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Changes and Factors Associated with the Social Stratification and Material Situation of Hungarian Minority and Majority Youth (2001-2020)

A magyar fiatalok társadalmi rétegződésének változásai és tényezői, kisebbségben és többségben (2001-2020)

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Abstract. The study examines two questions. First, it focuses on the labour market positions and the social and material stratification of minority Hungarian youth between 2001 and 2020, as assessed by Mozaik2001 and the Hungarian Youth Survey (2020), examining both the social determinants and changes over time regarding the attainment of a good material position. It also compares these trends with the general situation of young people in Hungary, without focusing on the latter for reasons of space. In the initial period, those living outside the borders of Hungary were observed to be living in more deprived conditions than those in Hungary, and a specific "East-West" slope in terms of market economy development and material income conditions was also noted. This situation, however, became thoroughly rearranged by 2020, with within-country differences sometimes becoming larger and material inequalities increasing and being redistributed. The other focus of the study, is the multidimensional socio-cultural stratification. In addition, beside material situation, attitudes related to values, value orientation, vision of the future, and social capital (organisational capital, network of friends, offline and online) are included in the model. The analysis, although focusing on minority Hungarian youth, uses similar dimensions for comparison with Gondi-Bokányi et al. (2021) model. One of the aims of this study is to explain the main determinants of the significantly larger proportion of culturally deprived minority persons compared to those in Hungary, as well as the variation among countries.

Keywords: Hungarian minority youth, material deprivation, social stratification

Összefoglaló: A tanulmány tematikusan két kérdéskört vizsgál. Először is a kisebbségi magyar fiatalok munkaerő-piaci pozícióira, valamint foglalkozási és anyagi rétegződésére fókuszál 2001 és 2020 között, a Mozaik2001 és a Magyar Ifjúság Kutatás (2020) felmérések alapján, vizsgálva mind a társadalmi meghatározó tényezőket, mind pedig a jó anyagi helyzet elérésének időbeli változásait. Emellett összehasonlítja a tenden-

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ciákat a magyarországi fiatalok helyzetével, terjedelmi okokból nem fókuszálva rájuk. A kezdeti időszakban a kisebbségi magyar fiatalok a magyarországinál hátrányosabb helyzetűek voltak összességében, valamint van egy sajátos "kelet-nyugati" lejtő a piacgazdasági fejlettség és az anyagi jövedelmi viszonyok tekintetében, amely azonban 2020-ra alaposan átrendeződik, az országon belüli különbségek esetenként nagyobbak lesznek, de az anyagi egyenlőtlenségek is növekednek, illetve átrendeződnek. A tanulmány másik fókuszpontja a fiatalok többdimenziós társadalmi-kulturális rétegződésének vizsgálata, ahol az anyagi helyzet mellett az értékekkel, értékorientációval, jövőképpel, társadalmi tőkével (szervezeti tőke, baráti hálózat, offline és online) kapcsolatos attitűdök is szerepelnek a modellben. Az elemzés, bár a kisebbségi magyar fiatalokra fókuszál, hasonló dimenziókat használ, mint a nemrég megjelent Gondi-Bokányi et al. (2021) modell. A tanulmány egyik célja, hogy megmagyarázza a kulturálisan hátrányos helyzetűek főbb meghatározó tényezőit, valamint az országok közötti eltéréseket, mivel Magyarországhoz képest a hátrányos helyzetű klasztercsoportokban a határon túl élő, kisebbségi magyar fiatalok jelentősen magasabb arányban fordultak elő.

Kulcsszavak: magyar kisebbségi fiatalok, anyagi depriváció, társadalmi rétegződés

Introduction

Over the last two decades, Central Europe and, within it, the countries of the Carpathian Basin have experienced a combination of major transformative events. The emergence of the market economy and the acceleration of the globalisation of the labour force, the integration of several countries into the EU (enlargement), the global economic crisis, changes in nation-state policies, the rise of populist politics and the negative consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic have all posed serious challenges for young people. The question arises: To what extent is the expansion of individualisation and improvement in the general economic situation reflected in the internal conditions associated with young people's material situation in the context of social inequalities and regional disparities?

The study of young Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin countries has involved a unified framework since the Hungarian state defined the goal of "extending" the community of Hungarian citizens to Hungarian-speaking communities living outside its borders and somehow tried to capture this in public policy terms. First, this so-called cultural and ethnic "extension" was intended to cover those who were subject to the Status of Hungarians beyond the Borders Act (see Kántor 2004, Culic 2006, 2014). From 2011 onwards, the State increasingly wanted to replace this with Hungarian citizenship abroad. For the time being, this can be considered an "ongoing" project, as the vast majority of Hungarians living in Slovakia and almost half of the ethnic Hungarians living in Romania did not have Hungarian citizenship in 2020. The effort has been more successful among the smaller communities of Transcarpathian and Vojvodina Hungarians, the majority of whom have acquired Hungarian citizenship. In addition to citizenship, the Hungarian State also exerts influence on Hungarians in neighbouring countries by other means, whether through grants from the Bethlen Gábor Fund, mobility programmes ("Makovecz Mobility", Borderless), sports subsidies, etc.

In this paper, we examine how the material and stratification situation of Hungarian minority and majority youth changed in the context of the social changes in different countries of the Carpathian Basin in the two decades between 2001 and 2020; how we can interpret these changes according to the globalised world of Castells (1996); and how we can delimit the social factors associated with Standing's concept of precariousness. At the beginning of the period, as already noted (Szabó–Bauer 2002), the material situation of Hungarian youth living in minorities was more deprived than that of their Hungarian counterparts, as reflected in a peculiar "East-West" slope. A major focus of the study is exploring to what extent and in what form these conditions have been rearranged over the past two decades in terms of material income relations and social stratification. Although this Hungarian state policy about the externalized citizenship has only a minor impact on the material situation and social stratification of young people, it is interesting to examine the similarities and achievements in the material situation of Hungarian youth in the wider region, in other countries, and in the changes in this situation or, more generally, in patterns of social stratification. The study of the social positioning of youth – of the young generation (McCrindle 2021) – poses a serious methodological challenge. On the one hand, we can only talk about the labour market and occupational status of young people who have completed their studies, but this is often temporary or, at most, involves the first occupational position, which, as we know, is not permanent and can change rapidly. Therefore, the focus of this study is not on occupational position but on the material status of young people, which may be related to their active employment status but is also influenced by the social position of the parental family. Another focus of the study is the multidimensional social stratification of minority Hungarian youth, which is mainly examined using variables focusing on cultural capital and consumption, relational capital, and future optimism, but material status is also taken into account. In this section, although we do use comparisons with young people in Hungary, the separate analysis only applies to minority youth (mainly for reasons of scope), while the stratification of majority Hungarian youth is discussed on the basis of earlier research findings (see Bokányi–Gyorgyovich–Pillók 2018, Gondi-Bokányi–Gyorgyovich–Pillók 2021).

Young people in the social structure

As already pointed out in previous research (see Gábor 1997, Szabó–Bauer 2002, Gábor–Veres 2005, Veres 2011), the social situation of young people in the Carpathian Basin regions has been substantially different, partly due to the development of the market economy and the standard of living, and partly due to educational expansion, whereby the regions of the Carpathian Basin have now moved closer to the 'centre' countries (i.e., they have changed from periphery to semi-periphery countries). Since the mid-2000s, EU accession has created a new system of relations in most parts of the Carpathian Basin. By 2020, however, we could see that these changes involved young people in a single global network world society, and, as Castells (1996) pointed

out, the centre-periphery approach has become obsolete. In the emerging global network society, Castells argues, nation-states do not disappear, but they can play very different roles: they can help their citizens become integrated into the flows of the global network society, or they can act as 'vampire states', isolating from the globalised world and causing the impoverishment and isolation of their own taxpayers. But even in states that promote global integration, Castells says, there may be wide regional variation in the opportunities that globalisation offers young people. While the large regional centres and capitals of the Carpathian Basin have become global cities, with all the advantages and disadvantages that this entails, in other sub-regions, young people are disconnected from global network society, living in the 'fourth world' or 'black holes', where young people are low-educated, with high unemployment and poverty – if they have not migrated (see Kapitány–Spéder 2004, Veres–Rațh–Tobias 2017, Horváth 2017). A significant share of low-educated young people in disadvantaged rural areas either emigrate or rely on unemployment and social support systems without prospects for improvement, often in low-income, precarious employment, and are focused on surviveing (see Ferge 2002, Csata 2005, Popescu–Ivan–Rațh 2016, Rațh–Popescu–Ivan 2019).

Beck (1983), in the context of the individualisation of opportunities and inequalities, notes that there has been a degree of levelling in some dimensions, with income inequalities falling and social mobility rising in late twentieth-century Germany. Overall, however, his main thesis is that socio-economic development has led to significant changes and improvements in people's living conditions while the distribution of social inequality has remained relatively stable. Beck (1999) explains that the individualisation of young people, with the "collective" challenges, risks and opportunities of social stratification and labour market challenges (on the one hand, well-paid jobs; on the other, unemployment, the devaluation of diplomas, etc.) can take several directions and follow progressive, regressive or even alternative paths. Although his thesis of an individualised risk society has been partly reconsidered (Beck 2002), his ideas are still a good starting point for examining what Beck observed in Western societies has taken place in the Central and Eastern European region over a few decades and what specific features of it are associated with young people from Hungarian minority communities.

