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Sziget Festival 2007

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Sziget Festival 2007. The „island” of European youth

We have been studying Sziget Festival since 1997. This festival is host to a wide and varied population of Hungarian and foreign youth. We have conducted questionnaire surveys since 1999. Since 2000, we have interviewed 1000-1000 young people annually, using a 30-minute questionnaire. We interviewed foreigners for the first time in 2001. We have regularly interviewed foreigners since 2005, employing the so-called contacting method (a brief questionnaire comprising basically the most important social-demographic variables). Our experiences from 2006, i.e. a high percentage of foreigners (approximately one third of all visitors), as well as the determined endeavours of Sziget Rt. (Inc.) to strengthen the international character of the festival in 2007, led to the employment of a more detailed questionnaire for interviewing foreigners besides the contacting method used in 2007. The same year we connected the Sziget Festival research to that of the Fél-sziget (Peninsula) festival in Târgu-Mureş (Marosvásárhely).

Sziget research 2007

In 2007, we also aimed at a complex approach in our research. Besides the demographic and social background we analyzed young people's attitude towards studying and work, their consumer and civic status, their values, biases and attitudes towards youth groups and entertainment, culture and politics. During our research, interviews and data collection were carried out in such a way as to allow a comparison of our results both domestically and abroad. Moreover, we also completed our questionnaire surveys with interviews and case studies based on observation. In 2004, for the first time interviews and group discussions were video-recorded, which were then used for the film "108 minutes of Sziget".

At the Sziget festival, our hypothesis in the joint analysis of Hungarian and foreign youth was that young participants at Sziget festival represented a group of Hungarian young people who played the role of models in youth transition. This is why the analysis of young Sziget participants is crucial, because research of the Sziget Festival allows a better understanding of the role of youth transition in present-day Hungarian society and its influence on the situation of young people and the formation of their values and action patterns.

As a consequence of youth transition Hungarian and Eastern and Central European young people are now closer to European young people, or - in other words - they have moved from the periphery to the centre. Employing a comparative analysis we also tried to find the common and different trends characteristic of Hungarian and European young people as a result of youth transition among Hungarian youth due to social transformation. A comparative analysis also allows us to test the position of Hungarian young people nowadays. Last but not least, one of our questions referred to how different the opinions of Hungarian and European young people on globalization and the European Union were.¹

¹ E.g: Although in our study we write about foreigners in general, we are aware that foreigners visiting the Sziget do not represent the totality of „foreign” young people, just as Hungarian visitors to the Sziget do not represent the totality of Hungarian young people. The reason is not only that generally there are no “foreign” young people, because – it is enough to take a look at certain basic statistical data – we know that the society of individual states/regions (that would otherwise seem unitary) and the group of young people within it may be

Youth transition and the Sziget Festival

During our Sziget research our hypothesis was that in the 90s youth transition accelerated and passed off among Hungarian young people as well. Hungarian young people arrived at a new stage, moved from the transition youth period to the school period.

The school period entails a prolongation of time spent at school and an expansion of public education and then higher education. Leisure time management increases and intensifies simultaneously with time spent at school, which implies that young people become independent at increasingly younger ages.

As a result of economic and technological development, the school period is accompanied by an expansion of consumption (the spread of consumer goods, the incredible expansion of the consumer and service industry), which implies an increase in the consumer status of young people.

The increase in the consumer status of young people does not only represent an increase in their material status, but it also shows that the market acquires an increasingly important role in the socialization of young people. The formation of the communication status of young people expresses the best the strengthening of the role of the market. On the one hand, the formation of the communication status entails an increase in available means of communication and, on the other hand, an increasingly intense use of these means. An increasing use of the Internet for shopping and business purposes is directly proportional to an intense use of the Internet. This basically influences the attitude of young people towards culture and it results in the formation of an increasingly colourful youth culture.

Sziget society – its demographic and social composition

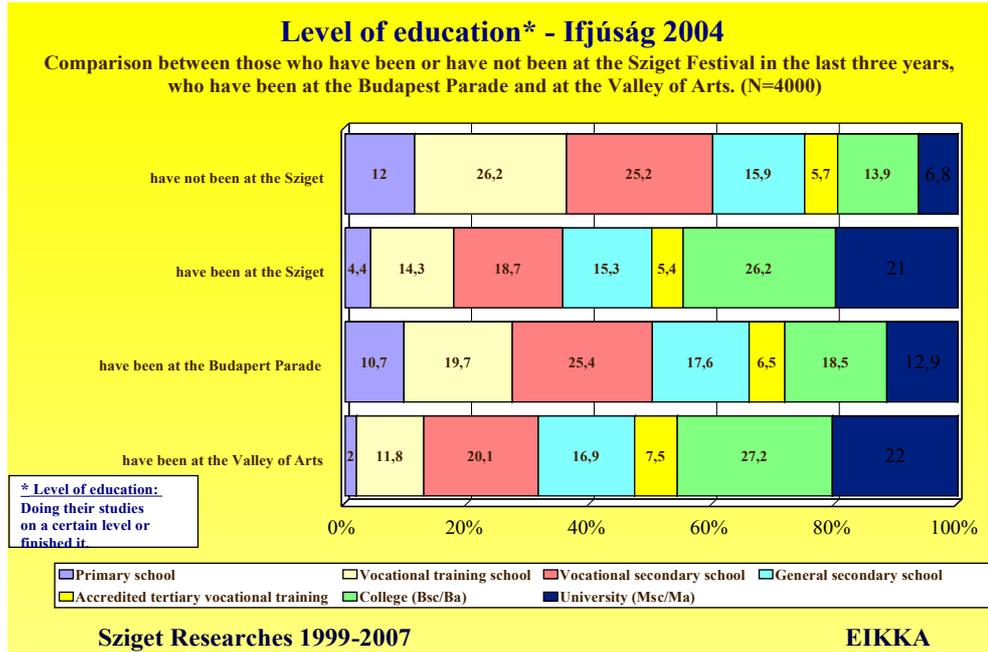
The Sziget research reinforced that youth transition had accelerated among Hungarian young people in the 90s. During youth transition the situation of young people and their attitude towards adult society (family, other institutions of the adult society such as school, cultural and political institutions) underwent fundamental changes. As education expands, the traditional controlling role of the family and school, of the adult society altogether, decreases. At the same time, young people become independent and their individualization takes place at a younger age. Young people become independent and their individualization takes place under circumstances in which the media and the consumer industry play an increasing role in young people's life.

The composition of Sziget visitors according to level of education indicated as early as 2000 that Hungarian young people had stepped into a new youth period. College and university students, as well as college and university graduates were over-represented among Sziget visitors in 2000 and 2004, while vocational school students and vocational school graduates were under-represented. A national analysis of 2004² reinforced the trend that young festival participants, including Sziget participants, represent the youth of the school period.

very different in spite of many common features. Thus, the expression „foreigner” is rather imprecise, while the number of cases does not allow an analysis according to state/region. On the other hand, we may assume that foreign Sziget visitors (just as their Hungarian counterparts) represent only a certain part of the youth from different countries. However, we consider that in spite of all these restrictions a comparison between Hungarian and foreign Sziget visitors is relevant, taking into consideration the literature about foreign young people and knowing that we analyse a special area of the emergence of youth culture.

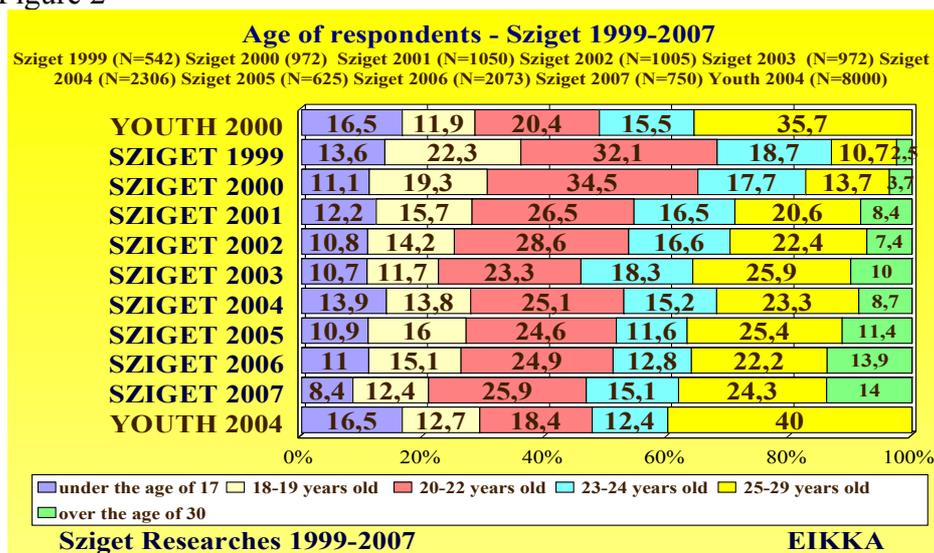
² See: Ifjúság 2004 Gyorsjelentés (editors: Bauer Béla, Szabó Andrea). Mobilitás

Figure 1³



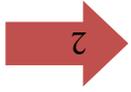
The Sziget research also shows that in Hungary – similarly to Western-European development – increased time spent at school is accompanied by a change in youth period, which is characterized by both an early start and a late ending. Young people become independent increasingly earlier and they get married and have children increasingly later. This tendency is also very well demonstrated by Sziget Festival data: time series data reveal that the youth society of Sziget Festival becomes more and more mature, first of all because the proportion of older persons is constantly increasing.

Figure 2



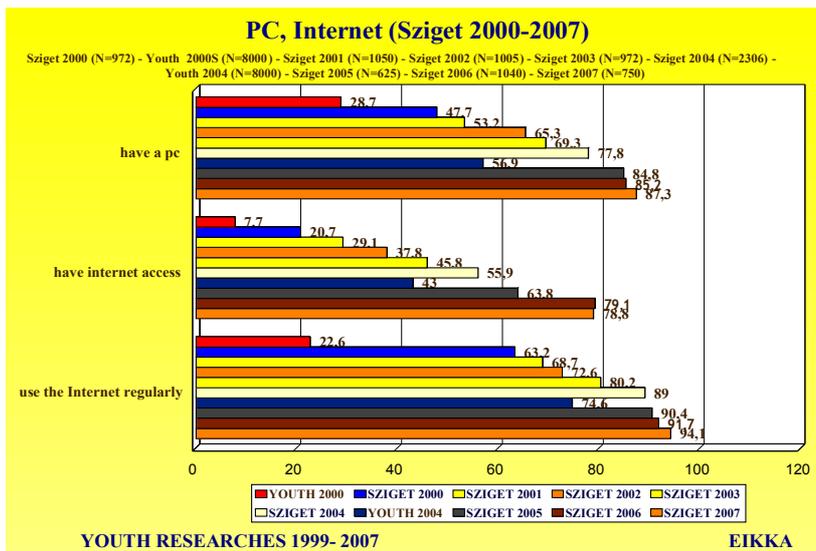
A distinguishing characteristic of young participants at the Sziget Festival is that their consumer status is formed at an increasingly early age and their level of saturation with

³ See: Ifjúság 2004 Gyorsjelentés (editors: Bauer Béla, Szabó Andrea). Mobilitás



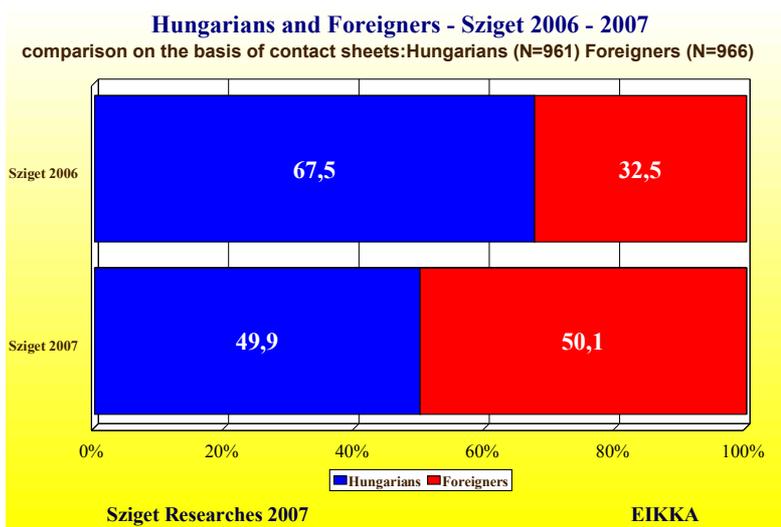
consumer and entertainment goods constantly increases. Based on our research, the shift towards middle class is particularly noticeable at Sziget Festival: in 2000, almost two thirds of Sziget participants while only one fifth of all the 15-29 year-olds had a CD-player, and twice as many Sziget participants had a computer and Internet access as the whole age group. Nowadays, saturation with means of communication and entertainment among young Sziget participants has become almost complete. Mobile phones, followed by computers and Internet access have come in first place.

Figure 3



The composition of the Sziget festival had significantly changed considering that in 2006 one third, in 2007 more than half of the Sziget visitors were from abroad.

Figure 4



Based on age composition, foreign visitors are older, more educated and more of them possess consumer goods than Hungarians.

Figure 5

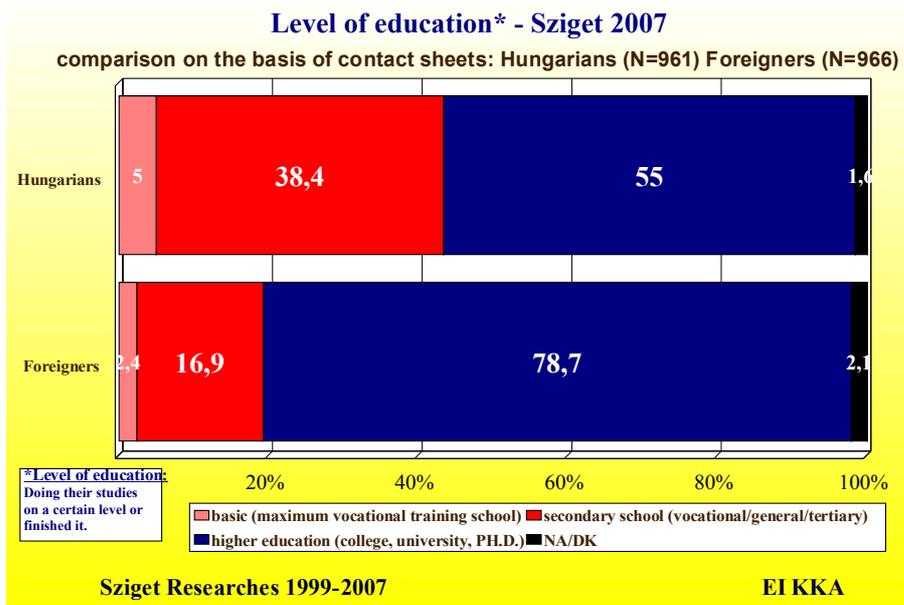
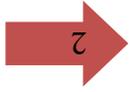
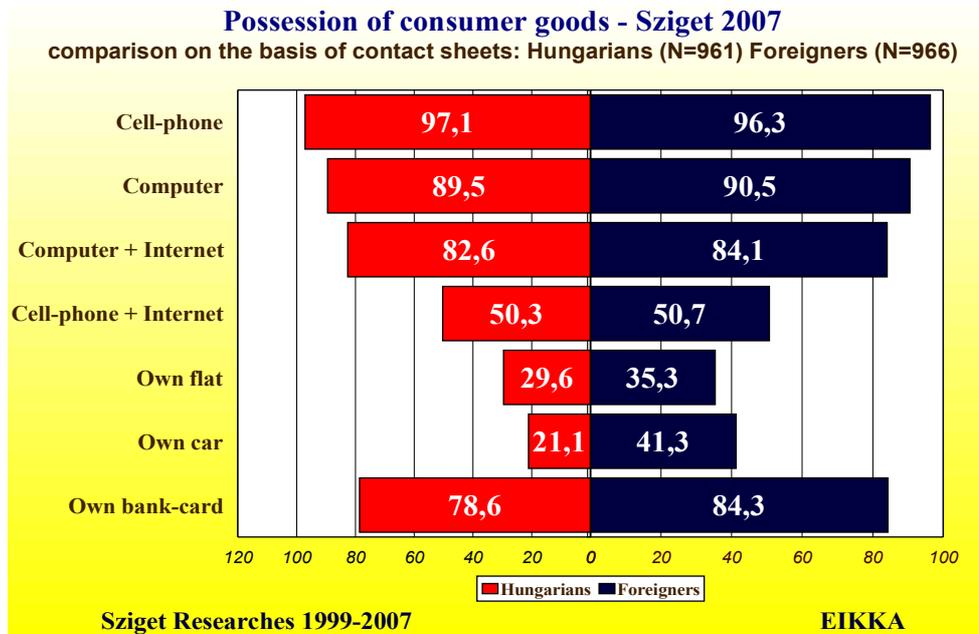
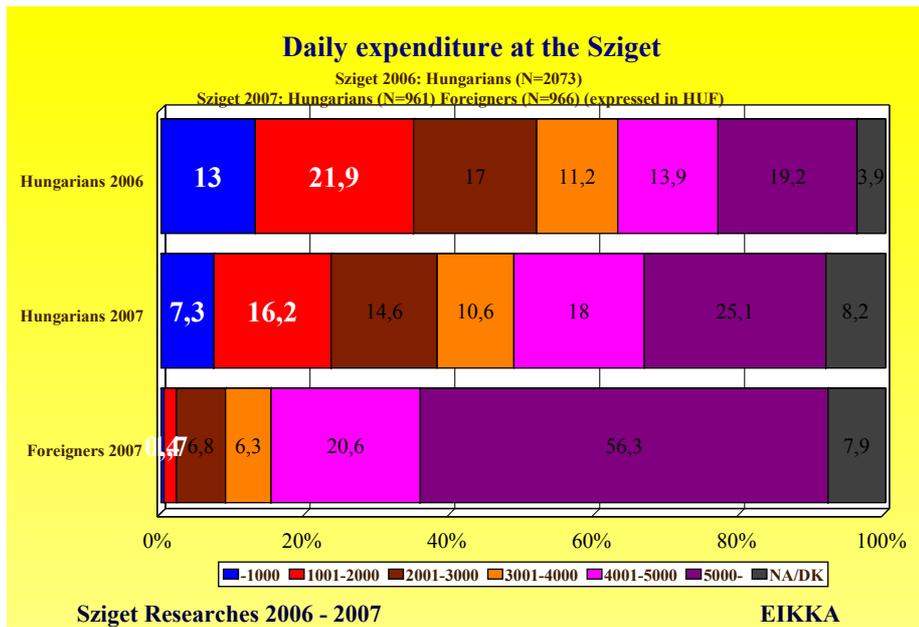


Figure 6



The consumer power of Sziget visitors has also significantly risen. This is partially related to an increase in the proportion of foreigners. On an average night Hungarian young people spend HUF 4,167 and foreigners HUF 9,248, while the average income of Hungarian young people is HUF 105,000 as opposed to the average income of HUF 232,000 of foreigners.

Figure 7

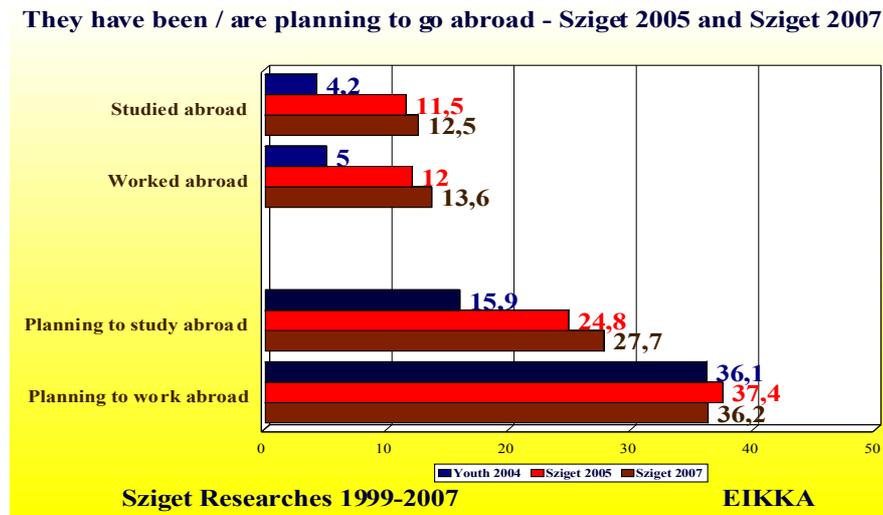


However, the above figure also shows that the amount spent by Hungarian young people also increased significantly from 2006 through 2007. Taking into consideration the incomes of Hungarian young people, we may say that their consumption exceeds their resources. On the other hand, however, this change may also indicate that Hungarian young people with scarce financial resources become completely or partially excluded from the Sziget Festival (e.g. they can only afford to spend a shorter period of time there.)

