

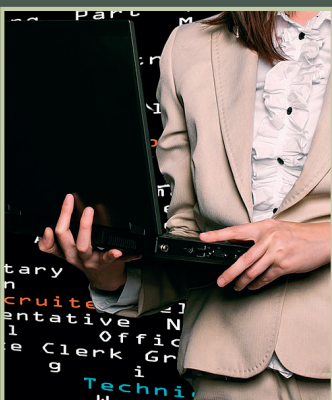
Regional characteristics of the precariat on the labour market

Written By

ANITA R. FEDOR



- ✗ never stop learning
- ✗ trust yourself
- ✗ all things are possible
- ✗ yes I can
- ✗ think positive



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ANITA R. FEDOR



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Introduction

After the change of regime, one of the manifestations of the economic and social transformation in the labour market was the high level of unemployment resulting from the abolition of full employment following privatization and economic rationalism. Hungarian society, which was socialized in full employment, was overnight confronted with the fact that work could be lost, and this caused many social tensions. It has become clear that the system of employment and social institutions needs to be developed to deal with these tensions, and in this connection employment integration/reintegration must be achieved through the instruments of social policy and employment policy. This has become particularly urgent in the economically active population, which has been pushed to the periphery of the labour market through no fault of their own. In addition, those entering the working age had to be prepared for participation in the labour market. This is also particularly important today, especially in social groups where the unemployment lifestyle has become commonplace over the past nearly thirty years. During this time, it became very common in the settlements of regions with severe employment problems that the lifestyle of the unemployed was passed down from generation to generation, and loose attachment to the labour market became a kind of pattern to follow. All this also predicts that employment problems do not affect individuals and individual social groups uniformly and equally.

There are a number of factors that influence the labour market presence, as well as its absence. The geographical and economic situation of the place of residence, the level of education obtained, the type and sectoral nature of profession, the experience gained in the labour market. Many individual characteristics also shape the success of standing in the world of work. Such as adaptability, docility, acceptance of organizational hierarchy. Furthermore, in certain family life cycles and age cycles, the unstable labour market situation is more typical and it is more difficult to find a job in the labour market. Such as looser labour market attachments due to having children or the situation of new entrants. However, it is also becoming increasingly clear that permanent or temporary employment difficulties and the associated insecurity - although not affecting labour market participants in the same way and to the same extent - will undoubtedly affect a significant proportion of workers at certain stages of their individual careers. Even among those with the most favourable labour

market conditions, a precariat describing the employment situation resulting from labour market insecurity can be measured.

The economy is organized along uniform interests for the labour market. It builds on a teachable, creative, innovative workforce, these are the most important aspects for the demand side, as this group is able to work independently and the tendency to innovate is not far from them. On the societal side, however, a fragmented labour market supply emerges, polarizing the group of the highly skilled and those with low levels of education and profession with modest knowledge and motivation in the world of work. The precariat is characteristic of both groups.

In this paper, I present the results of my empirical work among women, young people, Roma people and the elderly living in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, one of the most disadvantaged regions of the Northern Great Plain, from the point of view of the labour market.

In the first chapter of the book, I present the precariat and the concepts and social phenomena closely related to it. I characterize the domestic segregated labour market, I talk about the manifestations of integration-segregation and deprivation in the labour market, I pay attention to the complex overview of the disadvantaged situation. From the pairs of concepts that are strongly connected to the exclusion of the labour market I come to the presentation of the formation and concept of precariat.

In the next two sections, I will highlight some of the stages of my personal research work that are coherent with the topic, and then the specific empirical research will be detailed that forms the basis of the book. Building on these, I formulate my research questions and hypotheses related to the examination of the regional characteristics of the precariat appearing on the labour market.

In the chapter dealing with the value of work when discussing the theoretical framework, I write about the effects of work and unemployment on the individual and society, linking this with the most important domestic labour market processes.

Emphasizing the multidisciplinary nature of the topic, I deal in a separate subchapter with job satisfaction, which determines the general, subjective well-being of the individual, as well as the conflict between work and private life, which I also accept as a manifestation of precariat.

After the theoretical chapters of the book, I present the demographic, economic and labour market situation of the research site, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, with an emphasis data on vulnerable social groups. As a result of the statistical data and my previous research work, I draw a problem map of the county, then I analyse separately the labour market situation of women, young people, Roma people, and the social relations of the elderly and the factors directly determining it, and some additional indicators of precarious characteristics (eg social relations).

After presenting my results, I am announcing the new and novel results of the research, and finally I am formulating proposals for the improvement of the situation and equal opportunities of those affected by the precariat, primarily the labour market groups.

1. Conceptual background of the phenomenon of the precariat

The topic of the present paper is basically related to the labour market, so I will first undertake to present the phenomena closely related to the labour market, and then I will turn to the description of the precariat.

1.1. Segmented labour market

The analysis of the labour market is based primarily on economic and sociological foundations. The common starting point of the two disciplines is the segmentation of the labour market, according to which the labour market appears in several independent subsystems, partial labour markets. Thus, we can distinguish between the primary-secondary labour market, the external and internal labour market, the regional, macro and micro levels. The phenomenon of unemployment can be explained by the “matching” disturbances of these segmented labour markets and part-time labour markets. (Makó - Gyekiczki 1999) A further problem is that the segmented labour market endangers the integration of society.

The basic assumption of segmented labour market theory is that the labour market is not uniform, the passage between different parts and segments is hindered, in many cases completely limited, impossible. The composition of the employee and employer side belonging to each segment can be well described, the employees work with different conditions and perspectives, their socio-economic characteristics and labour market attitudes differ from each other. As a result, segments operate in a segment-specific manner, meaning that employers and employees find each other differently.

The literature basically distinguishes two segments: the primary sector, in which working conditions, such as income, working hours, and forms of work organization are more favourable. The labour market employment position of the workers belonging to this sector is stable, their opportunities of promotion in the work organization hierarchy are above average. In the secondary sector, workers who, under worse conditions, work more and receive lower wages than the previous group are in need. (Huszár- Sik, 2017) Employees are generally disadvantaged, under-educated, and their jobs and, in this context, their livelihoods are precarious. For them, progress is not a perspective, getting involved in training does not seem to be a worthwhile investment. General

insecurity is characteristic of their entire lives, which is a basic feature of the groups of precarious workers under study. The transition between the separate segments and the mobilization of the labour market is limited by the fact that the employers of the segments have different needs for labour, different tendencies to invest in development and human resources, which basically seals the fate of the group. Belonging to a segment determines an individual's career in the labour market in the long run, but even permanently.

