-Kapitány, 2007). The transformation of young people's long-term relationships become accepted in the public perception, as well (Pongrácz-Spéder, 2003).

In parallel with the age postponement of marriages and with the partnerships coming to the front, young people's practice of childbearing has changed significantly, as well. Compared to the past, the proportion of women having their first child until the age of 20-25, was significantly reduced. As a combined result of these factors, between 1990 and 2004, the fertility of women under 20 years of age reduced to half, while that of those between 20-24 years of age, dropped to nearly third. In the 25-30 year-old age group, we could witness an approximately 25% drop (Demográfiai évkönyv (Demographic Yearbook), 2004).

94 Aspirations for independence and the former subordinate nature of socialization medium beyond family and school is illustrated well by the utopian or even real conquest attempts, whether communistic ideas to regulate free time or the world of boarding schools in England for a long time. Their common feature is that school life "became enfolded", occupied positions beyond the field of secondary socialization.

95 Of course, leisure time also changes during the course of human life; for the youth age group, this is one of the most time-filling of time scales; in case of those active in the labor market it is somewhat reduced; while for pensioners it increases again.

96 Consumption is closely related to leisure time, in short, we must mention the phenomenon. According to Marx, to meet the needs of leisure time is not possible in the capitalist system; it is possible just in the "society of the united producers over mode where individuals can devote their free time to intellectual activity" (Juhász, 2007). "The possibility to unlock the abilities; turning leisure time to intellectual work; the acquisition of new forms of self-expression, even completely different from the work activities carried out can not be determined, as Marx believed, but it is rather an opportunity, and in some ways, coercion" (Juhász, 2007). The Marxian capital-labor theory has been replaced by the consumption theory (Miller, 2005), so no longer

the relations of production, but consumption patterns (as well as the symbolic capital manifested in them) determine the social status of the individual, and thus the consumption controls- in contrast to modernity - the production (Vörös, 1996).

The consumption as the partially independent universe from production (Zentai, 1995) became as a kind of driving force of post-modern society (Miller, 2005), recognizing the importance of this, though, does not mean the uncritical nature of the phenomenon. We need to showdown the main myths of consumption: the mass consumption causes global homogenization (or heterogenization); that consumption as such is in opposition of human relationships; that consumption is in contrast with authenticity, its discredited, artificial and that consumption constructs a particular variety of social existence (Miller, 2005).

Discourse on consumption, on consumer society has changed a lot over the past century. In the XIX. century, analysed the community disruption of the working class and immigrants, trying to prove that poverty is simply due to the fact that the lower classes squander their money on consumer goods. By the mid-twentieth century, consumption became a critique of the middle class and presented it as cultural impoverishment (“the same” intellectuals who whipped the over-consumption by the working class a century earlier). By the end of the twentieth century, attention was directed to the democratic “liberating” possibility of consumption, quitting the elite vs. majority dichotomy (Simányi, 2005). Miller said, only the post-modern society recognizes the consumption (even if sometimes, getting into the other extreme, fetishizing it); against the organizing principle of modern society: instead of work ethic, the aesthetics of consumption will be one of the major organizing principles (Schulze, 2000; Bauman, 2005; Zentai, 1995).

At the same time, consumption, consumer society falls beyond the validity scope of this work because its analysis would not be complete without analyzing the theory of manipulation and influence-inclusion theories, and this in itself would deserve a separate volume. Another few chapters could cover the comparison of the conservative consumption critical models and the left-sided Frankfurt School models, which (consumption) is an exciting intellectual adventure from cultural history point of view, but to our subject: to the leisure pedagogy, it does not really add a lot.

97 According to Castells (Castells, 1998), it is even possible that the elders are more confident in the future than the youngsters.

98 Some authors (see Fukász, 1995; Falussy, 1995), against the blurring of leisure-time-working time, suggest the use of the concept of social time, as a socially planned element of the national wealth. In addition to the fact that there is something to debate based on individualism with this statement, we believe that in this case it does not bring us closer to the understanding of the subject of leisure pedagogy because the primarily the individual and the the social aspects of youth affairs discussed later are in the focus.

99 The biologist and stress researcher Selye often stressed that he considers himself very lucky also because the government gives money to buy his “toys” and it is not enough to make this, it provides a separate money because he is “playing” with these “toys”. Csíkszentmihályi does not accept the artificial separation of work and leisure time either; he thinks that the flow can be experienced in any case, but it can only be done when using the abilities and not in the case of passive entertainment (“the energy that we could use to implement real aims, we are wasting on such stimulus combinations, which can only imitate reality”). When “the time and activity knitted into such a unity that we [believe relive] the experience of time as the most complete human freedom... such a complex melting of activities into each other, “flow “is created, which ensures fulfilment”. This state is called “flow” (Csíkszentmihályi 2010).

100 According to Dumazedier (Dumazedier, 1976) often a border cannot be drawn exactly between leisure time and non-leisure time. To this, he has proposed to use the terminus of semi-leisure time. The free time in practice is derived from the time-scale studies that distinguish working hours and time spent with other obligations (housework, gardening, transportation, administration), the time for physiological needs (sleeping, eating, dressing, hygiene) and free time (the second and the third item together is semi-leisure time). “Free time means the ensemble of such occupations, which the individual can carry out freely, either to relax, or to have fun or to improve his awareness or skills without interest, his voluntary social participation and freedom of creative capacity, having got rid of professional, family and social obligations. (Fukász, 1988 pp.27.)”

101 Fukász goes that far as leisure time can only be interpreted *hic et nunc* (Fukász, 1993).

102 According to Müller, in the free time we do what we want, as long as we stay within the legal limits (Müller, 2000).

103 *“Died for thirty-six years, lived a couple of days”*

And if he was thinking, he was just dreaming

Some cards. And when he was laughed:

He believed that he made laugh (Rejtő Jenő: Sír(a)felirat) (Epitaph/The epigraph is crying).

104 Virtual leisure space is such a post-modern leisure time agent, be it just the mapping of a traditional community space (traditional games on the web); new game elements (camel rearing on the web); or a completely new approach, making adventures in a fictional world existing in its visuality (MMO games); but such are the non-game based sites, mapping real identity (community sites and even the totality of opinions expressed on blogs).

105 The leisure studies discipline deals just with entertainment, relaxation and leisure time as the characteristics of the post-modern man (Rojek, 1995).

106 In this sense, we need to distinguish between quantity and quality time, and we need to see that only in part the number of hours as quality time spent with the activity is interesting for us. In a community - although the time of quantitative intercourse is an important indicator – not the fact can be considered truly essential that the members of the group are physically (e.g.: families) in one place, in one room, but in the meantime “father sinks, mother cooks” (rotation of Zoltán Zelk’s poem), but when the family has a common activity (“it is good to be together”), that is, spends quality time. After all, the quality (the more complete) and the quantity (the longer) life is the aim of the vast majority of the members of society.

107 At this point, we call high culture, in a so-called separation from the world of mass culture, the world of cultural phenomena generally considered to bequeath according to public opinion, related to the world of intellectuals and the middle class. The consumption of high cultural goods is related to such symbolic possessions, which - in the words of György Lukács – merge the individual with the gender essence of the man; in the mass culture contrasted with it, culture theories depict the cults of ecstasy and “forgetfulness” instead. The mass or popular culture’s (some authors, e.g. McQuail.: 2003 distinguishes even between the latter two) message and design language is more simple than the one of high culture. This bifurcation is a historical

process compared to the naive folk unity, however - especially in this day and especially in youth age groups - nuanced and rich passages exist between the two cultures.

