

“To Be Special” - Attitudes and Motivations that Determine the Learning Mobility of Secondary School Pupils

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Abstract

The migration of young people can result in significant social and economic benefits and disadvantages. Several sometimes contradictory theoretical and practical research projects have dealt with the controllability of these processes. However, all have agreed that deeper knowledge of such processes is necessary because of the lack of information available. In the present paper, the characteristics of the study related mobility of secondary school students in Hungary, researched in the framework of the MOVE project, are analysed. Good examples of high school mobility are worth introducing to the wider public, as Hungarian student mobility is much lower than that of students in more developed EU member states. The reasons for the passivity of students, the circumstances of their departure, the difficulties and experiences, the inhibitory and supportive factors are presented in our study. In the framework of the research, 17 structured interviews were conducted with pupils who had studied for at least 3 months in a member state of the European Union, and in-depth interviews were conducted with experts for the fuller understanding of the topic. The role of parent “pressure”, friendships, and the “reference group” in the decision-making process of secondary school students is presented here. We also examine if those who undertake foreign studies at the high school age become more “mature” sooner or not. Besides, it is analysed how the personality of students changes in the months spent abroad, what relationships are built, and what road they take to become “special” for their peers not participating in mobility. It is also important to keep in mind possible threats; therefore our research covers the exploration of these issues, as well. The mobility of Hungarian students is strongly determined by their social and economic background. The expectations of the parents and elite schools include learning abroad. Occasionally, unresolved family problems can also contribute to mobility. The choice of the destination country for young people is not conscious, in this, either the use of the given opportunity or the influence of the family is relevant. During the course of foreign

studies their consciousness of being Hungarians becomes stronger, they become detached from their parents - the latter also causes problems when returning.

Keywords: exchange student, high school student mobility

JEL Classification: J61; J62; I23

Introduction

In the framework of the research project MOVE, supported by HORIZON2020, the objective is to collect as much information as possible to describe the migration processes of youth within Europe, to reveal the factors hindering and supporting mobility, and to formulate the attitudes involved in different mobility types. The project undertakes to demonstrate to the political actors of the European Union how youth mobility can be beneficial both from the aspect of social and economic development and the personal development of youth themselves (move-project.eu). Among the types of youth mobility, student migration is becoming more and more significant, with a continuously growing volume and an unquestionable social and economic role (Rédei 2006). It is worth presenting good examples of high school student mobility to the wider public, too, as Hungarian students have less mobility potential than students in more developed member states. In this paper, the cause of this passivity, the circumstances of their leaving the country, their difficulties and experiences as well as the hindering and supporting situations are analyzed. The research project MOVE, constituting the basis of the paper, relies on the principle of pluralism, its parts being facts and logic, metaphor and story, and that is how it intends to give as much information as possible to political actors to strengthen 'good' youth mobility and avoid dangers. Migration processes have an explanatory force, which is useful to be taken into account in the analyses providing the basis for an active economic policy (Kocziszky et al. 2013).

Today's youths were born in a social and economic environment that has undergone radical changes and in which becoming independent and getting detached from parents have become more difficult. This delayed entering adult age is an indicator of unfavourable demographic processes for the society and the economy. Our research is based on life course theory (Elder 1995), according to which socially embedded life events and the order of their occurrence should be investigated. The occurrence in time of studying, starting work and establishing partnerships is less and less standard practice for the present young generations with the old

patterns fading away. The educational and labour market life paths of present youths is no longer what it was like earlier (Dabasi-Halász, Hegyi-Kéri 2015). In today's globalised world, a good knowledge of foreign languages and a knowledge about multinational culture are indispensable. By studying abroad, students can improve their language skills, create links between specific locations and local networks and develop communication in transnational space (Homfeldt, Schmitt 2013). Ildikó Hrubos (2010) identifies studying abroad as one of the devices of getting into the elite. Still, our experience is that only a very small percentage of the 15-19-year-old age group undertake to study in another European country for a longer period (over 3 months). In this paper, student attitudes, motivations and obstacles are investigated from five aspects. Firstly, the effect of the reference environment, secondly, the changes in the personal relationships of exchange students, and thirdly, their personality development are analysed including the strengthening of their national identity, then the method of and regional determination of the selection of the destination country are investigated, and finally, future study and job plans are covered.

High-school student mobility

High-school student mobility is understood as the geographical change in the studying of youths, which involves movement between institutions (Gibbons 2009), and inland migration between settlements, and in given cases, a change of school across country borders (Goren, Yemini 2017). According to Váradi (2013), migration for study purposes is getting close to the ideal type of transnational migration. Basch et al. define the concept of transnationality in the way that migrants settling and living in another country do not get detached from their countries of origin but they maintain varied – family, economic, social, religious, cultural and political – connections with those countries, and their conditions and activities link them to two or even more national states at the same time (Basch et al. 1994). Student mobility takes place in a social space connecting geographical locations in at least two different national states, and students maintain close contact with 'those at home'. In the field of the international movements of students for study purposes, TEM or transnational education mobility (Waibel et al. 2017) or GCE or Global Citizenship Education appear as new concepts. In European studies, more and more authors use the term 'European citizen', as well (Goren,

Yemini 2017). Globalisation affects education and the task of the school includes the education of students for this to an even greater extent. Global education is an approach that educates such students in a formal framework who acknowledge cultural diversification, the equality of humans and their responsibility for their fellow men. TEM includes all temporary stays abroad during high school years or subsequently, both in a formal or informal environment. This phenomenon is becoming increasingly popular in developed societies. In the framework of an organised study programme, pupils stay abroad temporarily, or parallel with their studies, they attend school, or take up international voluntary jobs suspending their studies – from the aspect of studying, the latter case is called a gap year. Foreign education mobility experience helps with finding employment in the labour market. TEM is one of the tools of self-fulfillment as while the student is studying abroad, his/her knowledge of foreign languages and social and intercultural mobility skills are also improving (Waibel et al. 2017). Foreign exchange programmes provide an opportunity to promote equality and cultural variety among students as they do not learn them as dry study material but acquire these skills and attitudes through experience. Traditional and slightly outdated literature interpreted geographical mobility as a one-time event. Migration is relatively rare in the life course of the individual therefore it can be regarded as a special one-time situation from the aspect of the individual. With technical development and changes in life situations, this was not even true in the 20th century. By now, migration has become a system, what is more, a system of the multiple movements of individuals, and circular migration is spoken about (Illés, Kincses 2009). Mobility experienced at an early age is more likely to become a recurring practice of migrating later.