For the labour market challenges, we used Standing's (2012) concept of the precariat. Some young people entering the labour market for the first time face the challenge of precarious work and underemployment, not only in disadvantaged areas and settlements but also in prosperous areas. They require a high degree of flexibility in employment, reducing the benefits of job stability and requiring adaptation and socialisation to precarious employment and situations (Standing 2012). According to Csata, we can approach the phenomenon of precarity in the Carpathian Basin through underemployment: in Transylvania, 70% of unskilled Hungarian youth who have only completed general schooling (eight classes) and dropped out of their studies

are disadvantaged and are nine times more likely to become members of the precariat than urban youth aged 25-29 who have completed university (Csata 2017: 376).

The study involved searching for a multidimensional stratification model that could also deal with the specific transitional situation of young people. Given that the social situation of young people can only be described in terms of 'hard' variables to a limited extent – as a significant proportion of them are still studying, studying and working in casual jobs or have not yet achieved a socially relevant 'final' status –, it is appropriate to classify young people using a multidimensional stratification model that takes into account values and cultural consumption. In this study, for reasons of scope, we only create a multidimensional stratification model for Hungarian youth who are part of a Hungarian minority group outside the borders of Hungary, while for the purpose of comparison with young people in Hungary, we tried to adapt the multidimensional scheme developed by Gondi-Bokányi et al. (2021). The dimensions were maintained, and the process of operationalisation was changed at some points. According to this social stratification approach, in addition to the material background and the socially given situation and education of young people, we also take into account variables associated with cultural capital and diversity (see Szabó-Hires-László 2018, 2023) and the frequency of cultural consumption. The model includes attitudes related to values, value orientation, visions of the future, and social capital (organisational capital, network of friends, offline and online). This implies that the social status of young people is not only shaped by factors that are determined by external social circumstances but also influenced by young people's choices, decisions, attitudes and values (see also Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021: 47, Kollár et al. 2021). We would add, however, that values, "attitudes", and optimistic or pessimistic attitudes towards the future (either directly or through aspirations, models and perspectives) can affect young people's chances of being validated. Similarly, family background and material circumstances, life planning and aspiration level also influence further education decisions (Bourdieu 1984, Breen-Goldthorpe 2001, Gabay et al. 2010). The theoretical conceptualisation of multidimensional social stratification can mainly be traced back to the works of Bourdieu (1984, 1997), Coleman (1988), and more recently to the work of Kovách et al. (2015), which also used 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators to operationalise forms of capital, which were grouped into clusters as described in the methodology (Bokányi et al. 2018, Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021), with some exceptions. Our model differs in some areas from the concept developed by Hungarian researchers as early as 2016. In our model, we include economic resources and traditional indicators of material well-being within a composite indicator because, for Hungarian minority youth living in different countries, the indicators of subjective material well-being are not comparable due to different reference levels and would distort the final results. A composite index of established material circumstances (situation) has also been shown in the literature to correlate better with subjective well-being than income or deprivation indices (Christoph, 2010) or other

approaches, but composite indicators have been preferred and are also recommended for use in measurement. In fact, we planned to include the "marketability" variables (entrepreneurial status, stable employment, unemployment) in the model, but they were eventually dropped to improve the model fit. While maintaining the volume of cultural consumption patterns, the number of books in the household was included in the model, and the number of acquaintances/friends on social media was also used to measure personal, informal contact capital. In this way, Hungarian minority youth were included in a multidimensional stratification model that encapsulates resource consumption patterns and attitudes relevant to young people.

Research methodology

Population delimitation, data sources

The study population was delimited by language, ethnicity and age criteria. Thus, we studied the Hungarian minority population aged 15-29 years old: the sample of the Hungarian Youth Survey 2020 included about 4,000 Hungarian minority youth in four countries, and in Hungary, the sample included 2,000 cases for our target variables. The sampling was done using the multistage random sampling method (Székely 2021). The previous surveys in 2001 and 2016 were similarly based on samples of 4,000 cases of Hungarian minority youth. For the most important variables, we sought to make comparisons with the Hungarian data, reflecting on previously published results (see Székely 2021).

The two main sources of data for the analysis are IFJUSAG2000, MOZAIK2001, and the Hungarian Youth Survey 2020. In addition, we have referred to the results of the 2016 Youth Survey in some places. Around 4,000 Hungarian minority youth from four countries were included in the sample. Subsamples for the 2016 and 2020 surveys contain 2,000 cases from Romania, 1,000 cases from Slovakia, 500 cases from Vojvodina/Serbia, and 500 cases from Transcarpathia/Ukraine. Similar proportions of subsamples were applied in 2001, but the number of cases in Vojvodina was higher: 1,017 (see Table 2 and Székely 2021).

Research questions

The research questions addressed in this study were the following:

- Starting from Beck's basic assumption, we assume that a process of social equalisation took place among Hungarian-identified minority youth in Central Europe and among the youth of Hungary between 2001 and 2020. The first research question is: Was there during this period an increase in living standards and a civilisational development of opportunities for young people in all regions/countries (involving the expansion of secondary and tertiary education and a reduction in the disparities in material wealth among young people in different regions), while the inequality of social distribution remained basically unchanged?

- The second research question, based on Standing's concept of precarious work, examines the role of labour market activity and what other factors influenced the social and material situation of young minority Hungarians and those from Hungary generally. Taking into account Castells' concept of space of places and the role of nation-states in the integration into a globalised world society, we investigate whether and how the internal relations of the regions/countries of the Carpathian Basin have been reorganised in the last two decades, both within and outside the European Union, in terms of the material situation of young people and their chances of achieving prosperity, and whether these changes tended to converge in the different regions between 2000 and 2020.
- The third research question asks – taking into account cultural, material and organisational resources –, what patterns of social stratification among minority youth emerge from the Gondi-Bokányi model, taking into account multidimensional consumption, literacy, cultural and social resources? What are the main differences and similarities between countries?

The fourth research question is: What factors are responsible for the large proportion of deprived groups in the social stratification of minority Hungarian youth? Is it the effect of Beck's regressive individualization, the phenomenon of Standing's precariat, or is it the result of some other phenomenon associated with the minority situation?

Methods used in the analysis

Statistical analysis of indicators of material situation. In order to answer the research questions, we first describe the material situation and the social background of young people by means of bivariate analyses.

In the MOZAIK2001 youth survey, material situation was measured differently in some respects compared to later surveys, but data were collected on several important variables (e.g., own dwelling, relevant durable consumption, and household assets, including cars ([see Szabó-Bauer et al. 2002]).

Indicators of the material situation of young people were included in both surveys (2001, 2020), including whether they own their own dwellings, own cars, and how many durables and services they own out of a total list of 12 items. This shows how well the household they live in is equipped and what material and comfort-related factors they had in 2001 and 2020, sometimes looking back to 2016 when appropriate.

The question for the subjective assessment of the material situation, asked in all three (2001, 2016, and 2020) waves of data collection, was the following: "Overall, how do you feel materially... living in deprivation / without worries?" A five-point scale was used to measure how respondents rated their situation (1-"Living in deprivation", 5-"Living without problems")

Using a composite measure of material situation, we created a composite index, as follows:

Table 1. *Components and formula of wealth position indices 2001, 2020*

2001	2020[2]
3 * own dwelling + 2* car + number of durables: summer house, other dwelling, building (empty) plot, freezer/freezer, automatic washing machine, dishwasher, colour TV, satellite dish, mobile phone, personal computer (PC), lorry, commercial vehicle, internet subscription	3 * own home + 2 * car + number of durable goods and services: bank account, credit card, life insurance, savings, major household equipment, electrical goods, smartphone, mobile internet, computer, laptop, tablet, games console, smartwatch

*Obs. 1. COMPUTE = 3 * own flat/house + 2 * own car + Count (valuable products and services)*
*2.In Hungary COMPUTE = 3 * own flat/house + 2 * frequency of savings + Count (valuable products and services)*

OLS Regression models. The socio-economic determinants of better material status elasticity and its change over time were examined using bivariate and multivariate OLS linear regression statistical models. Using the multivariate OLS regression model, we examined the role of different demographic and social background variables, as well as the labour market status, educational attainment, and occupational position of young people in relation to achieving good material status. Furthermore, the research question was tested on a sample of five countries and at different points in time (2000/2001, 2020)

The statistical analysis was based on multivariate linear regression models, where the dependent variables were the standardised indices of material wealth as described above (see Table 1).

The independent variables are age, sex (1 - male), type of municipality of residence (metropolitan-county, rural residence), highest education (number of grades completed), father's education (father - number of grades completed), father's physical occupation (dummy), family size (number of siblings), Roma origin (based on auto- or hetero-identification), labour market position (working, unemployed) and occupational status (intellectual, entrepreneur) as dummy variables. The independent variables were measured similarly in the two data sets (2001 and 2020), but there was a small difference in the case of the dependent variables for durables and services owned, so we need to be cautious when comparing the differences in effects over time.

Hierarchical cluster analysis method: This involved clustering the samples of Hungarian young people in the study countries according to different social and cultural resource dimensions using the HCA method. Variables that had a communality above 0.3 and a factor weight above 0.4 in the initial principal component analysis, or were matched with appropriate factor weights, were included in the cluster model. Model fit was acceptable, with a KMO of 0.68. The four factors we generated explained 60 per cent of the total variance. The model variables by dimension are as follows (see Appendix 1).

In the dimension of economic capital, the following appear: The index of material wealth (see Table 1: home ownership, car ownership, life insurance, money saved, major household equipment, electrical goods, number of modern digital goods

owned/used by young people (smartphone, mobile internet, computer, laptop, tablet, game console, smart watch).

The dimension of cultural capital and habitus consisted of two composite indicators: (1) a literacy factor created from two variables: one is the expected level of completed schooling (which, for young people, predicts the level of schooling those who have already started will reach, but since they were still studying, they were awarded one lower scale value than those who had graduated high school [since not everyone graduates successfully – the success rate in Romania, for example, is around 60-70% per year. For the baccalaureate, see INS 2022]). The other component is foreign language proficiency (number of languages spoken at least at the intermediate level and number of books in the home, including e-books). (2) total volume of cultural consumption (visits to theatre, cinema, art cinema, library, classical music concert, popular music concert, bookstore, exhibition/museum, opera at least weekly, monthly, see Appendix 2).