108 Limbos, instead of self-expression and self-realization, emphasizes networking (Kovácsné Bakos, no date), which, in our view, is primarily not a leisure-specific activity, and cannot even be interpreted as a function.

109 According to the sport / recreational paradigm, the task of recreation is to respond to the civilizational challenges deteriorating the quality of life (Kovács, 2007). This means that recreation can be interpreted within this area, namely supplemented with the feel-good effect (Ábrahám-Bárdos, 2014). The sports paradigm calls to be recreative such behaviour meeting mostly individual (indirectly social) interests and needs, which are directed to the creation and renewal of the physical-somatic, psychological-mental and social-economic well-being of the individual, thus enhancing the performance, acting and creativity (Kovács, 2007). According to this train of thought, leisure time without recreation is one of the biggest waste what can commit against ourselves. This approach keeps the exclusivity of recreation in mind in free time, forgetting that there are at least three different functions (relaxation, self-realization, and self-development) which can be completed in free time (Ábrahám-Bárdos, 2014). We can agree that according to modern health interpretation (WHO, 1948), health is not merely the absence of illness, and not merely a biological concept, but it covers biological-spiritual-mental and social well-being, so the purpose of recreation is the creation and bringing back of this well-being (Kovács, 2002) and we can also accept that under recreation, we can understand mental and movement recreational activities (and not only sport!) (Fritz-Schaub-Hegedűs, 2007). In the Hungarian sports science, recreation has been identified with civilized spending of leisure time, attributing cultural aspects to it, which raises a number of conceptual problems. On the one hand, in our understanding, recreation is one function of free time and not an activity (read: some activities can implement multiple functions simultaneously), on the other hand, does not necessarily have to be culturally active in leisure time to meet recreational function (a night lasting until dawn can have recreational impact - if not in the short term – just as an elegant wine dinner).

According to the recreational paradigm, we distinguish its three eras; its current interpretation dates back from the middle of the 20th century (Kovács,

2007). The first half of the last century, mainly sociology dominated the topic, trying to place recreation in the conceptual space of urban living, unemployment. After the Second World War, due to the deteriorating health condition and laziness, the biological approach, the fitness and wellness attitude has become dominant. Around the turn of the millennium, counterpointing the stimulus poor working environment and performance pressure, the psychology-based recreation has come to the fore: the experience search and stress reduction (Kovács, 2007). The adventure and the extremities as recreation can be understood primarily on the degree of variation in the individual's life; its essence is the experience of high intensity (Kovács, 2007). Today, the main directions of physical recreation are threesome: the pursuit of nature (outdoor), the health trends (fitness, wellness) and the search and bolting down for experience (fun, adventure, extreme) direction (Kovács, 2007). First of all, not the tools but the intended uses classify certain activities to here or there (eg.: hiking can be both a recreational or performance-based, within the former, according to the activities, outdoor or with adventure search purposes). Recently appeared the activity-based recreational approach that no longer talks about work, but about main activity: recreation is all the cultural, social, playful and motor activities carried out during leisure time voluntarily, which is carried out by the individual to dissolve fatigue and stress caused by the daily main activity and to restore and enhance physical and mental capacity (Fritz-Schaub-Hegedűs, 2007).

110 The game is a voluntary, joyful activity that is not independent on external objectives and does not have direct adaptable benefit. In pedagogical sense: creative, constructive, didactic, movement, sport and rule games are distinguished (Pásztor-Rákos, 1998). Expanding the ideas of Huizinga (Huizinga, 1990):

1. Game is a free action or occupation. This means that the game is organized on a voluntary basis, an activity that requires internal motivation base (coercion can not get anyone to play).
2. It is optional, but it's implemented according to unconditional mandatory rules. This system of rules is consensus-based and equally obligatory (it has special internal order, but the content can be freely converted and changed by the participants).
3. Its purpose is in itself; a behavior carried out for the activity itself, that is, a process and not a result-driven activity (the point is not the end result,

but playing itself). According to the definition of Grastyán: The game is such a life activity undertaken by the creature awake so that it has no adaptive benefit in terms of existence or race preservation “(Parlandó, 2015).

4. It is accompanied by some tension and emotional reaction; mostly causes pleasure.
5. It is accompanied by the awareness of difference from “ordinary life”. It is played in its own universe, as a kind of double game consciousness: distancing itself from time and space outside the game (all takes place in it here and now). A kind of test action: things happened in it cannot be sanctioned, yet it is an expressive phenomenon (it provides a graphic image about the participants in it).
6. Development and relaxing effect (often makes to cooperate and compete; among other things teaches to win and lose).

Caillois (Caillois, 1961) distinguishes: competency / agon (eg.: chess, sports, board games); cube / alea (eg.: gambling); imitative / mimicry (eg.: role-play, drama games) and swirl games / ilinx (eg.: car racing). He claims that if the games leave the framework of arbitrariness, i.e. they will have external sense, profits, they get prostituted as well. In the case of agon, this prostitualization can be traced in the Olympics or in the cash prize competitions; for alea, in the gambling dens, for mimicry, in the film industry and for ilinx, in the case of drugs. With the exclusion of in-game performance principle, the prostitualization of Olympics and its overrun of game interpretation can be caught in. It can also be established that in addition to individual examples (i.e. the successful Olympic sports will increase the number of young people opting for a specific sport) the implementation of the Olympics is not, and neither its ethos is suitable for the reaping of the social benefits of leisure time sport. Not to mention that there are no known statements, which would measure that successful sports would involve those who are not athletes in sports activities, or would exhaust entrepreneurs from other sports. What is more, it is a good example that despite Hungarian football unsuccessful for decades, the biggest crowds of sportlers can be presented by this sport.

However, recreation and game - how different leisure time structuring activities- although bind to leisure functions by a thousand threads, to the purpose

of the study they do not really add more than mentioned above, so further discussion of the subject in this work will be neglected.

111 This section is the expanded and revised result of previous research, which is absolutely necessary, considering the purpose of the paper, to be placed in its context.

112 Contrary to the family, school and workplace self-reflections, as regards the duration and frequency of the occurrence of our statements and self-examination made in this space we are unreliable.

113 In our case, we consider those institutions to be traditional which have existed in the lives of today's adult, and previous youth generations largely in the same manner, and played a similar role, so that in an education-sociological sense, they defined the young person's life likewise as those of living in the previous generation. Therefore, those spaces can be regarded as non-traditional institutions which either did not exist (e.g.: virtual community spaces) during the previous generation, or played a totally different role in a totally different way in one's life (e.g.: small communities in real space).

114 The peer groups provide in young age the social status, exercise room and the terrain of social reorientation (Böhnisch, 2000). In the phenomenon of peer groups, the point is often not the seemingly deviant content, but the process itself, which makes to act, to the group compliant behavior voluntarily and in a communally determined way, and goes beyond the scope of individual interests. Informal groups are vital in respect of an individual as an individuum (Csepeli, 2006)

115 Already the youth research of the '70s were characterized by that a significant proportion of students considered school to be a forced activity.

