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## ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY FORMATION AND PATTERNS OF EXOGAMY IN SLOVAKIA

**Abstract:** Ethnic affiliation is an important factor in family and reproductive behavior and also has an important role in assortative mating. The historical presence of numerous ethnic groups, especially of Hungarian and Roma background in certain regions of Slovakia, raises the question of how they differ in some selected population communities (e.g. age, education, economic activity, religion) and whether there are differences according to their place of residence (e.g. size of municipalities). In this study we tried to point out the existing differences in fertility levels and the parity structure of women in relation to ethnicity, education and place of residence. Other important questions that we analyse in our paper are the differences in family formation in connection to ethnicity. For this purpose, we use not only marital status but also census results by households. In the last part of the study we examine the issue of ethnic exogamy.

### **Ethnic demography and ethnic statistics in Slovakia**

#### *Major ethnic groups & their territorial location*

The ethnic structure and ethnic boundaries of Slovakia are the result of long-term historical developments, changes in settlement and the mutual influence of individual ethnic groups. The fundamental changes brought into the ethnic picture of Slovakia by the Second World War (the deportations of the Jewish population, the eviction of the Germans) and the subsequent turbulent post-war years significantly influenced the current state of the ethnic structure of Slovakia's population. Therefore, the results of the first post-war census on March 1, 1950, brought a vastly different ethnic image than was seen in Slovakia in the late 1930s. Non-Slovak nationals represented just over 13%. Hungarian nationality had again become the largest national minority, with more than 354,500 registered people. The

second largest was the combined Ukrainian and Russian nationality with more than 48,200 members. Nearly 8,000 people reported Czech nationality, and only 5,179 people reported German nationality. In the hostile post-war environment for the people of German and Hungarian nationalities, the numbers of individuals declaring the aforementioned nationalities were probably underestimated.

In the next census in 1961, there was a certain correction of the results, especially in the case of Hungarian nationalities. The number of people claiming this ethnicity had again exceeded half a million (almost 519,000) and the proportion had grown from 10.3% to over 12%. Despite numerous growth in the coming decades, the real representation of Hungarian nationals had been declining. According to the census results from 1991, there were more than 567,000 people of Hungarian nationality, which constituted only less than 11% of the entire population of the Slovak Republic. The downward trend was confirmed by the last two censuses. In 2001, more than 520,000 (9.7%) were reported, and in the 2011 census (the most recent), only 459,000 (8.5%) were reported. However, there are some problems with comparing these figures with the increasing number and proportion of people who declared any nationality in the census (see Table 1 and 2). A more detailed development of the ethnic structure of the population of Slovakia is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Population of the Slovak Republic by nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses

Year	Number of persons	Nationality								
		Slovak	Czech	Hungarian	German	Russian/ Ukrainian	Ruthenian	Jewish	Roma	Other/ unknown
Number of persons (abs.)										
1950	3 442 317	2 982 524	40 365	354 532	5 179	48 231	-	-	-	11 486
1961	4 174 046	3 560 216	45 721	518 782	6 259	35 435	-	-	-	7 633
1970	4 537 290	3 878 904	47 402	552 006	4 760	42 238	-	-	-	11 980
1980	4 991 168	4 317 008	57 197	559 490	2 918	39 260	-	-	-	15 295
1991	5 274 335	4 519 328	59 326	567 296	5 414	14 670	17 197	134	75 802	15 168
2001	5 379 455	4 614 854	47 136	520 528	5 405	12 404	24 201	218	89 920	64 789
2011	5 397 036	4 352 775	33 668	458 467	4 690	9 427	33 482	631	105 738	398 158
Share (%)										
1950	100	87	1	10	0	1	-	-	-	0
1961	100	85	1	12	0	1	-	-	-	0
1970	100	85	1	12	0	1	-	-	-	0
1980	100	86	1	11	0	1	-	-	-	0
1991	100	86	1	11	0	0	0	0	1	0
2001	100	86	1	10	0	0	0	0	2	1
2011	100	81	1	8	0	0	1	0	2	7

The Roma nationality after World War II was not officially recognized as independent. The data on the large size of this ethnic group comes only from special statistical inventories (in 1947, 1966–1968) and from the 1970 and 1980 census surveys. According to mentioned inventories, which were conducted under the auspices of the Federal Statistical Office in cooperation with the Czech and Slovak Statistical Office and the Government Committee for Gypsy Questions, approximately 165,000 Roma lived in Slovakia. Similar results were also reached by the census survey carried out in 1970. According to the results, almost 159,300 Roma people lived in Slovakia. Ten years later, in the 1980 census, almost 200,000 people were identified as Roma. The determination of ethnicity in these two censuses was based on pre-agreed upon rules and signs. Thus, it was an ascribed ethnicity made by the counting commissioner. Another source of Roma data is the National Committee's registers. The drawback of this type of data is that it only captured the Roma who received some form of social assistance. National committees ended this activity in 1989, when they recorded almost 254,000 Roma in Slovakia. After 1989, Roma nationality was recognized as an independent nationality, and the 1991, 2001 and 2011 population censuses thus officially collected data on persons freely claiming Roma nationality or Romani mother tongue. This possibility was utilized by only 75,800 persons in the last Czechoslovakian population census from 1991. Having Romani as a mother tongue was declared by almost 77,300 people. Almost 90,000 people applied for Roma nationality in the first Slovak census in 2001, and in 2011 it was almost 106,000 (see Table 1 and Table 2).

The transformation of society and the political establishment after 1989 also allowed the collection of mother tongue data. The basic results on the number and structure of persons according to the mother tongue in the 1991–2011 censuses are presented in Table 2. As can be seen, only a small part of Slovakia's population declared a non-Slovak mother tongue. It is worth mentioning only about one tenth of the people declared having Hungarian as their mother tongue. Other groups ranged 0–2% of the population. In the last census the results were largely influenced by the high number and proportion of people who did not reflect on the issue (see Table 2).

*Table 2. Population of the Slovak Republic by mother tongue, 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses*

Mother tongue	Number of persons			Share (%)		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011
<b>Slovak</b>	4 44 5303	4 512 217	4 240 453	84.3	83.9	78.6
<b>Czech</b>	56 487	48 201	35 216	1.1	0.9	0.7
<b>Hungarian</b>	608 221	572 929	508 714	11.5	10.7	9.4
<b>Roma</b>	77 269	99 448	122 518	1.5	1.8	2.3
<b>Polish</b>	3 420	2 731	3 119	0.1	0.1	0.1
<b>German</b>	7 738	6 343	5 186	0.1	0.1	0.1
<b>Ruthenian</b>	49 099	54 907	55 469	0.9	1.0	1.0
<b>Ukrainian</b>	9 480	7 879	5 689	0.2	0.1	0.1
<b>Other</b>	4 988	8 744	15 411	0.1	0.2	0.3
<b>Unknown</b>	12 330	66 056	405 261	0.2	1.2	7.5
<b>Together</b>	5 274 335	5 379 455	5 397 036	100.0	100.0	100.0

The combination of nationality with data on mother tongue, the language used at home and the public points to a very close link between these cultural traits among the largest ethnic groups in Slovakia. The lowest level of coherence between nationality and the languages is among the Roma. It is confirmed that they more often refer to the Slovak or Hungarian mother tongue and that they use a language other than the Romani in the public or at home (Table 3). From the point of view of the individual combinations, it is also logical that persons reporting to a non-Slovak ethnic group use the Slovak language in public more often than their own language (more than 19% of Hungarian and almost 57% of Roma, see Table 3).

From a geographical perspective, three contiguous Hungarian regions have historically been created in Slovakia.<sup>1</sup> The largest one was established below Bratislava near Žitný ostrov, which was almost entirely Hungarian. This area also included a significant part of the Danube Lowland. The second more compact area populated by the Hungarian population stretched east along the southern borders of Slovakia to the Košice-vidiek district, where there was a Slovak language breakthrough. The third Hungarian area filled the entire south-eastern part of Slovakia, where it was historically fed to the southeastern Subcarpathian Ruthenia. In connection with the historical and cultural aspects of the development of the Hungarian ethnic space as well as the current administrative division, in our work we distinguish the following seven regional units:

1. Bodrog (or Eastern) Region (districts: Trebišov, Michalovce)
2. Košice and its surroundings (districts: Košice, Košice-okolie)
3. Gemer Region (districts: Rožňava, Revúca, Rimavska Sobota, Lučenec)
4. Ipel'- Hron Region (districts: Veľký Krtíš, Levice, Nové Zámky)
5. Váh Region (districts: Nitra, Šaľa, Galanta)
6. Žitnýostrov (districts: Komárno, Dunajská Streda)
7. Bratislava and its surroundings (districts: Bratislava, Senec)

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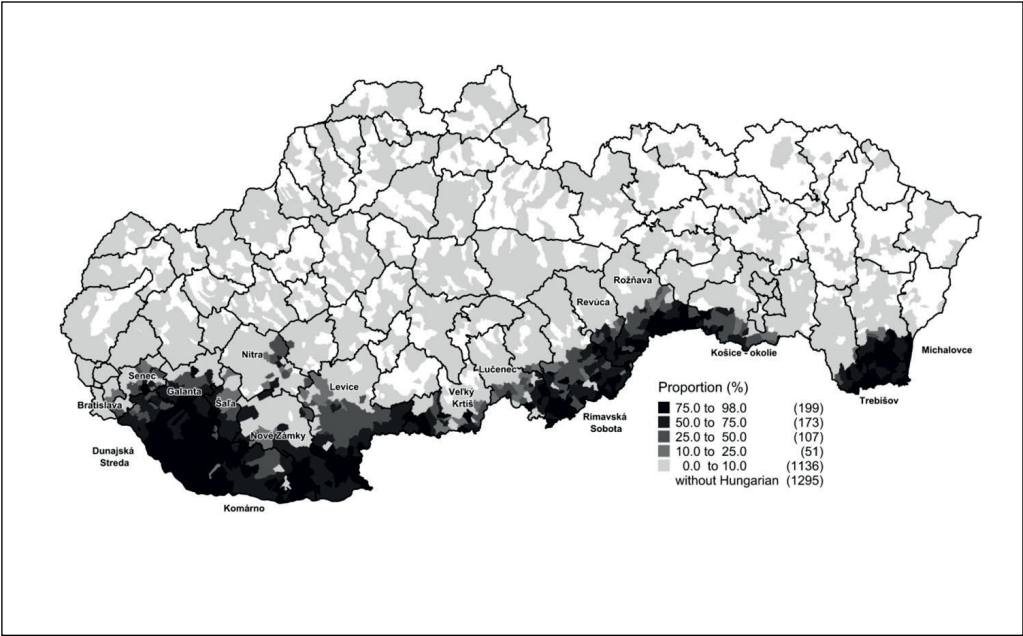
1 Ján Botík, *Etnická história Slovenska. K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov* (Bratislava: LÚČ, 2007).; Mojmir Benža, Dagmar Kusendová, Juraj Majo, and Pavol Tišliar, *Národnostný atlas Slovenska* (Bratislava: DAJAMA, 2015).

*Table 3. The relationship between nationality and mother tongue, language spoken most often at home and language spoken most often in public in Slovakia, 2011 census*

Nationality	Slovak	Hungarian	Roma	Other	Unknown
	<i>Mother language</i>				
<b>Slovak</b>	96.2	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.8
<b>Hungarian</b>	2.2	96.8	0.3	0.1	0.7
<b>Roma</b>	14.2	9.9	72.9	0.4	2.5
<b>Other</b>	12.8	0.7	0.3	84.2	2.0
<b>Unknown</b>	4.0	0.6	0.3	0.6	94.4
	<i>Language in public</i>				
<b>Slovak</b>	94.6	0.8	0.3	1.5	2.8
<b>Hungarian</b>	19.1	75.1	0.1	1.9	3.9
<b>Roma</b>	56.6	11.0	22.7	2.1	7.6
<b>Other</b>	58.5	1.0	0.1	36.2	4.2
<b>Unknown</b>	4.2	0.4	0.1	0.6	94.8
	<i>Language at home</i>				
<b>Slovak</b>	88.7	1.2	1.3	1.2	7.5
<b>Hungarian</b>	6.5	88.2	0.3	0.6	4.4
<b>Roma</b>	14.3	9.7	65.3	0.9	9.7
<b>Other</b>	35.7	1.3	0.3	56.1	6.5
<b>Unknown</b>	3.4	0.5	0.3	0.6	95.2

The detailed picture of the geographic distribution of the Hungarian ethnic group in Slovakia is provided by the following Figure 1 and Table 4. It presents the proportion of persons of Hungarian nationality in the municipalities of Slovakia according to the 2011 census. It also presents selected districts and areas that are closely monitored in our analysis. Figure 1 thus confirms the high proportion of Hungarians in the belt of border municipalities in the south of Slovakia. In many of them, the share of Hungarians exceeds 50 or 75%.