The gap between employees in the primary and secondary labour market segments is mainly the result of differences in educational attainment and job stability (as stratification variables). The gap deepens as the time spent in a given segment, which also hinders the transition from one to another.

The predecessor of segmentation theory, dual theory, was replaced by a tripartite model linked to Piore's (1972) name, which questioned the unity of the primary sector and separated two more, one upper and one lower group within the sector. The subgroup includes the skilled workers of the modern labour market, and the upper group includes the graduates who are in the best position in the primary segment: this (sub)group has the highest salary, the best chances of promotion, job security is also the most characteristic of them, and the externalities of investing in human capital are also most strongly concentrated in this subgroup. It is interesting, but still true, that the pattern of work, occupation, and mobility in the upper group of the primary segment is more similar to that of the secondary group than to that of the lower group of the primary segment, with a significant qualitative difference, of course.

However, as Huszár and Sik (2017) mention, it can also be seen that the upper group of the primary segment shows the characteristics of the middle class, the situation of the secondary segment workers coincides with the fate of deprived groups living in income poverty on the periphery of society. The phenomenon of mobility barriers leads to the disintegration, segregation and dysfunction of society.

The question arises as to what ensures social integration? According to Luhmann, system integration is ensured when the institutions operating the subsystems are in operation (eg the market).

Habermas, on the other hand, argues that a prerequisite for the fulfilment of integration is normative integration, which depends on a system of social

relations that goes beyond the labour market, economic systems in the strict sense, and manifests itself in the social existence of the worker as a whole. Normative integration is realized through norms and values embodied in a kind of uniformity. (Ferge 1991, Makó - Gyekiczki 1999)

Gans focuses on the individual, the acceptance of the autonomy of the individual, and the fact that members of society do not always behave in a consistent way. That means you can think differently. This does not worsen, but rather strengthens social integration and promotes the development of a modern, renewable society. Gans sees the possibility of disintegration if individuals lose their trust in social institutions, and if trust is shaken, institutions lose their legitimacy, the former rules that governed people's lives will no longer apply. A rootless society emerges, which Durkheim defined as anomie. However, it is also true that the disintegration process can initiate an integration process, as it can only be removed from the disintegration process through significant changes.

Segregation means separation, isolation, integration means assimilation. The need for the coexistence of society raises the need for integration, but in many cases tensions are exacerbated by forced integration by increasing the frictional surface between those who used to live separately. Segregation means that the social distance between individuals and groups increases. This distance can be so great that those at the lowest levels of the social structure are pushed to the periphery of society, from where the way out, integration on its own, is almost impossible. Segregation, insofar as it is constrained by the stronger over the weak, involves the problem of inequality and is an obstacle to an individual's freedom, such as the individual's free will to decide and choose his or her own destiny. (Ferge 1991)

There are several forms of segregation. The most significant indicator of labour market segregation is unemployment and the persistence of this condition. Under-educated, non-marketable graduates, Roma people, women, young people starting their careers and the elderly are most affected by labour market segregation. Within the group of women, single parents raising young children are the most vulnerable in terms of employment.,

Educational segregation is closely related to later labour market segregation, as the labour market position is primarily determined by the acquired educational level and the well-utilized qualification.

1.2. How did the precariat become a concept from a phenomenon?

We define the new approach that provides the theoretical background for labour market research in modern society as a precariat, which is characterized by a multidisciplinary approach, as the study of labour market groups has legal, anthropological, psychological, pedagogical, economic, sociological and social policy implications. In connection with the empirical analysis of my research, sociology (family sociology, health sociology, economic sociology, sociology of education), relevant models, theories and theses of economics (human, cultural and social capital theories), psychology (role accumulation theory) and social policy (segregation integration, inclusion) theories were used. Meanwhile, I have become increasingly aware of how strongly this labour market issue is related to the discipline of management, including human resource management.

The theoretical framework of basic social sociological research on the labour market has long been built around segregation and integration. There are, of course, a number of manifestations of the process of exclusion and inclusion, disaffiliation and integration, which depend in part on sociocultural conditions and on the concept of strategic management that either exists or does not exist in the given environment. There was no radical response to the two extremes, instead a new trend began to be developed. This was followed by the concept of inclusion as a possible theoretical background and solution program proposal, the legitimacy of which became stronger and stronger. The reason for using it as a theoretical basis is the expansion of the relevant social groups seeking a solution in inclusion. And today, researchers on the subject are turning their attention to a new approach that appeared in the western central region more than three decades ago. It is not related to the previous one, although it may apply to the same groups, as it is not an integrative program, but an increasingly widespread phenomenon.

This phenomenon is the precariat, which has resulted in uncertainty, primarily in precarious employment, and an examination of the unpredictable future generated by the situation. Thus, in addition to the well-proven and widely used labour market integration, segregation and inclusion, a kind of new exploration and analysis method topic has emerged for researchers, which simultaneously poses a growing number of issues and requires a new research

aspect. (For the time being, only Sik and Szeidl (2016) have dealt with the issue of precariat in Hungary.)

My own research has followed this logical line in regional research in a similar way. In this section, my main goal is to highlight my opinion on the concept of inclusion and the definitions related to the field of education in practice, based on my own research, in addition to the theoretical background of the concept of integration - segregation used in labour market research. Meanwhile, I place inclusion (social acceptance, inclusion with meaning) in a broader social interpretation framework, showing how this concept can be used as a theoretical background for labour market issues. I have dealt in detail and I am still dealing with the phenomenon of precariat, the possibilities of its definition and operationalization, which determine the examination of my chosen topic.

In the following, I would like to highlight some basic contexts. Segregation means separation, isolation, integration means assimilation. Segregation can be conscious or spontaneous. Social segregation and integration can be the result of the same factors, depending on the outcome of the processes. If, as a result of change, society is not divided into classes, layers, groups in extremely different situations, then it integrates. However, there are life situations that make integration difficult. Such a situation is, for example, unemployment, poverty, illness (including addicts), but also the problem of labour market integration related to having children. Inequality and segregation in such an environment are two closely related concepts. The literature distinguishes between inequalities based on an individual's natural endowments and those related to social position. He gave the former by *nature*, calling the latter *social* inequalities. "*Most of the inequalities given by nature remain neutral in terms of their social impact, but it can also lead to social inequalities*" (Zombori 1997: 47).

There are several forms of segregation. I have dealt most with the projection of labour market segregation on women with small children and Roma people, and the risk factors that limit the potential opportunities of cumulatively disadvantaged adolescents across the border. In connection with this, I examined the segregation of the sexes in education, then in this context the causes of labour market segregation, and I examined the characteristics of occupational integration after childbearing. I also focused on the conflict

between childbearing and employment, which has been placed in the forefront by current domestic policies, and the process of labour market integration following childbearing. Taking into account the possibility of a broader perspective, I included the conceptual background of inclusion in my research work.