Job- and learning-oriented mobility

Young Hungarian and foreign Sziget participants do not differ significantly according to economic activity: every second participant works or works and studies simultaneously. One tenth of both Hungarian and foreign young people have already studied or worked abroad; yet, more plan to do so in the future. While foreign participants include to the same extent study- and job-related mobility into their future plans, job-related mobility is stronger than learning-oriented mobility among Hungarian young people.

Figure 8



This can probably be explained by more attractive foreign wages as there are no characteristics related to the present economic status, the level of education and the age of our respondents which could bolster it. European countries are most frequently mentioned as target countries by both groups. While foreigners are more open to other continents as well, for young Hungarians the United Kingdom is the most attractive target, obviously partly because of the language and partly because the United Kingdom was among the first countries to open their job market to Hungarian job seekers.

Young Hungarian Sziget participants' plans related to foreign countries may be considered more or less realistic from the point of view of foreign language knowledge, considering that many of them speak foreign languages. Only 5.1% did not indicate any language, while three fourths indicated an intermediate - level foreign language ability. Sziget visitors – also because of their higher level of education – are in a more favourable position than the Hungarian youth as a whole, considering that in 2005, 16.8% of the Sziget visitors, while according to a representative survey from 2004⁴, 58% of the Hungarian youth did not speak English. This percentage was 55% and 67.5%, respectively for those who did not speak German. Foreign language proficiency increases year by year among Sziget participants. This year 12.3% declared that they did not speak English and 51.7% declared that they did not speak German. Otherwise, percentages are even more favourable among foreigners, although data could not automatically be compared inasmuch as they do not indicate exclusively the successfulness of foreign language teaching/learning, taking into consideration that in the case of certain languages the percentage of native speakers is rather high.

The population of the Sziget festival and the individualization of young people – generation gap

One of the most important characteristics of Sziget participants is that they become independent at an increasingly earlier age. Our analysis reveals that the consumer status and economic independence of young people becomes more distinctive as they become independent earlier, which means that as young people go out earlier on their own they also gain sexual experiences, make decisions regarding the purchase of certain consumer or entertainment goods and regarding participation in consumer activities earlier.

⁴ Ifjúság 2004 (Youth 2004) annual survey (N=8000)

Consumer independence and individualization - Sziget 2003 and 2005

	2003		2005		2003		2005	
	had such experience %	an	average age	average amount	average age	average amount	average age	average amount
How much you spend at the Sziget Festival	NA	NA	NA	NA	HUF 3,972	HUF 4,413		
If you have money of your own	89.9	88.3	16.4	16.,3	HUF 65,882	HUF 72,329		
If you have ever been abroad, the age when you were abroad for the first time	92.2	92.5	10.0	9.5	NA	NA		
The age when you went out on your own for the first time	no data available	97.6	14.8	14.,9	NA	NA		
The age when you gained sexual experiences for the first time	87.6	86.7	16.5	16.5	NA	NA		
The age when you organized a summer trip on your own	67.5	67.8	17.7	18.3	NA	NA		
The age when you moved out from home	38.4	42.3	20.0	19.8	NA	NA		
The age when you started to stay out all night occasionally	95.4	93.6	15.8	15.8	NA	NA		

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At the same time, educational possibilities, trainings, as well as decisions regarding life styles have become wider due to an increase in the role of the market, which entails that many young people – getting away from the traditional coercive power of parents, authority or that of making a living – are able to weigh different possibilities. Decisions such as how to live their sexual or private life or use educational and training possibilities in a world with an ever increasing array of possibilities depend more and more on them.

Consumption and individualization Sziget 2007- Hungarians (N=750) and foreigners (N=413)

	Sziget 2007—Hungarian			Sziget 2007-foreigners		
	%	average age	average amount	%	average age	average amount
How much you spend at the Sziget Festival	96.7	NA	HUF 5,629	97.8	NA	HUF 9, 181
If you have money of your own	86.8	17.11	HUF 90,514	90.3	16.79	HUF 23,2665
The age when you went out on your own for the first time	92.4	15.05	XNA	92.5	15.52	NA
The age when you gained sexual experiences for the first time	85.3	16.31	NA	93.7	16.46	NA
The age when you organized a summer trip on your own for the first time	71.5	18.25	NA	87.2	17.59	NA
The age when you moved out of your parents' home	43.3	20.31	NA	75.3	19.26	NA
The age when you started to stay out all night occasionally	95.3	15.94	XNA	93.2	16.29	NA
How much you spend on an average night	94.3	X	HUF 4,617	94.5	X	9248 Ft
If you smoke, the age when you smoked for the first time	65.3	14.9	NA	66,9	15.46	NA
If you have ever been dead drunk, the age when you were dead drunk for the first time	68.1	16.67	NA	79,7	16,,81	NA
If you have tried drugs, the age when you tried it for the first time	65.5	17.42	NA	67,8	16.54	NA

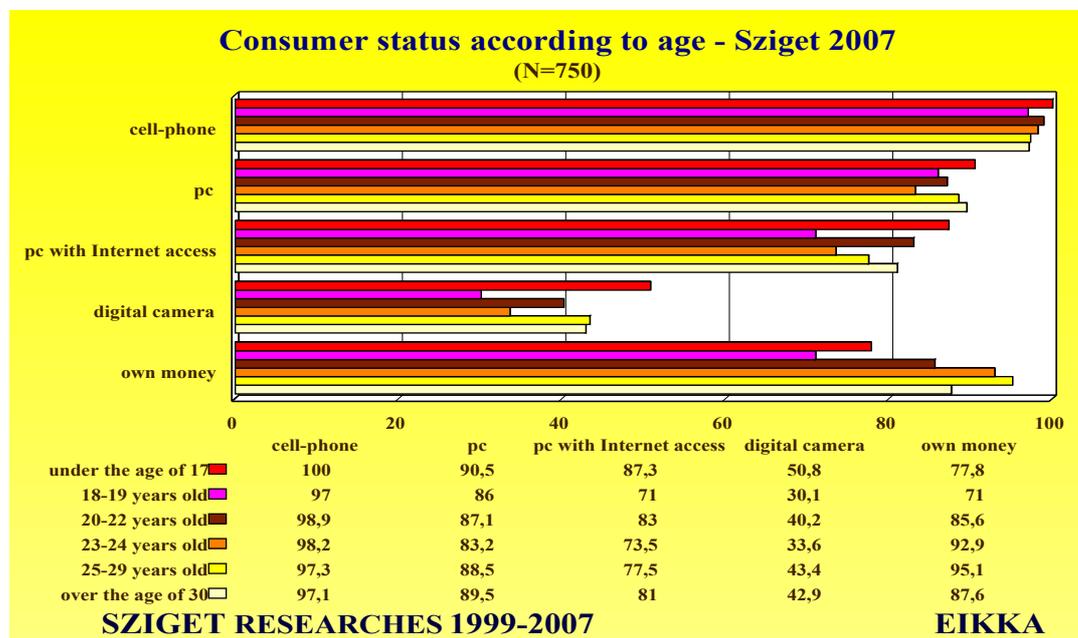
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The above table shows that by combining early individualization and consumption Hungarian young Sziget participants have followed the example of European young people, integrating into the European youth, which also means that they face the same challenges as the youth from the centre do. That Hungarian young people stay out all night, smoke and try drugs at an earlier age, falling into line with European young people, indicates that the vulnerability and risk exposure of Hungarian young people increases as they shift to the centre.

The increased role of consumption, differences between age groups in the socialization of young people may very well be grasped among young Sziget Festival visitors. *The generation gap between those under 17 and above is primarily shown by the fact that a higher percentage of young people under 17 use the means of consumption and communication more intensely.*

Figure 9



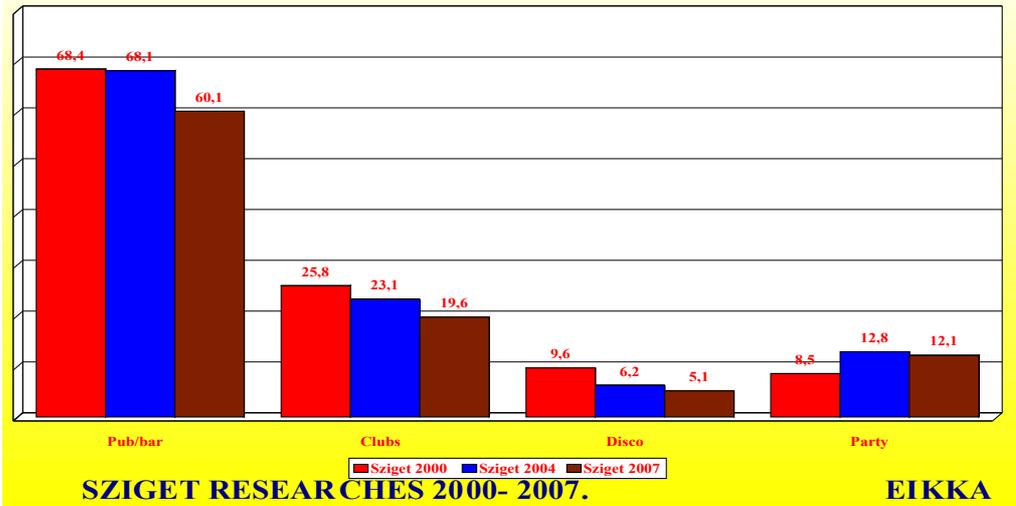
This figure shows that members of the youngest age group own the highest number of mobile phones, computers, digital cameras and have the highest access to the Internet. Sziget research also shows that we cannot talk about youth as a generation any more, but rather about age segments which sharply differ even from the perspective of the use of technical novelties. In 2007, for example, such a new technical gadget was the digital camera.

Sziget and changes in leisure activities – formation of the leisure industry

Sziget participants have more active leisure activities than their average age group. This change in the leisure activity of young people is closely linked to the formation of the leisure and entertainment industry for young people during the 90s. The appearance of bars, cafés, and tea-houses is a very good indicator of this change in leisure activities.

Figure 10

Ways of entertainment (Sziget 2000-2004-2007)
(frequently=at least once a week)

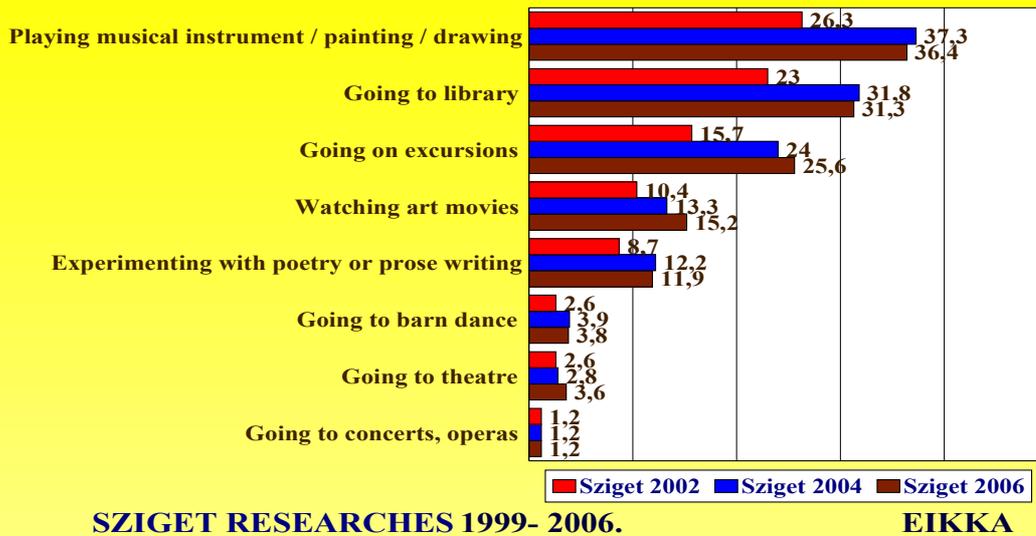


The above figure shows that bars/pubs, clubs, discos and hops/parties are the most important places of entertainment for young people. Therefore, the majority of entertainment activities are related to the market, i.e. leisure activities shift at very early ages to the market or business sphere.

However, artistic activities also play an important role in young people’s life. One third of Sziget participants play music, paint or draw, more than one fifth go to libraries, one tenth try their talent for poetry and prose writing and watch art films at least once a week.

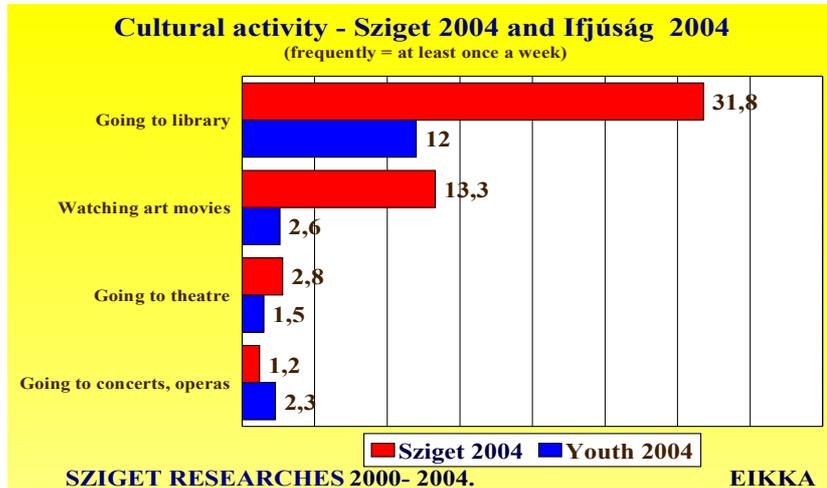
Figure 11

Cultural activity - Sziget 2002-2006
(frequently = at least once a week)



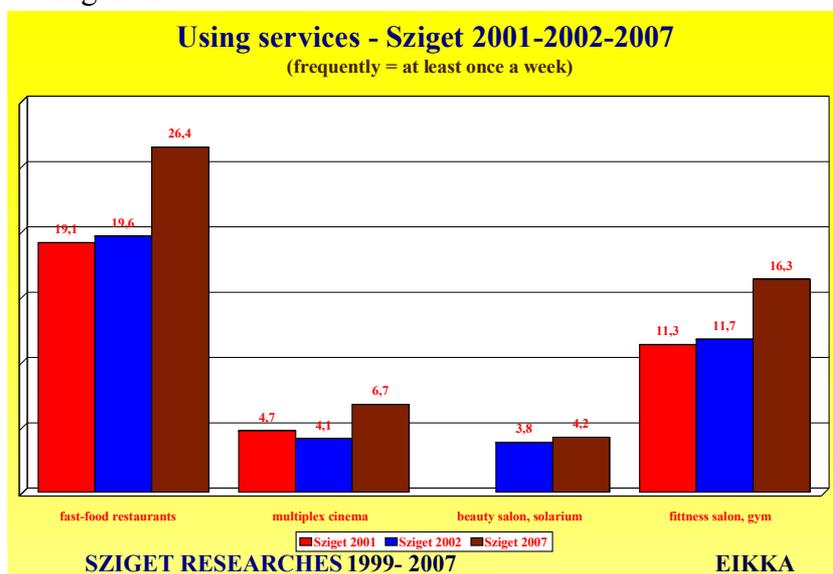
The following table shows that Sziget participants are more intensely involved in cultural activities than average young Hungarians.

Figure 12



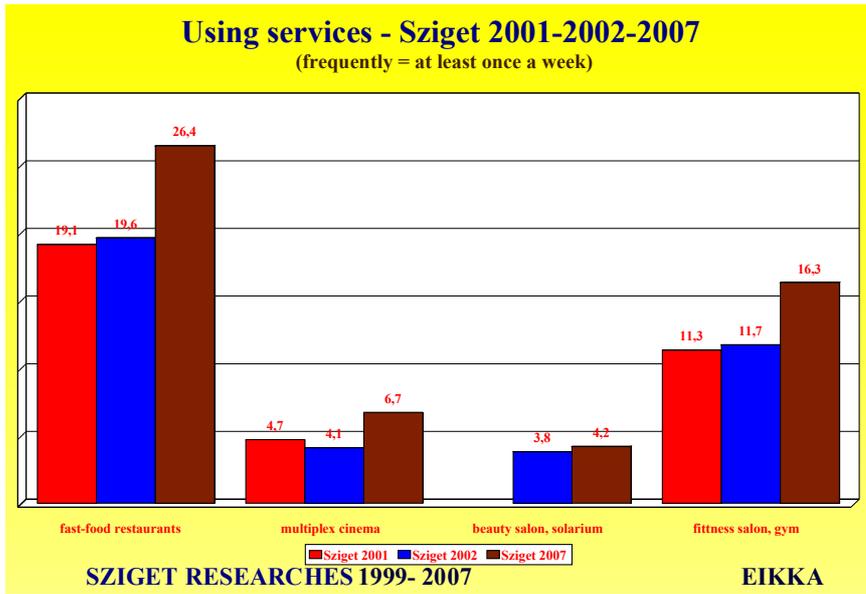
At the same time, the time series data of the Sziget research also show that cultural activities and an increasingly intensive use of market services go well together. The increasing number of services offered by the consumer society is more and more part of Sziget participants' as well as Hungarian young people's lives.

Figure 13



As for the services, we have found that not only their increasingly intensive use is noteworthy, but also the dramatic decrease in the number of those who do not use these services at all. These include special services such as beauty parlours, solarium and fitness centres or health clubs.

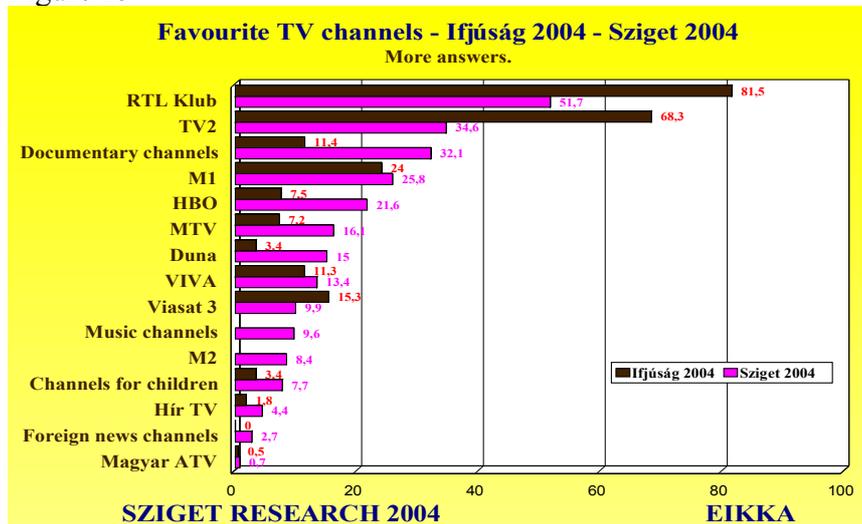
Figure 14



Changes in the entertainment and cultural activities and in the location of these activities indicate that the young are becoming market actors. Youth culture and the cultural models that young people follow cannot be separated from the market any longer. Youth culture greatly depends on its relationship with consumer industry and media. Their influence and form depends on young people’s relationship with the state, the market and the civic sphere.

The following table is a good illustration of Sziget participants’s media consumption, as well as of the similarities and differences as compared to Hungarian youth’s media consumption.

