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Youngsters' Partnership Behaviour in the Carpathian Basin¹



ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present the social and demographic characteristics of partnership types among the group of youngsters beyond the borders of Hungary. We also analyze the relationship between partnership status and basic socio-demographic variables, to explore to what extent partnership status is determined by the aforementioned factors (cohort, region/location, social background, education, value orientation). The analysis is based on empirical survey data, collected in 2015. The target group of the research was ethnic Hungarian youth, aged between 15–29, who live beyond the borders of Hungary. As for methodology, descriptive statistics and multivariate analyses are used, more precisely logistic regressions in order to explain the effects of social determinants of partnership behavior. Explanatory models were usually carried out in three steps, including independent variables as the social-demographic ones, as well as education background of fathers and educational level of respondents. Factors measuring value orientation were introduced in the second step, and the final models incorporates variables such as parenting status and the parents' national identity referring to mixed or homogenous family background.

According to our analysis partnership status is strongly determined by domicile type, age, gender and value system. Subcarpathian youngsters tend to be the most traditional, while post-modern partnership formation trends are most adopted by youngsters from Southern Slovakia. Older cohorts and women are more likely to live in cohabitation or marriage. However, religiosity and having children significantly raises the chance of living in marriage, cohabitation is more likely determined by career oriented values and provenience from ethnically mixed families.²

KEYWORDS

youngsters, partnership behaviour, cohabitation, values, Hungarian youth

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² Ethnically mixed union of parents.

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The pluralization of family forms and relationships gained special attention in demographic analyses and sociology of family in Western Europe from the 1970s, while in the Eastern European region mostly after the political transition. Behind the diversity of family and relationship forms are the socio-economic changes and social transformations of the past decades, which have influenced the family sphere and people's lifestyles in general. Changes in social and economic conditions have not left the family untouched, in fact, in late modern societies the family is the area where these effects are manifested (see BECK 2003).

The consequences of modern social realignment can be demonstrated in the changed functions and forms of the family; for instance, the role of the family in economic production has largely faded into the background (ANDORKA 2006, UTASI 2002). Extended families with shared property have been replaced by the nuclear family model and individual career strategies based on independent income. Norms and the (economic) interests of the family exercise less and less influence on individual desires and values, and the surfacing of these has enabled the burgeoning of 'new'³ forms of living together.

Nowadays, the majority of young people in their twenties are still students, who has self-realization goals or simply founding their career. Relatively few of them are married, and they plan having their first child much later than the previous generations, so some of the important life events related to family are postponed to life stages beyond the classic period of youth (MAKAY–DOMOKOS 2018).

1. CHANGES IN PARTNERSHIP BEHAVIOUR: THE RISE OF COHABITERS

A widespread view related to the theory of the second demographic transition is that changes in couple behavior are the imprints of dominant social values and their changes. According to Dirk VAN DE KAA's (1987) much-debated theory formed in the 1980s, the higher appreciation of individualization leads to the devaluation of marriage, replaced by the much more casual relationship form of cohabitation. This theory has mostly been criticized for its generalizations and North-Western-Europe-centrism, and indeed we can hardly state that in any countries of Central and Eastern Europe cohabitation would have replaced marriage. What could be observed is rather a slow rearrangement in family formation, the intensity of which may vary according to country,

³ HARCSA 2014. claims that this is not so much the spreading of new family forms but formerly peripheral models becoming more mainstream.

age group, gender and social strata (POTÁRCĂ–MILLS–LESNARD 2013). When examining couples' relationship formation, especially less widespread ones, it might be an interesting question which social groups are the primary 'rule models'. Young people play an important role here, as they are usually at the forefront of social changes. There are differences among European countries as to which social layers became the so-called models for the burgeoning of cohabitation. Experts have raised several hypotheses; one of these, mostly applicable to the Scandinavian region, is that cohabitation is most widespread among highly educated intellectuals and the middle-class, as well as among students (SPÉDER 2005, SOMLAI 2013). In Eastern Europe, specifically in Romania and Hungary, cohabitation was first present among the socially disadvantaged strata (SPÉDER 2005, MUREȘAN 2008). Hungarian studies of the late 1990s and early 2000s have demonstrated that while cohabitation as a relationship form is present in all layers of society, albeit to a differing extent, childbearing within cohabitation is mostly typical among those with lower education (S. MOLNÁR – PONGRÁCZ 1998, SPÉDER 2004). PONGRÁCZ–SPÉDER (2003) in their analysis of cohabiting couples, makes a difference between 'new type' and 'old type' cohabitation. The former is usually considered a prelude to marriage or an alternative to marriage (see HEUVELINE–TIMBERLAKE 2004), practiced mostly by unmarried people. Old type cohabitation refers to divorced or widowed people who cohabit after a marriage; formerly this was more common and socially more accepted. MURINKÓ–ROHR (2018) has also pointed out that, besides the growing number of cohabiting couples in Hungary, the social composition of people choosing this family form has also changed. The Hungarian microcensus of 2016 has demonstrated that the majority of cohabiters are officially single, aged between 30 and 40, who choose cohabitation as an alternative to marriage (MURINKÓ–ROHR 2018. 21). The result is remarkable, because in Hungary this relationship type has increased mostly among the youth in the 2000s (PONGRÁCZ–SPÉDER 2003).

2. DATA

In this study we rely on the secondary analysis of two data surveys. One is the first large-scale youth study⁴ of ethnic Hungarians of the neighboring countries of Hungary, the database created in the MOZAIK 2001 research project. The second one is the GeneZYs 2015 youth sociology research, a data collection modeled on the earlier survey. In the MOZAIK 2001 research 6480, in GeneZYs 2015 2700 young people were surveyed in the four larger regions inhabited by Hungarians but falling outside the present borders of Hungary.⁵ Both research projects⁶ are representative of Hungarian minority youth aged 15–29 living in the neighboring countries of Hungary. In the frame of GeneZYs 2015 research personal interviews were made with 1000 young people in Transylvania (Romania), 700 in Southern Slovakia, and 500 in Vojvodina (Serbia) and Subcarpathia (Ukraine) each, on questions related to marital situation, social background and education, labor market situation, value system, religion, politics, civic attitudes, and migration willingness. Data collection took place at the same time and with the same methodology in the four regions.

⁴ On the past and present of youth studies and the results of the 2015 survey, see: PAPP Z. 2017.

⁵ These were: Southern Slovakia, Subcarpathia/Ukraine, Vojvodina/Serbia and Transylvania/Romania.

⁶ Youngsters were asked with a questionnaire based survey. The sample of respondents is representative within the individual regions in terms of area, type of settlement, age and gender.

3. RESULTS

In our study we mostly analyze partnership formation of youth aged 15–29, the sociological characteristics and values of those who are single and those who live in a relationship on the basis of questionnaire data from the GeneZYs 2015 youth study. In some cases, we also refer to the 2001 data for comparison. In the second part of this paper we try to explore to what extent can socio-demographic and value-related factors explain whether someone is in a relationship, and if so, what type have chosen: a relationship where partners are not living together, non-marital cohabitation or marriage.

Usually, the official marital status composition of a given society is divided to single/unmarried, married, divorced and widowed. For the past few years in several countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Hungary and Romania, it is possible to indicate on census data that the respondent lives in a cohabiting relationship. This methodological possibility exists independently of whether the given country legally recognizes cohabitation. The basic division is between two large parts of the population: those permanently without a partner, and those officially living with a partner. However, the categorization of marital status is far more complex than it first seems, as in practice the group of single people, that of divorced and of widowed people, and even that of officially married people all have very heterogeneous subgroups. Single people may live permanently alone, out of their own decision or as the result of circumstances, as widowed, may have a partner for a certain period of their lives in a cohabiting or LAT relationship⁷ or as members of a patchwork family.⁸ The category of married people can be further divided into those living with their spouse and those living apart from them.