There are many approaches and definitions of inclusion. I do not consider it my task to describe them in full, but to flash in connection with my work how to define the concept of an inclusive society. How can a labour market related topic be placed in the context of an inclusive society? It should be added that the interpretation of inclusion has changed in several respects in the last decade and a half, if only because the range of persons and groups in the focus of the inclusion process has significantly expanded (Varga 2014). As members of this expanding group, I also interpret disadvantaged groups of workers.

In describing the definition of an inclusive society, Zsuzsa Ferge wrote in 2002 that inclusion covers integration, action to promote integration and an inclusive society. As a problem, the author mentions that these do not refer to the original meaning, which includes the positive meaning of anti-exclusion, that an inclusive society is nothing more than a *society free from exclusion*. The main argument against the host society as the equivalent of an inclusive society is that this approach can be identified, possibly in practical terms, rather with refugees. The critique of the definition of an *integration-facilitating society* is that a kind of sub-superiority relationship between the integrator and the integrating can be assumed, that is, the former group paternalistically helps the latter to integrate into society.

Apply the above-mentioned approaches to labour market research. Does it exist, can there be a society free from exclusion? If we start from the statement that experience of direct or indirect absence from the world of work, depending on its duration, can lead to exclusion, and if exclusion is not of self-fault but of social origin, then society has a duty to create the conditions for integration (Koncz 2002); in this context, from the point of view of the labour market (also) we can identify the concept of an inclusive society with the concept of a society free from exclusion. From this point of view, it is not right to apply the concept of an inclusive society primarily to the refugees, as it is also present in societies where the integration problems of marginalized, excluded groups do not arise from outside, but from the local society. The process of integrator-

integrating presupposes an under-over order relationship that results from someone helping others integrate. If we accept this statement, further clarification is needed, as inclusion is one of the main goals and tools of education and (thus) social policy (Ainscow 1995) and as such it is inevitable to carry with it a kind of down-and-above relationship. If we think about the instrument system of employment policy within social policy, this suggestion is even more true.

To sum up the above, I think that this wording may be very correct in the field of labour market thinking as well. Another question might be, how long can this hierarchical relationship last or be accepted?

In my opinion, however, the concept that seems to be the best and can be interpreted in the broadest social context, underpinning many research methods and including the above three approaches, is the category of a cohesive society. I note that within this, conflict management, mentoring in the workplace and/or in adult education require further research and methods.

The question may arise as to why we cannot stick to the well-established concepts of segregation-integration in labour market research. On the one hand, because it has become more and more necessary in social research to research the theoretical background of this phenomenon as an independent research topic with new methods, showing its versatility and the possibility of multi-aspect analysis. On the other hand, as I mentioned in the introduction, the composition and range of stakeholders and the number of individuals and groups targeted by the inclusion process have increased. All this is explained by the results of the study, which, by mapping the peculiarities of the environment, pointed out a wider range of people at a disadvantage in terms of inclusion. Thanks to these research results, disadvantage compensation activities have also been extended to all individuals who are excluded from a segment of society for various reasons (Hinz 2002, Varga 2014). Third, because the realization of social integration processes is inconceivable without the presence of an inclusive society, which includes equal opportunities, that is, the ability of all able-bodied individuals to perform work appropriate to their ability and health status (Dajnoki 2011).

Poverty, disadvantage, deprivation, exclusion are closely related concepts, but they cannot be used as synonym. Rather, we can say that one situation is a consequence of another, one situation generates, almost inevitably, the other.

Disadvantage has many dimensions, deprivation is a lack of resources and opportunities, which is a disadvantage in such a way as to prevent those affected from living in the usual living conditions accepted in society. Deprivation is seen in this sense as a destitution in which certain groups in society, in the absence of the possession of resources, are “deprived” of the opportunity to participate in activities that are self-evident and accessible to members of society. The perception of multidimensional poverty is seen as deprivation following Townsend. (Koós 2015) This means that disadvantage, or perhaps even more pronounced deprivation, is present separately, or even simultaneously, in the areas of income level, housing, education, and the labour market.

Townsend (1979) developed the concept of objective-relative deprivation by linking poverty and inequality. He puts it this way: “Individuals, families and certain groups of the population can be said to live in poverty (i.e. to be in an objective relative deprivation situation) if they do not have sufficient resources to feed, participate in activities and access living conditions and goods, which are common in our society, or at least widely accepted, and find approval. Compared to the average individual or family, the resources available to them are so scarce that they are actually excluded from the average lifestyles, habits and activities.” (quoted by Ferge 1991:188) The essence of the concept is that the cumulative disadvantage implies that the situation of individuals and families is worse than that of other members of society on the basis of several indicators.

Let's look at the content of the concept separately. The *objective* indicator suggests that there is a well-written, graspable point of reference, a measure by which it is easy to determine where individuals and families are located relative to it. An example of such a reference point is the subsistence minimum. In the case of objective content, we do not take into account how the stakeholders themselves judge their own situation.

The *relative* indicator links the issues of poverty and inequality. Townsend chose an empirical method to develop the relative measure. Based on the distribution of the chances of access to goods and opportunities, he examined the level of income that must be achieved in order to avoid serious backlogs. If there are income differences, but they are not too big, then it is conceivable

that it will not result in disadvantages, delays/absences even for those belonging to the most unfavourable income groups.

Relative deprivation in this context is an aspect of social inequality that takes into account not only the realization of inequality itself but also its extent.

The third component of the concept group is deprivation. As I indicated above, the terms of deprivation and poverty are often used interchangeably in common parlance. In scientific thinking, however, these concepts must be thought of differently. Poverty always refers to the lack and low levels of income, financial resources. (Ferge 1991) Deprivation, however, covers disadvantages in several areas and dimensions. For example, the income level may not be different, but the path to achieving it may be. Achieving the same level in some cases does not involve extra burden or resignation, while others achieve this level with extra work, possibly in a health-damaging work environment at the expense of their free time.

In describing the causes of deprivation, Ferge highlights four main factors. The first is the group of social differences. As Ferge puts it, differences of "*biological-physiological*" origin but socially mediated. (Ferge 1991) Such are the demographic differences. Whether someone is old or young is not really influenceable, but is clearly different from the activities involved in the middle-aged, the elderly, the child. The latter two are already or not yet can earn money. People with disabilities are unable or able with limited ability to participate in traditional social practices at all, and this is likely to result in income disadvantage. He needs a special, inclusive workplace.