The indicators of socio-relational capital are divided into two parts. The first is informal social capital (number of active friendships, satisfaction with friendships, number of social media contacts. Public-political activity, organisational capital [willingness to participate in (home country) parliamentary elections, level of interest in politics, membership of organisations, knowledge of organisational programs, see Appendix 3]).

The indicator of future vision – optimism is broadly considered part of social capital and is composed of three variables (satisfaction with the chances of fulfilling personal life plans, future prospects, and employment opportunities).

The variables of the above dimensions are "objective" and "subjective" indicators, which were subjected to principal component analysis. Thus, we were able to classify them into four dimensions, creating four composite variables (see Appendix 1-3).

On the basis of the variables of the dimensions thus constructed, we created eight homogeneous clusters using cluster analysis on a pooled sample of Hungarian minority youth. The clustering procedure was performed using hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) using Ward's method. The dendrogram analysis revealed a well-defined optimal model of eight clusters according to which the respondents were classified.

Variables excluded from cluster analysis in this study but included in the model of Gondi-Bokányi et al. were the marketability variables (entrepreneurial status, the experience of joblessness, and stable job). These were eventually dropped for validity-related reasons and to improve model fit.

The results of the cluster analysis are also evaluated and analysed separately by country based on the distribution of respondents.

In the last part of the study, binary logistic regression was performed using the social determinants of belonging to the deprived strata. The independent variable was a dummy variable that took a value of '1' if the young people belonged to the

deprived social stratum and '0' if they did not. The list of independent variables included the socio-demographic (age, gender, country, residence-type dummy) and social background variables (father's education, father's high [intellectual or manager] occupational status dummy, number of siblings, Roma origin), unemployment experienced, completion of studies, and cultural attitude variables: Religiousness (with the following values: Religious, church (1) Religious in their own way (2) Don't know (3), Reference value: Not religious) and a scale about national pride with being Hungarian (1-5 values). Logistic regression was found to have weak explanatory power for the unified 15-29-year-old minority sample pooled across four countries, so the analysis was undertaken in two ways. First, we split the population into two groups by age and ran the regression on the pooled minority sample (the cut-off was age 22 when most young people who had completed further education could have completed their BA degree and started working). We then ran the logistic models separately for the Hungarian minority youth in each country to reveal any different characteristics.

Results of empirical analysis

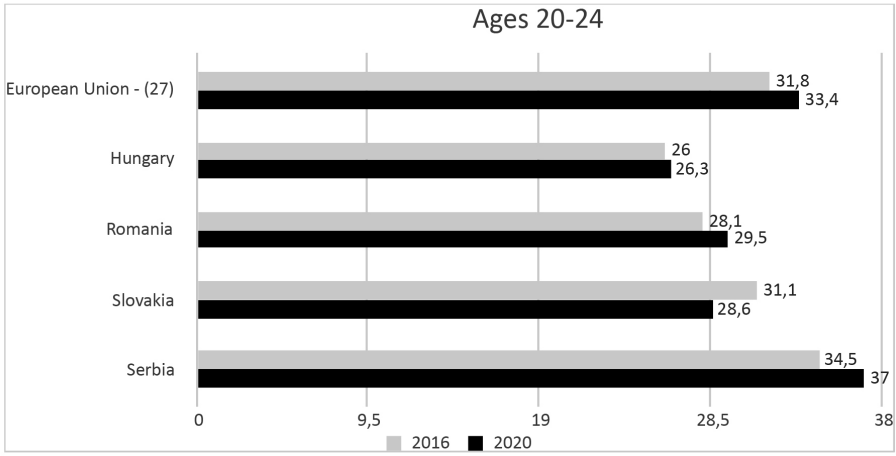
Educational and labour market situation and occupational status of young people

The research analysed Hungarian young people aged 15-29 years old based on the 2001 and 2020 Hungarian Youth Surveys. Members of this population, both in Hungary and in neighbouring countries, have either studied or completed their studies, and a large proportion of them have started working. The proportion of young people in this age group who are in education reflects the extent of educational expansion in the country concerned, but the implications of the schooling of the Hungarian minority are not always in line with those for the national average. Results from a previous LFS (Labour Force Survey) show that in Romania, the share of young Romanian nationals aged 15-29 with a learning status was about five percentage points greater than the share of young Romanian nationals of Hungarian ethnonationality of the same age in the period 2002-2012. However, no significant differences were observed in the unemployment rate (Csata 2017: 379). Another structural specificity is that a larger share of Hungarian youth lived in rural areas than the majority youth in the country (see Gyurgyík 2014, Veres 2020, 2023). As a general tendency, the youth in minority Hungarian communities in Romania have slightly lower educational attainment than the total population of youth, at least in Romania and in Slovakia, according to the last two censuses (Veres 2015, 2023, Scitanie 2023).

To get a sense of the social position of young people, we first look at educational attainment and employment rates. Looking at changes between 2001 and 2020, we see that the share of young people aged 15-29 in education increased substantially, from 26-30 per cent to 40-50 per cent. The main reason for this is the so-called

educational expansion phenomenon, whereby the share of young people aged 15-24 participating in both secondary and tertiary education increased substantially (Papp 2008). This was already the case by 2016 and has not changed substantially since then (Székely 2018). In some countries, the share of young people in education has even stagnated or decreased due to the impact of the coronavirus epidemic or other policy factors, such as in the case of Hungary and Slovakia (see Fig. 1). According to EUROSTAT data, the share of young people aged 20-24 in education among the total population is similar to our research results. Thirty-seven per cent of 20-24-year-olds in Vojvodina, Serbia, were in education in 2020 compared to 29.5% in Romania, 28.6% in Slovakia, and 26.3% in Hungary (see Fig. 1, Eurostat 2022).

Fig. 1. *Students in tertiary education in selected CEE countries, 2016, 2020 (%)*



Source: Eurostat (2022), https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database (Authors' construction).

According to our survey, nearly half (48.5 per cent) of Hungarian youth aged 15-29 in Romania were enrolled in education in 2020, an increase of nearly 20 percentage points from 2001, with a similar but slightly smaller increase in Slovakia from 26 to 40 per cent, and in Transcarpathia from 31 to 43 per cent of Hungarian youth in education, according to the survey. In Vojvodina, Serbia, the proportion of young Hungarians in education was already relatively large at 41% in 2001, but here, too, it increased to 49.5% in 2020. In Hungary, the share of young people in education increased less in the 20 years under review, from 34 to 40 per cent, which is close to the figures for Slovakia and Transcarpathia in 2020, but between 2016 and 2020, as we have seen (Figure 1), EUROSTAT data also show a stagnating trend in Hungary and a decrease in Slovakia, while in Romania, Serbia and according to the EU average, the share of young people in education has continued to increase. Thus, an increase in the labour market

participation rate of 15-29-year-olds was observed in Hungary (Székely 2021: 12), but at the same time the share of young people excluded from the labour market, neither studying nor working decreased from 18% in 2001 to 10% (see Table 2).

Table 2 *Social and educational situation of young Hungarians by country, 2001, 2020 (%)*

Country/region	Years	Studying*	Working	None	Total	N
Romania/ Transylvania	2001	30.2	52.8	17.0	100.0	1943
	2020	48.5	42.7	8.8	100.0	2000
Slovakia/ Highlands	2001	26.2	45.4	28.4	100.0	995
	2020	40.3	51.4	8.3	100.0	1000
Serbia/ Vojvodina	2001	40.7	48.1	11.2	100.1	1017
	2020	49.5	44.7	5.8	100.0	500
Ukraine/ Transcarpathia	2001	31.6	45.1	23.3	100.0	496
	2020	43.0	49.5	7.4	100.0	500
Hungary	2001	34.9	47.1	18.0	100.0	8000
	2020	40.0	50.0	10.0	100.0	8000

Obs. *All the differences between the years 2001 and 2020 are significant ($p<0.01$)
Source: MOZAIK2001, Youth 2000, Hungarian Youth Research 2020

Another characteristic of young people's entry into the labour market is that, as previous research has shown (Csata 2017, Veres–Papp 2016, Székely 2018, Veres 2020), there is no sharp line between the world of learning and the world of work, and a new kind of fluid transition can be observed: some people study and work at the same time, others alternate between the world of learning and the world of work, working after secondary school, then going to university, studying at the bachelor's level, and then after a few years continuing at the master's level. In line with the previous analysis of this research, some young people dropped out of both fields, i.e., both school and work, between 2001 and 2020, but fortunately, the number of young people in Hungary doing this decreased (see the proportion of young people who chose 'neither', Table 1 (see also Veres– Vita 2023). Young people who are neither in education nor in employment are the 'quasi-unemployed' – a category defined by Eurostat as those who are not in work and who, for some reason, are not looking for work (who, for example, are temporarily supported by their parents or partner, and would have to move or commute long distances to work) (Eurostat 2022, Veres–Vita 2023)

By analysing the educational and employment situation of the targeted young people, according to different social background variables, we can observe certain trends over a twenty-year horizon, partly independent of countries but also across countries. In 2001, the gender gap in further education was only observed in Slovakia, where girls were nearly 5 per cent more likely to be in education than boys of the same age. By 2020, however, girls will have a smaller advantage in further education

among the 15-29 age group everywhere except in Transcarpathia. In Transylvania and Vojvodina girls will be 4 per cent more likely to be in education than boys, while in Slovakia, they will be 8 per cent more likely to be in education than boys. This was already confirmed by census data in 2011 when we observed a female majority among those with tertiary education in most countries (see Gyurgyik–Kiss 2010, Veres–Vita 2015). In terms of age group, the share of teenagers under 20 still in education rose from 60-65% in 2001 to over 80% in 2020, while for 20-24-year-olds, the share of those aged around 20% rose to over 40% between 2001 and 2020. The educational attainment of young people living in rural areas was ten percentage points lower than that of their urban counterparts in 2001 in Transylvania, Romania, and Transcarpathia, Ukraine (see Veres 2005, 2020), and this disadvantage did not disappear by 2020 but only decreased. If we compare young people in rural areas with those in large cities, the inequalities are greater than 10 per cent, even in Vojvodina in Serbia. Thus, educational expansion has not yet been able to catch up with the Hungarian minority youth in rural areas, and the gap between the higher education attainment of urban and rural youth has widened (for more details, see Veres–Vita 2023).

