Between marriage and cohabitation: women first union patterns in Hungary

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Introduction

Almost two decades after the fall of state socialism, the demographic picture of Eastern Europe is remarkably changed: an accelerated decline of fertility and, in some cases, a high rate of out migration, made several of these countries to record a population decline. The political changes in Eastern Europe during the 1990s drew a lot of attention both from the media and academia. However, the demographic transformations of the region – less obvious, but equally important phenomena – rarely came into the focus, although they tend to have tremendous long term consequences (Bradatan and Firebaugh, 2007).

Generally, younger generations nowadays tend to delay marriage, postpone having children, have high rates of divorce and, as a result, an increasing percentage of the children are born or spend a significant part of their life outside of a two-parent family. Moreover, the Eastern European societies are no longer homogeneous from a demographic point of view: various groups (characterized either by ethnicity, education, type of employment, level of income) tend to get a distinct demographic profile and have different trajectories than others (Kantorova, 2004; Koycheva, 2006). This diversity of family related behaviors can be seen as the result of different level of access to social and economic resources (Mitchell, 2006).

The changing patterns of union formation - the increasing number of divorces and cohabitations, the delay of marriage – and the corresponding decline in fertility tend to suggest that the Eastern European countries also entered into the second demographic transition. The declining fertility, one of the most often cited demographic features of East European countries, is, among other factors, a result of postponement of marriage and childbearing (Billari and Kohler, 2004). Although the demographic changes described above are well documented from the macro level statistics (Kohler and Philipov, 2001; Monnier and Rychtarchikova, 1992) the lack of longitudinal data makes difficult or almost impossible to understand and model these changes at the individual level.

In this paper we focus on Hungary and analyze data from the Gender and Generations Survey. We are interested in the main factors affecting the first union formation patterns (cohabitation versus marriage) and we investigate how these patterns change across different cohorts. We put all these information into a more detailed, dynamic picture, using event history methods employed into three different models. Apart from trying to understand which groups are more willing to enter into cohabitation and to reject marriage, we also try to highlight what is the relationship between cohabitation and marriage in Hungary. If **cohabitation is a replacement for marriag**e, those who cohabit will be similar to those who marry. Then, the increase in the number of out of wedlock births and the decrease in the marriage rate is simply a statistical question (as cohabitations are not recorded in the official statistics). If **cohabitation is a step toward marriage**, then those who enter into cohabitation will also tend to enter marriage sooner or later, so the decrease in the marriage rate would be the result of postponing of rather than refraining from marriage.

The new home economics (Becker, 1981) advocates the idea that women tend to postpone or avoid marriage and to reduce their number of children because the changing role of the marriage in woman's life. Historically, marriage was a source – and the only one – of a steady income for women, but nowadays a woman can have her own job and enjoy financial security that comes with it. Entering cohabitation instead of marriage is seen, from this perspective, as a result of women's empowerment: more educated women would prefer to keep their freedom and would enter cohabitation or stay single rather than marry. The literature on second demographic transition argues as well that highly educated women are more prone to engage in cohabitation because they are less concerned with respecting the societal norms (Lesthaeghe, 1983). Other perspectives argued that the postponement of marriage is a result of women staying more time in school and of the societal expectation that those in school are not ready for marriage (Hoem, 1986; Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991).

The relationship between cohabitation and marriage is also debatable. Some scholars argued that cohabitation is very similar to *being single* in the sense of not giving up independence and personal autonomy (Rindfuss and van den Heuvel, 1990). In this perspective, cohabitation seldom ends in marriage. Other scholars see cohabitation as *a step toward marriage*, but not an alternative to it. Rather, cohabitation is a logical pretest to make more informed decisions when marriage choices come up (Bumpass and Sweet, 1989; Bennett et al, 1988). Partly connected to this argument is the perspective linking the rise in cohabitation with the increasing difficulties of transition to adulthood. In this approach, uncertainty drives cohabitation, which offers rational flexibility instead of more formal partnerships. Finally, some scholars building on the ideational changes that triggered the second

demographic transition argue that cohabitation is in fact an *alternative to marriage* (Lewin, 1982; Leridon, 1990).

Studies done on various Eastern European countries tend to contradict some of these theories and results. Kantorova (2004), studying family formation in Czech Republic, shows that education and employment have a strong influence on women's family formation behavior, but not in the direction predicted by the second demographic theory. Educated women tend to choose to marry rather than to cohabit, and even if they cohabit, they do it for a short period of time. Koytcheva (2006) , argues that college educated women in Bulgaria tend to marry later, have fewer children but also have lower risk of divorce.