Though it may seem an easy task to survey the marital status of the population, and censuses attempt to register data the same way in each country and cycle for the sake of comparability, this standard cannot always be enforced in the case of questionnaires. Based on the data collected during the MOZAIK 2001 and the GeneZYs 2015 youth studies, we have detailed information about the marital status of respondents, but the individual categories do not always match. For instance, during the 2001 survey there was no differentiation within the category ‘single’ between those who had a relationship and those who did not. During the 2015 survey those with a relationship were handled separately, who formed a rather numerous subgroup within the category ‘single’ (27.4%). If we consider young people in a relationship but living separately as ‘single’, there has hardly been any change within this category among Hungarians in neighboring countries in the past 14 years. With regard to the other categories of family status, the MOZAIK 2001 survey gives a more detailed insight into the reality of relationships, as both in the case of married and divorced respondents those living apart were registered separately. The most remarkable change is that the proportion of young married people has dropped by 7.1% in the past decade and a half, but the proportion of those in unmarried cohabitation has grown to about the same extent (7.4%).

⁷ Living Apart Together; couples who have a partner but they live in different households; see KAPITÁNY 2012.

⁸ SOMLAI 2013. 160–162.

In 2001 the majority of people who were officially married but not living with their spouse were women (0.3%; N = 21). In 2001 it was registered whether divorced respondents had a new, permanent, cohabiting relationship. Due to the age characteristics of the sample this was true for very few people (0.2% of the whole sample). In 2001 the proportion of those who were divorced and lived apart was somewhat higher in the Carpathian Basin (1.1%, N = 68); in the 2015 sample the proportion of divorcees was 0.8%. In 2001 there is a gender imbalance among married people living apart, and also among divorcees. In all relationship types women are overrepresented, and the proportion of married and divorced women living apart from their (ex-)spouse – so technically single – is higher than that of men in a similar situation. Though the low numbers warrant caution, compared to earlier analyses about Hungary (UTASI 2002) we might presume that women who formerly wanted to marry live outside their married relationship by their 30s more often than men do. Remarkable gender differences can be detected in the 2015 survey of ethnic Hungarians in the neighborhoods in the categories of ‘married’ and ‘single’. There are significantly more women among those married and living in a relationship, whereas there are 18.6% more men who are single, a considerable increase also in comparison with the 2001 data. According to UTASI (2002) gender differences in the structure of relationships derive from traditional gender expectations, which propel women to get married and start a family earlier than men, whereas the latter delay commitment to steady relationships even further than before.

Marital Status	2001 (MOZAIK)			2015 (GENEZYs)			Change 2001–2015
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Unmarried (single), living alone	54,2	45,8	74,2	59,3	40,7	47,3	–
In relationship, living apart	–	–	–	44,3	55,7	27,4	–
Totally unmarried	–	–	74,2	–	–	74,7	0,5
Married, living together	35,7	64,3	21,8	38,5	61,5	14,7	–7,1
Married, living apart	14,3	85,7	0,3	–	–	–	–
Cohabited/not married living together	36,9	63,1	2,4	50,2	49,8	9,8	7,4
Divorced, living in cohabitation	28,6	71,4	0,2	–	–	–	–
Divorced, living not together	25	75	1,1	50	50	0,8	–0,3

TABLE 1 *Youngsters by marital status in 2001 and 2015 (%)* (Sources: MOZAIK 2001, GENEZYs 2015; calculations by the author)

Looking at Hungarian-inhabited regions outside Hungary as a whole, we can detect a dynamic regarding marital status and relationships: the most significant change is the 7.1% percent drop in the number of married people in the past decade and a half. The most common reason cited for the decrease in the proportion of marriages is the rise in the marrying age, which in the 2015 sample was 22.54 on the average, but changes in the value system (see: VAN DE KAA 1987) and the weakening of the normative expectation to marry also play a role. While some decades ago both young and older people had little space to form cohabiting relationships outside marriage, nowadays public opinion is more permissive towards young people, especially concerning the first long-term relationship, which in some cases is no longer a marriage but a ‘testing ground’ before marriage, a cohabiting relationship preceding or even permanently substituting marriage. Similarly, single people of 25–30 years of age are no longer regarded as ‘old lads’ or ‘spinsters’, though over a century ago especially girls who had received no ‘proposals’ by the end of their 20s ended up permanently single (ÚTASI 2002). As we have mentioned in the introduction, as a consequence of socio-economic changes in the past decades, the function of family has changed, the emphasis has moved. While the productive role of the family has faded into the background, its emotional functions have been amplified, and thus the lifestyle of young people has changed considerably. The fact that many young people in their 20s are still studying or plan to study further (SZÉKELY 2016) also affects partnership formation. In an earlier analysis (PAPP Z. – VITA 2018) we have pointed out that students tend to be less committed to forming partnerships, whether marriage or cohabitation, probably because of the difficulties regarding reconciliation of studies/career founding and family life. There are differences between the four analyzed countries, but we can hardly speak about family formation among the majority of those aged 15–29, as two-thirds of them are single.

In the following we shall overview changes in the proportions of single, married and cohabiting people according to regions. Examining the Hungarian-inhabited regions outside Hungary separately, we can draw three major conclusions. First, the proportion of unmarried single people has not changed considerably in the majority of these regions between the two surveys. The proportion of unmarried single people among the 15–29 age group is about two-thirds in Transylvania and Southern Slovakia, in the Subcarpathian region somewhat less (64%) and in Vojvodina somewhat more (82%), while this was the region with the highest number of single people during the previous survey too. The most radical drop in married relationships has taken place in Southern Slovakia (by more than 10%) in the past decade and a half. The decrease in the proportion of marriages is observable in all the regions of the Carpathian Basin, but this is not a unique phenomenon; there is a decreasing tendency of marrying in most European countries since the 1960s.⁹ On the other hand, cohabiting relationships are on the increase, especially in Southern Slovakia and Transylvania. In the other regions the proportion of those cohabiting without marriage is below 10%. This is a remarkable change, considering that slightly over a decade ago only about 3% of young people lived together without marriage in Transylvania, Southern Slovakia and Vojvodina, and there were hardly any cohabiting couples in the Subcarpathian region. Based on the newest youth study, Subcarpathian youth demonstrate the most traditional relationship patterns, such as a high marrying rate, marrying young, and having children at a young age, while the least ‘traditional’ relationship behavior characterizes young people in Southern Slovakia (PAPP Z. – VITA 2018).

⁹ See: [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Crude_marriage_rate_selected_years_1960-2015_\(per_1_000_persons\).png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Crude_marriage_rate_selected_years_1960-2015_(per_1_000_persons).png).

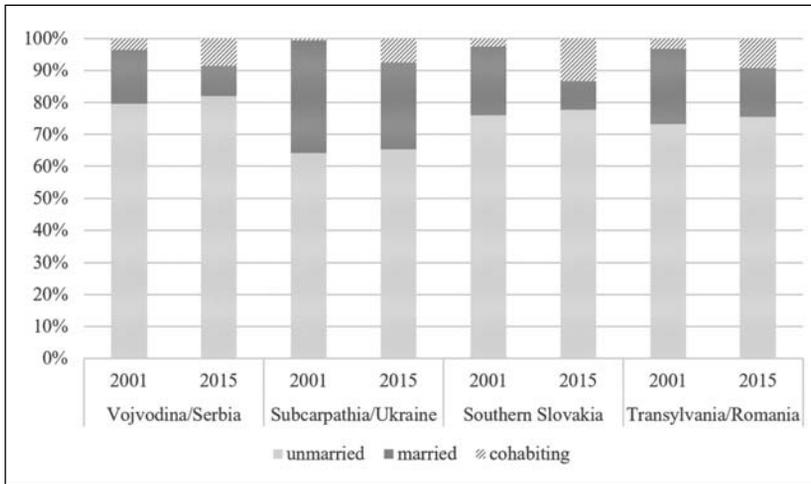


FIGURE 1 Marital status changing by regions, 2001–2015 (Sources: MOZAIK 2001, GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

4. THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTNERSHIPS

One of the important aspects of the studies describing the changes of marital status along with social characteristics is the nature of gender and territorial/settlement type discrepancies as well as locality patterns regarding the marital status of a given population group (MURINKÓ–SPÉDER 2015, RÖVID 2018). For example, according to Szalma (In TANÁCS 2019. 194–195), there are big differences between unmarried men and women referred to as singles regarding residence and educational level. While a majority of unmarried women live in urban environment and are typically well-educated, a higher proportion of unmarried men live in villages and have low level of education, therefore the two groups can hardly find each other. We found it interesting to examine this analytic aspect in our study.

