## Chapter Six

# H HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY Country Survey Reports 

HUNGARY
[ Endre Sik, Ildikó Nagy, TARKI ]
[ Contents ]

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY [ 301]
INTRODUCTION [ 303]

1. THE AMOUNT OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY IN HUNGARY [ 303 ]
2. INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY [ 305 ]
3. THE FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY AND HUNGARIAN SOCIETY [ 306 ]
4. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY [ 314]
5. FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY AND THE LABOUR-POOL OF INDIVIDUALS AND HOUSEHOLDS [ 315]
6. INSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD [ 322 ]

Is there a head in the household? || The division of domestic labour in the family || The division of domestic labour in families with and without a head of household || Money managing - financial decision-making in the family || Financial decision-making in families with and without household heads

NOTES [335]
ANNEX [ 337 ]
Technical charatcetristics of the Hungarian HWF Survey
REFERENCES [340]

## [ List of tables and figures ]

Table 1. The volume of temporal FF (per cent) ..... 304
Table 2. Interrelations between the temporal aspects of FF (linear correlation coefficients) ..... 305
Table 3. Interrelations between the temporal and other aspects of FF (linear correlation coefficients) ..... 305
Table 4. The temporal FF by various socio-demographic variables (per cent) ..... 307
Table 5. The temporal FF by various labour market variables (per cent) ..... 307
Table 6. Spatial FF by various socio-demographic and labour market characteristics (per cent). ..... 309
Table 7. Contractual FF by various socio-demographic and labour market variables (per cent) ..... 311
Table 8. The main types of the FF by general socio-demographic variables (per cent) ..... 312
Table 9. The main types of the FF by labour market variables (per cent) ..... 314
Table 10. Attitudes towards the FF by the types of the FF (per cent) ..... 315
Table 11. Interrelation among the various aspects of the respondents' labour-pool (linear correlation coefficients) ..... 316
Table 12. The volume of various forms of the employee respondents' labour-pool by the types of FF317Table 13. Interrelation between the respondents' labour-pool and the FF(linear correlation coefficients)317
Table 14. The ways domestic tasks are usually get done by the type of domestic work (per cent, $\mathrm{N}=1166$ ) ..... 318
Table 15. The proportion of FF by types of domestic work (employee respondents, per cent) ..... 318
Table 16. Characteristics of the respondents' labour-pool by various socio-demographic variables (per cent) ..... 319
Table 17. The volume of household labour-pool in the total sample and in the employee subsample. 320
Table 18. The households' labour-pool by various socio-demographic characteristics of the households ..... 321(total sample, $\mathrm{N}=1166, \%$ )
Table 19. Socio-demographic status of household heads and respondents in two-parent families (per cent) ..... 322
Table 20. Distribution of households with and without head by education, type of settlement, household structure and per capita income (per cent) ..... 323
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 (per cent) ..... 326
Table 22. Average number of domestic chores done by family members by the socio-economic status of the respondent ( $\mathrm{N}=851$ ) ..... 328
Table 23. Division of domestic chores in families with and without a household head (per cent) ..... 329
Table 24. Socio-economic status of respondent by types of financial decisions (per cent. $\mathrm{N}=851$ ) ..... 332
Table 25. Distribution of types of financial decision-making families with and without household head (per cent) ..... 333
Table 26. Distribution of types of financial decision-making in families with male and female household head (per cent) ..... 334
Table 27. Basic Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample compared to Microcensus 1996 data ..... 337
Table 28. The main characteristics of the fieldwork (total sample) ..... 338
Table 29. The main characteristics of the questionnaire ..... 338
Table 30. The reasons of non-response: ..... 338
Table 31. The main characteristics of non-response by the type of settlement ..... 338
Table 32. The main characteristics of non-response by the size of settlement ..... 339
Table 33. Table for the weighting (born after 1935, Source: Microcensus, 1996). ..... 339
Figure 1. Reasoning of being in the position of a household head by gender of the household head (per cent, $\mathrm{N}=530$ ) ..... 325
Figure 2. Who does the following chores in your household? - distribution of valid answers in two- parent families (per cent, $\mathrm{N}=851$ ). ..... 327

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In analysing the survey of 1169 respondents, we approached the concept of the flexibility from four different angles: time, space, and the type of the contract and multiplicity of jobholding.

1. As to the time dimension of flexibility, we find that about half of the Hungarian employees 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.
2. As to the spatial aspect of flexibility, 33 per cent of the employee can be considered flexible. Of them 5 and 4 per cent work fully or partly at home, 5 per cent has a 'mobile' workplace and 1 per cent work in abroad.
3. About one third ( 31 per cent) of the employee has 'flexible' contract. This contains three more or less equal types of flexible contracts no written contract at all (11 per cent), self employment ( 9 per cent), and fixed-term contract ( 7 per cent).
4. Finally, 6 per cent of the employees (4 per cent of the total sample) had multiple jobs (overwhelming of them had two).

To sum up our findings, we constructed two flexibility indexes, the combined FF (forms of flexibility) and the cumulative flexibility. The former shows the proportion of those employees who were flexible in at least one of the four aspects of flexibility. The latter shows the proportion of those employees who were flexible in all three forms of workplace related FF (time, space and
contract). The proportion of combined and cumulative flexibility in conteporary Hungary is 71 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively.

As to the social basis of the FF, by gender and by age all types of FF show a very distinct pattern: males, and the young and old are more flexible than the average employee. In most types of flexibility - 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 exception, those with high education have significantly more access to auxiliary incomes then any other group.

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 the case of the contractual and the cumulative FF the lowest income quintile has 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.

Temporal FF and multiple jobholding are over-represented among managers and intellectuals but certain FF are also present in the other brackets of the occupational structure. Skilled service jobs are characterised by extremely high level of temporal, semiskilled jobs by spatial FF. Skilled industrial jobs and the unskilled jobs are characterised by high contractual FF. The two types of occupation with low levels 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.

As to personal income, 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.

At the end of the report we analysed extensively the flexibility phenomenon within the household.

In the last sections of the report we analysed two relevant aspects of domestic flexibility, i.e. division of labour and money management.

In two-parent families usually the women take over the household chores with two exceptions, gardening and repairing and maintenance of labour-saving devices.

The age of children has significant effect on participation in domestic chores. Until the 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. The presence of adult children is reducing the participation in case of both sexes.

In low income families women do more domestic chores compared to richer families. This discrepancy more visible in case of men: in families in the $1^{\text {st. }}$. 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.

As to money management, the majority of the respondents decide together how to spend the family's money, 9 per cent of them told that one person decides about household expenses, but they decide together about larger expenses. Only in 3 per cent of households is there one person who decides about how to use their money, while 5 per cent of the respondent said that apart from common expenses each family member manages his/her own money (partly separated money managing).