The next group of reasons have social origin. The characteristics and operating mechanisms of the social structure favour certain social groups and disadvantage others. This mechanism of operation has strong social historical roots, deeply embedded in social processes. As a result, members of society are not randomly placed at certain points in the division of labour. However, the milieu of families at certain points in the division of labour significantly determines the physical and social life chances of children born into that family. This example illustrates well how the difference given by nature becomes a social determinant, in most cases a disadvantage. The phenomenon of the municipal slope also reinforces this reasoning. It can be interpreted as a completely natural difference that members of society live at different levels of the settlement hierarchy. However, a disadvantage of social origin is that

the range of benefits and services differs at different levels of settlement, so inequalities in their use develop, which in the long run shape the additional opportunities of the people living there. (A good or rather bad example of this is the differences in the presence of educational institutions.)

The third group of causes is both individual and social: it means a range of deviant behaviours. For example, an individual with an alcoholic condition, in part through his or her own fault, is unable to participate in activities that are accepted and desirable by the majority of society because of his or her addiction. However, social causes, such as the loss of a job caused by an economic crisis or COVID-19, and it's becoming permanent, may also have played a role in becoming addicted. Deprivation in this situation is socially justifiable.

The fourth group includes causes of deprivation that assume sole responsibility for the individual. This includes any behaviour that violates the norm and has no identifiable social history.

Láczay (2020) explains in detail the intertwining of poverty, disadvantage, deprivation, and exclusion. In her view, the concept of disadvantage has its own legal criteria, which allow for international and national comparisons on the basis of the various criteria given. Poverty indicators are calculated by Eurostat on the basis of the European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). The income poverty line is 60 per cent of the median national equivalent net household income in a given year, and material deprivation is defined as at least three of the nine specified aspects of the person, family, and severely deprived if at least four are affected.

Nevertheless, the perception of poverty is relative in many aspects and therefore requires a unique approach, as we can talk about the disadvantaged in terms of income, lifestyle, educational opportunities and health status, sociocultural conditions, and the results of these approaches often accumulate. We start primarily from the job, or from the lack of it, as work plays a central role in the functioning of society and the economy, as well as in the life of the individual. Income from work provides the basic conditions for living, and it's lack affects the quality of life of families, access to education and services. On the other hand, the unemployed need social benefits, which cause new, specific problems. Of these, it is important to emphasize that the lack of work manifests

itself not only as a material but also as a mental need, as the deterioration of social relations and cultural narrowing excludes generations from acquiring modern knowledge and achieving independent life goals, which can lead to backwardness and segregation. (R. Fedor, 2018). The importance of the problem was highlighted by the Klebelsberg Centre's Antisegregation Plan published in 2018, in which President Gabriella Hajnal stated that “the family background can be captured as a multidimensional space of inequality influenced by parents’ social position, family cultural status, the use of cultural mediators, the financial situation of the parents and the place of residence of the family.”

With the accumulation and deepening of inequalities, the proportion of people living in income poverty is increasing, which affects not only the Roma population with a worse socio-cultural situation, but also the sections living among the previously settled materialities. Thus, the examination of unemployment, employment and income relations can provide adequate data to determine the reasons in which area and in which dimensions there are negative differences in the given region or study group, where it is necessary and possible to promote the creation of opportunity.

Deprivation, insecurity, and inequality of opportunity simultaneously characterize the affected labour market groups, whose condition can be diagnosed as showing precarious symptoms. In what follows, I focus on presenting this concept and the social groups involved.

Precariat as a concept appeared in the late 1970s - primarily - in the French literature, in parallel with the weakening of welfare states. For a long time, the concept, like the definition of exclusion, was characterized by the phenomenon of soil loss linked to new poverty, and then the scope of the definition narrowed and is now mostly related to the world of work, demonstrating a kind of precarious labour market situation. The fragile labour market situation drives the individual towards precarization, which further affects the area of additional dimensions that determine the quality of life. This could create a multifactorial disadvantage that plagues those living in deep poverty, but also those in the middle class.

Despite its precarious, previous research and theoretical background, it became the focus of academic interest in the early 2000s, and after a brief transitional silence in 2012, Guy Standing’s writing intensified interest in a scientifically

demanding approach to the phenomenon. To the best of our knowledge, precariat or precariousness currently has two forms of approach: political and economic (Ferge 2012), within which it is discussed as a political movement, a cross-class phenomenon, and a social class. (Standing 2011)

Precariat as a political and economic phenomenon: Nelsion and Rossiter wrote of the so-called precarious workers (casual workers or flexible workers): “we try to define or imagine them as new subjects of politics that abound in their own specific forms of collective organization and self-expression.” (Nelsion and Rossiter 2009: 102). In Lazzarato's wording, the definition according to these two social (sub)systems does not become sharply divided. In his view, precariousness is a much broader and more complex category. It is not just a concept that encompasses the situation of precarious workers, but discusses a much more general existential state that can be seen simultaneously as “a source of political repression, economic exploitation, and opportunities to seize” (Nelsion and Rossiter 2009: 102).

Characteristics of the precariat as a labour market group: According to Standing (2012), the precariat is a group of predominantly wage workers, who usually work on a fixed-term contract considered insecure for low wages. In further detail of the characteristics, Kelemen and Rakovics (2013) present the precariat as a constant sense of insecurity resulting from a lack of continuous presence in the world of work. The consequence of the lack of a permanent job is the lack of social relationships at work (which are primarily formal relationships, but over time they can also become informal, which can mean a stronger attachment and a stronger safety net for those affected) and a lack of a predictable vision. Thus, as a labour market phenomenon, precariousness means deprivation (security) and vulnerability. (Tordai (é.n). According to Szépe (2012), precariat as a labour market group is a heterogeneous group in terms of human capital, whose labour market situation is unstable. (Sik and Szeitl 2016) This is indicated by the fact that any form of work that can be considered unstable can be a factor of uncertainty, regardless of an individual's educational attainment and labour market embeddedness, such as part-time employment or fixed-term contract work. Their common characteristic is that these employees become vulnerable after the project's funding period had expired, even if you have received above-average wages during the project period. Their fate depends on the next successful tender period. This Thelen (2019) in formulating the *gig work* which contracts the individual for a one-

time job. He interprets this worker as a *gig economy* who has great freedom, is not organically attached to any work organization, if so, only for a short time. He's like a freelance actor who gets a job he's asked for. The advantage is that the employee has his/her own working hours, he/she can organize his/her tasks flexibly. Its disadvantage is that it is 'deprived' of all opportunities and services that are automatically linked to the insured employee's existence; such as paid leave or pension. Beyond unpredictable work, the lack of these social services shapes the insecurity of this social group. This form of being an employee is fraught with uncertainty, and the time-structuring role of work is difficult to interpret because it is not a continuous, predictable occupation, but a fragmented, precarious form of work. The *gig work* can only function in a very good economic environment. (Thelen 2019)

Part-time employment offers the greatest opportunity to exploit a worker. It is typical that part-time employees work beyond the tasks they can perform during their working hours, doing more unpaid work than their full-time counterparts. This leads, according to La Vaque Manty, to the phenomenon of *flexible exploitation*, which is most common among McJobs' works. These low-paid, low-prospect jobs with low social prestige, which are strenuous, possibly dangerous, do not offer opportunities for further development, training or development.

