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GENEZYS 2015: MINORITY HUNGARIAN
YOUTH IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN –
RESEARCH SUMMARY

Abstract: The paper presents the results of the GeneZYS 2015 youth sociology research that was carried out by the Mathias Corvinus Collegium and the Institute for Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Centre for Social Sciences in November-December 2015. The survey targeted young, ethnic Hungarian people aged 15-29 in four of the neighboring countries of Hungary: Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia. Main topics of the survey were: social mobility (including the level of education of the parents); participation in education and school history; situation on the labor market; marital situation, willingness to having children, value preferences, religion, leisure time, time management; media consumption; citizenship; migration willingness; ethnic and national identification; political and public life participation.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of being aware of young people's preferences in society: their social, political and cultural values; the modalities of their attitudes towards their present and future; and their life strategies based on their acts. Although it is not obvious where the line should be drawn between 'young' and 'not young', – especially in the context of expedited social processes, – it is still reasonable to claim that young people and adults have different behavior and habits. Habits are produced and defined by the nature of societal arrangements as well as the individual's position in the social field. Some scholars talk about a change of era for the youth; they claim that the 1989 changes in Central Europe, and later on the consumption of digital products brought about a new youth culture. When investigating young age, the extension of young stage of life, the constant change of roles, the increasing insecurity and risk, and the gradual expansion of

market and consumption all need to be taken into consideration.¹ Increasing mobility indicates compatibility with challenges of the market, but at the same time the digital village and community media can create relations and networks of a new type.

All the above processes have impacts on those young Hungarians who belong to the Hungarian minority communities in the neighboring countries of Hungary, who live as traditional national minorities as the result of the border changes of the 20th century. However, from their minority position, certainly there are other types of influential attitudes as well.²

The (real or perceived) value preferences and the consecutive reactions of the ‘Other’ (people belonging to the majority, Hungarians in Hungary, people belonging to other minorities) are always there on the horizon of actions and ideas of people belonging to minorities. In ethnically mixed but socially and geographically mobile positions, people belonging to minorities can be both ‘marked’ and ‘marking’, which can result in different behaviors and actions, and makes it possible to reinterpret the environment from other perspectives.³

We believe that the ‘marked’ status of Hungarians in minority position can be further modulated by the newly available Hungarian dual citizenship and the new identities stemming from that.⁴ Therefore the question can be raised whether the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship has an effect of approaching Hungarians from Hungary and Hungarians in the neighboring countries symbolically and on the level of values. Moreover, whether dual citizenship triggers specific social processes or migration trends is also a question to be answered. Hungarian media space has been evolving since the early 1990s in the Carpathian Basin, and after 2010 it was completed with the possibility to obtain Hungarian citizenship without residence in Hungary. Dual citizenship might enhance the migration willingness of Hungarians living in the neighboring countries, however, interestingly, the primary destination for these dual citizens is not Hungary. We could say that they face a dual diasporization situation: on their own homeland, and as migrants abroad.

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- 1 Gábor Kálmán, “Bevezetés – A perifériáról a centrumba. Előzetes hipotézisek a határon túli magyar fiatalok helyzetének az értelmezéséhez” [Introduction – From Periphery to Centre. Preliminary Hypothesis for the Interpretation of the Situation of Young Ethnic Hungarians Abroad], in *A perifériáról a centrumba. Az erdélyi fiatalok helyzetképe az ezredforduló után*, ed. István Csata et al. (Szeged – Kolozsvár: Belvedere – Max Weber Társadalomkutató Alapítvány, 2005).
 - 2 Nándor Bárdi, “Different Images of the Future of the Hungarian Communities in Neighbouring Countries, 1989–2012,” *European Review* 21, no. 4 (2013): 530–552.
 - 3 For more details on these categories see: Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox and Liana Grancea, “*Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*.” (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
 - 4 Attila Papp Z., “Trickster Logics in the Hungarian Dual Citizenship Offer,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 23 (2017): 18–32.

The GeneZYs 2015 research aimed to collect empirical data on the above described social processes. The data was collected by surveying young people in the four largest Hungarian minority communities.⁵

Methodological details

The GeneZYs 2015 youth sociology research was carried out by the Mathias Corvinus Collegium and the Institute for Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Centre for Social Sciences in November-December 2015. The survey targeted young, ethnic Hungarian people aged 15-29 in four of the neighboring countries of Hungary: Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia. Main topics of the survey were: social mobility (including the level of education of the parents); participation in education and school history; situation on the labor market; marital situation, willingness to having children, value preferences, religion, leisure time, time management; media consumption; citizenship; migration willingness; ethnic and national identification; political and public life participation.

The population of young people whose mother tongue is Hungarian in the four countries make up approximately 400,000 people. The sample included 2700 respondents and can be considered representative of age, gender, settlement type, and geographical distribution within the four regions. The intended breakdown of the sample was: 1000 people in Romania, 700 in Slovakia, 500 in Serbia and 500 in Ukraine. During the actual research, the planned numbers had to be slightly modified in certain locations.

Socio-demographic data

As Hungarian ethnicity and Hungarian mother tongue are not completely interchangeable in the examined countries, it can be assumed that the sample included people whose ethnicity or mother tongue was not necessarily Hungarian. 90% of the respondents said their ethnicity was Hungarian, 4% said they were Roma, 3% said that they belonged to the ethnic majority (Romania, Slovak, Serbian, Ukrainian), and 2% indicated that they had a different affiliation. The (outside) heteroidentification of the Roma showed a higher

5 See a broader horizon of analyses in the Hungarian language volume of the research: *Változó kisebbség. Kárpát-mendencei magyar fiatalok. A GeneZYs 2015 kutatás eredményei* [Changing Minority. Hungarian Youth in the Carpathian Basin. Results of the GeneZYs 2015 research], ed. Attila Papp Z. (Budapest: MCC – MTA TK KI, 2017).

proportion: the interviewers of the research reported that 8% of the respondents were Roma.

Within all four regions, men were slightly overrepresented in the sample, which mostly mirrors the proportion of the examined age groups in the total population. The age distribution is very similar in all the regions: the most numerous age group is that of people aged 25-29, the least numerous is that of aged 15-19 in three of the four regions. The exception is Romania, where the most numerous cohort was that of people aged 20-24.

Almost 3/4 of the Slovakian sample and 2/3 of the Ukrainian sample live in villages. On the other hand, the Romanian sample shows an almost 50-50% breakdown of the people living in a village and in urban areas, and in the Serbian sample people living in urban areas make up the majority. In Serbia, the proportion of those who moved to an urban area from their childhood residency increased; however, in the other three regions there is almost no difference between the childhood settlement type and the present residence.

Almost half of the respondents said that they were single, 15% of them are married (see Table 1.). The proportion of married respondents was the highest in the Ukrainian sample (24%), however, divorces are frequent in this region as well. People living in a relationship in Serbia, Slovakia and Romania prefer not to move in together. Cohabitation without marriage is typical for the respondents in the Slovakian sample. Regional and age group comparisons show that respondents in Ukraine tend to get married at an earlier stage (above 20 years), while in the other regions one can see significant tendency of getting married only after age 25. Within the oldest age group, half of the respondents in Ukraine, and more than one-third of the respondents in Romania are married, however, in the other two regions, only every fifth respondents is married.