We found a strong association between financial decisions and household structure. Among couples living with their parents and couples with young children the proportion of common financial decision-making is above the average.

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this report is to give a general overview of forms of flexibility (FF) and their 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 our results are similar to those of the few existing macrostatistical reports on flexibility. Secondly, we briefly discuss the interrelations between the various aspects of FF and
the concept and technique for developing two general variables of FF. In the third section we focus on the association between various sociodemographic 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 sociodemographic and employment characteristics of the Hungarian society.

## 1. THE AMOUNT OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY IN 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 ideal type of a 'normal' work-schedule we defined five subdimensions: less than normal working time (parttime work), deviation from the daily routine (three forms of shifts) and the irregularity of the time schedule. The temporal FF was constructed as the accumulation of these five time dimensions.

The figures in Table 1 refer to the employee population ${ }^{1}(\mathrm{~N}=729)$. As far as the loose definition is concerned, about half of the employees 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. Overall, temporal flexibility involves two thirds of the employees.
However, even if we use the stricter versions of all five temporal flexibility variables, we find that about half of the Hungarian employees are flexible in at least one of the senses of temporal flexibility and this includes the fact that every third employed person works in the evenings or 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 per cent of the employee, Frey, 2000). According to the most recent LFS survey (second quarter of 2001, Lakatos, forthcom-
ing) 31 per cent of employees work in a work schedule that deviates from the 'traditional' one, that is they do not work in a single and regular morning shift ${ }^{9}$. Though we do not have an identical variable I would assume (on the basis of our significantly higher proportion of all forms of shifts and irregularity) that our figures 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 per cent of full time employees, Frey 2001, Lakatos, forthcoming). To the very limited extent we can compare this figure to our irregularity variable we find a higher level of temporal flexibility in our sample than in the LFS. Finally, in 19989.1 per cent of employees worked regularly on night shifts (Frey, 2001). If we assume that the term 'regular' in the LFS is in between our weekly and monthly categories, this figure is very close to that of our night shift value in Table 1.

Table 1. The volume of temporal FF (per cent)

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

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

As to spatial aspect of flexibility, 33 per cent of employees can be considered flexible. Between 5 and 4 per cent work fully or partly at home, 5 per cent have a 'mobile' workplace and 1 per cent work abroad. The rest ( 18 per cent of the spatially flexible) either work on the same settlement
where they live or they commute (61 per cent and 24 per cent of all employee, respectively) or occasionally have different work places (i.e. 19 per cent of the non-commuters and 28 per cent of the commuters work on different sites).

About one third ( 31 per cent) of employees have a 'flexible' contract. This comprises three more or less equal types of flexible contracts - no written contract at all ( 11 per cent), self employment ( 9 per cent), and fixed-term contract ( 7 per cent) - the rest being a mixture 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 in self-employment was about 10 per cent (Vukovich, 2000) in the late 1990s in Hungary, consequently our figure can be considered as reliable. Regarding the spread of fixed-term contracts, there are various statistical figures. The labour office data claims that in 200017 per cent of the non-pensioner employed worked under fixedterm contracts (Laky 2001). However, according to the LFS, only 6.1 per cent of employees had a fixed-term contract ${ }^{11}$ (Vukovich, 2000).

Finally, 6 per cent of the employed (4 per cent of the total sample) had multiple jobs (most of these had two jobs). This figure is three times higher than was found in a German survey carried out in Hungary in 1995 (Frey 2001) and less than half that of survey data from 2000 (Sik, 2000).

To sum up, the four aspects of flexibility investigated in the HWF survey showed rather high levels of flexibility, both compared to the figures derived from macrostatistical sources and to our expectations.

## 2. INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY

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

It is, however, not these stronger correlations (meaning that if someone deviates in one way from the 'normal' they are likely to deviate in all other ways as well) that needs explanation so much as the lack of a stronger association between part-time work and the various forms of shift work and between night shifts and irregular shifts. These non-correlations indicate partly that the part-time work is an entirely different temporal flexibility regime than the other four forms of flexibility and that the night shift is less irregular than 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 shifts.

Multiple jobholding and the other two forms of shift work are slightly less strongly but positively associated with other forms of flexibility. 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 the former second economy, where multiple income sources were combined together in a way that both employers and employees could escape stronger commitment toward each other and avoid state control (a sort of low-income portfolio economy).

The two (partial) exceptions are part-time work, which relates closely to contractual FF, but excludes multiple jobholding and night shifts, since these are not related with any of the other FFs. These flexible working regimes seem to be somewhat separate from the other FFs.

Table 2. Interrelations between the temporal aspects of $\mathrm{FF}^{12}$ (linear correlation coefficients ${ }^{13}$ )

|  | Part-time work | Evening shift | Night shift | Weekend shift | Irregular shift |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Part-time work (strict definition) | - | 0.01 | -0.05 | 0.05 | 0.16 |
| Evening shift |  | - | 0.40 | 0.53 | 0.36 |
| Night shift |  |  | - | 0.46 | 0.11 |
| Weekend shift |  |  | - | 0.24 |  |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

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) | 0.12 | 0.26 | -0.04 |
| Evening shift | 0.16 | 0.12 | 0.10 |
| Night shift | 0.06 | -0.03 | -0.01 |
| Weekend shift | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.08 |
| lrregular shift | 0.38 | 0.34 | 0.15 |
| Spatial FF | - | 0.34 | 0.17 |
| Contractual FF |  | - | 0.23 |
| Source: $\quad$ HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |

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). WE found that 15 per cent 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 in at least one aspect of the four (including multiple jobholding as well) aspects of $\mathrm{FF}^{14}$. The majority of the respondents (77 per cent or 71 per cent of them depending whether we used the looser or stricter definitions) belonged to the combined flexibility group.


## 3. THE FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY AND HUNGARIAN SOCIETY

Table 4 shows the main characteristics of the FF by various socio-demographic variables.
The differences between males and females are rather sharp. While part-time work is more frequent among females, all other temporal FF are over-represented among males.

The spread of all temporal FF is above the average in the youngest age cohort. The difference is greater in the in case of part-time work (in the youngest cohort its spread is twice to that of the sample) and those working an evening shift. There are three types of FF which, however, show a bifurcated distribution - that is, the proportion of FF is above the sample 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 - that is that at the time the youngest age cohort entered to the labour market it offered less 'traditional' job opportunities then for the previous generations (Róbert-Bukodi, 2001).

As to the level of education, the various forms of FF show very different pictures. 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 educated and evening shift work among the most educated. While these two groups
are very different in the case of the weekend shift, they are very similar in the case of irregular shifts (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 according to the FF.