Under these approaches, in addition to or as a result of uncertain employment, various determinants of quality of life, such as employment, housing, subjective health, indebtedness and overtime due to income insecurity, the range and availability of welfare benefits, the time available to build and maintain personal relationships, the conflict between work and private life, etc., emerge as aspects of precariousness.

Standing classifies into three groups those who are most affected by the precariat. The first group is given by the under-educated strata dropped out of the old working class. The second group is represented by migrants and ethnic minorities. They are the largest hinterland of the precariat. The third group includes medium/highly qualified people who do paid work on an ad hoc basis or do not match their qualifications. They are characterized by a lack of status frustration and planning for the future. (Fónai-R. Fedor 2021)

The literature distinguishes three demographic groups of the precariat. The first large group is made up of women, whose employment rate remains far below

that of men. Their disadvantage in the labour market stems from their multiple roles, which means that they cannot be full members of the labour market. One reason for this is that they are characterized by a repeatedly interrupted labour market presence. The reasons for leaving the labour market are having children and/or caring for a sick elderly relative, as well as beliefs that women are considered precarious workers. The devaluation of feminized professions and the differences in income conditions that appear and seem to be stabilizing, which are concreting women into more unfavourable occupational positions. To make matters worse, more and more women are now becoming breadwinners, thanks to improved education and the rise of single-parent families. Standing points out that in addition to the female precariat, there is also a male disadvantage in the labour market. The employment crisis resulting from the financial crisis of 2008 has mainly affected the sectors in which skilled men work.

The second key demographic group is young people, who have been sensitively affected by the transformation and marketing of the education system. Becoming an education commodity excludes some young people from the education market from the outset. Early-stage young people leaving higher education face the burdens of taking out a student loan at the beginning of their labour market careers and the mismatch between their ideas and opportunities in the labour market. These two uncertainties push them temporarily or for a longer period toward the precariat.

Precariat can also develop within the elderly group. The positive trend in present societies is that life expectancy at birth is increasing, medicine is evolving rapidly, so we are living longer and spending more and more years of life in health. This will also lead to an increase in the retirement age. Precariousness of the elderly can manifest itself in two forms. Both forms are related to their post-retirement labour market withdrawal. Occasional work or part-time employment in addition to retirement has the same uncertainties as those of working age. The possibility of precarization arises in social and kinship relationships that decline as a result of work in addition to retirement. And, of course, we must not forget those who were loosely or not at all attached to the labour market in their active age. Their position as the most hopeless retiree.

Building on this new theoretical aspect, in Chapter 2, I present the results of my research on demographic and social groups in the context of precarity.

1.3. Research Background - Conscious preparation for labour market research

The path of choosing the topic of this monograph has already been marked by my choices related to my higher educational programmes. I completed my studies at the Faculty of Humanities of the Lajos Kossuth University, where I graduated as a social politician (1998) and then as a sociologist (1999).

As a sociologist, I very soon got into a special field. As a career starter, I started working in the Analysis Department of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Labor Center, where I could see first-hand the labour market data of one of the most disadvantaged regions of the country. In the course of my work, I mainly focused on the analysis of the situation of young people starting their careers and on the preparation of annual labour market forecasts. At the same time, I taught at the legal predecessor of the Faculty of Health of the University of Debrecen (College of Health), where I held employment policy courses for social work students. Since 2000 I have been working as a full-time lecturer at the Faculty of Health of the University of Debrecen (and its legal predecessor).

Since then, for more than two decades, I have continuously gained a special, multidisciplinary practical experience by combining the work of analysts and teachers, in which I was able to develop the content of higher education curricula based on my knowledge as a labour market analyst.

I feel that my degree in social policy has strengthened my commitment to the social field. During my university years I got acquainted with the basic regularities of the functioning of society, economy, politics, state and law and the role of the factors that hinder the satisfaction of important human needs, the fair and functional allocation of resources, the social justice, the effective forms of equality. As a result of all this, I got closer and closer to getting to know disadvantaged social groups, as a result of which I started to deal with the issue of unemployment, social groups on the periphery of the labour market, not only because of the solution of daily tasks, but also because of scientific needs.

The results of my research led to the conclusion that the gap between different sectors of social policy is very narrow. It has become clear that the family support system significantly shapes the participation, especially women, in the labour market, and the creation of employment integration is not only a labour market issue, but also a population policy issue. That is why in my empirical work I connected the examination of the (domestic) labour market conditions with the attitude of starting a family, having children, choosing values, emphasizing the decisive force of human capital.

My knowledge gained during the university specialization of Non-profit and Human Services management (1998) drew my attention to the fact that the supply side of the labour market focuses not only on social groups, but also on individuals themselves, and on human resource. Those inequality processes, which seemed to have intensified in this era, were an especially new area of investigation, as it became unavoidable to develop and organize the management of opportunities for the disabled and people with some kind of disability. In this area, a well-thought-out concept of labour market, human resources and employment tasks would have been needed, but in the absence of this, decisions were modeled on case law as a result of daily coercion.

In 2007, I was admitted to the Education and Cultural Studies Program of the Doctoral School of Humanities of the University of Debrecen. In my dissertation, I examined the labour market integration of women raising young children. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the topic, I completed the equal opportunities trainer training initiated by the University of Debrecen. This not only helped my research, but also made it clear to me that the employment integration of disadvantaged workers is not only a matter of employment policy but also of human resource management.

My studies have greatly contributed to the development of my methodological preparedness for research. From my intermediate degree in chemistry, I gained the exact and precise analytical skills usual in natural sciences. As a sociologist, with the help of the research methodological knowledge essential for analytical work, I got closer to the defining methods of social science research, the possibility of mapping causal relations. All this provided a good methodological basis for my subsequent research activities.

The practice-oriented social policy programme has enabled the identification and analysis of social needs, problems and risks, the planning, management

and implementation of intervention processes and policy decisions. Despite my consciously committed, versatile, but one-way education, research in the field was not easy.

