

The forms of flexibility (FF) in contemporary Hungary

(Country Report)

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The aim of the country report is to give a general overview of the basic figures of the FF and its' social context in contemporary Hungary. First therefore we give a detailed description the way we operationalized the four dimensions of FF and also provide some figures derived from different sources to show to what extent are our results similar to that of the results of the few existing macrostatistical data on flexibility. Secondly, we briefly discuss the interrelations between the various aspects of FF and the concept and technique of developing two general variables of FF. In the third section we focus on the association between various socio-demographic and labour market characteristics and the FF. Following a brief treatise of the attitudes toward FF we finally construct various individual and household labour pool characteristics and analyse their relations to various socio-demographic and labour characteristics of the Hungarian society.

1. The volume of the FF in contemporary Hungary

We approached the concept of the FF from four different angles: time, space, and the type of the contract and multiplicity of jobholding. The course of operationalisation followed two tracks. On the one hand, we wanted to cover all aspects of flexibility, on the other hand, we needed simple measures, comparable with macrostatistical data

The most difficult task was the temporal dimension since it contained several subdimensions. As Table 1 shows compared to the idealtyp of a "normal" work-schedule we defined five subdimensions: less than normal working time (part-time work), deviation from the daily routine (three forms of shifts) and the irregularity of the time schedule. The temporal FF was constructed as the cumulation of these five-time dimension.

The figures in Table 1 refer to the employee population¹ (N=729). As far as the loose definition is concerned about half of the employee work during the evenings on a monthly basis and in a regularly irregular working schedule, one third of them work at least one weekend in a month, and about every fifth-sixth of them work in night shifts or part-time. The overall level of temporal flexibility covers two third of the employee.

¹Following the agreement of the research group by employment we considered respondents with at least one income generating activity, i.e. not necessarily having a full time job. The total employee population (N=748) contained working pensioners as well as casual workers or students with a part-time job. However, for the sake of comparing our results with macrostatistical data we defined employment in a strict sense as well (i.e. having a main job) (N=701).

Table 1 The volume of temporal FF (%)

	Loose definition	Strict definition
Part-time work	13 ²	9 ³
Evening shift ⁴	48	38
Night shift ⁵	17	13
Weekend shift ⁶	35	25
Irregular shifts ⁷	50	38
Temporal FF ⁸	67	57

But even if we use the stricter versions of all five temporal flexibility variables, we find that about half of the Hungarian employee are flexible at least in one sense of temporal flexibility including every third employee person to work in the evenings and irregularly on a weekly basis.

To what extent are our figures similar to the macrostatistical data? The proportion of those working part-time is somewhat lower compared to the LFS data (6-7% of the employee, Frey, 2000). According to the most recent LFS survey (second quarter of 2001, Lakatos, forthcoming) 31% of the employee work in a work schedule which deviates from the “traditional” one, i.e. not in a single and regular morning shift⁹. Though we do not have identical variable I would assume (on the basis of our significantly higher proportion of all forms of shifts and irregularity) that our figure would be significantly higher than that of the LFS. As to changing work schedule, both the 1998 and 2001 LFS surveys showed a similar figure (12% of the full time employee, Frey 2001, Lakatos, forthcoming). To the very limited extent we can compare this figure to our irregularity variable we experience a higher level of temporal flexibility in our sample than in the LFS. Finally, in 1998 9,1% of the employee worked in night shifts regularly (Frey, 2001). If we assume that the term “regular” in the LFS

² 39 hours or less per week.

³ 29 hours or less per week.

⁴ At least once a month (loose definition) or at least once a week (strict definition).

⁵ At least once a month (loose definition) or at least once a week (strict definition).

⁶ At least once a month (loose definition) or at least once a week (strict definition).

⁷ Loose definition: every „non-traditional job” (not on every weekday, always starting in the morning. Strict definition: flexitime (2%) or irregular according the needs of the job (36%) but the regularly changing shifts are excluded.

⁸ At least one of the five temporal FFs.

⁹ The most common are the multiple shifts (including weekends from time to time, 12%) and the changing (morning or afternoon) shift during the weekdays (7%).

is in between out weekly and monthly categories, this figure is very close to that out night shift value in Table 1.

As to the spatial aspect of flexibility, 33% of the employee can be considered flexible. Of them 5 and 4% work fully or partly at home, 5% has a “mobile” workplace and 1% work in abroad. The rest (18% of the spatially flexible) either work on the same settlement where s/he lives or commutes (61% and 24% of all employee, respectively) and has occasionally different work places (i.e. 19% of the non-commuters and 28% of the commuters work on different sites).

About one third (31%) of the employee has “flexible” contract. This contains three more or less equal types of flexible contracts - no written contract at all (11%), self employment (9%), and fixed-term contract (7%) – the rest being a mix of various small scale forms of “flexible” contracts such as casual jobs, temporary contracts, work agency employment, etc.)¹⁰.

As to macrostatistical data, the proportion of self-employment was about 10 % (Vukovich, 2000) in the late 1990ies in Hungary, consequently our figure can be considered as reliable. Regarding the spread of fixed-term contract, there are various statistical figures. The labour office data claims that in 2000 17% of the non-pensioner employee worked under fixed-term contract (Laky 2001). According, however, to the LFS 6,1 % of the employee had fixed-term contract¹¹ (Vukovich, 2000).

Finally, 6% of the employee (4% of the total sample) had multiple jobs (overwhelming of them had two). This figure is three times higher compared to a German survey in Hungary in 1995 (Frey 2001) and less than half of a survey data of 2000 (Sik, 2000).

To sum up, the four aspects of flexibility in contemporary seems rather high, both compared to the figures derived from macrostatistical sources and to our expectations.

2. The interrelations among the various forms of the FF

¹⁰ According to the latest TÁRKI Omnibus survey (October 2001) the proportion of those with fixed contract was very similar (7%) to our figure but the proportion of employees without any contract (2%) was significantly lower compared to our figure.

¹¹ Among the fixed-term contract workers about every second has 3-12 months long contract while about one third of them has shorter contract.

Table 2 and Table 3 illustrate the interrelations among the various temporal and other aspects of FF. There is a rather strong correlation among the four versions of non-standard shift works (Table 2).

Table 2 Interrelations between the temporal aspects of FF¹² (linear correlation coefficients¹³)

	Part-time work	Evening shift	Night shift	Weekend shift	Irregular shift
Part-time work (strict definition)	-	0.01	- 0.05	0.05	<i>0.16</i>
Evening shift		-	0.40	0.53	0.36
Night shift			-	0.46	<i>0.11</i>
Weekend shift				-	0.24

It is, however, not these stronger correlation (meaning that if someone deviates in one way from the “normal” id likely to deviate in all other ways as well) what needs explanation but the lack of stronger association between part-time work and the various forms of shift works and between night shift and irregular shift. These non-correlation indicate partly that the part-time work is an entirely different temporal flexibility regime than the other four forms of it, and that the night shift is less irregular compared to the other forms of shift work.

As to the interrelation between temporal and other aspects of flexibility (Table 3), the relations are the strongest between the spatial and contractual FF and irregular shift.

Table 3 Interrelations between the temporal and other aspects of FF (linear correlation coefficients)

	Spatial FF	Contractual FF	Multiple jobholding
Part-time work (strict definition)	<i>0.12</i>	0.26	- 0.04
Evening shift	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.12</i>	0.10
Night shift	0.06	- 0.03	- 0.01
Weekend shift	<i>0.13</i>	<i>0.17</i>	0.08
Irregular shift	0.38	0.34	<i>0.15</i>
Spatial FF	-	0.34	<i>0.17</i>
Contractual FF		-	<i>0.23</i>

¹² Hereforward we analyse the FFs according their strict definitions.

¹³ Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.

Multiple jobholding and the other two forms of shift work are slightly less strongly but positively associated with this conglomerate of flexible aspects. The fact that all these aspects of flexibility are positively correlated indicate that they form a loose (since the correlation coefficients are not very strong) but coherent system of flexible labour market structure. This structure resembles to the former second economy with multiple income sources which were combined together in a way that both employer and employee could escape stronger commitment toward each other and state control (a sort of low-income portfolio economy).

The two (partial) exceptions are the part-time work which closely relates to the contractual FF but excludes multiple jobholding and the night shift which is not related with any of the other FFs. These flexy-work regimes seem to be somewhat separated from the other FFs.

We constructed two general variables regarding the level of flexibility on the contemporary labour market:

- The cumulative flexibility variable contains those who were flexible in all three main job related aspects of flexibility (temporal, spatial and contractual FF). 15% of the respondents (irrespective whether we used the loose or the strict version of the variables) fell into this category.
- The combined flexibility variable contains those who were flexible at least in one aspect of all four (including multiple jobholding as well) aspects of FF¹⁴. The majority of the respondents (77% or 71% of them depending whether we used the looser or stricter definitions) belonged to the combined flexibility group.

3. The FF and the Hungarian society

Table 4 shows the main characteristics of the FF by various socio-demographic variables.

Table 4 The temporal FF by various socio-demographic variables (%)

	N	Part-time work	Evening shift	Night shift ¹⁵	Weekend shift	Irregular shift
Total	724	9	38	13	25	38
Gender						

¹⁴ About half of these cases there was only one forms of flexibility present, i.e. in such cases combination meant only the combination of the “normal” activity with the flexible one.

¹⁵ The proportion of those working in night shift by gender in the LFS is very similar to our figures (12% of the males and 5% of the females, Frey 2001).