The 2012 survey of Kutatópont Magyar ifjúság ('Hungarian youth research point') investigated the mobility potential of Hungarian youths between 15-29 years of age for mobility and the results revealed the importance of the migration background: if a person studied abroad earlier, he/she shows greater willingness to study or work in another country in the future again. 17.8% of those having foreign education experience would stay at home while the others would like to get involved in foreign mobility again for a shorter or longer period (Székely 2012). The objective of Bachner's study (2009) of former German and America exchange students was to reveal whether the assumptions that intercultural experiences produce long-term and positive changes in the

students' personalities, behaviour and way of thinking will be verified in the long run or not. One of the important individual factors in mobility is the production of social capital. The peer, relative or friend with a migration background in the individual's environment exerts an influence on him/her and increases the probability of international migration (Sík 2001). From Bachner's survey (2009), it becomes clear that for most of the individuals, participation in the programme was their own idea but parents and teachers had a significant effect at the same time, too.

AFS conducted a survey entitled "Mobility of Secondary School Pupils and Recognition of Study Periods Spent Abroad" with the support of the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission, which revealed that exchange students' first expectation was to acquire a foreign language and every top destination country was an English-speaking state (Ruffino & Hardt 2017). The US is in the first place, followed by Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. The next most popular countries are France, followed by Germany and the Latin American states. The AFS 2017 survey, conducted with the involvement of 5,255 secondary school pupils, revealed that English-speaking host countries were the most attractive for the Z generation, as well, similarly to the previous one. The choice of the destination country is most affected by its social evaluation and education in English (Banov et al. 2017). Another motivation factor in choosing the destination country is getting to know other cultures versus academic promotion. In the case of the students involved in Bachner's study (2009), different satisfaction indicators could be identified: among the Germans, self-development and maturity were satisfaction indicators while in the case of Americans, it was interaction with individuals from different cultures. It is possible that it was so because of the different cultures in the countries of origin. The desire for independence can be taken into account as an important push factor in the case of exchange student mobility (Dronkers et al. 2014). The desire for getting independent from the parents already occurs to youths when they are in secondary school. Its first form of appearance is the youths having their own salary and their independent treatment of money. Thus, experiencing independence may appear as the motivation for participation in the exchange programme.

According to the data in the 2006 PISA survey, children coming from politically stable countries have better performance at school than those

of their peers of whom this is not true. The economic development level of the countries of origin also affects performance in education. (Dronkers et al. 2014)

Several research projects focus on the change of institutions by students, that is, on the investigation of the transition between education systems, giving a critical assessment of it. From this, indirect conclusions may be drawn for the research of the movement of secondary school pupils put into an international context. During high school mobility, there is a change of institutions also from the aspect of our research – on the one hand, when they enter the school abroad and try to adapt, and on the other hand, the change of school may affect them after the exchange year as they do not necessarily get back to their old class. Student mobility may result in the enhancement of performance. It is partly good for the mobile student whose decision is caused by a change in family conditions in many cases while in other cases, the search for an institution with higher academic standards leads to a change of school, which may provide the basis for a more favourable student-school matching. This may also have a beneficial effect on other students as with the help of mobility, information is spreading and cultural and intellectual diversity is increased within the school. Given all this, however, the social integration of exchange students potentially causes disturbance for those already studying there as they make friends (or enemies) in the new environment. (Gibbons, Telhaj 2009) Gibbons' observations may also be applied to international student mobility as students change school, although temporarily, and are transferred to an institution in a foreign country, even more different from the former one, where integration may also be made difficult by language, traditional and cultural factors.

Institutional environment supporting high school student mobility

Today, students' decision on studying abroad is not only interpreted as an individual decision but also as a process affected by the institutional background. With the development of the institutions creating, maintaining and promoting the opportunity for international mobility, the international flow of migrants is becoming more and more institutionalised and independent from the factors that originally triggered it (Massey et al. 1993).

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Several European programmes supporting the educational mobility of high school students are known. In 1995, the European Union established the Socrates programme with its target group including high school students among several others. Later (2000), the programme emphasized lifelong learning and was extended to every formal and informal level of education. The other European opportunity, the Leonardo da Vinci programme started in 1994 and aimed at the support of vocational training. In 1996, the EU underlined an important objective concerning mobility in its Green Paper: transnational mobility. In it, the obstacles to the implementation of mobility were described, for example, social and economic obstacles, differences in the education systems (study schedules) of the schools, cultural considerations and the lack of foreign language knowledge. The Youth for Europe programme provided an opportunity for the implementation of short-term exchange programmes within the framework of formal and non-formal education for people between 15 and 25 years of age. Its later continuation was the Youth programme (AFS) between 2000 and 2006. Now, several exchange student organisations provide an opportunity for implementing foreign education mobility within an organised framework. The best known organisations involved in exchange student mobility in Hungary are: Youth for Understanding (YFU), AFS Intercultural Programs and Rotary.

The methodology and the sample

In order to get to know the mobility habits of high school students, explore their motivation and investigate the circumstances hindering and supporting education abroad, our research team chose the methodology of making interview-based double international contrastive case studies. The advantage of the interview as a social science method is that the phenomenon and the correlations may be explored better and more deeply with the help of getting to know, understanding and analysing the personal experiences and feelings of the interviewees selected. Using Esterberg's (2001) suggestive simile, this method is similar to a dance in which one of the parties attentively adapts him/herself to the other party's movement. In the mobility in-depth interviews, the triangulation approach was applied, that is, several data collection methods and techniques were used to get to know as much as possible about mobility. Narrative and structured parts followed each other, and in double

interviews, interviewees could react to each other's opinion. Half-structured interviews were applied so in a part of the conversation, questions resembling structured interviews were asked to which well-definable answers were given (which could even be made measurable), but there were also more open questions in the interview, what is more, the interviewer even completely withdrew to give more opportunity to the respondent to explain his/her opinion and express his/her feelings. In formulating major interview questions, the presence of the motivating factors familiar from sociological publications about mobility were sought for, and their force was investigated, thus exploring the mobility shell characterising the high school pupil of today in decision situations concerning education abroad. The content and process theory of motivation were used in a complex way so it was possible to survey what the pupils getting involved in mobility wanted and what they needed, and also, what characterised the factors affecting the individual's decisions, efforts and persistence, the incentives, driving forces, confirmations and expectations. The interviews were structured around the following topic areas: the story of the parents, their possible mobilisation experiences, events related to movements, the family's opinion about mobility, the occurrence of the idea of studying abroad, and its incubation process, the arguments and counterarguments, financing, the comparison of education systems, successes and failures. As individual life courses and experiences were explored, our results can only be generalised to a limited extent which, however, may also be increased with theory-driven sampling and by making as many interviews as possible (Schleicher 2007).