	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
Single	46,70%	50,10%	43,60%	48,50%	47,20%
In a relationship, not living together	16,90%	31,70%	33,40%	26,50%	27,40%
Married	26,40%	9,50%	9,00%	15,20%	14,70%
Unmarried, but in a relationship, living together	7,20%	8,40%	13,40%	9,30%	9,80%
Divorced (separated)	2,70%	–	0,60%	0,40%	0,80%
Widow	–	0,20%	–	0,20%	0,10%
TOTAL	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 1: Distribution of marital status within regions (%)

73% of the marriages are ethnically homogeneous, which means that they can be considered as Hungarian-Hungarian marriages. In regional breakdown we can claim that the proportion of homogenous Hungarian marriages are relatively lower in Ukraine and Romania (68.5% and 71.9%, respectively), while in the other two regions it is above the average. Comparing this result with previous data we can conclude that the higher the proportion of marriages, the higher the chances of ethnically heterogeneous marriages, and vice versa: the lower the proportion of marriages, the higher the chances of ethnically homogeneous marriages.

Do you have children?	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
Yes	28,70%	9,10%	13,20%	13,40%	15,50%
No	71,30%	90,90%	86,80%	86,60%	84,50%
TOTAL	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 2: Having children within regions (%)

15% of the respondents have at least one child. The highest ratio of respondents with children was in Ukraine: one-fourth of the age group 20-24, and half of age group 25-29 already have children. Besides the Ukrainian sample, respondents from Romania have a stronger tendency of having children (see Table 2.). In the oldest age group, almost one third of the respondents from Romania have at least one child. There is a correlation between having children and living in a marriage/relationship: 80-85% of the respondents with children in the age groups 20-24 and 25-29 live in a relationship, and the percentages are even higher in the Romanian and Ukrainian subsamples. 63% of those who already are parents have one, and almost 30% of them have two children. Most of the respondents said that they plan to have two or three children.

At least 2/3 of the respondents live with their parents; in Serbia, the ratio of respondents living with their parents is over 70%. The ratio of respondents living with their spouses' parents is strikingly high in the Ukrainian subsample. This phenomenon, together with the early age of getting married (21.4 years) indicate a traditional form of life in the case of the respondents from Ukraine. Regional differences of housing situation in age group comparison are significant in the second and third age cohort. The proportion of those who possess their own apartment goes up in the second and third age group cohort, however, more than half of the 25-29 year old Ukrainian respondents live with their parents, 22% of them live with their spouses' parents, and less than one-fifth of them live in their own apartment.

Respondents from Ukraine said in the lowest percentage that their family lives without any financial problems, and in the highest percentage that they are indigent. In contrast, respondents from Romania and Slovakia said in the highest percentage (more than 20%) that their families' financial situation is good and that they live without any financial hardships.

Considering their financial situation, respondents from Slovakia have the highest amount to spend a month, an average 117,700 HUF (approximately 392 EUR). This amount is twice as much as respondents from Serbia, 1.7 times more than respondents from Romania, and 3.5 times more than respondents from Ukraine spend a month in average. On the other hand, in the case of the respondents from Ukraine, the research shows an early age of becoming independent: the money that they receive from their parents is smaller compared to the Romanian and Serbian subsample in the youngest age group, and smaller compared to all the other regions in the 20-24 age group.

35% of the respondents are students. The Ukrainian sample showed the lowest percentage of students (20%), whereas the ratio of economically inactive and unemployed respondents was the highest in Ukraine. If we narrow down the focus to students above age 18, the lowest percentage of people participating in education is again to be found in Ukraine.

Concerning the data on the highest level of education, almost half of the respondents have a degree from a secondary level institution, and slightly more than one-fourth of them have post-secondary or higher education degree (see Table 3.). The ratio of respondents with primary education is the highest in the Ukrainian sample, but in the Romanian sample it is also high.

	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
Elementary school	1,90%	–	1,40%	5,00%	2,60%
8-grade school	30,70%	19,00%	20,40%	23,60%	23,30%
Vocational school	1,60%	19,90%	19,00%	11,50%	13,00%
Secondary grammar school	46,00%	40,90%	37,20%	31,50%	34,90%
Post-secondary vocational	6,80%	–	–	2,70%	4,70%
Bachelor degree	4,50%	12,60%	10,80%	17,30%	12,50%
Master's degree	8,00%	7,60%	10,40%	8,20%	8,50%
PhD	0,40%	0,00%	0,80%	0,20%	0,40%
TOTAL	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 3: The highest level of education, regional comparison (%)

Identity, citizenship, language use

Primary communal belongings of the respondents are shaped mostly (in 85%) by three major factors: regional attachment, Hungarian affiliation on the regional level, and minority civic affiliation, the latter also entailing Hungarian dual citizenship (see Figure 1). On the secondary level of belonging, the same trends can be drawn with minor modifications.

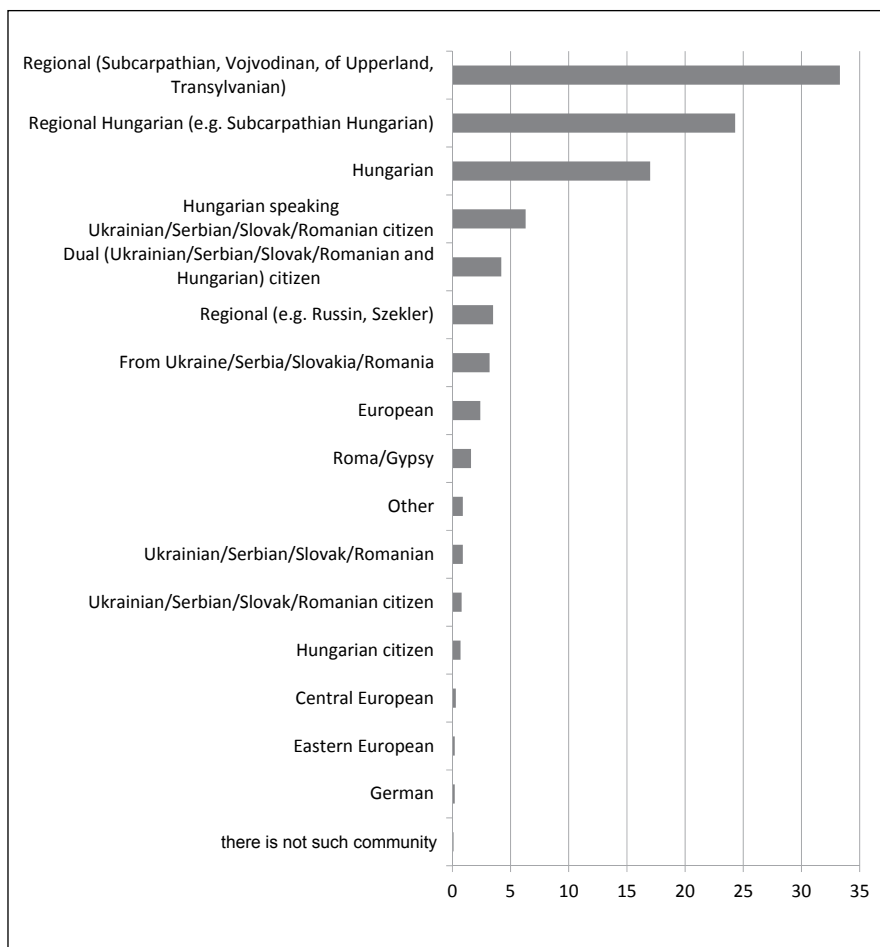


Figure 1: Belonging to a community (%)

Comparing belongings and affiliations on the regional level it is remarkable that the proportion of ‘Hungarian’ identity with an attribute (‘Transylvanian⁶ Hungarian’) is the lowest in the Romanian sample (5%), while in the other regions it is between 30 and 40%. Respondents in Romania identify primarily as ‘Transylvanians’, whereas respondents in the other regions add ‘Hungarian’ marker to the geographical identification (i.e. “Hungarian from Vojvodina”). The most respondents who feel connected to the citizenship of their country of residence besides the country proper and their Hungarian native language can be found in Ukraine and Slovakia; their ratio is almost twice as much as that of the respondents from Serbia and Romania.