Male	384	7 ¹⁶	42	18	31	45
Female	340	11	33	6	17	29
Age						
18-24	61	18	50	17	30	39
25-34	223	7	34	12	25	35
35-44	179	7	38	14	23	34
45-54	193	9	36	11	24	42
55-65	70	11	43	13	25	44
Education						
Primary school	119	13	39	12	28	44
Vocational school	253	6	35	13	25	33
Secondary school	230	11	38	13	25	37
Tertiary school	121	6	42	12	18	44
Region						
Budapest and agglomeration	193	7	38	11	16	40
North-west	144	5	30	13	24	28
South-west	97	11	37	11	31	37
North, North-East	145	10	44	18	29	36
South-East	145	14	40	11	27	47
Settlement size						
Small village	201	12	40	11	30	40
Big village	131	8	33	18	24	41
Town	144	6	43	14	25	32
City	74	8	31	10	26	40
Big city	62	7	37	10	15	39
Per capita household income quintile ¹⁷						
First	84	14	42	9	31	54
Second	117	12	30	5	22	31
Third	116	10	44	19	22	34
Fourth	108	9	31	14	19	29
Fifth	140	4	42	14	23	39
Class ¹⁸						
Middle	274	9	43	11	24	42
Lower middle	172	6	33	14	16	33
Worker	253	10	36	13	31	37
Wellbeing ¹⁹						
Bad	155	9	36	14	20	37
Middle	447	7	37	13	25	38
Good	87	11	50	13	32	40
Wealth ²⁰						

¹⁶ The proportion of part-time workers among males and females in the LFS is 3% and 11%. The former is significantly lower, the latter is very similar to our figures. This indicates that our male respondents had something different in their minds when they answered our questionnaire than that of the LFS researchers.

¹⁷ Per capita (excluding members not present) monthly total household income (total sample) N=566.

¹⁸ Categories below 50 cases omitted.

¹⁹ Categories below 50 cases omitted.

0	52	16	38	11	25	45
5-7	130	10	53	14	23	47
Value of the house(flat) (tercile) ²¹						
First	169	11	33	11	23	35
Second	161	7	34	12	25	37
Third	183	6	41	11	21	43

The differences between males and females are rather sharp. While part-time work is more frequent among females all other temporal FF are overrepresented among males.

The spread of all temporal FF is above the average in the youngest age cohort. The greater is the difference in case of part-time work (in the youngest cohort it's spread is twice to that of the sample) and evening shift. There are three types of FF which, however, show a bifurcated distribution, i.e. the proportion of FF is above the sample's average both in the youngest and in the eldest cohorts. This is the case with part-time work, evening and irregular shifts. Such a bifurcation indicates that those in the weakest position on the labour market (just entering or about to leave it) are more likely to have temporally flexible jobs. However, in case of the youngest age group the generally high figures may indicate a cohort effect superimposing the age effect, i.e. at the time the youngest age cohort entered to the labour market it offered less "traditional" job opportunities than for the previous generations (Róbert-Bukodi, 2001).

As to the level of education, the various FF have very different picture. While there is hardly any difference by the level of education in case of night shift, part-time work is more spread among the least, evening shift among the most educated. While these two groups are very different in case of weekend shift, they are very similar in case of irregular shift (both significantly more irregular than the average). Such a divergent association between education and the spread of FF might mean that in a more detailed analysis education could have entirely different role by the FF.

The two spatial variables (region and settlement size) do not play significant role in determining the level of the FF, except that part-time and irregular work is more spread in the South-East and (together with the weekend shift) in smaller villages.

²⁰ Number of durable goods possessed. Max. is seven: car, mobile and traditional phones, personal computer, Internet, second home, automata washing machine. In between categories omitted.

²¹ Self-evaluation. N=515.

Finally, the various aspects of material wellbeing (per capita income, subjective class position and wellbeing, wealth and the value of the house) have three ways in associating with FF:

- Either only the worst position can be characterised by higher-than-average level of FF (e.g. part-time work by income or wealth) weekend and irregular shifts by income),
- or only in the best position is FF more wide spread (night and irregular shifts by class and wellbeing positions and house value),
- or this is the case for both the worst and the best positions (e.g. weekend shift by class position or irregular shift by wealth).

The various forms of association between FF and material wellbeing again might be the indication that the different aspects of FF can have entirely different social roles in the contemporary Hungarian society (similarly as informal incomes are bifurcated in contemporary Hungary (Sik, 2000)).

As to labour market structures, their influence on the spread of FF is rather strong (Table 5).

Table 5 The temporal FF by various labour market variables (%)

	N	Part-time work	Evening shift	Night shift	Weekend shift	Irregular shift
Total	724	9	38	13	25	38
Occupational group						
Manager	74	3	52	10	19	58
Professional	75	9	47	14	22	47
Administrative, technician	133	6	24	10	15	21
Skilled tertiary occupations	107	11	68	25	56	40
Skilled industrial occupations	190	8	25	5	22	37
Semiskilled	68	3	31	22	14	33
Unskilled	74	19	28	10	15	38
Monthly personal income quintile ²²						
First	59	29	54	12	42	57
Second	68	10	29	7	23	26
Third	125	5	30	10	19	29
Fourth	146	8	36	10	24	33
Fifth	156	2	40	18	23	36
Branch (N=667)						

²² The respondents' monthly income from all income sources N=555.

Industry	198	4	26	11	18	36
Agriculture	62	11	45	9	39	57
Transportation	52	4	42	26	30	44
Retail trade	100	10	59	10	40	46
Personal service	85	8	42	13	29	41
Public administration	42	2	30	14	15	20
Health	44	7	47	23	25	18
Education, culture	69	17	35	10	14	33
Type of organisation (N=632)						
State enterprise	52	0	36	26	30	16
Municipal enterprise	41	5	32	15	20	21
Public administration	71	10	38	11	12	24
Limited company	214	3	39	13	22	33
Shareholding company	114	2	26	11	14	37
Small entrepreneur	80	11	57	13	45	61

Part-time work on the labour market is strongly associated to weak position. This is expressed by its' overrepresentation in the unskilled occupation and in the lowest personal income quintile. But the fact that part-time work is overrepresented also in the education jobs indicates that it is influenced by organisational considerations (and the gender distribution of the labour force) as well.

Evening and irregular shifts characterise both the upper and the lowest labour market positions. These FF are overrepresented in the managerial and intellectual occupations and in the lowest personal income quintile. The evening shift (and somewhat less the irregular shift) and the night shift is very wide spread in the personal service occupation which again shows the technological influence of flexibility on the spread of FF. This aspect of FF is illustrated also by the fact that both evening and irregular shifts are overrepresented in branches and types of organisations characterised by seasonal or continuous and irregular demand and small (and therefore less or none controlled by law or union) such as agriculture, personal services, retail, transport, (and in case of evening shift) health care, and small entrepreneurs.

The night and weekend shifts differ somewhat from the previous two FF. Night shift is overrepresented in the personal service and semiskilled jobs (very likely working in continuous joblines), in the highest personal income quintile, in transport, health care and in state enterprises. Very likely the night shift is associated with overtime work and continuous shifts and also to overtime premium income.

The weekend shift is, however, might be a flexible form of self-exploitation. This FF is overrepresented among personal service occupation, lowest personal income quintile, agriculture, service, transportation²³ and retail jobs, and among the small entrepreneurs.

Table 6 shows the association between socio-economic characteristics of the contemporary Hungarian society and the various types of spatial FF.

Table 6 Spatial FF by various socio-demographic and labour market characteristics (%)

	Working always at home	Working sometimes at home	Changes workplace on weekly basis	Seasonal work
Total	5	4	10	10
Gender				
Male	4	5	15	16
Female	6	3	5	4
Age				
18-24	4	0	10	13
25-34	3	3	9	12
35-44	4	5	9	11
45-54	8	4	12	9
55-65	8	9	9	7
Education				
Primary	3	5	14	6
Vocational	5	2	5	14
Secondary	7	4	11	10
Tertiary	4	8	11	8
Region				
Budapest and agglomeration	4	4	11	14
North-West	3	2	9	5
South-West	7	6	5	9
North Hungary, North East	4	4	9	8
South East	8	4	12	13
Settlement size				
Small village	3	8	7	5

²³ The 2001. LFS also proves that the proportion of employees working in „normal” shifts is the lowest in the personal service and transportation occupations (55% and 52% compared to the 69% of all employees, Lakatos, forthcoming).

Big village	6	4	9	12
Town	6	3	10	7
City	6	3	10	7
Big city	3	3	9	13
Per capita household income quintiles				
First	5	5	8	8
Second	4	0	6	14
Third	5	5	12	9
Fourth	3	3	10	8
Fifth	1	4	10	8
Monthly personal income quintiles				
First	11	4	9	9
Second	10	3	3	6
Third	5	2	7	15
Fourth	3	3	10	8
Fifth	1	4	10	8
Branches				
Industry	3	2	6	11
Agriculture	12	13	9	25
Transport	0	2	22	2
Retail trade	8	4	6	5
Services	6	7	18	13
Public admin.	5	0	11	9
Health	3	3	5	2
Education and culture	4	7	3	3
Type of organisation				
State enterprise	0	1	8	10
Municipal enterprise	0	1	2	6
Public administration	3	0	2	2
Ltd. Company	1	3	12	9
Shareholding company	2	2	10	9
Small entrepreneurs	20	9	12	19

Working at home (fully or partly) in Hungary is a mixture of traditional and small-scale agricultural and personal service jobs and modern telework (implied by the overrepresentation among tertiary education). The probability that the former component is, however, the

dominant is expressed by the overrepresentation of home work in the lowest personal income quintile.