On the one hand, interviews were recorded, and on the other hand, notes were taken continuously of the observations concerning the interviewees' behaviour. This was followed by transcription, that is, the writing down of the full text heard, and condensation, when we briefly summarised the interviews in our own words. The parts of the text were categorised according to different criteria in the research question. Similarities and differences were searched for in the interviews. We exchanged our findings with our international partner – a research team doing similar investigations in Norway -, thus widening our horizon. The specific parts of the text were categorised (grouped) according to the different research question criteria, and similarities and differences were looked for in the interviews. During the research project, the specific categories and codes underwent development, some were dropped and

others were made more complete. Qualitative interview data were systematically analysed on the computer, using the technique of coding. For this, the basic functions of the MAXqda software were applied. Text analysis softwares are known to have several positive features. The programmes make it possible to record commentaries, notes and memos; through coding, a network of code categories is built, which may be graphically represented, and qualitative data may be displayed in a matrix form (Agabrian 2004; Ghauri, Grønhaug 2011; Kelle 2007; Sántha 2011). This was followed by the process of interpretation, that is, the deeper and wider underlying meaning was sought in relation to mobility (Schleicher 2007).

In the creation of the sample and the finding of interviewees, the help of our NEC partners (the consultative expert panel involved in the research project helping the researchers' work) was asked for (*In this case FIVOSZ (National Union of Young Entrepreneurs), FDSZ (Trade Union of Employees in Higher Education), MINŐIES Alapítvány ('Give a chance to women in Miskolc Foundation'), EMORKA Észak Magyarországi Regionális Kutatásokért Alapítvány ('EMORKA Foundation for North Hungarian regional Research Projects'), Fényi Gyula Jezsuita Gimnázium és Kollégium (Fényi Gyula Jesuit Academic Grammar School and Youth Hostel)*). The condition set was that at the time of the interview, interviewees had to be over 18 years but below 29 years of age. They had to have completed minimum 3 months of continuous study in a member state of the European Union in order to have relevant experience and foreign education could not have happened earlier than 5 years ago so that the experience should be new enough. Both outgoing and incoming students were interviewed. At the time of the interview, interviewees were 18-22 years of age. The rate of the sexes among the respondents was 6 males to 13 females. As regards nationality, there were 14 Hungarians, 2 Spaniards and 1 Italian interviewee. The pupils spent minimum 3 and maximum 12 months in some foreign high school. In 14 cases, interviews were made in the Hungarian and in 2 cases in the English language. With regard to Hungary, high school education mobilities with respect to their direction were: 15 outgoing and 2 incoming mobilities. Completing the information in the interviews made with pupils, in-depth interviews were also conducted with experts of the research topic (3 experts): with the staff member of an organising institution, a high school headmaster and a mentoring host parent.

Table 1: Some interviewee parameters

<i>Code</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Location of Hungarian high schools</i>	<i>Mother's profession</i>	<i>Father's profession</i>	<i>Host country</i>
Incoming students					
peHUy01	F	Budapest	teacher	bank clerk	Italy
peHUy02	F	Budapest	musician	classical musician	Germany
peHUy03	F	Szombathely	teacher	doctor of medicine	Germany
peHUy04	F	Budapest	deputy director	company management position	Finland
peHUy05	M	Budapest	teacher	engineer	Denmark
peHUy06	F	Sopron	teacher	-	Poland
peHUy07	F	Miskolc	teacher	old age pensioner	France
peHUy08	M	Szeged	doctor of medicine	doctor of medicine	Austria
peHUy09	F	Miskolc	doctor of medicine	engineer	Germany
peHUy10	F	Veszprém	bank clerk	policeman	Italy
peHUy11	F	Miskolc	economist (entrepreneur)	economist (entrepreneur)	Switzerland
peHUy12	F	Budapest	teacher	electrical engineer	Finland
peHUy13	F	Miskolc	speech therapist	dentist	Belgium
peHUy14	F	Sopron	teacher of German, Russian and history	CEO of the subsidiary of an Austrian company	Netherlands
peHUy17	M	Miskolc	doctor of medicine	chemist	France
Outgoing students					
peHUy15	M	unknown	does not work	casual jobs	Hungary
peHUy16	M	unknown	teacher of Italian	gardener	Hungary

Note: HU= interviews made by the Hungarian project team, y= youths (student interviewees), e=experts.

Souce: Own compilation

In the case of the student interviewees, some major parameters could be revealed. Most of the students described the financial conditions of the family as quite good, and most of the parents were professionals. In two cases, the exchange programme was financed from a grant, in one case, the full programme and in one case, half the programme was financed this way, while in the other cases, the trip abroad was fully financed by the parents. Before travelling abroad, seven interviewees had already had 1 - 3 week foreign education experience through their schools. The destination countries of the exchange programmes involving spending at least 3 months in the EU were the following: Germany in 3 cases, Finland, France and Italy in 2 cases, and some interviewees also travelled to Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland and Switzerland.

Investigation results for the factors determining high school student mobility

In this paper, five factors affecting high school students' mobility are analysed. Concerning the mobility decision-making, firstly, the impact of the reference environment and the role of the peers and parents, secondly, the changing network of personal relationships and thirdly, the personality development during studies abroad are covered. In addition, mention is made of the regional determination appearing in the method of choosing the destination country, and finally, the findings concerning the ideas about future studies and taking up jobs are presented.

The importance of the reference environment in mobility decision making

According to Romani (2014), individuals' conduct is affected by peer behaviour. Peers can contribute to motivating each other (Lindsay et al. 2014). Other researchers also confirm that social networks fulfil a supporting role and are important sources of some social initiatives (Bauer 2005). In the interview narratives, it can be proven that social relationships deliver this function in high school student mobility. Massey and Espana (1987) write that network connections affect the individual. In their opinion, those from whose community a lot of people go abroad are more likely to undertake mobility. If foreign mobility is popular in the individual's circle of relationships so a lot of people are engaged in it, probably the person him/herself will also consider it and

act in a similar way. Positive peer experience may also influence the selection of the destination country or even that of the destination institution particularly if they purposefully recommend the same host country. Peers currently engaged in mobility or having returned and their relationships make up the network in high school pupils' mobility that reduces fear from travelling. This social capital fulfils such a supporting role in mobility with the help of which its risks may be reduced. Sik (2011) says that 'network ties become a form of social capital on which those people can rely who would like to obtain an employment opportunity abroad. The spread of networks reduces the risks of movement.' [authors' translation] Peers were expected to be the most significant indicators in high school mobility. However, this hypothesis of ours was only partly proved. Parents and their networks play the most important role.