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

Finally, the various aspects of material well being (per capita income, subjective class position and well-being, wealth and the value of the house) associate in three different ways with FF:

- On the one hand the worst position can be characterised by higher-than-average levels of FF (e.g. part-time work by income or wealth, weekend and irregular shifts by income),
- On the other hand, FF is more wide spread among those in the best position (night and irregular shifts by class and well-being positions and house value),
- Or perhaps this can characterise both the worst and the best positions (e.g. weekend shift by class position or irregular shift by wealth).

Table 4. The temporal FF by various socio-demographic variables (per cent)

|  |  | N | Part-time work | Evening shift | Night shift ${ }^{15}$ | Weekend shift | Irregular shift |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total |  | 724 | 9 | 38 | 13 | 25 | 38 |
| Gender | 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 ${ }^{20}$ | 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

The various forms of association between FF and material well-being might be seen as an indication that the different aspects of FF can have entirely different social implications in contemporary Hungarian society (just 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).

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

Evening and irregular shifts are found in both the upper and the lowest labour market positions. These FF are over-represented both in the managerial and intellectual occupations and in the lowest personal income quintile. The evening
shift (and to a lesser extent, the irregular shift) and the night shift are very widespread in the personal service occupations. All in all, both evening and irregular shifts are over-represented in branches and types of organisations characterised by seasonal or continuous and irregular demand and in enterprises that are 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.

Table 5. The temporal FF by various labour market variables (per cent)

|  |  | 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 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Branch } \\ & (N=667) \end{aligned}$ | 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 oforganisa-tion $(N=632)$ | 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 |
| Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The night and weekend shifts differ somewhat from the previous two FF. Night shift is overrepresented in the personal service and semiskilled jobs (probably working on continuous conveyor belts), in the highest personal income quintile, in transport, health care and in state enterprises. Most likely the night shift is associated with overtime work and with continuous shifts and also with doing overtime in order to maximise income.

The weekend shift might however, be a flexible form of self-exploitation. This FF is overrepresented among those in personal service occupations, the lowest personal income quintile,
agriculture, service, transportation ${ }^{22}$ and retail jobs, and among the small entrepreneurs.

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

Working at home (fully or partly) in Hungary represents a mixture of traditional and smallscale agricultural and personal service jobs along with modern tele-working (implied by the overrepresentation among those with tertiary education). However, the former component is probably the dominant one since homework is overrepresented in the lowest personal income quintile.

Table 6. Spatial FF by various socio-demographic and labour market characteristics (per cent)

|  |  | Working always <br> at home | Working some- <br> times at home | Changes work- <br> place on weekly <br> basis | Seasonal work |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |


|  |  | Working always at home | Working sometimes at home | Changes workplace on weekly basis | Seasonal work |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| table continued from the previous page |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 |
| Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |

'Mobile' jobs are found in transportation and personal service branches and are more widespread among males and the undereducated. Seasonal jobs again show a bifurcated social base. Beside males and those with vocational schooling, also over-represented are the young, inhabitants of Budapest, as well as those with agricultural jobs and small-entrepreneurs.

The three forms of contractual FF are also associated with different socio-economic variables as well (Table 7).

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

Those working without written contracts are over-represented 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 smallentrepreneurs. The self-employed obviously are also over-represented among the smallentrepreneurs and among the elder, more educated labour market groups working mostly in agriculture or personal services. Fixed contracts are also characteristic among the very opposite of this labour market group. It is over-represented among the young, the uneducated and among those hired by local municipalities in public administration or in education and culture.

If we look at the main types of FF (Table 8) by gender and age cohorts, we find that 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 age ${ }^{27}$ ) are more flexible than the average employee.

In most cases we find that the lower the level of education, the higher the chance of being flexible and this is especially the case with temporal FF. Multiple jobholding is the only exception.

Table 7. Contractual FF by various socio-demographic and labour market variables (per cent)


[^0]Table 8. The main types of the FF by general socio-demographic variables (per cent)

|  |  | 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 | 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 |
| Well-being | 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Neither by region nor by settlement size are there significant differences in the spread of $\mathrm{FF}^{28}$. 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 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 - it increases with income.

The class position shows a mild version of the triple labour market segmentation model (as described by Piore) with the higher and lower labour market segments being more flexible than those in between (except again in the case of multiple jobholding, which is more wide spread in the middle class).

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

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

Temporal FF and multiple jobholding are over-represented among managers and intellectuals and the former group is characterised with high level of spatial and - though much less strongly - contractual FF as well. It comes as no surprise then that it is the managers who shows
the highest level of both cumulative and combined FF.

However, certain kinds of 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 associated with spatial FF, which is also true for the skilled industrial jobs. This latter category along with the unskilled jobs are characterised by high contractual FF. Due to the high level of contractual FF (and the fact 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 levels 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 takes more the form 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. However, there is one exception - that 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, that on the one hand FF is the least likely to be found in the industry and public administration, and the most wide spread in agriculture, transport, service and retail, on the other hand that all FF is very closely related to small-entrepreneurship.

Table 9. The main types of the FF by labour market variables (per cent)

|  |  | Temporal | Spatial | Contractual | Multiple <br> jobholding | Cumulative | Combined |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | 57 | 33 | 31 | 7 | 15 |
| Occupa- | Manager | 69 | 51 | 35 | 16 | 24 | 79 |
| tional <br> group | 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 occupa- | 44 | 42 | 39 | 6 | 19 | 64 |
|  | tions |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Semiskilled | 44 | 44 | 16 | 2 | 6 | 63 |
|  | Unskilled | 56 | 26 | 45 | 1 | 22 | 66 |
| Monthly | First | 78 | 48 | 64 | 8 | 37 | 91 |
| personal | Second | 50 | 23 | 33 | 2 | 13 | 64 |
| income | Third | 49 | 31 | 23 | 3 | 6 | 70 |
| quintile | Fourth | 57 | 27 | 21 | 4 | 11 | 67 |
|  | Fifth | 54 | 27 | 27 | 13 | 9 | 69 |
| Branch | Industry | 47 | 29 | 25 | 4 | 10 | 63 |
| (N=667) | 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 | State enterprise | 40 | 22 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 53 |
| organisation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (N=632) | 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

## 4. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY

As far as FF is concerned, there seem to be no big tensions and or high level of dissatisfaction among contemporary Hungarian employees. We find that 59 per cent of them are satisfied with the temporal arrangements at work. Within this group, most of the respondents feel that they have found a proper balance between their working time and their domestic time (39 per cent).