The analysis of the question concerning the respondents’ interpretation of ‘homeland’ (szülőföld) also proves that regional affiliations and connections are significant and powerful (see Table 4.). Almost half of the respondents (45%) said that they consider their region in a narrow sense as their homeland, 24% identified their country of residence as their homeland, 9.5% determined the place where they were born, and 8.6% the place where they are living as their homeland. There are interesting regional differences in this regard. In the case of Ukraine, only 12% of the respondents said that Ukraine was their homeland, which is half or one third of the results in the other regions. Another interesting data is that only 22% of the respondents in Slovakia said that their homeland is “Felvidék” (“Upperland”),⁷ which is the name of the Hungarian-inhabited region of Slovakia, whereas in the other three regions, identifying the homeland with the historical region were much higher: in Ukraine it was 59% (Subcarpathia), in Serbia it was 45% (Vojvodina), and in Romania it was 54% (Transylvania) (see Table 5.).

6 Transylvania is the name of the historic region in Romania where most of the Hungarian minority today lives.

7 Some explanation for the names of the Hungarian-inhabited regions of the neighboring countries is due here. The term “Felvidék” (“Upperland”) is different from the other three regions’ historical names. In historic Hungary, “Felvidék” used to refer to roughly the entire territory of today’s Slovakia, not just to the Hungarian-inhabited parts of it. In contrast, the historical names of the other three regions denote basically the Hungarian-inhabited areas of the neighboring countries. For this reason, Hungarians in Slovakia tend to have an ambivalent attitude to identifying as “Upperland Hungarians” (“felvidéki magyarok”). However, as “felvidéki” (“of Upperland”) is a common reference to Hungarians in Slovakia, the survey included this term.

	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	Total
Ukraine/Serbia/Slovakia/Romania	12,20%	20,70%	39,50%	21,90%	24,20%
Subcarpathia/Vojvodina/"Upperland"/Transylvania	58,70%	45,30%	21,60%	53,60%	45,10%
Hungary	2,70%	1,60%	3,00%	1,30%	2,10%
Historic Hungary	0,80%	2,30%	0,60%	0,20%	0,80%
The place where I was born	14,50%	12,40%	0,50%	11,60%	9,50%
The place where I am living	9,50%	8,80%	11,90%	5,90%	8,60%
The Hungarian language area	0,80%	0,90%	10,00%	–	2,80%
Europe	0,20%	0,20%	0,30%	0,50%	0,40%
Ethnographic zone	0,20%	0,20%	2,10%	0,30%	0,70%
County	–	1,10%	8,60%	0,60%	2,60%
Region	0,20%	6,10%	2,10%	4,10%	3,20%
I feel like I do not have a real homeland	–	0,50%	–	–	0,10%
	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 4: Definition of homeland within regions (%)

The notion of ‘home’ (haza) also reflects regional affiliations (see Figure 2.) Although ‘Hungary’, ‘the historic Hungary’ and the ‘Hungarian language area’ got higher results in the question where respondents had to define what ‘home’ (haza) means for them than in the question concerning ‘homeland’(szülőföld), it is still clear that ‘home’ is associated to a larger extent with the region or country where they live. In the question concerning the respondents’ definition of ‘home’, Hungary, the historic Hungary and the Hungarian language area together got 16.8%, while in the question concerning the definition of ‘homeland’, the three answers together got 5.7%.

HOMELAND	REGION				TOTAL
	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	
Ukraine / Serbia / Slovakia / Romania	12,20%	20,70%	39,50%	21,90%	24,20%
Subcarpathia / Vojvodina / "Upperland" / Transylvania	58,70%	45,30%	21,60%	53,60%	45,10%

Table 5: What is your homeland? (within regions, %)

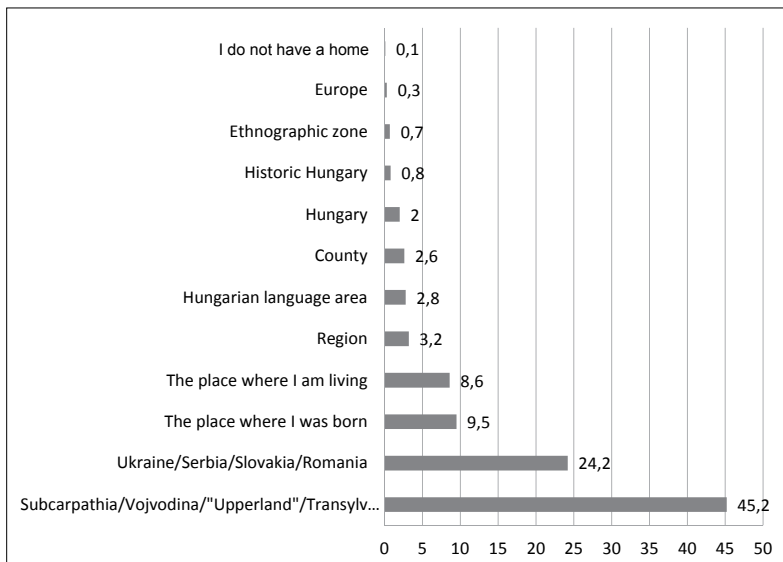


Figure 2: Definition of home (%)

Examining the results by age groups, we can see that the lower the age group is more likely to identify the ‘homeland’ with the Hungary or the Hungarian linguistic area.

90% of the respondents said ‘Yes’ to the question whether the Hungarian minority communities constitute a part of the Hungarian nation. Concerning age groups and regional subsamples, 92% of the respondents of the youngest age group, and 94% of the Ukrainian respondents selected ‘yes’ to the question. 61% of the respondents in the Ukrainian sample said that they consider themselves as part of the majority (Ukrainian) nation as well. 55% of all the respondents said that they consider themselves both as part of the majority (Romanian, Slovakian, Serbian, and Ukrainian) nation and the Hungarian nation as well.

It is an interesting result that the ratio of those who selected that they belong to both nations (majority and the Hungarian nation) is almost 20% lower in the case of the respondents from Slovakia than in the other regions (see Figure 3).