I tried to see the examined topics in a multidimensional approach system, according to the scientific needs, through the glasses of multidisciplinary. This was my main internal motivating factor, but in an ever-changing, unbalanced social environment, I had to make sure I understood the “truth and the real”.

The examination of labour market groups and the closely related educational and expert activities have accompanied my previous professional career. I still work as an expert within the framework of the *Élő Újság* and the *Nyíregyházi Foglalkoztatási Paktum*. At the request of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Local Government, I prepared analytical studies entitled *The Characteristics of Employment and Unemployment in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County*, *The Role of the Civil Sector in Employment*, and *The Risk of Poverty in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County*. At the request of the County Government, I also acted as a professional consultant for the *Socio-Economic Strategic Situation Assessment with the Involvement of the Civil Sector* and as the editor of a study volume of the same name.

Meanwhile my teaching activity covers almost the entire vertical of training levels. At the Tessedik Sámuel Vocational High School and Gymnasium, I held career orientation days for young people within the framework of social policy classes. I participate in in-service training programs for practicing social professionals. Most recently, I gave a presentation to professionals from Ópály and Mátészalka entitled *The Role of Roma and Women in the Labour Market* and *The Role of Employment Policy in Preventing Social Problems*.

In higher education, the following compulsory and optional courses are linked to my chosen topic in the Bachelors' and Masters' programme, postgraduate specialist training course and PhD training: I teach the courses of Sectoral Social Policies, Employment Policy, Labour Market Knowledge, Labour Relations, Educational Sociological Aspects of Labour Market Research, Labour Market Research: Inclusion for Labour Market Integration.

The problems of the Nordic region still seem to cross national borders and, within the framework of our educational cooperation at the Partium Christian

University in Oradea, I held a course entitled *Labour Market Research, from problem raising to presentation of results* as a guest lecturer for students studying social sciences in 2017, this year we worked on the topic of *Changing Labour Market, Changing Values, Changing Family*.

In the course of my professional activities related to employment, my teaching materials, textbook chapters and monograph writings help the studies and the scientific work of students studying in higher education. The notes entitled *Magyar társadalom (II. rész) (Hungarian Society (Part II))* and *Foglalkoztatáspolitikai (Employment Policy)* are particularly important the participants in the Labour Market Consultant and in the Community Animator postgraduate specialist training courses and the Social Work undergraduates. The book *A munka világa a 21. században (The World of Work in the 21st Century)* is a collaboration between leading academics from five universities, designed to support the work of labour and HR experts in addition to students in higher education. In the book, I have summarized the most important areas of employment *Policy Strategies in Europe* and *The Financing of Employment Policy in the European Union* in two separate chapters.

Az Egyensúlyban? - A munkaerő-piaci karriertől a familiarizmusig (In Balance? - The monograph From Labour Market Career to Familiarism) (2015) serves as the basis for theses, TDK and other scientific works.

As a synthesis of my research so far, I have experienced the recognition that precariat needs to be addressed as a new phenomenon in the labour market. I thus obtained my degree of habilitation from this topic.

2. Presentation of research activity - A new research challenge to explore the precariousness appearing in the labour market

My research so far has focused on labour market integration and the closely related issues of learning motivation, value choice, family formation and employment attitudes. The target groups of my research were the adult population of the settlements belonging to Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county and Nyíregyháza district, women raising small children living in the county, young people aged 15-29, graduating high school students, children living in the periphery and recent graduates. Some of the studies were also related to the research of the Faculty of Health of the University of Debrecen.

Although I have touched on several areas in my research, my results and conclusions point in one direction. My research clearly demonstrates that the individual's economic activity, labour market expectations and prospects significantly shape the present (eg subjective health status) and vision of the groups involved in my research. It has also been proven that the labour market situation of the family background, the possession of human and social capital, significantly influences the attitude towards starting a family, further education, employment, choice of values, and risk behaviour.

The starting point of my research career in this area was when I joined the research group “Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza” led by Gergely Fábián in 2008. The panel-type inquiry undertook to interview the adult residents of Nyíregyháza every two years, according to different topics that well represented the quality of life. In this structure I have processed the topic of Economic Activity three times (2010, 2012, 2015), the database of the 2017 data collection is still being prepared. The follow-up study provided an opportunity to longitudinally monitor the changes in the factors measuring the economic activity of the local population, and to get familiar with the labour market characteristics of the city of Nyíregyháza.

In 2011, I participated in the examination of the *Debreceni Egyetem Diplomás Pályakövető Rendszer (Graduate Career Tracking System)* of the University of Debrecen. With my fellow researchers, we examined the social background, opinions and ideas of the students of the Medical and Health Sciences Centre of the University of Debrecen (OEC), Faculty of Medicine (ÁOK), Faculty of

Dentistry (FOK), Faculty of Pharmacy (GYTK), Faculty of Health (EK), Faculty of Public Health (NK). In our analytical work, we reported on the composition, opinions, and some labour market characteristics of the students of these five faculties. The treatment of the pattern of inheritance of parental cultural capital and the possibility of working abroad were treated as key dimensions.

In another of my analytical work, I focused on the examination of the situation of women as a disadvantaged group in the labour market. In 2012, within the framework of the *Quality of Life Survey*, I also participated in the analysis of the characteristics of the *Health Status* and the *Assistance and Support Systems*. The topic of all my research, which is close at the same time or based on each other, is related to the topic of economic activity, as the results show that employees perceive their subjective health status to be more favourable, in other words their well-being, than the unemployed, and that the proportion of employed is lower among the recipients of aid compared to the portion of the unemployed.

The data collection of the “Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza” research is carried out using the survey method, which varies from year to year, but usually covers nine dimensions that determine the quality of life. Sample size also varied between study years, ranging from 1,000 to 1,800 individuals.

In my doctoral dissertation, in which I examined the labour market integration and employment attitudes of women raising young children. In 21 settlements of Szabolcs-Szatmár–Bereg county, where I interviewed 450 women raising children aged 0-7 using a questionnaire method.. We distinguished two subgroups of women raising young children, women on parental leave with their child at the time of the interview (those who were on a parental leave) and women who had already returned to the world of work from parental leave (working women). By separating the two groups, we had the opportunity to compare the already realized and planned return to the labour market of pregnant and working mothers and the background factors that shape it. The examination continued after graduation, thus further the range of analytical works exploring the labour market integration of women raising young children expanded, and as a result of which, we developed female character types describing women's childbearing and employment attitudes using factor analysis.

In 2015, I was able to join the research entitled *The Youth of Nyíregyháza* in which I examined the family formation plans of young people among 15-18 and 19-29 year olds. My results showed that the 773 young people in Nyíregyháza, who make up the sample, have a very family-centric attitude, but they consider the establishment of a labour market existence to be inevitable in order to implement their family formation plans.