“Mobile” jobs characterise the transportation and personal service branches and are more wide spread among males and undereducated. Seasonal jobs again show a bifurcated social base. Beside among males and those with vocational schools, on the one hand they are overrepresented among the young, the Budapest inhabitants, on the other hand among the agricultural jobs and small-entrepreneurs.

The three forms of contractual FF are distributed by socio-economic variables differently as well (Table 7).

Table 7 Contractual FF by various socio-demographic and labour market variables (%)

	No contract	Self-employed	Fixed-term employment
Total	11	9	7
Gender			
Male	13	12	6
Female	8	6	8
Age ²⁴			
18-24	18	2	12
25-34	12	7	10
35-44	7	10	5
45-54	8	14	5
55-65	19	11	8
Education			
Primary	20	3	10
Vocational	11	10	8
Secondary	8	11	6
Tertiary	6	11	5
Region ²⁵			
Budapest and agglomeration	15	8	5

²⁴ The distribution of fixed-contract terms by age cohort was very similar in the latest TÁRKI Omnibus survey (October 2001). The fixed-term was overrepresented in the three youngest cohorts, i.e. 15% of those between 18-20 years old, 8% and 10% of those between 21-25 and 26-30 years old were employed by fixed term contract.

²⁵ In the Oct 2001 TÁRKI Omnibus fixed-term contracts were slightly overrepresented in the North (9%), North-East (12%) and South-East (10%) regions.

North-West	3	9	9
South-West	8	11	6
North, North-East	10	8	9
South-East	15	13	8
Settlement size			
Small village	14	5	12
Big village	13	12	9
Town	6	11	7
City	5	6	3
Big city	12	8	4
Per capita household income quintiles			
First	25	16	12
Second	7	6	10
Third	11	11	6
Fourth	9	5	8
Fifth	8	8	6
Monthly personal income quintiles			
First	31	14	12
Second	13	7	12
Third	7	2	10
Fourth	6	8	5
Fifth	9	9	6
Branches ²⁶			
Industry	8	4	8
Agriculture	22	27	5
Transport	4	9	6
Retail trade	15	13	6
Services	13	20	5
Public admin.	8	2	12
Health	2	8	8
Education and culture	6	1	12
Type of organisation			
State enterprise	5	0	0
Municipal enterprise	6	0	18
Public administrati on	4	0	9
Ltd company	4	5	5

²⁶ In October 2001 the lack of contract was above the employees' average in agriculture and personal services (5% instead of 2%), and fixed-term contract was overrepresented in public administration and education-culture (15-15%).

Shareholding company	4	1	5
Small entrepreneurs	18	55	0

In one respect all three forms of contractual FF is identical, i.e. they are overrepresented in the lowest quintile of both the household and the personal income. Since in the other socio-economic dimensions, however, they are not similar at all, we can conclude that contractual FF produce poverty in different ways.

Those working without written contracts are overrepresented among the young and the old employees, in the least educated segment of the society and either in the capital or in the South-East region working in agriculture and as small-entrepreneurs. The self-employed obviously are also overrepresented among the small-entrepreneurs and among the elder, more educated labour market groups working mostly in agriculture or personal services. Fixed contract characterises almost the opposite of this labour market group. It is overrepresented among the young, the uneducated and among those hired by local municipalities in public administration or in education and culture.

As to the main types of FF (Table 8), by gender and age cohorts all types of FF show a very distinct pattern: males, and the young and old (except spatial FF where there is hardly any deviation from the average and multiple jobholding which increases with age²⁷) are more flexible than the average employee.

Table 8 The main types of the FF by general socio-demographic variables (%)

	Temporal	Spatial	Contractual	Multiple jobholding	Cumulative	Combined
Total	57	33	31	7	15	71
Gender						
Male	61	46	35	9	20	77
Female	52	18	28	4	9	74
Age						

²⁷ In this respect LFS indirectly confirms our findings. The proportion of those working in „traditional” (weekday and morning) work shift is below the average in the youngest two age groups (55 and 63%) and continuously increases with age (77% between 55-59 years, Lakatos, forthcoming). The proportion of those working in regular shifts (whatever is the shift it does not change) is the least spread in the highest age group (78% between 60-74 compared to the 88% of the sample, Lakatos, forthcoming). Pooling the two opposite distribution we arrive to the U shapr curve of our data.

18-24	64	29	38	0	19	79
25-34	54	31	35	5	14	56
35-44	53	30	25	9	14	56
45-54	58	37	28	8	17	69
55-65	66	35	39	11	21	75
Education						
Primary school	63	34	36	1	18	79
Vocational school	52	33	33	5	16	67
Secondary school	58	33	31	10	15	71
Tertiary school	48	31	24	11	11	69
Region						
Budapest and agglomeration	63	38	33	10	15	79
North-west	51	23	22	4	9	57
South-west	57	29	28	4	15	71
North, North-East	50	33	32	8	16	69
South-East	60	38	40	7	21	75
Settlement size						
Small village	61	33	37	3	19	73
Big village	61	32	38	3	18	74
Town	52	33	26	4	14	66
City	50	28	18	10	10	58
Big city	59	32	28	5	11	74
Per capita household income quintile						
First	64	41	54	6	29	78
Second	51	29	26	6	14	64
Third	57	32	36	6	14	71
Fourth	50	24	24	5	8	65
Fifth	60	30	25	11	11	75
Class						
Middle	61	36	32	10	16	73
Lower-middle	51	32	22	6	11	64
Worker	57	30	37	4	17	73
Wellbeing						
Bad	55	34	22	2	11	68
Middle	56	32	34	7	15	71
Good	65	35	30	20	16	72
Wealth						
0	54	35	47	0	28	73
5-7	64	40	35	19	19	77
Value of the house(flat) (tercile)						
First	52	31	38	6	16	73
Second	55	33	28	7	12	68
Third	59	38	29	12	18	71

In most cases but very significantly – and especially in case of temporal FF - the lower is the level of education, the higher is the chance of being flexible. Multiple jobholding is the only exception.

Neither by region nor by settlement size are there significant differences in the spread of FF²⁸. The two oppositions are North-West and South-East Hungary with the former being the least, the latter the most flexible. It is Budapest and the its' agglomeration where the spread of temporal, spatial and combined FF, and the small villages where the cumulative FF is the maximum.

As to income and wealth, the various FF have very different distribution by the per capita household income. While the temporal, the spatial and the combined FF are slightly above the average in the lowest income quintile with almost no difference among the other four income quintiles, in case of the contractual and the cumulative FF the lowest income quintile is significantly different from the rest of the quintiles having almost twice as much flexibility as the average. Multiple jobholding is again different from every other form of FF, its' spread is increasing with income.

The class position shows a mild version of the triple labour market segmentation model (a la Piore) with the higher and lower labour market segment being more flexible than in-between (except again multiple jobholding which is more wide spread in the middleclass).

Multiple jobholding and contractual FF are again each others opposite both in wealth and house value, the former being above, the latter below the average of the sample. Temporal FF seems to be associated with the better, cumulative FF with the worse material and wealth situation but the association is not very strong.

The mixed nature of FF is very lucidly present in the labour market occupational structure (Table 9).

Table 9 The main types of the FF by labour market variables (%)

	Temporal	Spatial	Contractu	Multiple	Cumulati	Combine
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²⁸According to there are no big differences in the level of temporal flexibility by settlement type. In Budapest 74%, in the other cities 68%, in the villages 67% of the employees work in „traditional” shifts (Lakatos, forthcoming).

			al	jobholdin g	ve	d
Total	57	33	31	7	15	71
Occupational group						
Manager	69	51	35	16	24	79
Professional	65	32	24	13	15	71
Administrative, technician	37	15	19	4	5	53
Skilled tertiary occupations	77	20	30	7	7	84
Skilled industrial occupations	44	42	39	6	19	64
Semiskilled	44	44	16	2	6	63
Unskilled	56	26	45	1	22	66
Monthly personal income quintile						
First	78	48	64	8	37	91
Second	50	23	33	2	13	64
Third	49	31	23	3	6	70
Fourth	57	27	21	4	11	67
Fifth	54	27	27	13	9	69
Branch (N=667)						
Industry	47	29	25	4	10	63
Agriculture	73	57	55	10	41	82
Transport	61	34	20	9	14	77
Retail trade	74	27	37	7	14	84
Personal service	63	47	38	17	21	78
Public administration	31	23	30	5	4	56
Health	57	15	23	2	6	65
Education, culture	61	16	21	3	6	70
Type of organisation (N=632)						
State enterprise	40	22	9	4	4	53
Municipal enterprise	42	15	28	4	2	67
Public administration	55	10	14	1	2	65
Limited co.	51	30	16	5	5	65
Shareholding co.	49	25	14	7	4	64
Small entrepreneur	85	61	78	26	50	96

Temporal FF and multiple jobholding are overrepresented among managers and intellectuals and the former is characterised with high level of spatial and - though much less strongly – contractual FF as well. No surprise that it is the managers, which shows the highest level of both cumulative and combined FF.