There is a strong correlation between the gender and the marital status of the young adult population in the full sample. 55 percent of young men are unmarried and live without a partner, on average, while this ratio is 39 percent among young women. Among individuals living with a partner an inverse tendency is observed, according to which, typically higher proportion of women live with a partner or are married than men. This general gender-related difference shows a similar pattern in every region, with the difference that there are regions where the gender-related differences are more striking: for example, the proportion of married women is approximately 10 percentage point higher than that of married men in the Subcarpathian region and Transylvania. The same pattern is observed in Transylvania regarding the population living with a partner, where the proportion of women living with a partner is significantly higher than that of men.¹⁰

¹⁰ In the whole sample, as well as in the case of Vojvodina and Transylvania, the significance level related to the chi-squared test was lower than 0.001, in the Subcarpathian subsample lower than 0.01. In Southern Slovakia we discover no significant connection between gender and family status (chi-squared test 0.072).

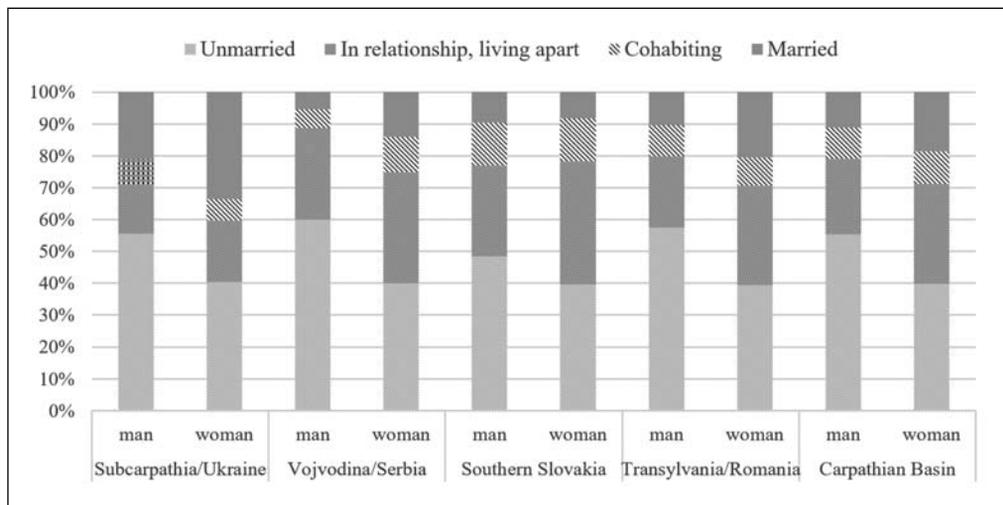


FIGURE 2 *Marital status of man and woman by regions in 2015* (Sources: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

In the Carpathian Basin the distribution of the unmarried population is roughly the same in urban and rural localities. The residence-related differences are higher among the population living with a partner, because the proportion of individuals living with a partner and that of cohabiting couples are less among the rural population. However, the number of married young people is somewhat higher in the rural areas. There is a significant correlation¹¹ between marital status and the type of residence in two regions (Southern Slovakia and Transylvania). In Southern Slovakia youngsters with rural residency are more likely to live a relationship (living apart) or be married. In this region urban residents prefer cohabitation much more than rural residents do. In comparison with this, on the one hand the proportion of individuals living without a partner among the young adult urban residents of Transylvania is slightly higher, on the other hand more significant residence-related difference exists only regarding married young people. In this case the proportion of married people is also higher among youth living in countryside than among young city dwellers. There is only a slight residence-related difference in the proportion of young adults living in a cohabitation. It is also true in the Subcarpathian region and in Vojvodina (Serbia).

On the basis of statistical analysis (*Table 2*) the residence-related differences in the distribution of the various forms of partnerships show that a higher percentage of rural young adults get married than urban young adults. This more traditional attitude towards partnership formation regarding rural and urban areas appears only in relation to marriages and, for example does not exist against non-marital cohabitation relationships – except for Southern Slovakia. It should be added that

¹¹ In case of Southern Slovakia, the significance level related to the chi-squared test was lower, than 0.05, in Transylvania 0.001 and in the whole sample < 0.001. In Subcarpathia and Vojvodina there is no significant connection between the residency and marital status (Chi-square test 0.467 respectively 0.218).

in the other regions the percentage of cohabitation relationships is below 10 percent among the young adults regardless of the type of settlement. On the one hand, this findings highlights that the willingness to marry is evidently unbroken in the rural communities, on the other hand the residence-related differences of people living in a cohabitation relationship among regions refer to the social background of these people and/or the societal acceptance of cohabiting relationships.

Regions		Marital Status			
		Unmarried	In relationship, living apart	Married	Cohabiting
Subcarpathia/ Ukraine	Rural	46,7	15,5	27,6	7,0
	Urban	47,1	20,0	23,9	7,7
	Total	46,8	16,9	26,4	7,2
Vojvodina/ Serbia	Rural	53,4	26,5	11,1	8,5
	Urban	48,0	35,3	8,4	8,4
	Total	50,2	31,7	9,5	8,4
Southern Slovakia	Rural	43,8	34,5	9,9	11,0
	Urban	43,5	29,8	5,6	20,5
	Total	43,7	33,3	8,8	13,3
Transylvania/ Romania	Rural	46,7	24,6	19,8	8,7
	Urban	50,1	28,5	10,6	9,8
	Total	48,4	26,5	15,2	9,3
Carpathian Basin	Rural	46,7	15,5	27,6	7,0
	Urban	47,1	20,0	23,9	7,7
	Total	46,8	16,9	26,4	7,2

TABLE 2 *Domicile type by marital status in 2015 (%)* (Source: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

When examining the sociological characteristics of individuals with different marital status, we should look also at the relation between the partnership formation and educational level, respectively the subjective material well-being. Educational level, marital status and the types of partnerships generally show strong correlation.¹² In the Carpathian Basin almost two-third of people who completed primary education do not live in a relationship, 18 percent of them

¹² In case of Subcarpathia, Southern-Slovakia and Transylvania the significance level of Chi-square test is < 0.001, in case of Vojvodina < 0.01.