When in our research project, interviewees were talking about the circumstances of the decision on mobility, they first mentioned the parents, and then referred to such peers as classmates, family members (siblings) and friends, and children of parents' friends. In 1998, Bullinger and Nowak distinguished three groups of social relations. The first group is made up of primary networks organised on the micro-level. They are the networks based on personal relations, for example, relations with the family, relatives, friends, acquaintances and neighbours. Individuals are either born into these relation systems or integrate into them at their own choice. On the basis of the interview narratives, the conclusion is drawn that primary level ties have the greatest influence on students, these being the quasi parents of the decision on mobility. In the case of the 14 Hungarian students, there was only one who said that it had been his/her own decision but the example set by the family was discernible there, as well.

In Hungary, it is very rare that the idea of mobility comes from the pupils themselves; rather, the parents or the school want it and suggest it to the pupils. The parents' social status exerts both direct and indirect influence on a character in formation. The parents' sense of existential security, the level of their satisfaction with their social roles, their future prospects or the lack of such prospects, their feeling superior or inferior to others, originating in their social influence, are such effects of social origin that are transferred to the child's character through the influence of the parents' characters and general feelings. At a high school age, studying abroad is a status symbol in Hungary. Present high school

students are referred to as the 'new silent generation' as they are characterised by meeting family expectations. (Magyar Ifjúság ('Hungarian Youths) 2012, collection of studies). *'The more I see of non-formal (informal) education through AFS, the less I can see any sense in formal education at the level that it is done in my school, which is in theory an elite academic grammar school but we only practically felt this until we were selected, one out of every ten applicants. From that time on, we could only feel that it was a treadmill.'* (peHUy06) From among the Hungarian interviewees, one person underlined that it had been his/her own idea to study abroad for one year. However, later, she referred to it that there had been family examples and schoolmates who had been studying abroad. *'It was my idea to go abroad to study... I had been abroad with the school several times for shorter periods. ... And then the idea came to perhaps go abroad for a longer time. And then I searched for the possibilities, and that was how this organisation came... I know that my aunt had studied in country and so had my cousin...* (peHUy02) Being an exchange student was no novelty for this pupil. Former positive experiences contributed to her trying a higher level, a one-year exchange programme. Her conduct is characterised by a rare form of consciousness as she herself had done a search for opportunities. The following extract shows the role of the general parental influence and that of the nuclear family: *'...first, my brother/sister was an exchange student, he/she is four and a half years older than me, and he/she has also been to Austria just like me When he/she returned home, as my parents could see on him/her that his/her trip had been very successful and he/she had had a good time and profited a lot from it, it seemed that I was likely to travel there, too, but at that time, I didn't feel like going very much ... I was smaller and I was not really tuned in, but then as time passed, I became more and more tuned in and then, I was as good as looking forward to the exchange year'.* (peHUy08) Here is another example of direct influence: *'With us, this is a family tradition. Both my siblings went abroad. One of them to the United States for one year, the other one to the Netherlands. We had a good relationship with the organisation and also had good experiences. That's really all about it.'* (peHUy05) Within the family, peer relations and siblings have a special role. *'My brother/sister because we always discussed everything with him/her, because he/she also experienced it all, helped me if it was necessary, and once or twice, he/she even came to visit me.'* (peHUy08)

The indirect connection network of the families is also important, the theory of weak ties also operates so that the idea of mobility often came from such friends of the parents whose children of similar age had already been exchange students. Between the child of the parents' friends and the student, there is an indirect tie. So in this case, the student does not directly get motivation for mobility from his/her peer (child of parent's friend) because they do not necessarily know each other. Weak bonds and indirect influences are also important: *'My mother has a friend who has two daughters, and both these girls have already been abroad as exchange students with another programme and with the same organisation (YFU)...'* (peHUy03) The peers' reports had a great effect on students: *'I got the information from an acquaintance who was almost a friend and who had spent one year in Mexico with the same organisation, and then he/she told me a few things about this, what experience he/she had had.'* (peHUy09)

Secondary networks, that is, social and with this, institutional networks formed on the macro-level are also important. On the institutional level, here belong the official organisations managing exchange programmes for students like AFS, YFU or Rotary but the educational institution itself, as well. The organisations play a very strong role in mobility. *'I wanted to do something in my life in connection with languages and was thinking about schools like the bilingual ones which prepare you for this, for passing the final examination in English and for other nice things. At that time, I didn't succeed in this and half a year later I came across AFS so practically, that was how I started voluntary work. I worked for one and a half years, and after one year, I was asked what if I applied for a grant.'* (peHUy06) In some cases, some of the student's relatives had a direct connection with such an organisation: *'The whole idea of the exchange student year came from the fact that my dad had been a Rotary member for four years.'* (peHUy04) *'We personally knew the Miskolc leader of AFS.'* (peHUy11) Exchange student organisations give presentations in some high schools, informing students about the exchange opportunities: *'I first heard about AFS in the school.'* (peHUy13)

The school itself plays an important role, on the one hand, by representing a general value system, organising group trips abroad and specifically, in longer periods of study abroad. The activity and foreign connections of the educational institution also help students in getting to know the environment abroad, thus encouraging them to participate in a

3-12 month exchange programme later. *'I am from [academic grammar school, Miskolc] and our school provides and provided us with quite a lot of such opportunities for exchange student programmes and one or two week programmes. For example, we have been to Britain twice (...) and the German teachers' team also often organizes different trips abroad or other European programmes, for example, last year, we were in a journalist camp in an absolutely European environment. And this was really how this idea came ...'* (peHUy11). An incoming Spanish student interviewee says the following about the role of the school: *'...how do students go abroad from the school: the administrator advertises it on the internet and they (that is, Italian students) go.'* (peHUy15)

Tertiary ties appear between the micro- and macrolevels, often fulfilling a mediating function. These three forms of ties represent a social resource, for example, they may serve as a source of information (Laireiter 1993). The following quotation shows the combined effect of a grant provided by a company as a call, the family as primary tie and the institution. *'The idea came when I applied for a grant with Bank. Before that, I had had no information about such opportunities, not even about the grant of the Bank. It was my parents who told me about them. First, I was not even interested in it. But I went to the selection with AFS, won the grant and decided to go.'* (peHUy10) In the following case, the student also made use of a grant opportunity provided by a financial service institution: *'My father's workplace advertised the grant which I won so I could go to Italy for a year. So... it all originated from my father.'*

It is well illustrated by the following extract that impulses reinforcing each other are typical so the institution and personal connections together put the youths on this path.