The educational attainment of young people who have completed their studies has also increased spectacularly over the past twenty years. In 2001, about half of those who graduated from primary school (1-8 classes) did not continue their education (except in Transcarpathia, where the school system is different), and only 20-25 per cent of those who graduated from secondary school did. By 2020, less than 8-20 per cent of those who graduated from primary school discontinued their studies, especially in Vojvodina, Serbia, and Slovakia, where the share is below 12 per cent (see Table 1). Around half of the young people with upper secondary education have entered the labour market, but some of these will have continued their studies within a few years (observations and university enrolment experience suggest that many young people postponed their studies due to the coronavirus epidemic). Similar trends were observed in the case of young people in Hungary in 2020. The factors influencing the further education of young people in Hungary (type of residence, level of education, differences according to father's education) are very similar to those in Romania (see Ruff 2021).

In terms of their main occupation, we looked at what kind of job, if any, young people who had already completed their studies had found. It should be borne in mind that this population is made up of young career starters, and in a good number of cases, they are in their first position in line with their education, but some of them have only taken up temporary jobs and are not in the position most representative of their likely careers. When examining occupational stratification, the categories were constructed taking into account the classification criteria of the EGP scheme (Erikson-Goldthorpe 1992, Goldthorpe 2000, Breen-Goldthorpe 2001) or at least what the questionnaire data allowed us to draw from it (see also Bukodi–Záhonyi 2004, Bukodi 2006, Monostori–Veres 2014, Veres–Vita 2023, for more details)

The results show that in 2020, the number of economically active young people in the sample who had completed their studies and could be involved in the research was 948 in Romania, 540 in Slovakia, 227 in Vojvodina, and 249 in Ukraine/the Carpathian region. Due to the small number of cases, a detailed comparative analysis according to occupational group has been omitted, as it is not known to what extent the differences can be attributed to sampling errors or to actual differences within the population.

In any case, in terms of the distribution of the main occupational strata, it can be concluded that in 2020, according to occupational stratification, a much larger share (14-18%) of young people were working as university graduates in the countries under analysis than two decades earlier, in 2000-2001, when the share of university graduates was around 10% (see Szabó-Bauer 2002, Veres 2005, Papp 2008). Moreover, the share of entrepreneurs and young people working in managerial positions was around 4 and 5 per cent in surveys of young Hungarians, while the share of the self-employed was around 6 and 9.6 per cent, respectively (Veres 2020, 2023).

Comparing the occupational stratification of young people in Hungary and the minority who have completed their studies, the share of white-collar workers does not differ significantly between the majority and minority, but the share of skilled workers is higher in Hungary, around 30%, which is similar only among young Hungarians in Slovakia. This can be attributed to the relatively greater weight of industry in the two countries, unlike in the other countries. A larger proportion of young people are employed as skilled workers. Overall, the distribution of young Hungarians in Slovakia is the most similar to Hungary, regarding the proportion of intellectuals and skilled workers, the proportion of routine intellectuals and self-employed young Hungarians in Slovakia, reflecting the (relatively) developed service sector and indicating the very similar structure of the former to the proportion of other non-manual service employees in Hungary in 2020 (see Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021: 41).

The material and welfare situation of young people

In general, the material living standards and material situation of young Hungarian communities have risen in all countries over the past two decades according to the various material and housing indicators described in the methodological section, but to different degrees across countries. In the two decades between 2001 and 2020, although proportionally more young people owned their own dwelling, the increase was significant only among young Hungarians in Slovakia (from 12% in 2001 to 20% in 2020). Thus, while in 2001, young Hungarians led the list (18.8%) in terms of home ownership, two decades later, it is now led by young Hungarians in Slovakia. Young Hungarians in Transcarpathia were the least likely to live in their own home (9.6%), and this did not change significantly by 2020 (11%). In Transylvania and Vojvodina, young people's home ownership increased significantly but to a small extent over twenty years, from 10-12% to 14%, lagging behind the situation in Slovakia and Hungary (see Table 2).

Table 2 *Indicators of material situation (number of dwellings, cars, durables) and average values of the material index by country[2] 2001, 2020 (%)*

Country (N)	Own home* (%)	Own car* [a]	Laptop, computer* (%)	Mobile/ smartphone ** (%)[b]	Number of consumer goods*	Material index*
2001						
Romania/Transylvania (1940)	12.5	11.7	22.4	38.2	3.2	3.8
Slovakia/Felvidék (994)	12.0	13.4	28.0	67.9	4.2	4.8
Yugosl./Vojvodina (1017)	10.2	17.0	35.8	55.3	4.6	5.2
Ukraine/Transcarpathia (495)	9.6	12.0	11.4	30.5	2.8	3.4
Hungary (2014)	18.8	19.2	29.0	50.8	4.3	5.2
2020						
Romania/Transylvania (1976)	14.1	21.9	78.2	96.8	7.3	8.1
Slovakia/Felvidék (998)	20.5	33.1	79.3	93.5	7.9	9.2
Serbia/Vojvodina (499)	14.6	20.6	77.0	98.4	7.6	8.5
Ukraine/Transcarpathia (489)	11.1	23.1	78.0	98.9	7.6	8.4
Hungary (2000)	18.8	–	–	–	7.0	8.3a

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01 significant correlations (T-test)
Source: MOZAIK 2001, Hungarian Youth Research 2020
a. The Hungarian survey did not ask about car ownership, so it was not possible to calculate the material index with the same composition. Instead of cars, the variable "regular savings" was used.
b. In 2001 survey: mobil phone. In 2016. and, 2020. surveys: smartphone.

We have briefly reviewed the differences in the material situation of Hungarian young people in the five countries. While in 2001, Hungary and then Vojvodina had the largest proportion of young Hungarians with a car (17%, Szabó-Bauer 2002), by 2020, the proportion of young people with a car had risen to over 20% in all countries, but Slovakia was in the lead, while Vojvodina/Serbia, albeit to a small extent, came last (no data available for Hungary). The level of ownership of laptops, computers, or mobile/smartphones changed significantly from 2001 to 2020, with 78-80% of boys owning a computer or laptop and 96-99% a smartphone by 2020 (see Figure 2, Table 2, EU2020).

Although the absolute values are not directly comparable over time, we nevertheless see that the components of the indicator also indicate substantial increases in material well-being in each country, although the situation of the different countries changed substantially over the period. Most of all, the material situation of young people in the EU Member States has improved, but in Transcarpathia, for example, a significant improvement and convergence can also be observed by 2020 (Table 2).

Subjective assessments of material situations can also be used to examine change over time, and the literature suggests that this is more appropriate than using objective indicators (see Hajdu–Hajdu, 2011). In response to the question "Overall, materially...", we see that, compared to 2001, there were already significantly more people in each region in 2020 who answered that they were "living without problems"

2 Note. For the number of consumer goods and the composition of the material index, see Table 1.

or "getting by" and fewer who answered "going without" or "living month to month." The most significant increases in the proportion of those "living without problems" occurred in Ukraine and Romania, rising from a few per cent to 40 per cent and 32.3 per cent, respectively (see Table 3), while the proportion of those who are destitute and struggling month-to-month fell from 14 per cent to less than 3 per cent in Romania over 20 years, and the proportion who are "just getting by" on their income fell from 37 per cent to 12 per cent (Hajdu-Hajdu 2011). Subjective material welfare in Hungary was measured mainly against the Austrian situation from the late 1980s (Hajdu–Hajdu, 2011), while the majority of minority Hungarians, including those from Slovakia, measured their welfare against that of Hungarian citizens in 2001. Later on, this also became significantly differentiated, for example, due to the increase in migration and the transnational lifestyle in Romania (see Horváth 2008, Horváth–Anghel 2009, Anghel 2016).