have a relationship without living together, while the proportion of married people is 10 percent and that of people living in a non-marital cohabitation is 9 percent. In comparison with them, much more of people who completed secondary education, be it vocational or high school graduates, live with a partner. Among university or college graduates' singles and people who have a partner (living in different households) are overrepresented. However, among university graduates – compared with the population having a school-leaving certificate – the proportion of married and cohabiting couples are higher too. When comparing regions, almost one-third of young adults completed primary education live in a relationship in Vojvodina and in Southern Slovakia, while this ratio is 13 percent in the Subcarpathian region and in Transylvania. However, the region of Vojvodina and Southern Slovakia have the lowest percentage of married young adults who completed primary education; in Vojvodina and Southern Slovakia this ratio is 1 and 4 percent, respectively, it is 19 percent in the Subcarpathian region and 11 percent in Transylvania. Similar pattern is observed regarding cohabitation relationships. In the Subcarpathian region and Transylvania the proportion of young adults with low level of education who live in a cohabitation is twice as that of young adults with similar level of education in Southern Slovakia or Vojvodina. In the Subcarpathian region, generally, among young adults with the lowest level of education have the highest percentage of non-marital cohabitation relationships, contrary to Vojvodina and Southern Slovakia, where the percentage of non-marital relationships is highest among young adults with the highest level of education. In Southern Slovakia, regardless of educational level, more young adults choose to live in a cohabitation relationship than marriage. A striking difference is observed, for example in the group of respondents with a school-leaving certificate, where the number of cohabiting couples is almost twice as that of the married couples and one in every five university or college graduates live with their cohabiting partners, too. Certain elements of the second demographic transition – growing number of cohabitations and decreasing number of marriages – appear mostly among the attitude towards relationships of young adults in Southern Slovakia. Research data indicate that the reason of this, in addition to the delay of marriages, might be that cohabitation is becoming an alternative for marriage more and more in this region. In the other regions, after one of the very important events of growing up – obtaining the first qualification or a degree – more individuals choose marriage than cohabitation. Based on this, we assume that postponement of marriages is mostly behind the trend in Vojvodina and Transylvania. However, the cohabitation relationships are mainly like trial marriages. In Transylvania the ratios of non-marital cohabitation vary between 10–14 percent in the case of young adults with both the lowest or the highest level of education. In this case the U curve is not really suitable for describing the correlation between educational level and partnership formation. It seems that the number of people living in a stable relationship is not growing steadily in parallel with the increase in the levels of education (*Table 3*). Except for the Subcarpathian region, not university graduates are those who avoid partnership commitments the most; a decline is observed mainly among individuals who completed secondary education. One part of the individuals with school-leaving certificate continued their studies most probably. We may conclude that basically it is not the educational level but the continuation of studies that plays a significant role in the establishment of partnerships.

Finished education level		Marital Status			
		Unmarried	In relationship, living apart	Married	Cohabiting
Subcarpathia/ Ukraine	Elementary school	49,4	13,3	19,0	12,7
	Vocational school	75,0	25,0	0,0	0,0
	High school	45,7	16,8	31,6	4,3
	University	40,3	25,8	29,0	4,8
Vojvodina/ Serbia	Elementary school	67,4	27,0	1,1	4,5
	Vocational school	54,8	24,7	12,9	7,5
	High school	46,3	34,6	9,0	9,6
	University	35,5	36,6	16,1	11,8
Southern Slovakia	Elementary school	62,8	27,7	3,6	5,8
	Vocational school	40,5	29,8	14,0	15,7
	High school	43,0	36,3	6,8	12,7
	University	29,7	35,5	14,5	19,6
Transylvania/ Romania	Elementary school	66,6	12,5	10,5	10,5
	Vocational school	51,7	11,2	22,4	13,8
	High school	44,3	34,7	14,0	6,1
	University	32,2	38,0	18,8	10,2
Carpathian Basin	Elementary school	61,8	17,7	9,8	9,2
	Vocational school	49,1	21,9	16,3	12,4
	High school	44,7	30,6	15,8	7,8
	University	33,0	35,8	18,4	12,2

TABLE 3 Education level by marital status in 2015 (%) (Source: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

There is a close significant relationship between self-classification according to material well-being and marital status in the whole sample.¹³ At the Carpathian Basin level, 18% of young people do not face financial problems, over half of whom (53.9%) are single and a significant proportion (27.4%) are not in a relationship. The proportion of people living in relative

¹³ The Chi-squared test significance levels are the following: in the whole sample, Transylvania, Subcarpathia, < 0.001, in case of Southern-Slovakia < 0.05, in case of Vojvodina Pearson Chi-Square 0.355.

wellbeing¹⁴ decreases as we move from singles to those in a relationship and this applies to those who said they could just make ends meet out of their budgets. All in all, financially disadvantaged youth form a small group, with about 6% of people experiencing constant financial difficulties or want. Most of them live in a single or cohabiting relationship, and are followed by those in relationship, living apart. One-third of those who are materially deprived are single, and one quarter live in a cohabitation relationship. A similar pattern can be observed in Subcarpathia and Transylvania, in the context of material well-being and relationship formation. Financial stability is associated with a significantly¹⁵ higher level of commitment to the relationship and a greater willingness to marry, while financial uncertainty is associated with a lack of commitment to the relationship. It is also true for young people in the Southern Slovakia that materially favored are more likely to have a relationship (without living together) than those struggling with financial problems. On the other hand, young people in a better financial situation do not necessarily choose marriage over cohabitation in this region. (*Table 4*)

In the last part of this study we will first examine the differences and similarities in the value system of individuals living in different relationship forms and taking the question whether there are regional differences in values between married and cohabiting partners. We will also compare this data with the value system of unmarried single respondents.

In three regions (Vojvodina, Southern Slovakia, Transylvania) single young people emphasized the importance of true friendships, family, love and happiness as the most important values.¹⁶ In Subcarpathia, these three values are preceded by the desire for a peaceful, war and conflict-free world. Singles in Southern Slovakia ranked love and happiness (average value of 4.49) above the family (mean value of 4.46), but all three things were highly rated. Subcarpathian singles mentioned good relationships with people in fifth place, with a slightly lower score for cohabitants. Singles in different places ranked different things last, in the Subcarpathian region it was personal freedom and living independently, in Vojvodina an exciting life while success was rated lowest in Transylvania, yet these factors are also important, as they scored above four on a scale of one to five.

Cohabiting couples ranked love and happiness as very high factors, above 4.5 on average, but family and true friendship were also seen as important in every region. Compared to other regions, it is worth emphasizing that couples living in cohabitation in Transylvania ranked the family highest (4.71). One exception at the regional level that should be emphasized is that cohabiting young people in Subcarpathia put the importance of money on the first place (4.57). This positioning is peculiar in that money does not receive this level of priority, but it is also lower in terms of average values in other regions. Married couples in Southern Slovakia also mentioned the importance of money; it came in sixth place, with an average of 4.19. The order of value of the Subcarpathians is presumably connected with the crisis in Ukraine, the lack of money and the associated livelihood problems. At the same time, the result also highlights the fact that material factors

¹⁴ Those who said they had no financial problems or were getting by on a budget.

¹⁵ The Chi-squared test significance levels are the following: in the whole sample, Transylvania, Subcarpathia, < 0.001, in case of Southern-Slovakia < 0.05, in case of Vojvodina Pearson Chi-Square 0.355.

¹⁶ Respondents were asked to mark the importance in their lives of 26 pre-listed values on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not at all important and 5 is very important. For reasons of volume, the study only presents the first 14 most important values.