In Hungary, cohabitation was an uncommon phenomenon until the late 1980s and among the majority it was largely confined to the divorced or widowed individuals (Carlson and Klinger, 1987). The Gypsy group, however, tended to have higher rates of cohabitation, mainly due to their reluctance to register their marriages officially (Barany, 2002; Carlson and Klinger, 1987). Since the 1980s, cohabitation became much more frequent and it has been argued to have strongly influenced the decline in fertility (Speder, 2006). It would be important to know whether this is another form of demographic convergence under the umbrella of the second demographic transition, or Hungary still retains particular country-specific characteristics.

----------Graphic 1 about here----------

----------Graphic 2 about here----------

With a total first marriage rate of 0.4, total divorce rate of 0.4 and with about one third of children born outside marriage, Hungary is not an extreme case among the European countries (Graphic 1 and 2). However, what characterizes Hungary (as well as the other Eastern European countries) over the last decade is a dramatic increase in the divorce rate, out of wedlock births and a decrease in the marriage rates (Graphic 3). The trend changed in the late 1980s: with the post-socialist transformation, not only the economy collapsed, resulting in a steep decline in the standard of living, but at the same time Western social behavior patterns, including those related to family formation, became models for many Eastern Europeans (Kulcsar, 2007). Although there are no similar statistics available for cohabitation, some data from censuses and micro-censuses showed that, during 1980s, there has been an increase in the number of cohabiting couples (Carlson and Klinger, 1987).

----------Graphic 3 about here ----------

Methods

The data we used for this paper come from the first wave of the Gender and Generations Survey for Hungary (Turning points of the life course, 2001).This database is the result of a cross sectional, nationally representative survey (bistratified sample), done in 2001, based on a sample of people age 18-74, with 16363 respondents (8931 women and 7432 men) and using more than 600 variables. The respondents' addresses were selected from the National Election Office database (Kapitany, 2003).The response rate was 67.9% and the sample is representative for the non-institutionalized Hungarian population. The data collection and database

cleaning has been done by a group of researchers from Demographic Research Institute in Hungary and it is part of the European project Generations and Gender Program (Spéder, 2001).

For this paper, we restrict our analysis to the females sub-sample and we used mostly the variables related to the family formation and childbearing. We use descriptive statistics, F and chi square tests and Cox regression models to analyze the data. Cox regression is a semiparametric method that investigates the effect of a set of factors on the timing of an event (dependent variable) will happen (Allison, 1995). It allows both time dependent and fixed covariates as independent variables. Time dependent covariates are those who change their values over time – for example, when studying the hazard of entering a first union at different ages, the education level of the respondent also changes with age, so it is a time dependent covariate, while the ethnicity of the person is fixed covariate because it does not change with age. A Cox regression model with m time independent variables and n time dependent variables may be written like this:

$$\log h(t)=a(t)+b_1x_1 +..+b_mx_m+c_1y_1\ (t) +..+c_ny_n\ (t)$$

where h(t) is the hazard rate of an event occurring at time t, a(t) may be any function of time, x_1-x_m are the time independent covariates and $y_1(t)$-$y_n(t)$ are time dependent covariates.

In order to understand the choices of first union formation, we estimated three types of models (Figure 1) using Cox regression.

-------Figure 1 about here ----------

Model 1a and 1b: Transition to the first union (red lines)

Model 2: Dissolution of the first cohabitation (blue lines)

Model 3: Transition to the first marriage controlling for cohabitation (green line)

Obs. The dotted (---) transitions cannot be estimated from these data

For models 1a and 1b, the dependent variable studied is the transition to the first union with two possible end states: cohabitation and marriage. The time line is the age of woman measured in months, from the age 15 until she enters into a union or she reaches age 45 (we censored all cases at 45, since there were very few unions over 45). All cases for which the union occurred before age 15 were deleted.

In model 1a (Table 3, column 1), we model the transition to the first union, where first union is either marriage or cohabitation. Model 1b is a competing model with two possible states (cohabitation and marriage): women can choose only one of the two possible states (Table 3, columns 2 and 3). The time line for both models is the woman age in months, between 15 and 45.