Table 3 *Subjective assessment of material situation according to national sample (%), 2001, 2016, 2020*

Country	Year	What is your overall material situation...?					
		living in deprivation month by month	month by month, having financial problems	just getting by on income	getting by well on income from job	living without problems	Total
Romania/Transylvania	2001	3.9	10.7	36.7	42.6	6.1	100.0
	2016	0.5	2.6	15.2	55.7	20.6	94.6
	2020	0.6	1.7	11.9	53.5	32.3	100.0
Slovakia/Felvidék	2001	1.4	10.7	29.3	47.3	11.3	100.0
	2016	3.0	6.9	32.2	40.8	8.7	91.6
	2020	1.6	3.1	8.3	57.4	29.6	100.0
Serbia/Vojvodina	2001	2.5	7.9	28.1	53.9	7.6	100.0
	2016	0.8	4.5	21.3	55.4	13.2	95.3
	2020	0.1	1.7	13.5	60.9	23.9	100.1
Ukraine/Transcarpathia	2001	.4	8.1	28.8	54.2	8.5	100.0
	2016	.5	2.1	19.5	58.2	16.8	97.1
	2020	0.5	0.4	11.7	47.4	40.0	100.0
Hungary	2001	3.3	12.5	38.8	40.1	5.2	99.9
	2016	1.9	10.2	33.9	46.5	7.5	100.0
	2020	1.0	3.7	28.0	57.1	10.3	100.1

Sources: MOZAIK 2001 Youth Survey, Hungarian Youth Survey 2016, 2020 (author's calculations)

Regression model of the factors shaping the material situation of young people

Based on the bivariate correlations, some trends can already be observed regarding the determinants of young people's material situation. However, in order to get a more comprehensive picture, an OLS multivariate linear regression analysis

was carried out. We used the composite material situation index described in the methodology section as the dependent variable (see Table 1) and presented there a list of independent variables to examine the role of different demographic and social background variables, as well as the labour market status, education and occupational position of young people in the achievement of a good material situation. The regression models were run at two points in time (2001, 2020) and on samples of Hungarian youth in five countries. Regression models for the 2020 samples showed the highest adjusted R^2 explanatory power based on the independent variables.

According to these results, the independent variables explain the value (increase) of the material situation index, which is around 35 per cent for Hungarian youth in Slovakia and Ukraine, 31 per cent in Hungary, and 15 per cent for the Hungarian sample in Romania and Serbia. The regression models for 2001 are weaker, with a similar dependent variable structure, with explanatory power of only between 10 and 19 per cent based on adjusted R^2 (see Table 4 A, B). The difference in the explanatory power of the models can only partly be attributed to the fact that different social and contextual determinants would have been more significant in the material well-being indicator in 2020 than two decades earlier, as the higher R2 value can be partly attributed to specific differences in the composition of the dependent variables in 2020 and 2001, but the extent of this is not known to us. In fact, the composition of the dependent variable in 2020 differs for some consumption items from those used in the 2001 indicator. Here, we considered it more important to provide relevant measures of the material situation in 2020 than to provide a completely identical equivalent to the research of two decades earlier. Similarly to the methodological approach of Angelusz-Tardos (2007) – as they pointed out in relation to the measurement of material resources over two decades – modifications had to be made in the measurement of material situation, especially for the indicators of consumer durables and services measuring well-being, as formal invariance would have actually weakened discriminatory capacity, i.e., the ability to detect differences, especially for consumer durables (Angelusz-Tardos 1998). That said, we believe that, since the independent variables are essentially the same, the adjusted Beta coefficients of the models are comparable over time and the differences over time can be made sense of. However, when comparing the explanatory power of the models, we should be cautious and consider the time-varying content of the dependent variable (See Table 4. A, B).

We have examined the regression results by country over a period of two decades:

Romania/Transylvania

For young Hungarians from Romania, the most important factor in achieving a good material situation in 2001 was the level of education of the parent (father) (adj Beta=. 200), while other family background variables (number of siblings, Roma

origin: more siblings or Roma origin reduce the chances of achieving a good material situation) and the labour market situation (experiencing unemployment or having a job had a negative effect on the dependent variable; only high-level positions had a positive effect). Young people's personal resources, level of education, gender (male) and age are significant but overall weaker explanators of the achievement of a good material situation. Rural origin has a weak but negative effect. R2 increases in the 2020 model, but not by much (.16 to .21). In the 2020 regression model, the effect of family background (father's education: .044, number of siblings, Roma origin) is weakener: type of residence, and gender no longer have a significant effect, but the effects of some individual resources, especially age (.33) and employment have a positive effect, regardless of the position held (the effect of managerial/professional position is not significant separately). Education continues to have a weaker positive significant effect (.087).

Slovakia

In the 2001 regression model of the Hungarian minority youth living in this country, the strongest effect of the educational level of the parent (father) in achieving a good material situation is found in the regression model (adj Beta=.175), with a slightly weaker significant effect of the labour market situation (experience of unemployment [-.179]; here again, employment had a negative effect on the dependent variable, only high-status employment had a significant effect: .118). Then comes the individual's level of education and other family background variables (number of siblings, Roma origin), which have negative effects on the dependent variable. This is followed by the weaker but significant effects of personal resources of the youth, age, and gender. In the 2020 model, the adjusted R2 (.348) has doubled from .164 0 in 2001 to l, which is more than a method effect. In the 2020 regression model, the effects of age (.429) and employment (.136) stand out, while the effect of family background is differentiated: the father's education no longer has a significant effect, but the negative effect of following remains: number of siblings, experience of unemploymen (-. 118). Again, type of residence and gender have no significant effect, while the effect of respondents' education and managerial/professional positions are not significant separately.

Serbia/ Vojvodina

In the linear regression model for Hungarian minority youth in Serbia in 2001, the largest effect on having a good material situation was due to having a managerial/ professional position (.211), followed by the educational level of the parent (father) (.100). Age had a slightly stronger effect on the personal resources of the young person (.138), but a much weaker effect on the educational level of the individual (.052), and there was a negative effect of the type of residence, i.e. living in a rural area, on having a good material situation. In the 2020 regression model for Serbia,

the adjusted R2 (.151) is not significantly different from the .143 in 2001. In the 2020 regression model for Serbia, the regression-adjusted beta coefficients do not increase as much as in the previous countries. The effect of age (.151) and the effects of employment (.131) and intellectual/managerial position (.121) are significant. There is a similar negative effect of the family/parental background variables, both the number of siblings (-.158) and the experience of unemployment (-.082).

Ukraine/Transcarpathia

In the 2001 linear regression model of Hungarian minority youth in Transcarpathia, age (.271) and working in an intellectual/managerial position (.134) had the largest effect on achieving a good material status, followed by the educational level of the parent (father) (.089). The adj. R2 value of the 2020 regression model (.348) is much stronger, more than three times the value of .105 in 2001. In the 2020 regression model, the effects of age (.373) and employment (.213) are also prominent, while rural residence has an exceptionally positive and significant effect (.235).

As we were only able to run the regression models on a small sample (less than 500 cases) in Ukraine at both time points and in Serbia in 2020, relatively few beta coefficients were found to have a significant effect.

Hungary

In the 2001 linear regression model for young people in Hungary, the strongest effects of individual educational attainment (.219) and intellectual/managerial occupation (.260) and the least effects of age (.100) were found in relation to the attainment of good material position. This was followed by family and social background factors, with weaker effects such as parent's (father's) educational attainment (.070), number of siblings (-.088) and type of residence, the negative effect of living in a rural area (-.086) and experiencing unemployment (-.080) on good material well-being. In the 2020 Hungarian youth regression model, the adj. R2 value (.313) is significantly higher than the value of .192 in 2001, suggesting that in addition to the methodological difference, it also reflects a real change in the social determinants of young people's material well-being. In the 2020 regression model, only one regression-adjusted Beta coefficient increased, followed by the effect of individual educational attainment (.192) and then age (.149). In addition to the positive effect of being employed (.119), the effects of working in a managerial/managerial position (.086) and experiencing unemployment (-.082) are also significant. Weaker negative effects are also found for family-origin background variables such as number of siblings (-.0587), Roma origin, and gender (to the disadvantage of women).

The regression analyses on the 2001 samples show that the most positive effect of a father's education on good material status was due to family background, and a weaker negative effect of having a large family (more siblings) was due to Roma origin and the experience of unemployment scenarios.

In contrast, the education level of young people had a significant effect, but mattered less in minority communities and more in Hungary. In general, concerning a good material situation, it was not important whether a young person had worked, but having an entrepreneurial/managerial position clearly determined and positively impacted the material situation.

In the 2020 models, with the exception of the Hungarian sample from Ukraine, the age variable had the greatest effect on determining good material position. This could be interpreted as part of the individualised life paths that helped young people achieve their potential. This cannot be attributed to education or work alone, but it obviously also had a positive effect separately (see Table 4. A, B).

Table 4. *Social determinants of (good) material well-being, linear regression models, beta coefficients by country, 2001, 2020*

A. 2001[3]

	Romania/ Transylv.	Slovakia/ Highlands	Serbia/ Vojvodina	Ukraine/ Transcarpathia	Hungary
			2001		
Age	.167***	.096***	.138**	.271***	.100***
Gender (1 - male)	.079**	.071***	.042	.061	.024*
Place of residence: rural	–.045*	–.016	–.067**	–.069*	–.086***
Education level (number of classes)	.091***	.111***	.052*	–.047	.219***
Father's education level	.200***	.175***	.100***	.089**	,070*
Number of siblings	–.136***	–.084***	–.037	–.015	–.088***
Roma (dummy)	–.075***	–.083**	–	–	–
Unemployed (dummy)	–.112***	–.179***	–.047	–.058	–.080***
Working (dummy)	–.113***	–.041	.006	–.071	–.071
Occupation: entrepreneur/ manager	.066***	.118***	.211***	.134***	.260***
Adj R^2	.162	.164	.143	.105	.192
N	1792	918	980	470	7842

3 Ibid. In the 2001 samples, it was not possible to separate the status of the respondent and the father as intellectual/manual worker employees.