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

Those working in any FF would prefer to work more, especially those with cumulative FF, which indicates 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 more people are satisfied in general as well
as with their own future yet there is dissatisfaction with their contract confirms the fact that this group comprises two entirely different group in 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 many domestic chores and resulting tension between job and family and within the family are more wide spread in these two FF

Table 10. Attitudes towards the FF by the types of the FF (per cent)

|  | 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

## 5. FORMS OF FLEXIBILITY AND THE LABOUR-POOL OF INDIVIDUALS AND HOUSEHOLDS

To the extent that it is 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 and that of the household (from now on we refer to this phenomenon as the 'labour pool' of the household). In this sec-
tion we first describe the various aspects of the respondent's and than the household's labour pool and then go on to 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. do-
mestic labour (unfortunately rather superficially measured by the number domestics 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 for
the tautological association between working time at the main job and in all income generating activities, there are no correlations 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 coefficients ${ }^{32}$ )

|  | Domestic work ${ }^{33}$ | Working time in the <br> main job | Total working <br> time $^{35}$ | Volunteering ${ }^{36}$ | Helping others ${ }^{37}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Domestic work | - | -0.14 | -0.13 | -0.04 | 0.01 |
| Working time in the main job | - | 0.85 | 0.03 | 0.08 |  |
| Total working time | - | 0.06 | 0.05 |  |  |
| Volunteering |  | - | 0.19 |  |  |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

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.

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

Obviously this 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 a below 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 the lowest and the highest levels of both forms of market labour time, which shows that these forms of market labour contain both the labourpoor and labour-rich poles. The fact that multiple jobholding is above the average in both forms of market labour indicates that job related overtime can also have the form of multiple jobholding (i.e. second job overlapping with the main job as was the case in socialism when it was identified as 'entrepreneurship').

Table 12. The volume of various forms of the employee respondents' labour-pool by the types of $\mathrm{FF}^{38}$

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

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Table 13. Interrelation between the respondents' labour-pool and the FF (linear correlation coefficients ${ }^{39}$ )

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

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

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 - to find a high level
of both volunteering and helping activity among those with cumulative FF.

Focusing on the various chores, Table 14 shows the obvious: that 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 (per cent, $\mathrm{N}=1166$ )

|  | Mainte- <br> nance and <br> repair | Cooking | Cleaning <br> the house | Washing <br> the laun- <br> dry | Daily <br> shopping | Taking <br> care of <br> the <br> child(ren) | Taking <br> care of <br> sick <br> child(ren) | Taking <br> care of <br> sick rela- <br> tive | Working in <br> the garden |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A certain member of <br> the household | 47 | 90 | 82 | 90 | 77 | 63 | 68 | 56 | 56 |
| Any member of the <br> household | 1 | 8 | 15 | 8 | 20 | 24 | 17 | 18 | 30 |
| Help from outside of <br> the household | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Cleaning and shopping is rather similar (a singleperson dominated) to the former two chores but in these cases tasks were jointly carried out in about one fifth of the cases.

The next type of domestic labour allocation would be the child and/or illness related chores and gardening, i.e. tasks which are unexpected and/or assumes lasting efforts by more than one household member. In about half to two thirds households there is still only one person to whom the task was delegated, but in the rest of the households 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 are 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 FFs among those employees who carry out the chore proper.

Table 15. The proportion of FF by types of domestic work (employee respondents, per cent) ${ }^{40}$

|  | 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 |
| Part-ime work | 12 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 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 | 18 | 13 |
| Weekend shift | 16 | 17 | 19 | 22 | 13 | 15 | 19 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| Irregular shift | 33 | 33 | 33 | 35 | 37 | 30 | 29 | 35 | 42 | 38 |
| Temporal FF | 49 | 48 | 49 | 51 | 51 | 47 | 43 | 49 | 53 | 54 |
| Spatial FF | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 26 | 23 | 22 | 40 | 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Doing part-time work slightly increases the probability of being involved in 'traditional' chores, i.e. being a female. Working in flexible 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 the 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 (per cent) ${ }^{41}$

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

[^1]The frequency and the socio-demographic characteristics of domestic work do not differ significantly in the total sample compared to the employee sub-sample. Female and middle aged people 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, their share in domestic work is around the average in the employee sample.

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

In case of age the deviation from the average is significantly lower in the employee sub-sample 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 educational level in the total and employee samples as well. While in both samples the uneducated work much less and the most educated much more than the average, in the total sample those with vocational school work more than those with secondary education and in the employee sub-sample it was 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 sub-sample 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 according to socio-demographic dimensions. The deviations, however, are less characteristics in the work time in the main job than 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 in much higher than the average while their main job working time is only slightly differs 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).

Assuming 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 used 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

The larger the total and the per capita labour pool of the household, the more market work is done by the household, that is 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. In addition, the proportion of the respondent's labour in the total labour pool of the household can be interpreted as a role in itself, assuming that a respondent with a higher contribution is more important 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.

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 about two or three times bigger in the most educated households 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 among the other categories nor with regard to 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 shows a strong, continuous and positive correlation with per capita income.

Table 18. The households' labour-pool by various socio-demographic characteristics of the households (total sample, $\mathrm{N}=1166, \%{ }^{44}$

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

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

## 6. INSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

In this part of the paper, 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 for granted (as 'traditional', 'normal' or even 'God-given') or is denied feverishly on the basis of feminist principles.

Our approach is a humble but straightforward one (which might be a reason that it is unorthodox), since we asked the members of the household whether there is a 'head in the household'. This section is followed by two related aspects of domestic flexibility: the division of labour and money management.

### 6.1. Is there a head in the household?

Almost two-thirds ( 63 per cent) of the respondents said that there is a household head in their family and the rest denied the existence of any such role in the household. The main reason not to have a head of household, is that the family members make all decisions together ( 34 per cent), so there is no need to have a leader; 3 per cent 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 heads ${ }^{46}$ are usually male: in 92 per cent of the families with head was a male 'boss', and only in 8 per cent of these families was there a female head. This is very different from
the distribution of the respondents, where the fe-male-male distribution is fifty-fifty. Altogether, 26 per cent of the heads of household are 36-45 years old, 30 per cent of them 46-55 years old, and 22 per cent of them belong to the 55-65 age group. The elderly are underrepresented among the household heads, due to the sampling since the 'basic population' included only the active aged, 18-65 years old population. According to the education level of the household heads, 20 per cent of them are low educated, 43 per cent of them has a training school certificate, 23 per cent have a secondary school certificate, and 13 per cent of them are higher educated.

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

|  | Head of household ( $\mathrm{N}=533$ ) | Respondents ( $\mathrm{N}=851$ ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

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

Families with household heads are underrepresented in big cities, but over-represented in the capital, Budapest (Table 20). This contradicts our expectation that due to traditional assumptions of gender roles, we would find a higher proportion of household heads in villages as compared to the cities and the capital.