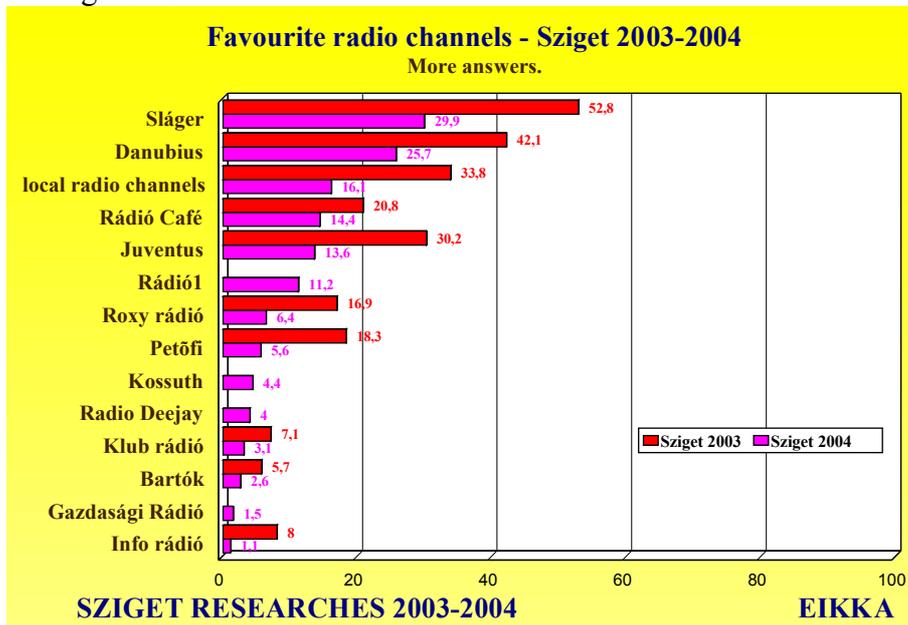
Figure 15



This figure shows that commercial TV channels are favoured by Sziget participants – similarly to the Hungarian youth as a whole. However, the audience of documentary, news and more alternative channels is significantly higher than in the case of Hungarian youth as a whole. E. g. foreign news channels were mentioned by Sziget participants only. The figure illustrating the results of the 2004 and 2005 Sziget research indicates that Sziget participants have a more refined relationship with the media. In particular, radio stations aiming different

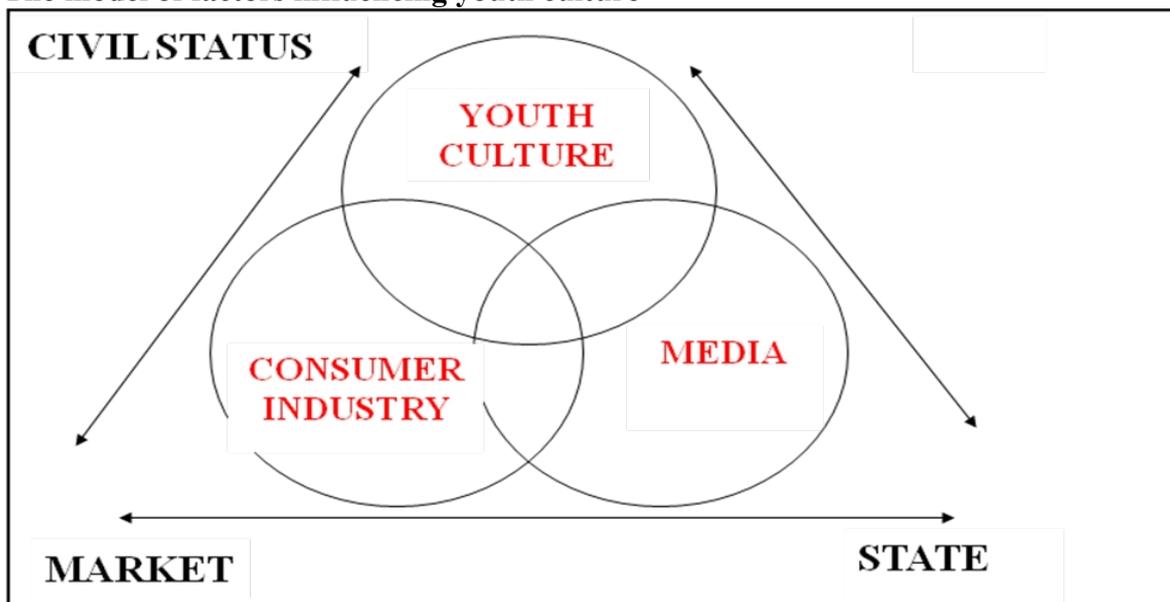
social groups, as well as cultural and youth styles play a very important role in the case of Sziget participants.

Figure 16



In Hungary, we find that during youth transition the shift of institutions for young people from state to market is in the background of a change in young people's attitudes towards institutions, similarly to other ex-communist countries. As the role of the market increases, the shift of young people towards the civil sphere becomes more important. If the transformation of young people into market actors is not accompanied by a development of the civil sphere, we may talk about a rather strong dependence of young people on consumption, which entails an acceptance of mass consumption patterns without criticism. Youth transition, therefore, equals youth culture. Although a colourful and alternative youth culture presupposes a strong market, it also presupposes a strengthening of the role of the civil sphere while the media plays a determinant role in this.

The model of factors influencing youth culture



Changes in young people's leisure activities take place on new youth stages, among which festivals play a dominant role. At the same time, the formation of the youth of festivals is a good example of the transformation of young people into market actors. Music, which has an important role in young people's lives, is closely connected to a strengthening of the role of the media and the significant role of the service and consumer industry. The „youth cult” of the service and consumer industry means that young people adopt – through the mediation of the market – very diverse behavioural patterns, from hair-cut and clothing to eating habits, at increasingly younger ages. These patterns are adopted in environments that are more and more international and by means of internationally comparable patterns.

The civil status of Sziget visitors

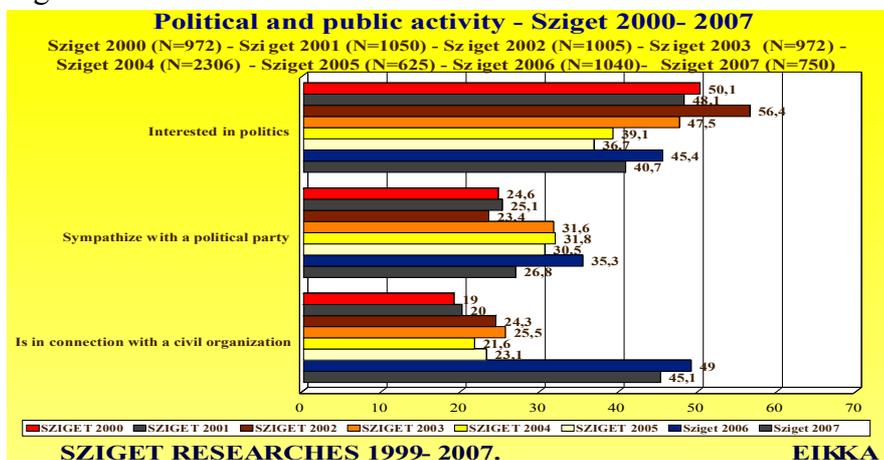
In order to understand the attitudes and tastes of Sziget visitors – and also to understand the attitudes of young people – it is not enough to explore the consumer status of young people, it is also necessary to analyze their civil status.

The accession of young Sziget participants to the middle class – similarly to Hungarian young people – justifies this special attention. Several youth analyses were carried out after the 2002 elections, including ones related to the new and young middle class. Among these, the essay „*The revolt of the middle class*” by Tamás, Gáspár Miklós published in „Élet és Irodalom” (Life and Literature) is outstanding.

„Hungarian citizens travel abroad a lot. They are zealous consumers of Western technology, products, mass culture and fashion; thousands participate in different international co-operations, Western higher education, continuing education and their equivalent variants; the economic, political, ideological, cultural and mass communication influence is massive; the lifestyle of the middle class (especially, but not only of younger people) is similar to that of their Austrian, Southern-German, Northern-Italian counterparts.” (Tamás Gáspár Miklós 2002)

The characteristics of this new young middle class (consumption, travelling abroad, speaking foreign languages, clothing, visions of future) – which are sharply visible among Sziget visitors – are coupled with a greater interest in politics and a more intense relationship with civil organizations. In 2007, almost four fifths of Sziget visitors declared that they were interested in politics, a little more than four fifths were members of some civil organization and one fourth sympathized with a political organization or movement. Their involvement in civil organizations was significantly higher (45.1%) as compared to Hungarian young people, which was 15% in 2004.

Figure 17





Young Hungarian Sziget visitors – just as young foreign people – are mostly involved in sports, cultural and hobby-related organizations.⁵

Joining youth and student movements plays a very important role in the development of the civic status of both Hungarian and foreign young people. The degree of attachment to environmental movements is approximately the same. However, there are great differences between Hungarian and foreign young people with respect to involvement in human rights movements. Human rights movements are mostly favoured by foreign young people. Traditional bonds – such as involvement in church-related youth organizations – still play a more important role in the lives of Hungarian young people. It is also true, however, that when inquired about relationships with civil organizations the majority of Hungarian young people – who, as already mentioned before, are less intensely involved in civil organizations than Sziget visitors, – only mentioned religious organizations in the same proportion as Sziget visitors. On the contrary, foreign Sziget visitors' relationships with civil organizations follow the same tendencies as those experienced in Western surveys, e.g. in Germany (Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke 2006).⁶

Young people's political actions, however, may not be measured by traditional political action types. We have to take into consideration the way young people relate to so-called *post-conventional political actions*.

At the end of the 70s, Kaase and Barnes noticed that in Western democracies conventional political action had been replaced by post-conventional action as a result of a transformation in political action. The essence of this replacement is that the spectrum of political action becomes wider (Barnes–Kaase, 1979). There are two scenarios to explain this widening of the spectrum. The first one explains the transformation in the spectrum of political action by stating that intensifying conflicts in Western Europe decrease political legitimation. Kaase and Barnes emphasize that this scenario was not supported by the analysis carried out in five Western democracies. According to the other scenario, in Western democracies there is an increasing demand for participation in decision-making, as well as influencing decision-making. This generates a conflict in every aspect of life, which brings about a widening in the spectrum of political action. Kaase and Barnes underline that this latter scenario – presented by Huntington in one of his theoretical writings at the beginning of the 70s – was reinforced by their research (Huntington, 1974). They emphasize that post-conventional action (collecting signatures, civic initiatives, strikes, blocking traffic, squatting, etc.) and its political competency have become part of mainly young people's political activity, which was considered a rarity in democratic public life even twenty years earlier. Based on the analysis of the relationship between young people and adults they emphasize that new, post-conventional political action is a characteristic feature of young people, which is mostly related to an increase in the level of education. They also underline that post-conventional political action is not primarily related to the youth period but to an alternation of generations and generational influences. Synthesizing, they argue that post-conventional political action is first of all linked to the expansion of education and it is embedded in a posmaterial system of values formed as a result of it. Secondly, they argue that the formation of post-conventional political action is the result of a learning process; and it is born of a need to see things happen. Thirdly, post-conventional political action is related to conflicts between

⁵ In related literature three levels of social participation are described in relation to young people: political interest, determined group objectives, non-political interests. At these levels we may horizontally separate: traditional clubs, societies, organizations, civic organizations (NGO groups), as well as campaigns, protests. Parties, professional organisations, sports clubs, social organisations, on the level of civil organisations: human rights movements, emancipation movements, animal rights movements are related to traditional organisations. Voting, conventional and post-conventional political actions, as well as strikes organised by trade unions and other protests are mentioned on the level of campaigns (Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke 2006).

⁶ The authors processed the 2003 DJ Survey.

generations and it becomes stronger among young people who have to deal most frequently with the institutions and career models of the adult society. Finally, they mention the influence of modern means of mass communication as the fourth factor, as well as the contradiction between an increase in the role and efficiency of modern means of mass communication and the permanence and cumbersomeness of democratic political institutions.

Our research carried out in 2002 and 2003 at the Sziget festival and among university students also show that post-conventional political action is a permanent part of the political actions of both young Sziget participants and university students.

Models of political action / I have already participated - Sziget Fesztival 2002-2003 and Students 2003

	Sziget 2002 and 2003		University students 2003		
	Sziget 2002	Sziget 2003	Residents	Non -residents	All
in collecting signatures	25.8	39.0	28.3	30.3	28.9
in authorized political demonstrations	18.2	22.7	12.3	18.4	17.0
in strikes, protests	18.1	22.3	5.5	13.7	11.4
in civic initiatives	12.0	15.0	10.5	12.7	11.5
in offences against public or private property	7.7	11.4	6.3	6.4	6.4
in denying the payment of subscription fees or taxes	7.2	9.3	3.9	3.0	3.4
in the use of force against persons	6.2	8.6	5.0	5.1	4.7
in painting slogans on walls	8.5	7.9	1.9	3.8	2.9
in illegal strikes, political demonstrations	4.8	6.0	0.5	1.6	
in demonstrations blocking traffic	3.9	5.1	1.3	1.9	1.9
in occupying factories, offices, apartments	0.8	0.9	0	0	0

EIKKA 2004

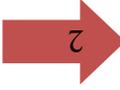
Data show that post-conventional political action is more intensive among Sziget participants than among students, and that we can witness a certain radicalisation from 2002 to 2003. The radicalisation of political action became more obvious when we inquired about intentions related to political action.

Intentions related to political action / I would participate in important matters - Sziget 2002-2003 and students 2003

	Sziget 2002 and 2003		University students 2003		
	Sziget 2002	Sziget 2003	Residents	Non-residents	All
in collecting signatures	32.1	48.7	39.8	44.4	44.4
in strikes, protests	30.3	36.7	25.5	30.5	30.2
in civic initiatives	23.5	28.4	26.6	28.1	28.2
in illegal political demonstrations	21.1	27.7	19.5	27.4	26.4
in denying the payment of subscription fees or taxes	8.5	13.8	5.0	6.2	6.4
in illegal strikes, political demonstrations	12.1	13.8	6.1	7.4	7.3
in demonstrations blocking traffic	8.5	12.2	4.6	7.3	6.6
in painting slogans on walls	7.7	10.6	4.6	4.8	4.7
in occupying factories, offices, apartments	4.8	7.5	1.7	2.5	2.4
in offences against public or private property	3.5	6.7	2.9	3.3	3.3
in the use of force against persons	3.2	6.7	5.0	5.0	3.2

EIKKA 2004

The spread of young people's post-conventional action was also confirmed by a survey from 2004, representative of Hungarian young people. One third of the respondents said that they had already participated in one or more protests. 15-29-year-olds prefer the collection of signatures, political demonstrations, as well as civic initiatives. Only 1% of the respondents participated in illegal or aggressive protests. The potential for future protests is considerably higher than real participation. 56% would participate in the collection of



signatures, 38% in legal strikes, 35% in civic initiatives, 27% in political demonstrations, and 21% in blocking one side of a road to support important matters or under extraordinary circumstances. Young Sziget participants' political action may be understood even better if we take into consideration their educational level as well. University students play a very distinctive role in these forms of political action. They have the most potential for protests – both actually and intentionally. At the same time, participation/the intention to participate in radical post-conventional political actions such as blocking one side of a road or an entire street as well as the use of force against other persons is more characteristic of the less educated group of the secondary school age group, i.e. vocational school students.

In our 2007 research we had the possibility to compare Hungarian and foreign young people in this respect.

The foreign young people's potential for protest is more intensive than that of Hungarian young people. This is also visible in a new form of potential for protest, namely creating political websites. However, there is no significant difference with respect to one of the most radical protest activities: the use of force against official persons. (Research from Germany e.g. shows that the participation of German young people in illegal political demonstrations is decreasing: from 29% in 1992 to 19% in 2003 (Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke 2006)).

Analysing the intention to participate, we notice that the intention of Hungarian young people to protest is increasing and it is higher than that of foreign young people. This increase is especially intense and Hungarians almost „reach” the level of foreigners with respect to radical political actions, such as demonstrations blocking traffic or the use of force against the police. Yet, a fair interpretation may not disregard the topicalities of the Hungarian political and public life.

Sziget and other festivals

According to the nationally representative Youth 2004 survey, every twentieth 15-19 year-old had already participated in the Sziget Festival during the previous three years and almost every fourth planned to participate in the following three years. An increase in the number of foreign participants was the biggest change in the society of Sziget during the last years. By now, the society of the Sziget festival has fundamentally changed. The society of the Hungarian young middle class has met the society of European youth. More than half of Sziget participants come from abroad. More than nine tenths of the foreign participants come from the 27 countries of the EU. Therefore, the fact that the percentage of foreign Sziget participants has increased from 30% in 2006 to more than half of the total number of participants has played an important role in the reorganisation of the Sziget society.

Simultaneously with this increase in the number of foreign participants, Hungarian young people are more and more represented by young people from Budapest and bigger cities with an even higher consumer status than the earlier Sziget participants.

An increasingly bigger group of young people participate at very diverse festivals – both from the perspective of their form and audience –, which illustrates the formation of the youth of festivals. In 2007, one fourth of the Hungarian young people interviewed at Sziget indicated that they participated at one of the programs of the Valley of Arts, the same percentage indicated that they participated at the VOLT Festival, more than one fifth participated at EFOTT. 15% of the young people participated at Balaton Sound and one tenth participated at a festival abroad. If here we take into consideration that an increasing number of young people plan to participate at a festival in the future, we may say that participation at (diverse) festivals is a special feature of present day youth culture and this indicates the

→ emergence of a stratum within young people, whose members follow very attentively festivals, although the target group of individual festivals is partly different.

Participation at festivals – Hungarians (N=750)

	Have you ever participated?		Do you plan to participate?	
	yes	no	yes	no
Félsziget (Peninsula)	3.2	96.8	26.0	74.0
The valley of arts	25.6	74.4	52.0	48.0
EFOTT	22.7	77.3	39.5	60.5
Balaton Sound	14.8	85.2	44.3	55.7
VOLT Festival	26.8	73.2	58.4	41.6
Festival abroad	9.7	90.3	39.6	60.4

EIKKA 2007

Four fifths of Sziget visitors from 2007 had already participated at this festival before. While approximately two thirds of participants said that they had participated in the previous years, less than one fifth of present Sziget visitors said the same for the period before 2000. These data also show that there are regular Sziget visitors whose yearly summer plans include the Sziget festival. Each year, the percentage of weekly ticket holders surpasses that of daily ticket holders, which is also an indication of a great commitment to the festival.

How many times have present Sziget visitors been to the Sziget Festival before? (% , N=750)

never	17.3
once	13.9
twice	13.2
three times	12.3
four times	7.7
five times	6.4
6 to 9 times	17.5
10 to 14 times	11.6

EIKKA 2007

Those from the capital (Budapest) declared more frequently that they had already participated at the Sziget festival in a previous year. Of course, the percentage of those who participated more than once at the Sziget Festival increases with age. Besides a continuous broadening of the audience of the Sziget Festival due to an increase in the number of visitors, a certain stability of the target group is also indicated by the fact that 90.7% of present visitors also plan to participate at the festival next year. Moreover, 76.8% of foreign participants declared the same.

Festivals play a very important role in the formation of young peoples' future social group status because friendships, as well as their constant strengthening play a determinant role in festivals. The 2007 Sziget Festival is new in that these relationships shifted from the Hungarian middle class to the European middle class. Our interviews and observations also reinforce that this may have caused temporary dismay and introversion for certain young Hungarians.

Stages and their audience

Fans of different musical trends appear at different stages at Sziget.

Most frequently mentioned stages – Hungarian and foreign

	Hungarian (N=961)	foreign (N=966)
Categories	in % of the cases	
Main stage	76.1	77.3
HammerWorld Stage	25.1	11.2
World Music Main Stage, iWiW	22.8	24.5
wan2 Stage	21.5	11.1
Hammer Stage	8.8	0.3
Party Arena, Nokia	8.7	8.4
Medusa	7.6	4.0
Roma Tent	2.7	3.8
Afro-Latin Stage and World Village	6.7	2.7

EIKKA 2007

The Main Stage was mentioned by most of the respondents as the most frequented. Here, the percentage of foreigners and Hungarians, as well as men and women is almost similar, while those with higher education are overrepresented. At the same time, those who belong to lower income categories according to spending at the Sziget festival were also overrepresented among Main Stage visitors. The percentage of 18-19-year-olds was in average higher (12.7%), but according to age group the two dominant groups are the 20-22-year-olds and 25-29-year-olds (28.6% and 25.4%, respectively).

The difference between Hungarians and foreigners is significant for the HammerWorld and Wan2 stages.