B. 2020

	Romania/ Transylv.	Slovakia/ Highlands	Serbia/ Vojvodina	Ukraine/ Transcarpathia	Hungary
Age	.338***	.429***	.151*	.373***	.149***
Gender (dummy. 1 - male)	.004	.008	.001	.067	.062*
Place of residence: rural (dummy)	.035	.049	.004	.235***	-.021
Education level (number of classes)	.087**	-.028	-.032	-.044	.192***
Father's education level	.044*	.021	-.008	.038	.218***
Number of siblings	-.079**	-.159***	-.158***	-.046	-.057*
Roma (dummy)	-.049*	-.010	-.072	-.035	-.054*
Unemployed (dummy)	-.013	-.118**	-.082*	.021	-.087**
Working (dummy)	.104***	.136**	.131**	.213***	.119***
Occupation: intellectual, manager	.001	-.015	.121**	.055	.086**
Adj. R^2	.212	.348	.151	.348	.313
N	1804	927	475	422	1915

Obs. Dependent variable: wealth index (see Table 1)
*p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01 significant values (linear regression, standardised beta coefficients)
Source: MOZAIK 2001, Hungarian Youth Research 2020

We now analyse the main differences and analogies by country between 2001 and 2020 by comparing the regression models. In the samples of Hungarian young people in Romania and Slovakia, the role of parental background on material well-being was still highly significant in 2001 but only weakly significant in 2020 (with an adj. Beta below 0.1), and the effect of type of residence on material well-being weakened in 2020, while the effect of age on the well-being indicator became significantly stronger.

This can be understood in the sense that in the two countries that joined the EU (Ro, SK), the majority of Hungarian minority youths improved their material situation primarily due to employment (not only regarding managerial and intellectual positions but also lower-paid workers), and by the improvement in the individualisation of life paths, as seen in the Beck model. However, significant negative effects for the most disadvantaged bottom segment of young people remained. These are young people with several siblings, from families with many children and/or of Roma origin, or who could not escape the unemployment scenario. We can say that the latter exist in Standing's "precarious" conditions or are the "black holes" in Castell's network society. It is the latter segment of young people, especially in Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary, for whom the system of distribution of economic resources in society has not changed significantly.

In Hungary, there are similarities with the two other EU Member States regarding the change in the material situation of young people in 2020. But there are also significant differences. Looking at the period between 2001 and 2020, it is striking that the effect of the father's educational attainment within parental background became even stronger compared to the other two EU Member States (.245 in Hungary vs .120 or less; see Table 4 A-B). This was somewhat counterbalanced by the fact that young people's education also has a fairly significant effect on their material position (.19), but this is coupled with the fact that the effect of intellectual and managerial positions remains significant in 2020, so overall, the social reproduction phenomenon

among young people is significant. It can be concluded, therefore, that the better material well-being of young people in Hungary, to an increasing extent between 2000 and 2020, was achieved by the higher-educated children of highly educated parents, especially if young people obtain appropriate intellectual and managerial positions as age increases. Meanwhile, the opportunities for disadvantaged young people (from large families of Roma origin and those facing unemployment) have not improved, and the impact of these disadvantages, with some redistribution, has persisted. This means that the otherwise positive impact of schooling is only moderately exaggerated. This is in line with the finding of a previously published analysis that among young people aged 15-29 who have completed their education in Hungary, according to the 2020 Large Sample Survey of Youth, a small proportion engage in significant upward mobility in school, i.e., "3-5 per cent have been able to move up the educational ladder in a more serious way" (Gondi-Bokányi et al., 2021:39).

The regression model results for Hungarian youth in Serbian Vojvodina in the 2001 sample had slightly different characteristics from other regions. Age, parental background, and entrepreneurial status had a significantly positive effect on material well-being, while young people's own education did not. Here, we see the specific conditions of the better-off youth of the former Yugoslav world who are working in the West, which in turn changed significantly with the war and emigration. Therefore, in 2020, the higher education and intellectual and managerial status of young people contributed significantly to their material well-being, but the role of parental background remained important. However, the negative effect of having a large family size and more siblings increased, although this was not significant before.

In the regression model for young Hungarians in Ukraine in 2001, parental background (education), age, and entrepreneurial status increased the probability of having a good material situation. However, neither education, number of siblings, nor employment had a significant effect on the material situation because starting wages were very low, and students from better backgrounds were more likely to have completed further education. This changed in 2020, and employment and education had a positive effect on good material position.

Multidimensional analysis of the social stratification of young people

The starting point is that neither educational attainment and material situation nor the occupational status of young people can be considered "definitive" components of the life stage. Thus, the application of 'classical' multidimensional stratification models is limited, and they have minimal relevance even for young people who have completed their education (see also Bokányi et al. 2018: 174, Kovách et al. 2017). Therefore, starting with the Hungarian youth analysis of Gondi-Bokányi et al. (2021) and using relevant consumption and lifestyle variables, we included Hungarian minority

youth in a multidimensional social stratification model and conducted an analysis by country. We then compared the results with the socio-cultural stratification fault lines delineated among Hungarian youth (see Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021: 47).

The dimensions of the stratification model[4] are the following:
Economic capital (shown in Table 1) was measured using an index of material situation, which differs from the Hungarian model where subjective well-being was used, and an indicator of digital tools and services used by young people, cultural capital and habitus (two indicators, one for literacy and the other for aggregate cultural consumption), and socio-relational capital (two components: one for informal relational capital, the other for public-political activity, organisational capital[5] and an indicator of vision – optimism, see Appendix 1). In the methodological section, we have also described the variables associated with the dimensions, on the basis of which the respondents of the samples of Hungarian youth living in the minority were classified into eight homogeneous clusters using cluster analysis. The resulting clusters, or socio-cultural strata, reflect different configurations of the volume of characteristic resources. For the sake of comparability, the naming of the clusters was somewhat aligned with the Gondi-Bokányi et al. (2021) model, although the following designations are not exactly identical with it: 'digital "native" optimists', 'deprived', 'average socialites', 'lonely pessimists', 'educated socially active', 'wealthy optimists', 'social media-consuming pessimists', and 'active cultural consumers'. In the cluster model used to group young people in Hungary, also based on the Hungarian Youth Survey 2020, seven clusters were created (Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021:48). The labels and characteristics differ slightly between Hungarian youth living in Hungary and Hungarian youth living abroad in the minority, but the labels 'investing in education', 'digitalisation winners', 'deprived', and 'lonely fighters' indicate that there are many similarities in the social stratification of the two populations, while the differences in the proportions of the two populations by country suggest a number of social correlations. As a result of the cluster analysis, we stratified the samples of minority Hungarian youth according to groupings, but in reality, these stratifications are not sharply demarcated. In other words, these strata are not separated from each other in society; in a socio-psychological sense, the members do not have distinct, separate identities, even though the characteristics of these cluster groups may play an important role in the identity of many young people. It can, therefore, be interpreted as meaning that those belonging to a particular cluster, if they possess resources that are more pronounced than the average cluster, seek each other's company socially, while those with weaker ties to the cluster are not as clearly separated from other clusters (see Table 5).

4 The dimensions in the model were developed through principal component analysis, see Methodology section.

5 We had planned to include the generalised trust variable (How much do you trust people in general?), but we left it out for reasons of model fit.

Table 5. *Multidimensional social strata of minority Hungarian youth (Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine) based on cluster analysis (standardised cluster averages*

Social strata/ Cluster	Native digital optimists	Depri-ved	Average sociables	Solitary pessimists	Educated social activists	Prosperous optimists	Pessimist social media-consumers	Active cultural consumers
Cluster number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Material situation	– – 2.0728	– – 2.1049	3.0094	3.4668	– 2.7271	++ 5.9475	2.9291	– 2.7989
Number of digital-modernisation assets	++ 5.60	3.22	+ 4.76	4.34	4.34	++ 4.65	4.02	4.11
Literacy factor (school. foreign languages. books)	.0311	– – –.41401	– – –.25875	+ .15215	++ 0.50772	–.00698	.00024	++ .4066
Frequency of cultural consumption	– – .2946	– .1414	.4508	– – .2599	.4702	– – .2504	.4781	++ 3.3879
Public-political activity	–.0896	–.4788	–.37380	–.18121	++ .96232	–.1461	.2147	++ .3089
Friendly relations	4.10	3.93	++ 17.19	3.40	5.22	4.69	4.59	4.26
Number of contacts on social media	946	– – 766	1013	– – 739	1044	1109	++ 2973	– 872
Future plan - optimism	++ .7617	– – –.3507	+ .3304	– – –.3480	.0936	++ .6340	– – –.4085	.1421

Legend: ++ highly above average, + slightly above average, average, – – very below average, – slightly below average
Source: Hungarian Youth Research 2020 (authors' calculation)

The different strata of the population, along with the dimensions of available resources, are characterised as follows, taking into account how they are distributed by country and by the main sociodemographic and labour market categories (see Figure 2 and Table 5).

Digital 'native' optimists. The penetration of digital communication tools and services is particularly high in this group, as is optimism about the future. This group is characterised by average literacy, an average number of informal friendships and average levels of public-political activity. They are also below average in terms of their material situation (housing, cars, household equipment) and their level of consumption of non-digital cultural products. Their share is largest in Romania, at 9.5%, and smallest in Serbia, at 6.5% in 2020; this habitus is also favoured by the online activities and curfew restrictions associated with the Covid virus, especially in Romania in 2020, when the data were collected.

Deprived. The consumption and provisioning of young people in this group is below average in all dimensions. They also tend to be pessimistic about the future. The proportion of young people in this stratum is large in all countries, with young people in this stratum making up at least a quarter of each country (see Figure 2). Compared with young people in Hungary, the two deprived categories (deprived and socially deprived) combined did not exceed 12 per cent. However, the specific percentages are not comparable because the model used in the Hungarian sample included a subjective assessment of the material

situation, which refers to the proportion of materially deprived relative to the hard variables (see Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021: 48). This group included mainly young people who were already working but with lower education, performing manual work.

The large proportion of minority Hungarian youth who are considered deprived has become a separate research issue that we have examined separately in the context of this study and will return to in a later section.