I also analysed a group of young people in 2016 in an international study: *Youth in Central and Eastern European cross-border areas*. The basic population of the research consisted of high school students living in larger cities in the Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian border region. The final Hungarian sample included a total of 359 11th grade students from five grammar schools and vocational secondary schools of Nyíregyháza. With my fellow researchers, we examined the further learning, working, trust attitudes and value preferences of these students. Based on the results, it can be said that their plans related to work and career are clearer and more optimistic than their plans for their private life. The vast majority of students, who already have work experience, realistically assess their opportunities in the labour market, basing their employment on expertise and diligence with the help of acquaintances.

The study which undertakes to explore *Drug use habits of children and young people living on the social periphery* (research leader: Katalin Szoboszlai), was conducted in 2017 in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. The subjects of the sample were young people aged 14-24 residing in settlements (800 people). Data were collected using a questionnaire and focus group method. Regarding the former, I also participated as a research camp leader. My research partner and I examined the effect of family background as a protective factor in relation to the risk behaviour of young people. Our results showed a significant connection between the quality of relationship with parents and risk behaviour.

With my study entitled *Learning Motivations and Labour Market Expectations among High School Students*, I connected, with my fellow researcher, in the international study *Youth in Central and Eastern European cross-border areas*. The database of our study was recorded in two grammar schools in Debrecen with the help of a questionnaire. The sample consisted of 187 11th grade students. In our study, we found a correlation between young people's plans for further education and employment and the family's financial situation. It

was clear that students living in more favourable conditions were more likely to predict further learning, while for those with less favourable income parameters the parallel learning and working and being employed exclusively were more probable from the listed options.

In 2017, my partner and I undertook to map measurable precarious characteristics among recent graduates. The basis of our study was the national database of the 2015 Graduate Career Tracking System (DPR) study. Our results convincingly prove that the so-called precarious characteristics also appear in the case of highly qualified groups of employees in a favourable labour market situation.

In 2018, as a co-research leader of the research related to the program *Infinite Possibility - Pilot Program for the Territorial Catching up of the Most Underdeveloped Districts*, within the examination of the quality of life of the adult population living in the settlements of the Cigánd district we examined the labour market situation of the population and the learning and employment, family formation motivation, to explore their aspirations for the future. The study sample was 600 individuals, which was achieved in the form of quantitative data collection; supplementing this with a qualitative (structured interview) method, we conducted an expert interview involving 20 people. The processing of the data and the analysis of the correlations are still in progress.

In 2018, within the framework of the Quality of Life of Nyíregyháza study, I became involved in the sociological study of the health status of city residents. In the sample of nearly 400 people, the characteristics of the subjective health status were analysed by including various social background variables.

In 2021, I conducted a comparative international analysis on the topic of job satisfaction. In the study, the data of 2005, 2015 and 2018 were processed for the countries of the Visegrad Four.

In the above research, in collaboration with my university colleagues, I have been able to research a fairly diverse social pattern that has substantiated my hypothesis that it is worthwhile to further examine the research findings in the context of the precariat. I will return to this in more detail in a later chapter.

Table 1. Research contributions underlying the analytical work

Research title	Target group	Method	Highlighted dimension
Quality of life examination 2008-2018	Population aged 18-70 of Nyíregyháza	quantitative	economic activity, satisfaction with working conditions, health status at one time
University of Debrecen Graduate Career Tracking System	Former students of 34 higher education institutions /ÁOK, FOK, GYTK, EK	quantitative	pattern of inheritance of parental cultural capital, mapping foreign employment and precarious characteristics
Labour market integration of women raising young children	Women raising children aged 0-7	quantitative and qualitative	timing of return to the world of work, judging optimal parental leave
Youth in Central and Eastern European cross-border area	high school students from Nyíregyháza	quantitative	further learning, employment, trust attitude, value preferences
Youth of Nyíregyháza	the 15-18, 19-29 year olds of Nyíregyháza	quantitative	family formation / labour market plans
Exploring drug use patterns of children and young people living on the social periphery	Young people aged 14-24	quantitative and qualitative	family background as a protective factor
Learning motivations and labour market expectations among high school students	high school students from Debrecen	quantitative	further education, employment
Endless Possibility - - Pilot Program for the Territorial Catching up of the Most Underdeveloped Districts	Residents of the Cigánd district aged 19-70 and Young people aged 14-18	quantitative and qualitative	economic activity, satisfaction with working conditions, further education, employment, starting a family
Health of Nyíregyháza 2018	Population aged 18-70 in Nyíregyháza	quantitative	subjective health status
Domestic Job satisfaction in an international context (2005-2018)	Domestic, Polish, Czech, Romanian, Slovak residents over the age of 18	quantitative	job satisfaction, job security

Source: Own editing

3. Research objectives formulated for the examination of the regional characteristics of the precariousness appearing on the labour market

In preparing the balance of my research work so far, new research questions have emerged, to which I could expect an answer from the processing of my previous results according to a new aspect. I have formulated three issues.

1. The concept and characteristics of the precariat, from the examination of the range of those affected by it, were not examined in the context of the labour market in Western sociological works. My aim is to examine whether there is a relevance between the two phenomena.
2. By expanding the theoretical framework, I sought the answer to the question of how job insecurity factors appear in different regions and social groups, whether there are temporary risk factors resulting from accelerated technological conditions, and to what extent the disadvantage attracts the factors on the basis of which labour market exclusion results in perpetuating personal and regional risk factors and can cause a crisis.
3. The question arose as to whether commodity characteristics are only a feature of social groups that are already difficult to employ, or whether certain commodity characteristics can be found in the group of young graduates with fundamentally favourable conditions and, if so, along what main dimensions.

To do this, I had to return to examining the elements of the labour market in the new circumstances.

3.1. Work as a value

In modern society, work is an important element of self-esteem, providing the person doing the work with the financial resources they need to make a living, without which an individual's daily living problems can multiply. However, the unemployed face a number of lack of services and benefits (social security) related to work as a condition. On the other hand, work activity provides the opportunity to acquire and use different skills and knowledge. Through its time structuring role, it organizes and defines the framework for daily activities. A workplace often means friends, socializing, and an opportunity to participate in joint activities. Deprived of the work community, the circle of potential

friends and acquaintances is also narrower. The workplace is also important because it provides a sense of personal and stable social identity (Giddens 1995).

Work allows the individual to play an active role in the reproduction of social goods, thereby satisfying his or her need for activity and productivity.