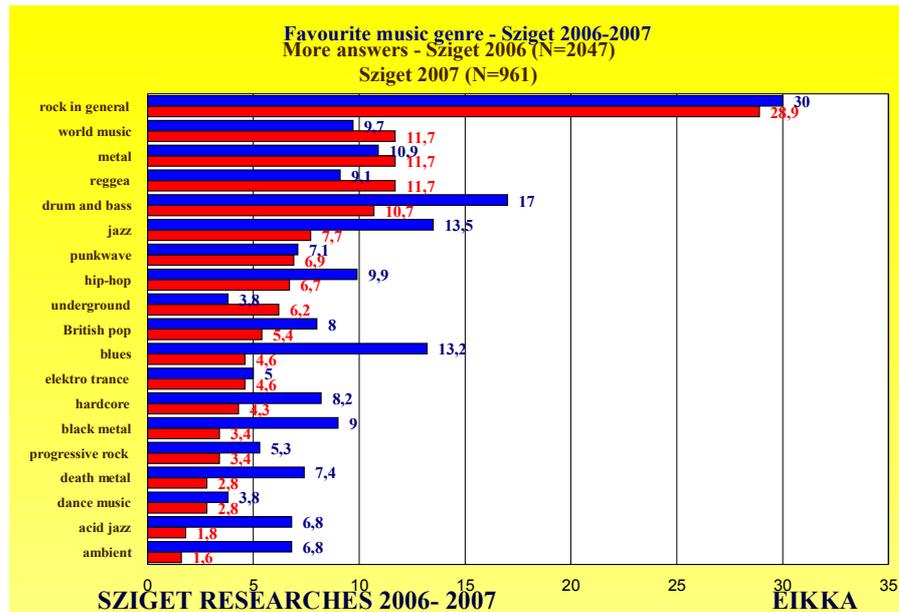
70% of those who mentioned the *HammerWorld Stage* were Hungarian young people, almost two thirds of them were men, more than half were attending a college or university or graduated from a university. The percentage of those who spend less than HUF1,000 /day was the highest among HammerWorld visitors, while more than two fifths of the visitors of this stage spent more than HUF5,000/day. For this stage, both the youngest and the oldest age groups were over-represented – almost one fifth of its visitors were below 17 and the percentage of 30-year-olds or older was similar. Hungarians were very close to the The Wan2 Stage as well: two thirds of its visitors were Hungarian young people. Most of them (59.9%) were men, two thirds were university graduates or would-be university graduates and, most of all, the percentage of those who spent more than HUF5,000 was different from the majority of Sziget visitors.

Half of *World Music Main Stage* visitors were Hungarians and half of them were foreigners. The majority of visitors were women; the percentage of students was very high, while distribution according to age was very uniform. The distribution of foreigners and Hungarian young people was similar to that of the *Party Arena* which is very different in its nature from the World Music Main Stage.

The globalization of youth culture and the Sziget Festival

Music has a central role among the interests of young people participating at festivals, *and this stands for the young Sziget participants as well.*

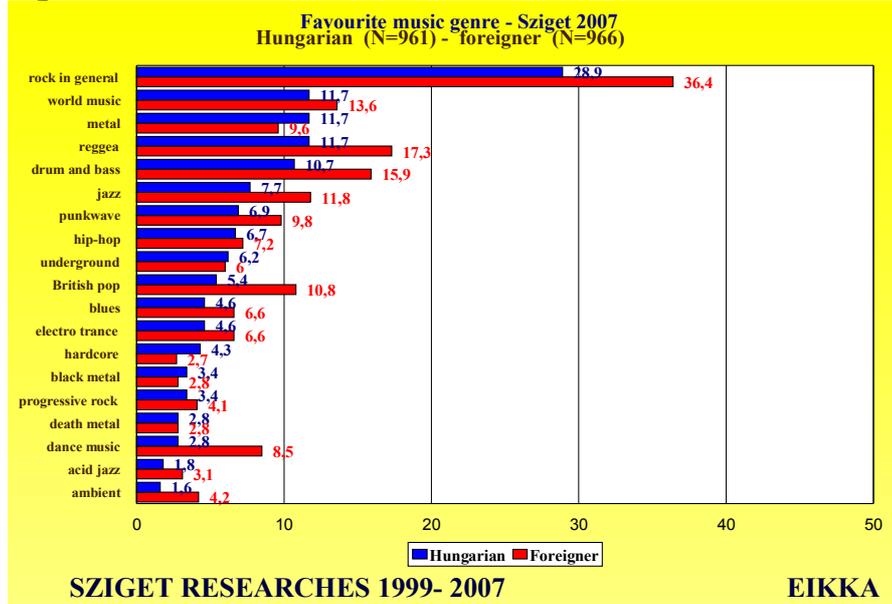
Figure 18



During the years, our data showed that rock fans were most represented at the Sziget festival. More than one third indicated rock music in general as their favourite music trend. There was a change in the musical taste of Sziget visitors in 2005. In 2005 the number of jazz fans was higher than in the previous year, which may partly be explained by the „older” age structure of the Sziget festival compared to previous years, considering that the percentage of those who mentioned jazz in one of the first three places was considerably higher among those above 23 and, consequently, among those who completed their studies or graduated from universities. In 2006, the musical taste of Sziget visitors became more diversified compared to previous years. The following music trends were mentioned by a higher percentage compared to 2005: drum and bass, death metal, black metal, hardcore, ambient, British pop, progressive rock.

Gender differences in the most frequently mentioned music trends may only be grasped in a few cases: while heavy metal fans were mostly boys, world music and hip-hop are more popular among girls. The majority of young people primarily selected their favourite music trends even at the Sziget festival, at least 68.7% relate the selected program to a certain music trend. This indicates that the taste in music of the majority of Sziget visitors was already formed (or at least it is characteristic to a given period or age) and they organised their leisure activities at the Sziget festival accordingly.

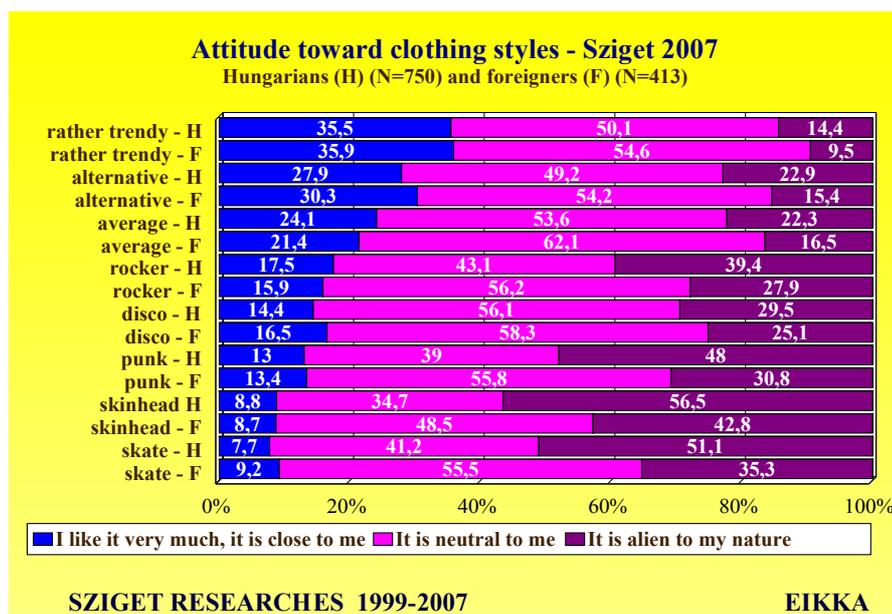
Figure 19



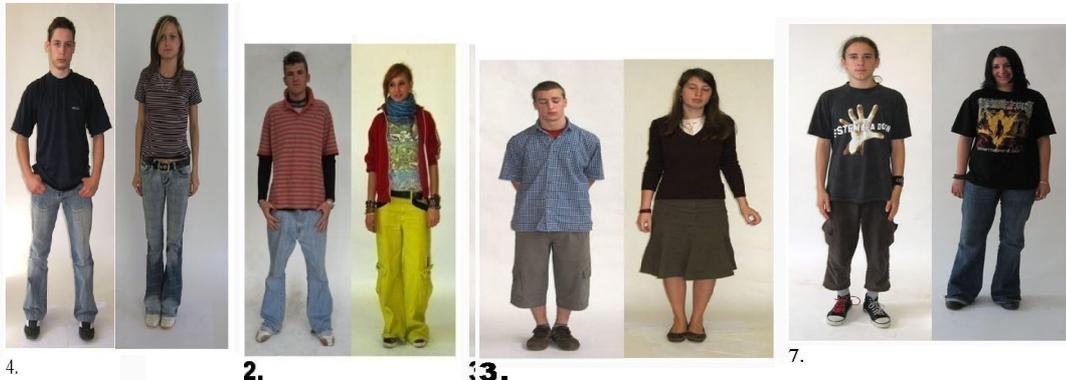
By 2007, the trends from 2005 had become consolidated. Uniformisation of Hungarians' and foreigners' tastes in music continued. It is worth noticing, however, that there is a big difference with respect to reggae, British pop, drum and bass to the advantage of foreigners. Classical raggae is a music trend from the 60s, while British pop is a trend that relies on it, evoking the guitar play of the classical sixties in the 90s. Drum and bass is electronic music characterised by quick movement (160-180 beats/minute). These trends represent the alternative, underground music of our days which have a big influence on popular music and culture.

The Sziget festival and clothing

Figure 20



→ The alternative clothing style was mentioned by the majority of Sziget visitors. However, it may be noticed that rocker and punk styles which are traditionally related to youth culture started to lose importance. It is also worth noticing that the average style was the third most accepted style trend.



rather trendy

alternative

average

rocker



disco

punk

skinhead

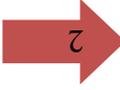
skate

The most diverse styles which sharply differ from the alternative style (disco, skate) were also mentioned among favourite clothing styles. Foreigners displayed a high level of tolerance related to clothing styles. Clothing styles were completely international, there were hardly any differences between Hungarian and foreign young people. Fashion was on the first place on the likeability list for both Hungarians and foreigners. This very well illustrates that clothing has become part of consumption.

Our observations have also reinforced the trends and styles related to clothing.⁷ Although heavy metal fans for example could easily be recognized in the HammerWorld tent during certain heavy metal concerts because they sang the songs by heart, we could not tell the difference between heavy metal fans and rockers when they were in the crowd. Nowadays, both rockers and heavy metal fans wear dark, mostly black clothes, riveted bracelets, leather jewels and head scarfs. Previously, reggae fans used to have Rasta hair. Nowadays, rockers, heavy metal fans and fans of other music styles also like Rasta hair.

Neither Hungarians, nor foreigners considered that brands were important, and although we found a few brand-maniacs and brand-haters, the great majority were indifferent to this issue. Second-hand shops, however, were popular, even among foreigners. Both Sziget

⁷ The following paragraphs are based on the systematic observations and interviews of Bartis, Katalin and Kerényi, Tamás.



and Fél-sziget (Peninsula) participants considered that their clothes should be comfortable and made of natural fabric and they should not be easily damaged or creased.

Green and black were recurrent favourite colours. Individuality, playfulness also played an important role in young people's clothing inasmuch as individuality did not override comfort. *„I like to dress in a sporty and comfortable way, but there has to be something effective and individual to it, which fits me; I like to tastefully combine colours, I have always liked this. My grandmother taught me: if you get something new, wear it as if you were wearing a rag, do not brag!”* – said Antonia laughing. Creative, skilful Sziget participants made or designed their own clothes. At the Sziget festival we could meet all kinds of mixed clothing styles and it was almost impossible to determine a characteristic style. Thus, any type of clothing, brand or non-brand, individual or less individual should be comfortable, preferably dark to endure dust, rain, smoke, food stains etc. very well, to allow sitting down in the grass and which can be also put on the next day without disgust. Enthusiastic partiers were not scared on rainy days either, they weltered into the mud as pigs and – in order to attract the attention of the audience – they entertained passers-by with shows and mud-shows, which made even the news in the evening.

Values and religiousness

Young people's values and religiousness are embedded in their individualization. Individualization is a new process of young people's integration into society. „Individualization” here (as opposed to a possible and obvious misunderstanding of the term) is used to designate the historically specific and contradictory process of „societization” (“Uergesellschaftung”): individualization takes place under the conditions of the welfare state labour market, and it is in this sense the product of social relationships, and it leads in itself to a certain type of societization abounding in conflicts, i.e. to a collectively individualized way of life which otherwise does not directly realize the collective and standardized aspect of its way of life. But it is exactly this sharpening and realization of this contradiction which may lead to the creation of new socio-cultural communities under certain conditions. It is possible that social risks (unemployment), which continuously sharpen under the conditions of advanced individualization processes, will defeat the isolation of independent private households through an interplay of unions, politics and science and they will render the “social status” that embraces new, untraditional and very diverse income and educational scales noticeable. As a result they consciously create adequate solidarity. It is also possible that during the process of individualization expectations related to personal evolution and to achieving “one's own life” (adequate to the formation of material, territorial, temporal and social relationships) are systematically formed and these, at the same time, encounter increasingly clearly social and political confines, contradictions and “misuse” (and they also render them conscious). Thus, new „individualization movements” are continuously forming. They partly manifest themselves and sharpen in an extremely experimental handling of social relationships, in the different forms of alternative and youth subculture among those who experiment with their own lives and bodies and, last but not least, in forms of protest and experiences which are ignited by administrative and industrial interferences in people's “own lives” against which they exert their volcanic and aggressive power.

Individualization processes lead to a restructuring of value orientations. This was first visible in the emergence of post-material value orientations. It was related to the fact that freedom and independence, a colourful life, experimentation became more increasingly part of young people's lives and we thought that material values (goods, family etc.) were exactly the ones impeding or upholding independence because they restricted experimentation and changes. This is a rather well-known conception in international literature as well: „worry-free idling” is part of the youth period.

However, by the second half of the 80s it was clear that according to a postmodern scale of values freedom for young people also implied that they were becoming market actors and the media, the consumer industry determined their value orientations. This was expressed by a separation of and, at the same time, connection between professional career and community values, or work- and leisure time-related values in other words. In the case of career values individuals start to gain more value, while communities and other frameworks that hinder the appearance of the ego become less important. Furthermore, career values are accepted more and more consciously and at increasingly younger ages. As a result of an earlier beginning and, at the same time, a later end of the youth period, worry-free idleness and experimenting, freedom and disengagedness, as values, are important accessories of an experimenting career-building, which is formulated at increasingly younger ages, but its actual accomplishment requires an increasingly longer youth period. In a postmodern age, young people need freedom or similar values like an interesting, colourful life not to become independent – because this goes without saying – but to build a normal life for themselves, in which community values shift to leisure activities. Relaxation, frenziness are part of a world of hard work and studying, i.e. they absolutely require free and careless spending of one's leisure time, spending time with friends and fixing up new acquaintances. This change in value orientations also entails gender emancipation, a spread of the single way of life, as well as an intense use of relaxation techniques.

In our 2007 Sziget research we had the possibility to comparatively analyse the value orientations of Hungarian and European young people. We found that there were only slight differences with respect to the value selection of Hungarian and foreign young people: both groups considered that true friendship was the most important among the 19 values they could choose from and religious belief was the least important. There are slight differences related to conservative values (respect for traditions, family security, politeness, the role of nation, religious belief). It seems that Hungarian Sziget participants consider them more important than foreign participants. Wealth is also a value that Hungarian young people rank higher than foreign young people. At the same time, we may notice that these are the values that Hungarian Sziget visitors consider less appealing than Hungarian youth, which is indicated by the data of the Youth 2004 survey. As opposed to this, the percentage of those who consider that an interesting life, creativity, a colourful life are important values is higher, which indicates that Hungarian young people who participate at the Festival are closer to their foreign peers than the totality of young Hungarians.

A detailed analysis of the group of Hungarian young people reveals that certain values – thus, certain inner values (love/happiness, inner harmony, peaceful world) and certain conservative values (family security, respect for traditions, religious belief) – are more important to girls, while wealth, power and eventful life are more important to boys. *We may also notice that inner values and certain conservative values are more important to girls than to boys among Sziget visitors as well, and there is a convergence between the two sexes in relation to values that may be regarded as „boyish” from the point of view of the youth as a whole.* This is probably related to the higher educational level and higher status of Sziget visitors; a more detailed analysis requires further investigations.

Average values by sexes (on a five-point scale - 1 is the smallest and 5 is the highest value)

	Youth 2004 (N=8000)			Sziget 2007 Hungarians (N=750)			Sziget 2007 foreigners (N=413)		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Real friendship	4.67	4.71	4.69	4.78	4.79	4.78	4.59	4.78	4.68
Freedom	4.56	4.46	4.51	4.67	4.64	4.65	4.62	4.48	4.55
Love/happiness	4.72	4.81	4.77	4.50	4.73	4.60	4.59	4.69	4.64
Interior harmony	4.5	4.74	4.62	4.33	4.70	4.50	4.49	4.61	4.55
Family security	4.78	4.85	4.81	4.38	4.63	4.49	4.26	4.36	4.31
Peaceful world	4.6	4.72	4.66	4.02	4.39	4.19	4.29	4.50	4.39
Interesting life	4.00	3.78	3.89	4.36	4.44	4.39	4.41	4.47	4.44
Creativity	4.05	4.03	4.04	4.21	4.41	4.30	4.06	4.20	4.13
Colourful life	3.96	3.82	3.89	4.27	4.43	4.34	4.18	4.27	4.23
Politeness	4.31	4.41	4.36	4.09	4.04	4.06	3.70	3.85	3.77
Right to leadership and decision-making	3.75	3.71	3.73	3.93	3.92	3.92	3.87	3.90	3.88
Unity with nature	4.07	4.10	4.08	3.86	4.09	3.96	3.94	4.07	4.00
World of beauty	3.82	3.84	3.83	3.51	3.61	3.56	3.40	3.18	3.30
Respect for traditions	3.87	3.94	3.90	3.64	3.68	3.66	3.23	3.43	3.33
Social order	3.79	3.72	3.75	3.54	3.65	3.69	3.58	3.79	3.68
Economy	3.74	3.58	3.66	3.56	3.47	3.52	3.24	3.25	3.25
The role of nation	3.64	3.57	3.60	3.37	3.14	3.27	2.79	2.91	2.84
Power	2.78	2.46	2.62	2.83	2.56	2.71	2.73	2.87	2.80

EIKKA 2007

We can see that although religiousness is not among the most preferred values of Sziget participants, there are religious young people among Sziget participants as well. However, compared to Youth 2004 data, their percentage is lower: while in the Youth 2004 survey one tenth of young people indicated to be religious in the sense of observing religious teaching and another 48% defined themselves religious in their own way, 3.6% of Hungarian young people participating at the Sziget festival belonged to the former and 38.3% to the latter group. At the same time, these data show a greater presence of religion than data related to foreign Sziget participants, one third of whom indicate a positive relationship with religion.

A religious approach to traditions is also very well illustrated by interviews conducted at the Sziget and Peninsula festivals. These interviews reinforce differences between Western European participants at festivals, which can be seen on the basis of formalized questions.⁸

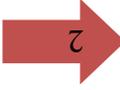
Although the youngest Sziget participants' (maximum 17 year-olds') relationships with religion are similar to those of foreigners, this does not necessarily mean they are not religious, because this is exactly the age group that is in search of its place in the world and, therefore, it has the most ambivalent and the least mature opinions about values including religion.

As for religion and tradition, Hungarians from Transylvania are in contrast with Hungarians from Hungary, Romanians and Western European Sziget participants. Based on the interviews, it seems that traditions are still very important for Hungarians from Transylvania:

„They are important, I go to folk dance, I also practice popular furniture painting, I sing folk songs, I am polite, although sometimes I am in a hurry. I also like and respect holidays.” (Noémi, 22, Nyárádkarácsony)

„Keeping the traditions is a very good thing. After I complete secondary school, I will start horse riding and archery. Christmas and Easter are beautiful in their way, but it is a pity that we do not observe them properly. Christmas is beautiful because the whole family is together. At Easter we have „sprinklers”. During these many years of folk dance I had about six folk

⁸ The interviews were conducted by Katalin Bartis.

 *costumes at home. Three quarters of my class have already danced some kind of dance. It is so much part of the tradition that at Easter boys come to my house with a bucket of water instead of perfume.” (Tekla, 18, Temesvár)*

„I consider that they are important, e.g. I am also interested in folk dance, but I don't like when someone considers it too important, so if someone is entirely conservative, e.g. [when they say] icons representing God should be left on the walls, because this is the tradition.” (Magdi, 17 Csikszentmárton)

As opposed to these, Anita from Budapest (16) completely rejected folk traditions:

„I am not too much of an observer of traditions, I am happy to live in our times. Previously they told you who to marry and I think this was not good. It is important to spend Christmas with your family. Folk tales, national dresses...in my opinion they are pits. When my great grandmother died she was surrounded by wailers and it was rather interesting, yet depressing.”