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

Household heads can be more often found in families where at least one of the children is over 18, compared to families with young children. This phenomenon is probably due to the genera-tion-effect - parents with young children possibly belong to the younger generation. and there is a lower chance of finding a household head among them (see Table 1 above).

There is a weak link 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 likely to have a family head (62-63 per cent), compared to families in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ quartile (65-65 per cent). (Table 20)

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

|  | 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 | 1st | 63 | 37 | 100 | 180 |
|  | 2nd | 65 | 35 | 100 | 195 |
|  | 3rd | 65 | 35 | 100 | 162 |
|  | 4th | 62 | 38 | 100 | 149 |
|  | Total | 64 | 36 | 100 | 686 |

Note: $\quad$ 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 .

[^2]6.1.1. Woman or man as household head

As we mentioned before, a significant proportion (92 per cent) of the household heads are men, and only 8 per cent 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 per cent): in the other educational groups women are much less likely take the role of household head. Men are over-represented in the group of household heads with diplomas ( 94 per cent) and under-represented among those with secondary school certificate.

Concerning the family situation, for couples or cohabitating couples with children or without children, most of the cases of the household head is a man. Among couples with adult children it is more likely to find a female household head compared to the other type of households.

A higher proportion of families with female heads can be found in the capital and large cities compared to small towns and villages. According to income, we found that households with female heads are over-represented in the $1^{\text {st }}$ income quartile, with the lowest monthly per capita household income, while those with male heads are overrepresented in the $4^{\text {th }}$ quartile.

### 6.1.2. Household heads in single-parent families

At the beginning of our report we mentioned that the investigation of household heads has only a meaning in two-parent families. However, it is worth speaking also about the single parent families. Mainly, because in Hungary at the end of the 1990s, the children live together with their mothers in 85 per cent of cases after divorce and only in 15 per cent cases do they live with their father (Vukovich 1999). Therefore, in case of singleparent families, it is 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 house-
hold heads will increase by 10 percentage points. Similarly when we turn to the socio-demographic distribution of the single parents, we find that the proportion of female household heads is higher in large cities than in other settlements, among low educated people and those with a secondary school certificate.

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

### 6.1.3. Why is he or she the head of the household?

In the questionnaire we also included 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 moneymanagement of the family. 4) S/he looks after family matters. 5) That is the tradition. 6) Other reason. We also included some options for things 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 his or her gender. (Figure 1)

Respondents with male household head in most of the cases ( 58 per cent) gave a reason that 'This is the tradition'. The second typical answer (31 per cent) 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 per cent of the cases. These results support the idea that the role of household head is 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 (per cent, $\mathrm{N}=530$ )


Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

A different reasoning related to female household heads. In these families respondents place mentioned as most important that she is the person who makes decisions about main family issues (36 per cent), and almost as important was that she is most engaged in family tasks ( 31 per cent). As the third most important reason for the head of the family to be a woman women, as with men, was that they earned the highest amount in the family ( 24 per cent). One-fifth of these families mentioned that 'it is the tradition' in their household to have a female household head and 12 per cent 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 reasons for having a female household head, but because more than one answer was possible, the number of responses are also higher on average. Our findings show that one of the most important criteria for being a household head is being the main earner in the family. In our further analysis we checked whether this statement really holds
for the household heads. It seems that our results support this hypotheses: in 70 per cent of the families the household head and the breadwinner are the same person. Among female household heads the proportion of main earners is 50 per cent, while among male heads it is 71 per cent, 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 this 'breadwinning' hypothesis, we assumed also that household heads are those who work more hours per week than the other members of the family (Table 21). Our analysis shows that proportion of household heads whose weekly working time is less then half of the total working time of the family is 36 per cent, and there are 20 per cent of families where the household head is the only earner. In 20 per cent 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 per cent) of the household head 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 (per cent)

| Working time rate of head of household |  | Male | Female |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $0 \%$ - head of the household does not work | 21 | Total |  |
| $1-50 \%$ |  | 35 | 23 |
| $51-99 \%$ |  | 23 | 49.0 |
| $100 \%$ - only the head of household works | 20 | $(8)$ | 36 |
|  |  | Total | 100 |
|  | N | 415 | 22 |
|  |  | 100.0 | 20 |
| Note: | None of the member worked in 15 per cent of the families with household head. |  | 100 |
|  | Percentage in brackets means that in that cell the case number is less than 10. |  | 459 |
| Source: | HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |

According to the distribution by gender of the household head (Table 3), on the one hand we found that in families with a female head it is very seldom that she is the only earner of the family (8 per cent), compared to those households with a male head ( 20 per cent). But in 36 per cent of households with female heads, the household head does not work at all, while this proportion is
much lower ( 22 per cent) for households with male heads. The most typical that female heads carry out less then half of the total working time of the household ( 49 per cent). However, only 8 per cent 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 per cent.

### 6.2. The division of domestic labour in the family

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

In the questionnaire we asked about nine household chores and 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 forth category is the 'other', that contains relatives, friends from outside of the family and also paid / market service.

In two-parent families it is most often women who take over the household chores, with only two exceptions: gardening and repairing and maintaining 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 per cent of the households. Shopping also belongs to womens' tasks, as in 44 per cent of the cases this chore is done by them, but this is one of the activities which is also very popular to share among household members. In 38 per cent of households with children, women look after the sick children and in 31 per cent of the families the men, but also one-fifth of the cases family members share this duty between themselves. We find a very similar distribution for the care of the child(ren): in 34 per cent of the families this is done by women, in 29 per cent of the cases by men, and
they share it between each other in over one-fourth of the cases. We have to note that child rearing is one of the chores where 9-10 per cent of the families reckon on help from outside of the household, either from relatives, friends or paid services.

Taking care the sick relatives or friends traditionally used to be a female duty. According to our results in 22 per cent of the families the family members share this task between each other. However in addition to child rearing this is a task where people turn to help from those outside of the household, too ( 25 per cent).

Men's participation in household chores is significant. However it is less than that of women. In every two families out of ten, washing
and cooking is done by the male members of the family (in 40 per cent and 38 per cent of the cases). In almost the same proportion of the families cleaning ( 36 per cent) and shopping ( 33 per cent) is the task of the men. In every third household with a garden or fields, it is generally men who do this work. However in 23 per cent of these families this task belong to women as well. We should note that in 34 per cent 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 should not really be considered to be in a same category as it can cause distortion.

Figure 2. Who does the following chores in your household? - distribution of valid answers in two-parent families (per cent, $\mathrm{N}=851$ )


Note: Due to weighting sum of the adequate proportion can differ from 100 per cent.
Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

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 per cent of the households men do it, while in 21 per cent of the households is done by female members of the family.