116 The table when presented for the first time – on the basis of criticism regarding the purity of the model – has been revised.

117 Csepeli, 2006.

118 About the family and school power, see: Vajda-Kósa, 2005; about the power context for pedagogical issues: Golnhofer-Szabolcs, 2005; about peer groups: Csepeli, 2006; Piaget, 1970).

119 The quote - probably mistakenly – is related to Mark Twain (no author, 2015).

120 The Convention, as a turning point, is also the start of the death of childhood indicating postmodernity (Buckingham, 2002, see: above), just as the end of children's century (Key, 1976) never created in modernity (Pukánszky, 2009). "A characteristic of children's rights is that the children's rights legal relationships are not bilateral but rather having three poles. Besides the eligible child and the bound state, the third player in the relationship is the parent (or another person having custody, a guardian). The parents, on the one hand, have the right to choose the child's education... however; the child will never become the subject of parental authority. In the relationship between parents and children, the child's fundamental rights also prevail, which squeeze the parental decision-making opportunities into limits "(Somody, 2009). "To the children, everyone wants to do good - in general and in principle. Concretely and practically... we never had to afraid of any child legal consequences, because the confrontation and reconciliation of the children's interests and other interest is non-institutionalized because the children "are not speaking back." ... An emblematic rule of the Convention on Children's Rights (UN, 1989) is Article 3, which lays down the following commitment to the States in the Convention: "the public and private institutions of social protection, the courts, the administrative authorities or legislative bodies, in all of their decisions concerning children, they primarily take into consideration the best interests of the child". The best interest of the child. And yet, what is used to be even more important than this? There are several things we could list up: for example, the city's interest, the fiscal base numbers, the school's reputation, the teacher's image, the community interest, the parents' opinions, religious disputes, a lack of money. ... They are more commonly, in many places and greatly overshadow, precede, suppress and list back the children's interests. The Children's Rights Convention is clear: the child's best interests must be a primary consideration in decisions affecting children, and moreover the legal system knows more similar basic principles that stretches through legal branches and means a dominant attitudinal handrail to legislative and judicial issues on all level : think of the legal practice, of the prohibition of abuse of rights. Here the interest means that no other criteria (such as nation, home, budget, self-governance, migration policy, population, industry, transport, etc.) can be stronger than the child (ren)'s interest, and this discretionary power sequence is required by law!" (Bíró, 2008).

121 The documents do not always speak about all three age groups; we can deduce them only in some cases.

122 The CoE makes recommendations (eg.: Council of Europe, 1990), as well as makes an overview of the national youth policy of Member States and prepares public reports on these.

123 For this reason, it is regrettable that the Hungarian youth researches are still investigating the 15-29 age groups.

124 In the original model, we call young people “digital natives” (digital natives, N-Gen, net generation), as opposed to the “digital immigrants” older generation.

125 Although we might add that from now on, in all generations there is the duality of hope and fear: “the 21st century may indeed be child-centered, if we do not take into consideration the possible bombs, missiles, warheads” (Hegedűs-Forray, 1989 pp. 222).

126 The web2 expression refers to such second generation internet services, which are mainly based on the activity of online communities, more precisely, on the content generated by the users and on their share. The importance of web2 applications mainly lies in the fact that the content becomes important against the technology. The pre-emergence, Y-generation services feature was that the contents can be read, listened to and viewed online by the user- like the conventional one-way media - a few components created (while the previous X-generation contents did not exist in the digital space). In contrast, the essence of web2 is precisely the fact that the content is created by the users themselves and shared among each other. A good example is the open source Wikipedia, editable by anyone - as opposed to the Britannica Online encyclopedia constructed in the traditional manner (Generation Y) and even with the online versions of classical lexicons (Generation X) - or torrent sites (Rab-Székely-Nagy, 2007).

127 This narrative analysis is the enhanced version of the article written with Tímea Tibori (Nagy-Tibori, 2016).

128 The theory had a fertilizing effect mainly on the international youth research of the 80s and on the national youth research of the 90s.

129 Judit H. Sas, asking 804 young people about the nature of a day in 10 years time. The so-called projective tests in the 70s have indicated that there is a strong desire to reach the summit of the social hierarchy. But the gender division of roles and values is traditional as well (H. Sas, 1976).

130 The logic of the new silent generation has primarily found its spiritual medium in the creative communities established in Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Hungarian Youth2012) and influenced in an inspiring way. The forerunner of this narrative can be seen the concept of faceless generation (Bauer-Szabó, 2011).

131 In the problem perception of young people, unemployment and existential uncertainty have a clearly high importance (Fazekas-Nagy, 2016).

132 Slightly more than half of Hungarian young people would leave the country, if they would have the possibility, at the same time, in domestic migration, Hungarian youngsters are not mobile.

133 The passive leisure time is resulted by the limited nature of in material options and the pessimistic vision of youth, as well. On the different leisure time behavioral patterns resulting from status perception, see: Fazekas (Fazekas, 2014).

134 By using the manuscript materials of Dániel Oross.

135 Still, if we want to tell ages, the duration between 8-12 years of age and 25-30 years of age can be called youth life stage.

136 But it seems far-fetched that “the age-specific transitions can be modified freely, or even can be set aside” (Featherstone-Hepworth, 1997).

137 By the entry period of adolescence used by us, the individual is increasingly characterized by the strengthening of group actions (Csepeli, 2006), the increase in the role of peer groups; and that they increasingly choose their friends themselves (and less and less tolerate having a say in it, and make friends with those to a lesser extent who the parents designate, “provide” to them).

138 According to the Association for the Education of Young Children, the early childhood lasts from birth to 8 years of age (Naeyc, 2014).

139 The three age groups largely correspond to Erikson’s (Erikson, 2002) latency phase, adolescence and young age and young adult age.

140 We emphasize - as it is the essence of our argument - that this is about approximate age classification, it changes individually, up to slipping out of a specified interval.

141 Mérei-Binet and Cole call this as school-age (Mérei-Binet, 1997; Cole-Cole, 1997).

142 Cole and his co. put it at the age of 11 and call it early adolescence (Cole-Cole, 1997). Vikár (Vikár, 1999) identifies adolescence with puberty, and determines it as a transition between childhood and adulthood. Spranger (Spranger, 1929), puts puberty at the ages of 14-22; Bühler (Bühler, 1925), at the ages of 13-21; Gesell at the ages of 10-16 (Gesell et al, 1956), and Hall at the ages of 14-24 (Cunningham, 2012).

143 Where actually they face with the fundamental questions of their existence (sense of life, death, love, friendship, freedom, autonomy, etc). With regard to friendship, motivation of young people is different from the expectations of an average adult about friendship. For adults, the three criterion of friendship are assistance, the opportunity for conversation and trust; for young people, entertainment and the mental-experience community are the most important (Albert-Dávid, 2007).

144 In university circles, the public opinion of students - not entirely accurately - characterizes this era with the “door open panic”.