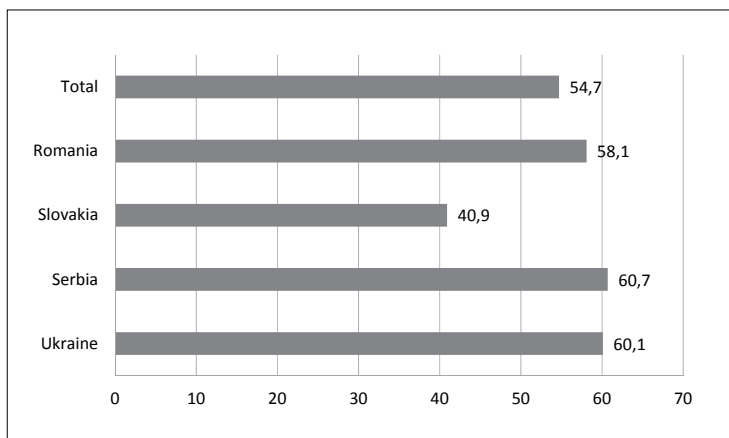


Figure 3: Ratio of those who said that they belong to both the majority and the Hungarian nation, regional comparison (%)

But how do Hungarians see the majority? It is not surprising that respondents from Ukraine have a negative view on the minority-majority relation considering the political situation of the country. In the other three regions, the majority of the respondents think that the relations did not change, or, if it did, it slightly deteriorated (in the case of Romania and Slovakia) or slightly improved (Serbia) (see Figure 4.). Future hopes are more optimistic on the majority-minority relations (see Figure 5.).

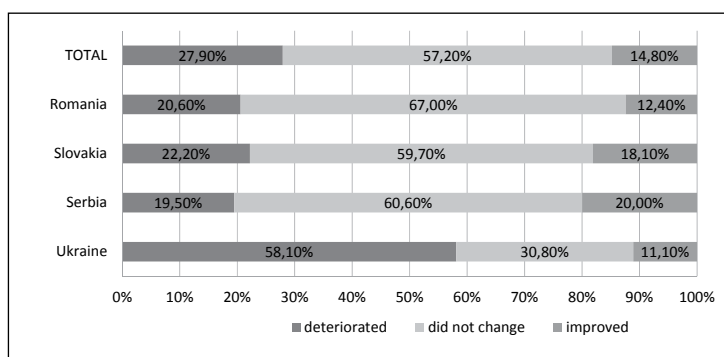


Figure 4: Evaluation of the relation between the Hungarian minority and the majority nation in the last 10 years, regional comparison (%)

Although the majority of the respondents do not expect a positive change in the relationship, those who have a vision for change have an optimistic scenario, except for

Ukraine, but even there, future hopes are less pessimistic than the evaluation of the present situation. Interestingly, respondents with higher education have a significantly more positive view than those with a lower level of education.

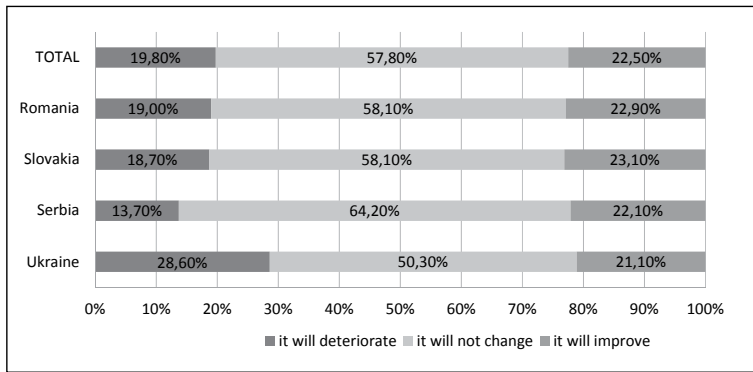


Figure 5: Views on the majority-minority relations for the next 10 years, regional comparison (%)

The survey asked about the criteria of being a Hungarian. The means of the answers (5-grade scale; 1 – do not agree at all, 5 – completely agree, see Figure 6.) show that the top three elements are: Hungarian mother tongue, self-identification as Hungarian, and command of Hungarian language. These results show that the respondents’ definition of being a Hungarian is strongly language-based. The options ‘born in Hungary’ and ‘Hungarian citizenship’ as elements of being a Hungarian were selected to the least extent.

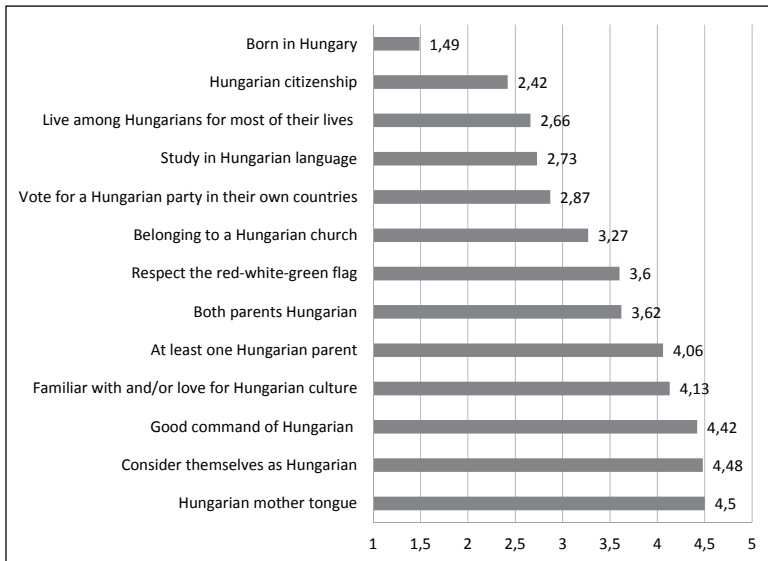


Figure 6: Criteria of being a Hungarian (means)

As mother tongue and Hungarian language knowledge constitute the essential elements of being a Hungarian for the respondents, it is worth to examine the survey's results on language knowledge (see Table 6.). The survey measured the respondents' language knowledge on a 6-grade scale, where 1 stands for 'do not speak or understand', and 6 stands for 'native speaker'. It is not surprising that respondents in all the four regions said that their command of Hungarian is native, however, the command of the state language is much lower. In regional comparison, respondents in Slovakia speak the state language to the largest extent (4.18), and respondents in Ukraine to the smallest extent (3.41). On the other hand, the percentage of state language usage in the respondents' family is the highest in the Ukrainian subsample, namely 13% of them said that in the family they used Ukrainian growing up, whereas the sample's mean is 10%. The current usage of the state language in the family seems to be slightly increasing; 12% of the respondents said that they use the state language in their current family lives. The increase is the highest in the Slovakian and Ukrainian subsample.

Concerning foreign languages, command of English is even lower than that of the state language; in three of the regions, the result is around 3 (do speak, but difficulties in expressing themselves), while in Ukraine the average respondent only understands but does not speak English. On the other hand, passive knowledge of Russian is still present in Ukraine. Concerning age group comparison, younger respondents have a weaker command of the state language than the older ones, however, their level of English is significantly higher than the older age groups.