'Well..., first, I heard about AFS from the school because I went abroad with this organisation, and when I first heard about it, I did not really think that I would like to be an exchange student so much or that I would be particularly interested in it but ... one of my friends had such ideas so as we were talking more and more about it, I also took a liking to it, and also so many pupils had gone abroad from the school, in the previous years, too so I thought that I would also be interested in it, and then I decided... after two or three months' thinking that I would have a go at it, too.' (peHUy13)

On the road leading to mobility and in making the final decision, the following factors or classifying criteria have been identified for Hungarian pupils: (1) The pupil undertakes to participate in half a year or yearlong mobility due to the parents' intention or suggestion. (2) The first 'push' and the idea to participate in mobility are given by the school. (3) Friends also play a role in making the decision. It is not easy to make the decision on mobility, and in the case of most pupils, it is the result of a longer process. In the families where there are no financial obstacles to the implementation of the exchange student programme, the decision is made relatively quickly. In the families which cannot finance such a programme on their own and should look for grant opportunities, the decision leading to mobility will also be a longer process because there is more uncertainty on the way. The opinion formulated by experts and researchers is that the boosting of and financial support for one month exchanges organised by schools would enhance the pupils' mobility potential. At this age, the family and the school as an institution determine pupils' behaviour, and provide and facilitate the mobility process in Hungary.

Exchange students' connections during the programme and changes after returning home

IT developments make it possible for the students to keep contact with those at home while they are studying abroad and returning home does not cut any ties built out abroad. This reinforces the base of the abovementioned system of circular migration. Youths mentioned several times that during their future studies, they would even undertake studies in another institution several times, furthermore, at this point, they underlined: they were also actively considering taking up short-term jobs abroad. We will return to details about this later in the paper. In the half-structured interviews, some leading questions were also asked concerning the pupils' personal relationship network. By relationships, connections with both such persons and institutions were meant who/which have an effect on the pupil before and during the programme. The question was asked how their network of ties relevant during mobility had changed after they returned home, and whether it had weakened or rather become stronger. We asked the pupils for this in a visualised form, shown in a map of ties.

In exchange student mobility, an interesting research field is keeping contact with those at home. In Hungary, larger exchange student organisations carefully prepare pupils for the exchange all the time, telling them what they can expect and giving them the 'rules' of keeping contact with those at home. Interviewees reported that they had intentionally reduced the frequency of entering into contact with their parents and friends at home saying that the organisation had suggested that they should concentrate on their lives abroad so as not to be homesick and be able to give maximum concentration to integrating in the community abroad. During the exchange year, it is typical that keeping contact with those at home is reduced. As a consequence, it may happen that some friendships cease to exist. There were students who had not contacted friends at home at all. *'Because I went abroad, in the first place, to try to start a new (.) life, so to say. As I am now an exchange student, I am not concerned with what is at home. So I talked with my parents very rarely. But I did not talk too much with my friends, either. I chatted with them on Facebook. It was generally so that it was always them who wrote to me so I did not want to contact friends at home. They knew this as we had agreed on it that it would be so. I was writing a blog all through the year. (...) if anybody had any questions, I redirected them to the link so that they could see what was happening with me at the time. So it was not the case that I would have written about what was happening to me on that day to each of my friends one by one. I wrote the blog, and ...'* (peHUy03) *'OK. To this, I would evidently say that during this year, my Hungarian friends and my own family, my biological family got much farther away from me. So, I as good as was NOT with them. I talked with my parents about every three weeks or every month on skype because it is not about that. So you cannot go abroad for a year if you are concerned with the problems AT HOME, what about the family and friends. So very rarely. With my friends, only occasionally while I was away. With my family.'* (peHUy05) *'There were people with whom I kept no contact at all but it was fluctuating. There were periods when I was rather focussed on them but at other times, I was more focussed on my exchange year but in general, I talked at least a little with everyone during the year.'* (peHUy06) Several pupils reported that after returning home, their former connections had got weaker or their circle of friends had changed. *' 15-20 people, not close connections, there were 4-5 close ones. As for my wider circle of friends, or rather acquaintances, I kept contact with them at the beginning but*

then not at all. By now, it has faded away. Of those 5 people, three have remained.' (peHUy03)

It may differ from one exchange student to the other how their relationship changes with the peers they get to know abroad after they return home. Some exchange students reported regular contact-keeping and mentioned that they visited each other annually or once in every few years. *'My friends abroad. So I distinguished those who were locals or Danish. Among them, there are three who have already visited me in Hungary. (...) I have been at their place this summer.'* (peHUy05) The majority of the interviewees said that they had managed to establish a good relationship with the host family, and they had visited each other since the end of the programme. *'It was so that they visited me after two years. My host sister/brother has already been here twice, my host parents once, and I was also able to visit them last summer.'* (peHUy05)

As one interviewee said, the best friendship she had made abroad was only due to the similar life situation: they had had the same problems, had known each other's conditions and had always shared their foreign experiences with each other. *'I have put Calissa here. During the exchange year, I became very good friends with her. She became my best friend, I may say. It took me an hour to get to her place but we met whenever we could. I owed her an immense lot. She was the one I could tell about everything. Nowadays, we cannot often chat because of the time zone difference, and she is also a graduating student. At the beginning, we talked on skype every month and chatted several times but now we say a few words once a month. At Christmas, we sent presents to each other. Now, it is totally different. When we are there, we have a shared life. But now, she has her own home concerns which I don't know about. And so do I. In this respect, it is much more difficult to maintain relations.'* (peHUy04) *„We talk with the other AFS exchange students, as well, now, we want to organise – it was almost 5 years ago that I was abroad –, a huge party somewhere, where everybody can gather, probably, we will manage.'* (peHUy14) Distance may be an obstacle to contact-keeping. *'I had a very good friend from BRAZIL, but I could not keep contact with him, either, and it is difficult geometrically to go there or visit him. So these things fade away after some time. (...)'* There was that one Brazilian guy, and we were on very good terms. The connection simply died away because there is no chance for me to travel there and visit him.' (peHUy05) Local students with a mobility history are more informal with incoming students. For the students arriving in Hungary,

our country is just the manieth on the preference list. They experience mobility itself as a natural process. They notice the 'cheapness' of the country. They have an interesting relationship with their host families. They see Hungarian family bonds as quite strong and consider parents to be stricter.