145 For all of this, the virtual space is much less suitable, even if the individual is information literate, and we know well: an adolescent neither has time nor has enough experience to properly filter, and evaluate information. However, the virtual space is useful in many ways, but not in overcoming the aforementioned anguish and uncertainty, in fact, without inaugurated accompaniment and support, it further increases anxiety, especially if the World Wide Web was not used merely for obtaining information, but also for advice or assistance (see below: Personal youth work). In worse cases, the personality traits slightly different in everyone (online vs. offline features) can be distorted to dual personality: an unknown world hiding behind avatars, login names, IDs, for which the individual is able to open up and to reveal; and the physical space in which he cannot properly communicate his emotions and thoughts.

146 In the student vernacular, this period is called “mama hotel and papa bank”.

147 To do this, of course, it belongs that the culture of childhood is certainly not inferior to that of adulthood (Golnhofer-Szabóles, 2005; Trencsényi, 2005; Trencsényi, 2008a; Bús, 2013; Bús, 2013a; Bús, 2013b).

148 According to some of the literature dealing with post adolescence (eg.: Somlai, 2007), young adults do not bear children - and thereby the number

of children is decreasing, as well as the childbearing age is delayed - because they do not have confidence in the future. On our part, we do not share fully this position. While certainly hopelessness is outstanding among the most pressing problems of youth (Nagy, 2015), it is primarily due to the special Hungarian social conditions of the beginning of the twenty first century. It is not that young people do not have confidence in the future in general, but they would like to live with their unfolding autonomy, with the opportunities provided by young adult adulthood for a while. To go home whenever they want; to go where they like and do not account for time or activity to anyone. While having a child, changes the newly experienced freedom into responsibility and burden. Into sweet responsibility and burden, but it is still so.

149 Foundations of this chapter are being published. Special thanks to Anna Fazekas for her help in analyzing the data.

150 It is an important limitation, therefore, that we have no data about either the ones younger than 15 years of age, or about the ones over the age of 29. Previous studies (Nagy, 2013a) based on data from the latest large-scale youth research (Magyar Ifjúság 2012 (Hungarian Youth in 2012)), tried to define youth age groups on the basis of a model based on biological, psychological and social maturity, rather than on the basis of generational paradigm based on years. The present study extends this research to the former youth data collection (Ifjúság (Youth) 2000, 2004, 2008), and trying to draw trends, characteristics and consequences from it.

151 Undoubtedly, it distorts the data, so as the analysis, that under a certain age, sexual activity entails criminal consequences and it even differs in the relationship between legally non-adults and in the relationship between legally adults and non-adults. After Hungary also has legislation regarding sexual life, they may have a significant effect on the responses.

152 Significant deviation from the proportions experienced in further data recordings (primarily in the case of adolescents and young adults) stems from the lack of the biological maturity indicator. Since there is no category of responsible children age category, young people living no sexual life, measured to their maturity or the lack of it in other two dimensions, could be classified into these two types.

153 The punishment only makes them wild- Pestalozzi writes.

154 The truth also includes that in the robe of the Hungarian socio-educational development appeared those arguing for stronger school selection, the proponents of eugenics, as well (Somogyi, 2000).

155 The aims of social pedagogy (Hamalainen, 2012) actually do not contradict youth work, although the emphasis falls elsewhere:

- Increasing the welfare of young people through training;
- Strengthening the socialization processes;
- Increasing democracy in education;
- Social and cultural progress;
- Making visible the social conditions of education;
- Provision of educational assistance for those in emergency.

Recently we cannot speak of social pedagogy but about social pedagogical mindset (Hamalainen, 2012).

156 According to Tuggener (Tuggener, 1993) social pedagogy works less able as a profession; it can only be interpreted as a career.

157 Kozma divides education sociology, beyond the basics, into social assemblages with not primarily educational purposes (informal education, the most important parts of which are the family, the neighborhood, the workplace, the military, politics, religion and the media) and into school sociology (as intended, to formal education).

158 “The school models the given social system on a small scale. In the picture of the conflicts between the teacher and the “stinky kids”, it is the simplified model of the opposition of the tyrant and the people. Once the school starts to operate, the struggle starts against the tyrant. They trip the teacher between the pews, or stuck the tag “I am stupid” on his jacket... People realize that the resistance is not hopeless. They are not completely at the mercy of the tyrant, and they can even hide in the trash bin, croaking there during the lesson, making the tyrant’s head thoroughly ache. The resistance, of course, entails sacrifices, but if ten blows are measured at a revolutionist’s bottom publicly, and if he endures it tightly and silently, even girls from the next class will welcome him thrilled in the afternoon, which may increase his reproductive success in the long run, which is not a negligible selection viewpoint. So, the “stinky kids” actually go to school... to learn about various forms of resistance, and use them successfully in their adult lives against oppression that appears in society” (Csányi, 2011).

159 In this sense, the institutional educational work is one of the - institutionalized and organized- forms of socialization in the broadest sense (Kozma, 1999).

160 Illich, together with the termination of schools, predicts the transition of employment societies into the era of free time (Illich, 1970).

161 This is not simply the lesson's critique which is manifested in the "socialization to tape work, in the tolerance of monotony, in getting used to the arbitrary, external changes, in keeping in hands," and in qualifying the class into class community (cf.: the hidden curriculum, Trencsényi, 1995).

162 Think of the various cases of leaders showing beyond the classroom limits e.g. by edutating students through art. In the overwhelming majority of these, the director, conductor, painter etc. undertaking youthful artistic activities, expressions, and messages, gets into conflict with the school institutions - sometimes intertwined with the political power, and sometimes even independence from it-, and if they opt for young people, it is mostly associated with the withdrawal from school. It is a fortunate case, if the public educational and cultural institutions or scenes are ready for inclusion, mediation.

163 And here divide these examples from the model of school republics, which does not always follow the need of the transfer of a wide variety of socialization patterns.

164 However, a variety of interpretations of the teacher's role is necessary, and the teacher is becoming a significant factor less in his specialized but more in his teaching nature (Nagy-Szenes, 1990).

165 The public citizen here is not only understood as an individual of a given country has been granted with personal rights (citizen) but in the sense of the conscious citizen who acts for the common good.

166 This also arises down in the server family, if the school could really make a freewill decision: the proposal appears in the family as mandatory recommended.

167 (Bernstein, 1975) (Bourdieu, 2004) (Bourdieu, 1978). "The benefits offered by cultural capital acquired in childhood with the help of the parents, cannot be replaced at the school, the actual function of which is the reproduction of the system of inequality" (V. Pók, 2011).

168 In addition to one-one lost school police program.

169 The history of animation begins at the end of the nineteenth century in France, when Father Le Play advertises a patron system for Catholic schools; the highlight of this is the 1900 Paris World Exhibition (Limbos, 1985). After the war, the animation activity was shifted towards the school outside of leisure time and towards adult education; charity was complemented by the objective of activity and motivation. By 1958, the socio-cultural animation name developed, and in 1976 in Oslo, the Meeting of the European Ministers of Culture makes recommendations for local governments to make use of the possibilities of socio-cultural animation. From 1982, the animation in France is a state-approved training (Limbos, 1985).