But certain FF also present on the other pole of the labour market occupational structure. Skilled service jobs are characterised by extremely high level of temporal FF and consequently with high combined FF as well. Semiskilled jobs are spatially, which is also true

for the skilled industrial jobs. This latter and the unskilled jobs are characterised by high contractual FF. Due to the high level of contractual FF (and that in any other dimension of FF (except multiple jobholding) they are close to the average) unskilled jobs have a high level of cumulative FF. The two types of occupation with low level of both cumulative and combined FF are the classical “mass production – industrial age” types of jobs, i.e. clerks and industrial skilled workers working in offices and factories. Interestingly enough while in case of cumulative FF there is a bifurcated distribution of FF along the occupational structure, in case of combined FF the distribution is more of a simple positive correlation between occupational status and the spread of FF.

As to personal income, the association is simple and strong, the probability of FF is significantly higher in the lowest quintile than in any other income bracket – with one exception, i.e. the probability of multiple jobholding is significantly above the average in the highest quintile.

Finally, the distribution of FF by branches and organisational types confirms our findings in analysing the occupational structure, i.e. on the one hand FF is the least characteristics in the industry and public administration, and the most wide spread in agriculture, transport, service and retail, on the other hand all FF is very closely related to small-entrepreneurship.

4. The attitudes toward the FF

As far as FF is concerned there seem to be no big tensions and high level of dissatisfaction among contemporary Hungarian employees. 59% of them is satisfied with the temporal arrangement at work. Within this group most of the respondents feel proper balance between their working and domestic time (39%).

Among the employees work-poor are twice as frequent as overworked are (29% of the employees would prefer to work more, 12% less). Overwhelming proportion of those who want to work more would do it to increase their income (89%). Employees would prefer to work less mostly because they want to spend more time with their family (46%) but some of them would do it since they hate their job (12%) or could earn better in another job (11%) or have other plans for the future (7% to go back to school, 5% to have a new job).

As Table 10 shows there are no significant differences in the presence of dissatisfaction or domestic tension by the various FF.

Table 10 Attitudes towards the FF by the types of the FF (%)

	Total	Temporal FF	Spatial FF	Contractual FF	Cumulative FF	Combined FF
Wants to work less	29	31	33	27	32	30
Wants to work more	12	16	20	19	26	15
Very satisfied with ... the main job	14	17	18	20	22	16
- duration of the contract	37	41	33	17	26	37
- hours of work	16	15	12	17	14	15
- location of work	28	29	23	28	27	28
- future ²⁹	27	29	29	36	28	29
Often has no time to the domestic chores	14	16	17	16	18	16
Often has no time to care for the family	10	13	13	11	14	11
Often ³⁰ has no time to do the job because of family responsibilities	23	27	31	26	32	26
Often take work back home	22	24	22	19	17	22
Would prefer more time at work	10	13	13	15	16	12
Disagreement ³¹ ... due to finances	14	14	15	13	14	14
... domestic division of work	14	12	12	11	10	13
... amount of time spent together	27	29	33	28	34	30
... amount of time spent at work	26	29	31	26	32	29

Those working in any FF would prefer to work more, especially those with cumulative FF, which illustrates the presence of a work-poor stratum. In general, however, neither temporal nor combined FF have any impact on the level of satisfaction or domestic tension.

The fact that among those with contractual FF both satisfaction in general and with their future and dissatisfaction with their contract are overrepresented shows that this group comprises two entirely different group of the labour market (as we saw it in Table 9, managers, skilled industrial and unskilled workers).

Spatial and cumulative FF produce the most dissatisfaction and domestic tension. Too much domestic chores and due to this tension between job and family and within the family are more wide spread in these two FF.

²⁹ Satisfied and very satisfied.

³⁰ Frequently and rather frequently.

5. FF and the labour-pool of the individuals and household

To the extent it is up to the individual's decision, the level of labour market flexibility and the way it is related to the domestic economy is partly a function of the structure and volume of the labour reservoir of the respondent's and that of the household's (from now we refer to this phenomenon as the labour pool of the household). In this section first we describe the various aspects of the respondent's and then the household's labour pool and tentatively analyse the association between them and the FF.

Table 11 contains the ways we operationalised the respondent's labour pool. It covers all institutional forms of labour allocation, i.e. domestic labour (unfortunately rather superficially measured by the number domestic tasks the respondents regularly does), market labour (at the main job and in all income earning activities), voluntary and altruistic or reciprocal work (as dummy variables whether the respondent has done it lately or not).

As to the relations among these forms of labour allocation Table 11 indicates that except the tautological association between working time at the main job and in all income generating activities, there are no correlation among them. The low and negative correlation between domestic and market labour is the sign that the beckerian utility maximisation rationality works among the Hungarian households (Szép-Sik, 2001).

Table 11 Interrelation among the various aspects of the respondents' labour-pool (linear correlation coefficients³²)

	Domestic work ³³	Working time in the main job ³⁴	Total working time ³⁵	volunteering ³⁶	Helping others ³⁷
Domestic work	-	<i>- 0.14</i>	<i>- 0.13</i>	- 0.04	0.01
Working time in the main job		-	0.85	0.03	0.08
Total working time			-	0.06	0.05

³¹ Any disagreement.

³² Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.

³³ Number of domestic tasks done (of nine tasks).

³⁴ Number of working hours in the main job per week.

³⁵ Number of all income generating working hours per week.

³⁶ Dummy (if any=1).

³⁷ Dummy (if any=1).

Volunteering				-	0.19
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Table 12 and 13 show the association between the respondent's labour pool and FF by comparing the value of the former among the subsamples of the various FF to the sample average.

Table 12 The volume of various forms of the employee respondents' labour-pool by the types of FF³⁸

	N	Domestic work	Working time in the main job	Total working time	Volunteering	Helping others
Total	724	2.6	45	49	7	18
Part-time work	64	3.0	15	19	4	11
Evening shift	267	2.1	48	56	9	20
Night shift	90	1.9	52	62	7	22
Weekend shift	174	1.9	49	58	7	21
Irregular shift	275	2.3	44	52	10	20
Temporal FF	403	2.4	45	51	8	18
Spatial FF	237	2.1	45	52	8	27
Multiple jobholding	48	2.2	51	59	7	12
Contractual FF	226	2.6	42	48	9	24
Cumulative FF	107	2.2	41	51	12	26
Combined FF	501	2.4	45	51	7	19

There is only one FF in which the probability of doing the domestic chores is higher than in the sample, part-time work. Hardly surprising that in the male dominated and world of spatial and far-from-home world of multiple jobholding with evening, night and weekend shifts the likelihood of doing anything back home is significantly below the average.

Obviously it is the case with market labour. The daily or weekly lengthening of working time (the various shifts and multiple jobholding) means longer weekly working time as well. There are, however two FF which show different market labour pools. Irregular shifts and cumulative FF are characterised by below than average length of working hours in the main job but are somewhat above the average as far as the length of working time of total income generating activities are concerned. Multiple jobholding and contractual FF are associated with lowest and highest levels of both forms of market labour time which shows that these forms of market labour contains the labour-poor and labour-rich poles. The fact that multiple

jobholding is above the average in both forms of market labour indicates that main job related overtime can also have the form of multiple jobholding (i.e. second job overlapping with the main job as it was the case in socialism (“intrapreneurship”)).

Table 13 Interrelation between the respondents’ labour-pool and the FF (linear correlation coefficients³⁹)

	Domestic work	Working time in the main job	Total working time	Volunteering	Helping others
Part-time work	0.05	- 0.65	- 0.53	- 0.04	- 0.08
Evening shift	<i>- 0.10</i>	0.17	0.21	0.07	0.03
Night shift	<i>- 0.10</i>	0.20	0.24	- 0.01	0.03
Weekend shift	<i>- 0.13</i>	0.18	0.22	0.01	0.05
Irregular shift	- 0.09	- 0.01	0.03	0.08	0.02
Temporal FF	- 0.06	- 0.01	0.05	0.04	0.01
Spatial FF	<i>- 0.13</i>	0.01	0.03	- 0.01	0.16
Multiple jobholding	- 0.04	<i>0.12</i>	0.23	- 0.03	- 0.06
Contractual FF	0.01	<i>- 0.13</i>	<i>- 0.11</i>	0.05	0.09
Cumulative FF	- 0.05	<i>- 0.12</i>	<i>- 0.07</i>	0.07	0.10
Combined FF	- 0.08	0.02	0.06	0.01	0.03

As to volunteering and altruist or reciprocal labour, the negative association between them and part-time work shows that in Hungary part-time work is not a middle-class form of leisure-time substitute. While it is quite obvious why multiple jobholding reduces the probability of altruism or reciprocal help, it is surprising - and I honestly have no idea what it means – is the high level of both volunteering and helping activity of those with cumulative FF.

Focusing on the various chores, Table 14 shows the obvious, the dominant form of domestic labour allocation is when a certain member of the household carries out the chores usually. This goes almost without exception for cooking and washing.

Table 14 The ways domestic tasks are usually get done by the type of domestic work (%, N=1166)

	Maintenance and	Cooking	Cleaning the house	Washing the laundry	Daily shopping	Taking care of the	Taking care of sick	Taking care of sick	Working in the

³⁸ Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level p=0.0000, italics if between p=0,0001 and p=0,05.

³⁹ Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level p=0.0000, italics if between p=0,0001 and p=0,05.

	repair			y		child(r en)	child(r en)	relativ e	garden
A certain member of the household	47	90	82	90	77	63	68	56	56
Any member of the household	1	8	15	8	20	24	17	18	30
Help from outside of the household	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Paid labour	49	2	3	2	3	13	15	25	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Cleaning and shopping is rather similar (a single-person dominated) to the former two chores but in these cases about one fifth of the household jointly carry out the tasks.