Subjective material well-being		Marital Status			
		Unmarried	In relationship, living apart	Married	Cohabiting
Subcarpathia/ Ukraine	living comfortably	55,6	13,9	25,0	5,6
	relative well, focusing on spending	46,9	17,7	28,6	4,3
	making ends meet	43,0	19,8	26,7	9,3
	having financial problems month by month	44,4	7,4	14,8	22,2
	live in material deprivation	37,5	0,0	0,0	50,0
Vojvodina/ Serbia	living comfortably	54,4	31,6	7,0	5,3
	relative well, focusing on spending	51,4	31,6	9,2	7,8
	making ends meet	42,0	34,6	11,1	12,3
	having financial problems month by month	56,5	26,1	13,0	4,3
	live in material deprivation	0,0	50,0	25,0	25,0
Southern Slovakia	living comfortably	50,0	32,9	6,8	10,3
	relative well, focusing on spending	39,8	36,8	10,4	12,8
	making ends meet	47,6	24,3	6,8	18,4
	having financial problems month by month	58,3	25,0	0,0	16,7
	live in material deprivation	33,3	33,3	33,3	0,0
Transylvania/ Romania	living comfortably	56,1	24,9	14,0	5,0
	relative well, focusing on spending	46,9	30,3	14,5	7,5
	making ends meet	37,6	21,2	22,4	17,6
	having financial problems month by month	45,9	8,1	16,2	28,4
	live in material deprivation	66,7	0,0	33,3	0,0
Carpathian Basin	living comfortably	53,9	27,4	11,7	6,7
	relative well, focusing on spending	46,1	9,5	15,4	8,1
	making ends meet	42,8	4,8	16,3	14,6
	having financial problems month by month	48,5	12,5	14,0	22,1
	live in material deprivation	38,1	14,3	19,0	23,8

TABLE 4 Subjective material categories by marital status, 2015 (%) (Source: GENEZYs 2015; calculations by the author)

are a very important to those living in cohabiting relationships facing commitment, especially in view of what was demonstrated earlier, i.e. that in Subcarpathia, cohabitation is a typical relationship form for those who are combating financial hardship. Another regional disparity in the value choices of cohabiting partners is among young people from Vojvodina, who ranked freedom (average score of 4.67) highest. We also note that among the Vojvodina cohabiting partners, the peaceful world, family and work follow after freedom, and precede self-realization. Personal freedom and living independently was among the first five factors in Transylvanian cohabiting relationships. The importance of work is prominent in the value structure of couples living together in almost all regions¹⁷ this group considers work to be the most important.

Family, love and happiness as well as true friendship were among the things that were most valued by married young people. As we can see, there is hardly any difference between the most important values stated by married and cohabiting couples. At the same time, the analysis shows that family has a higher value score on married couples' rating than on those cohabiting, with Transylvania being the one exception. A regional difference is that young people from Vojvodina, including married and cohabiting couples, have ranked freedom and the associated spontaneous life second in their lives. Differences, however, can be seen in the mean values: married young people from Vojvodina rated freedom 4.29, which was also very important for unmarried cohabiting couples.

In Subcarpathia and Southern Slovakia work is also ranked among the top five values among married people, with average scores of 4.45 and 4.35, respectively. It should be noted that faith in God is the sixth most important value for married Subcarpathian youth, immediately after work. However, faith is not so prominent in any region, even among married couples, who usually accord higher scores to traditional values. Young married people living in Transylvania mentioned appreciation as an important value in the top five. Subcarpathian married people also ranked appreciation quite prominently in ninth place, with a mean of 4.33, and preceded by more important things such as faith, good relations between people, and the Hungarian nationality background. In other regions, however, married people tended to rank appreciation more towards the middle.

Examining the structure of values, we see that there are no significant differences between the core values between married and unmarried people, the mean values demonstrate merely slight differences. There are regional differences and, accordingly, material and post-material elements appear in the value system of cohabiting couples. (*Table 5*)

Previous analyses that studied the connection between the form of the relationship and the value system, in particular religious practice, have shown that the type of relationship is not independent of the religion of the individual. PONGRÁCZ (2009), in her comparative work on the adult Hungarian population and minority Hungarians in Transylvania, found that Hungarians in Transylvania were more religious than those in Hungary. In Transylvania, people living in any kind of relationship¹⁸ typically had stronger religious ties and she observed smaller discrepancies between Transylvanian married and cohabiting couples in the proportion of those who considered themselves to be non-religious, compared to the Hungarian subset (PONGRÁCZ 2009).

¹⁷ In Subcarpathia, on average married people gave the highest scores to work (4.45), followed by cohabitants (4.35), followed by singles (4.25).

¹⁸ The study focused on comparing married and cohabiting couples.

	Unmarried		Cohabiting		Married	
Subcarpathia/Ukraine						
1	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.63	money	4.57	family (starting and having a family)	4.92
2	family (starting and having a family)	4.56	love and happiness	4.50	love and happiness	4.83
3	true friendship	4.55	family	4.47	true friendship	4.49
4	love, happiness	4.51	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.38	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.71
5	good relation with other people	4.31	work	4.35	work	4.45
6	Hungarian background	4.30	accomplish the goals you had set	4.10	religion, faith in God	4.44
7	appreciation	4.25	personal freedom	4.10	good relation with other people	4.39
8	work	4.25	good relation with other people	4.08	Hungarian background	4.33
9	religion, faith in God	4.24	appreciation	4.07	appreciation	4.33
10	self-realization	4.20	being able to get and buy what you want	4.02	money	4.17
11	morality	4.19	religion, faith in God	3.99	morality	4.17
12	always reaches the set objectives/goals	4.18	help others	3.98	accomplish the goals you had set	4.12
13	help others	4.14	self-realization	3.82	moderateness	4.10
14	freedom, life without ties	4.13	right to lead and decide	3.80	respect for traditions	4.09
Vojvodina/Serbia						
1	true friendship	4.66	love, happiness	4.87	family (starting and having a family)	4.82
2	family (starting and having a family)	4.49	personal freedom	4.67	love, happiness	4.81
3	love, happiness	4.44	true friendship	4.67	true friendship	4.62
4	personal freedom	4.39	peaceful world (without war and conflict)	4.65	peaceful world (without war and conflict)	4.50
5	self-realization	4.38	family (starting and having a family)	4.57	work	4.36
6	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.37	work	4.47	appreciation	4.35

TABLE 5 *Youngsters' value structure, 2015 (How important are the following things in your life? 1 – not important at all, 5 – very important; means)* (Source: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

	Unmarried		Cohabiting		Married	
Vojvodina/Serbia						
7	work	4.36	work	4.45	freedom, life without ties	4.29
8	accomplish the goals you had set	4.29	accomplish the goals you had set	4.36	professional excellence	4.23
9	good relation with other people	4.23	professional excellence	4.28	self-realization	4.18
10	professional excellence	4.20	good relation with other people	4.20	accomplish the goals you had set	4.16
11	appreciation	4.17	success	4.17	professional excellence	4.07
12	success	4.17	beauties of life (nature, arts)	4.16	help others	4.05
13	help others	4.08	appreciation	4.14	success	3.82
14	exiting life	4.00	help others	4.14	beauties of life (nature, arts)	3.51
Southern Slovakia						
1	true friendship	4.56	love, happiness	4.68	family	4.81
2	love, happiness	4.49	family (starting and having a family)	4.62	love, happiness	4.68
3	family (starting and having a family)	4.46	true friendship	4.43	true friendship	4.36
4	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.29	work	4.42	work	4.34
5	work	4.27	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.33	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.24
6	personal freedom	4.22	freedom, life without ties	4.22	money	4.19
7	accomplish the goals you had set	4.20	money	4.17	morality	4.10
8	self-realization	4.14	accomplish the goals you had set	4.10	good relation with other people	4.09
9	money	4.10	appreciation	4.07	freedom, life without ties	4.02
10	good relation with other people	4.09	success	4.05	accomplish the goals you had set	4.00
11	appreciation	4.07	professional excellence	4.03	success	3.99
12	professional excellence	4.04	self-realization	4.02	appreciation	3.98
13	success	4.00	morality	3.98	professional excellence	3.96
14	help others	3.89	help others	3.77	self-realization	3.94

TABLE 5 CONTINUED

	Unmarried		Cohabiting		Married	
Transylvania/Romania						
1	true friendship	4.51	family (starting and having a family)	4.71	love, happiness	4.69
2	family (starting and having a family)	4.49	love, happiness	4.67	family	4.68
3	love, happiness	4.47	true friendship	4.49	true friendship	4.42
4	good relation with other people	4.34	work	4.48	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.37
5	personal freedom	4.34	personal freedom	4.42	appreciation	4.37
6	appreciation	4.32	self-realization	4.28	work	4.36
7	self-realization	4.30	good relation with other people	4.28	good relation with other people	4.31
8	peaceful world (free of wars and conflict)	4.30	money	4.28	morality	4.22
9	professional excellence	4.28	accomplish the goals you had set	4.28	self-realization	4.22
10	work	4.25	appreciation	4.26	accomplish the goals you had set	4.22
11	accomplish the goals you had set	4.24	peaceful world	4.25	helping others	4.20
12	success	4.20	helping others	4.24	moderateness	4.18
13	morality	4.17	professional excellence	4.22	religion, faith in God	4.17
14	helping others	4.13	success	4.21	money	4.17

TABLE 5 CONTINUED

In light of the results of this earlier study we presume that relationship types, and the relationship commitment at all, is influenced by value sets such as the individuals' attitudes toward religion and church. By analyzing to what extent and how religious the individuals were, below we try to explore if there is a difference in religiosity and marital status/the type of relationship, and whether there are patterns across regions. First, we examine the extent of religious practice and then the mode of religiosity among singles, married couples and cohabiters.