Of the observed historical regions, the district of Žitnýostrov reached the highest numbers and shares of persons of Hungarian nationality in the Population and Housing censuses 1991–2011. The second most important district in terms of number and share of Hungarian in Slovakia is Ipel' - Hron followed by Gemer (see Table 4). The lowest representation of persons reporting Hungarian nationality was in the two largest cities in Slovakia and in their surrounding areas. Only a very small number of Hungarian nationals live outside the territory of the defined regions. The results of three consecutive censuses also point to a decline in the number and share of Hungarians. It is probably the result of not only demographic development and ethnic self-identification, but also a growing number of people who do not reflect on the question of nationality in censuses.



*Figure 1. Population of Hungarian nationality in municipalities of Slovakia, 2011*



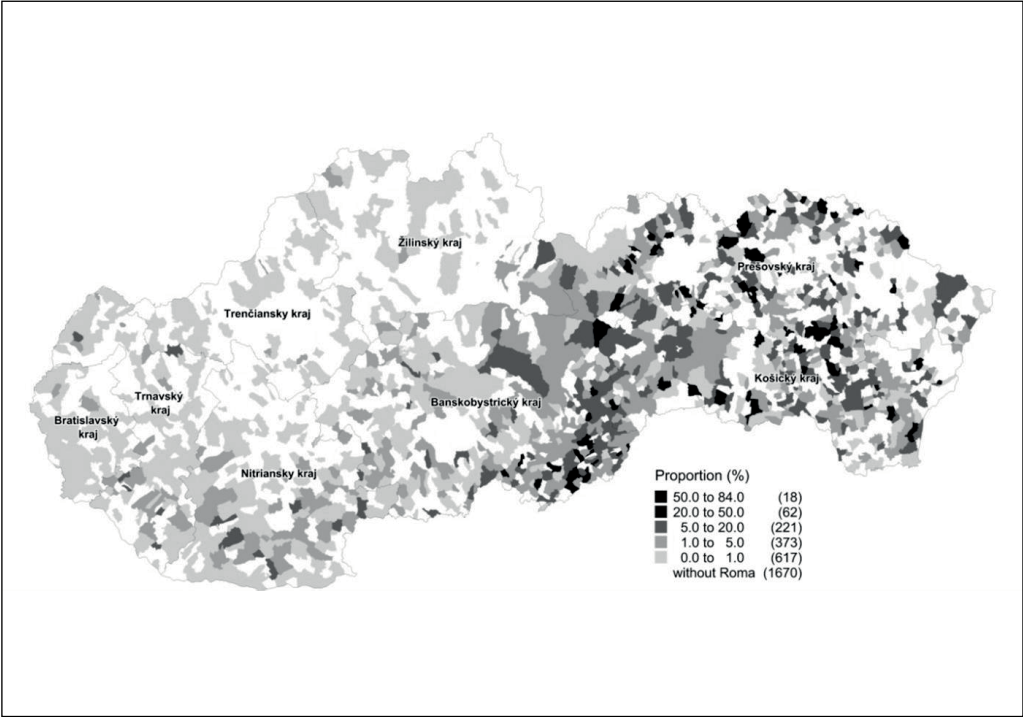
**Table 4. Number and share of persons of Hungarian nationality in selected regions of Slovakia, 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses**

Region	Number of persons			Proportion (%)		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011
Bodrog	46 945	43 244	40 267	22.8	20.3	18.6
Bratislava and surroundings	32 526	27 004	23 253	6.6	5.6	4.9
Gemer	90 607	82 343	71 695	35.4	31.8	27.2
Ipeľ - Hron	116 300	103 618	87 507	36.2	32.8	28.7
Košice and surroundings	27 000	23 080	18 227	8.1	6.7	5.1
Váh	73 162	66 757	58 586	23.8	21.4	19.1
Žitný ostrov	174 169	168 636	153 705	79.7	76.3	69.7
Other	6 587	5 846	5 227	0.2	0.2	0.2
Slovakia	567 296	520 528	458 467	10.8	9.7	8.5

The Roma population in Slovakia does not make such significant geographic concentrations. In general, we find the largest numbers and shares of Roma in the Prešov and Košice regions (NUTS3) in eastern Slovakia and also in the Banská Bystrica region in central Slovakia. At the same time, it should be pointed out that only a quarter of the entire population has long been reported for Roma nationality. According to several forecasts<sup>2</sup> and the results of the Atlas of Roma Communities (2013)<sup>3</sup>, the number of Roma in Slovakia should significantly exceed 400,000. According to the results of the Atlas of Roma Communities, most of Roma live in the regions of Eastern and Central Slovakia.

2 Branislav Šprocha, "Odkladanie a rekuperácia plodnosti v kohortnej perspektíve v Českej republike a na Slovensku," *Demografie* 56, no. 3 (2014): 219–233.; Boris Vaňo, *Demografická charakteristika a rómskej populácie v SR* (Bratislava: INFOSTAT, 2001).; Boris Vaňo, *Prognóza vývoja rómskeho obyvateľstva v SR do roku 2025* (Bratislava: INFOSTAT, 2002).

3 Alexander Mušínska, Daniel Škobla, Jakob Hurrle, Kvetoslava Matlovičová, and Jaroslav Kling, *Atlas rómskeho obyvateľstva na Slovensku 2013*. (Bratislava: UNDP, 2014).



*Figure 2. Population of Roma nationality in municipalities of Slovakia, 2011*

According to data from the Population and Housing censuses of 1991–2011, two eastern Slovak regions (i.e., Košický and Prešovský) create the main area in which persons reporting Roma nationality were living. According to the last census, almost 80,000 persons lived in these regions, which created about three quarters of the entire Roma population. A higher number and representation (in comparison to the Slovak average) can be seen in the Banská Bystrica region (for more details see Table 5).

*Table 5. Number and share of persons of Roma nationality in Slovak regions (NUTS3), 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses*

Region (NUTS3)	Number of persons			Proportion (%)		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011
Bratislavský	972	755	767	0.2	0.1	0.1
Trnavský	2 498	3163	3048	0.5	0.6	0.5
Trenčiansky	1 510	1547	574	0.3	0.3	0.1
Nitriansky	3 932	4741	3987	0.5	0.7	0.6
Žilinský	2 590	2795	2264	0.4	0.4	0.3
Banskobystrický	12 080	15463	15 525	1.8	2.3	2.4
Prešovský	26 082	31653	43 097	3.5	4.0	5.3
Košický	26 138	29803	36 476	3.5	3.9	4.6
Slovakia	75 802	89920	105 738	1.4	1.7	2.0

*Measuring ethnicity: censuses and statistical data sources*

The ethnic structure of the population of Slovakia has been one of the integral parts of the census since 1880. Population censuses thus represent the basic and most important source of data on nationality. In addition, when combined with other identified features (e.g., age, gender, education, place of residence), they allow for a detailed differential analysis and look at some specific elements of ethnicity in Slovakia's population and its long-term development in time and space. In conjunction with some other structural features, such as the number of births, the census status also makes it possible to analyse some characteristic features of reproductive and family behaviour of individual ethnic groups in Slovakia. The interconnection of people living in one household based on family relationships and their ethnicity also makes it possible to analyse the degree of ethnic homogamy among couples.

Data on demographic statistics collected annually by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SO SR) can be used for a detailed analysis of family and reproductive behavior of national groups. Demography statistics is collected by way of statistical survey on population changes (vital events and migration) conducted each year by the SO SR by means of statistical reports OBYV 1-5/12 (Statistical Report on the Conclusion of Marriage, Statistical Report on Birth, Medical Report and the Statistical Report on Death, Statistical Report on Divorce, Statistical Report on Change of the Address of Permanent Residence/Report on Migration). The survey covers the whole population of the SR including the foreign citizens who have been granted a permanent residence permit in the SR. It is an exhaustive survey conducted under the Programme of National Statistical Surveys. The data are collected from different reporting units, including municipal and city authorities in charge of keeping birth, marriage and death registers (i.e., registry offices), health institutions, competent courts, residence registration offices of municipal and city authorities and competent departments of the ministry of interior for foreigners. There is also a special register of the vital events that have occurred to SR citizens abroad. All of these demographic surveys include information on self-declared nationality.

The first census after the Second World War in 1950 was given the character of a “national census,” as it included, in addition to the population present, an inventory of agricultural, industrial and commercial plants. Compared to the inter-war census, there has been a significant change in nationality: “Nationality means belonging to a nation whose cultural and working community is summed up internally and linked to it.” Further guidance was then provided in the guidance sheet: “It is not permissible to enroll more than one nationality. Adults and persons not belonging to the family of the owner of the flat shall admit their nationality themselves, their legal representative shall do so for juvenile and insane.”

Thus, nationality was identified through the census free self-determination. This approach was subsequently applied to other post-war censuses. In the second post-war census of 1961, nationality was essentially treated the same: “as belonging to a nation with whose cultural and occupational society the census is intrinsically linked and to which it subscribes.” However, it differed from the previous census in that it was based on the concept of a permanent resident population. In the 1970, 1980 and also 1991 censuses, the definition of nationality was even more diverse: “Nationality understood the respondent’s belonging to a nation or nationality, and it was left to everyone to freely express their nationality according to their own beliefs.” A very important aspect of identifying the nationality structure after the Second World War was the non-recognition of some nationalities as officially and thus statistically ascertained, namely of the Ruthenian nationality, whose population

was identified as Ukrainian in the framework of the Ukrainianization, and also of Roma population. The main reason was that the Roma people do not meet the criteria for the definition of a nation, because they do not have their own territory and economic life. Moreover, the published results were only for Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, Russian and Polish, and all others were summarized in the group of other nationalities. Significant changes in this practice occurred at the census in 1991, when Roma and Ruthenian ranked again among official nationalities and, moreover, the number of nationalities surveyed in census processing significantly expanded. The last two censuses, from 2001 and 2011, followed this practice and found nationality as a free declaration of a person.

In addition to nationality, the question of mother tongue was re-included in the Population and Housing Census in 1991. This structural variable was also identified in the next two censuses, in 2001 and 2011. Mother tongue was defined as the language most commonly spoken by a parent during the respondent's childhood. If the parents each spoke different languages, the mother's language was recorded. Only one mother tongue has always been mentioned at the discretion of the surveyed person. The mother tongue did not have to coincide with nationality. In the last Population and Housing Census in 2011, the newest element in monitoring ethno-cultural differences and ethnicity issues became the language most commonly used at home and the language most commonly used in public.

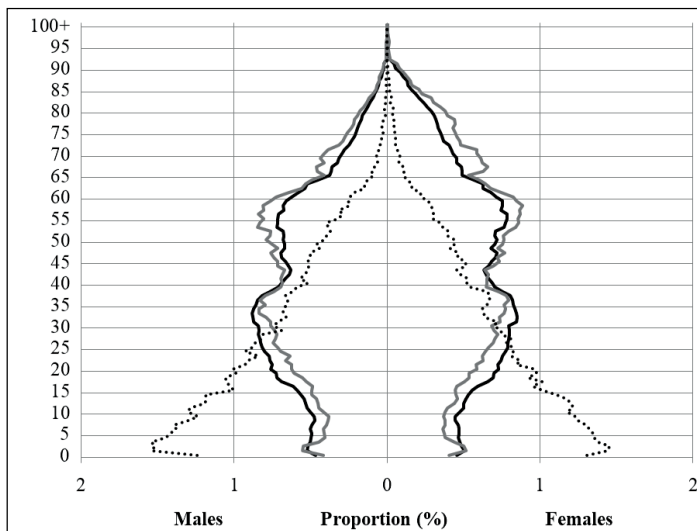
## **Ethnic differences in fertility and family formation**

### *Structural and ethnic determinants of fertility and family formation*

Nationality is seen as a separate factor in fertility and family behavior. However, there may be other structural differences in its background that can significantly affect fertility. Therefore, in the next section we will look at some of them (e.g., age, education, economic activity, place of residence), and we will try to find differences in their settings among the ethnic groups in Slovakia.

The composition of the population by gender and age is one of the most important population structures. It constitutes an essential component that, together with fertility intensity, affects a significant birth rate. This structure presents the previous population development with its conditionality and at the same time represents an important factor of current and future reproductive behavior. When comparing the age structure of

Slovakian, Hungarian and Roma, it is clear that the Roma population in Slovakia is significantly younger. This fact is confirmed over a long duration regardless of the data source and the definition of the Roma population.<sup>4</sup> This is also evidenced by data from the last Population and Housing census. The average age of a Roma person in 2011 was just over 24 years, while the average Slovakian exceeded 39 years and the average Hungarian exceeded 42 years. The median age was clearly the lowest among the Roma and the highest among the Hungarians. According to the 2011 census data, half of the Roma were younger than 19.3 years old. For people of Slovak nationality, the median age reached 36.7 years and 41.4 years for Hungarian. The share of the main age groups also points to a significantly younger Roma population. Children under the age of 15 accounted for almost 40%, compared to only 14.8% for Slovaks and 12.9% for Hungarians. On the other hand, people in the post-reproductive age (50 and over) in the group of the Roma nationality represented only less than 11%, while in the Slovaks one third of the population and in Hungarians almost 40%. There are also quite large differences in the senior component, as people aged 65 account for just over 2% of Roma, while 12.8% for Slovaks and 16.4% for Hungarians.