Moni's opinion was similar (17, Déva):

„Traditions do not seem very important...the world develops and at a certain moment everything disappears...we have to evolve!”

While many of our foreign respondents did not even understand what we meant by the word tradition, many Hungarians from Transylvania could cite examples from their private lives. When inquired about traditions, foreigners would rather think about universally popular and well-known holidays, such as Christmas and Easter. On the contrary, Hungarians from Transylvania would rather cite examples from popular traditions and customs. Alex spoke kindly of traditions and he expressed his regrets that in Germany for example there were no traditions any more.

“Sometimes I am jealous, I think that in Eastern Europe, and even France, there is a very close relationship with traditions, they are more present. I think in Germany everything is just surfaced by new industrial things and we have made everything equal.”

“I think I won't have too much to tell to my grandchildren when I will be old because my grandparents didn't teach me anything special, because the whole world is getting a little bit the same.”

(Julio, 20, Italy)

Looser groups have formed in relation to religion and percentages have also changed. While a higher percentage of foreigners declared themselves atheist, Hungarians from Transylvania mostly, but the majority of Hungarians from Hungary as well, admitted to believe in some kind of entity. That is, they did not necessarily believe in God and the teachings of a main religion, but in some inexplicable supreme power.

„People need to believe in something, what they believe in should give them hope and support. It may be God, Allah or else.” (Orsi, 23, Brasov)

„I am not religious, I don't know if I believe or not, I have a dilemma, there is probably a supreme entity, not necessarily God, but there is something up there.” (Moni, 17 Deva)

→ „I am a believer, I believe that there is a God, Allah or Buddha, but I don't really pray. I go to church now and then on holidays, although this is not a habit in my family, I used to go with my grandmother or when I feel like it, I go into a church in Cluj, I meditate, ask for something or pray for forgiveness.” (Antónia, 22, Miercurea Ciuc)

„If I come to think about it, I have changed a lot, I have turned to religion, to God, take care of my health, I have turned to people, I have goals in life, but I could not highlight a concrete event. Everything started to change in me about 2 or 3 years ago.” What do you mean by turning to religion? „I also practice religion, but I don't relate it as much to church.” What do you believe in? „In people, but I also believe in God, I believe in development, belief in anything may be a very strong retentive power.” (Noémi, 22, Crăciunești)

As we can see, and as also shown by the following interviews, neither Hungarian, nor Romanian interviewees stick to a certain religion and definitely not to religious institutions and religious actors.

„I have no religious interests, where I come from religion is a business, there are no priests without foreign cars, the biggest Gipsy ...has built a church only to keep up appearances. (...) Nuns...ah, I don't even want to talk about them. They walk with their heads down because platinum chains pull down their neck.)” – complained Roland (19)

Two foreign respondents distanced themselves from God because of disappointments in their personal lives. For Julio religion was repelling due to wars that broke out for different religious beliefs. Eric (24, The Netherlands), Erin (26, Australia), Alex (23, Germany) did not believe in any supreme power, only in physics.

„Religion could be a really nice argument. I like people who have real opinions about religion, because I don't. (...) I think it's all physics. (...) I go to church only for tourist matters.” – explained Alex.

At the same time, religion and beliefs may not only manifest themselves in traditional forms. Religiousness may play a role in the formation of alternative modes or ways of life. Not all young people want to have a position in the dominant society. Increasing materiality and competition that conforms to the market also produce young people who revolt against these expectations. It is not the society that excludes them, it is rather them who exclude themselves from certain possibilities and instead follow some values that Ronald Inglehart (1990, 1997) calls "postmaterial values". These are values focusing on individual accomplishment, idealistic goals, which propagate that one should join alternative communities. *New Age Travellers* and different mystic or „esoteric” philosophies offer new forms of promotion and new systems of beliefs. New religions and cults also offer similar alternatives. Young people are ahead in post-modernization. The value orientation and within this the extent to which alternative values will become dominant, all depend on different countries and their institutional framework. Young people from different regions or social strata probably belong to one of the categories, and the first one seems more attractive than the second one, although it entails many problems. The third category is just forming in Eastern Europe and it is perhaps more characteristic of welfare societies. It seems that there is a difference between Hungarians and foreigners in this respect as well, a so-called East-West axis, i.e. a higher acceptance of different religious and lifestyle tendencies among young people from Western-Europe than among young Hungarians. The following graph illustrates that one fifth of young Hungarians and more than one third of young foreigners accept the followers of Scientology. In the case of Christian sects the above values are almost one third and more than two fifths. New age movements are accepted by two fifths of young foreigners

→ compared to one fourth of young Hungarians. Krishna followers are accepted to a similar degree. Therefore, even though there is a noticeable difference between East and West, the orientation towards different lifestyles and the tendency to accept individual forms of values, beliefs and cultural diversity have become visible as a part of the process of post-modernization.

Sziget visitors' sensitivity to problems and future concepts

Unemployment is the most important problem affecting young people. This was also the case in 2006, although we employed a slightly different approach in our questions. While in 2006, by concentrating on society as a whole, unemployment was closely followed by environmental and other social problems, this year, by concentrating on the situation of young people, implicitly problems specific to their lives had come to the foreground (drug consumption, criminality, alcohol consumption etc.). It is also worth noticing that boredom – as a problem – was put in one of the first three places by every third or fourth young person. This was the case for both the youngest and the oldest, for those employed or those studying. Simultaneously, loneliness, the lack of social relationships are also big problems according to many, which has also certain age-specific characteristics if we consider that they have been less frequently mentioned by those under 20. Young Hungarians follow traditional models, which is also indicated by the seventh position of the statement “lack of models” that precedes ethnic conflicts, as well as the “lack of respect for human rights”.

Young people's biggest problems – the three most important problems (Hungarians, N=750)

	1st place	2nd place	3rd place	Places 1-3 together
unemployment	36.7	7.6	4.4	48.7
drug consumption	8.4	11.9	9.9	30.1
boredom	7.3	9.5	11.7	28.5
lack of healthy lifestyle	4.3	5.9	7.5	17.6
loneliness/lack of social relationships	3.3	7.9	5.5	16.7
criminality	3.1	7.5	5.7	16.3
lack of models	3.1	6.0	6.8	15.9
young people do not have money	4.9	6.1	4.3	15.3
alcohol consumption	4.3	5.5	4.4	14.1
ethnic conflicts	4.4	4.5	3.5	12.4
divorce of parents	1.6	3.1	6.4	11.1
very high school/work expectations	3.6	3.3	3.5	10.4
lack of respect for human rights	1.9	2.5	5.5	9.9
conflicts between young people and adults	2.5	2.1	2.3	6.9
young people are not taken seriously	2.3	2.9	1.6	6.8
environmental problems	1.6	2.5	2.5	6.7
increase of nationalism	1.9	2.3	1.7	5.9
foreigners take the jobs from our youth in our country	1.1	2.1	1.9	5.1
people are assailed with a lot of information	0.8	1.3	1.7	3.9
increase of globalization	-	0.9	2.3	3.2
conflict between sexes	0.1	0.8	1.5	2.4
no answer	2.9	3.8	5.6	-

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In many cases, the answers of the youngest – 17years old the most – reflect radically different characteristics than those of other age groups. Taking into consideration the aggregate percentage of the first three places, most of them consider that drug consumption is the biggest problem (44.4% put it in one of the first three places), while boredom is in second place (27.0%), criminality and unemployment in third and fourth (25.4%-25.4%, respectively). These are followed by the divorce of parents (23.8%), which indicates that

members of this age group strongly require the presence of their families. For obvious reasons, unemployment is more frequently a problem for those who are 25 years old or older and, of course, for those most affected; namely employees or presently inactive persons who do not study.

The answers of foreign young people are slightly different from those of Hungarian young people. Although unemployment is also their biggest problem (37.0% put it in one of the first three places), at the same time, social problems such as ethnic conflicts or lack of respect for human rights are more important to them. Knowing that the majority of foreigners come from countries where these conflicts are most probably not more tense than in Hungary (90.8% of our foreign respondents are inhabitants of another EU member state), these differences in their answers are most certainly due to a higher level of sensitivity and different political culture. At the same time, this higher level of sensitivity to ethnic problems may also be explained by the fact that the majority of foreigners come from countries with a more significant number of immigrants (France, Germany, the Netherlands). Foreigners consider that the lack of models is far less important than their Hungarian counterparts (15.9% of Hungarian young people put this problem in one of the first three places, while only 6% of foreigners mention this problem).

Young people's biggest problems – the three most important problems (foreigners, N=413)

	1st place	2nd place	3rd place	Places 1-3 together
unemployment	20.6	7.7	8.7	37.0
drug consumption	6.5	10.9	8.7	26.1
ethnic conflicts	9.0	8.0	7.5	24.5
criminality	7.0	8.7	8.2	23.9
lack of a healthy lifestyle	5.3	7.7	7.5	20.5
alcohol consumption	6.3	6.5	8.7	21.5
lack of respect for human rights	5.3	5.1	5.3	15.7
boredom	4.6	4.8	5.6	15.0
environmental problems	5.1	4.4	5.1	14.6
loneliness/lack of social relationships	2.4	6.1	4.6	13.1
young people are not taken seriously	3.1	4.1	4.4	11.6
divorce of parents	2.4	2.7	6.5	11.6
conflicts between young people and adults	5.3	2.2	1.9	9.4
young people do not have money	2.7	3.4	1.9	8.0
increase of nationalism	1.5	4.6	1.9	8.0
lack of information	1.9	2.2	3.1	7.2
lack of models	1.9	1.0	3.1	6.0
very high school/work expectations	2.4	2.2	1.2	5.8
conflict between sexes	1.2	1.0	3.1	5.3
increase of globalization	0.2	1.9	2.2	4.3
no answer	5.1	4.9	4.9	-

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It is a common characteristic of both Hungarian and foreign Sziget visitors that they are less pessimistic about their own future than to the future of the society as a whole. At the same time, foreign young people are in general more optimistic about both dimensions (their own future and the future of society). While Hungarian young people have a clearly pessimistic view of society, foreigners are rather optimistic in this respect and they are also more optimistic about their own personal situation. For many years there were sharp differences among Hungarian Sziget visitors with respect to their future and the future of society and it seems that this is also characteristic of foreigners, even though these differences are less spectacular. This may partly be due to the fact that Sziget visitors themselves feel that they have better than average conditions and chances when proceeding in life. (The majority

of both Hungarian and foreign young people include themselves in the middle class, while many consider that they are members of the upper-middle class.) However, their opinion regarding the chances of young people is less favourable, which may partly be due to their personal experiences and partly to images conveyed by the media.

The future of the society, their own future – Hungarians (N=750) and foreigners (N=413)

	Hungarians		foreigners	
	society	their own future	society	their own future
pessimistic	49.7	13.6	24.5	6.3
optimistic	25.7	65.5	52.1	81.8
both	23.2	19.2	21.6	11.4
no answer	1.3	1.7	3.9	0.5

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We analysed the way both Hungarian and foreign young people relate to their parents' values, the way they position the group of young people in society, what their youth identity is (which we call youth-centeredness after Jürgen Zinnecker). Zinnecker says that in a field that represents Bourdieu-like social relationships, youth appears as an independent group (Zinnecker 1992). Different factors – social activity, cultural taste, youth group styles – determine and influence the position of youth in the social space, which represents the left side of the horizontal axis and in which cultural capital is determinant, while the role of economic capital is minimal. Thus, young people getting rid of bonds related to origin, class, level of education and gender, who form their relationships with society, their models of social orientation and action on the level of individuals, appear in this Zinnecker-type image. This entails separation from the adult society, which is expressed in youth-centeredness/youth centrism.

Youth centrism is also the expression of a frequently conflicting situation between young people and the culture of the adult society. If adult roles offer adequate strategies and directions, they may stand for positive models, but they will more likely stand for negative models – representing power control and morality based on compromise. Within the field of these two poles youth centrism is, therefore, on the one hand a pragmatic – relatively positive and, on the other hand, an idealistic – negative – approach of young people to adult society (Watts–Zinnecker, 1992).

Jürgen Zinnecker analyses youth centrism, emphasising a variant in which young people's attitude towards adult society is positive. Accepting advice and support from adults are part of a positive attitude towards adult society. Adult models are very important to young people in this case. On the other hand, the negative variant – as a form of special ethnocentrism – is a youth culture and political attitude in which young people are against adults. We may find this negative variant in other analyses of youth culture and political attitude as well (see also Watts–Zinnecker: Youth culture among German youth: effects of youth centrism) (Watts–Zinnecker, 1988).

Therefore, by rejecting to follow adult models, youth centrism so to speak fuels a type of youth culture in which youth is represented as an independent social group in Bourdieu's social field. Zinnecker and his colleagues uses a scale to measure youth centrism. The first variant of this youth centrism scale is made up of 25 items, covering 5 issues. (Fischer, 1985). These five issues are the following: (1) attitude towards power discrimination, (2) accepting the experiences and privileges of adults (3) personal trust and attitude towards adults and parents (4) alienation and independence from adults and (5) accepting adult control, without understanding adults. The short variant of 10 items also comprises the above dimensions. (Fisher, 1985 and Zinnecker—Watts, 1988). The youth centrism scale is created by adding the 4 possible response values of items, in which 1 is made up of adding the smallest and 4 is made up of adding the biggest values. We created a quadrille for these values. Youth centrism

is illustrated by the quadrille with the highest values, while the adoption of the adult pattern by the one with the lowest values. For testing the youth centrism scale see: Rost, Jürgen—Georg, Werner: Alternative Skalierungsmöglichkeiten zur klassischen Testtheorie am Beispiel der Skala „Jugendzentrismus“. ZA-Information (Zentralarchiv-Information), Köln, 1991. Mai, pp. 52-75. (Rost-Georg, 1991).

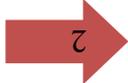
It is characteristic of both Hungarian and foreign Sziget participants that – besides basically accepting their parents’ merits – they also revolt against their parents and their values, relying very much on their own peer group experiences, which is not at all surprising if we take into consideration their age characteristics. It is more interesting that in this respect Hungarian young people do not differ at all from their foreign counterparts. At the same time, it seems that there are bigger differences in relationships with the society taken as a whole. In this respect Hungarian young people stand for a more radical and rebellious attitude: they are likely to think that society does not help them, they are likely to feel that adult society does not understand them and, consequently, they are more likely to reject their parents’ experiences and advice. One of the possible reasons may be that on the whole Hungarian Sziget visitors are somewhat younger than foreign Sziget visitors.

Young people’s relationships with the society and their parents (Hungarians, N=750)

	not true at all	rather not true	rather true	absolutely true	no answer	Average value* ⁹
Actually the police treat young people badly.	29.5	32.5	26.4	7.5	4.1	2.12
I experience all kinds of hostility against young people, which annoys me.	33.2	35.6	19.5	8.1	3.6	2.03
The truth is that society does a lot for young people.	22.4	37.6	31.9	4.3	3.9	2.19
Young people should not bear everything, if necessary, they should strike back.	9.1	20.1	36.8	30.0	4.0	2.91
As a matter of fact, I have to be grateful to my parents for many things.	2.8	7.2	16.4	72.0	1.6	3.60
I try to understand my parents, although sometimes this is difficult.	4.3	9.2	30.3	53.9	2.4	3.37
In fact, only very few adults understand the problems of young people.	12.8	25.5	40.9	17.5	3.3	2.65
I do not care a lot about the experiences of adults; I prefer to rely on my own experiences.	20.0	27.1	34.9	15.7	2.3	2.47
I gain more experience and learn more from my friends who are of the same age than from my parents.	19.9	30.4	30.1	17.1	2.5	2.46
My parents always interfere in things that do not concern them	38.4	29.2	19.3	10.7	2.4	2.02

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⁹ 1=not true at all, 4=absolutely true


Young people's relationships with the society and their parents (foreigners, N=413)

	not true at all	rather not true	rather true	absolutely true	no answer	Average value*
Actually the police treat young people badly.	25.7	27.4	32.9	9.0	5.1	2.27
I experience all kinds of hostility against young people, which annoys me.	22.0	30.0	34.4	7.7	5.8	2.30
The truth is that society does a lot for young people.	8.5	24.0	54.0	10.2	3.4	2.68
Young people should not bear everything, if necessary, they should strike back.	29.8	25.9	29.5	9.2	5.6	2.19
As a matter of fact, I have to be grateful to my parents for many things.	0.7	4.6	20.3	70.9	3.4	3.67
I try to understand my parents, although sometimes this is difficult.	4.6	7.3	31.5	53.8	2.9	3.38
In fact, only very few adults understand the problems of young people.	16.7	30.5	38.0	11.6	3.1	2.46
I do not care a lot about the experiences of adults; I prefer to rely on my own experiences.	34.9	27.6	29.1	4.8	3.6	2.04
I gain more experience and learn more from my friends who are of the same age than from my parents.	22.8	26.6	35.8	11.1	3.6	2.37
My parents always interfere in things that do not concern them	38.0	27.4	23.2	7.3	4.1	2.00

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Sziget visitors and youth culture

The issue of youth culture, more precisely the socialization process in which young people acquire those values and ways of life they will need for building their adult careers as members of peer groups, is closely connected to youth identity. Some of these (such as music trends, clothing styles) are influenced by the market, some others are ways of life connected to a way of life that is required by the market and expresses individual careers the best (such as being single), or connected to a rejection of ways of life offered by the market, such as movements against globalization.

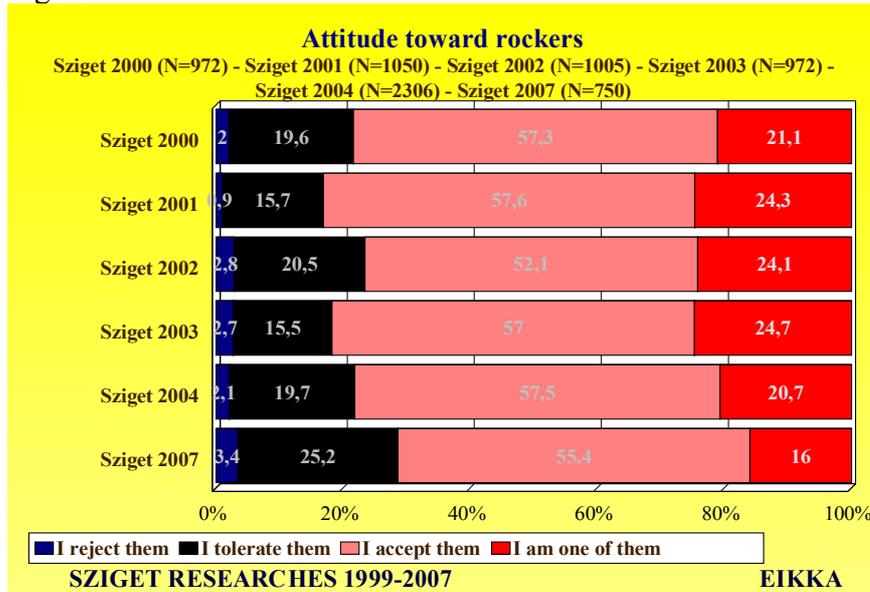
Young people's group membership - Hungarians (N=750) and foreigners (N=413)

	I reject them		I tolerate them		I accept them		I belong to them	
	Hungarian	foreigner	Hungarian	foreigner	Hungarian	foreigner	Hungarian	foreigner
rockers	3.3	2.2	24.8	19.6	54.5	63.9	15.7	12.3
singles	4.9	1.5	22.3	14.0	54.7	61.5	14.5	17.9
anti-globalization activists	9.5	4.6	33.3	26.4	47.3	61.7	3.6	4.1
punks	12.1	5.3	37.3	28.3	45.6	60.5	3.6	3.6
mall visitors	22.7	9.4	38.4	28.6	34.1	37.3	2.9	1.9
yuppies	8.1	9.2	26.5	31.0	38.3	50.1	2.1	1.9
emo fans	35.6	12.8	30.7	26.6	23.9	39.2	1.2	1.0
skinheads	48.3	47.7	26.0	17.7	22.9	32.7	1.1	0.5

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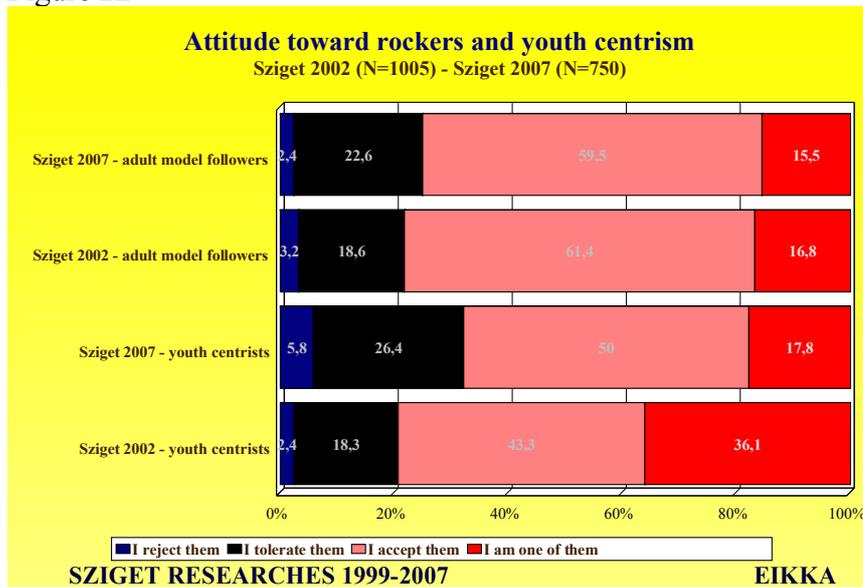
Rockers are the most accepted youth group style among young Sziget visitors. However, if we look at trends over the years, we may notice that this youth group style is becoming less important.