Generally speaking, regardless of the partnership type, about one third of young people attend church only on religious holidays. Following this, most them go to church weekly (21.2%), monthly and yearly (17.5% and 16.2%, respectively), while those who do not attend church (who never go) form the smallest group (11.5%). After single people, those in a relationship (not living together) and married couples exercise their religion more intensively (weekly, monthly). This type of more frequent religious practice is most typical of single people and least characteristic of those living in cohabitation. On average, the proportion of the latter among those who attend church services only on religious holidays is under 10% and even lower among those who go monthly

or weekly. In fact, as the frequency of church attendance decreases, there is a slight growth in the proportion of those in a relationship (not living together) and an even more spectacular growing in the proportion of couples living outside of marriage. Compared to this, institutional religious practice manifests itself differently in the lives of married couples and singles. The more intense¹⁹ the religious practice, the greater the proportion of unmarried singles and married couples whose proportion gradually decreases as the church attendance intensity decreases.

In Transylvania and Vojvodina, the tendency is that most single people attend church services at least once a month and during major religious holidays, followed by people in a relationship, then married couples, with cohabiters attending church services the least. In Subcarpathia, married couples are more involved in frequent, institutional religious practice than those in a relationship (not living together), so they are the second “most religious” group in this regard. In Southern Slovakia, only among regularly churchgoers (on weekly bases) could be observed the predominance of singles; the differences between partnership types and religious attendance are evened out with the reduction of church attendance, e.g. among married couples and cohabiters who go to church monthly or holiday churchgoers who are single or in a relationship, suggesting that these groups demonstrate similar attitudes toward religion in Southern Slovakia. Another difference from region to region is which relationship types forms a majority among those who do not practice their religion institutionally: in Transylvania and Vojvodina, for example, people who are in a relationship, then singles, in Southern Slovakia and Subcarpathia, singles are followed immediately by those in cohabitation. Societal perception of cohabitation is also indicated by the fact that the lowest number of holiday churchgoers are the Subcarpathian cohabiters and the number of those who never attend church is highest among persons living out of wedlock here.

Taking into account the extent of institutionalized religious practice, overall, we find that a higher proportion of single or married young people experience religiousness at church services on a weekly or monthly level compared with cohabiters, and that a significant proportion of people in cohabiting relationships practically never does so. (*Figure 3*)

There is a tight connection between marital status of the young adults and how they live their religiousness. Religious bonds are affected by several socio-demographic factors like childhood socialization or age. Religious bonds get tighter when getting older. When starting a family, raising children religiosity plays an important role in the life of the parents and may strengthen their religious faith (BAHR 1970, cited by ROSTA 2012). In this paper, however, we do not deal with the issue of family formation and having children, we focus specifically on the types of partnerships. The statement above is consistent with fact that among religious people the ratio of married, who typically belong to the older generation (above 25 years old) is generally higher than the ratio of other partnership types. The ratio of young people living in accordance with church rules is the lowest, 4.5 percent, among cohabiters The proportion of those living in accordance with religious teachings and having a partner is slightly lower (27,8%) than of those who are religious in their own way (26,6%), but it shows a slight increase in the number of non-religious young adults. In the Carpathian Basin we see a rising trend starting from religious to non-religious couples in the case of those who live in a partnership or live in cohabitation which shows that among

¹⁹ Intensity here refers to the frequency of attending church services.

young adults who live in accordance with the teachings of the church these two groups represent a smaller ratio than in the group of non-religious. The trend is just the opposite among singles and married people: while the ratio of religious singles following the teachings of the church decreased from 50% to 46%, we see that the ratio of religious married who follow the church teachings (17%) also declines in the group of non-religious married couples (10%).

In line with the earlier analysis made by PONGRÁCZ (2009) we can confirm for the whole Hungarian minority youngsters, that cohabiters represent a relatively high ratio in the dimension of individual religiousness (religious in their own way) and in the group of non-religious, especially in Slovakia, Vojvodina and Transylvania.

Cohabitors in Transylvania and Slovakia are more committed to church than in the two other regions. In Vojvodina and Subcarpathia a significant part, above 80% of young adults living in cohabitation belong to the group of ‘religious in their own way’, while in Transylvania

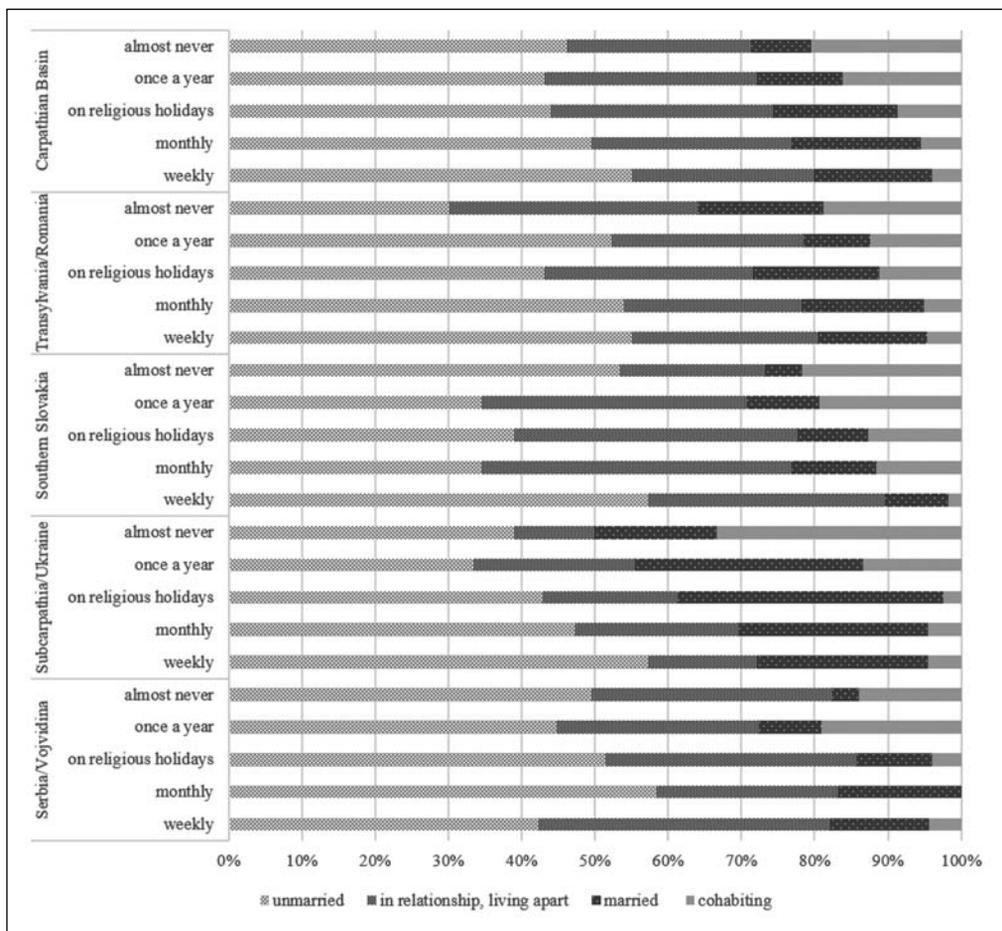


FIGURE 3 Religiosity by marital status, aggregated data, 2015 (Source: GENEZYs 2015; calculations by the author)

and in Southern Slovakia about three quarters of couples living outside a marriage say that they are religious in their own way. The regional differences in the religiousness of young cohabiters arise presumably from the acceptance of cohabitation within the regions. The stronger church's commitment among the young adults living outside of a marriage is probably due to the fact, that this kind of partnerships are less marginalized in the local societal context in Transylvania and Southern Slovakia, than in the Subcarpathian region. The high proportion of cohabiters among those religious in their own way in Subcarpathia might indicate this view. As it was stated by PONGRÁCZ (2009) earlier, the proportion of those 'religious in their own way' could be higher in the group of cohabiters – by contrast to married couples – because living outside of marriage is inconsistent with the church rules, but in a mostly religious societal context nor cohabiters can be list themselves in the group of non-religious.