With model 1a and 1b, we are able to test some of the hypotheses regarding relationship between cohabitation and marriage and the influence of education on the propensity to enter the first union. If cohabitation is an alternative to marriage and the decline in the marriage rates can be explained by the increase in the cohabitation rates, then in our model of entering the first union (Model 1a) the cohort coefficients should not be significant (women who do not choose marriage, choose cohabitation instead, so they enter anyway into a form of union). Also, the cohabitation and marriage would be influenced in similar ways by the coefficients – as people who tend to enter marriage are also those who tend to enter the cohabitation.

With model2 (Table 4), we want to test whether cohabitation is a step toward marriage. The dependent variable in this model is the transition to marriage and we included cohabitation among the covariates: if cohabitation is a step toward marriage, than those who cohabit should have higher propensity toward marriage (controlling for other relevant factors).

The dependent variable studied in model3 (Table 5) is the dissolution of cohabitation with two possible end states: marriage and splitting without marrying. The time line is the duration of cohabitation in months. To model the dissolution of cohabitation, we estimated a competing risk model with two states (marriage and splitting without marrying). If cohabitation is just a step toward marriage, then it should be a short term, transitory relationship that ends with a marriage. This model will clarify for which groups cohabitation serves as a step toward marriage rather than a replacement of marriage.

In our analyses, we focused on both macro level and individual level factors. For individual level factors, we distinguished between three groups that can have an influence on the union choices made by respondents: family background, SES and life stage factors (Table 6).

Among the family background covariates, the characteristics of origin family (two parent families vs. single parent families) had been shown to influence the union formation patterns of people (Kiernan, 1992). In the Roma/Gypsy group we included all respondents who declared that they are Roma/Gypsy or Hungarian of Roma origin. It is well known that Roma groups, all over Eastern Europe, have different patterns of family formation than the other groups (Barany, 2003). Because of this they are often excluded from the analyses although the low number of cases is also a usual reason for their exclusion. In this analysis we preferred to keep them and the control for the

ethnicity rather than excluding them. They are part of the Hungarian population although they might differ from the majority. In the non-Roma group, about … are Hungarians. We used the number of siblings as an indication of the origin family's SES. The measure has been used in other studies as well (Kulik, 2005) and although it not the best measure to be used, it is the only one available.

Individual level SES was measured by education. Vocational school and college were time variant covariates derived from the respondent's history of education. The reference category is high school or post high school, but no college (in Hungary, as well as in other Eastern European countries, there is the possibility to attend a 2-3 years school after high school to train for various applied jobs such as nurses and technicians. These are not colleges, and these programs are not run by the universities). We built the history of education by using the information available from the questionnaire (highest level of education, year when the highest level had been achieved, if the person attends or not a school at present and what type of school the respondent attends we estimated the variation of education at various ages). We calculated the mean age at final degree for those respondents who were not currently in education, and using these means we imputed the levels of education at various age (for those who answered to all the questions). Although imputation can create problems and biases, we had to use it because the education histories were not complete.

Regarding the individual level life stage factors, if the woman has been in school at the moment of interview, she was supposed to have been in school for the whole period of time. Regular paid work has been estimated from the questions regarding the respondent employment. The rational for using this variable is that getting a job is a sign of maturity, and it is one of the first steps toward independence

from the origin family. A person with some work experience has more resources and is more willing to enter into a union than somebody with no experience on the job market. We defined pregnancy as a continuous event from two months pregnant until delivery. We introduced this variable in the model because it is well documented the incentive role that a pregnancy has especially on the transition to marriage (shotgun marriages). Regarding the first child, in the questionnaire there was no information about the father if the child was born outside marriage. We expect to observe a negative effect on transition to marriage for women that have already had their first child – if the couple wanted to marry, they would have done it more rather during the pregnancy than after the birth of the first child.

For the macro level factors we used the cohort memberships indicated in Table 6. The cohort1945 (people born between 1945 and 1954) was the reference category for cohorts in all models. We have chosen this as a reference category because this group had relatively fewer disturbing societal events during their reproductive lifetime. They were born after the Second World War, they were only 11 years or younger in 1956 when the Hungarian revolt took place and they were around 40 years old when the societal changes began in 1990. We did not include religiosity and place of residence in the analysis because it is measured at the time the interview, and it would be an anticipatory analysis to include it in the model. Also, other studies done with a similar sub sample of data (Kulik, 2005) had found religiosity playing only an insignificant role in the family formation patterns.