The next type of domestic labour allocation would be the child and/or illness related three types of chores and gardening, i.e. tasks which are unexpected and/or assumes lasting efforts on behalf of more than one household member. In about half to two third of the households still there is only person to whom the task was delegated but in the rest of the household these task are covered either by the household as a whole (especially gardening) or the household pays for it (especially for taking care of sick relatives).

Finally repair and maintenance is a domestic chore only in every second household, the rest is ready to pay for it.

Table 15 illustrates the relation between domestic chores and labour market flexibility among the employees. We arranged the Table by the domestic labour allocation types from the previous Table and computed the spread of the various FF among those employees who carry out the chore proper.

Table 15 The proportion of FF by types of domestic work (employee respondents, %)⁴⁰

	Cooking	Washing the laundry	Cleaning the house	Daily shopping	Taking care of the child(ren)	Taking care of sick child(ren)	Taking care of sick relative	Working in the garden	Maintenance and repair	Total
N	293	308	277	291	153	166	95	94	175	729

⁴⁰ Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.

Part-time work	<i>12</i>	11	<i>12</i>	<i>12</i>	10	10	10	6	7	9
Evening shift	31	31	31	35	31	30	23	36	34	38
Night shift	7	6	7	11	6	6	9	5	<i>18</i>	13
Weekend shift	16	17	<i>19</i>	22	13	15	<i>19</i>	22	23	24
Irregular shift	<i>33</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>33</i>	35	37	30	<i>29</i>	35	42	38
Temporal FF	<i>49</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>49</i>	51	51	47	<i>43</i>	49	53	54
Spatial FF	23	24	25	26	26	23	22	<i>40</i>	44	33
Contractual FF	30	31	31	32	31	28	31	33	33	34
Cumulative FF	11	11	13	13	12	8	10	15	17	14
Combined FF	60	61	61	62	64	62	57	66	70	67

Doing part-time work slightly increases the probability of being involved in “traditional” chores, i.e. being a female. Working in flexy shifts means doing less household tasks except maintenance, i.e. being a male. Temporal, spatial, contractual and the two forms of general FF slightly decrease the probability of being in charge of household work. The exception is spatial FF , which increases the chances of working in the garden and doing repair and maintenance.

As to the association between personal labour pool and socio-demographic characteristics (Table 16), the analysis was repeated twice, for the whole sample and for the employees separately.

Table 16 Characteristics of the respondents’ labour-pool by various socio-demographic variables (%)⁴¹

	Total sample (N=1166)		Employee (N=701)		
	Domestic work	Total working time (hours per week)	Domestic work	Working time in main job (hours per week)	Total working time (hours per week)
Total	2.7	28	2.6	45 ⁴²	44(47) ⁴³
Gender					
Male	1.4	32	1.4	47	47(50)
Female	4.0	25	4.0	43	41(44)
Age					

⁴¹Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.

⁴²Our figure is about five hours longer compared to the LFS figure (2001, full-time employee, Lakatos forthcoming) (39,3 hours per week) or to the time budget figure (2000, between 18 and 74 years old, Frey, 2000) (40,9 hours per week).

⁴³The first figure is of those with at least one income earning activity (N=735), the second (in brackets) of those who has a main job (N=701).

18-24	0.8	18	0.7	40	41(42)
25-34	2.6	36	2.3	46	45(48)
35-44	3.2	35	3.0	44	44(47)
45-54	3.2	32	3.1	45	45(48)
55-65	3.1	15	2.7	44	43(47)
Education					
Primary school	3.0	17	2.9	44	41(46)
Vocational school	2.5	32	2.3	46	43(47)
Secondary school	2.7	29	2.7	43	45(46)
Tertiary school	2.9	39	2.8	46	48(50)
Region					
Budapest and agglomeration	3.0	30	2.8	47	45(49)
North-West	2.6	32	2.4	47	45(49)
South-West	2.7	30	2.6	44	45(46)
North, North-East	2.5	24	2.4	43	42(45)
South-East	2.7	27	2.6	42	44(48)
Settlement size					
Small village	2.9	22	(2.8)	(41)	42(46)
Big village	2.6	27	2.5	41	43(45)
Town	2.5	32	2.4	47	46(49)
City	3.0	29	(3.1)	(46)	48(49)
Big city	2.9	31	2.7	46	46(48)
Per capita household income					
First	2.7	19	2.2	45	40(47)
Second	3.0	28	3.0	43	42(44)
Third	2.4	26	2.4	44	45(45)
Fourth	3.2	28	3.0	45	48(47)
Fifth	2.9	33	2.7	46	48(50)
Wealth					
0	3.2	17	3.0	44	41(46)
5-7	2.2	34	2.0	44	47(49)

The frequency and the socio-demographic characteristics of domestic work do not differ significantly in the total sample compared to the employee subsample. Female and middle age labour dominate in domestic work in both cases. The only difference is that while the 55-65 years old are above the average in the total sample, they share in domestic work is around the average in the employee sample.

Of course the total work time is significantly higher in the employee subsample compared to the total sample. Males have higher market labour time in both cases with one hour less difference in the employee subsample than in the total one.

In case of age the deviation from the average is significantly lower in the employee subsample than in the total sample. While in the former only the youngest cohort works shorter hours on the market than the rest of the employees, in the total sample both the young and the old work significantly less than those between 25 and 54.

The market labour pool distribution differs somewhat by education level differently in the total and employee samples as well. While in both samples the uneducated work much less, the most educated much more than the average, in the total sample those with vocational school work more than those with secondary education, in the employee subsample vice versa.

By region and settlement size there are similar trends in the total and the employee samples, those living in the North or North East and in small villages (in the employee subsample in both types of villages) work significantly less than the average.

As to income and wealth, the tendencies are again identical in the two samples. Those with higher income and more wealth work more. The difference between the total and employee samples is the magnitude of deviation, i.e. the difference between the average work time of the low and high income and poor and wealthy categories is much sharper in the total than in the employee subsample.

Comparing the working time in the main job and the total working time among the employees (the last two columns in Table 16) we find more or less similar trends by the socio-demographic dimensions. The deviations, however, are less characteristic in the work time in the main job compared to the total work time devoted to income generating activity. For example while in their main job males work in average four hours more than females the average of their total work time is six hours longer.

The only significant deviations between the distribution of the main job and total working time can be found in case of education (the total working time of the tertiary educated is much higher than the average while their main job working time is only slightly different from the average), in case of region (working time in the South east is below the average in the main job and is above it in the total working time) and in case of wealth (no difference

between poor and wealthy in working time in the main job but significantly higher total working time among the wealthy).

Since assume that the respondents' FF is related to his or her household's labour characteristics we computed some household level labour pool variables as well (Table 17) and suggest to use them as contextual variables for the detailed analysis of the respondents labour allocation characteristics.

Table 17 The volume of household labour-pool in the total sample and in the employee subsample

	Total sample (N=1166)	Employee (N=701)
Total labour-pool (weekly hours)	64	88
Per capita labour-pool (weekly hours)	21	29
Proportion of female labour (%)	45	46
Proportion of respondent's labour (%)	48	64

The larger the total and the per capita labour pool of the household the more market work is done by the household, i.e. we can analyse the work-poverty and work-richness of the household in relation to the respondent's FF. The proportion of female labour can be a useful contextual variable in analysing the allocation of domestic roles and household tensions, and proportion of the respondent's labour in the total labour pool of the household can be interpreted as a role itself assuming that the higher it is the more important is the respondent as a provider for the household with all the consequences of such a role.

Table 18 gives just a first glimpse on the social nature of the household level labour pool variables.

Table 18 The households' labour-pool by various socio-demographic characteristics of the households (total sample, N=1166, %)⁴⁴

	Total labour-pool	Per capita labour-pool	Proportion of female labour	Proportion of respondent's labour

⁴⁴ Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.

Total	64	21	45	48
Education				
Only household members with primary education	25	10	39	60
At least one household member with tertiary education	78	25	49	44
Region				
Budapest and agglomeration	67	24	45	48
North-West	73	24	44	49
South-West	74	22	47	44
North, North-East	51	17	47	50
South-East	61	19	42	48
Settlement size				
Small village	53	16	42	47
Big village	62	19	43	51
Town	70	23	45	45
City	65	22	50	49
Big city	69	24	47	51
Per capita income quintile				
First	42	11	35	47
Second	62	17	46	48
Third	67	19	46	42
Fourth	64	21	49	49
Fifth	67	30	51	57

There seem to be a strong correlation between the level of education and the size of the household's labour pool. Both the total and the per capita labour pool is in the most educated households about two to three times bigger than in the least educated ones. The level of education is positively related to the increasing role of women on the market (expressed by the larger share of female labour) and negatively to the respondents' share.

The North and North east region and the villages contains more work poor households but there seems to be no significant differences neither among the other categories nor in regard with the share of female and that of the respondent's labour..

As to income, while the total amount of labour is significantly lower in the poorest quintile than in any other income categories, the per capita labour pool show a strong, continuous and positive correlation with per capita income.