In Subcarpathia, the two smallest groups of religious churchgoers are made up of cohabiters and those in a relationship, but not living together. As Subcarpathia is the most traditional community from the aspect of demographic behavior and values, the result indicates that in this region partnerships out of a marriage is the least consistent with religiousness, what the doctrines of the church order.

Religiosity		Marital Status			
		Unmarried	In relationship, living apart	Married	Cohabiting
Subcarpathia/ Ukraine	religious, in accordance with the church rules	49,0	13,7	33,3	2,0
	religious in their own way	44,9	17,4	26,2	8,7
	not religious	44,2	23,3	18,6	9,3
Vojvodina/ Serbia	religious, in accordance with the church rules	50,7	37,0	9,6	2,7
	religious in their own way	51,4	28,6	9,2	10,5
	not religious	47,1	36,8	10,3	5,7
Southern Slovakia	religious, in accordance with the church rules	52,1	35,0	6,8	5,1
	religious in their own way	40,5	34,1	9,6	14,9
	not religious	44,8	32,8	7,8	14,7
Transylvania/ Romania	religious, in accordance with the church rules	49,7	27,3	17,1	5,3
	religious in their own way	48,3	25,9	15,3	9,9
	not religious	46,4	29,8	9,5	13,1
Carpathian Basin	religious, in accordance with the church rules	50,3	27,8	16,9	4,2
	religious in their own way	46,5	26,6	15,0	10,9
	not religious	45,8	31,8	10,3	11,2

TABLE 7 *Types of religiosity by marital status, 2015 (%)* (Source: GENEZYs 2015; calculations by the author)

5. LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS RESULTS

In the final section of the study, we use explanatory logistic regression models in order to point out what factors influence the most youths' relationship status. First of all, we try to answer that in case of ethnic Hungarian minority youngsters what kind of social, demographic and value related factors explains the type of relationship they are living in: in a relationship not living together, cohabitation, or marriage. Each relationship type is explained in separated models.

Thus, in the regression models, marital status categories (dummy) are the dependent variables, and the key independents are the socio-demographic ones described above, and the variables measuring values and religiosity. As a rule, regressions were made in three steps and only the best-fit models were included in the paper.

Independent variables used in logistic regression:

1. Gender (dummy: 0 – man; 1 – woman)
2. Age group (categorical: 15–19; 20–24; 25–29)
3. Country/region (categorical: Subcarpathia/Ukraine; Vojvidina/Serbia; Southern Slovakia; Transylvania/Romania)
4. Domicile (dummy: 0 – rural; 1 – urban)
5. Student status²⁰ (categorical: studying in vocational/technical school; studying in high school; studying at university)
6. Fathers' highest level of education (categorical: low; medium; high)
7. Type of religiosity²¹ (categorical: religious, in accordance with the church rules ; religious in their own way; not religious)
8. Value system (set of values processed with factor analysis: faith and religiosity factor; altruist factor; success and career oriented factor)
9. Parents' ethnically mixed union/marriage (dummy: 0 – homogenous Hungarian; 1 – ethnically mixed)
10. Having a baby (dummy: 0 – not having a baby; 1 – having a baby)

From the aspect of relationship commitments, young people who have a relationship, but living in separate households make up the relative majority of the youth population in the sample. In the first two models, we tested the extent to which the socio-demographic and value factors described above are likely to influence this relationship type. In the first step, we only tested the effects of socio-demographic variables, and in the second step, we included variables related to religiosity and values. Based on these, the region of origin and the gender of the respondents seem to be very strong determinants of this relationship type, while student status, father's education level and the domicile, or religion do not play a significant role therein. Success and career-oriented attitudes, on the other hand has a positive influence, significantly increasing the likelihood of this type of relationship.

²⁰ Those who had a student status (were studying) when they were interweaved.

²¹ Independently of how often attend religious services what consider respondents about their own religiosity.

Independent Variables		In relationship, living apart			
		Model 1		Model 2	
		Exp. (B)	S.E.	Exp. (B)	S.E.
Gender (1, if woman)		1,894***	0,156	1,994***	0,162
Age group (ref.: 15–19 age)	20–24 age	1,212	0,239	1,260	0,245
	25–29 age	0,603	0,333	0,632	0,341
Region (ref.: Subcarpathia/Ukraine)	Vojvodina/Serbia	2,845***	0,327	2,334**	0,335
	Southern Slovakia	3,134***	0,319	3,032***	0,327
	Transylvania/Romania	2,224***	0,306	1,948*	0,311
Domicile type (1, if urban)		1,092	0,162	1,109	0,167
Student status (ref.: vocational/technical school)	high school	0,659	0,311	0,694	0,333
	university	1,630	0,340	1,681	0,364
Fathers' education level (ref.: low – 8 general at most)	middle	0,954	0,341	0,762	0,352
	high	0,954	0,368	0,825	0,379
Religiosity (ref.: religious, in accordance with the church rules)	religious in their own way			1,146	0,201
	not religious			1,473	0,293
Altruist (factor)				1,015	0,093
Success and carrier oriented (factor)				1,199**	0,092
Constant		0,114	0,522	0,000	0,558
Nagelkerke R ²		0,125		0,139	
Exp. (B)		0,482		0,494	

TABLE 8 Logistic Regression Model for explaining the ‘in relationship, living apart unions’ between 15–29 aged Hungarian minority youngsters, 2015. Dependent Variable: in a relationship, not living together (dummy; 1 – yes, 0 – all others; * $p < 0,10$, ** $p < 0,05$, *** $p < 0,01$) (Source: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

The socio-demographic variables most likely to influence cohabitation among young people such as older age, fathers' educational level and the region of origin seems to have a strong and significant effect in this case. Compared to the 15–19 age group, those in the 25–29 age group are most likely to have a partner, the children of the fathers completed primary education (maximum 8 classes) compared to fathers with secondary education, Hungarians living in Slovakia in the regional comparison, and those of urban origin are likely living in a cohabited partnership. With the completion

of education, the likelihood of cohabitation decreases: among young people, compared to those who had completed primary education (8 general classes), the graduates are less likely to have cohabitation. Success, individualization, desire for career, and desire for self-realization also increase the likelihood of cohabitation as a type of relationship, whereas religiousness significantly reduces this chance. In addition to control the above variables, two additional explanatory variables were included in the final model, one related to having a child and the other to parenting heterogeneity. The inclusion of these two variables slightly increased the explanatory power of the overall model, but at the same time reduced the effects of age, but they remained significant and the direction of the effect remained unchanged, meaning that those at a higher age have a greater chance of cohabitation. However, it is interesting that in the third model, the father's educational achievement already has a negative impact on this type of relationship, meaning that children of fathers either with secondary education or graduate are less likely to live in cohabitation than children of fathers completed primary education. This effect is reversed when we enter another independent variable, taking into consideration whether there is a child in the relationship. People with children are more likely to live in a cohabited partnership than people without children. Parents' marriages, depending on whether they are ethnically homogeneous marriage between Hungarians, or heterogamous, where one of the parties are not Hungarian, also influence the current relationship between the respondents, and those born in mixed marriages are more likely to live in a cohabited partnership than those, whose parents are of Hungarian nationality. (*Table 9*)