Participation in domestic labour increases with age (Table 22). However, sharing domestic chores is more characteristic for younger households. This is valid for both sexes, but in a married respondent's family, members do more chores compared to cohabiting couples. According to the opinion of single respondents, women do on average twice as many tasks as men in their families.

Table 22. Average number of domestic chores done by family members by the socio-economic status of the respondent ( $\mathrm{N}=851$ )

|  | Characteristics of respondent | Male members in a family; $\mathrm{N}=447$ | Female members in a family; $\mathrm{N}=496$ | Sharing between each other; $\mathrm{N}=368$ | Outside help or paid service; $\mathrm{N}=457$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |
|  | Cohabitating | 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 | NN | $\mathrm{N}=360$ | N=398 | $\mathrm{N}=289$ | N=370 |
|  | 1st (poorest) | 5.4 | 5.3 | 2.8 | 1.3 |
|  | 2nd | 4.7 | 5.0 | 2.9 | 1.2 |
|  | 3rd | 4.6 | 4.6 | 2.5 | 1.6 |
|  | 4th (richest) | 4.4 | 4.8 | 2.6 | 1.9 |
|  | Total | 4.8* | 4.9 | 2.7 | 1.5*** |
| Note: $\quad$ Results of analysis of variance are significant at levels - *: 0.05. ${ }^{* *}: 0.01 .{ }^{* * *}: 0.001$. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |

The distribution of domestic tasks by family structure shows that the age of children has a significant effect on participation in domestic chores. When children are younger than 18, men and women do more chores than average and in these families the number of shared chores is also above the average level. On the one hand in these families there is a wider variety of domestic tasks to be carried out (e.g. taking care of children), on the other hand children are also involved in helping with some chores. The presence of adult children reduces participation for both sexes.

Contrary to our expectations, in rural families men do more domestic chores on average than in big cities and in the capital. One of the
explanations of this can be that in rural settlements almost everybody has a garden, therefore gardening may increase male participation in 'domestic' chores. Outside help or paid services are more often used by households in the capital, but rarely in rural families.

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

### 6.3. The division of domestic labour in families with and without a head of household

In the case of some chores, shared domestic work is more characteristics for families without ahead compare to families with head. This effect is more observable with child rearing chores such as taking care of the sick children. (Table 23).

In the case of some of the domestic chores cooking, cleaning, washing, shopping - 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. With regard to gardening, we found that more (38
per cent) families without a household head share this task between family members compared to those families with a household head (32 per cent).

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

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

|  |  | 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 |
|  | Total | 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 |
|  | Total | 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 |
|  | Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 838 |
|  |  |  | table continues on the next page |  |  |



Note: $\quad$ Percentage in brackets means that in that cell the case number is less than 10.
Significance levels of chi-square tests: *: $0.05 ;{ }^{* *}: 0.01 ;{ }^{* * *}: 0.001$.
Source:
HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

### 6.4. Money managing - financial decision-making in the family

In addition to looking at the head of household, we also analysed how families manage their income and who makes decision in financial matters.

Based on Jan Pahl's $(1983,1990)$ theory about financial arrangement within household we set out to test how widespread were the following models of family budget decision making

1. The pooled income decision-making model which means that the partners pool their money together and they decide together how they make a use of it.
2. The whole wage system which means that partners pool their income together, but only one partner is responsible for managing all the finances and s/he decides how to spend the money.
3. The variation of the whole wage system where partners pool their income, but apart from the larger expenses one person decides about finances.
4. Independent money-management system which means that the partners only partly pool their income and they decide together about it, but none of the partners has access to the whole household fund.

A large proportion ( 83 per cent) of the respondents answered that they decide together how to spend the family's money, 9 per cent of them reported that one person decides about household expenses, but they decide together about larger expenses. Only in 3 per cent of households is there one person who decides about how to use their money, while 5 per cent of the respondent said that apart from common expenses each family member manages his/her own money (partly separated or independent money managing).

There were no significant differences in types of financial decision-making according to gender and education (Table 24). While we found significant discrepancies according to age and marital status ${ }^{48}$ of the respondent, and also by household structure.

The model of common decision-making is over-represented among 26-35 and the 46-65 years old, whilst the youngest age group was more common in those families where, apart from
common expenses, each member manages their money themselves (13 per cent).

Among single respondents the proportion using the common decision making model was higher than average and it was 87 per cent in the case of married couples, but only 75 per cent of the cohabitating couples decide together about family money. While in the last group the joint decision about larger expenses is (13 per cent) over-represented.

We found a 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 per cent and 88 per cent). If there is an adult child in the family it increases the proportion of separated money managing ( 11 per cent), and in these families it is also somewhat more common that members decided together on larger expenses (10 per cent).

We did not find significant differences among families with different type of financial decision-making according to type of settlement or income. However, we assumed that the amount of resources in the household would matter. We can see that there are some insignificant tendencies, such as the smaller the budget the more possible that one person has to have control over financial decision making which corresponds with earlier research by Jan Pahl. (Pahl 1983, 1990)

Table 24. Socio-economic status of respondent by types of financial decisions (per cent. $\mathbf{N}=851$ )

| 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 |
| 55-65 | (3.6) | 9.3 | 85.0 | (2.1) | 100.0 | 140 |
| Total | 3.0 | 9.0 | 83.3 | 4.7 | 100.0 | 833 |
| Level Up to 8 grade of primary school | 5.3 | 8.7 | 81.6 | (4.3) | 100.0 | 207 |
| of education 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 |
| Total | 2.9 | 9.0 | 83.5 | 4.6 | 100.0 | 830 |
| Marital Single | (3.7) | 10.2 | 69.4 | 16.7 | 100.0 | 108 |
| status*** Cohabitating | (5.2) | 12.9 | 75.0 | (6.9) | 100.0 | 116 |
| Married | 2.3 | 8.3 | 87.4 | 2.0 | 100.0 | 604 |
| Total | 2.9 | 9.1 | 83.3 | 4.6 | 100.0 | 828 |
| Type of Village | (2.5) | 8.6 | 85.4 | 3.5 | 100.0 | 315 |
| settlement 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 |
| Total | 2.9 | 9.1 | 83.4 | 4.6 | 100.0 | 831 |
| Household Couple | (3.9) | 9.9 | 85.1 | (1.1) | 100.0 | 181 |
| structure*** 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 1st quartile (poorest) | (2.8) | 6.8 | 84.7 | 5.7 | 100.0 | 176 |
| of per capita 2nd | (2.6) | 8.9 | 83.8 | (4.7) | 100.0 | 191 |
| household income 3rd | (3.8) | 10.7 | 82.4 | (3.1) | 100.0 | 159 |
| 4th (richest) | (4.7) | 10.1 | 82.6 | (2.7) | 100.0 | 149 |
| Total | 3.4 | 9.0 | 83.4 | 4.1 | 100.0 | 675 |

Note: $\quad$ 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 .
Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

### 6.5. Financial decision-making in families with and without household heads

We already mentioned in Chapter 7.1 that the absence of a household head in almost every case was justified by the fact that the family members make decisions together. Therefore according to Jan Pahl's theory there is a relation between the
patterns of financial arrangements in families and the partners status in the relationship: the more equal the partners position in the marriage the more they willing to decide together in financial matters. So our expectation was that in families
with a head it is more likely that only one person makes the financial decisions, too. This hypothesis is partly supported by our findings.