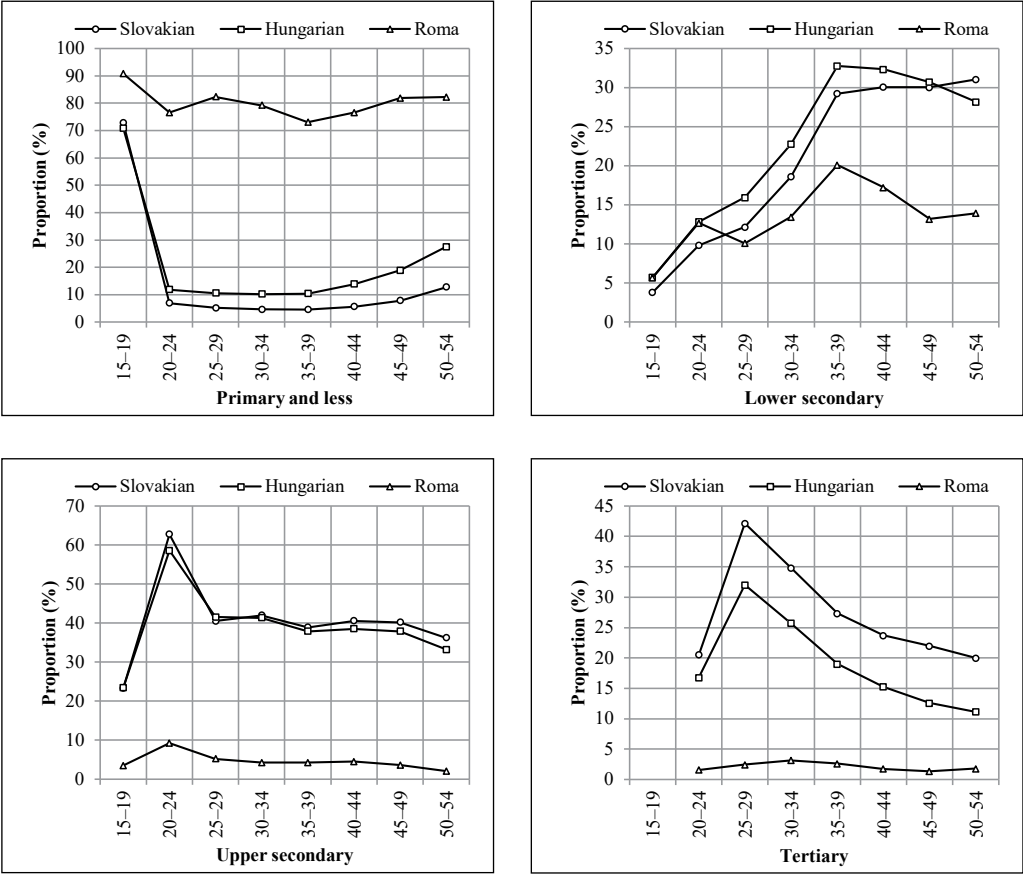


*Figure 3. Age structure of Slovakian, Hungarian and Roma population in Slovakia, 2011 census  
(... Roma, — Slovakian, — Hungarian)*

<sup>4</sup> Milan Kučera, "Domácnosti a bydlení cikánskeho obyvateľstva," *Demografie*, no. 26 (1984): 172–178.; Boris Vaňo and Eva Haviarová, "2002. Demografické trendy rómskej populácie," in Čačipen *pal o Roma. Súhrnná správa o Rómochna Slovensku*, ed. Michal Vašečka (Bratislava: IVO, 2002): 475–502.; Šprocha, "Odkladanie a rekuperácia plodnosti v kohortnej perspektíve v Českej republike a na Slovensku"; Květa Kalibová, *Demografické charakteristiky romské populace v Československu. Disertační práce* (Praha: PČF UK, 1991).

These datasets also point to significant differences between the nationalities in terms of reproductive potential. While women of Slovak and Hungarian nationality of reproductive age are replaced by fewer young cohorts, in the case of women of Roma nationality, the situation is completely opposite. This is the result of their very young age structure and the continuing high birth rate. Significant differences among selected nationalities in age can be seen in detail in the age pyramid (Figure 3).

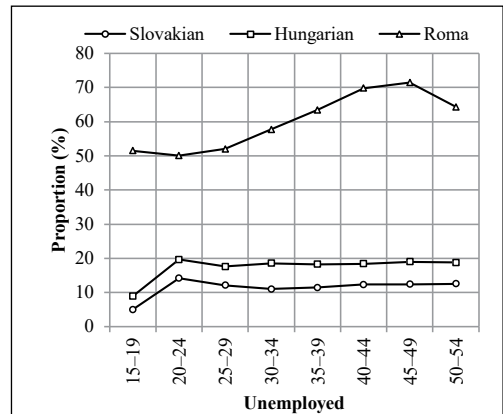
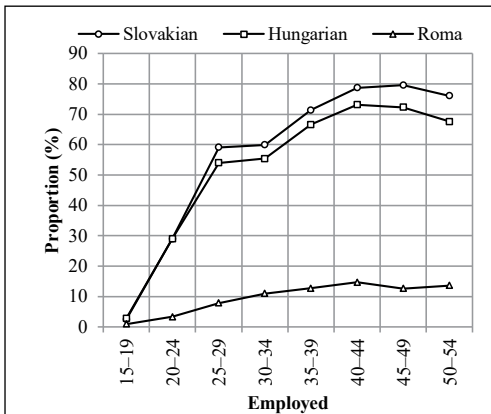
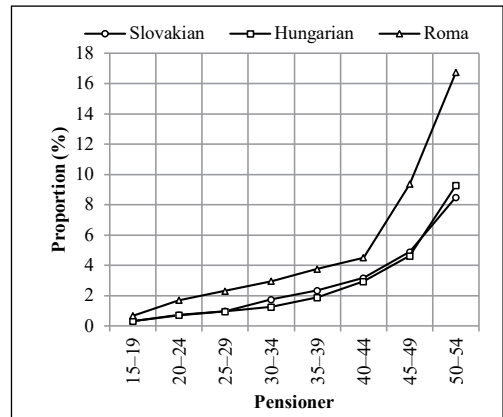
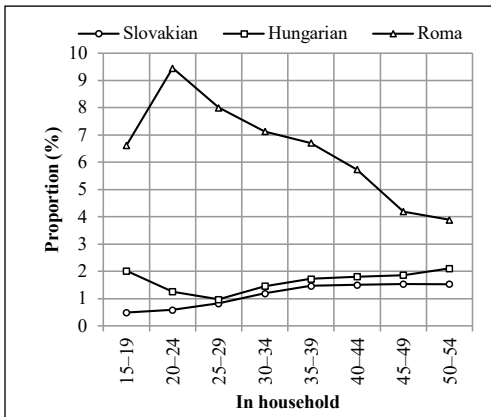
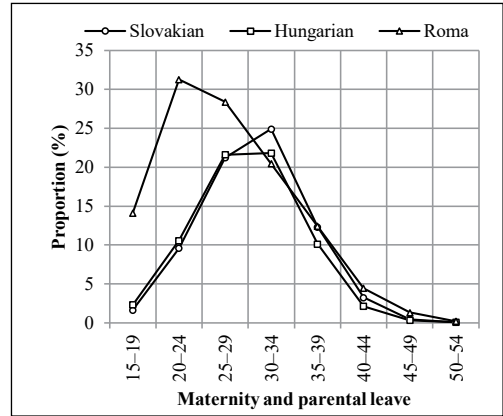
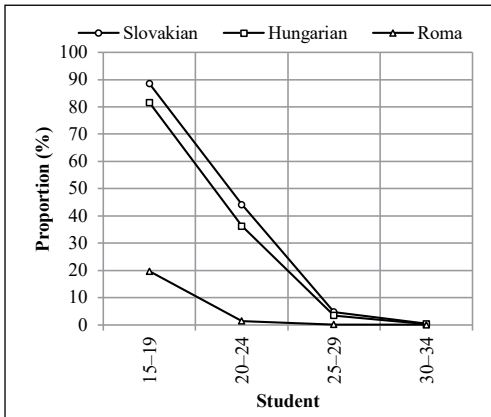
Education is a traditional factor influencing tempo, quantum and character of reproductive behavior. The process of fertility itself is directly influenced by education mainly in line with the timing of childbirths. Indirect effects are associated with different cultural norms, economic background and living conditions that are differentiated between individual educational groups. The most specific situation is among Roma women. In the reproductive age span, there is the highest prevalence of persons only with a primary or lower level of education. Nearly 80% of Roma women aged 20–54 have only achieved the lowest level of education. On the other hand, for women of Hungarian and especially Slovak nationality, the educational model is a marginal phenomenon (see Figure 4). Figure 4 also points out that woman with Hungarian nationality are somewhat more likely to have completed a primary education. Among Roma women, older generations were more likely to have lower levels of secondary education than younger cohorts. The presence of higher education (upper secondary and tertiary) is very low and is rather a rare phenomenon. However, in the case of women of Hungarian and Slovakian nationality, we could identify a clear shift towards upper secondary and also tertiary education. This fact (especially in the case of tertiary education) is a little more pronounced among women of Hungarian nationality (see Figure 7). The obtained data point to stagnation, respectively to some inter-generational deepening of low and very low education levels among young Roma women. On the contrary, we identified a clear shift towards the highest levels of education among women of Hungarian and especially Slovakian nationality. As a result, the differences in the educational structure between Slovakian and Hungarian persons and persons of Roma nationality are becoming even greater.



*Figures 4–7. Structure of women of reproductive age by nationality and educational attainment*

The unfavorable educational situation of the Roma in Slovakia, combined with other factors (e.g., spatial marginalization, poorer health, unreliability, prejudice), are reflected in their negative position on the official labor market. As can be seen from the 2011 census data, only a very small proportion of Roma women of reproductive age were employed (Figure 8). The proportion of unemployed women in all age groups exceeded 50%. The highest proportion was identified at the end of reproductive age, when the share of women on maternity and parental leave in the household fell significantly. The very low representation of Roma students over the age of 20 also points to the early completion of educational pathways compared to the other two ethnic groups. When comparing women of Slovak and Hungarian nationality, it is clear that Hungarians are somewhat more likely to be unemployed during their reproductive age; they study slightly less frequently at the age of 20–29, and they are more likely to remain in the household.





Figures 8–13. Structure of women of reproductive age by nationality and economic status

The often-mentioned difference factor of realised fertility is also the place of residence of women, especially in connection with the dichotomy of urban versus rural areas, as well as the size of the settlement. As is shown in Table 6, between the analysed ethnic groups in Slovakia, there are also significant differences in the character of the place of residence. Women of Slovak nationality largely live in urban environments. On the contrary, Roma and also women of Hungarian nationality mostly inhabit rural areas. This is also closely related to the size group of settlements where women of reproductive age live. Slovakian women live more often in large cities, while Hungarians and especially Roma live in smaller settlements of up to 5,000 residents (for more details see Table 6).

*Table 6. Structure of women of reproductive age by nationality and place of residence*

Type of municipality	Nationality (%)		
	Slovakian	Hungarian	Roma
Urban area	56.6	37.0	35.4
1–999	14.8	21.5	17.9
1 000–4 999	28.5	39.0	44.8
5 000–9999	7.4	11.4	9.8
10 000–49 999	24.9	24.3	18.9
50 000–99 999	11.4	0.4	3.4
100 000+	13.0	3.4	5.2

Slovakia is one of the areas with a relatively high proportion of people claiming to be confessional. This was also confirmed by the results of the last 2011 census. More than two-thirds of women of reproductive age, regardless of nationality, declared their membership in the Roman Catholic confession. Women of Slovak nationality declared a slightly more often that they are without a religion. On the other hand, Hungarian women are more inclined to be Reformed Christians. A more detailed structure of women of reproductive age according to nationality and confession is presented in Table 7.