Table 6. Model covariates

Covariate name	**Covariate type**	**Definition**
Two parent family	Individual level – family background	Static, dummy variable, 1 if the origin family of the respondent was a two

		parent family until the age of 16
Roma ethnicity	Individual level – family background	Static, whether or not the respondent is of Roma/Gypsy origin, 1 for Roma/Gypsy, else 0
Number of siblings	Individual level – family background	Static, 1- if the respondent has 2 or more siblings, 0 otherwise
Vocational school or less	Individual level – SES	Time variant, people with vocational school and those who did not attend or finished high school
College	Individual level – SES	Time variant, people college education
Educational activity	Individual level – life stage	Time variant, whether or not the woman was in school at a particular age
Regular paid work	Individual level – life stage	Time variant, whether or not the respondent was in the workforce at a particular age
Pregnancy	Individual level – life stage	Time variant, whether or not the woman is pregnant
First child	Individual level – life stage	Time variant, measuring weather or not a woman has at least a child
Cohabitation	Individual level – life stage	Time variant, whether the respondent is cohabiting (we use this variable only in selected models)
Age	Individual level – life stage	Age at the beginning of cohabitation (we use this variable only in selected models)
Cohort1925	Macro level	Static, 1- if the person was born during 1925-1934, 0 otherwise
Cohort1935	Macro level	Static, 1- if the person was born during 1935-1944, 0 otherwise
Cohort1945	Macro level	Static, 1- if the person was born during 1945-1954, 0 otherwise (reference category)
Cohort1955	Macro level	Static, 1- if the person was born during 1955-1964, 0 otherwise
Cohort1965	Macro level	Static, 1- if the person was born during 1965-1974, 0 otherwise
Cohort1975	Macro level	Static, 1- if the person was born during 1975-1984, 0 otherwise

Results

Our data show that over time there is a dramatic increase in the proportion of women who ever cohabitated: from 8.6% for those born in the 1930s to 37.5% for those born in the 60s (Table 1)[1]. This implies that the number of cohabitations would increase in the future, as the younger generations are more and more willing to enter into this type of union.

----Table 1 about here ----------

While the percentage of cohabitation increases over time, the age at which the first cohabitation was formed decreased, from 38.9 for those born in 1935-1944 to 21.6 for those born during 1965-1974. The variation within cohorts decreased as well: if the cohort 1935 has a standard deviation of 12.02, cohort 1965 has a standard deviation of 4.06. This shows that, over time, an increasing group of women in Hungary began entering into cohabitation at younger and more similar ages. In terms of education, for the cohort 1935, about 9% of those with vocational training and less and the same proportion of those with college education ever entered into cohabitation. For the cohort 1975, 38% of those with vocational training and less and only 29% of those with college have ever entered into cohabitation.

While for older cohorts, those entering for the first time into cohabitation were more mature women who already have been married at least once (72.3% of the cohort1935 were married before). The large majority of the women from younger generations tend to enter into cohabitation before going into marriage (only 7.2% of

[1] We preferred not to compare the youngest – born in 1975 and after - with the oldest – 1925-1934 – cohort, because the biased introduced by selection: the oldest cohort are affected by mortality, while the youngest cohort is still at the beginning of the reproductive life

the cohort 1965 has been married before entering into cohabitation) (Table 2). This shows that more and more young women tend to choose cohabitation rather than marriage as a first union.

----------Table 2 about here----------

In Table 3 we estimated two models: the first one (first column, model 1a) estimates the influence of the independent variables on the transition to the first union, the second one (last two columns) is a competing risk model, estimating the transition to direct marriage versus cohabitation.

The results for the first model (first column, model 1a) show that the cohorts born 1965 and after tend to refrain from entering into a first union (reference category – cohort 1945-1949). As the second model shows, it is actually the marriage that the younger cohorts avoid, while they are significantly more likely to enter into cohabitation as a first union.

Being in school is a significant factor in decreasing the tendency to enter into a first union, and it has the same effect on both cohabitation and marriage. This is not an unexpected result shown by a number of studies done in various countries (Hoem, 1986; Blossfeld and Huinik, 1991). Being a college educated woman increases the tendency toward entering a first union/direct marriage (reference category – high school). Women with a college degree are more 'attractive' on the marriage market than women, of the similar age but without a college degree.

The number of siblings is not a significant factor for entering into a first union; however, it increases the tendency toward choosing cohabitation as a first union instead of marrying. Children coming from families that experienced a

divorce/disruption tend to enter into cohabitation rather than marriage. The literature had shown that parents divorce has a long term influence on children, which is proved again by these data.