Thus, youths enter new relationships easily and these relationships seem to be relatively long-lasting. They think of them as such benefits from the period spent abroad that may later be activised for the sake of their personal careers, as well.

On personality development including the strengthening of the sense of national identity

It is well-known and typical of Europe that the process of young people getting detached is a protracted one with 'Mummy hotel' and 'Dad bank', often considered to be abnormal. It is a complex phenomenon specifically ranging from the transformation of the role of the family to social and sociocultural changes that can be accounted for with reference to post-crisis hardships in the labour market and the spread of the internet and smartphones. Its consequences, however, can already be perceived nowadays: young people have children later, the number of children is decreasing and consequently, the social division of labour is upset. Those who entered the labour market in the period after 2008 had to face narrowed job opportunities due to the crisis. This does not fit with the self-fulfilment and career building expectations aggressively set for them, which causes enormous stress to the youths.

In our research, every student and expert interviewee asked mentioned what a role studies abroad play in personality development and in getting detached from the family. During the exchange programmes, the development that takes place in the pupils' personality is of decisive importance. Many spoke about becoming much more independent and reported that it had been good for them 'that they had been left to themselves' for a longer period of time. *'I have become more self-confident. I have reconsidered my relationship with other people.'* (peHUy05) Bachner (2009) also did research involving exchange students, and most of those involved in the research underlined the positive change in their personalities, irrespective of nationality, or the decade or length of being an exchange student. *'The most useful thing was that I felt totally independent again. I did not feel that I depended on*

my family. Or not so much this but rather the awareness that even if I had had problems, I could not have relied on them as I was living in a completely different place. So I felt more independent. I would say that my self-confidence also grew.' (peHUy12) As their reports indicate, these changes have made them treat other people as individuals instead of generalising about them. Pupils' personalities, behaviour and their way of thinking about their lives and future plans may change after experiencing life abroad. They become much more serious and responsible during the mobility period: *'...it gives you a kind of self-confidence. So if you can survive in a foreign environment for one year and can build yourself up there (.) it gives you (.) a feeling of confidence. So if I am put out anywhere in the world, I'll know my way about.'* (peHUy05) For Hungarian pupils, the mobility period may also be interpreted as the process of becoming an adult as they become independent much sooner than those peers who have not participated in exchange student programmes. Here, the process of becoming an adult may be interpreted in a sociological and psychological sense. In addition to age, the specific life events building on each other take the youths closer to becoming an adult not only legally but also in the eye of the society and in his/her own eyes. *'I feel it very useful that I became much more serious and independent during that one year. There was one week when I was alone at home. (that is, in the host family's home during the study period abroad) When I was in Hungary, I simply couldn't have imagined cooking or washing for myself. There were occasions when I was asked to cook for them or when I myself had to wash my dirty clothes or arrange the telephone bill or the bank card. Since I got home, I have been trying to manage these things alone at home, as well.'* (peHUy04)

Becoming an adult is an inner individualistic and psychological process supported by education abroad as a life event. During mobility, personality development can also be perceived in the fact that these students become more open, make friends more easily and become more brave. *'I have become much more patient. (.) But I cannot list so many things. I don't know what I was like long ago, only my family knows that. I have become very patient and accepting.'* (peHUy03) The change in students' personalities also affects their future plans. *'It was there that I realized what I really would like to deal with and achieve in life. I think I became an adult there, well, not really an adult, but it helped me with starting my independent life at the university. So it really prepared me for life.'* (peHUy11) It is typical of Hungarian students that they think

that the mobility programme has brought about a lasting and positive change in their personalities. In addition to the many concrete benefits of exchange programmes (e.g. a spectacular development of foreign language knowledge, getting experience abroad), they also consider personality development important and emphasize it in comparison with such peers who have not participated in mobility programmes. During the mobility period, the students did not necessarily feel that they were undergoing a change but after they returned home and recalled the period spent abroad after a longer or shorter period of time, they evaluated their own personalities from another perspective, and mentioned this effect almost as the first thing. They have become much stronger mentally, more independent and self-confident. Special literature links becoming an adult to a certain age, life event and psychological change. But there may be a difference in time, in different societies and in social groups concerning which specific events are important and what their relation to one another is (Logan et al. 1992; Settersten et al. 2005). For the age group of 16-20 years, in the student years investigated, these are usually identified as individualisation, starting a family and taking up the first job. Our investigations indicate that foreign education also belongs here as it helps with becoming an adult. It transforms the youths participating in it into an individual who can handle future life situations better and can contribute to the competitiveness of the nation as a member of society. One of the experts illustrates it with his own example why he considers education abroad so useful. *'As I left the country when I was 16 and I realized from this age what opportunities this provided,...that I could freely go anywhere at any time crossing borders, and probably take up jobs later or apply for admission to a foreign university... .. And of course, this supplied me with a wide language knowledge, as well, because nobody spoke Hungarian abroad so English was the evident common language. Each exchange student learnt English very well there and also Finnish. I returned home with an advanced level knowledge of Finnish and that is why I am really in demand now because very few people know Finnish so this plays a great role in student mobility in any case that they acquire a language knowledge and the gate of Europe opens to them.'* (peHUe02) The international dimension also appears in their lives. At the end of almost every interview, the pupils expressed their desire to maintain international relations while making a career in Hungary in the future.

On the method of selecting the destination country and its regional determination

In our primary research, an answer was also sought to the question how either outgoing Hungarian or incoming foreign students select the destination country. The most informative answers were yielded by the expert interviews as experts work as the Hungarian representatives of one of the exchange student organisations so they see the programmes from a global perspective and have been having an insight into the foreign education experiences of several hundred students for years.