170 After the animator's definition, it can be explained, what is not an animator (Udvardi Lakos, 1983 pp. 93.):

- “It is not some kind of “vanguard”, hero or a leader who leads the fanatic people behind him, dependent on him or has been got into his barge.
- It is not even a local administrator, agent or trustee who, standing in the service of power, though not openly, but wants to take people to something they do not actually want. Not the recruiting agent of a party or counter-party but also not a manipulator.
- Not a holy martyr who sacrifices himself generously, who lives only for the group, for those assigned to him without any hope of a recompense and his only desire is the worship of “heavenly powers”.
- No over-zealous activist (as so often lives in public opinion), for whom the essence are the impressive results, the program organization and numerically proved “productivity”.
- It is not an abstract idealist or “ethereal” theorist, who may be in the clouds, who can escape from the real problems of everyday life to a lofty world of “beautiful people”.
- The animator cannot be either indifferent or colorless. There has to be commitment, personal resolution - even if he does not want to impose his own views on others with “power words”.

171 We can talk about street animation, animation in a residential area, or any animation city-wide (ie: animation can be formulated as eg. mobilization, “inspiration” to social work for tree planting), commercial, political, social, sports, and even medical or religious animation as well. The layer-animators specialize in certain groups: social animator is the supporter of the

unemployed and of those socially disadvantaged; the local / regional development animator helps in solving local and municipal problems (Limbos, 1985).

172 In addition, social pedagogy could embrace only the internal onion skin of the so-called onion model (see the section on the onion model), the youth work, so losing the elements of the abstract youth affairs systems (youth profession) and the horizontal interpretation of youth affairs (horizontal youth activities).

173 Although, of course work related to young people is currently underway overseas as well (Teleki 2010), its challenges - probably due to the difference in social development and social structure - often vary (example only: Canada (Brooker, 2014), New Zealand (Brooker, 2014), Australia (Brooker, 2014; Bessant, 2012), United States (Brooker, 2014; Heathfield, 2012; Watkins, 2012; Hansen et al, 2012; Piazza, 2009; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Tejeda, 2009; Brice Heath, 2004; Fusco, 2012, Fusco, 2014), Republic of South Africa (Mboyi, 2012).

In Europe, the youth affairs's analyses of Croatia (Buzinkic, 2014), Denmark (Teuma, 2014), Sweden (Teuma, 2014; Forkby, 2014), Finland (Teuma, 2014; Nieminen, 2014; Nieminen, 2012; Helve, 2009), Norway (Teuma, 2014), Iceland (Teuma, 2014), Great Britain (Brooker, 2014; Davies, 2009), Lithuania (Giannaki, 2014), Greece (Mitulescu, 2014), Romania (Queirós, 2014), Luxembourg (Schroeder, 2014), Estonia (Taru et al, 2014), Belgium (Coussé, 2009; Van Gaens, 2010; Gauthier, 2010, Hurlet, 2010), Serbia (Krnjaic, 2012), Austria (Zentner, 2012), Ireland (Devlin, 2010) Wales (Williamson, 2010), the Netherlands (Van Ewijk, 2010), France (Loncle, 2009), Malta (Teuma, 2009), Germany (Cspatscheck, 2009), Poland (Sinzuch, 2009) or Armenia (Deltuva, 2014b) can be done individually, but in this case, the comparison of the countries' development is not the primary goal.

174 Although we have to add that, according to Tuggener, social pedagogy and youth work developed together, but side by side as well (Tuggener, 2000).

175 In the US, youth worker training is conducted since the '70s, thanks to the University of Minnesota and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (Fusco, 2012b). It was followed by the date of Acadia University, Bank Street College, Community College of Philadelphia, Cornell Extension, Penn State,

Rutgers University, Harvard, Kent Stat, Pitt University, the City University of New York, and Charter Oaks College.

176 Instead of the civil sector, it might have been more appropriate to refer to the non-profit sector (see: generalists-minimalists debate; Nagy-Nizák-Vercseg, 2014).

177 The European Council generally emphasizes (Council of Europe, 2012) - in accordance with the EU Youth Strategy (European Union, 2009) - that the knowledge, skills and competences acquired through non-formal and informal learning, are not sufficiently recognized, although this would improve the employability and the motivation for lifelong learning.

178 In other places, “youth work is a kind of social and educational practice, which of course must be adapted to the wide variety of historical, geographical and social environment, but there are always common understanding as a basis of these differences, which are then re-edited by the practice and the public sphere” (Cousseé, 2010). This definition supports the widely publicized pedagogical relevance, but in its content, it does not add much to the understanding of the definition of youth work. According to the Youth Law in Ireland (Youth Work Act 2001, Article 3) youth work is a pedagogically designed program, aimed at personal and social development through the voluntary participation of young people, complementing the formal, academic education and training primarily in volunteer organizations.

179 An interesting feature is that with the introduction of compulsory pre-school education in Hungary, it certainly has no more social pedagogical relevance, because it is transferred to the liability-based, institutionalized educational space.

180 Here we are talking about not primarily regulatory, much less official, but first of all, service role.

181 The model assumes hierarchical order within the layers, and within that, equal footing between the activity areas.

182 In the paper, we ignore the comparison of the educational philosophy's target taxonomies with the remark that recreational socializing medium was not dealt with as a priority scene by either of them.

183 The framework of our analysis takes place from the profession's side so it has “Youth Affairs Approach”. We firmly believe that youth affairs must be separated by definition from youth policy because while the former (youth

affairs) is a bottom-up system, which is made up of individual and collective needs of young people, according to the top-down approach of youth policy, youth world is displayed as a segment of politics. Thus, following from its character, youth policy can only interpret young people as a social group, just losing what characterizes youth affairs: the individual-centeredness, the personal-, community- and society shaping approach of “all is unique and important by themselves” (or, what is even worse, it thinks about its older participants as a simple electoral machine, while about the younger ones as a simple vote hatching automatic machine).

184 The school - as we've seen - does not consider some elements in this socialization process to be its own; socialization is not only the field of the school or family, as we have tried to argue about it before.

185 The onion model's elements were already in relation with the youth space, but the systematization, correlations of the previous model initiatives are crystallized in this work.

186 As previously indicated, the terrain (in which the action takes place) has an educational function.

187 Intercultural learning here refers to a process that creates openness towards cultural differences and promotes the exceedance of cultural prejudices and – with the retention of patriotism – that of nationalism (Nagy et al, 2014).

188 In Europe, attitudes related to volunteering are different: while in France and in Germany there is not mass youth volunteerism, in Slovenia, “young people are mostly ready to join voluntary activities” (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003).

189 Coaching is a special form of counseling (see: Table 16): personalized, solutions-oriented development work aimed at the mobilization of the internal resources of the young person. “Its aim is to achieve a complex goal interwoven with human and social aspects. Its key features include: always linked to performance directly, focuses on specific issues, develops knowledge and skills and directly affects people’s competence. It is personalized, unique structured process, taking place in the “here and now” that starts from the present and concentrates on the future. It is practical, solution-oriented, calls to action, and serves the development of self-knowledge as well as the awareness of our thoughts and actions. The coach encourages his client to

achieve the best possible performance. During the coaching process, the client will deepen his knowledge, enhance his performance, and all these lead to his improved quality of life. In each meeting, the client chooses the focus of conversation, while the coach is listening carefully, echoes his observations, and most importantly asks questions. This interaction, on the one hand, helps the customer fto see more clearly, on the other hand, stimulates to action” (Nagy et al, 2014).

The mentor – in contrast - refers to a person who as a more experienced consultant, “fatherly” supports the mentee, shows an example to him, and accompanies him in the professional and personal journey, showing the way at the “crossroads”. It somewhat recalls the master-student relationship of Eastern philosophies. Always the mentoree chooses the mentor.