In families with a household head it is more typical that one person decides on financial issues compared to those families without a household head. (Table 25). In 4 per cent of two-parent families with a head, one person decides on all family expenses and in another 11 per cent of the families one person makes financial decisions apart from larger expenses, whilst the percentage for families without a head is 1 per cent and 5 per cent respectively. Although the proportion of common decision making is very high among both types of families, it is over-represented (89 per cent) among families without a head, and somewhat under-represented among those with a household head (81 per cent). The proportion of partly pooled or independent money managing is
somewhat higher among families without household head. Nonetheless we

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

Analysing financial decision-making among families with a household head with respect to gender, we found that proportion of families where one person decides on financial issues is very high among households with a female head. (Table 26). This phenomenon is more clear if we take the single parent families also into consideration. However, we should note that due to the low case numbers, we have to be careful about drawing far-reaching consequences.

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

|  | 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 or independent money-managing | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Total | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=304$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=526$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=830$ ) |
| 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 or independent money-managing | 9 | 5 | 6 |
| Total | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=374$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=654$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=1028$ ) |
| Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |

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

|  | 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 or independent money-managing | 4 | (12) | 5 |
| Total | 92 ( $\mathrm{N}=485$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=43$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=528$ ) |
| 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 or independent money-managing | 4 | 8 | 5 |
| Total | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=538$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=120$ ) | 100 ( $\mathrm{N}=658$ ) |
| Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |

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## NOTES

1. Following the agreement of the research group by employment we considered respondents with at least one income generating activity, i.e. not necesarily having a full time job. The total employee population $(\mathrm{N}=748)$ contained working pensioners as well as casual workers or students with a parttime 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) $(\mathrm{N}=701)$.
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 per cent) or irregular according the needs of the job ( 36 per cent) 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 per cent) and the changing (morning or afternoon) shift during the weekdays (7 per cent).
10. According to the latest TÁRKI Omnibus survey (October 2001) the proportion of those with fixed contract was very similar (7 per cent) to our figure but the proportion of employees without any contract (2 per cent) 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.
12. From here on 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 $p=0,05$.
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 shifts by gender in the LFS is very similar to our figures (12 per cent of the males and 5 per cent of the females, Frey 2001).
16. The proportion of part-time workers among males and females in the LFS is 3 per cent and 11 per cent. The figure for men is significantly lower, the figure for women 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) $\mathrm{N}=566$.
18. Categories below 50 cases omitted.
19. Categories below 50 cases omitted.
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. $\mathrm{N}=515$.
22. The respondents' monthly income from all income sources $\mathrm{N}=555$.
23. The 2001. LFS also proves that the proportion of employees working in 'normal" shitfs is the lowest in the personal service and transportation occupations ( 55 per cent and 52 per cent compared to the 69 per cent of all employees, Lakatos, forthcoming).
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 per
cent os those between 18-20 years old, 8 per cent and 10 per cent of those between 21-25 and 26-30 years old were emplyoed by fixed term contract.
25. In the Oct 2001 TÁRKI Omnibus fixed-term contracts were slightly overrepresented in the North (9 per cent), North-East (12 per cent) and South-East (10 per cent) regions.
26. In October 2001 the lack of contract was above the employees's average in agriculture and personal services ( 5 per cent instead of 2 per cent), and fixed-term contract was overrepresented in public administration and education-culture (15-15 per cent).
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 per cent) and continuously increases with age ( 77 per cent 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 per cent between 60-74 compared to the 88 per cent of the sample, Lakatos, forthcoming). Pooling the two opposite distribution we arrive to the $U$ shapr curve of our data.
28. According to there are no big differences in the level of temporal flexibility by settlement type. In Budapest 74 per cent, in the other cities 68 per cent, in the villages 67 per cent of the employees work in 'traditional" shifts (Lakatos, forthcoming).
29. Satisfied and very satisfied.
30. Frequently and rather frequently.
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).
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 $p=0,05$.
40. Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.
41. Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.
42. Our 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).
43. The first figure is of those with at least one income earning activity ( $\mathrm{N}=735$ ), the second (in brackets) of those who has a main job ( $\mathrm{N}=701$ ).
44. Bold if the variable is statistically significant on level $p=0.0000$, italics if between $p=0,0001$ and $p=0,05$.
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.
47. Since there are 533 male and only only 44 female household head, therefore all our results regarding to the socio-demographic distribution of female household heads are only for illustration.
48. Due to the low cases we left out from our investigations the widow/er, divorced group.

## ANNEX

## The Technical Characteristics of the Hungarian HWF Survey

The method of sampling: The method of sampling was a version of stratified random sampling. In the first layer of the sampling, 90 settlements were selected (nine types of settlements, representing the population regionally and by the size of settlements), in the second layer in every settlement individuals (above the age of 18 with permanent address in the municipality) were randomly selected from the municipality registration list. On every particular settlement their number was determined by the size of population propor-
tional in the total sample frame. The size of the total sample was 1512. The wrong addresses were replaced by using the Leslie Kish method. From the total sample s sub-sample of those born after 1935 was selected ( $\mathrm{N}=1169$ ).

The representativity of the total sample: The basic socio-demographic characteristics of the total sample was compared to the same variables in the sample frame and the standard residual was computed to test the level of representativity.