Figure 21



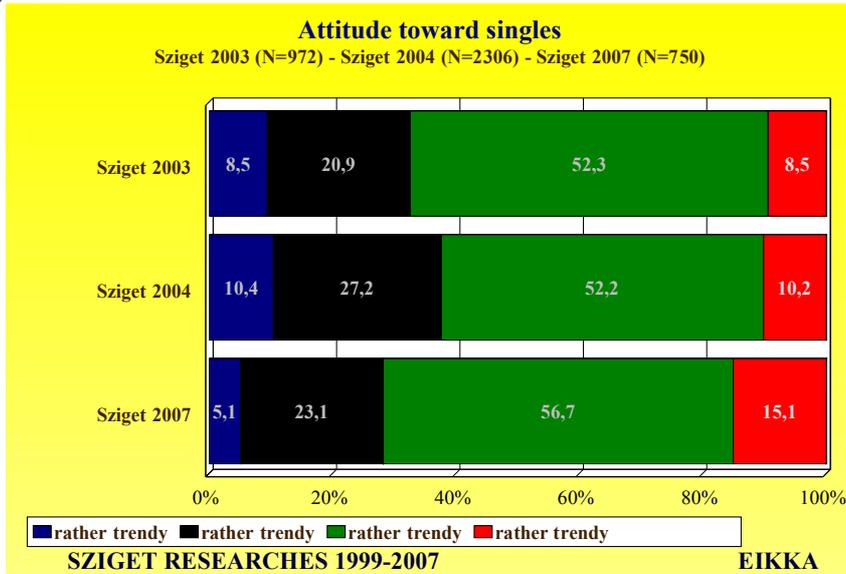
The following graph also shows that this style is less and less a part of youth identity: while in 2002 almost one third of youth centric persons and almost double of the followers of the adult pattern identified themselves with rockers, in 2007 these percentages dropped to half and there were almost no differences between youth centric persons and followers of the adult pattern.

Figure 22



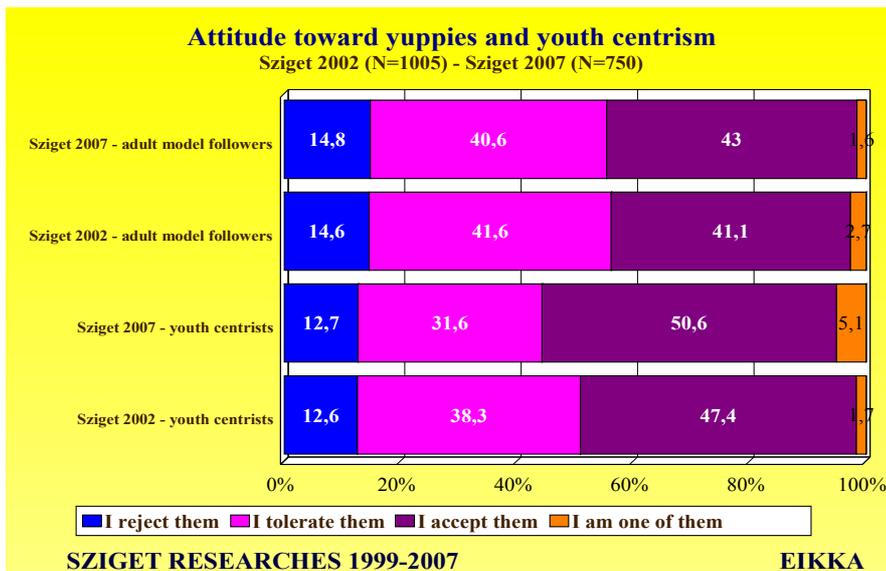
On the other hand, we can see that certain ways of life such as being single – which is primarily related to the market – are more and more accepted by young Sziget participants, including Hungarian young people.

Figure 23



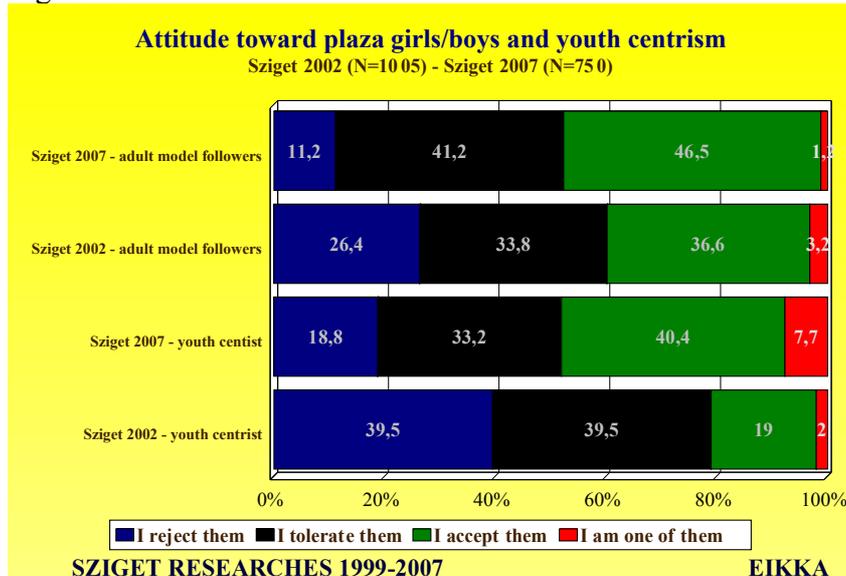
Furthermore, we can see that youth identity is more and more related to young people's attachment to the market. Youth centrism is increasingly connected to market-related youth cultural styles such as yuppies, mall visitors etc.

Figure 24



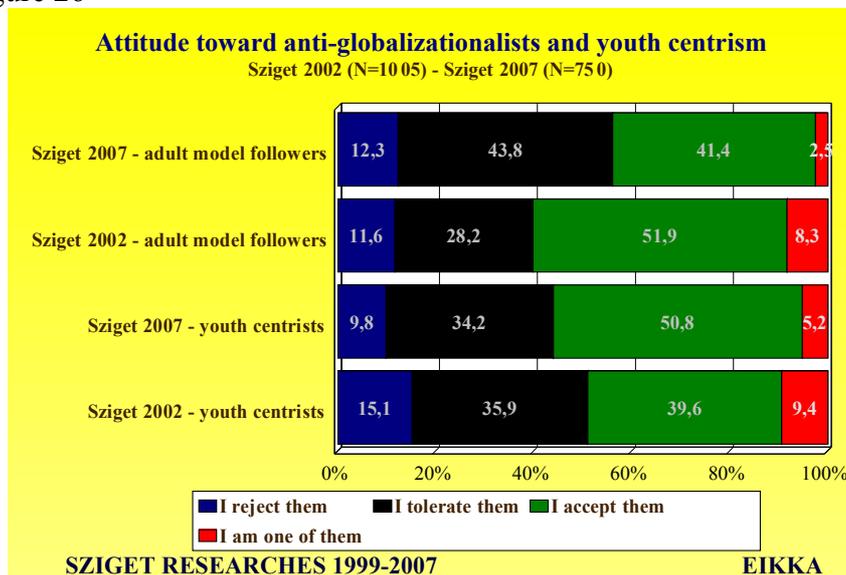
Only 2% of young Sziget participants but 5.1% of youth centric persons consider themselves yuppies. Graphs also show that compared to 2002, this is a completely new tendency among both young people and mall visitors.

Figure 25



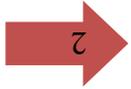
Comparing Hungarian and foreign young people, we may also see that market-centred youth styles are more characteristic of Hungarian young people than of foreign young people. Summing up, we may assert that the market plays a more important role in the youth identity of Hungarian young people than the alternative way of life related to postmodernism. At the same time – as seen above – youth-centred young people do not reject alternative life styles or movements, either. This is supported by their relationships to anti-globalization movements.

Figure 26



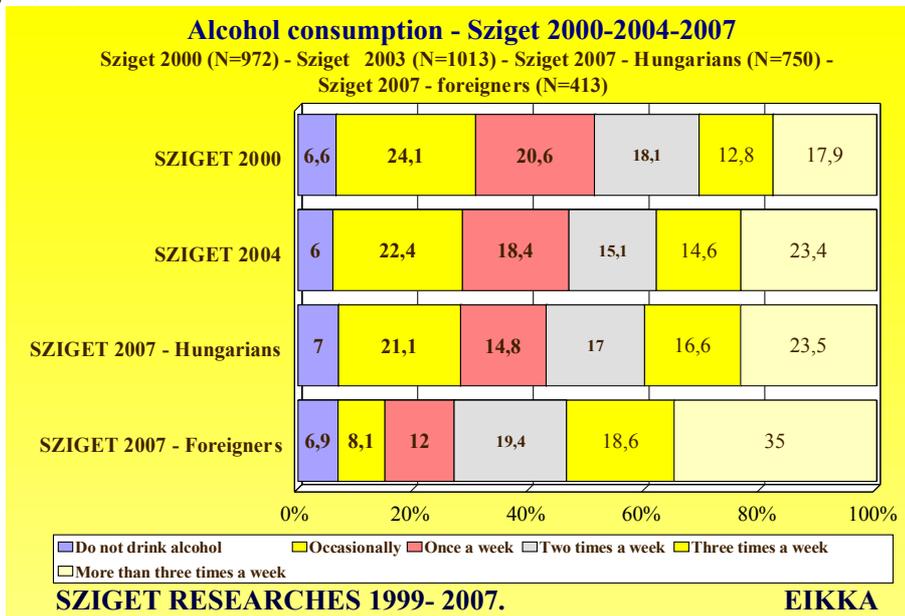
If we compare the data from 2007 with those from 2002, we can see that the role of youth centrism decreased among those who accept anti-globalization movements, while the percentage of those who reject this movement also decreased.

Challenges facing young people and increasing risks, an increasing competition and early independence significantly increase young people's risk exposure (to alcohol, smoking, drug consumption etc.). However, it is also valid for Hungarian 15-29-year-old young people that „in fact, risk does not only appear in the case of less educated people, but also in the case



of culturally privileged groups, although they find different strategies of action”. (Giddens, 1992).

Figure 27



As for alcohol consumption, we can see that there is still a big difference between Hungarians and foreigners. As for smoking and drugs, however, percentages are almost the same for Hungarians and foreigners.

Figure 28

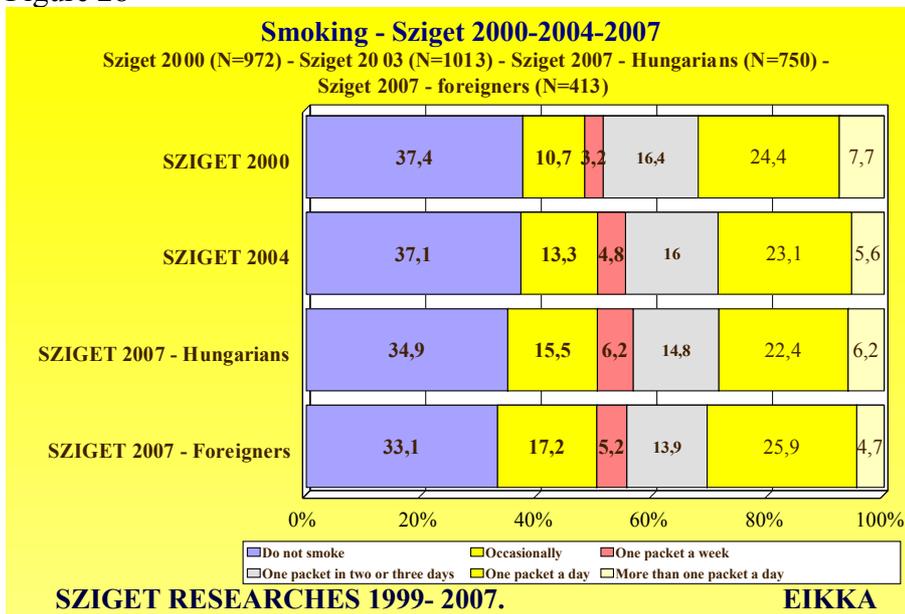
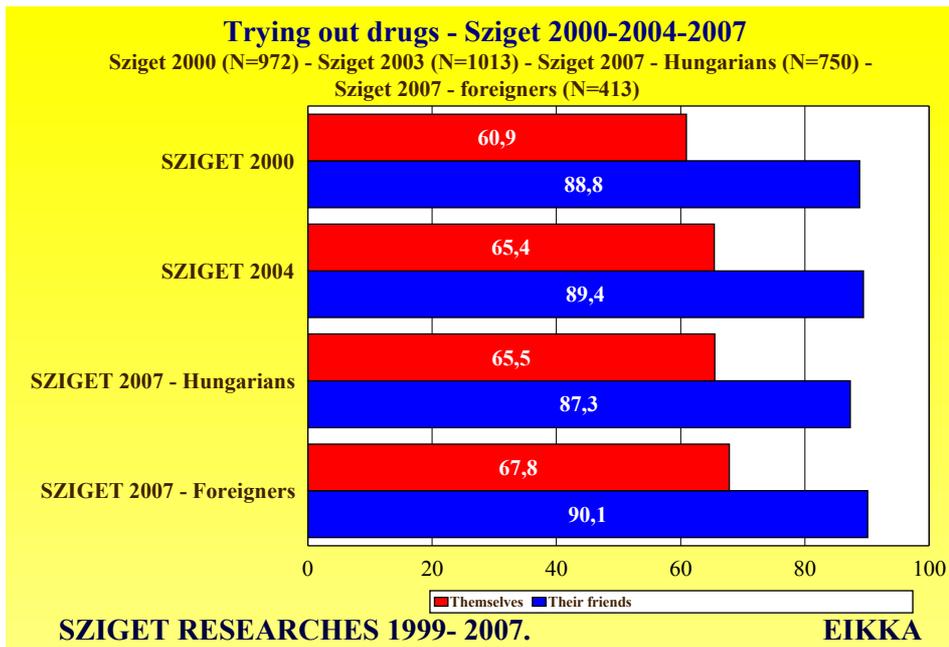


Figure 29



Therefore, we have to emphasise that Hungarian young people have caught up with their foreign peers in their use of relaxation techniques as they have shifted to the centre. This has to be considered a dramatic change in youth transition.

Globalization and its challenges

According to young Hungarian Sziget visitors globalization contributed to an increase in learning and job opportunities during the past 5 years. They also emphasized the increasing role of American culture and multinational companies in the life of their country. Young Hungarians are more afraid of relocating their jobs to cheaper labour markets than young foreigners.

Figure 30

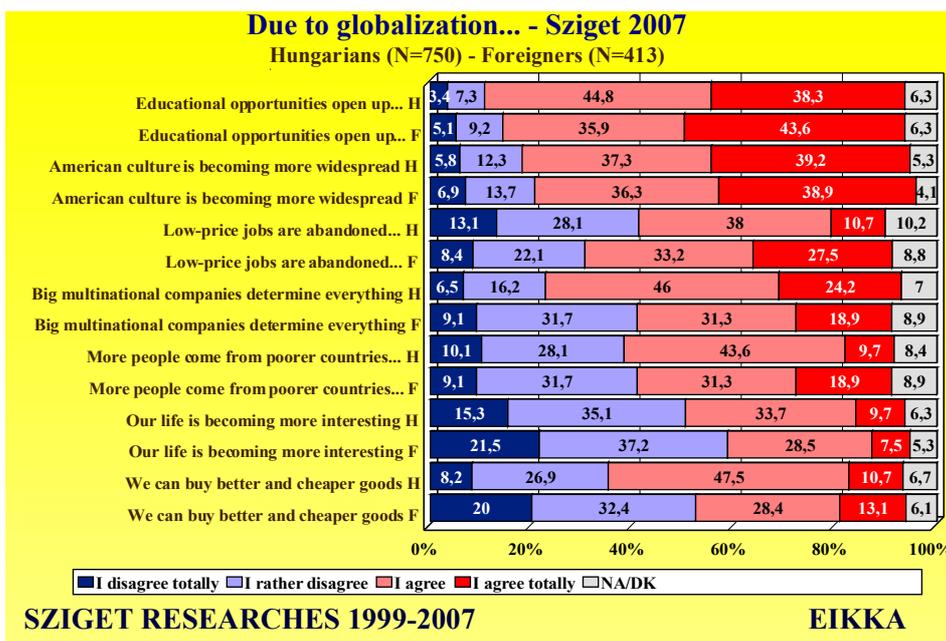
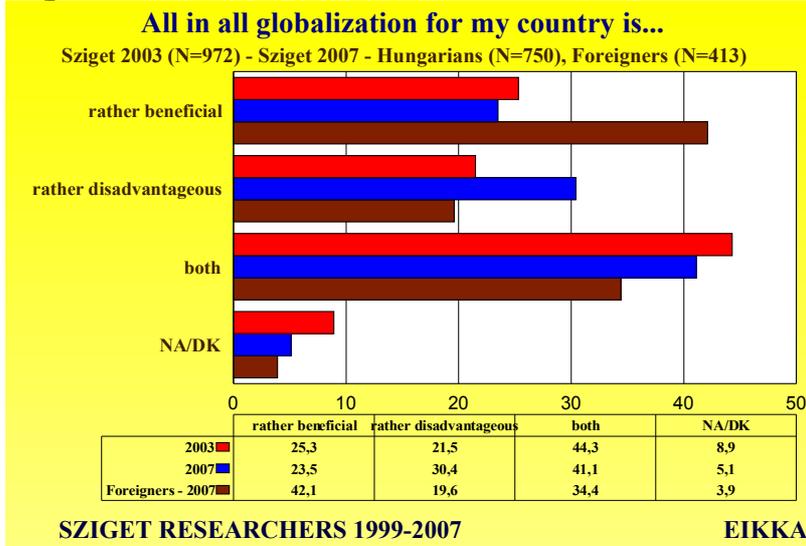
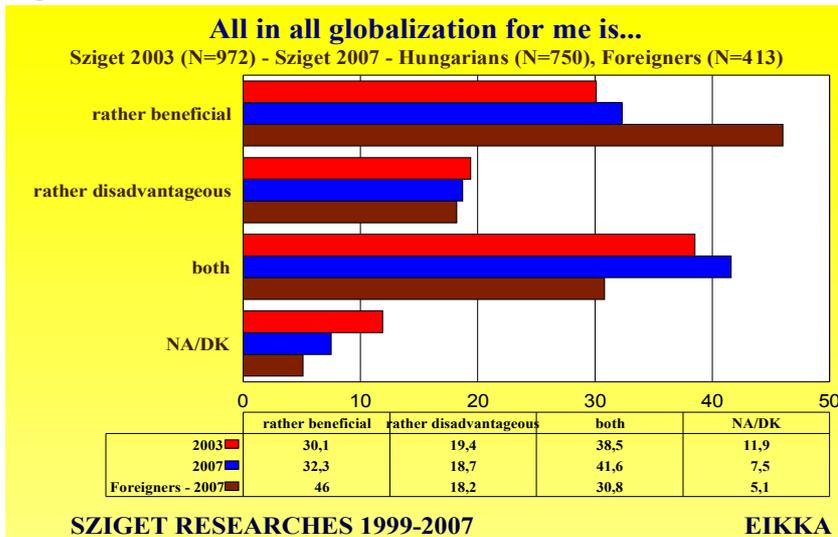


Figure 31



Young Hungarians' views regarding the effect of globalization on the life of their country are more negative than those of young foreigners, i.e. only slightly more than one fifth of the respondents consider that globalization is advantageous. The number of those who think it has negative effects increased from one fifth to one third between 2003 and 2007.