6 Inside the household

In this Chapter we analyse the flexibility phenomenon within the household, i.e. the domestic context of the flexibility process. The first question we raise is a rather unorthodox one since usually the existence of a household head in a household either is taken as granted (traditional, „normal”, God-given”) or is denied feverishly on the basis of feminist principles. Our approach is a humble but straightforward one (that might be a reason of being unorthodox) we asked the members of the household whether there is a „head in the household”. This section is followed by two relevant aspects of domestic flexibility, i.e. division of labour and money management.

6.1 Is there a head in a household?

Almost two-third (63%) of the respondents said that there is a household head in their family, the rest denied the existence of any such role in the household. The main reason of not to have head of households is that the family members make all decisions together (34%), so there is no need to have a leader, 3% answered that the household members take responsibility by themselves.

Table 19 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the heads of household and also of the respondents in the sample of the two-parent families.⁴⁵ Household heads⁴⁶ are usually male, in 92% of the families with head has a male “boss”, and only in 8% of these families have a female “boss”. This is very different from the distribution of the respondents, where the female-male distribution is fifty-fifty. 26% of the heads of household are 36-45 years old, 30% of them 46-55 years old, and 22% of them belong to the 55-65 age group. The elderly are underrepresented among the household heads, due to the sampling. The “basic population” included only the active aged, 18-65 years old population. According to the education level of the household heads 20% of them are low educated, 43% of them has a training school certificate, 23% have a secondary school certificate, and 13% of them are higher educated.

⁴⁵ The two samples are not comparable to each other, because not in every household the possible head of the family was interviewed. E.g.: student living together with his/her parents.

⁴⁶ The group of household heads was created by the following method: the respondent was supposed to give the ID number of the head of household from the household table, in case it was different from the respondent. Using this id number we were able to identify the gender, the age and the education level of the household head.

Table 19 Socio-demographic status of household heads and respondents in two-parent families (%)

	Head of household N=533	Respondents N=851
Gender		
Male	91.7	50.4
Female	8.3	49.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Age		
18-25	0.7	12.6
26-35	17.1	26.8
36-45	26.3	22.1
46-55	30.4	21.9
56-65	22.3	16.6
Above 65	3.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Level of education		
Up to 8 grade of primary school	20.0	24.9
Vocational training school	43.3	30.0
Secondary school	23.2	31.1
College or university degree	13.5	13.9
Total	100.0	100.0

We have found that families without household head are over-represented also among families where all members are low educated, and also in those, where at least one of the member with higher education. These results adequate to our findings about distribution of household heads by education level.

Families with household heads are underrepresented in big cities, but over-represented in the capital. Budapest. (Table 20) This phenomenon in contradiction with our expectation that due to traditional gender role we will find higher proportion of household heads in villages compare to the cities and the capital.

The proportion of head of household is also high among couples with children (65% and 71%), especially compare to those without children (49%). The institution of household head depends on the presence of children in the family.

Household heads can be more possibly found in families where at least one of the children is over 18, compare to families with young children. This phenomenon probably due to the

generation-effect parents with young children possibly belong to the younger generation. and it is smaller chance to find household head among them (see Table 1 above).

There is a weak effect between the economic situation and the presence of household head in the family. Families with the highest per capita income and those belong to the lowest quartile are less possible to have a family head (62-63%), compare to families in the 2nd and 3rd quartile (65-65%). (Table 20)

Table 20 Distribution of households with and without head by education, type of settlement, household structure and per capita income (%)

Characteristics of household	Households with head	Households without head	Total	N
Education				
All family member low educated*	53	47	100	91
At least one family member has diploma	58	42	100	206
Type of settlement				
Village	64	36	100	323
Town	63	37	100	216
County seat	57	44	100	177
Capital (Budapest)	67	33	100	135
Total	63	37	100	851
Household structure***				
Couple	49	51	100	187
Couple with children under 18	65	35	100	392
Couple with children over 18	71	29	100	246
Couple with parent(s)	(38)	63	100	24
Total	63	38	100	851
Quartiles of per capita household income				
1 st	63	37	100	180
2 nd	65	35	100	195
3 rd	65	35	100	162
4 th	62	38	100	149
Total	64	36	100	686

Note: Percentage in brackets means that in that cells the case number is less than 10.

***Significance level of chi-square test is less than 0.001.

6.2.1 Woman and man as household head

As we mentioned before, the significant proportion, 92% of the household heads are men, and only 8% are women. (Table 19)⁴⁷.

There is no significant difference in the distribution of male and female heads by their age. According to their education level we found significant differences between the two groups. Female household head are over-represented in the group with secondary school certificate (13%), in the other education groups women are much less likely take the role of household head. Men are over-represented in the group of household heads with diploma (94%) and under-represented among those with secondary school certificate.

Concerning to couples or cohabitated couples with children or without children most of the cases the household head is a man. Among couples with adult children is more likely to have a female household head compare to the other type of households.

Higher proportion of families with female heads can be found in the capital and large cities compare to small towns and villages. According to income, we found that households with female heads are over-represented in the 1st income quartile, with the lowest monthly per capita household income, while those with male heads are over-represented in the 4th quartile.

6.2.2 Single-parent families

At the beginning of our report we mentioned that investigating of household heads has only meaning in two-parent families. However, it is worth to speak also about the single parent families. Mainly, because in Hungary at the end of the nineties after divorce 85% of the cases children live together with their mothers, and only 15% of the cases with their father. (Vukovich 1999) Therefore in case of single-parent families undoubtedly mostly women are who play the role of household head.

If we take into consideration the single parent families, too, the proportion of female household heads will increase with 10 percentage points. Similarly the socio-demographic distribution of the single parents, proportion of female household heads is higher in large

⁴⁷Since there are 533 male and only 44 female household head, therefore all our results regarding to the socio-demographic distribution of female household heads are only for illustration.

cities, than in other settlements, among low educated and those with secondary school certificate.

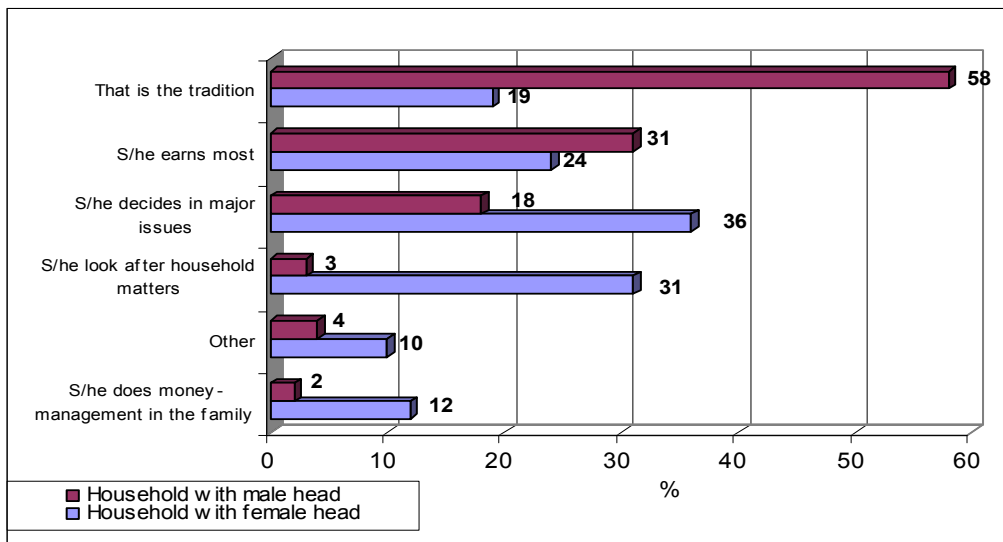
Opposite to two-parent families, in single parent families presence of young children has a positive effect on having household head, while the presence of an older/adult child decrease the possibility to have “boss” in the family. According to income, we found similar results to the two-parent families: families with female head belong to the lowest income groups. This phenomenon can be partly explained by that in most of these families there is only earner the mother.

6.2.3 Why he/she is the head of the household?

In the questionnaire we also put a question about why the given person is the household head. The respondent could chose from the following answers: 1) S/he earns most. 2) S/he decides about major family issues. 3) S/he does money-management of the family. 4) S/he looks after family matters. 5) That is the tradition. 6) Other reason. We also included some answers, that are not necessarily done by household heads, and some which are usually done by women in the family. Results show that respondents connect very different roles to the head of household, depending on its gender. (Figure 1.)

Respondents with male household head most of the cases (58%) gave a reason that “This is the tradition”. the second typical answer (31%) was that “This person earns the highest amount in the family”. On the third place was that “This person makes the main decisions.”, though only in 18% of the cases. These results support that the role of household head still closely related to men and husbands.

Figure 1 Reasoning of being in the position of a household head by gender of the household head (%. N=530)



A different reasoning connected to female household heads. In these families respondent at first place mentioned that she is the person, who makes decisions in main family issues (36%), and almost that important reason was to be most engaged with family tasks (31%). As the 3rd important reason to be the head of the family for women, similar to men, that they earn the highest amount in the family (24%). One-fifth of these families mentioned that “that is tradition” to have a female household head and 12% said that also money-managing belongs to the tasks of head of the family. Here we have to draw your attention again of the low case number.

The respondents not only gave different account for having female household head, but the number of responses and aims are also higher on average. Our findings show, that one of the most important criteria of being a household head is being the main earner of the family. In our further analysis we checked whether this statement really holds for the household heads. It seems our results support this hypotheses: in 70% of the families the household head and the breadwinner are the same person. Among female household heads the proportion of main earner is 50%, while among male heads is 71%, so it is not so typical among women that they also the also earn more if they are the “leader” of the family.