*Table 7. Structure of women of reproductive age by nationality and confession*

Confession	Slovakian	Hungarian	Roma
Roman Catholics	67.4	69.9	66.2
Evangelicals of the A. C.	6.3	1.1	1.0
Greek Catholics	3.7	1.5	7.4
Reformed Christian	0.6	15.2	1.1
Orthodox	0.7	0.0	2.9
Other	1.6	1.4	4.7
Without confession	15.5	7.7	8.4
Unknown	4.2	3.1	8.3

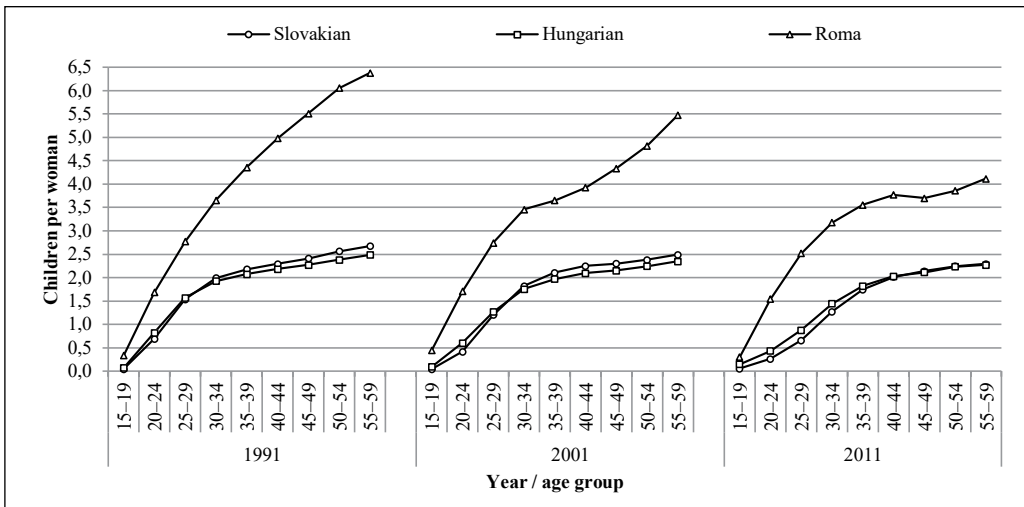
*Differences in fertility*

The main feature in the development of completed cohort fertility in Slovakia is its continuous intergenerational decline.<sup>5</sup> While women born in the 1930s had an average of 2.5 children, women in the late 1960s are the last that had more than two children. The 1991–2011 census results confirm the decline in completed fertility regardless of nationality. While women of Slovak nationality aged 50–59 still had about 2.6–2.7 children in the early 1990s, in the last census of 2011, the same figure was just over 2.2 children. A very similar situation is seen among women of Hungarian nationality. The completed fertility rate of 50–59 years between 1991 and 2011 dropped from about 2.4–2.5 children to below 2.3 children per woman. The completed fertility rate of Roma women has also been significantly reduced. The average number of children per woman dropped from more than six children to about four children (see Figure 14). Nevertheless, it remains true that Roma women have far higher fertility (by almost two children per woman) than women of the other two nationalities. These differences in realised fertility arise at a very young age. Already at the ages of 20–24, Roma women had more than one child, more than other monitored nationalities. In comparing women of Slovakian and Hungarian nationalities,

5 Branislav Šprocha and Pavol Tišliar, *Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. Storočia* (Bratislava: Centrum pre historickú demografiu a populačný vývoj, 2016).

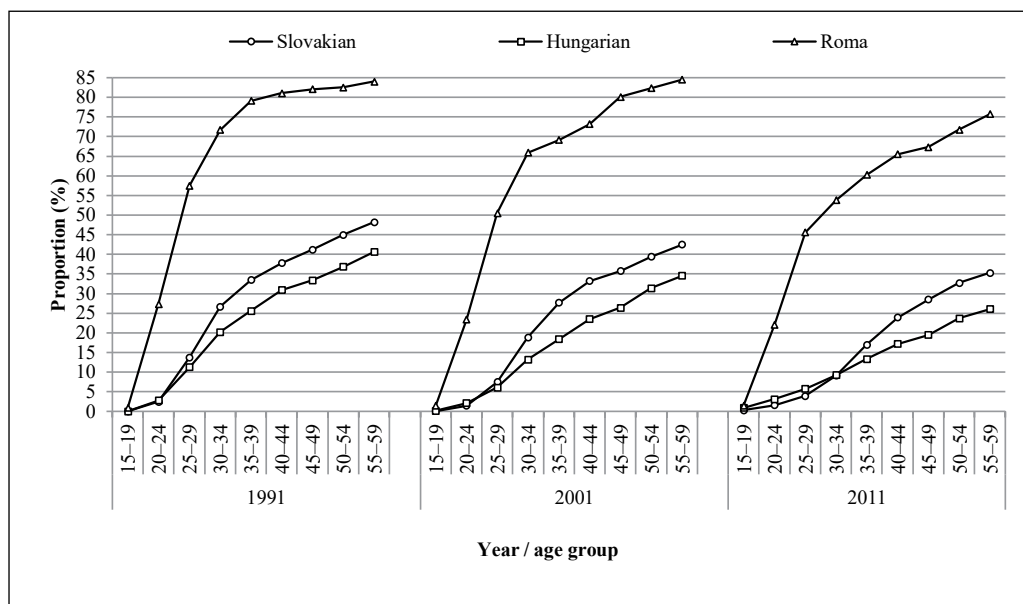
the completed fertility of Slovakian women was slightly higher. However, in the last census, these differences were almost negligible. On the other hand, the fact that Hungarian women in Slovakia have already realised a higher fertility at a younger age has deepened. This is probably likely to indicate the earlier starts of the reproductive pathways. Figure 14 provides a more detailed comparison of the realised and completed fertility and the development of differences between the selected nationalities in Slovakia.

The causes of differentiation in realised and completed fertility among the analysed nationalities can be explained by the structure of women by parity. First, we look at the most important factor of the differences between the fertility of Roma women and women of Slovak or Hungarian nationality. Despite the decline in the proportion of Roma women with three and more children (which was significantly reflected in the aforementioned decline in completed fertility), they continue to represent the largest group of women by parity. Their share far exceeds the representation of this parity group among women of Slovakian and Hungarian nationality (Figure 15). This fact is also associated with the high fertility of Roma women living in segregated Roma communities in eastern Slovakia.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the 1991–2011 census results also confirmed the continuing intergenerational decline of this group among women of Slovakian and Hungarian nationality. At the same time, Slovaks are more likely to have three or more children than women of Hungarian nationality (see Figure 15).



*Figure 14. Realised and completed fertility of women by age and nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 census*

6 Branislav Šprocha, “Odkladanie a rekuperácia plodnosti v kohortnej perspektíve v Českej republike a na Slovensku”



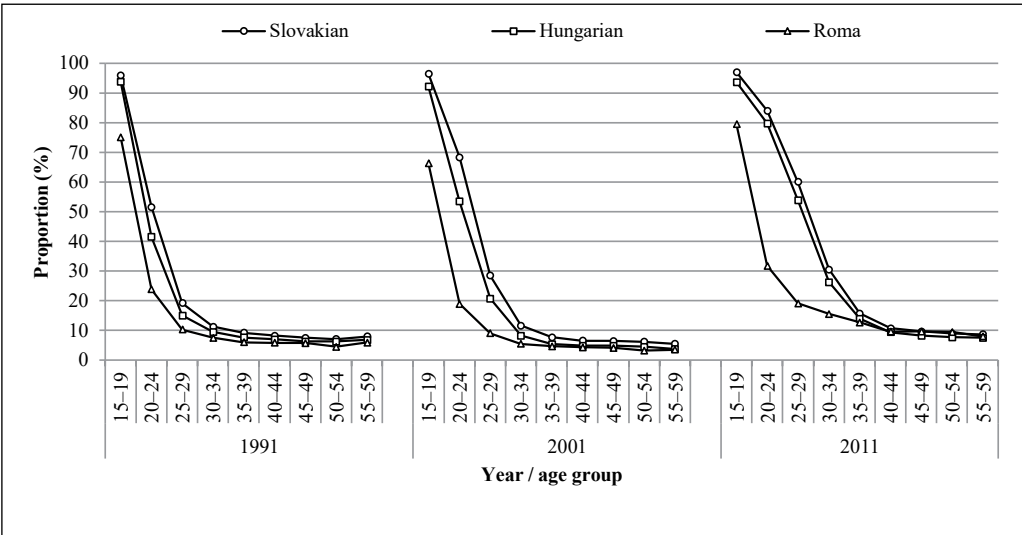
**Figure 15. Proportion of women with three and more children by age and nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 census**

The second common factor that is associated with explaining differences in completed fertility is the level of childlessness. The specific conditions of the past political regime in Slovakia have contributed to the emergence of a reproductive model characterized by a high normativity of motherhood. Parenthood has become almost a universal phenomenon among women born in 1940s and 1960s. At the same time, the model of a two-child family deepened.<sup>7</sup> This is also confirmed by figures from the 1991–2011 censuses. Childlessness was very low (significantly below 10%) regardless of nationality (Figure 16). However, among the selected nationalities at a young age, the census results confirmed a significantly different timing of the transitions to the first maternity. The fastest decrease of childlessness with age is identified among Roma women. According to the latest census at the age of 20–24, only about a third of Roma women were still childless. For women of Hungarian nationality, it was about 80%, and for women of Slovak nationality it was almost 85%. The comparison of the 1991 and 2011 census results also highlighted the gradual prolongation of childlessness at a young age. This is mainly associated with the process of postponing

7 For more see Michaela Potančoková, Boris Vaňo, Viera Pilinská, and Danuša Jurčová, “Slovakia: Fertility between tradition and modernity,” in *Childbearing trends and policies in Europe* eds. Tomas Frejka, Ian Hoem, Tomas Sobotka, and Laurent Toulemon (Demographic research 19 Special collection 7, 2008): 973–1018.; Branislav Šprocha and Pavol Tišliar, *100 rokov obyvateľstva Slovenska: od vzniku Československa po súčasnosť* (Bratislava: Centrum pre historickú demografiu a populačný vývoj, 2016).

maternity. However, this phenomenon only marginally affects Roma women.

*Figure 16. Proportion of childless women by age and nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 census*



As mentioned above, a dominant model of a two-child family gradually emerged in Slovakia. However, from the point of view of nationality, this applies only to women of Slovakian and Hungarian nationality. In spite of the continuing transformation of reproductive behavior (in line with the first demographic transition), the main demographic model for the Roma people remains the family with three or more children (see Figure 17). Data from the 1991–2011 censuses also confirm that the two-child model has become more common among women of Hungarian nationality, while families with three or more children have been slightly more frequent among women of Slovak nationality. We can also identify a significantly earlier timing of the reproduction of Roma women and a high chance of becoming the mother of three or more children, as the proportion of Roma women with only two children drops rapidly from the age group of 25–29 years (see Figure 17).

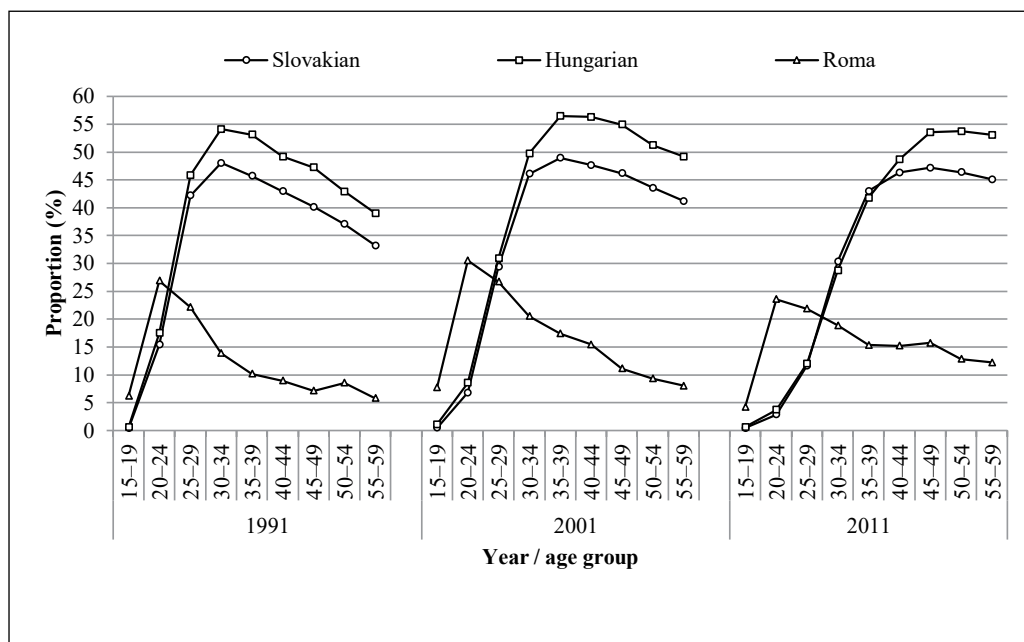


Figure 17. Proportion of women with two children by age and nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 census

The family model of only one child was far less widespread in Slovakia than in western and northern Europe.<sup>8</sup> The lowest prevalence is clearly seen among Roma women. It can be said that if a Roma woman becomes a mother at least once, in the vast majority of cases she becomes the mother of several children. According to the census data, less than 10% of Roma women had one child at the end of the reproductive period and aged 50-59 years. Only in the last 2011 census can we identify that this threshold was exceeded.