Table 27. Basic Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample compared to Microcensus 1996 data

|  | Microcensus 1996 |  | Sample |  | Standard residual |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | N | \% | N | \% |  |
| Gender |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 707 | 46.81\% | 676 | 44.7 | -1.178 |
| Female | 810 | 53.19\% | 836 | 55.3 | 1.352 |
| (Chi':2,606 DF: 1 ) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-39 years old | 607 | 40.21\% | 479 | 31.7 | -5.209 |
| 40-59 years old | 532 | 35.20\% | 566 | 37.4 | 1.482 |
| 60 and older | 371 | 24.59\% | 465 | 30.8 | 4.893 |
| (Chi':53,267 DF: 2) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |
| Primary | 985 | 65.20\% | 879 | 58.1 | -3.372 |
| Secondary | 363 | 24.08\% | 398 | 26.3 | 1.818 |
| Tercier | 162 | 10.72\% | 233 | 15.4 | 5.595 |
| (Chi':45,984 DF: 3) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Type of settlement |  |  |  |  |  |
| Budapest | 293 | 19.40\% | 300 | 19.8 | 0.394 |
| City | 660 | 43.66\% | 659 | 43.6 | -0.042 |
| Village | 559 | 36.95\% | 553 | 36.6 | -0.240 |
| (Chi':0,215 DF: 2) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Source: HWF Surv |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 28. The main characteristics of the fieldwork (total sample)

| Number of respondents | 1512 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Number of interview sites | 93 |
| Number of interviewers | 152 |
| Number of coders | 15 |
| The period of fieldwork | Feb 1-Feb 5, 2001 |
| The period of coding and system file preparation | Feb 8 - Feb 15, 2001 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Table 29. The main characteristics of the questionnaire

| Number of pages | 28 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Number of variables | 699 |
| Number of closed questions | 108 |
| Average length of the interview (minute) | 42,44 |
| Average number of interviews per interviewer | 9,9 |

## Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Table 30. The reasons of non-response:

|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | \% among the non- <br> response | \% among the successful <br> interviews |
| :--- | ---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unable to respond | 20 | 2.5 | 1.3 |
| Reject the interview | 306 | 38.3 | 20.2 |
| Temporarily absent | 114 | 14.3 | 7.5 |
| Moved | 81 | 10.2 | 5.4 |
| Wrong address | 33 | 4.1 | 2.2 |
| Died | 5 | 0.6 | 0.3 |
| Wrong selection of the respondent | 28 | 3.5 | 1.9 |
| Unavailable after three approaches | 150 | 18.8 | 9.9 |
| Other | 61 | 7.6 | 4.0 |
|  |  | 998 | 52.8 |
| Source: $\quad$ HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |

Table 31. The main characteristics of non-response by the type of settlement

| Type of settlement | Number of total ad- <br> dresses | Number of successful <br> interviews | \% of successful <br> interviews | Number of addresses to get one <br> successful interview |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Village | 834 | 553 | 66.3 | 1.51 |
| City | 498 | 348 | 69.9 | 1.43 |
| County capital | 488 | 311 | 63.7 | 1.57 |
| Budapest | 492 | 300 | 61.0 | 1.64 |
|  |  | $\mathbf{1 5 1 2}$ | $\mathbf{6 5 . 4}$ | $\mathbf{1 . 5 3}$ |
| Source: |  |  |  |  |
|  | HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001 |  |  |  |

Table 32. The main characteristics of non-response by the size of settlement

| Size of settlement | Number of total addresses | Number of successful interviews | \% of successful interviews | Number of addresses to get one successful interview |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -1000 | 175 | 132 | 75.4 | 1.3 |
| 1001-2000 | 181 | 122 | 67.4 | 1.5 |
| 2001-5000 | 415 | 263 | 63.4 | 1.6 |
| 5001-10000 | 193 | 132 | 68.4 | 1.5 |
| 10001-20000 | 234 | 156 | 66.7 | 1.5 |
| 20001-50000 | 211 | 144 | 68.2 | 1.5 |
| 50001-100000 | 203 | 131 | 64.5 | 1.6 |
| Above 100000 | 208 | 132 | 63.5 | 1.6 |
| Budapest | 492 | 300 | 61.0 | 1.6 |
| Total | 2312 | 1512 | 65.4 | 1.5 |

Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

Table 33. Table for the weighting (born after 1935, Source: Microcensus, 1996)

| Gender | Age | Education | Budapest | Total\% | City | Total\% | Village | Total\% | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | Young | Primary | 118298 | 1.85 | 435066 | 6.80 | 448383 | 7.01 | 15.66\% |
|  |  | Secondary | 106287 | 1.66 | 212049 | 3.31 | 113556 | 1.78 | 6.75\% |
|  |  | Tertiary | 45214 | 0.71 | 76450 | 1.20 | 25840 | 0.40 | 2.31\% |
|  | midlleage | Primary | 84032 | 1.31 | 322583 | 5.04 | 375794 | 5.87 | 12.23\% |
|  |  | Secondary | 71323 | 1.11 | 168272 | 2.63 | 86657 | 1.35 | 5.10\% |
|  |  | Tertiary | 73515 | 1.15 | 116895 | 1.83 | 35861 | 0.56 | 3.54\% |
|  | Old | Primary | 14834 | 0.23 | 59070 | 0.92 | 67249 | 1.05 | 2.21\% |
|  |  | Secondary | 9671 | 0.15 | 20540 | 0.32 | 9460 | 0.15 | 0.62\% |
|  |  | Tertiary | 13034 | 0.20 | 17585 | 0.27 | 5650 | 0.09 | 0.57\% |
| All male |  |  | 536208 | 8.38 | 1428510 | 22.33 | 1168450 | 18.27 | 48.98\% |
|  |  | Primary | 82314 | 1.29 | 315153 | 4.93 | 320095 | 5.00 | 11.22\% |
| Young |  | Secondary | 145678 | 2.28 | 294282 | 4.60 | 179474 | 2.81 | 9.68\% |
|  |  | Tertiary | 58787 | 0.92 | 88991 | 1.39 | 37399 | 0.58 | 2.89\% |
| Female | middleage | Primary | 84080 | 1.31 | 312421 | 4.88 | 335576 | 5.25 | 11.44\% |
|  |  | Secondary | 122932 | 1.92 | 257087 | 4.02 | 114908 | 1.80 | 7.74\% |
|  |  | Tertiary | 75199 | 1.18 | 111254 | 1.74 | 36043 | 0.56 | 3.48\% |
|  | Old | Primary | 23380 | 0.37 | 89285 | 1.40 | 98014 | 1.53 | 3.29\% |
|  |  | Secondary | 19684 | 0.31 | 31921 | 0.50 | 8385 | 0.13 | 0.94\% |
|  |  | Tertiary | 10089 | 0.16 | 9202 | 0.14 | 2351 | 0.04 | 0.34\% |
|  | All female |  | 622143 | 9.73 | 1509596 | 23.60 | 1132245 | 17.70 | 51.02\% |
| Total |  |  | 1158351 | 18.11 | 2938106 | 45.93 | 2300695 | 35.97 | 100.00\% |

[^3]
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[^1]:    Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

[^2]:    Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

[^3]:    Source: HWF Survey: Hungary, 2001