Language	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL*
1. Hungarian	5,90	5,92	5,89	5,83	5,87
2. State language	3,41	4,05	4,18	3,93	3,92
3. English	1,97	3,04	2,94	2,96	2,78
4. German	1,21	1,93	1,97	1,73	1,73
5. French	1,03	1,07	1,07	1,15	1,09
6. Italian	1,00	1,06	1,05	1,12	1,07
7. Spanish	1,01	1,12	1,08	1,17	1,11
8. Russian	2,24	1,09	1,17	1,02	1,31
9. Other	2,51	1,82	1,36	1,05	1,26
<i>*significant differences in all aspects</i>					

Table 6: Level of language knowledge within regions (means)

As shown previously (Figure 6.), Hungarian citizenship did not appear as a decisive criteria of being Hungarian. Despite that thinking, almost half (49.8%) of the respondents applied for Hungarian citizenship (see Table 7.). The high percentage can be explained with the regional inequalities; in Serbia and Ukraine, Hungarian citizenship applications are extremely high, while in Slovakia, due to the legal barriers, the number of applications is very low (3.1%).

Have you applied for Hungarian citizenship?					
Yes/No	REGION				TOTAL
	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	
Yes	68,40%	82,00%	3,10%	56,30%	49,80%
No	31,60%	18,00%	96,90%	43,70%	50,20%
TOTAL	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 7: Ratio of Hungarian citizenship applications within regions (means)

Respondents were asked to evaluate the reasons behind their applications for Hungarian citizenship on a 4-grade scale (4: strongly affected to the application, 1: did not affect the application). Generally speaking, reasons related to identity (“my Hungarianness”) and Hungarian background (“my ancestors were Hungarian citizens”) were the most important for applicants. Further motivations for application were considerations for the future of one’s children, or intentions to work abroad (not in Hungary) (see Figure 7.). Regional comparison shows that pragmatic advantages of Hungarian citizenship (social benefits, healthcare, labor opportunities, and residency in Hungary) affected the respondents from Ukraine to the most extent. Age group comparison shows that emotional and national considerations are less important, but pragmatic considerations are dominant for the younger groups. It is important that the significant effect of age can be verified even within such a small segment (15-29).

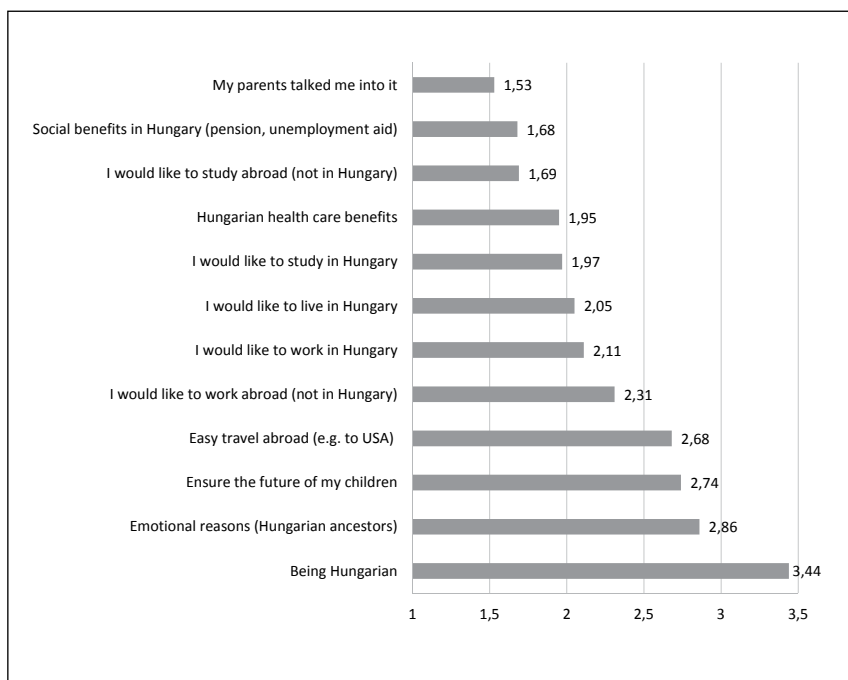


Figure 7: Reasons affecting the application for Hungarian citizenship (means)

Political participation

One of the indicators of political participation is organizational belonging. The survey showed significant differences in the regional comparison of respondent's organizational memberships (see Table 8).

Do you belong to any civic, social or political organization (through membership or in any other way)?	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
yes	34,60%	35,60%	24,10%	16,30%	25,10%
no	65,40%	64,40%	75,90%	83,70%	74,90%
TOTAL	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 8: Membership in civic, social, and political organizations, regional comparison (%)

Organizational belonging is more typical in the case of respondents from Ukraine and Serbia as more than one-third of them reported of some kind of organizational membership. They are followed by Slovakian respondents, where one-fourth of the subsample belongs to some kind of organization. Respondents from Romania showed the lowest percentage (16.3%) of organizational membership. Significant differences were found based on education; the higher level of education a respondent has, the more probably the organizational belonging is. On the other hand, neither gender, nor the age group has an effect on organizational membership. The level of interest in politics, as well as the level of satisfaction with democracy is generally low, however, regional differences are striking in this matter (see Table 9.).

Region	How satisfied are you with the quality of democracy in your country? (scale: 1-10)	How interested are you in politics? (1-5)	Where would you position yourself on a 7-grade scale measuring political preference from left (1) to the right (7)?
Ukraine	2,92	2,09	4,82
Serbia	4,04	2,18	4,25
Slovakia	4,69	2,07	4,84
Romania	4,89	1,92	4,45
TOTAL	4,33	2,04	4,57

Table 9: Interest in politics and political self-categorization, regional comparison (means)

Regional comparison shows significant differences in the evaluation of the quality of democracy, however, in none of the cases does the mean reach 5 (on the 10-grade scale). Significant difference can be seen in the case of the Ukrainian respondents' evaluation on democracy, which can primarily be explained with the recent political changes in the country. Gender shows significant difference only in the Ukrainian subsample; women are more satisfied with the quality of democracy (3.1 average) than men (2.7 average). On the other hand, the type of residence effected the evaluation of the quality of democracy in all regions but in Ukraine. In the Romanian and Slovakian subsamples, village residents are in general more satisfied with the quality of democracy than residents of urban areas, whereas the results show the opposite in the Serbian subsample.

Gender significantly affects the interest in politics in all four regions: men are more interested in it than women. However, the survey also showed that interest in politics increases with the level of education.

Concerning self-categorization on the political ideology scale (1: left-leaning; ... 7: right-leaning), regional differences are significant. Respondents from Slovakia are the furthest on the right (4.83 average), they are followed by the respondents from Ukraine (4.82), respondents from Romania (4.45), and respondents from Serbia are the least right-leaning in the sample (4.25). Gender is only significant in the Romanian subsample; there, men are more right-leaning than women. Age group is significant again only in the Romanian case; the older respondents are more right-leaning (4.7) than younger ones.

Values

The survey intended to discover the value system of the young respondents with a series of items (partly based on the Inglehart and Rokeach test) that they had to evaluate on a 5-grade scale (see Table 10.). The results show that the values listed in the survey represent a little more than medium importance to the respondents, as the means of the answers are in all cases above the scale's medium value 3. The most important (means close to 5) values are: family (starting and having a family), peaceful world, love and happiness, real friendships and friends. Values that are rather important (means around 4) are: work, good relation with other people, faith in God, being appreciated, Hungarian background, accomplishing goals, morality, money, self-realization, helping others, personal freedom, moderateness, and carrying on traditions. Values that are the least important for the respondents are to care about communal problems in one's environment, and religion.