The one-child family model is a more frequent phenomenon for women of Hungarian nationality (Figure 18). Changes in reproductive behavior after 1989 contribute to an increase in the chances that women of both Hungarian and Slovakian nationality will become more often the mother of only one child. According to some predictions<sup>9</sup>, the share of women with one child in Slovakia could gradually rise to above 30% (for cohorts from the mid-1980s), and childlessness could rise above 20%. These changes would significantly affect the decline in the representation of the two-child family model.

8 Tomas Frejka and Jean-Paul Sardon, *Childbearing trends and prospects in low-fertility countries. A Cohort Analysis* (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004).

9 Branislav Šprocha, "Jednodetnosť – nový fenomén v reprodukčných dráhach žien na Slovensku?" *Slovenská štatistika a demografia* 29, no. 1 (2019): 23–37.

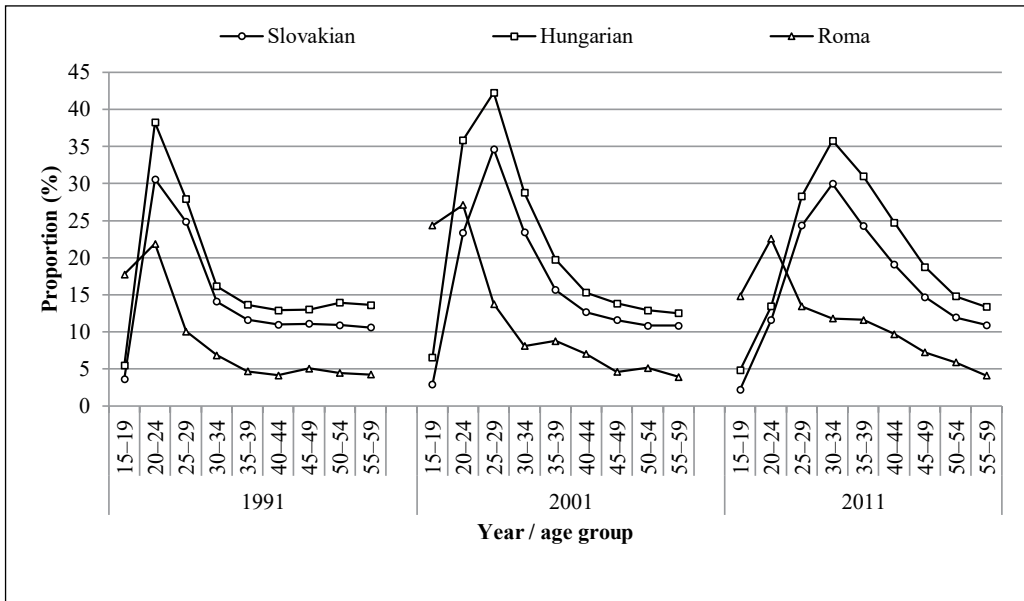


Figure 18. Share of women with one child by age and nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses

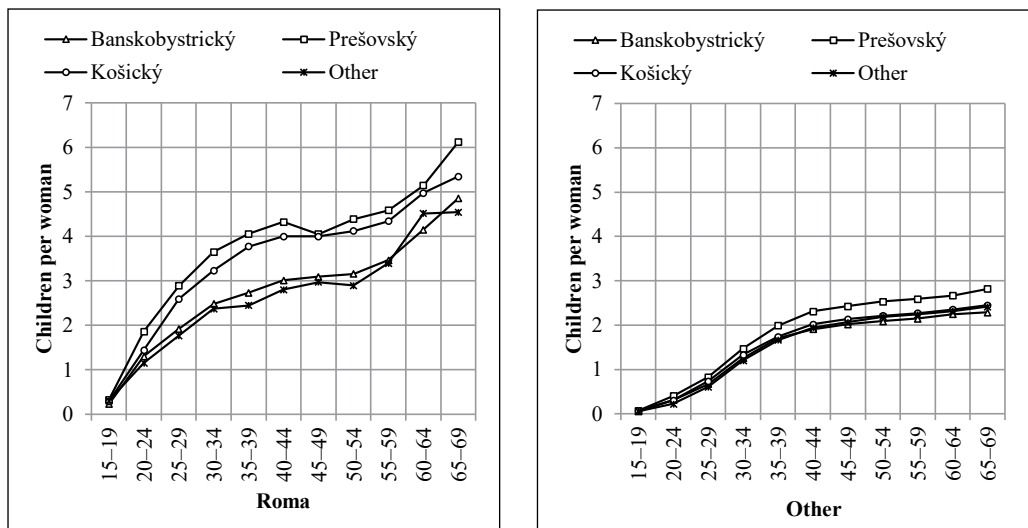
### Cohort fertility by nationality and place of residence

Slovakia has long been characterized by relatively large spatial differences in cohort fertility. The highest average number of children per woman after the end of her reproduction is achieved by several districts of Prešov and partly also of the Košice region. Some districts in northern Slovakia in the Žilina region also have higher completed cohort fertility rates.<sup>10</sup> Spatial differences in realised fertility are also confirmed in combination with nationality. It is confirmed that Roma living in the Prešov and Košice regions have a significantly higher fertility rate compared to those in other regions (Figure 19). At the same time, it is also true that the spatial differences in realised fertility are greater for Roma than for the other populations in Slovakia (compare Figure 19 and Figure 20). On the other hand, it is also necessary to point out that Roma from the Košice and Prešov regions more often live in multiple marginalized communities with poor living conditions, low education and low participation in the official labor market than do Roma in other regions of Slovakia.

10 Branislav Bleha, Boris Vaňo, Vladimír Bačík, and Jurčová Danuša, *Atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska* (Bratislava: Geografika Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2014).



As we discussed in Chapter 1, the population of the Hungarian nationality in Slovakia inhabits mainly the border areas in the southwest, south and southeast of the country. As it is a large area with different economic, cultural and social conditions, it remains a question of whether we can also identify some larger spatial differences in realised fertility within this national minority. The 2011 census results show that even within the monitored (so-called Hungarian) regions, we can really find some differences in the realised and completed fertility. First of all, the highest fertility rates were achieved by Hungarian women living in the areas with their highest representation. This is particularly the case for the Žitnýostrov and the Váh regions (see Chapter 1). On the contrary, the lowest fertility rates are found in the urban areas of the biggest cities of Bratislava and its surroundings and Košice and its surroundings (Figure 21). Women of Hungarian nationality in the region of Ipel', whose districts belong to areas with lower fertility in Slovakia, also achieved relatively low fertility. Also of interest is the situation in the Gemer region. The realised fertility at a young age is among selected regions the highest, but at the end of and after the reproductive age it is rather average. The explanation can probably be found in the fact that a relatively large group of Roma women with different timing of reproductive paths are also claimed among the people of Hungarian nationality.



*Figures 19–20. Realised fertility of Roma and non-Roma (other) women by age and regions of residence, 2011 census*

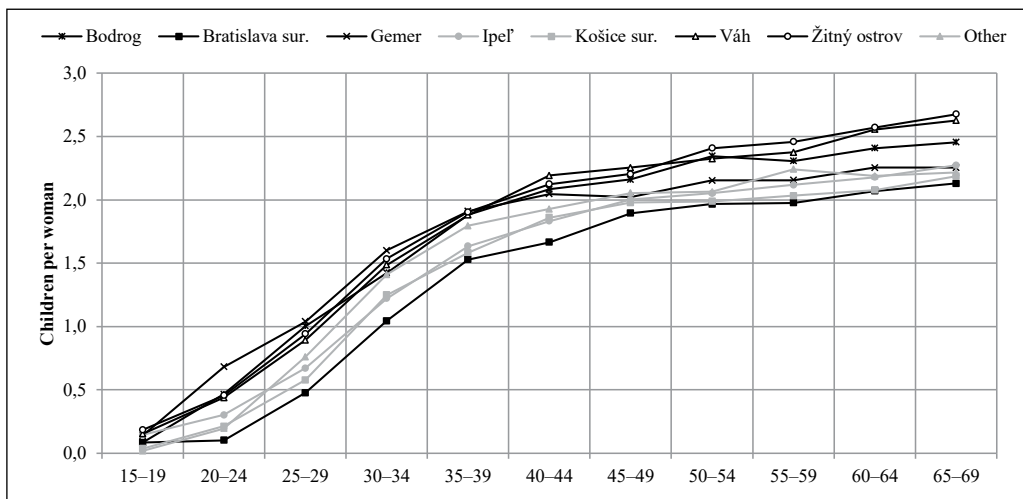


Figure 21. Realised fertility of Hungarian women by age and regions of residence, 2011 census

### Cohort fertility by nationality and educational attainment

Educational attainment is one of the important features of differential fertility. Cohort fertility analyses in Slovakia<sup>11</sup> confirm that education has had a long-term impact on fertility. A similar conclusion can be drawn when linking the level of fertility, education and nationality. Generally, it was confirmed that rising levels of education coincided with decreasing realised fertility levels. The biggest differences in realised fertility by level of education were identified in the oldest cohorts (Figure 22). At the same time, it is also clear that regardless of their level of education, Roma women always had higher cohort fertility rates than women of Slovakian or Hungarian nationality. Although the cohort fertility rate decreases with growing education among Roma women, higher completed cohort fertility compared to women of Hungarian and Slovakian nationality points to the fact that other important aspects are also in the background (e.g., place of residence, economic activity, normative values, status of women, marital status, use of contraception). In the case of comparison of women of Slovakian and Hungarian nationality, greater differences in realised fertility were identified especially for persons with lower education (Figure 22). In general, women of

11 Branislav Šprocha and Pavol Ďurček, *Rómoviana Slovensku v sčítaniach obyvateľov 1980–2011* (Bratislava: INFOSTAT, 2017).; Branislav Šprocha, “Zmeny v kohortnej plodnosti žien Slovenska v spojitosti s najvyšším dosiahnutým vzdelaním,” *Slovenská štatistika a demografia* 28, no. 4 (2018): 3–18.; Branislav Šprocha and Pavol Tišliar, “Outline of population development in Slovakia in the nineteenth century,” *Historická Demografie*, no. 42 (2018): 79–98.

Slovakian nationality were slightly more fertile. On the other hand, in women of Hungarian nationality, higher fertility at a younger age indicates the early onset of reproduction regardless of educational attainment. Among Slovakian and Hungarian women with upper secondary and tertiary education, differences in completed fertility were negligible.

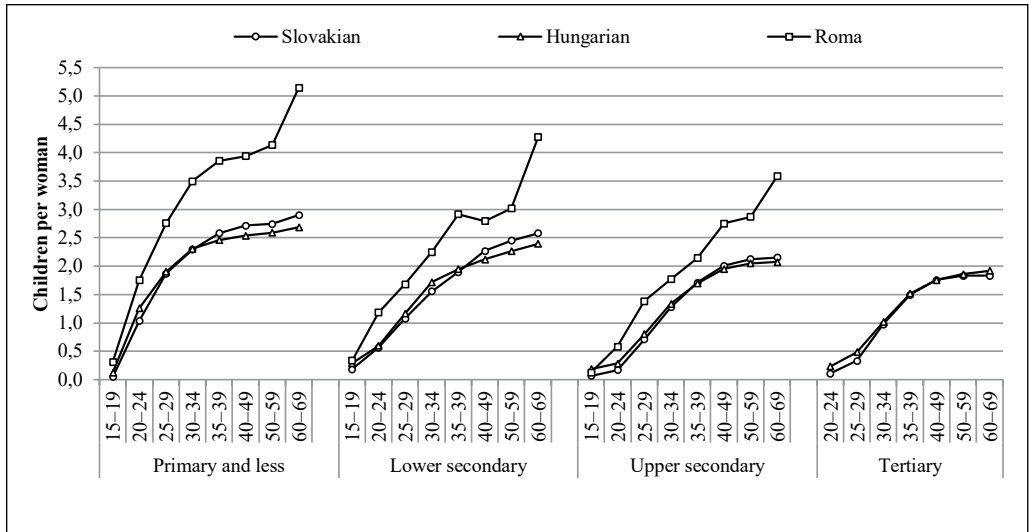


Figure 22. Realised and completed fertility of woman by age, education and nationality, 2011 census<sup>12</sup>

### Differences in family formation

Slovakia has long been perceived as an area of early and almost universal marriage.<sup>13</sup> According to Hajnal's classification<sup>14</sup>, we can talk about the non-European type of marriage behavior. This was basically true for all national groups, as the census results from the early 1990s have shown. The proportion of at least one married women at the age of 20–24 was almost 60%. For women of Hungarian nationality, this proportion was 68% and for Roma women it reached almost 65%. At the end of reproductive age, less than a tenth of women remained single (i.e., never married). This was somewhat more common among Roma women. We can assume that the cause of this condition could be the more frequent

12 Note: the number of Roma women with tertiary education is very low - it does not allow us to calculate a reliable figure on realised fertility.