According to “breadwinning” we suppose that also household heads are those who work more hours per week than the other member of the family. (Table 21) Our analysis shows that proportion of household head’s whose weekly working time is less then half of the total working time of the family is 36%, and there are 20% of the families, where the household head is the only earner. In 20% of these families the household head’s working time takes

more than the half of the total working time of the household. And in almost one-fourth (23%) of the households the head of the family does not work at all.

Table 21 Proportion of working time of household head in the total working time of the household by the gender of the head of the family (%)

Working time rate of head of household	Male	Female	Total
0% - head of the household does not work	21	36	23
1-50%	35	49	36
51-99%	23	(8)	22
100% - only the head of household works	20	(8)	20
Total	100	100.0	100
N	415	39	454

Note: None of the member worked in 15% of the families with household head. Percentage in brackets means that in that cell the case number is less than 10.

According to the distribution by gender of the household head (Table 3), on the one hand we found that in families with female head there are very seldom, that she is the only earner of the family (8%), compare to those households with male head (20%). But in 36% of households with female head the household head does not work at all, while this proportion is much lower (22%) for households with male head. The most typical that female heads are share less then half of the total working time of the household (49%). However, only 8% of female household heads work more than half of the total working time of the household, this proportions is much higher among families with male heads 22%.

6.2 Division of domestic labour in the family

In Hungary in large proportion of households domestic chores are done by members of the household, they rarely buy these services from the market or ask for help from the outside of the family (from friends, relatives).

In the questionnaire we asked about nine household chores, who usually does them. The chores are the following: 1) repairing and maintenance of household appliances; 2) cooking; 3) cleaning; 4) washing; 5) daily shopping; 6) taking care of the children; 7) taking care of the sick children; 8) taking care of the sick relative or friend; 9) gardening or working in the fields.

We pooled together the possible answers as follows: female and male member of the family, shared between family members and the fourth category is the “other”, that contains relatives, friends from outside of the family and also paid / market service.

In two-parent families more often women take over the household chores compare to men, there are only two exceptions, gardening and repairing and maintenance of labour-saving devices. (Figure 2) Women most often do the next chores in the household cooking, washing and cleaning, these chores are done by female members of the family in around 50% of the households. Shopping is also belongs to women tasks, 44% of the cases this chore is done by them, but this is one of the activities which also very popular to share among household members. In 38% of household with children women look after the sick children and in 31% of the families the men, but also one-fifth of the cases family members share this duty between each other. Very similar to this distribution of taking care of the child(ren): in 34% of the families this is done by women, in 29% of the cases by men, and they share it between each other over one-fourth of the cases. We have to note that child breeding is one of the chores where 9-10% of the families reckon with help from outside of the household, either relatives, friends help, either paid service.

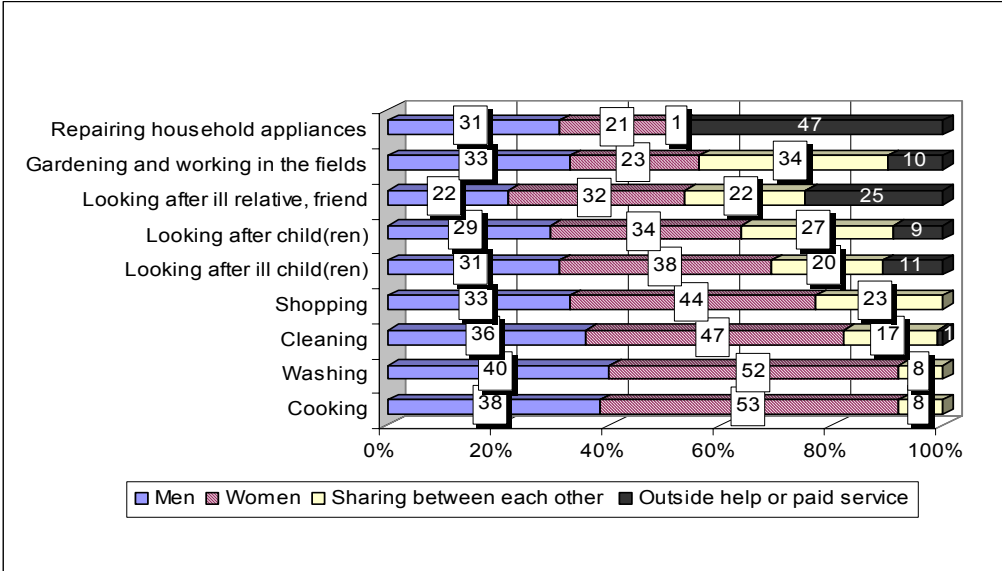
Taking care the sick relatives or friends traditionally used to be female duty. According to our results in 22% of the families in such situation family member share this task between each other. However besides child breeding taking care of the sick relatives is one of the chores where families claim for help from outside of the household, too (25%).

Men participation in household chores is significant, however it is less compare to women. In every two families out of ten washing and cooking is done by the male members of the family (in 40% and 38% of the cases). Almost in the same proportion of the families cleaning (36%) and shopping (33%) is task of the men. In every third of the households with garden or fields generally men do the gardening or work on the fields. However in 23% of these families this task belong to women, too. We should note that in 34% of the families gardening is a shared task between the family members. We have to add that working in the garden or on the fields are just hardly can be considered to be in a same category, it can cause distortion.

So far we did not mention repairing and maintenance of household appliances. Almost half of the families buy this service from the market, which can be explained by the quick

technological development of labour-saving devices. However in 31% of the households men do it, while in 21% of the households is done by female members of the family.

Figure 2 Who does the following chores in your household? – distribution of valid answers in two-parent families (% , N=851)



Note: Due to weighting sum of the adequate proportion can differ from 100%.

Participation in domestic labour is increasing with the age of men and women, too. (Table 22) However sharing domestic chores are more characteristic for younger households, they share more chores between each other. Valid for both sexes that in married respondent’s family members do more chores compare to those live in cohabitation. By the opinion of single respondents women do on average twice as much tasks then men in their families.

Distribution of domestic tasks by family structure shows that the age of children has significant effect on participation in domestic chores. Till children are younger than 18, men and women do more chores than average, in these families the number of shared chores is also above the average level. On one hand in these families wider the variety of domestic tasks (e.g. taking care of children), on the other hand also children are involved to help with some chores. Presence of adult children is reducing the participation in case of both sexes.

Table 22 Average number of domestic chores done by family members by the socio-economic status of the respondent (N=851)

Characteristics of respondent	Male members of the family N=447	Female members of the family N=496	Sharing between each other N=368	Outside help. or paid service N=457
Age				

18-25	2,3	4,0	3,3	1,4
26-35	4,9	5,0	2,8	1,4
36-45	5,7	5,5	2,9	1,3
46-55	5,1	5,1	2,5	1,6
55-65	4,8	4,8	2,0	1,7
Total	4,7***	4,9***	2,7**	1,5
Level of education				
Up to 8 grade of primary school	4,6	5,3	2,6	1,4
Vocational training school	5,0	4,9	2,8	1,4
Secondary school	4,4	4,6	2,9	1,5
College or university degree	4,4	5,3	2,6	1,8
Total	4,7	4,9*	2,7	1,5*
Marital status				
Single	2,0	3,8	3,1	1,4
Cohabiting	4,6	5,0	2,9	1,5
Married	5,3	5,3	2,7	1,5
Divorced. widow(er). separated	(4,0)	(3,0)	(2,4)	(1,0)
Total	4,7***	4,9***	2,7	1,5
Type of settlement				
Village	4,9	4,9	2,7	1,3
Town	4,9	5,1	3,0	1,2
County seat	4,3	5,1	2,5	1,3
Capital (Budapest)	4,3	4,6	2,7	2,3
Total	4,7	4,9	2,7	1,5****
Household structure				
Couple	4,6	4,8	1,9	1,7
Couple with children under 18	5,4	5,7	3,1	1,3
Couple with children over 18	3,6	4,1	2,8	1,5
Couple with parent(s)	(3,8)	(4,0)	(3,2)	(2,2)
Total	4,7***	4,9***	2,7***	1,5***
Quartiles of per capita household income	N=360	N=398	N=289	N=370
1 st	5,4	5,3	2,8	1,3
2 nd	4,7	5,0	2,9	1,2
3 rd	4,6	4,6	2,5	1,6
4 th	4,4	4,8	2,6	1,9
Total	4,8*	4,9	2,7	1,5****

Note: Results of analysis of variance are significant at levels - *: 0.05. **: 0.01. ***: 0.001.

Contrary to our expectations, in rural families men do more domestic chores in average than in big cities and in the capital. One of the explanations of this can be that in rural settlements almost everybody have garden, therefore gardening may increase male participation in “domestic” chores. Outside help or paid services are more requested by household in the capital, but rarely in rural families.

In families with low incomes women do more domestic chores compare to richer families. This discrepancy more visible in case of men: in families in the 1st. lowest quartile men do 5.4 tasks in average, while in the most better-off quartile only 4.4 tasks. Outside help and paid services are also more characteristics for the richest families.

6.2.1 Division of domestic labour in families with and without head of household

Shared domestic work, in case of some chores, is more characteristics for families without head compare to families with head. This effect is more observable at chores of child breeding, and taking care of the sick children. (Table 23)

According to “real” domestic chores we found significant differences between the two types of families in shopping. This activity can be easily done together with other members of the family. Regarding to gardening we found that more (38%) families without household head share this task between family members compare to those families with household head (32%).