Average sociables. This group included those who had a high number of friendships and an exceptionally high average score on the measure of satisfaction with them. They have an average level of material situation and digital access. However, they are below average in terms of literacy, frequency of cultural consumption, education, and public activity. In terms of proportion, they are a smaller group, with only 8.5 per cent in the sample from Vojvodina in Serbia, while the least are from Slovakia (4.3 per cent).

Solitary pessimists. These young people are average in terms of all situations and digital literacy but below average in terms of their network of contacts and informal contacts, frequency of cultural consumption, and optimism about the future. Around a tenth of young people can be classified into this category, with slightly larger proportions in Slovakia (14.8%) and a smaller share in Vojvodina and Carpathian Vojvodina in Serbia (8.2%). Sociodemographically, it can be said that they are "older," with the many young people aged 22-29 who have completed their studies being over-represented. In terms of type of residence, the picture varies by country: in Romania, they are slightly over-represented among young people living in large cities, while in Slovakia and in the Ukrainian Transcarpathia, they tend to be more prevalent among young people living in rural areas.

Educated social activists. This group is characterised by high above-average scores in terms of culture, education, and public-political activity. They are average in the other dimensions. They represent a larger stratum, although they are found in different proportions in different countries. The sample of Hungarian youth in the Ukrainian Transcarpathian region accounts for 25% of the total and 15% in Slovakia. They represent the traditional intellectual habitus. In terms of social background and education, they tend to be more urban, university students or university graduates.

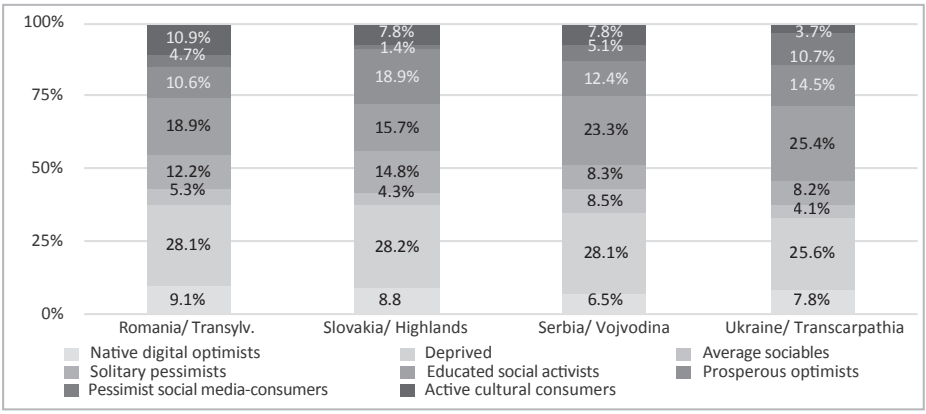
Prosperous optimists. This group includes young people with above-average material and income levels and average scores on all other dimensions, while they have lower-than-average levels of classical cultural consumption and public-political activity. They can be considered a typical group of entrepreneurs and business leaders, some of whom are still planning their careers. The size of the stratum is significant, averaging around 15%, with the greatest number of people in the Slovakian sample (18.9%) and the smallest in the Romanian (10%). In socio-demographic terms, the vast majority are active in the labour market, over-represented in entrepreneurship or management, the majority are aged 25-29, have at least a high school diploma, and they tend to live in larger cities or municipalities, less often in small towns.

Pessimistic social media consumers. Young people in this group have an above-average social media network, which also characterises the way they spend their leisure time, and their outlook on life and the future tends to be pessimistic. Their share in the sample varies radically from country to country, with more than ten per cent of the young people in the Carpathian region of Ukraine falling into this category, while in the Hungarian sample in Slovakia, there are barely 1.4% of them, and in Romania and Vojvodina in Serbia the share is around five per cent. In terms of age, they are more likely to be aged 20-24; in terms of educational attainment, they are more likely to have completed secondary school; in terms of place of residence, they are more likely to live in villages, and they are slightly over-represented among women.

Active cultural consumers. Members of this group can even be described as omnivores (Chan-Goldthorpe 2005), according to international literature. The members are all well above average in terms of cultural consumption, above average in terms of literacy, but below average for educated public activists and above average in terms of public-political activity (see Table 5). Their share in the sample varies widely from country to country, with Romania having the largest share of 10.9 per cent and Transcarpathia the smallest at 3.7 per cent (see Figure 2). In terms of sociodemographic variables, they are overrepresented among young people aged 20-24 years old, university graduates or students, and urban youth by place of residence.

The results, therefore, suggest that although there are clear patterns among young people living in different countries, their prevalence varies widely. This can be explained by the different settlement structures, cultural and institutional backgrounds, socio-economic development, and the level of development of the labour market and market economy of the Hungarian minorities.

Fig 2. *Distribution of Hungarian minority youth by social strata by country based on the socio-consumer clusters that were formed, 2020 (%)*



Source: Hungarian Youth Research 2020 (authors' calculation)

We observed that perhaps the largest group of minority youth are the deprived, who were below average in all dimensions of consumption. The question arises as to why minority Hungarian youths were represented so significantly in this group compared to their counterparts from Hungary. Looking at the "objective" material situation in the previous section, we see that at least in Slovakia, Serbian Vojvodina, and most of the Romanian sample, Hungarian minority youth are not significantly more deprived than their Hungarian (majority) counterparts. However, minority status may create a context in which they may be more deprived than their majority counterparts in terms of consumption and literacy. Therefore, in our explanation, besides the methodological difference, we also raised the working hypothesis of "cultural bleakness" – that minority Hungarian youths' access to cultural products and services may be in proportion and extent less than in Hungary. To answer this question, we conducted a binary logistic regression analysis, where the independent variable is a dummy variable that measures the membership of the deprived social stratum, as described in the methodology section. Based on the independent variables, we measured whether it is possible to determine the sociological factors that make this material and cultural-literacy deprivation likely, and to what extent this is a consequence of family background and to what extent it is the consequence of other factors such as the structure/size of the municipality as well as the related institutional network, the development of the NGO background, etc.

As described in the methodology section, logistic regression was performed in two ways. First, we split the population into two groups by age and ran the regression on the unified minority sample for the 15-21 age group and then for the 22-29 age group. Although there was a significant presence of deprived people in each age group, age specificities resulted in much less explanatory power for the 15-21-year-old sample but similar results to those for the 22-29-year-old sample, which are detailed below. We then ran binary logistic models by country: in Romania, the larger sample allowed us to include a variable that tested whether young people were numerically in the majority or minority at the local and sub-regional level (in the other countries, the sample caseload did not allow for the introduction of this variable) so that the differences seen by country could be explored.

The results of the unified logistic model for 22-29-year-olds clearly demonstrated that belonging to the deprived stratum is most strongly determined by social background: the low education of the father, as well as (early) leaving school status and, most importantly, the experience of unemployment, increase the latter by a factor of 2.5. In all countries, Roma affiliation, number of siblings, and age do not significantly contribute to belonging to the deprived stratum. Of the cultural attachment variables included in the model, religiosity (religious according to church teaching) was significant only for Hungarians in Transylvania, and this reduced the odds of belonging to the deprived group (probably through organisational attachment, as the effect was no longer significant for the "religious in their own way" group). The

low value for the variable indicating the strength of the sense of pride in minority Hungarian identity (ethno-national pride) and the weaker emotional attachment to Hungarianness had a significant effect on belonging to the deprived group only for Hungarians in Serbia, while in the logistic model for Carpathian region the value of the same order of magnitude (.761) was not significant due to the low number of cases.

Table 6 *Logistic regression model of multidimensional deprived youth stratum membership (Exp B values)*

Independent	Exp(B)				B	Exp(B)	Sig
variables	Romania	Slovakia	Serbia	Ukraine	22-29 year old		unified
Country (ref: Ukraine)							.327
Romania(1)					.396	1,513	.064
Slovakia(2)					.358	1,419	.110
Serbia(3)					.341	1,354	.185
Age	.935**	.859**	.960	.899	-.085	.925**	.002
Gender_(dummy)	1.203	.815	.857	1.279	.181	1.078	.149
Big city residence	.985	.873	.832	1.949	-.017	.964	.927
Rural residence	1.122	.797	1.205	1.498	.095	1.057	.532
Diaspora or in local minority (Tr.)	.541**						
Father's education	.660**	1.118	.835	.759	-.403	.662**	.000
Father_intellectual/ leader	.711*	.526**	.623	.937	-.463	.641*	.050
Siblings	.887	.959	1.216	1.138	-.086	.918	.203
Roma (dummy)	1.456	1.300	2943	.000	.398	1.495	.128
Unemployed	1.294	2.102**	5.890**	3.399	.847	2.367**	.000
Finished studies	1.796**	2.319**	1.446*	1.378	.540	1.745**	.008
frequency of drunkenness	.997	.994	.980	1.006	.167	1.081**	.002
frequency of smoking	1.000	1.001	1.000	1.000	-.060	.942*	.011
Drug use is a big problem (youth)	.583*	1.202	.883	2.778		.902	.705
Religious (Ref: Not religious)							.003
Religious, church(1)	.582*	.659	1.062	1.403	-.404	.627	.034
Religious itself(2)	.926	.672	1.179	.946	-.113	.893	.253
Don't know(3)	1.238	1.144	2.252	.751	.519	1.488	.092
National pride	1.084	.949	.793*	.761	.150	1.041	.706
Constant	3.310	10.551	2.851	7.710	.040		.534
					.290	1.337	
Cox & Snell R^2	.085	.084	.080	.071		0.080	
Nagelkerke R^2	.126	.121	.120	.109		0.120	

Obs. Dependent variable: Belong to deprived cluster (1, dummy)
**p < 0.05, **p < 0.01 significant values (Exp (B) coefficients)*

The type of residence (urban/rural, big cities) did not have a significant effect, but for Romania, we find that Hungarians living in a dispersed way within the local administrative minority (outside Szeklerland) are less likely to be in the deprived stratum than Hungarian young people living compactly within the local/county level administrative majority. On this basis, we can reject the hypothesis that the local or small administrative minority situation of Hungarian youth contributes to the deprived situation. Furthermore, we can also rule out that addiction, excessive alcohol consumption (drunkenness), and smoking increase the risk of falling into the

deprived stratum. Agreement with the response that "drug use [is] one of the biggest problems of youth" in the Transylvanian sample of Hungarian youth significantly reduces the likelihood of belonging to the deprived stratum; this could mean that young people in the deprived stratum are less aware of the specific risk of drug use, but it does not tell us anything about the specific exposure (see Table 6). In summary, the main predictors of belonging to the deprived stratum are a weak educational background, which may be exacerbated by low education levels and the experience of early school leaving and unemployment. So, this phenomenon is more liable to be the product of a disconnected, precarious stratum that society is recreating than a product of Beck's regressive individualisation.