13 Šprocha and Tišliar, "Outline of population development in Slovakia in the nineteenth century"

14 John Hajnal, "Age at Marriage and Proportion Marrying," *Population Studies* 7, no. 2 (1953): 111–136.; John Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in: *Population in History: essays in historical demography* eds. David Victor Glass, David Edward Charles Eversley (London: Arnold, 1965): 101–143.

coexistence of Roma in cohabitation. It is the Roma population in Slovakia that has long been characterized by a more frequent shift towards cohabitation, which fully replaces marriage functions. This is also confirmed by recent research on 2001 and 2011 census data.<sup>15</sup> Changes in family behavior that have occurred in Slovakia since the early 1990s have resulted in a decrease in marriage intensity and postponement of first marriages.<sup>16</sup> As Figure 23 shows, the differences in the timing of entry into the first marriage have deepened among the selected nationality groups. The process of postponing marriage was particularly apparent among Slovakian and Hungarian women, while women of Roma nationality still have a relatively frequent early start of marriage. As a result, the proportion of Roma women at a young age who at least once entered into a marriage is significantly higher (Figure 23). On the other hand, the latest census confirms that the share of never-married Roma women at the end and after the reproductive age is significantly higher. The differences in the representation of at least once-married women of Slovakian and Hungarian nationality are negligible (Figure 23).

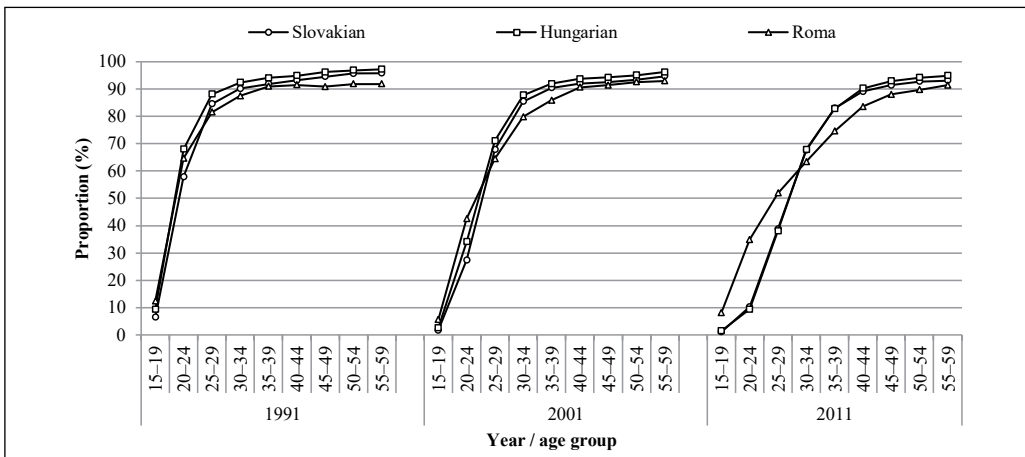
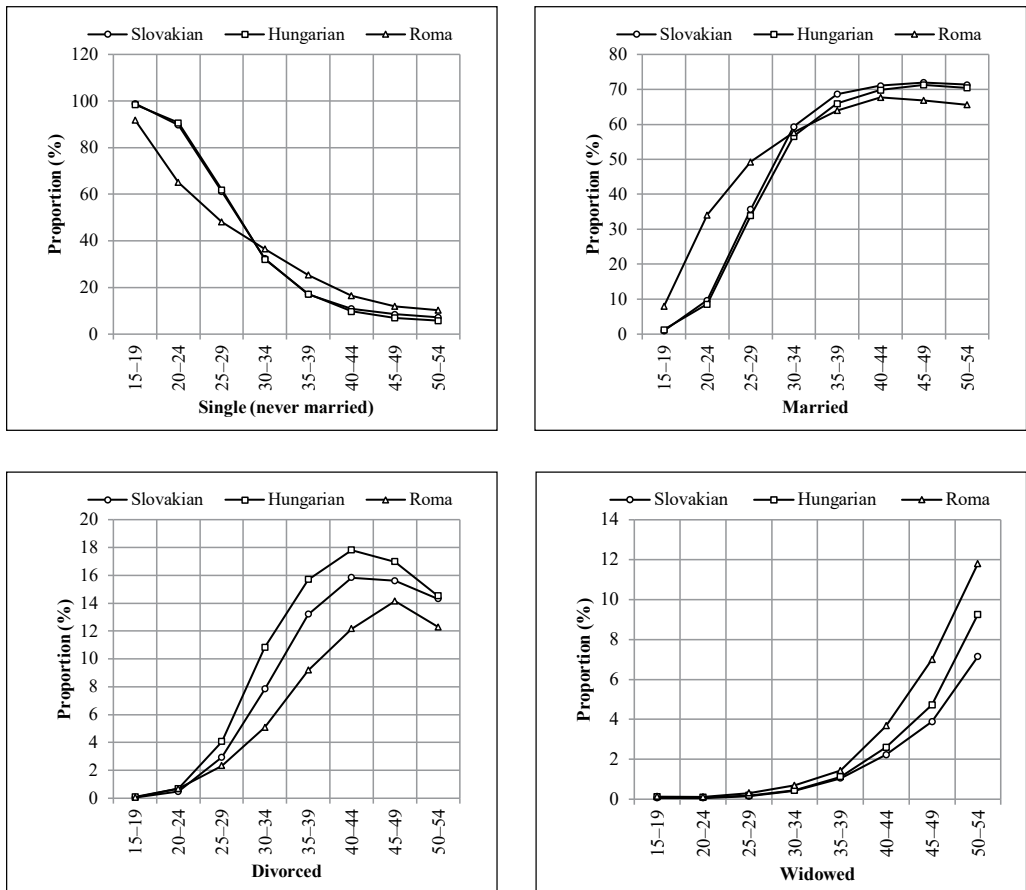


Figure 23. The proportion of woman who at least once entered marriage by age and nationality, 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses

An early onset of reproduction and marriage life among women of Roma nationality was also confirmed by the results of the 2011 census. While more than 90% of Slovakian

- 15 Jozef Mládek and Jana Širočková, "Kohabitácie ako jedna z foriem partnerského spolužitia na obyvateľstva na Slovensku," *Sociológia* 36, no. 5 (2004): 423–454.; Roman Džambazovič and Branislav Šprocha, "Kto žije v kohabitáciách na Slovensku? Intenzita vytvárania a charakteristiky kohabitujujúcich osôb podľa výsledkov sčítania obyvateľov, domov a bytov 2011," *Sociológia* 49, no. 4 (2017): 369–404.
- 16 Branislav Šprocha, "Transformácia sobášnosti slobodných v Českej a Slovenskej republike v prierezo-vom a kohortnom pohľade," *Demografie* 58, no. 3 (2016): 230–248.

and Hungarian women at the age of 20–24 were single, they did not account for two-thirds among Roma women (Figure 24). By contrast, in the second half of reproductive age, the proportion of single women is more likely to occur in the Roma population probably as a result of more frequent informal coexistence. The growing risk of divorce, especially in the 1990s and in the first decade of the 21st century in Slovakia, and the decreasing chances of repeated marriages<sup>17</sup>, were also conditional on the growing presence of divorced women. Figure 26 shows that women of Hungarian nationality are more often divorced, while Roma women have the lowest proportion of divorced persons. This would also be in line with some of the earlier findings<sup>18</sup> that pointed to a lower risk of divorce among Roma and, on the contrary, a high divorce rate in areas with the highest proportion of women of Hungarian nationality.



Figures 24–27. The structure of women by age, marital status and nationality, 2011 census

17 Šprocha and Tišliar, “Outline of population development in Slovakia in the nineteenth century”

18 Bleha et al., *Atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska*.

A very important aspect of the reproductive behavior of Roma and hence the structure of marital status are unfavorable mortality conditions.<sup>19</sup> As a result, there is a higher risk of widowing at a younger age and therefore also the presence of widowed persons (see Figure 27). This is partially true for Hungarian women who settle areas with the highest mortality rates in Slovakia.<sup>20</sup>

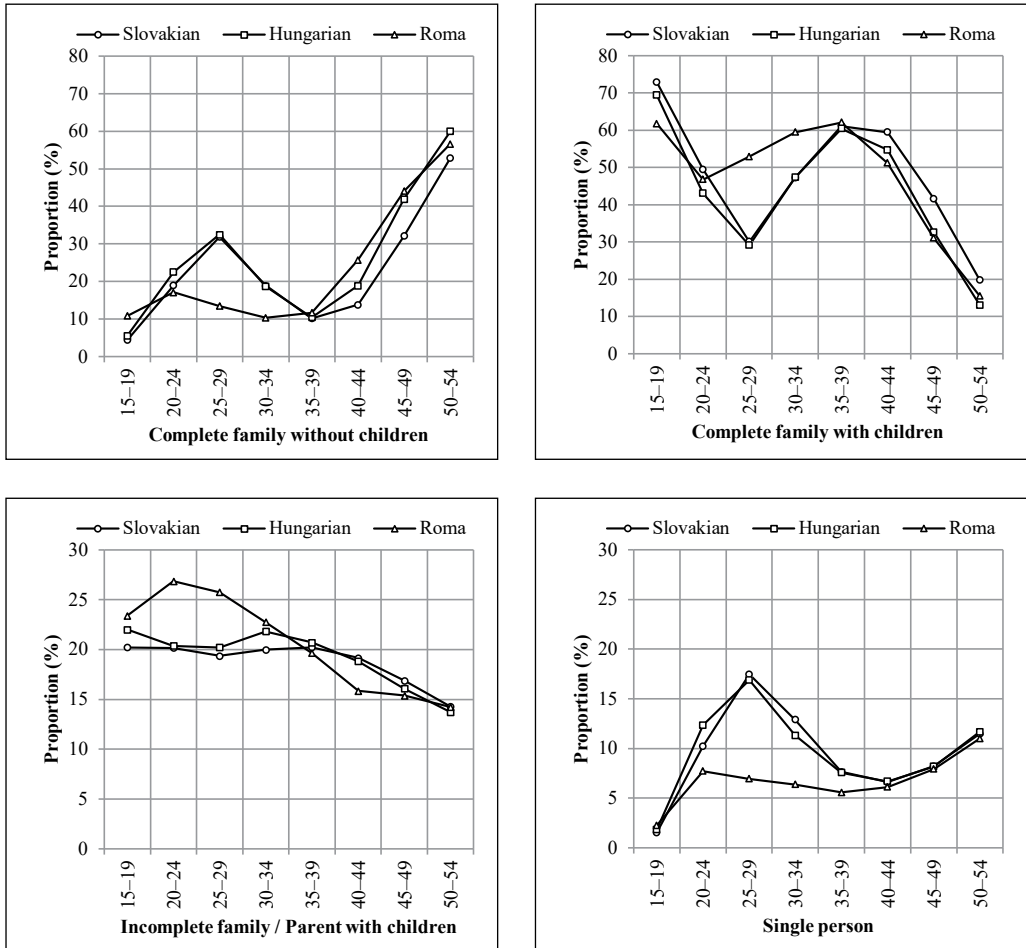
Census households are probably the best source of information for family formation analyses. These are the smallest social collectivities (further indivisible), which have been an integral part of the Slovak census since the 1960s. Their survey is based on the identification of shared housing, household management and the identification of family ties. There is distinguished a total of six types of census households: complete families without children (minor child), complete families with children, single-parent families with minor children (one parent and child), single-parent families without minor children, households of individuals (singles) and non-family households. The structure of census households in which women by age and nationality lived according to the 2011 census is presented in the following series of Figures 28–31.

The most important census households in which the majority of women of all three nationality groups live in their reproductive age are family households. Depending on the timing of the marriage and maternity starts, they differ in the presence of minors. In the first half of reproductive age, the proportion of complete families without children is lowest among the Roma. Women of Hungarian and Slovak nationality seem to be more likely to live in childless families, while the Roma families are almost complete with a minor child (or children). With growing age and leaving the family by children in all three national groups, the representation of childless families increases, and the proportion of complete families with children decreases (compare Figures 28 and 29). Differences in age-specific proportions and the type of complete families between Slovak and Hungarian women are negligible. An interesting phenomenon is the higher proportion of single-parent families in the first half of reproductive age among women of Roma nationality. More than a quarter of them live in this type of census household. It can be assumed that the cause is the more frequent birth of children outside the marriage (and life without a partner), as well as the lower stability of informal cohabitation in which children were born. Their representation in all national groups is decreasing with age. Different family formations as well as ways of coexistence are also reflected in the representation of households of single persons. While

19 Šprocha, "Odkladanie a rekuperácia plodnosti v kohortnej perspektíve v Českej republike a na Slovensku"

20 Ján Mészáros, *Atlas úmrtnosti obyvateľstva Slovenska* (Bratislava: INFOSTAT, 2008); Bleha et al., *Atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska*.