In the last model, we attempted to explore the sociological mechanisms likely to lead to marriage. In this respect, the two most explanatory variables are age and having a child, the 25–29 years old people far more likely to be married than those aged up to 19, and this strong effect, although somewhat reduced with the involvement of people having a child, but remains strong in all the models. Among the socio-demographic characteristics, gender significantly influence marriage, women more likely to be married than men. The direction of the effect of the regions is changing compared to the previous models. Here we continue to take the Subcarpathian region as the reference category, compared thereto in all other regions young people are less likely to marry. Regression analysis also reflects the fact that the probability of marriage is decreasing for young people from Southern Slovakia, then from Vojvodina and then from Transylvania. Otherwise, the decline in the institution of marriage is most pronounced among the youth of Southern Slovakia. Neither the level of education completed nor the qualification of the father significantly influence the formation of the marriages, however, regarding the direction of the effects, we have to note that, compared to those with primary education, graduates of vocational schools and graduates of secondary education have the greatest chance of marriage. In contrast, university education has a negative impact on married relationships. This situation will change if the model is controlled and take into consideration whether the interviewees already have children or not. Indeed, the chances of marriage are more likely among people with graduation and diploma, having a child (as opposed to those completed primary education, having no children). The ambition of success and career aspirations has a negative effect on marriage, while those who value religiosity and faith are more likely to marry. (*Table 10*)

Independent Variables		Cohabitation					
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
		Exp. (B)	S.E.	Exp. (B)	S.E.	Exp. (B)	S.E.
Gender (1, if woman)		1,165	0,144	1,203	0,156	1,038	0,162
Age group (ref.: 15–19 age)	20–24 age	13,178***	0,361	14,559***	0,426	2,888*	0,487
	25–29 age	16,109***	0,361	20,031***	0,425	3,287*	0,491
Region (ref.: Subcarpathia/Ukraine)	Vojvodina/Serbia	1,376	0,275	1,058	0,312	1,450	0,324
	Southern Slovakia	2,890***	0,246	2,256**	0,282	2,639***	0,294
	Transylvania/ Romania	1,524	0,236	1,311	0,262	1,552	0,271
Domicile type (1, if urban)		1,581**	0,153	1,385	0,168	1,472*	0,172
Educational leve (ref.: general school)	trade/ vocational school	0,640	0,258	0,707	0,277	0,664	0,284
	high school (graduate)	0,450***	0,228	0,433***	0,252	0,453**	0,265
	university	0,495**	0,253	0,496**	0,275	0,568*	0,289
Fathers' education level (ref.: low – 8 general at most)	middle	2,964***	0,444	0,474***	0,220	0,531**	0,230
	high	1,015**	0,432	0,429**	0,289	0,469*	0,297
Success and carrier oriented (factor)				1,234*	0,088	1,251*	0,091
Faith and religiosity (factor)				0,728***	0,088	0,714***	0,090
Having children (1, if yes)						2,080***	0,204
Mixed marriage (1, if yes)						1,427*	0,184
Constant		0,016	0,405	0,015	0,475	0,051	0,569
Nagelkerke R ²		0,144		0,159		0,117	
Exp. (B)		0,108		0,106		0,139	

TABLE 9 Logistic Regression Model for explaining cohabitation based unions between 15–29 aged Hungarian minority youngsters, 2015. Dependent Variable: living in cohabitation (dummy; 1 – yes, 0 – all others; * $p < 0,10$, ** $p < 0,05$, *** $p < 0,01$) (Source: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

Independent Variables		Married					
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
		Exp. (B)	S.E.	Exp. (B)	S.E.	Exp. (B)	S.E.
Gender (1, if woman)		2,477***	0,138	2,265***	0,146	1,386*	0,170
Age group (ref.: 15–19 age)	20–24 age	8,448***	0,424	,271***	0,429	2,557	0,603
	25–29 age	63,846***	0,410	62,447***	0,415	10,271***	0,597
Region (ref.: Subcarpathia/Ukraine)	Vojvodina/Serbia	0,236***	0,229	0,315***	0,259	0,488*	0,304
	Southern Slovakia	0,181***	0,215	0,241***	0,238	0,266***	0,280
	Transylvania/ Romania	0,448***	0,176	0,539***	0,187	0,759	0,220
Domicile type (1, if urban)		0,611***	0,147	0,702	0,156	0,713*	0,182
Educational level (ref.: general school)	trade/ vocational school	1,417	0,271	1,275	0,286	1,656	0,344
	high school (graduate)	1,092	0,228	0,987	0,240	1,956*	0,300
	university	0,816	0,252	0,706	0,265	1,940*	0,330
Fathers' education level (ref.: low – 8 general at most)	middle	1,021	0,206	1,065	0,216	1,418	0,259
	high	1,053	0,252	1,169	0,266	1,458	0,315
Success and carrier oriented (factor)				0,843*	0,081	0,799*	0,094
Faith and religiosity (factor)				1,591***	0,097	1,471***	0,109
Having children (1, if yes)						15,496***	0,188
Mixed marriage (1, if yes)						0,941	0,219
Constant		0,014***	0,439	0,012***	0,455	0,010***	0,671
Nagelkerke R ²		0,353		0,374		0,493	
Exp. (B)		0,167		0,172		0,229	

TABLE 10 Logistic Regression Model for explaining marriage based unions between 15–29 aged Hungarian minority youngsters, 2015. Dependent Variable: married (dummy; 1 – yes, 0 – all others; * $p < 0,10$, ** $p < 0,05$, *** $p < 0,01$) (Source: GENEZYS 2015; calculations by the author)

CONCLUSIONS

In the past two decades the partnership behaviours and as a result the models of establishing a family have changed all over Europe. One of the most significant changes are related to the rearrangements of living together. Among the ethnic minority Hungarian youngsters living in a partnership and parallel to this the decrease of marriages indicate this theory. In the field of partnership behaviors we may state that the Hajnal-line (HAJNAL 1965, quoted by KISS 2010) is moving towards East.

Partnership formation is strongly influenced by social, economic as well as value factors; in this study we focused on the effects of this factors on marital status. More precisely we tried to the answer to what extent certain socio-economic variables and values determine partnership formation among Hungarian youth, in four regions of the Carpathian Basin. As for methodology there were used descriptive statistics and multivariate analyses. The results indicate that the long-term commitments in partnership decisions, like marriage is postponed of the classical young life stage. Though less people live in cohabited partnership than in marriage, the proportion of cohabitations has increased in every region in the past decades. We pointed out, that regionalism, the ethnically mixed life situation play a significant role in the forming of cohabited partnerships of the young generations. Though all the analyzed regions belong to the Central Eastern European area, there are different regional patterns in partnership behavior. Youth are more likely to live in cohabited unions in Slovakia and Transylvania, while youngsters in Subcarpathia show a higher willingness to marry than people in any other analyzed region. The traditional partnership value orientation of young girls could be also observed in all regions, which might be realized when examining that women endeavor to get married more significantly than men.

About the value system of youngsters, we might affirm that the value preferences of inner safety and the importance of private sphere (love, happiness, family, true friendship) were rated nearly at the maximum in case of every relationship type. However, the value system of cohabiters could be depicted with the desire for freedom and focusing on work, multivariate analyses showed that besides the career aspirations, the extent of religiosity, educational level and having children all have important impacts on youngsters' partnership formation.

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