In regional comparison, significance levels show great differences in the attitude towards some values. In the case of religion for example for the respondents in the Ukrainian subsample, religion is more important than it is for the other three regions' respondents, and the same can be examined in the questions regarding the respondents' religious lives. More than two third (36%) of the Ukrainian respondents goes to church at least once a week, but the total ratio of that for the entire sample is 21%. It is again the Ukrainian respondents that claim that they are religious in the sense of what the churches teach about the requirements of being religious (22-19%).

	REGION				TOTAL	Sig.
	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania		
1. money	4,11	3,93	4,13	4,06	4,07	0,000
2. work	4,32	4,39	4,32	4,31	4,33	0,208
3. religion	3,87	2,76	3,01	3,45	3,29	0,000
4. family (starting and having a family)	4,67	4,58	4,57	4,58	4,59	0,077
5. success	3,89	4,12	4,06	4,19	4,09	0,000
6. personal freedom (live independently, do what you think is good)	4,07	4,37	4,28	4,33	4,28	0,000
7. morality (live according to the moral standards taught by your parents)	4,13	3,90	3,98	4,18	4,07	0,000
8. appreciation (to be looked up by those whose opinion are important to you)	4,26	4,23	4,11	4,33	4,24	0,000
9. have a good relation with other people	4,31	4,24	4,15	4,34	4,27	0,000
10. professional excellence	3,97	4,22	4,09	4,26	4,16	0,000
11. moderateness (following a sober middle ground)	4,05	3,96	3,74	4,11	3,98	0,000
12. respect for others' opinion	3,97	3,96	3,71	4,06	3,94	0,000
13. being able to get and buy what you want	3,64	3,51	3,59	3,74	3,64	0,000
14. accomplish the goals you had set	4,16	4,27	4,19	4,25	4,22	0,033
15. help others	4,08	4,11	3,91	4,16	4,07	0,000
16. care about the communal problems in your environment	3,44	3,30	3,16	3,57	3,40	0,000
17. Hungarian background	4,24	3,78	3,80	4,06	3,98	0,000
18. self-realization	4,10	4,32	4,16	4,29	4,23	0,000
19. peaceful world (free of wars and conflicts)	4,64	4,38	4,31	4,32	4,39	0,000
20. respect for traditions (carrying on respectable traditions)	3,99	3,87	3,80	3,96	3,91	0,000
21. exciting life (filled with challenges, new things, and changes)	3,81	3,94	3,76	3,97	3,88	0,000
22. right to lead and decide	3,88	3,91	3,83	3,99	3,92	0,001
23. true friendship (having close friends who always stand by me)	4,50	4,62	4,53	4,51	4,53	0,013
24. love/happiness	4,63	4,59	4,63	4,58	4,60	0,256

Table 10: Values in regional comparison (means)

Respondents were asked to evaluate the most serious problems of their generation (see Table 11.). The results show that existential insecurity, poverty, lack of money, low wages represent the most important hardships for the respondents, thus they listed primarily problems connected to material goods. In this regard there is complete agreement in all the four regions (in other words, there are no significant differences in regional comparison). The least important problem is the lack of opportunities to have fun and make new friends.

Traditional gender roles are traceable in this question as well. Although not all the challenges showed differences in gender comparison, but those that did showed a more preoccupying women mentality: in the women's evaluation, unemployment, alcohol, education opportunities, and moral decadence appeared as more serious problems than in the men's.

To what extent can the following be considered as problems? (1 – to a great extent...; 4 – not at all)					
1.	Lack of money, low wages	1,42	11.	Alcohol problems	2,03
2.	Unemployment	1,45	12.	Valuelessness	2,03
3.	Poverty	1,60	13.	Migration	2,06
4.	Hopeless future	1,76	14.	Crises of the family and traditional values	2,07
5.	Housing situation	1,81	15.	Increasing social inequalities	2,11
6.	Aimlessness	1,84	16.	Crime	2,12
7.	Uneducatedness	1,97	17.	Expanding drug abuse	2,14
8.	Bad conditions at home	2,00	18.	Lack of education, qualification	2,15
9.	Poor command of the state language	2,01	19.	Lack of opportunities to study (for financial reasons)	2,18
10.	Moral decadence	2,02	20.	Lack of opportunities to study in one's mother tongue	2,52
			21.	Lack of opportunities to have fun and make new friends	2,78

Table 11: The most serious and urgent problems (means)

The survey also investigated the respondents' harmful addictions and habits (see Table 12.). 40% is a regular smoker, and the percentage of regular alcohol consumption is 74%. 57% of the respondents said that some of their friends had already used drugs, and 25% of the respondents said that they themselves had tried some kind of drugs. In regional

comparison, drug use is the highest in the Serbian subsample; 46% of them had already used some kind of drug, and one-third of the youngest age group in the Serbian subsample also has an experience with drugs. This result is even more striking if we compare it with the Ukrainian and Romanian subsamples, where only 6-7% said that they had tried drugs. Alcohol consumption is lower in the younger age groups in all the regions, except for Serbia, where all the three age groups have high result in alcohol consumption, and the same applies to smoking as well.

Have you ever tried any kind of drug or psychoactive medication (alcohol excluded)?					
Region	Yes/No	Age group			ÖSSZESEN
		15-19	20-24	25-29	
Ukraine	yes	6,00%	13,80%	14,70%	11,90%
	no	94,00%	86,30%	85,30%	88,10%
	Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Serbia	yes	34,60%	51,00%	50,30%	45,90%
	no	65,40%	49,00%	49,70%	54,10%
	Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Slovakia	yes	14,60%	30,60%	36,20%	28,40%
	no	85,40%	69,40%	63,80%	71,60%
	Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Romania	yes	7,90%	24,00%	21,90%	18,70%
	no	92,10%	76,00%	78,10%	81,30%
	Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
TOTAL	yes	14,20%	28,40%	29,40%	24,80%
	no	85,80%	71,60%	70,60%	75,20%
		100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 12: Harmful addictions, in regional and age group comparison (%)

Migration

The emigration of young people from Hungary and the Carpathian Basin has been a central issue of public discourse in recent years, just as population decrease and migration in Europe has been a central topic along the refugee crises. For this reason, a whole section was dedicated to the issue of migration in the research. In general it can be stated that the target group of the research is not only a digital generation, but also is more inclined to migration and mobility.

More than three-third of the respondents travelled abroad in the last 5 years; more than 90% of the Serbian respondents, but only 71% of the Ukrainian respondents. For educational purposes, 24% of the respondents from Slovakia and 27.2% of the respondents from Serbia, 13.6% of the respondents from Romania, and 10.5% of the respondents from Ukraine travelled abroad. For work purposes, the most mobile respondents are the ones from Ukraine (34.8%), followed by Slovakia (27.4%), Romania (25.4%), and lastly, Serbia (17.4%). Touristic visits were most typical for the Serbian and Slovak subsample (92.3% and 94.4%, respectively), and less typical for the Romanian (64.4%) and Ukrainian (53.4%).