Figure 32



Young Hungarians think that globalization has a positive effect on them but this opinion is not as positive as foreigners': only one third of young Hungarians emphasize the positive effect of globalization compared to four fifths of young foreigners.

The above statements are also supported by our interviews. The interviews conducted at Sziget and Felsziget festivals show that the majority of young Hungarians and Romanians consider that there are no future and development perspectives in their home countries; therefore they see emigration as solution. Others, a minority, affront the previous group blaming them for the economic stagnation and, confident in a boost of their countries, decide to stay home despite emigration opportunities.

„I am content. There are a lot of things to do here and from now on there will be even more. I see that the next 50 years will be crucial.” (Péter, 30, Tărgu - Mureş)

„Have you considered emigrating? Yes, but if everyone was thinking like that, what would happen? I am staying home to keep my Hungarian identity as much as possible.” (Tekla)

Those who decide to emigrate are mainly driven by economic factors. That is why they enumerate countries of economic importance rather than tourist attractions as foreign festival participants do.

(In Romania) „Opportunities for self-accomplishment are missing. There is a political and a mentality side to this. Even if the political situation were different, people would have the same mentality as before (...) If I wasn't able to get along economically, If I wasn't able to build up a foundation and an opportunity would arise to start something secure then the idea of emigration would seem pretty convincing.” (Orsi, 23, Braşov)

„I would like to go as far as possible from Romania. There are some countries that I would like to see and try out, for example the Netherlands and America. But I would be able to decide on where to settle only after testing out every opportunity.” (Magdi, 17, Sânmartin)

„No, I want to leave this place even if they say that we are in the EU now or that those who stay home will be better off. I... I would still walk away. My parents have never told me to stay but I think that later on in my life I would come back. I cannot know what is waiting for me. For now I see myself in Paris where my uncle lives in an old apartment with big windows and doors. ” (Antónia, 22, Miercurea-Ciuc)

„I am not completely content and I feel that I would have more opportunities abroad. (Szabolcs, 20, Budapest)

„I would leave because of the mentality of people.” (Dániel, 18, Budapest)

None of my Transylvanian Hungarian interviewees expressed their intention to immigrate to Hungary, because on the one hand it would not represent a significant economic change and on the another hand:

„I am a stranger here and I am a stranger there and if I go there [to Hungary] they say I am Romanian, if I come back [to Romania] they say I am Hungarian.” (Sándor, 20, Covasna)

Those who would like to stay home:

„Luckily I am not Romanian (giggles). Now I will contradict myself, but I as a member of the Hungarian minority believe that a minority always has something at hand.” (Orsi, 23, Braşov)

„ The sense of belonging comes into my mind since we are all born into a certain group. Being a Transylvanian Hungarian is especially good mostly because of the culture, people and friends you can find here.” (Noémi, 22, Crăciuneşti)

„The nation must not die. It is very good to be a Hungarian and to speak Hungarian. I am proud to be Hungarian. Even if I am proficient in Romanian ... I love Hungarian history... Hungarians can be proud of their history, unlike other nations... So hats off to Hungarians (...) Hungarian people are so stubborn. Hungarians from here are different from Hungarians from Hungary.” (Szilárd, 22, Braşov)

Even young people from Transylvania of mixed nationality preferred their Hungarian identity:

„Defending the nation is very important unless it turns into nationalism. ...dad, cover your ears, I consider myself predominantly Hungarian even if my mother is half Romanian and my father is entirely Romanian...predominantly Hungarian...there is a rich culture and history behind us.” (Antónia, 22, Miercurea-Ciuc)

„I am ashamed to be Romanian and I rather consider myself Hungarian. I was born in Moldova but I don't even know Moldova. I speak Hungarian with my mother, only my father was from Moldova” (Vlad, 23, Carei)

Respondents from Western Europe rather express content with the opportunities of their homeland even though some of them spoke angrily about the government and the political principles of their countries.

“I'm satisfied because I can study for free, there are a lot of things that you can do there, but what I don't like is that the government says that it doesn't have the power to stand against the stupidity of consuming, taking everything and that politics is so corrupt, which disappoints me, that's why I don't like politics. But they offer a lot, that's clear. But they do it only for the economy...they need more growth or whatever. So I can use opportunities in other things...Germany is not a bad country to live in. Germany will be always my home, my family is there and I like it there. You can't agree with the politics of America, but it's not much different from the politics of France or Germany...and I don't believe it's about protecting the nation. War is because there are a lot of companies interested in war...that's all. They want influence. That's only military aggression.” (Alex, 23, Germany)

„I just don't know where to go because it's pretty much the same everywhere, you know, Coca-cola and McDonalds everywhere. It's all business everywhere and I don't like business and I think that the Netherlands is the best country for those liberal rules. I would like to see the world though just for travelling not for living.”

(Simon, 22, Holland)

Relationship to the European Union

Several positive thoughts, fears and wishes may be formulated regarding the European Union. Differences between young Hungarians' and foreigners' expectations and conceptions regarding the EU were of particular interest in our questionnaires. A comparison was possible due to the fact that the majority of young people from abroad who participated at Sziget Festival arrived from EU countries - as mentioned before – and they were acquainted by virtue of citizenship with the opportunities and problems concerning the EU, while the other participants were also from Europe. Obviously, opinions would be more relevant by countries but the small number of respondents does not allow such an analysis. However, we analyzed the responses of non-EU and EU citizens separately but the differences in answers were not significant.

When examining expectations concerning the European Union, it is obvious at a first glance that expectations formulated by young foreigners are much stronger and more of them consider that certain rights and goals of the European Union are very important. The predominant majority of young Hungarians consider these rights and goals important, however the level of importance measured is smaller. Only in the case of voting rights for non-citizens of other EU countries can be noticed that young Hungarians as a whole consider this right less important than foreigners; moreover, many of them are totally indifferent to

→ this. Thus, citizen expectations are higher among foreigners and they often concern free movement (travelling-, learning- and work-related mobility).

For me as an EU citizen, the importance of ... – Hungarians (N=750)

	Totally unimportant	Somewhat important	Important	Very important	No response	Average value*
learning opportunities everywhere inside the EU.	2.3	3.3	34.9	58.3	1.2	3.51
free access to healthcare and social services provided by social organizations.	1.5	5.1	40.9	51.2	1.3	3.44
free movement of workers in EU member states.	2.0	5.7	43.2	48.0	1.1	3.39
free movement of persons between EU member states.	2.4	7.6	48.3	40.7	1.1	3.29
cultural and national diversity.	4.3	13.9	39.2	40.4	2.3	3.18
rights to vote in the member state of residence.	12.8	33.5	34.0	17.9	1.9	2.58

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For me as an EU citizen the importance of ... – foreigners (N=413)

	Totally unimportant	Somewhat important	Important	Very important	No response	Average value *
free movement of persons between EU member states.	1.7	4.4	18.9	73.4	1.7	3.67
learning opportunities everywhere inside the EU.	1.9	4.6	22.0	68.8	2.6	3.62
free movement of workers in EU member states.	1.2	5.8	26.4	63.7	2.9	3.57
free access to healthcare and social services provided by social organizations.	1.7	4.4	27.8	63.2	2.9	3.57
rights to vote in the member state of residence.	4.1	16.0	40.7	34.4	4.8	3.11

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Analyzing the influence and future tendencies of the EU, there is a striking similarity between the expectations of Hungarians and foreigners inasmuch as the increase in learning and job opportunities is the most important prospective tendency in the EU for both groups (in the case of foreigners we separated the answers of persons coming from other member states from those coming from other European countries, but we did not find any significant differences between the answers). Even though the illusion of a “beautiful new world” is shared by only a few, we can notice that basically few people expect any negative tendencies. Social, political problems and contrasts between member states arise among these tendencies. However, only a few consider that these would lead to an inability of the EU to function. Analyzing the answers of young Hungarians in more detail, it can be noticed that the answers of participants with a lower level of education (vocational school at best) indicate a higher level of pessimism and uncertainty, which – taking into consideration the higher level of education of Sziget participants – suggests that the latter do not entirely represent the opinions of the entire young Hungarian population, but a more positive standing-point.

7

The influence of the EU – Hungarians (N=750)

	Would never happen	Probably would not happen	Might happen	Will certainly happen	No answer	Average value *
Better learning and job opportunities in the EU	2.7	7.6	44.1	42.1	3.5	79.9
Decrease in inequalities between men and women	8.9	27.9	44.0	12.1	7.1	56.2
Increase in social, economic and political problems	6.4	35.2	37.6	14.7	6.1	55.1
Better future for the majority of citizens	10.7	26.5	49.3	8.7	4.8	55.1
Increase in nationalism	7.2	35.9	35.6	12.4	8.9	52.9
Increase in tolerance towards foreigners and minorities	13.1	33.5	39.1	9.6	4.8	50.0
Intensification of contrasts between old and new member states	8.7	43.7	28.5	11.5	7.6	47.5
Disappearance of national cultures and particularities	15.1	37.9	30.4	11.1	5.6	46.1
The inability to function of the EU	12.9	46.1	25.9	7.6	7.5	41.8

EIKKA 2007

The influence of the EU – foreigners (N=413)

	Would never happen	Probably would not happen	Might happen	Will certainly will happen	No answer	Average value *
Better learning and job opportunities in the EU	1.5	10.9	45.5	37.5	4.4	78.0
Better future for the majority of citizens	3.9	21.3	60.0	9.7	5.1	63.3
Decrease in inequalities between men and women	7.5	23.7	50.4	13.1	5.3	60.5
Increase in social, economic and political problems	2.2	41.2	37.3	13.6	5.8	55.0
Increase in tolerance towards foreigners and minorities	8.2	32.7	42.9	10.7	5.6	54.1
The inability to function of the EU	3.4	42.4	34.4	12.6	7.2	52.8
Intensification of contrasts between old and new member states	7.0	38.5	37.3	11.4	5.8	52.1
Increase in nationalism	10.4	42.4	30.5	10.7	6.1	47.1
Disappearance of national cultures and particularities	18.6	43.6	25.2	6.8	5.8	39.0

EIKKA 2007

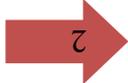
Young Sziget participants – Hungarians and foreigners

Year by year, our questionnaires investigated the level of tolerance and prejudices of Sziget participants. Classical social distance scales used in prejudice surveys usually refer to different ethnical minorities. However, in this case different questions were asked concerning social groups and minority groups (not just nationalities). Although the studied social groups and the formulation of our questionnaires have changed over the past years, we can say that the opinions regarding constantly studied groups have not changed significantly. Constancy may be pictured by creating and tracking an index that attributes different scores to each answer. To assure differentiation and distances between answers, we first determined the values belonging to each answer category from 1 to 100. We then linked the calculated average values to each other. Taking into consideration the content of our initial answers, since they cannot be considered scale values, we determined scores so that the value of “indifferent” answers would be 50.

The results of our analysis are similar to those of other researches (see for example Székelyi-Csepeli-Örkény: The image of Roma in today’s Hungarian society www.csepele.hu), and they demonstrate that Romas are one of the mostly rejected groups in Hungarian society. It is not a coincidence that many of the participants of Sziget festival might feel revulsion if a Roma family moved into their neighbourhood. (Certainly due to the different question formulations mentioned above the results of the two surveys cannot be compared). For several years now, Hungarians from outside the borders of Hungary are the most welcome: one fifth of young Hungarians would like them as neighbours and seven tenths feel indifferent towards them; the above mentioned research had similar findings in this respect as well. Total rejection of this group is also very uncommon.

The question arises whether the opinions of Sziget participants are representative for the entire young Hungarian population. The results of the Sziget research are not different from similar research results: „The majority population – as many other researches have proved it – are most distant towards the Roma and Jews, but the distance towards Chinese and people of colour is relevant as well” (Örkény-Székely 2007). We assume that Sziget participants are more tolerant than young people as a whole and our assumptions are not only supported by our survey data but also by in-depth interviews and photo analysis. This conclusion may also be drawn from the particular composition of Sziget participants since the majority of them consider themselves as belonging to the middle class and even the conclusions of the above cited papers is that a higher social status is linked to an increase in tolerance towards differences. Therefore, we may assume that Sziget participants are more tolerant than the entire young Hungarian population due to their higher social status. This conclusion is supported by the results of our research which show that while there is no difference in tolerance according to gender and age, the educational level, which is a lower level of education, is related to the rejection of one or more social groups, especially ethnic groups.

Otherwise, one fourth of young Sziget participants indicated that they did not sympathize with one or more groups present at Sziget and that the motivation of their feelings was usually related to a certain attitude or clothing style (skinheads, disco fans, punks, emos etc.) and very rarely to ethnicity.


How would you feel if a(n).... moved in next to you? (Hungarians- N=750)

	I would not like it at all	I would not like it	It would be indifferent	It would be OK	I don't know/No answer
Roma family	29.5	28.7	37.1	3.5	1.3
Chinese family	16.3	17.5	59.1	6.4	0.8
Arab family	14.5	18.4	59.3	6.8	0.9
Gay couple	13.7	13.5	62.9	9.2	0.7
Jewish family	11.7	10.1	66.9	10.3	0.9
Family living on social welfare	7.9	20.1	65.2	5.3	1.5
Lesbian couple	5.2	11.2	59.6	23.2	0.8
Families with several children	4.7	18.8	59.6	15.5	1.5
Families with a disabled child	3.7	9.1	75.3	11.2	0.7
Hungarians from outside the borders of Hungary	2.3	5.9	69.6	21.3	0.9

EIKKA 2007

How would you feel if a(n) moved in next to you? (Foreigners - N=413)

	I would not like it at all	I would not like it	It would be indifferent	It would be OK	I don't know/No answer
Roma family	6,3	17,4	62,5	11,9	1,9
Chinese family	3,4	16,2	65,4	14,0	1,0
Arab family	3,1	8,2	75,3	12,1	1,2
gay couple	2,7	3,9	77,7	14,5	1,2
Jewish family	2,4	5,3	74,3	17,2	0,7
family living on social welfare	2,4	5,6	77,5	13,6	1,0
lesbian couple	1,9	7,3	77,0	12,6	1,2
family with several children	1,2	10,4	76,0	11,4	1,0
family with a disabled child	0,5	4,1	74,3	19,6	1,5
Hungarian(s) from outside the borders of Hungary	0,2	4,4	59,3	35,4	0,7

EIKKA 2007

How would you feel if a(n) moved in next to you?¹⁰ (2005-2007)

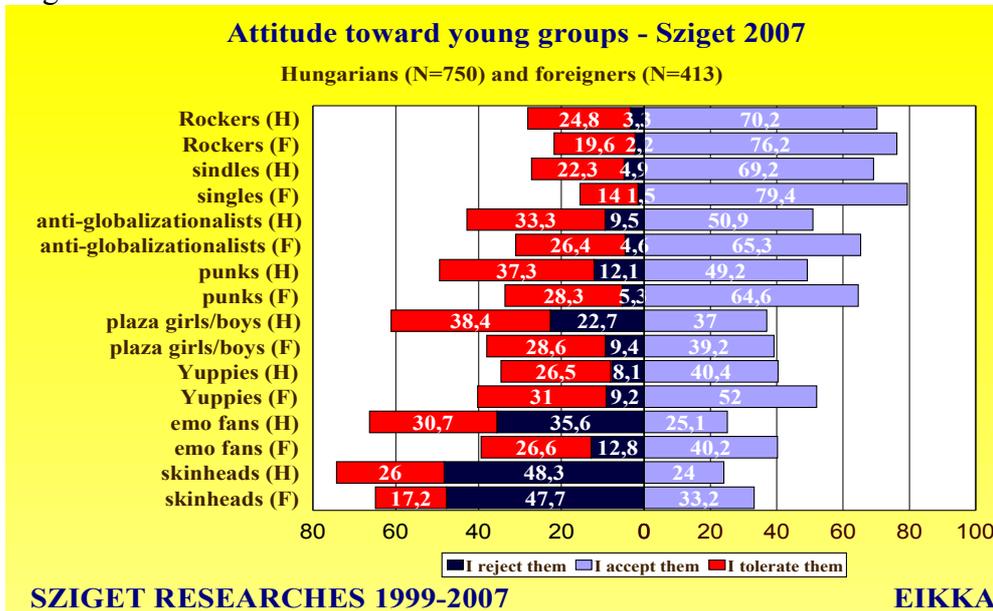
	2005 (N=624)	2006 (N=1040)	2007 (N=750)	Foreigners 2007 (N=413)
family with several children/Roma family	26.8	25.6	-	-
Hungarian family with several children	53.8	54.1	-	-
family with several children	-	-	50.8	51.3
Roma family	-	-	29.9	48.5
Chinese family	38.4	38.3	40.8	53.6
Arab family	-	-	41.6	52.4
homosexual couple (male, female)	48.1	47.5	-	56.1
lesbian couple	-	-	56.3	-
gay couple	-	-	44.5	-
Jewish family	48.1	46.3	46.8	55.1
Hungarian family living on social welfare	48.8	45.3	43.7	52.5
family with a disabled child	52.3	53.5	51.5	54.2
Hungarian(s) from outside the borders of Hungary	59.2	58.6	58.2	58.7
German family	48.2	47.6	-	-

EIKKA 2007

¹⁰ Scoring: 1 = I would not like it at all, it would be terrible, 25 = I wouldn't like it, 50 = it would be indifferent, 100 = It would be OK, I would really like it

According to our results, young foreigners are generally more tolerant than young Hungarians even towards concrete groups that are perceived as little liked by Hungarians. The same higher level of tolerance manifested by foreign participants is representative even towards some youth sub-cultural groups or in relation to religious groups.

Figure 33



The differences in the level of tolerance between Eastern and Western Europeans were also shown by interviews conducted at Sziget Festival and Fél-sziget (Peninsula) Festival in Târgu- Mureş.¹¹

More Hungarians (both Hungarians from Transylvania and Hungary) and Romanians demonstrated distrust and distancing towards other nationalities and ethnic minorities than foreigners. At the Fél-sziget (Peninsula) Festival Roma and Romanians were targeted in this sense. Even though several Transylvanian respondents considered themselves tolerant and condemned discrimination, judging from the conversations, some of them still distanced themselves from other groups.

„I do not have many prejudices. (...) I live in a village with a lot of Gypsies. In some cases I was attacked on the street (she shows her wound above her eyes) and now I am a little afraid when I meet someone suspicious on the street. What is this suspicious person like? With unpretending clothing, like Gypsies from Hidegvölgy (a neighborhood of Târgu- Mureş with bad reputation.” (Noémi, 22, Crăciuneşti)

„It is not important where they come from or what language they speak, because just by talking to them you can tell what kind of persons they are. (...) But whether you like it or not there is a certain amount of pressure coming from the majority, therefore when I see a Gipsy approaching I become scared unwillingly ... but ...maybe I step aside. Theoretically I do not condemn them, because they are Gypsies or because they smell bad, I consider that this is encoded in everyone...that a certain group acts in one way, another group in another way. I try as much as I can to get rid of prejudices as much as possible.” (Orsi, 23, Braşov)

¹¹ 24 interviews were conducted at Sziget and Fél-sziget (Peninsula) festivals. The interviews were conducted by Bartis, Katalin.

→ „I do not differentiate between...Gypsies...they do have a bad reputation, everybody knows, but it does not bother me at all, I do not really care about that” – stated Moni (17), but when asked whether she would accept a Gypsy boy as a boyfriend she said:

„Well, a Roma with moustache...I couldn't accept him...as a friend yes, but not as a boyfriend. They have a different culture...maybe my approach to the problem was not correct, but I couldn't get integrated into the Gypsy culture.”