The facilitator should rather stand out as a trainer and in his communication properties; he is basically working in groups. The facilitator is a consultant, mediator, group supporter, who is, thinking in processes, the pulling person and catalyst of it. Usually ensures the smooth flow of processes necessary for achieving the purpose as well as the cooperation of the members of the group by arriving from outside the organizations. At its core, the mentor supports the person; the coach supports the achievement of the goal, while the facilitator supports the group process (Table 22).

Role	Coach	Mentor	Facilitator
Type	External assistant	Internal assistant	External assistant
Main approach	Tasks	Aims	Processes
Essence	Supporting roles (it may vary)	Nodes (supervision, evaluation)	Frames, inclusion (concentration)
Central task	Activity	Activity	Communication
The person carrying out the activity	Experienced professional	Szakember	Trainer, communication professional

Table 22: Difference between personal support roles
(source: Nagy et al, 2014)

190 The organization’s management is not the same as the totality of the organization’s projects management.

191 The initial phase of social pedagogy, young people did not have their own room, and therefore the traditional youth centers were appropriate. Today, however, this largely private space is given so that young people in the youth centres are searching for the “club atmosphere” (Böhnisch, 2000).

192 The problems of families appearing on the horizon of child protection – in very simple terms - will focus on two essential issues: the lack of money and the lack of care. The state is trying to deal with the former in a way to financially support the family, while in the latter case, to keep the child as long as possible (or until the child is not in danger) within the family. It is very difficult to find balance between the undoubtedly true principle of “the state cannot be a parent” and the also profoundly true meaning of “the child is not your property; you cannot do with him what you want”. In other words, when the community can and should take action against the parents and take the child out of the family. Thus, the main objective of the child protection system is the upbringing of the child within the family and therefore seeks to address the vulnerability partly through cash, in-kind and child welfare primary care; partly through the child care services, it is trying to replace the family for children cannot be raised in family for some reason (foster parents, children’s homes). In addition, the child protection sharply divides the official work (mostly the reaction of care problems) and services (mostly cash handling problems). While the official rules mean the official decisions affecting the fate of the child and the family (pull out and resettlement in the family; appointment of guardianship, adoption), which are carried out by the guardianship authority; the services indicate those support systems, which can be used by the needy families and children.

193 It is all the more important because with minimal knowledge of the camp pedagogy, in freshmen camps, almost making sexuality and alcohol consumption compulsory as a result of peer pressure, sexual assault(s) would not have occurred if the, which in addition to destroy the lives of young people, associated youth world again with negative connotation after the Zuschlag affair (Nagy, 2015).

194 The virtual youth work is not the same as the classroom-centered world of digital pedagogy (Benedek, 2007). The virtual attributive or concept suggests as if it was some sort of non-real space. But also in the digital environment, the main characters are people, not the intermediary channel. The experiences lived in this environment are taken into consideration in the same way

as their non-virtual counterparts. The real and the virtual world are related to each other on several points; the defining elements of our culture today... [which also lead]... that our strategy for obtaining information is placed from the previous defined-scale linear content to hyperlink (links and multimedia) and interactive funds (Székely, 2010).

195 One of the key requirements of youth work is to build trust and maintain credibility, the realization of which is the most important touchstone of success. That is why the one performing e-youth work (Székely-Nagy, 2012; Székely-Nagy-Rab, 2008):

- a) *Has to be identifiable!* - In order to gain confidence, his digital identifier (e-mail address, chat name, nick in a social networking site, etc.) has to be interpretable, identifiable and verifiable by using a different source (nominal roll at a youth organization's website, etc.). Youth work is a responsible task. Identifiers bearing witty messages or secret (can be used well elsewhere) can only give place to mistrust. Treat the situation as if we met a stranger personally: How do we introduce ourselves? What is written on the contact card?
- b) *Has to be available!* - The digital world is interactive. There is no more discrediting and more depressing than empty name rolls. If the youth worker will appear online, so he could learn to communicate in this way! The Internet is more than to strengthen the offline environment with it. If our digital ID ceases or changes, it is our duty to solve to reach us, rather than the one's who is interested to trace our new ID.
- c) *Has to respond!* – It is rude and irresponsible not to use the availability that we specified. Respond within a foreseeable time; use the communication signals (eg. in a chat program, the “I’m away” signal etc). If we do not have time, just letting others know when we can react. It is a basic rule, but a lot of exciting initiatives get drowned every day in the business environment due to the non-compliance with this rule. The specified availability is responsibility.
- d) *Has to communicate according to the rules of written orality!* As if he was standing in front of his communication partner. The digital communication invites to ease, laxity and irresponsibility. It is no coincidence that everyone communicates more boldly through chat even with strangers, as they would do it by word of mouth. Young people in their

personal introduction websites communicate such data and images with each other that they would not personally provide even after a long acquaintance. Those who carry out youth work must not fall into this trap - the digital word can hurt as much as the word of mouth; it has the same weight in a positive and negative sense - remember!

- e) *Note that digital communication is never one-way, but at least two-way!* If it is one-way, make it two or multi-way! Worthless is the newsletter, that we cannot respond to, that cannot be supplemented; useless is the website, with the help of which we cannot get into contact with anyone; useless is the online innovator who does not respond to letters, only receives and transmits.
- f) *Has to build a network not a relationship!* The virtual environment, particularly the Internet, is not made up of non-return relationships, but of networks. Our e-youth work will be successful if it is not built on several direct connections next to each other, but when it is built on a network. The network means (voluntary and self-generating) knowledge sharing, community and reactions. Youth work is successful if it does not impose top-down solutions, but creates bottom-up networks. The digital culture toolkit offers great opportunities to this.
- g) *Has to be a vanguard!* In the virtual environment, the statement otherwise typical of youth overall is particularly true: the novel, the (currently) fashionable is attractive. When used in youth work leading-edge technical solutions, even the purpose of raising awareness, we will just go with success. If we use leading-edge technical solutions in youth work, even with the purpose of raising awareness, we will just have success.
- h) *Has to be authentic!*: The generational, socio-cultural, linguistic distances are all credibility destructive factors.
- i) *His work and the medium in which he is working are not virtual: realistic!* Although it has been repeatedly said, it would not hurt to repeat it again and again: the digital environment is not virtual, not weightless, but realistic. Our virtual deeds have the same weight as their everyday, real-life counterparts.

196 To this, the devices can be the so-called limited dialogue tools (electronic newsletters, news items list, video portals); indirect dialogue tools (convertible, commentable and interactive webpage, blog, wikipedia articles,

forums); delayed dialogue tools (email, sms); immediate dialogue tools (chat, telephone, etc.) and social dialogue tools (social networks, e-learning modules, games, virtual worlds).

197 When we talk about children's rights, it is meant to include the human and civil rights (or as part of it, the students' rights (Mihály, 1999). It is essential that every other human and citizen rights entitle children to the same extent and in the same way as others (equality before the law for children, as citizens). It is often a mistake that because the child has no or limited ability to enforce his own rights (needs a legal representative in the exercise of rights), therefore, these rights do not entitle them. Yet the two are not the same: the full range of children's rights on the one hand and, on the other hand, his limited ability to act is similar to the status of the entity whose whereabouts are unknown; the mentally ill people and those who are limited in their freedom of movement. They have their rights, but they can only be exercised by a representative (Bíró, 2008).