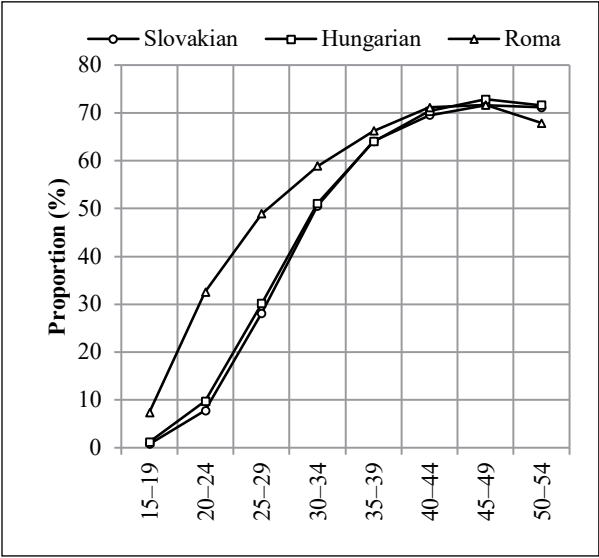
for women of the Slovak and Hungarian nationality this type of household represents an important space in their particular phase of life (aged 25–29), among the Roma population, women play a negligible role throughout the whole reproductive age.



Figures 28–31. The structure of women by age, type of census household and nationality, 2011 census

Other family-related aspects can also be analysed on the basis of identified family relationships in households. Above all, it is the formation of independent households, as well as the legitimacy of relationships between partners. In the first case, we analyse the representation of persons who are the head of household or live with such a person in a marriage or partnership. The results are presented in Figure 32. The results clearly point to a significantly earlier start of the formation of independent households by Roma women. While at the age of 20–24, only less than a tenth of women of Hungarian and Slovak

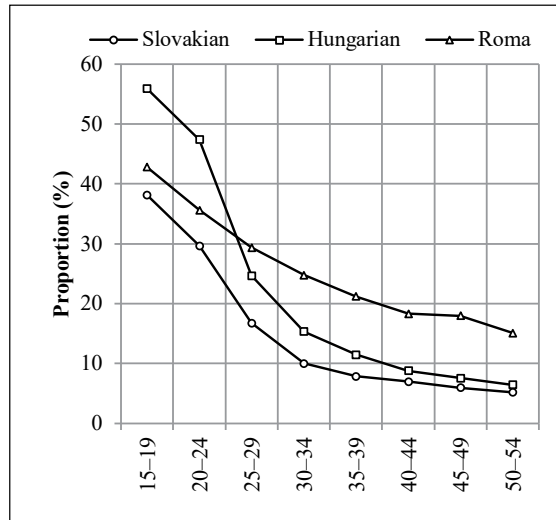
nationality stand at the head of an independent household or are married or partnered with such a person; among Roma these women already make up almost a one third of them. At the age of 25–29 it was approximately one half of Roma and almost 30% among Slovak and Hungarian women.



*Figure 32. The proportion of women at the head of the household or in marriage/partnership to the head of household by age and nationality*

The distinction between marriage-based relationships and cohabitation also makes it possible to analyse the representation of these informal ties among the women of the national groups in question. As we mentioned above, Roma tend to live more often in cohabitation than other ethnic groups in Slovakia. This was also confirmed by the 2011 census. With the exception of the youngest age group, the share of cohabitation in the total number of identified pair relationships was among Roma women the highest. Figure 33 also points out that more than one fifth to one third of Roma living in couples survive the most of their reproductive age in cohabitation.





*Figure 33. The proportion of cohabitation from the total number of paired female relationships by age and nationality*

We also find a relatively high proportion of cohabitation among women of Hungarian nationality. This is especially true at the youngest age. However, at this age only a small proportion of women are already making pairs. If this happens, cohabitation is a relatively common choice. With growing age, we identify an increasingly inclined attitude towards marriage.

## Ethnic exogamy

Marriage is one of the essential mechanisms for establishing the social structure of society.<sup>21</sup> As Katrňák (2008) states, if a married couple is somehow different at the time of marriage (e.g., age, education, nationality, religion), then it is a marriage that interferes with these differences between the spouses. Conversely, if we observe in the society tendencies to marriages taking into account the individual attributes of persons (e.g., age, education, nationality), this means that the choice of the spouse is a social mechanism that contributes to the social stratification of society.<sup>22</sup>

21 Frank Lancaster Jones, "Marriage Patterns and the Stratification System: Trends in Educational Homogamy since 1930s," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, no. 23 (1987): 185–198.

22 Tomáš Katrňák, *Spříznění volbou? Homogamie and heterogamie manželských párů v České republice* (Praha: SLON, 2008).

Several authors<sup>23</sup> point to the fact that marriage ties are not random, but spouses have similar features at the time of marriage. One of the features often mentioned is nationality (ethnicity). As reported by Katrnák (2008), nationality is an important factor in choosing a spouse. The author further states that if we find a low ethnic (national) homogamy in society, we can talk about high tolerance for different ethnic groups. On the contrary, high ethnic homogamy means large barriers between ethnic groups and signals significant social distances. In such a case, penetration into another group is very problematic, and therefore the conclusion of marriages of persons from different social groups is perceived rather negatively. The low homogamy (and thus the high heterogamy) means that these social penetrations are not problematic and the social stratification structure of the society is not taken into account when choosing a spouse. Thus, national homogamy can also be an indicator of a multicultural society.<sup>24</sup>

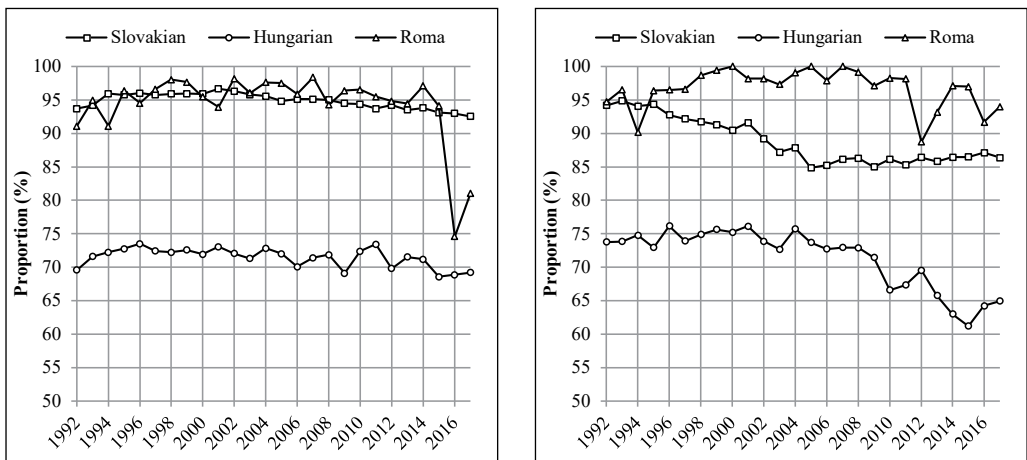
In our paper, we will talk about national homogamy in cases where persons entering marriage have the same nationality (i.e., declare the same nationality). In other cases, we will identify such marriages as nationally heterogamous.

The degree of homogamy is given by the size of the national group itself, the space in which its representatives live and by the social relations with other ethnic groups. As we mentioned in Chapter 1, in Slovakia we can talk mainly about two ethnic groups: Hungarians and Roma. While in the case of Hungarians, it is a relatively geographically concentrated precisely localized territory in the south border areas of Slovakia; we do not identify such a significant geographical concentration in Roma. On the other hand, a large proportion of Roma live in small, spatially and often socially closed Roma localities (Roma settlements), especially in the east and south of central Slovakia. The attitudes of the majority of the Slovak population to national groups and especially to the Hungarian and, above all, the Roma are marked by the number of prejudices. As stated by Šutaj et al. (2006), persons of Hungarian nationality form a relatively compact unit with strong mutual ties. Homišinová (2009), on the other hand, points to the gradual transformation into the Slovak majority. According to Gyurgyik (2008), one of the main reasons for this development is the increase in the number of nationally mixed marriages.<sup>25</sup>

- 23 Wilfred J. G. Uunk, *Who Marries Whom? The Role of Social Origin, Education and High Culture in Mate Selection of Industrial Societies during the Twentieth Century* (Nijmegen: NOW, 1997); Hans Peter Blossfeld and Andreas Timm, ed., *Who Marries Whom? Educational Systems as Marriage Markets in Modern Societies* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003); Katrnák, *Spřízněnívolbou?*; Laura Fónadová and Tomáš Katrnák, "Etnická homogamie na Slovensku v letech 1992 až 2012," *Czech Sociological Review* 52, 2 (2016): 157–178.
- 24 Tomáš Katrnák, *Spříznění volbou? Homogamie and heterogamie manželských párů v České republice*. (Praha: SLON, 2008).
- 25 Štefan Šutaj, Mária Homišinová, Zlatica Sáposová, and Jana Šutajová, *Maďarska menšina na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie po roku 1989 (Identita a politika)* (Prešov: Universum, 2006); Mária Homišinová, "Slováci v Maďarsku a Maďarina Slovensku. (empirická analýza konštrukcie etnickej identity)," *Človek a spoločnosť* 12, 1 (2009); László Gyurgyik, "Zmeny v demografickej, sídelnej a sociálnej štruktúre Maďarov na Slovensku," in *Maďarina Slovensku (1984–2004). Súhrnnás práva. Od zmeny režimu po vstup do Európskej únie*, eds. József Fazekas and Péter Hunčík (Šamorín: Forum inštitút pre výskum menšín, 2008): 155–198.

In the case of Roma, besides the frequent spatial segregation, we can also talk about strong social segregation. According to several European Value Study waves, Roma are among the least tolerated social groups in Slovakia. This is also evidenced by the fact that up to three-quarters of the respondents in these surveys would not want them in their neighborhood. It is this low status of the Roma (and not their ethnicity) that can be one of the main reasons for the long-observed high marriage homogamy. This has also been confirmed by the research of Fónadová and Katrňák (2016).<sup>26</sup> According to this research, Fónadová and Katrňák find that marriages in Slovakia are strongly structured by ethnic homogamy. The probability of an ethnically heterogamous marriage varies among ethnic groups; however, it does not increase for any of the ethnic groups over the period of analysis. Homogamous marriages dominated the Slovakian and Roma populations. The heterogamous ratio was approximately 10% without a clear trend. Hungarians accounted for almost 60% of homogamous marriages.

We can also identify very similar conclusions. We analysed at the level of marriage homogamy from the perspective of the wife (and her nationality) and the husband (and his nationality). For men, we can see a strong homogamy in the people of Slovak and Roma nationality. The proportion of heterogamous marriages in their case did not exceed 5% on the long term. We find even stronger homogamy among women of Roma nationality, who only exceptionally enter into marriage with a person of another nationality. On the other hand, marriage homogamy is significantly lower for women of Slovak nationality.



**Figures 34–35. Married homogamy from the view of the groom (left) and the bride (right) by their nationality**

26 Laura Fónadová, Tomáš Katrňák, "Etnická homogamie na Slovensku v letech 1992 až 2012," *Czech Sociological Review*, 52, 2. (2016): 157–178.

Moreover, since the beginning of the 21st century, it has seen a relatively significant decline to around 85%. This is mainly due to the growing number of marriages with foreigners. In the last two decades, the rate of marriage homogamy among women of Hungarian nationality has also fallen considerably. Men did not experience such a significant decline and their homogamy is still around 70%. A more detailed analysis shows that also in this case, the cause of the growing heterogamy is growing numbers of marriages with foreigners (and thus with men of other than Slovak, Hungarian or Roma nationality).

The following two tables (Tables 8 and 9) provide a more detailed analysis of the factors influencing the decision-making of entering into a national heterogamous marriage. Proportions of heterogamous marriages as well as the likelihood of mixed marriages among Hungarians show some interesting facts. They confirm that women of Hungarian nationality are entering into the heterogamous marriage more often. The chance and the proportion of mixed marriages increase with age. A place of residence is also important factor for a marriage to a person of non-Hungarian nationality. In general, the lowest odds appear to be in areas with the highest proportion of Hungarians, while the chances of mixed marriage increase with decreasing proportion. That is why we can identify the highest likelihood of mixed marriage and their highest proportion in the regions of Bratislava and Košice and thus in urban areas. On the contrary, the lowest odds reached the Žitnýostrov region. Although the importance of mixed marriages increases with the size of the settlement, as well as their likelihood, the significance of these differences is questionable. Also, the family status factor is not significant. Education is also an important explanatory factor. Based on the obtained results, it is clear that the lowest chance of mixed marriage is for people with the lowest level of education (primary and less), and on the contrary, the highest likelihood reached persons with upper-secondary education.