Being pregnant increase tremendously the tendency toward entering into a first union and choosing marriage rather than cohabitation. Having a first child also increases the tendency toward entering into a union - taking into account that this is the woman's first union, it is likely that the union is formed with the child's father. Although the percentage of out of wedlock births in Hungary increased from 1990 to 2004 from 13% to 34%, marriage and childbearing are still connected and a woman who chooses to cohabit or stay out of a union is probably a woman who will postpone having children.

Women who are already in the workforce have a higher tendency toward entering a first union. Having a job is basically having the financial means to build a family/relationship and these women might be more attractive in the marriage market.

For the youngest cohort employed in these data (cohort1975), the risk of entering into a marriage is five times lower than for older cohort (cohort1945) while the risk of entering into cohabitation as a first union is seven times higher. Similarly, the cohort1965 has around five times higher risk of entering into cohabitation and about 60% lower risk of entering a marriage in comparison with the cohort1945 (Table 2 and 3).

Women of Roma (Gypsy) ethnicity have a higher tendency then the other ethnic groups to enter a first union; however, they prefer to enter into cohabitation rather then marriage.

----------Table 4 about here ----------

The results in Table 4 confirm that the younger generations tend to refrain from marriage (coefficients for cohort1965 and cohort1975 are less than 1 and significant). Educational activity (being in school) is again a significant factor in preventing women from marrying. Women with a college degree tend to have higher propensities toward entering the marriage while those with vocational schools or less have a lower tendency. The effect of these three factors show that, while women are still in education and did not get any final degree yet, they tend to abstain from marriage- they are most likely still financially dependent of their parents and cannot afford marrying until they have a more stable situation. Being in the workforce is a significant factor in increasing the propensity to marry, as financially independent women are more willing to enter into a marriage. Being pregnant also increases the likelihood of marriage. Being in a cohabitation is also a significant, positive factor toward marrying, which shows that, at least for some groups, cohabitations serves as a first step toward marriage.

------Table 5 about here - ----------

Table 5 shows that, for younger generations, cohabitation is rather a replacement than a transitory state toward marriage: those who enter into cohabitation tend to stay there and they refrain from transforming the relationship into a marriage (the coefficients for cohort1965 and cohort1975 are lower than 1 and significant). Educational activity also decreases the propensity toward marriage, although it has no effect on the dissolution of cohabitation. Those with vocational school or less education tend to stay in cohabitation, and refrain from marriage which supports the

results from model 1 and 2. Being pregnant and having a job make women more prone to end the cohabitation and to enter into marriage – again, a result that is in line with Models 1 and 2. The older a woman enter into a first cohabitation, the more likely she will stay longer there, and the less likely she will marry.

Discussion

The political and economic changes of the 1990s have a significant effect on the life course of people living in Hungary. Living in a world, much more exposed to the behavioral patterns of Western countries, the younger generations tend to follow a different lifecourse path then their parents. Cohabitation has an increasing presence among various groups in Hungary, especially among the younger generations. While for the older cohorts in Hungary, it was a choice only for a very small, marginal group, for the younger cohorts, cohabitation became an important choice, and after the age of 26 the risk of getting into cohabitation is almost equal with the risk of getting into a marriage (results not shown). We can expect to see more cohabitating couples, because the average age at marriage increases, and in the late twenties cohabitation is already an equally attractive form of union. For younger cohorts, cohabitation seems to work as a replacement for marriage (at least until the woman gets pregnant), although within each cohort there are specific groups that use cohabitation just as a transitory state toward marriage.

The cohorts become also more heterogeneous: although there is a general increase (between older and younger generations) in the percentage of those ever cohabiting for all educational groups, the increase is higher for the low educated

groups than for those who are highly educated. The ethnicity is another factor that makes a difference in terms of marriage outcomes. Being a Roma/Gypsy increases significantly the risk of entering into a union (Table 3) and they tend to have much higher incidence of cohabitation than the other groups (56.7% of them have experienced cohabitation, while only 19.1 of ethnic Hungarians and 16.7% of the other have ever been in a cohabitation). Gypsies have their own rules and regulations; the marriage has to be approved and recognized by the Gypsy community not necessarily by the state, so it might be the case that their 'cohabitations' are actually marriages that are not recorded officially (Barany, 2003). This is one of the groups for which cohabitation is a replacement for marriage, although it is not a new phenomenon, and it is true for other Roma communities in Eastern Europe as well.