198 The relationship between rights and obligations often arises, that is, if we have all these rights, where do our duties remain? "It is a democratic constitutional principle that the fundamental rights cannot be made dependent on the performance of the duties; just because someone does not comply with his obligations, cannot be deprived of his fundamental rights. It is important to emphasize that just like the general human rights; ensuring children's rights cannot be made dependent on whether the child fulfilled his obligations. For example, it does not create an exception from the obligation to respect for human dignity of children and from the prohibition of abuse, when the child violates the dignity of adults dealing with him. The child behaving disrespectfully, in violation of the dignity of the adult cannot be humiliated and mistreated" (Somody, 2009). On the one hand, the law will also "act" if the man does not meet his duty (we can also have a right to a fair trial when we were driving drunk), on the other hand, the time-invariant nature of law cannot be compared to the constantly changing nature of liabilities as we had with (the obligation of a child, a young person, an adult, of a person working in this or that position etc. is different). In this sense, the chicken-and-egg problem of the rights and obligations is solved: the laws also apply if we neglected our responsibilities.

199 Adolescents are often allowed to work; can have labor income; can pay taxes; such a young person can travel alone abroad; can have a driver's li-

cense; can be punished and held accountable, and even (with certain restrictions) can get married while his role in public life is limited (eg.: he cannot vote).

200 On the production of knowledge and action's side, that is, how an information need in the youth profession will be an action executable through professional knowledge, the following can be said:

- a) the first step is to identify then satisfy information needs (surveys, data collection);
- b) it is followed by shaping data into knowledge (contextualization, data interpretation, placing into environment, "think tanks", shaping knowledge from data) and publishing;
- c) then in the possession of knowledge, the design of actions (it is important that actions in the youth field do not have to be based on conjectures, impressions and beliefs, but on data);
- e) implementation-realization (this is the step, which is the most often omitted due to the needs of resources and commitment);
- f), and finally the feedback (the enumeration of the degree of changes; the definition of new information needs).

201 In this case, the intangible assets are considered to belong to the financial infrastructure (eg. the properties) and the non-materialized equivalent of these are considered to belong to human infrastructure (eg. institutions in the sociological sense).

202 After all, it is a necessary condition of an activity area for autonomy to realize itself as an irreplaceable entity.

203 In addition to the traditional division: the state and the economy, the non-profit is the so-called third sector. The most important element of its identity is that it is different from the state in its basic characteristics (the lack of public power functions) and from economic organizations (lack of ambition for profits). The civil segment - communities, organizations set up by volunteers and operated in a self-motivated way, and the most important target group of these, the youth age group – has specific laws and global phenomenon. The non-governmental youth segment thus can be approached from two sides: on the one hand, it is the part of civil sector, which consists of organizations and initiatives made up of youth age groups or services pri-

marily for them; on the other hand, it is the part of youth affairs, in which the primary actors are civil society organizations working with young people. (Its difference from the youth work area of volunteering is that it is not the individual but the large social group is in focus.)

204 Under youth organizations, we understand adolescent organizations (created with socialization purposes) (from pioneers to scouts); children's organizations and even those organizations bringing together young people who set dealing with children as a target in front of themselves (Trencsényi-Trencsényi, 2006; Trencsényi, 2010). The terrain of youth cooperations and organizations is also unique because while an individual can confess an identity for a lifetime (can be a confirmed environmentalist, or can devote special attention to the needy), youth is a condition in which everyone goes through, but it is fleeting for everyone. And since this state is non-exclusive (besides, a man can still be a human rights defender or européer), youth cooperations are often not characterized by single binding but by multiple identities. The characteristics of the youth organizations:

- The organization's founders and managers are members of the youth age group,
- The priority target group of the organization's activities is the youth age group,
- Part of the organization's self-definition is the youth nature (eg. marked in its name or constitutive document).

In the case of youth organizations, the classification is also difficult because in many cases, all three features are present simultaneously (self-determination, membership and the target group is linked to the youth). Further typologization of these organizations in theory is more exciting (see eg. Trencsényi, 2010a), but its further analysis in this work now promises little benefit.

205 In Switzerland, more than half (53%) of 15-18 year-olds exerts activity in a sport or other organizations; 86% of the Swedish 16-24-year-olds are member of some organizations (Azzopardi-Furlong-Stalder, 2003).

206 Among the ways of learning in terms of formality, informal learning, as opposed to the traditional system inclusion scheme, imposes rather system creating demands on students. While in the traditional learning process, the transfer of ready knowledge takes place; an active player in the process is the teacher; the learner is the more passive party; the instruction applies

to the material itself; in informal learning, the student forms his knowledge independently and actively (Komenczi, 1997). Informal learning is not a panacea; it often does not add up as a system; it disrupts reality and reduces, sometimes paralyzes the ability to understand. It would be worth finding a new balance between formal, non-formal and spontaneous (informal) learning modes. The traditional, system mediating, instructional education should be used if we give information about a topic or discipline, or if we intend to deliver well-defined and specific knowledge content. However, if self-development and self-taught learning is required - which will be truly successful if it is motivated by interest, so the students undertake responsibility for it, not the teacher -; when the aim is not the transfer of knowledge, but developing skills and attitudes or the development of the complex problem-solving ability of students, situational learning environments and informal learning opportunities should be provided (cf.: autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire educational and leadership roles, situations).

207 "Youth tourism includes... the less than a year-long, self-trips of the age group, which is motivated by in part or in full the desire for understanding other cultures, gaining life experience, and / or the formal and informal learning needs available outside of the traveler's usual environment (World Youth Student & Educational Travel Confederation, referred to in the Youth Tourism Strategy, 2013). Among the forms of youth tourism can be found the camps, recreation, youth festivals and events visit, country tourism and hiking, field trips, forest schools, ecotourism, wellness and sports activities. Three main groups of it are family travel, school travel and independent trips, not organized by parents or schools. In connection with youth tourism, the permanently discontinued campsites cannot be ignored either.

208 And what we find when we look for, what the main objections of Europe are (in this sense, the Union is only a developing form of the expression of it)? What to do if we try to look for the deeper cultural roots and identity content beyond the economic, political, geographical unity? Can we find normativity; is a strong value system outlined? Is there a common European identity; can the different political, cultural, economic, social, religious, linguistic societies form a unity and will this unity not be an empty onion inside of which if we unveil the various skins, nothing remains? We believe that yes, there is. And although there is no doubt it is true that people will care about their nation sooner than with their Europeanism (and perhaps an even

stronger statement can be made: the more he cares about the things the closer interaction can expected from those), but this does not mean that he does not care about his European identity at all. With the termination of borders; with the free movement of the services and goods; with the closer ties of social and cultural strands, the Europe-identity of people grows, but the European identity will only be real if its roots derive from shared memories and experiences. According to the opinion of European citizens, this should be searched for in the unification of welfare systems; in the adoption of a common, symbolic constitution and in a directly elected European president. What is more, the cosmopolitan European identity interpretation does not preclude national consciousness, but sets a sense of so-so interpretation. So someone can be at the same time European and Hungarian, European and British, European and Turkish-German etc. (Karikó, 2009). So what are these European features; what is the conscious or subconscious idea of Europe?