Typically, students do not select the destination country consciously. Most decisive factors are the language, the richness of the destination country, the simplicity of administration and the opportunities presenting themselves. Our research question was directed at mobility within Europe but the fact that every expert underlined could not be left out of consideration here, *'Hungarian children most like going to the US and in Hungary, we have the greatest number of exchange students from different exotic countries and from Turkey'* (peHUe01). It is much easier to find placement in a country from which we ourselves also receive students. Many times, complicated administration also deters students from going to faraway countries. *'It is possible to go to the US, China or South America, too, but it is evidently easier to travel to the European Union. There are no borders, you need not arrange for a visa, and it is also easier to arrange for insurance.'* (peHUy17). According to the staff member of an exchange student organisation, in their country, half of the pupils come from Europe and a significant number are Germans. *'If we project this rate, approximately how many students are from Europe? How many of these 116? ... More than half of them are Europeans.....Most of them are Germans, there is one Finnish student, there are a lot of Italians and there is one Polish girl.'* (peHUe02)

During the application process, the most decisive factor in selecting the host country is the language learning motivation. The student who had gone to the French speaking part of Belgium said the following: *'I was studying French in the school so with my parents, we thought that it would help me with language learning if I spent 3 months there.'* (peHUy07) With mobility, one of the students' most important objectives was to improve their knowledge in the languages they were learning so they went abroad hoping that they would acquire the foreign language at an appropriate level. As for Europe, popular destinations of

student mobility are the English and German speaking regions. 'English is the obvious language everywhere but evidently those who go to a German speaking area also learn German.' (peHUe02)

However, there is also a fashion or language learning habit factor in selecting the destination country as one of our experts put it. „I know that there is a lot of fluctuation in this, in many cases, not even we are aware of the reasons or which European destination country is most popular currently as, for example, I believe that three years ago, France was very popular ... now it is less so. Earlier, Italy was also popular, let's say, about four years ago but now we have few applicants for it. Or rather, we can see that the German speaking territory is very strong again, families take great interest in it. it somewhat seems as if Spanish, Italian and southern languages were pushed into the background and again Germany and the English speaking territory became important yes, something has just come to my mind ... Scandinavian regions have always been popular. So this is unbroken and there we have few places anyway so it causes no problem to fill them up ...' (peHUe01).

Every interviewee underlined the importance of language. The following pupil responses can be said to be typical. 'I wanted to go abroad to learn a language and get to know a new school system. I was studying French so that was why I went to France, my objective being to learn French.' (peHUy01) 'I chose Switzerland because I wanted to improve my German at all costs because at that time, I already had the advanced level language proficiency certificate in English. I thought that I would learn French in the school so I considered German much more important. And another reason for choosing Switzerland was that I thought I could practise the other languages there, too.' (peHUy11)

The reason for the intention to study foreign languages abroad may be the insufficient language education in the home institution. This is true for the following case where the primary motivation for mobility was language learning, too: '...I think Italian schools do not prepare students properly in foreign languages. This is very bad. We must go abroad, where we can speak and study English because what we learn at school is not enough. I think it (language teaching) is better in Hungary. (peHUy16) The selection of the destination country may also be related to future study plans as is shown by the following quotation. 'In the end, I decided on Germany because I had been studying German before so I already had intermediate level knowledge but I would like to go on to higher education in a German speaking country so I thought I

would improve my German. I have just submitted my application, the entrance exam is in summer. I have applied for studying medicine in Austria.' (peHUy02)

Which destination countries are selected by the pupil may be affected by the personal experience of former exchange students so the role of peers is present in the mobility decision. *'...for example, it also affects the choice of the destination country where our volunteers come back from. We are an organisation operating on a voluntary basis, and many of our students who have returned work as volunteers, they give presentations in schools (with recruitment purposes). They personally meet potential outgoing students and we have the experience that their own personal experience becomes decisive later. Recently, for example, there has been a student who returned from Russia, and he talked a lot about it in town, where he lives and the following year we had five students travelling to Russia from that place. So these personal experiences absolutely have an effect if the student remains in our system later and remains active, too. So we also experience such waves. This year, there is nobody going to Russia because it has not been promoted this year although there would have been places.'* (peHUe01)

To sum up, it can be stated about the choice of the destination country that parental influence is fading and primary considerations are the languages spoken in the area and through this, the school as a language teaching environment, future plans and the reference group which may be interpreted as a kind of fad, as well.

On future plans for studying and taking up jobs

It is a well-known fact that questionnaire surveys investigating the migration potential affecting various youths have prognosticated a frighteningly high gross willingness to emigrate (Sík, Szalai 2012; Blasko et al. 2014). Among the Hungarian adult population planning to emigrate, the largest group is made up of young people under 30 years of age so in this age group, every second person, that is, almost half of those of 18-29 years of age are contemplating going abroad. In the elite academic grammar schools in the capital, the proportion of youths planning to go on to higher education abroad has, for example, multiplied, there is such an academic grammar school where in 2013, every third student sent their application forms to some Austrian, Danish, German, British or American university (Czibere, Rácz 2016). Our

assumption was that studying in a foreign institution during the high school years is a predisposing factor in case of migration plans. However, according to our experience, those students who have already studied abroad for a longer time would rather take up a job in Hungary in the long run, and in the short run, can only imagine taking part in credit mobility.

The majority of the exchange students involved in the research had foreign experience minimum once for a longer period, and by now, at least one year has passed since they returned home. They talked about their future plans with this background: would they like to leave the country again, if yes, in what form, and where would they like to work and start a family in the future. As a whole, Hungarian exchange students gave a positive assessment of their stay abroad but most of them imagine their lives in Hungary. After they return home, there is a change in the students' opinion about studying and working abroad, and their plans prior to mobility undergo a change in many cases. In an environment different from the Hungarian one, they are forced to cope with special difficulties, they reconsider their home conditions and their national identity becomes stronger. They recognise the obstacle that they cannot really feel at home abroad because the people there look at them as foreigners: *'..before I left the country, I would rather have gone abroad to study and work. Now that I have returned home after having an insight into the whole life abroad, I would not really like to live away from here. I would rather stay in the country. The truth is that it is difficult there because it is only good – at least for me – if I know how long it will last. I am searching for a university programme as I would like to spend a semester there on a grant in any case but I would not like to work there. (...) I have had insight into a system and a world: basically, I always felt that they were looking at me as if they were saying: but still, you are not German. This may sound strange but you felt that you were not accepted so much that they would regard you as one of them. If you already work there, you feel even more that you are a foreigner here. The other thing is that I don't know (...) this homesickness problem was quite hard for me, and I wouldn't undertake it just because of this because I think living there for years (...) May be yes if fate ordains but if I had to decide now, then no or only for a definite short period of time.'* (peHUy09)