Alexandra (22) rejected Roma more radically:

„I do not have any relationships with Gypsies, they do not even have a language and their women are like pigs without femininity, completely impossible, their children were pissing next to them, 30-year-old men mating with dogs, oh my God!”

Foreigners heard about the discrimination of Gypsies, nevertheless they remained neutral. Alex explains this issue by saying that people from Western-Europe do not meet so many Gypsies to be able to formulate an opinion about them:

„I heard that in Romania it is very hard for them, that Romanian people are very discriminative. But we do not have this problem in Germany because we do not have many Gypsies.”

Romanians were rejected mainly by Székely (a Hungarian-speaking ethnic group) respondents (during our interviews and short conversations with them).

„Well I do not like Romanians. They are very antipathetic to me in one way. In some way they are so antipathetic. I cannot say that I've had an unpleasant experience with them, but in a way they are so antipathetic. They have a certain amount of antipathy towards Hungarians and they feel contempt for you because of your nationality. I am not interested in religion and I do not care about anyone's religion. What is your level of trust towards different ethnicities, for example Gypsies? It does not exist. Not only I do not trust them but I hate them.” (Sándor, 20, Covasna)

„I do not differentiate between them but there is a big difference between Romanians and Hungarians. Like between punks and rockers. I went to a Romanian punk concert and the Romanians strained a pin in my back and when someone fell on the ground they did not help him/her get up and stepped all over him/her. But I went to Tankcsapda concert in Budapest and I fell and ten people ran to help me. After the concert I lay down on the ground and several people came and asked me whether I was feeling well. Romanians kick you... even if I am a Romanian.” (Vlad, 23, Carei)

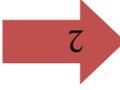
Besides Gypsies and Romanians one of the young people from Transylvania mentioned distrust towards Russians and another one of Talibans. Obviously, some of the young people from Transylvania did not have any prejudice against any nationality, ethnic group or religious minority. They admitted that many people in their environment had prejudices towards others.

„If I had had problems with Germans then I would look at them accordingly. People have the tendency to generalize.” (Tibi, 15, Deva)

„However, the fact is that discrimination exists. I do not believe that there is anyone who has not discriminated against someone at least once in their lifetime.” (Antónia, 22, Miercurea-Ciuc)

Two Hungarians from Hungary mentioned that they are prejudiced against certain nationalities and social groups. However, I have to mention that I discussed this issue only with three respondents concentrating mainly on foreigners.

„I do not get along very well with Germans, since I have encountered several Nazi problems lately. I consider them a very aggressive population. I find them very loud even

 *though I have a few German friends.” (Szabolcs, 20) „I do not like neo-Nazis at all. I cannot accept them, I cannot understand them and here I think especially about Hungary. The fact that someone likes the Hungarian nation is not a problem for me since my father feels the same but I think that this is extreme. Neo-Nazis however hate everybody. Only because my hairstyle is Rasta they see me as a nigger and they hate black people. They are very stupid people.” (Dániel, 18)*

„They have principles and they try to live according to them. These people are not frequent visitors of festivals like Sziget, because they know it is not worth fighting. On Sportsziget for example there were some serious problems, like stabbing.” – continued Szabolcs.

The majority of foreign respondents did not even understand the following question: „What is your attitude towards different nationalities, ethnic groups or religious minorities?” As it turned out later, they did not understand the question because they considered cultural, religious and linguistic diversity a normal phenomenon and they were open to everybody. However, if someone expressed their dislike it was mainly against governments and their policies not people:

„ I don't trust certain governments, but the people themselves are pretty much the same everywhere. America is making a mess and I don't know what China is doing again. (...) If someone is being an asshole he's an asshole and it's not a German asshole, not a Polish friendly guy but just a friendly guy. I don't really believe in countries.” (Simon, 22, the Netherlands)

Alex (23) on the other hand traced trust back to the economic situation of countries.

„I wouldn't distrust someone just because he/she is from Romania, but there are some problems because you are rich and they are poor...they take more money for the room or for the taxi and everything. But I know, in every big town people are trying to fool those foreigners, I know from Berlin. So I think it's not a problem of nations, it's a problem of wealth.”

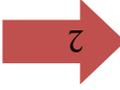
Conclusions

The majority of research conducted at Sziget Festival support previous findings regarding the acceleration of youth transition among young Hungarians in the 90s. During the period of youth transition, the relationships of young people with the adult society (family and other institutions, for example schools, cultural and political institutions) changed. The role of families and schools for young people – and generally the traditional control exercised by the adult society –decreased simultaneously with an expansion of the educational system. The process of becoming independent and the early individualization of young people take place at a time when the role of the media and the consumption industry is increasingly higher in young people's lives.

The society of Sziget Festival has significantly changed. While in 2006 the number of foreigners made up one third of the festivals' visitors, by 2007 more than half of the visitors were foreigners. By age groups, foreigners are older with a higher level of education and they own more consumption goods than young Hungarians.

The consumption power of Sziget participants – in relation to the increasing number of foreigners – has greatly increased. Young Hungarians spend an average of HUF4,617 per night out of a monthly income of HUF105,000, while foreigners spend HUF9,248 HUF per night out of a monthly income of HUF232,000.

Taking into consideration the incomes of young Hungarians we can observe that they spend more than they earn. Based on student researches we know that overspending among



students is related to government funds. Due to cutbacks in government funding, a future increase in young Hungarians' consumption is not probable. This tendency could lead to differentiation and a possible exclusion from the Festival of a part of middle class Hungarian participants.

Early individualization is one of the most relevant characteristics of Sziget visitors. Our research shows that simultaneously with the above mentioned early individualization process their consumer status and economic independence gain importance. This means that young people start going out, have sexual experiences and take decisions on buying consumer/entertainment goods or engaging in entertainment and consumer activities independently earlier.

The fact that young Hungarian Sziget participants follow the patterns of European youth regarding early individualization, and have become integrated into the European youth, means that they face the same challenges as young people from the centre. With their approach to the centre young Hungarians have become more vulnerable, which is signalled by their tendency to stay out late, smoke and test different drugs earlier.

The generation gap between people younger and older than 17 observed during Sziget Festival is mainly visible due to their higher and more intensive use of consumer and communication goods.

Sziget participants are more active during their spare time than the average age group. The development of free trade and entertainment industry at the beginning of the 90s is closely related to changes in young people's leisure time activities. The appearance of bars, cafés, tea shops designed to young people's needs indicate the market dependence of leisure time activities.

Cultural and art activities play an important part in the life of young Sziget participants. One third play music, draw or paint, more than one fifth go to libraries, one tenth write poems or prose or watch art movies at least once a week. Data from previous Sziget research showed that the use of market services did not exclude cultural activities. Services provided by the consumer society become integrated in the lives of Sziget participants, thus in the lives of the Hungarian youth. When analyzing the use of different services we found that the number of non-users has dropped. Some of them require special services, such as beauty parlours, tanning beds, fitness centres.

In Hungary, we find that during youth transition the shift of institutions for young people from state to market is in the foreground of a change in young people's attitudes towards institutions, similarly to other ex-communist countries. If the transformation of young people into market actors is not accompanied by a development of the civil sphere, we can speak about a rather strong dependence of young people on consumption, which entails an acceptance of mass consumption patterns without criticism.

Different criteria characteristic of the new young middle class, sharply visible among Sziget participants (consumption, travelling abroad, foreign language proficiency, clothing style, future plans) are closely linked to a higher degree of political interest and better connections with civic organizations. By 2007, two fifths of Sziget visitors were interested in politics, somewhat more than four fifths of them had connections with civic organizations and one fourth sympathized with certain political organizations or movements. Sziget visitors had better connections with civic organizations than young Hungarians, 45.1% compared to 15% in 2004.

The political participation of Sziget visitors is more similar to that of young foreigners than to that of young Hungarians. Young Hungarians have significantly fewer connections with human rights civil movements than young foreigners. However, the radicalization of political actions can be noticed in both groups. A West-East axis can be noticed in the



political behaviour of young people in the sense that the number of non-authorized demonstrations has decreased in Western Europe and increased in Eastern Europe.

57.1% of Sziget participants visited other festivals in the previous year and the proportion of those who participated in at least another festival increased with age. Young people in their twenties may be characterized by a more intensive festival attendance, while more than half of younger people only attended the Sziget Festival. Besides an increase in the number of visitors, the public of the Festival has also continuously increased and the fact that 90.7% of current visitors – and even 76.8% of foreign visitors – plan to return next year suggests a certain stability of the targeted public. Festivals play an important role in the future social class affiliation of young people mainly because of their importance in the formation and consolidation of friendships year by year. The differences brought by the 2007 Festival are connected to a shift of relationships from the Hungarian middle class to the European middle class. According to our findings, this movement has caused a temporary state of shock and isolation among young Hungarians.

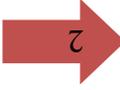
The 2007 Sziget research has also allowed a comparative research between the value orientation of Hungarian and European young people. Our results show that the value orientation of these two groups is very similar; both groups consider true friendship as very important and religion as the least important out of the 19 values mentioned. Smaller differences may be observed concerning a few conservative values (respect for traditions, family security, the role of the nation, politeness, religion). It seems that Hungarian festival visitors consider these values as more important than foreign visitors. We can also observe that internal values and certain conservative values are more important to girls than to boys. However, in the case of “masculine” values an approximation of the two genders stands out.

Even though religion is not one of the favourite values of Sziget visitors, there are also religious participants among them. Compared to the data of the nationally representative Youth 2004 survey, their number is considerably lower: only 3.6% of Sziget participants stated that they followed the teachings of the church compared to one tenth of young Hungarians and a further 38.3% stated that they were religious in their own way, compared to 48% of young Hungarians.

All of the above mentioned data show that religion is more important in the life of young Hungarians as compared to young foreigners of whom only one third mentioned their positive attitude towards religion.

The difference between Hungarians and foreigners can also be noticed in their attitude towards religion, on a so-called East-West axis, i.e. a higher acceptance of different religious and lifestyle tendencies among young people from Western Europe than among young Hungarians. One fifth of young Hungarians and more than one third of young foreigners accept the followers of Scientology. As for Christian sects, the above values are almost one third and more than two fifths, respectively. New Age movements are accepted by two fifths of young foreigners compared to one fourth of young Hungarians. Even though there is a noticeable difference between East and West, the orientation towards different lifestyles and the tendency to accept individual forms of values, beliefs and cultural diversity have become visible as a part of the process of post-modernization.

Unemployment is one of the most important problems for young people, which in another formulation was the leading problem last year as well. It is important to mention that every third and fourth young person classified boredom as a problem in one of the first three places. This is characteristic of both the youngest and the oldest, workers and current students. At the same time, many consider that loneliness and the lack of social relationships are important problems, which also bears certain age-specific characteristics considering that people under 20 indicate it more rarely in first places. The fact that young Hungarians follow



traditional patterns is implied by the seventh place of “the lack of models” preceding ethnical conflicts and “disrespect for human rights”

The answers of young foreigners are somewhat different from those of young Hungarians. Although unemployment is also the biggest problem among them (37.0% placed it in the first 3 positions), at the same time, social problems such as ethnic conflicts and disrespect for human rights were more important. Foreigners, unlike Hungarians, do not consider the lack of models as a major problem (15.99% of young Hungarians placed this problem in one of the first three places, but only 6% of young foreigners mention it at all), proving their distancing from traditional values and more sensitivity towards alternative ways of life.

Both Hungarian and foreign Sziget Festival visitors – while recognizing their parents’ merits – rebel against them, their system of values and views of life and taking into consideration their age group characteristics it is not at all surprising that they rely to a great extent on their peer-group experiences. It is more interesting that young Hungarians are not different in this respect from their peers coming from other countries. At the same time, there is a more significant difference in this respect from the perspective of society as a whole since young Hungarians’ views are more radical and rebel: they consider that society does not offer them enough or that the adult society does not understand them and thus they are more susceptible to disapprove their parents’ experiences and advice. This behaviour might be explained by the fact that young Hungarians are on the whole younger than their foreign peers.

Youth identity is closely related to youth culture, more exactly to the process of socialization, when young people usually acquire all the values, lifestyles necessary for the development of their future carriers. Some of these – like musical genres, clothing trends – are influenced by the market, others on the other hand are mostly required by the market and they are closely related to individual career lifestyles, for example to single lifestyles or to certain lifestyles which are not desired by the market, such as anti-globalization movements.

Rocker lifestyle is the mostly accepted group style among Sziget participants. By observing temporal trends, a regression of this youth group style can be noticed: while in 2002 almost one third of youth-centrists and almost twice as much of adult pattern followers identified themselves with rockers, by 2007 this rate dropped to half and it became almost non-existent among youth centrists and adult pattern followers. On the other hand, the single lifestyle related to the market is becoming widely accepted by young Sziget visitors, therefore by young Hungarians as well. Furthermore, we may observe a connection between youth identity and the market place. Youth centrism is increasingly connected to market related youth cultural styles such as yuppies, mall visitors etc.

The process of equalization between the musical preferences of Hungarians and foreigners continued in 2007. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable difference in musical waves such as reggae, Britpop and drum and bass to the advantage of young foreigners. Sziget participants often mentioned alternative clothing styles, but in 2007 there was a visible regression of styles traditionally related to youth cultures like rock and punk. At the same time, clothing styles totally different from alternative ones (disco, skateboarder) have emerged between the appealing clothing styles. A higher level of tolerance can be noticed among foreigners with respect to clothing styles. Clothing styles are totally international, there is a barely noticeable difference between Hungarians and foreigners in this respect. The commercialisation of clothing styles is greatly shown by the fact that both groups consider today’s trendy style as mostly desirable.

Young Hungarians who visited Sziget Festival consider that globalization has played a major part in the increase in learning and job opportunities. They also emphasized that American culture and multinational enterprises played an increasing role in the life of their

countries. Young Hungarians are more afraid of relocation of jobs to cheaper labour markets than foreigners.

The role of globalization in the development of their countries is seen more negatively by Hungarians than by foreigners, i.e. only somewhat more than one fifth consider that globalization brings advantages. The number of negative thinkers has increased from one fifth to one third since 2003. The number of Hungarians who consider that globalization has a more positive effect on them is higher, but it is still only one third compared to more than four fifths of young foreigners.

When examining expectations concerning the European Union, it is obvious at a first glance that expectations formulated by young foreigners are much stronger and more of them consider that certain rights and goals of the European Union are very important. The predominant majority of young Hungarians consider these rights and goals important, however the level of importance measured is smaller. Only in the case of voting rights for resident citizens of other EU countries do young Hungarians as a whole consider this right less important than foreigners; moreover, many of them are totally indifferent to this. Thus, citizen expectations are higher among foreigners and they often concern free movement (travelling-, learning- and work-related mobility)

When analyzing young Hungarians' answers in detail, it can be noticed that persons whose highest qualification is vocational school are more insecure and pessimist. Considering the higher educational level of Sziget participants, we may imply that young Sziget participants represent a more positive view than Hungarian young people generally. According to our results, young foreigners are generally more tolerant than young Hungarians even towards concrete groups that Hungarians like little. The same higher level of tolerance manifested by foreign participants is found even towards some youth sub-cultural groups or if asked about their relations with religious groups.

Afterword. Theoretical and methodological questions of the Sziget Festival Research

Sziget Festival research has raised several theoretical and methodological problems since it was started. Initially, following Zinecker, youth transition was our main thesis (Zinnecker 2006; 2006a). We assumed that youth transition accelerated in Hungary at the beginning of the 90s and, at the same time, the youth life period became longer. Early independence and the extension of the youth life period created the public of the Sziget Festival. Because newer and newer groups of young people gain their independence earlier, they start attending the Sziget Festival earlier. Furthermore, considering that learning periods are extended and young people start working, get married and have children later, the leisure time activities of a larger group of youth become more and more intensive and last for a longer period. (Gábor 2000) The theory of the creation of the middle class was another important initial thesis of the Sziget research. This new youth stratum, the equivalent of Veblen's leisure class which is closely related to higher education and conspicuous consumption, is becoming the public of the festival. (Veblen 1975). At the same time, we also assumed that Sziget Festival Research is of crucial importance in researching the Hungarian youth since the public of the festival is the personalization of youth transition.

The conclusive moment of youth transition is that young people become market actors. The process of entering into the market automatically implies the extension of time spent in school and an increase in the consumer status of young people. In conclusion, the developing leisure time industry (illustrated by Sziget Festival) becomes the space of leisure time activities for young people. The youth of festivals – we assume – stands for this new



youth. We emphasized that the youth attending the Festival could be interpreted within the process of the creation of the middle class and it as an important terrain for socialization to middle class, i.e. it is the island of the middle class. Our research proves that there are two kinds of middle class, a traditional and a new one.

The development of capitalist society represents the basis of the new middle class and it is at the same time the correspondent of transition from a society of shortage to a society of abundance. This is at the same time a new interpretation of youth transition. The classical description of narrow circumstances can be linked to *La Distinction* by Bourdieu. The society of abundance is impersonated by the *Elebnisgesellschaft* of Schulze. (Bourdieu 1986, Bourdieu 1998; Schulze 1992; Schulze 1998) Shortage is determined by deficiency, narrow circumstances by constraint, restraint is the “endowment” of connections and it is determined by strong hierarchy. In this respect the society of abundance may be characterized by a constant search for various experiences, choices and relationships and by an unmatched hierarchy, a mixture between vertical and horizontal hierarchies. In Schulze’s society of new experiences, consumption is by far not only the consumption of subsistence goods and services but also the process of social presence and self-representation in a cultural context. (Mary Douglas-Baron Isherwood 1998)

Sziget research indicates that cultural taste is the result of free choice in music, clothing style, youth cultural styles; and the result of different choices is not only a simple pursuit of satisfying basic consumption needs, but also the trend of cultural diversity manifested in a variety of vines, spirits, music, clothing styles.

This brings along not only diversity in the interpretation of denotations but also a complexity in research methods. The youth of festivals thereby impersonate a second modernity, i.e. a youth in which individuals take on an individual style and create an optional milieu which comes to life in a world of cultural and economic globalization. This is confirmed by the internationalization of Sziget Festival, more exactly this process represents the only way for its survival.

The Sziget phenomenon can be interpreted as a transition from modernity to post-modernity: the same things occur at Sziget as in the post-modern world, namely an infiltration of higher culture into everyday life or an aesthetisation of everyday life. In a stricter sense modernism is closely related to the cultural movements of the early 20th century that got a new interpretation by the end of the 20th century. Representatives such as Joyce, Yeats, Gide, Proust, Kafka, Mann, Musil, Lawrence and Faulkner in fiction, Rilke, Pound, Eliot, Lorca, Valéry in poetry, Strindberg and Pirandello in drama, Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Cézanne and the futurists, Dadaists, surrealist movements in painting, Stravinsky, Schönberg and Berg in music are listed here. (Mike Featherstone (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.*) Certainly, this all goes back to the bohemian avant-garde cultural world of the 30s of the 19th century.

Sziget Festival is the product of post-communist societies mainly due to the fact that in these societies higher culture and the group of students representing it are clearly separated from consumer culture, therefore from the majority of young people. This is also proved by Sziget research data, according to which the cultural and creative activities of Sziget participants are more intensive than those of the youth in general. At the same time, the transformation of Sziget together with a mixture between higher culture and consumer culture and an increase in the importance of consumption is also an impersonation of post-modernism.

Sziget Festival becomes increasingly important because “consumer knowledge” related to social and cultural values that belong to different products or social statuses becomes important and learning different lifestyles associated with consumer and cultural lifestyles – which may be attained through new “cultural mediators” such as the media,

industrial design, fashion, ads, commercials, etc. – also become extremely important. In essence, young people acquire this knowledge from magazines, catalogues, commercials and this is how different housing types, fashion styles etc. gain importance in the development of their future class conscience, which may be easily recognized from TV series like “Desperate housewives”. The established behaviour patterns are both sustained by globalization, glocalization and localization and impersonate globalization, glocalization and localization. (Beck 2005)

The experience of Sziget research has fully supported Gadamer’s idea that: „In essence, not a single productive researcher may dispute that even if the methodological pureness of science is indispensable, the essence of research is not a mere implementation of the usual methods but rather the development of new methods – and this is based on a researcher’s creativity.” (Gadamer 2003 p. 589)

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