- On the one hand, the peculiarity of Europe is the plurality of nations - with no designated leadership -, which bears the need and content of the mutual recognition, cooperation and coexistence of peoples, nations and individuals. In this sense, Western Europe, not to monopolize the European ideal of the former communist Democratic resistance to some kind of poor relation mentality converted. In this sense, Western Europe cannot monopolize the European ideal, converting the former communist-democratic resistance into some kind of poor relation mentality.
- On the other hand, because of the older war conflict resolutions, learning from the European example of world wars, Europe already bears the needs of war-free conflict management.
- Thirdly, Europe is the cradle of Western culture, and although this role is now outdated, a sense of belonging can be felt originating from such pride.
- While the symbol of the United States is freedom, it does not seem impossible that Europe should be built around the symbol of solidarity (of course, these are mere cheap symbols; they do not preclude, in fact, require the enforcement of other values. That is, it is a mistake to think that solidarity in the US is not a typical value and that Europe is not a formation built on the foundations of freedom. And of course, the American identity was resting on European medium, by the time it has developed its specific features for the XIX-XX. centuries. (Merkovity, 2013).

- Fourth, from the Hellenic cultural background comes the European ideal according to which the world can be known, and it is not a kind of mystical entity outside us; with the help of the “scientific nature as methodology” – view, the world can be described.
- Fifth, the regulation of co-existence with rules known in advance is rooted in Europe, a key part of which is the protection of private property and sphere (the basis of this is a system of rules rooted in Roman law).
- Sixth, the Judeo-Christian worldview’s man with free will is also a European ideal, which later brought the tolerance of the respect and acceptance of free will as well.
- Seventh, if an issue arises that concerns in the world human dignity, freedom, rights and democracy; European intellectuals, but practically also the members of the European nations act as one in respect of this. What we internally see diverse and sometimes confusing, it seems that from other cultures it seems clear, and clearly European.
- It is interesting that the first institutional European identity search attempt took place in 1973 (in the form of the so-called Copenhagen declaration), according to which European identity rests on three pillars: common heritage and interests, commitment to integration and a sense of responsibility for the third world.

209 I wonder how far is the vision that today nobody would be able to freeze (being cold) and be able to die of hunger (starve), and to have a place to rest his head?

210 However, Thiersch (Thiersch, 2000) does not reject the official tasks of social pedagogy either.

211 The minimum age of criminal liability in Europe is generally 14 years of age; although it is higher in some countries (in the Scandinavian countries, Denmark and in the Czech Republic it is 15 years of age; in Scotland it is 16 years of age); and in some, a lower age has been set (in the Netherlands 12, in Turkey 11, in England, Wales, France and Cyprus 10 and in Ireland and Switzerland it is 7 years of age) (Juvenile , 2008).

212 In the youth affairs literature of the world, the youth worker expression has been spread (indicating the non-commitment between the developer and the helping professions). Here, because of its negative connotation carried

from before the regime change, it has become youth helper/worker, but this is not a conceptual difference from the international sample.

213 In European context, the development of expectations regarding the helping activities was launched in four branches (Schád, 2014).

- Perhaps the oldest is the educational, training approach, where efforts in this direction can be followed from pre-modern societies.
- The other branch is the Church and its impact, as the supporting activities have been applied through the priests, pastors and religion teachers as helpers. The fluctuations (conflicts due to religious differences, Reformation, marginalization of religion by the dictatorships of Central European countries, the supply of a wide variety of trends in the postmodern) still have a powerful impact on helping pastoral processes.
- The third branch is the social professional line, which is based on the formation of the “settlement movement” (immigrant community, social movements to help settlement) as well as the system institutionalized from the voluntary network of charitable assisting organizations. As a result of development within the framework of social work, three major subsections emerged: one is the social assisting activity itself, the other is the children’s defense line, and the third is the supporting activities in the hospital, which is a link towards the consolidation of the medical support approach.
- The fourth branch is the appearance of the helping profession grew out of the institutionalized assisting hospital activity, relying on psychiatric-psychological basis, as well as the pass-through of the attitude into all areas of helping professions.

In addition to the spontaneous assistant activities, the ancestors of those carrying out of professional assistant were the shamans who were working as gatekeepers of the psychological integrity of the community. The individual supposed to have magical powers supported the community and its members; defended the individual and the group by creating symbolic culture. Later the priest and the science-based remedy appeared. Through the development of knowledge and profession, an increasingly complex supply system evolved (barber, paramedic, mediwitch, midwives, then doctors, specialists, etc.). The knowledge and supporting activity of those dealing with spirituality, remedy, soul care, education and social supporting activities have been specialized; its

forms became separated; its competences became clear; its training requirements were formulated (Schád–Schádné-Pócza-Schád, 2009).

214 Different professions formulate their own support functions differently. The pastoral care is an encounter, mutual help and challenge for the religious life (Sávai, 2007).The task of pedagogy is to assist the development of personality, in other words, the intentional socialization, upbringing, education and training of the man (Nagy, 1995). According to the classic approach to remedies, support is the removal of biological dysfunctions(treatment of disease) (Sarafino, 1990).The helping activity of clinical psychology focuses on the improvement ofthe mental patients' quality of life (Schofield, 1969).The task of health psychology is to help the formation and maintenance of health behavior (Kulcsár, 1998).The task of mental health is to help preventing the development of psychological problems (Buda, 1995).

215 While the EU and the German youth research indicate that problems of economic resources, housing, education, social relationships get into the center of young adulthood (Böhnisch, 2000); in Hungary by 2012, hopelessness took over the title of the most pressing youth problems can be called honoured by no way.In fact, with some lurch, but this component continues to grow, now nearly half of young people naming it as a problem.Most often, this problem emerged among urban youth older than 19 years of age, at least graduated from high school.

In addition, it is important that there is a significant correlation (Nagy, 2016) between subjective existential problems, specifically the sense of hopelessness and the migration potential.On this basis, we can say that not primarily the objective difficulties (finances, housing, employment etc.), but the former (meaninglessness, hopelessness) controls eg.: the intention to emigrate.During the last two surveys, categorizing hopelessness as a burning youth problem or the lack of it influences the migration potential.In 2008, 33% of those ranking hopelessness amongthe most pressing youth issues, while 29% of those not mentioning this type of problem were planning to leave the country (at national level: 31%).In 2012, 41% of young people worrying because of the hopeless, aimless future vision, and 37% of those not showing concerns in this aspect were planning foreign migration (at national level: 38%).

The reverse is also true: among young people planning foreign migration it is more common to perceive hopelessness as a marked generational problem, than among young people not planning to leave the country. That is,on the

perception of the severity of hopelessness and meaninglessness experienced among young people, the presence or lack of migration intentions has an influence.

216 In the youth community spaces, the particular situation must be expected that young people with different stages of development and maturity levels appear, often at the same time. For the youth worker it is a challenge how to meet the different needs.

217 Regardless of what kind of activity the person with youth education is engaged in, or if the person performing such tasks has a degree or not; ideally, of course, the two sets would be converging.

218 If we thought that this is only a metaphor, the youth workers of Balatonboglár, Mány or Komárom are good examples for it.