19.5% of the respondents said that they would not leave their homeland and have not even thought about it, and 26% said that they would not leave. However, in general the research showed that the majority of the respondents are thinking about moving abroad, but only 10.6% have a solid plan to do so. 15% said that they would emigrate but do not know when, where, and how. The relative majority of the sample, 29.1% said that they are sometimes considering the option of leaving, but do not have solid ideas about it.

Obvious differences can however be seen in the regional comparison of the data. The absolute majority of the respondents from Romania said that they would not leave their homeland, and they have not even thought about it (30.2% and 25.3%, respectively). In the case of the Slovakian subsample, only the relative majority selected these two option (30.6% and 15%, respectively). However, in all four regions, roughly one-third of the respondents sometimes considers emigration, but do not have a solid plan. One-third of the Serbian respondents said that they would leave, 15.1% of them already have a plan to do so. In the case of the Ukrainian respondents, 11.2% have already a plan to leave the homeland, and the relative majority of them (21.1%) are thinking about emigration, but do not have a solid plan. Altogether, two-thirds of the respondents of both Serbia and Ukraine are sometimes thinking about the idea of emigration.

Significant differences can be seen in the age groups comparison. 14.4% of the respondents in the 15-19 age group has a solid plan to leave the homeland, which is above the sample's average (10.6%). Moreover, 21.2% of the youngest respondents are considering emigration but have not figured out the details yet, while the sample's average is 15%. The results of the middle age group (20-24) are around the average, but the oldest age group (25-29) had a lower interest in emigrating, which can be related to the fact that they are at a more advanced stage of their careers, might have stable jobs and families.

The survey investigated the motivations behind emigration plans. There are no significant differences in the regional comparison. More than two-thirds of the respondents would emigrate for better paying jobs in every region, and the Romanian subsample selected this option to the highest percent (84.4%). The other pull actor is education, which

was selected by 7.2% of the respondents, and the Serbian subsample picked it to the highest extent (12.5%). The disadvantaged position of belonging to a national minority community was barely mentioned among the motivations for emigration; only by 1.3% of the respondents selected this option.

The research highlights a new tendency that was not traceable in similar previous researches: the majority of the respondents who wish to leave their homeland name other place than Hungary as their country of destination (see Table 13.). On the other hand, the relative majority (42.4% of those who said that they have a solid plan of emigration) selected Hungary as the destination, but 40.7% picked Western Europe, and 12.3% selected countries outside Europe. In regional comparison there are significant differences. Hungary is an attractive destination mostly for the respondents from Ukraine; two-third of those in the subsample who are considering emigration would move to Hungary. In the other regions, 22-28% of the respondents named Hungary as their potential destination, and for them, the pull factors of Western European and non-European states are clearly growing. One-fifth of the respondents from Romania who want to emigrate do not know yet where they would move.

	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
Hungary	67,90%	28,00%	22,10%	25,20%	33,60%
Western Europe	15,10%	45,00%	37,20%	32,40%	32,30%
Outside Europe	4,40%	14,10%	11,70%	9,50%	9,80%
Other	1,50%	2,70%	6,70%	3,50%	3,70%
Do not know/Do not answer	11,10%	10,20%	22,30%	29,40%	20,50%
	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Table 13: Destinations of those who are willing to emigrate, regional comparison (%)

The survey asked about when the respondents' relatives emigrated. It is clear from Figure 11 that the emigration of close relatives increased drastically between 2014 and 2015 in the case of the non-EU countries' respondents (Serbia and Ukraine). In the case of Ukraine, the responses show an increase from 15% to 40%, which obviously is connected to the war situation of the country, and a similar trend is seen in the case of Serbia as well. The data of these two regions must be in connection with the availability of Hungarian citizenship, which makes it easy to work in Hungary and in other EU-countries for the newly naturalized Hungarian citizens of these non-EU countries (where the economic situation has not improved). In the case of Romania, the increase in emigration was much lower, from 10% to 15%, and in Slovakia there was a 50% decrease (from 15% to 7-8%).

Responses show that 9 out of 10 of their relatives living abroad work, and 10% of them study. The ratio of those who study is four times higher in the Slovakian subsample than in the Ukrainian subsample.

Respondents were asked to tell how many of their friends and family members are planning to emigrate. The survey applied a 7-grade scale, where 1=nobody, and 7=everybody, and the grades between stood for ‘almost nobody’, ‘some of them’, ‘half of them’, ‘more than half of them’, ‘almost everybody’. The lowest average was found in the case of family (1.97), followed by coworkers (2.29). Close friends are more likely to emigrate (2.88), and the most likely to emigrate are people who live in the same place as the respondent (3.19). This shows that respondents perceive higher probability of emigration in the case of people who are less close to them, and in the case of family and close friends, they see a lower chance for emigration. On the other hand, there were respondents who said that none of their close friends is planning to leave the country, as they have already left, and those who stayed do not want to go. These responses naturally can have a disturbing impact on the overall results.

Media, digital landscape

The technological developments of the past years have a significant impact on the media consumption habits of the respondents. Television used to be the most popular media; however, by today it lost its position to social media. Newspaper reading habits changed as well; young people prefer to read online news sites instead of print media (see Table 14.).

Response	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
Watching TV	89,90%	76,90%	86,60%	80,10%	83,00%
Listening to radio	62,00%	76,80%	74,30%	60,00%	66,90%
Reading print newspapers	45,20%	40,00%	39,30%	26,80%	35,80%
Following online news sites	46,60%	57,40%	49,50%	41,40%	47,20%
Visiting social media sites	85,50%	94,90%	90,00%	88,20%	89,30%

Table 14: Media consumption habits (% of ‘yes’ responses)

Regional comparisons show significant differences. Respondents from Ukraine had the highest percentage for watching television, and the lowest in visiting social media sites – even though the latter was still above 85%. Respondents from Serbia indicated the highest

percentage for reading online contents; almost 95% of them visit social media sites and more than 50% of them follow online news sites. The difference of watching television and being online is significant; the growth of being online goes together with the decline of watching TV. This also means that respondents from Serbia indicate the lowest percentage in watching television in regional comparison. On the other hand, frequencies of watching television do not show significant differences in age group comparison. Respondents watch television channels primarily in Hungarian language, and watching TV in the state language got the highest results in the Slovakian sample.

Respondents from Serbia indicated the highest frequency for listening to radio, moreover, in their case is listening to radio in the state language the most dominant (60%). The consumption of state language media was the highest in the case of radio in the other three regions as well. It has to be noted, however, that listening to radio means primarily listening to music channels, therefore, the language of broadcasting is less relevant in this case. Listening to radio did not show any age group differences, however, other media did: younger respondents select contents in Hungarian language in a higher ratio than the older respondents. Respondents from Ukraine and Serbia showed the highest, and respondents from Romania showed the lowest frequencies for reading print media; only one-fourth of the respondents from Romania said that they read print newspapers.

Possessing IT devices is a determining factor of online media consumption. As we can see, certain devices are more frequently possessed by respondents from Ukraine than by other respondents. For example, respondents from Ukraine are more likely to have a computer than respondents from Slovakia and Romania, and more likely to have a smart bracelet or smart watch than respondents from Romania (see Table 15).