The students saw that foreign experience had several advantages so they rather regard participation in an exchange programme as a tool, an episode in their lives and they can only imagine staying abroad as a

temporary state: *'During the university years, I would gladly go somewhere else but otherwise, I don't know, now that I have been abroad for a year, this has quelled the desire that I would like to live abroad so I definitely would like to live at home in Hungary. Well, this is what I am saying now but who knows what the case will be in a few years but right now I imagine myself and my life at home. After I returned home, it was a very good feeling to be at home, and this stay abroad has been completely enough. The other thing is that one year is very long without the home stuff. Without the family, my friends here and without the familiar environment.'* (peHUy09)

Analysing the question of mobility with the purpose of taking up jobs, it is seen that the majority of exchange students do not primarily want to take up a job abroad but do not exclude the possibility of working abroad in the future, either.: *'well, for the time being I am studying at home. I could do it abroad, as well, it is free there, too. For the time being, I am at home. Some time, I should like to go abroad for one or two years. But I am not yet sure about this. It depends on the work conditions here at home. I SHOULD LIKE to be at home.'* (peHUy05) Another student stated: *'I'd like to finish my university studies in Hungary. I have just started, I am in the first year. ... I don't want to go anywhere else to study because I am going to graduate here, and I would not like to pursue further studies after it. So I am going to take up a job in any case. I will be a PE coach and an adapted physical education teacher. I can speak both English and German so it may be either Austria or Germany. We'll see ...'* (peHUy03)

The majority of exchange students would try it abroad again in the short run. The majority of the interviewees mentioned that they would gladly take part in credit mobility during the university years, as well, but they did not exclude the possibility of pursuing further studies abroad, either. So it can be concluded that education mobility during high school years may be identified as the prelude to future university student mobility. *'I would very much like to get to know foreign cultures. Where would I like to live (...) well, probably in Hungary but I am actively considering probably living abroad, unfortunately. At present, I am in the second year. (...) It often occurs to me what if I went abroad to study, I have looked at Dutch universities. But there is always a point, for example, now, I have made very good friends at the university. It is a difficult step but I will take it, of course. For example, I want to go abroad with Erasmus but I don't know yet where. Now, I have applied*

for one year voluntary work in Norway so probably I will attend university there, I am still thinking. I may do it in the way that I will finish the bachelor's programme here, and will continue with the master's somewhere else.' (peHUy14)

'When I was still abroad, I thought that I would very much like to go on to higher education abroad. But now I am more and more of the opinion that I am going to stay here... I am taking the school leaving exam next year, now I think I will go on to the Budapest College of Economics to study economics and management or maybe to Corvinus University. But I have one more year to think about this, and probably, I will decide to submit my application for admission to a foreign university, as well.' (peHUy04). Three of the 14 Hungarian exchange students have already expressed their firm intention to go on to higher education abroad after passing the school leaving examination – and two of them have already taken steps for it. *'Well, the entrance exam to the Faculty of Medicine will be in July here in Vienna I should like to pass it and then study here in Vienna to become a general practitioner, and then start work here.'* (peHUy08) As a consequence of degree mobility covering a whole programme, youths always speak about a career abroad. This is supported by our further investigations with higher education students as the target group.

It can be concluded that the multinational environment exerts an influence on the majority of youths experiencing exchange student mobility in the direction that in the future, they would like to participate in foreign mobility again. There is great variety concerning whether this will happen with the purpose of studying or taking up a job but it is rather for short term. Each of the interviewees plans at least credit mobility. High school pupils and first or second year university students cannot yet make decisions about working abroad, this is an early question for them but only a few of them have excluded the possibility. On the whole, many of the interviewees clearly do not consider a long term career abroad but can rather imagine living their lives at home.

Summary and proposals

With the progress of globalisation, there are more rapid information flows and people have become better informed. At present, a lot of students go abroad for a longer or shorter period to do sports or with groups organised by the schools or to summer camps. Relatively fewer

Hungarian students study abroad for a longer (half a year or one year) period of time. Hungarian students' mobility is strongly determined by their social and economic situation. Studying abroad is a parental expectation and is also part of the educational programme of elite schools. Sometimes, there are also underlying unsolved family problems. Youths do not choose the destination country consciously but decisive factors are the use of opportunities, fashion or their peers' influence. During their study abroad, their Hungarian identity is strengthened, they become detached from their parents and start an independent life earlier than their peers.

The new language that they may have acquired affects their later career choice. Keeping contact with host parents and foreign friends is typical later, too. High school mobility predicts degree and credit mobility during the university years but as the interviews testify, students plan a life in Hungary. The Hungarian high school student is not or is very rarely conscious in deciding on mobility and selecting the place. Their foreign mobility is mostly motivated by the family and the educational institution. The actual trip is started by the recruiting of the organising institutions. Typical Hungarian high school students studying abroad are mostly the students of elite schools and children of highly qualified, rich parents. Typically, talented and better-off students become exchange students for a year. Exchange programmes are basically self-financed. With some organisations, it is possible to apply for a grant, but these grants are not used by those in real financial need as studying abroad is not an option for them. Money is a major obstacle to mobility as under Hungarian conditions, a programme has high costs. Therefore, children from families in lower social layers cannot make use of the opportunity to study abroad in many cases. In Hungary, participation in exchange programmes is not at all typical among high school students so because of this, interviewees were more difficult to find and this is a less investigated field in relevant literature. It can be observed that Hungarian students studying abroad have really good language knowledge and exchange students typically come from schools where foreign languages are taught in a higher number of classes, or students are taught in a foreign language, or they go to bilingual schools.

After returning home, Hungarian students report a significant change in their personalities. Mobility is a part of their lives often promoting the process of becoming an adult. In the experts' opinion, short-term group mobility is the most useful as it helps with studying languages and

getting to know the foreign culture but alleviates the problem of breaking away. It shows the family-centred character of Hungarian students that they evaluate the host families very positively in their interviews, most highlighting this relationship among all the others. In general, they are on good terms with local students, too and can integrate into the school. High school student mobility is the prelude to a subsequent degree or credit mobility. As the students say, high school mobility does not forecast working abroad. Youths feel alien abroad for good therefore taking up a job in Hungary becomes more valuable for them.

On the whole, in our opinion, the following both affect student mobility and appear as its consequences:

- education systems, career paths,
- the extent, source and institutions of the information available,
- migration chains (willingness to participate in mobility, ethnic ties, beaten track)
- the cost of spatial possibilities
- every element that has an effect on personality development.

As the results of our research indicate, the basis of high-school mobility is the family, the economic conditions, the educational system as institutional background while its consequences include a change in career plans and the strengthening of the personality which are self-feeding and the processes reinforce each other even more.

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