In the Roma population, the presence of mixed marriages signals the following findings. Men, the elderly, people from urban areas, larger cities, better educated people and persons from regions with a smaller representation of Roma have a higher chance of entering into mixed marriages. On the other hand, logistic regression points to the low statistical significance of most of these variables. Basically, statistically significant factors for marrying a person other than one of Roma nationality is only sex (men more often) and education (with increased education, the chances of a mixed marriage increase significantly).

*Table 8. Factors affecting the likelihood of mixed marriage of Hungarians in Slovakia (2002–2017)*

Variable		Hungarians		
		Proportion of mixed marriage (%)	Log. Regression	
			EXP.B	SIG.
Gender	Men (ref.)	27.1		
	Women	29.1	1.13	0.000
Age group	19–24 (ref.)	22.5		
	14–18	13.6	0.94	0.512
	25–29	27.4	1.16	0.000
	30–34	31.7	1.36	0.000
	35–39	33.6	1.45	0.000
	40–49	33.4	1.38	0.000
	50+	34.6	1.38	0.000
Region	Žitný ostrov (ref.)	16.6		
	Bodrog	25.2	1.57	0.000
	Bratislava and its surrounding	63.8	2.33	0.000
	Gemer	23.5	1.10	0.008
	Ipeľ	35.4	1.56	0.000
	Košice and its surrounding	49.4	1.52	0.000
	Váh	33.2	1.67	0.000
	Out of Southern Slovakia	54.3	2.73	0.000

Size of settlement	Below 1000 inhabitants (ref.)	23.1		
	1000–2000 inhabitants	21.9	0.94	0.054
	2000–5000 inhabitants	25.1	0.91	0.011
	5–20.000	29.6	1.14	0.034
	20–50.000	32.1	1.10	0.177
	50000+	70.4	1.07	0.475
Type of settlement	Urban (ref.)	35.3		
	Rural	23.4	1.20	0.002
Family status	Single (ref.)	27.3		
	Divorced	32.5	1.00	0.982
	Widow	34.1	1.03	0.771
Educational attainment	Primary or less (ref.)	16.9		
	Lower secondary	25.1	1.56	0.000
	Upper secondary	31.4	1.96	0.000
	Tertiary	31.6	1.64	0.000
Ethnic structure (Proportion of Hungarians)	More than 75% (ref.)	15.9		
	50–75%	27.3	1.90	0.000
	35–50%	41.9	3.48	0.000
	20–35%	54.6	4.99	0.000
	Less than 20 %	68.6	7.54	0.000
Nagelkerke R Square: 0,196				

*Table 9. Factors affecting the likelihood of mixed marriage of Roma in Slovakia (2002–2017)*

		Roma		
		Proportion of mixed marriage (%)	Log. regression	
			EXPB	SIG.
Gender	Men (ref)	4.9		
	Women	2.4	0.44	0.000
Age group	19–24 (ref)	3.1		
	14–18	2.5	1.11	0.703
	25–29	5.6	1.11	0.723
	30–34	8.9	1.64	0.196
	35–39	10.0	1.53	0.394
	40–49	6.6	0.53	0.371
	50+	4.2	0.61	0.662
Region	Košický kraj (ref.)	4.4		
	Prešovský kraj	2.7	0.64	0.082
	Banskobystrický kraj	13.1	1.84	0.175
	Other	11.0	2.64	0.020
Size of settlement	Below 1000 inhabitants (ref.)	6.6		
	1000–2000 inhabitants	3.0	0.76	0.454
	2000–5000 inhabitants	2.3	0.44	0.016
	5–20.000	4.2	0.29	0.034
	20–50.000	16.5	0.79	0.737
	50000+	8.1	0.27	0.148

Type of settlement	Urban (ref.)	7.0		
	Rural	2.9	0.31	0.019
Family status	Single (ref.)	3.6		
	Divorced	7.0	0.52	0.067
	Widow	16.7	0.68	0.268
Educational attainment	Primary or less (ref.)	2.8		
	Lower secondary	7.7	2.63	0.001
	Upper secondary	18.4	4.74	0.000
	Tertiary	46.2	19.48	0.000
Ethnic structure (Proportion of Hungarians)	35–50% (ref.)	5.2		
	20–35%	2.6	0.52	0.067
	Less than 20 %	4.2	0.68	0.268
Nagelkerke R Square: 0,154				

### Patterns of socialization in ethnically mixed marriages

Ethnic groups are associated with their specific norms and values, which they transfer to their descendants in an ethnically homogeneous marriage. On the contrary, children in nationally heterogeneous marriages are confronted with different norms and values from two different national groups; they grow up in a culturally mixed environment. In cases where individual national groups are socially close to each other, this is manifested (among other things) by the fact that these persons enter into marriages with each other regardless of their national origin. As stated by Fónadová and Katrňák (2016), in the existence of socially close ethnic groups it is possible to expect that men and women from different ethnic groups share an intimate partnership more often. There are no barriers between them in their ideas about the social world.<sup>27</sup>

27 Fónadová and Katrňák, “Etnickáhomogamiena Slovensku v letech 1992 až 2012”



Data from the 2011 census allow us to connect children with their parents. As a result, we can monitor some factors of socialization of children in ethnically mixed marriages (or cohabitation). The basic combination structure of the nationality of the father and mother with nationality of children (for Roma and Hungarian) is presented in Table 11. As it is obvious, almost 80% of all children of Hungarian nationality in Slovakia lived in the household of Hungarian nationals. Slightly more than 6% had a Hungarian mother and a Slovak father and 4% had the opposite. It is also interesting that almost 8% of Hungarian children have parents of Slovak nationality.

In the case of Roma children, the level of homogamy of parents was even higher. Only about a tenth of these children grew up in an environment with at least one non-Roma national. A detailed combination of parents' nationalities can be seen in Table 10.

**Table 10. Combination the nationality of the father and mother of a child of Hungarian and Roma nationality**

Ethnicity of father	Ethnicity of mother				
	Slovak	Hungarian	Roma	Other	unknown
	<i>Ethnicity of children: Hungarian</i>				
Slovak	7,6	6,3	0,0	0,0	0,0
Hungarian	4,0	79,7	0,1	0,3	0,3
Roma	0,0	0,2	0,1	0,0	0,0
Other	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,0
unknown	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,1
	<i>Ethnicity of children: Roma</i>				
Slovak	2,6	0,1	1,9	0,0	0,1
Hungarian	0,0	0,2	0,6	0,0	0,0
Roma	1,4	0,2	90,3	0,1	0,9
Other	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0
unknown	0,1	0,0	1,0	0,0	0,4

In the next part of our analysis, we focused only on children of Roma and Hungarian nationality living in mixed marriages. Table 11 presents the proportion of children of Hungarian nationality living in ethnically mixed marriages according to the selected variables of parents, as well as the results of a logistic regression model in which Hungarian nationality is the dependent variable. The likelihood of being registered as Hungarian was slightly higher for Hungarian mothers than for Hungarian fathers.

More often, Hungarian nationality is identified among boys in mixed marriages. The spatial aspect (represented by selected historical regions populated by the Hungarian population, the size of the municipality and the type of settlement: rural vs urban) seems to be of little importance in determining the child's Hungarian nationality. On the other hand, the proportion of Hungarians in the settlement is important. In municipalities with the highest representation of Hungarians and the higher proportion of children growing up in mixed families was classified as Hungarian.

The level of education has a significant effect. The highest chances are that a child will be identified by Hungarian nationality in mixed marriages with low-educated parents. On the contrary, in the family with middle-educated parents, the chance is lowest.

The influence of ethnicity and religion is inconsistent. In the case of non-Hungarian spouses belonging to the majority (spouses of Slovakian nationality), the chances of choosing the Hungarian nationality for children are lower compared to the situation with other and especially Roma spouses. The influence of the religion of Hungarian and non-Hungarian spouses is not clear. Only in the case of Reformed Hungarians and non-Hungarians can we identify a higher inclination toward the Hungarian option. From the marriage vs. consensual union differences point of view, more children are registered as Hungarian in consensual unions.

When the Roma nationality is identified in a child growing up in mixed marriages, the gender of the Roma nationality, the child's sex, partly the place of residence and the education of the parents play a significant role. Other cultural characteristics (e.g., nationality, religion of parents) can be evaluated as insignificant.

The binary logistic analysis has shown that parents tend to be more inclined towards Roma nationality if the mother declared this nationality. Boys have a better chance to be declared as Roma. From the point of view of space, the identification of Roma nationality among children living in mixed marriages is more frequent in the Prešov region and the least in regions with a low representation of Roma (outside Eastern Slovakia and the Banská Bystrica region). Spouses are also more likely to identify their children as a Roma in mid-sized cities (see Tables 11 and 12).

**Table 11. Factors affecting the ethnic categorization of Hungarian children living in ethnically mixed families (Binomial logistic regressions)**

Hungarian mixed marriages				
		% of choosing Hungarian identity	EXP. B	SIG.
Total				
Gender of Hungarian partner	Women (ref.)	27.3		
	Men	18.3	0.60	0.000
Gender of the child	Girl (ref.)	19.7		
	Boy	24.4	1.25	0.000
Region	Žitný ostrov (ref.)	29.6		
	Bodrog	27.1	0.95	0.495
	Bratislava and its surrounding	14.1	0.93	0.368
	Gemer	26.8	1.15	0.015
	Ipeľ	22.2	1.02	0.683
	Košice and its surrounding	21.0	1.36	0.000
	Váh	18.6	0.84	0.004
	Out of Southern Slovakia	15.4	0.90	0.186
Size of settlement	Below 1000 inhabitants (ref.)	28.4		
	1000–2000 inhabitants	24.3	0.86	0.005
	2000–5000 inhabitants	22.8	0.91	0.086
	5–20.000	22.5	0.90	0.257
	20–50.000	20.9	1.05	0.624
	50000+	13.8	0.87	0.241

Proportion of Hungarians in the settlement	More than 75% (ref.)	33.6		
	50–75%	25.4	0.69	0.000
	35–50%	21.0	0.50	0.000
	20–35%	17.7	0.43	0.000
	Less than 20 %	14.1	0.35	0.000
Type of settlement	Rural (ref.)	25.3		
	Urban	19.6	0.96	0.658
Medium educational level	Low (ref.)	32.9		
	Medium	21.6	0.67	0.000
	High	20.7	0.73	0.000
Ethnicity of non Hungarian spouse	Slovak (ref.)	21.5		
	Roma	47.1	2.03	0.000
	Other	36.6	1.93	0.000
Religion of non-Hungarian spouse	Roman Catholic (ref.)	22.3		
	Evangelic	20.0	0.93	0.315
	Reformed	30.9	1.21	0.018
	Other	22.0	0.95	0.248
Religion of Hungarian spouse	Roman Catholic (ref.)	22.2		
	Evangelic	19.3	0.88	0.332
	Reformed	27.5	1.24	0.000
	Other	20.5	0.98	0.654
Type of union	Marriage (ref.)	21.7		
	Cons. union	28.4	1.19	0.000
Nagelkerke R Square: 0,087				

**Table 12. Factors affecting the ethnic categorization of Roma children living in ethnically mixed families (Binomial logistic regressions)**

Roma mixed marriages				
		% of choosing Roma identity	EXP. B	SIG.
Total				
Gender of Roma partner	Women (ref.)	46.0		
	Men	24.4	0.40	0.000
Gender of the child	Girl (ref.)	26.8		
	Boy	39.3	1.79	0.000
Region	Košický kraj (ref.)	37.3		
	Prešovský kraj	42.2	1.44	0.004
	Banskobystrický kraj	35.1	1.12	0.406
	Other	17.1	0.46	0.000
Size of settlement	Below 1000 inhabitants (ref.)	32.3		
	1000–2000 inhabitants	37.1	1.44	0.016
	2000–5000 inhabitants	34.7	1.89	0.000
	5–20.000	42.3	4.03	0.000
	20–50.000	22.0	2.23	0.007
	50000+	23.2	4.09	0.000
	35–50% (ref.)	45.0		
	20–35%	36.9	0.66	0.006
	Less than 20 %	32.7	0.60	0.001
Type of settlement	Rural (ref.)	35.5		
	Urban	31.3	0.51	0.001

Medium educational level	Low (ref.)	39.1		
	Medium	20.9	0.54	0.000
	High	18.1	0.70	0.084
Ethnicity of non Roma spouse	Slovak (ref.)	33.4		
	Hungarian	32.0	1.17	0.265
	Other	45.8	2.75	0.000
Religion of non-Roma spouse	Roman Catholic (ref.)	30.9		
	Evangelic	16.7	0.48	0.056
	Reformed	35.1	1.21	0.654
	Other	39.9	1.52	0.004
Religion of Roma spouse	Roman Catholic (ref.)	31.9		
	Evangelic	24.0	0.93	0.855
	Reformed	47.4	1.85	0.245
	Other	37.4	0.93	0.609
Type of union	Marriage (ref.)	32.3		
	Cons. union	37.5	1.18	0.107
Nagelkerke R Square: 0,191				