I have / My household has (%)				
Device	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania
Smart TV	22,08	27,26	44,6	50,53
Computer	76,86	83,89	75,3	68,33
Laptop	49,18	77,73	88,8	71,35
Tablet	34,83	34,36	58,59	37,42
Mobile phone	96,82	94,42	86,95	84,93
Smart phone	72,06	91,92	86,65	82,94
Smart bracelet	4,1	10,04	11,44	2,1
Smart watch	4,65	9,83	13,21	3,76
Other	4,46	11,68	14,9	1,86

Table 15: Regional comparison of possessing smart devices (%)

Online contents are primarily read in the respondents' mother tongue, Hungarian (see Table 16.). However, there are certain regional and age group differences. One-fourth of the respondents from Serbia read online contents in the state language. Reading online sites in other languages (not Hungarian and not state language) is most typical for the respondents from Romania. State language is more likely to be used by the older age groups, and English is more likely to be used by the younger age groups.

	Ukraine	Serbia	Slovakia	Romania	TOTAL
State language	8,50%	11,70%	17,70%	10,20%	12,10%
Hungarian	88,80%	68,00%	68,10%	59,30%	68,50%
English	3,90%	22,20%	13,70%	20,60%	16,10%

Table 16: Language in which online contents are read, regional comparison (%)

93% of the youngest age group visit social media sites regularly. Using the state language in the social media is most typical for the respondents from Slovakia; using English in the social media is more likely in the case of respondents of Serbia and Romania. Respondents from Ukraine use social media dominantly in Hungarian.

Having access to the Internet is essential for the respondents. 60% of all respondents (and 68% of the 15-19 age group) said that Internet is almost as important to them as breathing. Having the most up-to-date devices is crucial for the respondents; 45% of them said that they would upgrade their device after two years.

Summary

The GeneZYS 2015 youth sociology research was carried out by the Mathias Corvinus Collegium and the Institute for Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Centre for Social Sciences in November-December 2015. The survey targeted young, ethnic Hungarian people aged 15-29 in four of the neighboring countries of Hungary: Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia. The survey was completed by 2700 respondents, and is representative for age, gender, settlement type, and for geographical distribution within the four regions.

The examined dimensions and topics showed significant differences in regional and age group (15-19, 20-24, 25-29) comparison. This means that the term “young Hungarians abroad” is a simplification in many respects; we should take into consideration the different “country-specific” features that affect the young Hungarians in the neighboring countries of Hungary. Moreover, the age group comparisons showed that generational differences can be traced even within the examined young population.

The research found that almost half of the respondents is single, 15% of them is married. 73% of the marriages are ethnically homogeneous (both the wife and the husband are Hungarians). Respondents from Ukraine are the most likely to get married: 27% of them are married, and their ratio in the oldest age group is even higher, 47%. The ratio of ethnically heterogeneous marriages is relatively high in the Ukrainian and Romanian subsamples. 15% of all the respondents have at least one child. Respondents in Ukraine are the most likely to have children, followed by respondents from Romania.

The research found that most of the respondents are high school and college students, and employees in non-leadership positions. Approximately one-fourth of the respondents have a college degree. Unemployment rate is almost 14% in the sample. 12% of the young adults (above 18 years) in the sample do not have any professional qualification or a diploma that would enable them to enroll into higher education, which represents a huge risk for them on the labor market. Respondents from Ukraine are the ones that are most seriously exposed to this risk, since the highest level of education is 8-grade elementary school for nearly one-fourth of them.

From a minority perspective, the most exciting questions are those that inquire about the respondents’ sense of belonging and their communities. ‘Homeland’ or ‘home’ are identified by nearly 70% of the respondents with the region or country where they live. On the other hand, 13% of the respondents said that they regard Hungary or the historic (pre-1920) Hungary as their home. 90% of the respondents believe that Hungarians living abroad as minorities constitute a part of the Hungarian nation, however, almost two-third of them also thinks that Hungarian minorities are parts of the majority (Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Serb) nations. In regional comparison, the results of belonging to the Hungarian vs. belonging to the majority nation are as follows: Ukraine: 94% vs. 66%; Serbia: 93% vs. 65%; Slovakia: 86% vs. 51%; Romania: 89% vs. 64%. These results show that multiple belongings are natural for young Hungarians abroad.

Half of the respondents applied for Hungarian citizenship, however, there are clear differences in regional comparison. Slovakia does not permit dual citizenship; as a consequence, the research hardly found Hungarian citizens in Slovakia. The ratio of Hungarian citizens in the Ukrainian sample was 68%, in the Serbian 82%, and in the Romanian

56%. The reasons behind the application for Hungarian citizenship are primarily emotional, 'national' motivations. Pragmatic considerations (traveling to Hungary or other countries, emigration, etc.) behind the citizenship application are more typical in the older age groups. The research also revealed that highly educated respondents in urban areas are the most inclined to have obtained Hungarian citizenship.

The survey addressed the issue of migration as well. More than half of the respondents said that they were considering emigration, but only 11% have already solid plans to move abroad. Hungary is one of the popular destinations, however, Western European states seem to be more attractive. Respondents from Ukraine said in the highest percentage (75%) that they wanted to move to Hungary, while only 30-40% of the respondents from the other three regions would choose Hungary as their emigration destination.

Considering values, the research concluded that human, interpersonal, and immaterial values are important for the respondents, however, material considerations are coming to the forefront as well. The research revealed that for the respondents, love represents a more important value than Hungarianness. Leisure time activities showed some differences in gender comparison. Women are more open to trainings, theatre, and tanning salons, while men prefer to go to the gym. The most attractive leisure time activities in general are listening to music, social media, and watching movies. Hopelessness and unemployment were selected as the most serious challenges, while the least challenging issues are the lack of opportunities to have fun, the lack of opportunities to study in one's mother tongue, and the unsatisfactory command of the state language.

It is not surprising that 90% of the respondents use social media. 70% of the respondents said that they receive at least one message/notification/call hourly. The ratio of watching television and listening to radio are also significant, reading print media is the least frequent. The ratio of following news sites is rather low, which is not surprising considering the generally low level of awareness about public affairs. Despite the above, respondents reported of a high level of happiness, with a mean of 8 on a 10-grade scale.

If we compare the results of this research with the former youth research entitled *Mozaik 2001*, we can claim that the ratio of respondents with a college degree increased, especially in the Slovakian sample. On the other hand, there is a clear decrease in the number of married respondents as well as in the number of respondents having children. Considering attitudes and values, the research detected a growing significance of materialistic, career-oriented considerations. This result partially indicates that the value system of young Hungarians abroad is "approaching" that of young Hungarians in Hungary; trends of modernization and individualization are gaining ground amongst Hungarians abroad as well.

Considering the results on values and migration willingness, the research found that young Hungarians in Serbia and Slovakia represent a modern, more materialistic attitude and Western-orientation, while young Hungarians in Ukraine tend to pursue more traditional life strategies (having children at an early age, higher level of religiousness) and have a clearer orientation towards Hungary. Young Hungarians in Romania also tend to keep alive elements of a more traditional value system, however, they have a lower level of migration potential. The application for Hungarian citizenship can and should be interpreted in these contexts as well; through the prism of the presented value systems, Hungarian citizenship is, besides its symbolic meaning, a part of individual life strategies and migration processes.