Women enrolled in education tend to avoid entering into any type of union. This result is in line with what studies had shown for other European countries (Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991). It is often too difficult to deal with both the role of being a student and being in a committed union, so many people enter the union after they finish their school years. This shows that, for the Hungarian case, female level of education is an important cause of delaying marriage and, implicitly, childbearing.

Being in the workforce increases significantly the risk of entering a first union, both cohabitation and marriage (Table 3, 4, 5). Entering into a partnership implies financial responsibilities that can be fulfilled by having a job. It shows that the new home economics hypothesis arguing that working women are less likely to marry does not apply to Hungary: having a job is an incentive to marry and the postponement of marriage is a result of spending more time in school rather than having financial independence. In this picture, being in cohabitation is rather a sign of uncertainty, a

temporary situation until with the improvement of financial situation long-term commitments can be made.

Level of education is an important factor in determining the timing of transition to a first union, and there are contradictory results in the literature regarding the causes in various countries. Increasing disparities among the educated and uneducated women in terms of family formation patterns have been observed in other Eastern European countries as well (Kantorova, 2004; Koycheva, 2006). In Hungary, being in higher education can also be a way to avoid unemployment, which again reflects uncertainty about future prospects, especially if the particular training leads to an occupation with less possibility for employment. The results for Hungary show that women with higher level of education are more able or willing to marry than their less educated counterparts. Less educated women also tend to stay in cohabitation (Table 5) or to split without marrying (results not shown,). It is probably because the less educated do not have the means for marrying, so once they enter a cohabitation they will stay there, and have children there.

Pregnancy significantly increases the risk of entering into a union (about 18 times for marriage and 5 times for cohabitation). It is not actually clear what the direction of causation is in this case: whether women who find themselves pregnant enter a union, or they let themselves to get pregnant because they know they will enter into a union soon. However, being pregnant is the most powerful variable in all the models, and it strongly pushes people into unions.

Being born into a family that experienced divorce/ union disruption has a significant influence on the risk of entering into cohabitation, but it does not significantly influence the transition to the marriage. There are a number of possible explanations for this (Bukodi, 2003). Individuals coming from broken families might

have fewer resources or might be more cautious seeing their parents' example. They might get out of parental control sooner in their life-course, and start family formation earlier with the more flexible form. As the divorce rate is going up, and there are more children born in cohabitations, the negative and significant influence of this factor on the risk of subsequent cohabitation shows that, in the future, there will probably be a rise into the cohabiting couples.

The older a woman when entering into cohabitation, the more likely she stays there. Maybe cohabitation is not exactly what they wanted, but it is all they were able to get. This also shows the continuing prevalence of cohabitation among divorced and widowed individuals.

Marriage in contemporary Hungary is a institution in transition and our research shows that the trend toward fewer marriages and more cohabitations is not going to stop anytime soon. In this paper, we showed that, while there is a general tendency among the young generations in Hungary to begin their union with cohabitation, the more educated women still prefer marriage versus cohabitation. Although the number of children born outside of marriage increased over the past years in Hungary, women who get pregnant wish to have their children within a marriage. Cohabitation is still, in many instances, just a step toward marriage, although more mature women tend to stay in cohabitation rather than to move toward marriage.

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Tables

Table 1. Percentage of those who ever cohabitated, on cohorts

	cohorts						
Ever lived into a cohabitation	1925-1934	1935-1944	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1974	1975-1984	Total number of cases
yes (%)	5.08	8.62	15.05	19.23	37.52	29.43	1749
no (%)	94.91	91.37	84.94	80.77	62.48	70.57	6970
Total number of cases	1081	1414	1634	1430	1495	1665	8719

Source: Gender and Generations Survey for Hungary, wave 1 (Turning points of the life course, 2001), authors' computations

Table 2. Distribution of marital status at the beginning of the first cohabitation

	cohorts						
Married before cohabiting	1925-1934	1935-1944	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1974	1975-1984	Total number of valid cases
yes (%)	43.6	72.3	48.6	26.5	7.2	1.2	350
no (%)	56.4	27.8	51.4	73.5	92.8	98.7	1398
Total number of valid cases	55	122	245	275	561	490	1748

Source: Gender and Generations Survey for Hungary, wave 1 (Turning points of the life course, 2001), authors' computations

Table 3. Transition to the first union
(Cox regression, the time line is the woman age in months)