Conclusions

In the course of the analysis, we have attempted to draw some conclusions by answering the research questions.

Over the last two decades, the disparities and disproportions between minority Hungarian youth communities and young Hungarians in Hungary generally in terms of educational and labour market activity and employment have decreased, partly disappeared, and partly become rearranged. The material and social situation of Hungarian youth in the Carpathian Basin improved significantly in all countries between 2001 and 2020, but the differences between regions also changed: the indicators of education and material situation of Hungarian youth in Romania became more similar to those of Slovakia and in some points exceeded those of young Hungarians in Hungary. This was also due to changes related to EU accession: a significant example being that the material and social situation of Hungarian youth in Transylvania/Romania and Slovakia improved between 2001 and 2020. Further changes are mainly due to the expansion of education in all regions, which has led to a significant change in the disparities in educational attainment between countries, which is also linked to the lengthening of the school life cycle. Nevertheless, minor differences can be observed between Hungarian minority communities, depending on the proportion of young people that each country's education policy aimed to integrate into higher education. The expansion of education in Vojvodina in Serbia has been significant since 2001, and by 2020 it had expanded only slightly, but the proportion of university graduates in the region was high in 2020. The expansion of education between 2001 and 2020 is most spectacular in Romania, but there are still significant differences in young people's chances of continuing their education by type of settlement and parents' educational attainment that are perhaps even more pronounced than in other countries. Hungary, as we have seen, had the highest youth employment rate, but this is also a consequence of the fact that educational expansion has stagnated since 2016. In 2020, the chance of going to university

continued to be significantly reduced by the type of settlement (rural) and the low educational attainment of parents.

In the distributional relations of these societies, following Beck's ideas, we can say that there has been no significant change in the main distributional relations of resources since in all the countries studied, the negative effects of having many children and being of Roma origin and experiencing unemployment have not changed after two decades of change, and the positive effect of schooling is partly neutralised by the effect of the educational background of the parents (this is the case in Hungary and partly in Romania). These factors show the persistent effect of inequality of opportunity on access to material well-being, just as Beck observed for Germany in the 1980s. Furthermore, we can also conclude that the role of individualised life courses has increased in relation to material well-being since then, and the increase in the variable value of age was one of the strongest influences on access to material well-being until 2020.

In answering the second research question, we find that unemployment, which is associated with Standing's precarious labour market status, a background involving multiple children, and Roma ethnicity, was associated with likely material deprivation in both 2001 and 2020 in the regression models, which was also associated with a rural residential environment at the beginning of the period, but became differentiated by 2020. It can be seen that the disadvantaged group thus delineated, despite the opportunities of EU accession, has not been able to significantly improve its material well-being, just as Castells described the life chances of those living in 'spaces of place' who are excluded from the opportunities and resources of global network flows. To this, we might add that it has also been shown, using Hungary as an example, that when nation-state politics is pitted against those of the European Union, which represents global politics, the development of the material well-being of young people in Hungary can also be seen as a manifestation of the increase in disadvantages of opportunity, and while there are also signs of social reproduction in terms of material well-being in comparison with Romania and Slovakia, the chances of the disadvantaged have not improved significantly. In Hungary, both school and occupational mobility have permitted only a relatively low intensity of upward social mobility, as confirmed by other studies (Gondi-Bokányi et al. 2021). Hence, we observe a relative reallocation of young people in different countries in terms of the attainment of material well-being. While Hungary was in the lead in 2000/2001 in terms of both material living standards and equal opportunities for material well-being, by 2020, the pathways to equal opportunities for achieving a good material situation among Hungarian minority youth in Slovakia and Romania had become more open.

Multidimensional social stratification was used to classify young people into eight clusters: digital "native" optimists, deprived, average socialites, lonely pessimists, educated socially active, wealthy optimists, social media-consuming pessimists, and

active cultural consumers. It was observed that more than a quarter of minority Hungarian youth belong to the deprived stratum, and their share in this stratum is significantly greater than that of minority Hungarian youth, where the two different deprived categories together do not even account for 20%. We should take into account the methodological effect of using a measure of the subjective material situation in the multidimensional cluster analysis associated with the Hungary sample (Gondi-Bokány et al. 2021), while the standardised indicator of the objective material situation was used for the sample of minority Hungarians. In the latter case, we were not able to use the subjective indicators because the Hungarian youth communities living in different countries are not consistent in their assessment of their material situation in terms of reference points.

Regarding the fourth research question, it can be concluded that belonging to the deprived stratum is most likely to be due to a weak educational background in the family, which also drags a significant proportion of young people out of the school system early in the social reproduction process and leads to unemployment, low educational attainment, and precarious employment. We find two contextual explanations for the large share of the deprived stratum, close to 30 per cent: On the one hand, the cluster strata created by the subjective well-being indicators in the Hungarian sample led to a different configuration. On the other hand, in Hungary's neighbouring areas inhabited by Hungarian minorities, especially in the more populous Transylvania, it has already been shown that the education level of the adult population, the parents of the current young people, was higher than that of the population of the same age in a 2008 survey. The results of a large sample survey (GGP) in 2008 showed that a significantly smaller proportion of young Hungarians aged 18-75 in Transylvania had completed university than their counterparts in Hungary (Veres 2014). Thus, the large proportion of deprived youth among the Hungarian minority living outside Hungary can be explained by historically inherited structural disadvantage rather than by some kind of essentialist "minority spleen." This disadvantage can be remedied by the greater school integration of the Hungarian minorities, but this is a phenomenon that will take time to overcome, as the level of schooling among the Hungarian Roma (who are connected to Hungarian identity) is still extremely low.

Appendix

1. *Descriptive values for the component variables of the hierarchical cluster model, 2020 data, by country*

Country		Indicators used: index of material wealth	digital goods	Literacy factor (schooling, foreign lg, no. of books)	cultural consumption (1-9)	public activity, organisational capital factor	Social capital (friendship size)	Satisfaction with friendships	Number of social contacts	future vision - optimism
Romania Transylvania	N	2002	2002	1985	2002	1960	2002	1963	2002	1785
	Mean	2.6836	4.1706	-.0029238	.6842	-.0769060	4.85	4.28	1030.0397	-.0432934
	Std. Deviation	1.99923	1.49529	.99898724	1.50550	.98571979	4.089	.856	688.68691	1.01146328
	Minimum	.00	.00	-2.03591	.00	-2.09988	0	1	1.00	-3.20809
	Maximum	8.00	7.00	8.15441	9.00	2.08660	50	5	5000.00	1.79855
Slovakia/ Highlands	N	1000	1000	998	1000	995	1000	999	1000	954
	Mean	3.4456	4.1942	-.0153950	.5093	-.0261354	4.74	4.27	757.7759	.0464429
	Std. Deviation	2.32383	1.41057	1.03113174	1.07043	1.02583945	4.140	.835	539.62752	.97192485
	Minimum	.00	.00	-2.03591	.00	-2.09988	0	1	.00	-3,20809
	Maximum	8.00	7.00	7.44439	9.00	2.08660	55	5	5000.00	1.79855
Serbia /Voivodina	N	500	500	500	500	488	500	499	500	450
	Mean	3.0314	3.9747	.0128702	.5441	.2914285	6.24	4.48	1045.1398	.1565450
	Std. Deviation	1.83637	1.13467	.99603620	1.02950	.98285701	5.676	.740	778.37911	.99542338
	Minimum	.00	1.00	-2.03591	.00	-2.09988	0	1	1.00	-2.86056
	Maximum	8.00	7.00	7.79940	7.00	2.08660	55	5	5000.00	1.79855
Ukraine/ Transcarpathia	N	500	500	499	500	492	500	495	500	426
	Mean	2.8907	4.2661	.0295174	.2762	.0701159	4.71	4.35	1253.8991	-.0880552
	Std. Deviation	1.85150	1.23276	.94547783	.63004	.96574186	4.230	.744	946.20010	.99885816
	Minimum	.00	.00	-2.02173	.00	-2.09988	0	1	1.00	-3.20809
	Maximum	8.00	7.00	3.18851	3.00	2.08660	40	5	5000.00	1.79855

2. *Component factor matrix and statistics for the literacy factor (schooling, foreign languages, no. of books)*

Component Matrix[a]	
Variables	Component
	1
Educational status and level	,680
How many foreign languages can respondent speak	,690
Number of books at home	,579
Total variance explained	42,5%
KMO	.65
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.	

a. 1 components extracted.

3. *Component factor matrix and statistics for public activity, organisational capital factor*

Component Matrix[a]	
	Component
Variables	1
Participation in elections?	-,641
How interested in politics	,666
NGO member	,652
Availability of civil/community programs	,612
Total variance explained	41.3%
KMO	.62
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.	

a. 1 components extracted.

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