Only in the case of repairing and maintenance of household appliances can be shown that gender roles are different from the traditionally accepted. Female and male members equally take part in this chore in families without head, while in families with household head this task belongs to men.

Table 23 Division of domestic chores in families with and without a household head (%)

	Family with household head	Family without household head	Total	N
Cooking				
Male members of the family	38,8	38,3	38,5	322
Female member of the family	53,7	53,4	53,5	448
Sharing between the members	7,4	8,3	8,0	67
	100,0	100,0	100,0	837
Cleaning				
Male members of the family	35,2	37,6	36,7	303
Female member of the family	48,2	46,1	46,9	387
Sharing between the members	16,6	16,4	16,5	136
	100,0	100,0	100,0	826
Washing				
Male members of the family	40,9	39,4	40,0	335
Female member of the family	51,4	52,0	51,8	434
Sharing between the members	7,7	8,6	8,2	69

	100,0	100,0	100,0	838
Shopping***				
Male members of the family	29,7	35,1	33,1	272
Female member of the family	41,7	45,1	43,8	360
Sharing between the members	28,7	19,8	23,0	189
Taking care of child(ren)**				
Male members of the family	25,3	31,2	29,1	156
Female member of the family	30,9	36,2	34,3	184
Sharing between the members	33,5	23,9	27,4	147
Outside help or paid service	10,3	8,7	9,3	50
	100,0	100,0	100,0	537
Taking care of sick child(ren)*				
Male members of the family	26,0	34,2	31,2	158
Female member of the family	34,8	39,7	37,9	192
Sharing between the members	26,5	16,0	19,8	100
Outside help or paid service	12,7	10,2	11,1	56
	100,0	100,0	100,0	506
Taking care of the sick relative. friend				
Male members of the family	17,8	24,0	21,6	87
Female member of the family	33,1	30,9	31,8	128
Sharing between the members	24,2	20,7	22,1	89
Outside help or paid service	24,8	24,4	24,6	99
	100,0	100,0	100,0	403
Gardening or working in the fields				
Male members of the family	26,9	35,7	32,5	187
Female member of the family	23,1	23,4	23,3	134
Sharing between the members	38,0	32,2	34,3	197
Outside help or paid service	12,0	8,7	9,9	57
	100,0	100,0	100,0	575
Repairing of household appliances***				
Male members of the family	24,4	35,4	31,2	259
Female member of the family	26,0	18,0	21,0	174
Outside help or paid service	49,7	46,6	47,8	396
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	829

Note: Percentage in brackets means that in that cell the case number is less than 10.

Significance levels of chi-square tests: *: 0.05; **: 0.01; ***: 0.001.

6.3 Money managing – financial decision-making in the family

Besides of head of household we also analysed how families manage they income, who makes decision in financial matters. Large proportion. 83% of the respondents answered that they decide together how to spend the family's money, 9% of them told that one person decides about household expenses, but they decide together about larger expenses. Only in 3% of households there is one person who decides about how to use their money, while 5% of the

respondent said that apart from common expenses each family member manages his/her own money (partly separated money managing).

Regarding to gender and education level of respondent there is not significant differences by types of financial decision-making. (Table 24) While we found significant discrepancies according to age and marital status⁴⁸ of the respondent, and also by household structure.

The common decision-making is over-represented among 26-35 and the 46-65 years old, while those families where besides common expenses each member manages their money themselves has a highest proportion (13%) among the youngest age-group.

Among single respondents adequate to their age the proportion of common decision only in case of common expenses is higher than average. 87% of married couples, but only 75% of the cohabitating couples decide together about family money. While in the latest group the joint decision about larger expenses is (13%) over-represented.

We found strong association between financial decisions and household structure. (See Table 6.) Among couples living with their parents and couples with young children the proportion of common financial decision-making is above the average (91% and 88%). If there is an adult child in the family it increases the proportion of separated money managing (11%), and in these families is somewhat more common, that members decided together on larger expenses (10%).

Table 24 Socio-economic status of respondent by types of financial decisions (%. N=851)

Respondent	One person decides	Apart from larger expenses one person decides	They decide together	Partly pooled money managing	Total	N
Gender						
Female	3,7	7,6	83,9	4,9	100,0	409
Male	(2,1)	10,5	83,3	4,0	100,0	420
Total	2,9	9,0	83,6	4,5	100,0	829
Age**						
18-25	(2,8)	11,3	72,6	13,2	100,0	106
26-35	(2,3)	5,9	86,4	5,5	100,0	220
36-45	(3,8)	11,8	81,7	(2,7)	100,0	186
46-55	(2,8)	8,3	86,2	(2,8)	100,0	181

⁴⁸ Due to the low cases we left out from our investigations the widow/er, divorced group.

55-65	(3,6)	9,3	85,0	(2,1)	100,0	140
	3,0	9,0	83,3	4,7	100,0	833
Level of education						
Up to 8 grade of primary school	5,3	8,7	81,6	(4,3)	100,0	207
Vocational training school	(2,4)	9,1	82,5	6,0	100,0	252
Secondary school	(2,3)	9,7	84,0	3,9	100,0	257
College or university degree	(0,9)	(7,9)	87,7	(3,5)	100,0	114
	2,9	9,0	83,5	4,6	100,0	830
Marital status***						
Single	(3,7)	10,2	69,4	16,7	100,0	108
Cohabiting	(5,2)	12,9	75,0	(6,9)	100,0	116
Married	2,3	8,3	87,4	2,0	100,0	604
	2,9	9,1	83,3	4,6	100,0	828
Type of settlement						
Village	(2,5)	8,6	85,4	3,5	100,0	315
Town	(3,4)	6,7	85,6	(4,3)	100,0	208
County seat	(1,7)	7,5	85,1	5,7	100,0	174
Capital (Budapest)	(4,5)	16,4	73,1	(6,0)	100,0	134
	2,9	9,1	83,4	4,6	100,0	831
Household structure***						
Couple	(3,9)	9,9	85,1	(1,1)	100,0	181
Couple with children under 18	(2,1)	8,1	87,8	(2,1)	100,0	385
Couple with children over 18	4,2	10,4	74,6	10,8	100,0	240
Couple with parent(s)	0,0	(4,3)	91,3	(4,3)	100,0	23
Total	3,0	9,0	83,5	4,5	100,0	829
Quartiles of per capita household income						
1 st quartile	(2,8)	6,8	84,7	5,7	100,0	176
2 nd	(2,6)	8,9	83,8	(4,7)	100,0	191
3 rd	(3,8)	10,7	82,4	(3,1)	100,0	159
4 th	(4,7)	10,1	82,6	(2,7)	100,0	149
Total	3,4	9,0	83,4	4,1	100,0	675

Note: Percentage in brackets means that in that cell the case number is less than 10.

Significance levels of chi-square tests: *: 0.05; **: 0.01; ***: 0.001.

In case of the type of settlement and per capita household income we did not find significant differences among families with different type of financial decision-making. However we think it do matter from how much money the family live on. We can see some insignificant tendencies, like the smaller the budget the more possible that one person has to have control over financial decision making.

6.3.1 Financial decision-making in families with and without household heads

We already mentioned in Chapter 6.1 that the absence of household head in almost every case was justified by the fact that the family members make decisions together. According to this

and also to the role of household head our expectation is that in families with head is more like that only one person makes the financial decisions, too. This hypothesis is supported by our findings.

In families with household head is more typical that one person decides on financial issues compare to those families without household head. (Table 25) In 4% of two-parent families with head one person decides on all family expenses and in another 11% of the families also one person makes financial decisions apart from larger expenses, the adequate proportions for families without head are 1% and 5%. Proportion of common decision-making is over-represented (89%) among families without head, and somewhat under-represented among those with household head (81%). The proportion of partly pooled money managing is somewhat higher among families without household head.

Analysing only the group of all families with 2 and more member, we find the same patterns of financial decision-making, but due to single parent families the proportion of the one-person made decision type families and families with partly pooled budget will increase.

Table 25 Distribution of types of financial decision-making families with and without household head (%)

	Family without head	Family with head	Total
Two-parent households			
One person decides	(1)	4	3
Apart from larger expenses one person decides	5	11	9
They decide together	89	81	83
Partly pooled money-managing	5	4	5
Total	100 (N=304)	100 (N=526)	100 (N=830)
Family with 2 or more members			
One person decides	3	9	7
Apart from larger expenses one person decides	5	12	9
They decide together	83	74	78
Partly pooled money-managing	9	5	6
Total	100 (N=374)	100 (N=654)	100 (N=1028)

Analysing financial decision-making among families with household head respect to their gender, we found that proportion of families where one person decides on financial issues is

very high among households with female head. (Table 26) This phenomenon is more clear if we take also into consideration the single parent families. We have to note that due to the low case number we have to be careful with drawing far-reaching consequences.

Table 26 Distribution of types of financial decision-making in families with male and female household head (%)

	Household with male head	Household with female head	Total
Two-parent families			
One person decides	3	(16)	4
Apart from larger expenses one person decides	11	(16)	11
They decide together	82	(56)	80
Partly pooled money-managing	4	(12)	5
Total	92 (N=485)	100 (N=43)	100 (N=528)
Family with 2 or more members			
One person decides	5	29	9
Apart from larger expenses one person decides	11	16	12
They decide together	80	47	74
Partly pooled money-managing	4	8	5
Total	100 (N=538)	100 (N=120)	100 (N=658)

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