	Hazard ratios		
	First union (cohabitation and marriage)	Direct marriage	Cohabitation
Macro level factors			
cohort1925	0.91 *	0.95	0.33 ***
cohort1935	0.99	1.03	0.29 ***
cohort1945 (ref.)	*1*	*1*	*1*
cohort1955	1.00	0.94	2.11 ***
cohort1965	0.85 *	0.60 ***	5.64 ***
cohort1975	0.56 ***	0.20 ***	7.52 ***
Individual factors			
Educational activity (*no educational activity -ref.*)	0.58 ***	0.59 ***	0.50 ***
Vocational school or less	0.92	0.96	0.72 **
high school and posthigh school, no college (ref.)	*1*	*1*	*1*
College or university	1.32 **	1.27 *	1.33
Number of siblings (*less than 2 siblings- ref.*)	1.03	0.99	1.27 ***
Pregnant for the first time (2-9 month)	15.39 ***	17.00 ***	5.37 ***
Having a first child	1.49 ***	1.38 ***	2.25 ***
Has taken up regular paid work	1.48 ***	1.54 ***	1.28 **
Roma ethnicity (*not Roma -ref.*)	1.41 ***	0.97	2.37 ***
Two parent family (*yes - ref.*)	1.13 **	0.99	1.67 ***

*** : p<.001
**: p<0.01
*: p<0.05
Source: Gender and Generations Survey for Hungary, wave 1 (Turning points of the life course, 2001), authors' computations

Table 4. Transition to first marriage, controlling for cohabitation

	Hazard ratios	
	Transition to marriage	
Macro factors		
cohort1925	0.96	
cohort1935	1.04	
cohort1945 (ref.)	*1*	
cohort1955	0.93	
cohort1965	0.54	***
cohort1975	0.24	***
Individual factors		
Educational activity (no educational activity -ref.)	0.60	***
Vocational school or less	0.91	*
High school or post high school, no college (ref.)	*1*	
College or university education	1.29	**
Cohabiting	2	***
Number of siblings (*less than 2 siblings- ref.*)	0.99	
Pregnant (2-9 month)	13.33	***
Having a first child	0.97	
Has taken up regular paid work	1.56	***
Roma ethnicity (*not Roma-ref.*)	0.88	
Two parent family (*yes – ref.*)	0.96	

*** : p<.001
**: p<0.01
*: p<0.05
Source: Gender and Generations Survey for Hungary, wave 1 (Turning points of the life course, 2001), authors' computations

Table 5. Dissolution of the first cohabitation
(Cox regression, the time line is the duration of cohabitation in months)
Cohabitation disruption: Number of cases=1128; Number of events=829
Transition to marriage: Number of cases=1128; Number of events=543

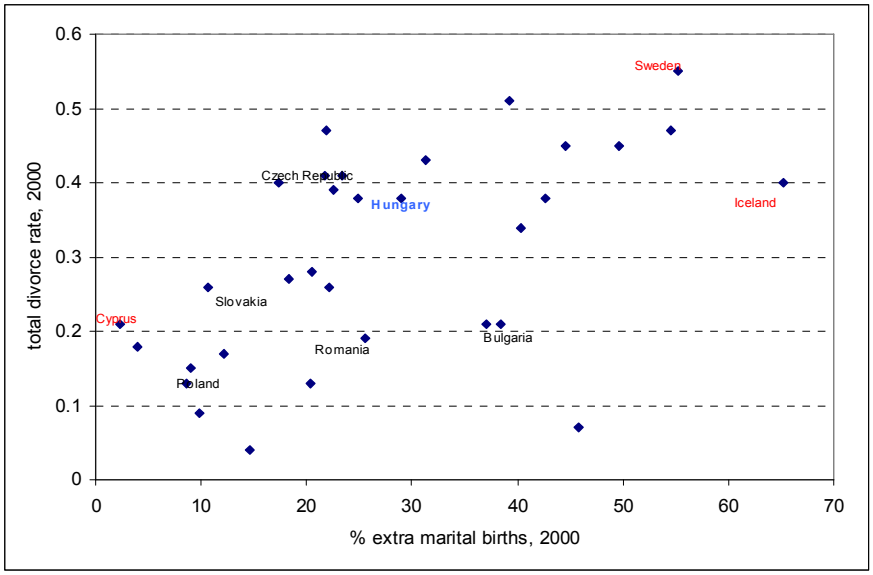
	Hazard ratios			
	Cohabitation disruption		Transition to marriage	
Macro factors				
cohort1925	1.00		0.73	
cohort1935	0.74		0.65	
cohort1945 (ref.)	*1*		*1*	
cohort1955	1.01		0.95	
cohort1965	0.74	*	0.64	**
cohort1975	0.64	***	0.41	*
Individual factors				
Educational activity (*no educational activity -ref.*)	1.00		0.80	*
Vocational school or less	0.71	***	0.69	**
High school or post high school, no college((ref.)	*1*		*1*	
College or university education	1.22		1.06	
Age at the beginning of cohabitation	0.996	***	0.995	***
Number of siblings (*less than 2 siblings- ref.*)	0.98		1.00	
Pregnant (2-9 month)	3.85	***	5.45	***
Having a first child	0.91		1.03	
Has taken up regular paid work	1.49	***	1.49	***
Roma ethnicity (*not Roma -ref.*)	0.82		0.82	
Two parent family (*yes - ref.*)	1.00		1.00	

*** : p<.001
**: p<0.01
*: p<0.05

Source: Gender and Generations Survey for Hungary, wave 1 (Turning points of the life course, 2001), authors' computations

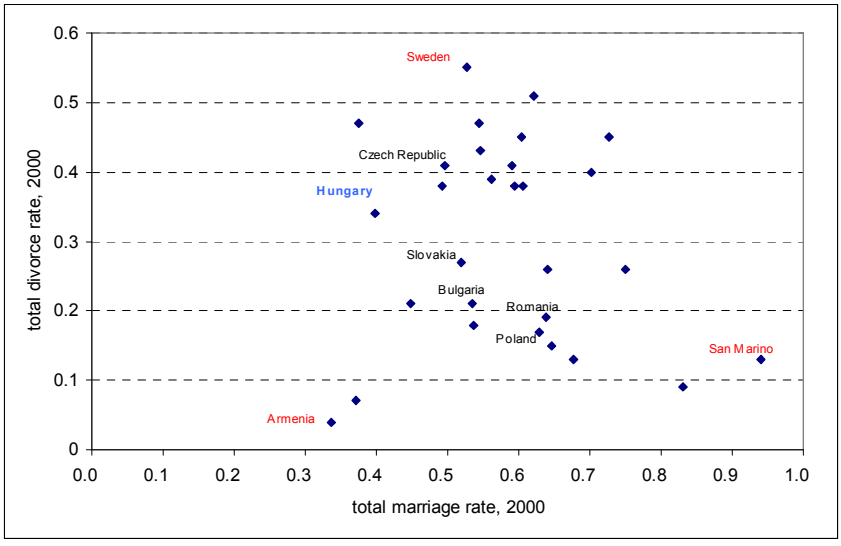
Figures

Graphic 1. Hungary in the European demographic context: extramarital births and rate of divorce, 2000



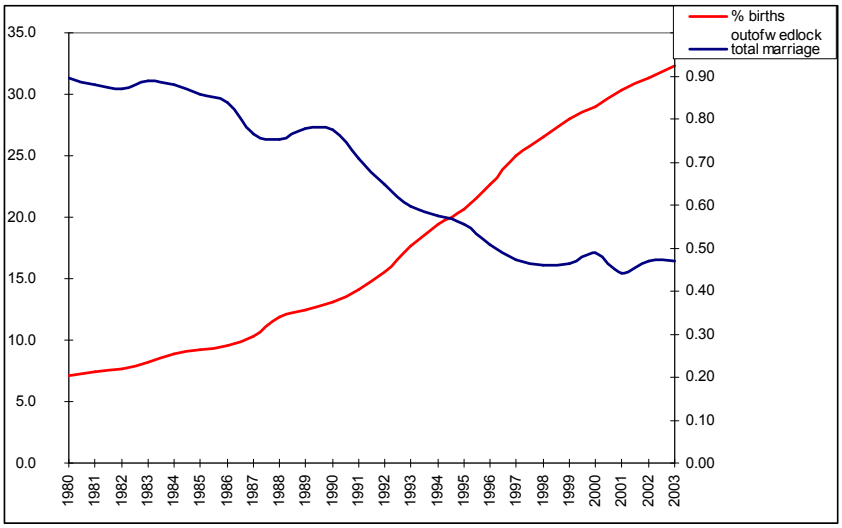
Source: Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, 2004

Graphic 2. Hungary in the European demographic context: total divorce and total marriage rate, 2000



Source: Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, 2004

Graphic 3. Total marriage rate and percentage of out of wedlock births, 1980-2003



Source: Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, 1999, 2001, 2004

Figure 1. Transition from single- possible states