Work therefore plays a central role in the lives of society, the economy and the individual. According to different approaches to the concept, work is a means of satisfying needs, a form of social participation, a basis of culture, social embedding, a means of satisfying needs. (Móré 2018) The most important feature, which includes all the factors listed below, is the need for security. Work - and here it refers primarily to its social role in the workplace and is recognized by wages and services - means security in modern societies. Primarily because income from work provides basic living conditions.

Research focusing on labour market generation differences assumes that workers in younger age groups are less committed to certain “traditional” labour market values compared to high-working baby boomers. However, foreign cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have revealed more generational similarities as opposed to generational differences. (Hajdu and Sik 2016) All this confirms the global presence and significance of the working society.

Examined from another aspect, unemployment can have an impact on an individual’s well-being, subjective, and physical health. According to an international study, an unemployed person has a 28% higher risk of deteriorating health. The risk of deteriorating health does not affect different age groups uniformly. There is a weaker health effect in the elderly and a stronger effect in health in the young. (Cooper et al 2008) The authors found a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and health status and mortality rate.

Income from work, the social environment provided by the workplace, also contributes to the individual's ability to participate in activities that are common to the majority of members of society.

Lack of income, even if indirectly, has an impact on a child's later school performance. According to Coleman (1996), one of the three components of the family background is financial capital, which includes the income and wealth situation of the family, which helps performance by providing a source for the purchase of tools and services that help children achieve better school performance. If financial capital is deficient, it can even be to the detriment of a child's school performance. Based on all this, there is no doubt that the lack of work imposes a series of difficulties on individuals and families in many areas of life.

So we can say that working has a developmental effect on both the social and individual levels, and is beneficial to society as a whole. It develops young people's attachment to the labour market, which provides the basis for later life. Being excluded from the world of work, whether intentional or independent of the individual, can lead to long-term exclusion, which is why absence from the labour market can lead to long periods of inactivity in the absence of integration models, employment policy instruments or a family-friendly work environment. (Szűcs 2005)

“The difference in opportunities is the primary source of social exclusion, which exists both in today's Hungarian society and in the workplace. The reason is the lack of social conditions necessary for the integration into the labour market, such as low education, disability, poor health, double burden due to social role, prejudices, the affected strata cannot be equal members of society. Due to the social origins of exclusion, society has a duty to create opportunities for integration for those who have been excluded through no fault of their own.” (Koncz-Kozma 1999:57)

3.2. Consequences of unemployment

In the above, we looked at what a secure job means to an individual. Now let's look at the consequences of losing a job. The effects of unemployment are presented on the basis of the work of Bánfalvy (2002). The literature distinguishes between two main negative consequences of unemployment, loss of income and socio-psychological harms. With regard to the latter, he lists health problems, the weakening of interpersonal relationships, the decline of social prestige and self-esteem, family problems, and marginalization, self-destruction as subcategories.

Unemployment affects different social groups and individuals in different ways. The magnitude of the problems of losing a job depends on the embeddedness of the labour market, which is determined by previous life path, occupational career, work experience, income from work (or change in income level) and the lifestyle associated with them. In addition, it depends on the education, qualifications, gender, age of the unemployed person, the chances of re-employment, and the duration of unemployment. The assessment of the unemployment situation is also related to how the individual and the environment around him/her think about unemployment, how he/she evaluates his/her own situation and further opportunities in the world of work.

The unemployed feel redundant, he/she believes that only a burden on the shoulders of others and stuck outside the world of work cannot be a full member of society. Of course, this largely depends on how the person concerned thinks about working, what kind of work attitude they have. (Scharle 2005)

Job loss has a differentiated effect on different groups of workers. Losing your job means something different to a skilled, highly skilled, well-placed man in the metropolitan hierarchy, living in a big city, with many years of work experience, than to a low-skilled, aging woman without G.C.E. or a rural woman with small children. Losses due to unemployment, the response of the immediate environment, the chances of finding a new job, alternative means of earning money (temporary work, domestic work) to replace legal work will be different.

In the case of the woman mentioned in the example, the damage caused by losing the job is presumably smaller, it means a smaller change between the employed and the unemployed way of life. However, the risk of job insecurity and unemployment is much higher and return to the world of work (integration) is much more difficult than in the first case. This example also shows that vulnerable workers who are more loosely attached to the labour market are more vulnerable to a global occupational crisis, but the relative loss from an unemployed lifestyle is smaller than that of a highly skilled (here) man, who has a significant loss of income and a lifestyle change when becoming unemployed.

Table 2. Unemployment rate among 15-64 year olds with education according to, %

Pointer/dimension	2005	2009	2010	2013	2015	2017	2019
Less than 8 grades of primary school	36.1	42.6	44.5	39.3	29.3	25	19.3
8 grades of primary education	13.7	22.8	24.6	23.1	16.9	10.6	9.4
Secondary education without G. C. E. and with qualification	8.1	11.3	12.3	11.4	7.4	4.2	3.3
Secondary education with G. C. E. without qualification	7	8.7	10.1	10.2	6.5	4.6	3.5
Secondary education with G. C. E. with qualification	5.5	7.4	8.6	8.2	5.2	2.8	2.4
College	3	4.7	5.2	4.6	2.8	1.8	1.5
University	2.3	2.6	3.8	2.9	2	1.3	1.7

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/thm/2/indi2_3_2.html

Unemployment is significantly exacerbated by under-education and a lack of skills. *Table 2* shows that the maximum primary school education has almost a quarter were unemployed in 2019, while the graduates for this was 1.7%. Of course, the good news is that the relative position of those with the lowest levels of education improved between 2005 and 2020, but their disadvantage compared to other groups remains significant.

Of course, it cannot be ignored that the response of groups more strongly connected to the labour market to unemployment, the chances of returning to the world of work is much more favourable, which can be explained primarily by the acquired human and relational capital.

If we examine the impact of unemployment on gender alone, we see from previous sociological and psychological studies that it means less psychological strain for women to become unemployed than for men. (Bánlaky 2010) The primary reason for this is to be found in the different social and gender roles of the sexes, which have very strong roots in social history, even if recent value studies (Pongráczné - S. Molnár 2011) testify to a more modern

role perception. Nevertheless, there is still a strong preference for the classic division of “breadwinner husband - good housewife and mother”. (R. Fedor 2016) And although with the spread of the two-earner family model in the 1950s, more and more women are entering the world of paid work, even after 70 years, for many, *the breadwinner husband - good housewife and mother* is the accepted role-sharing. This is the reason why, as a member of society wants to meet the roles expected by society, his or her absence from the labour market shocks men out of the role that society considers desirable and makes them feel worthless.

I illustrate the adaptation of women to unemployment and their lower mental strain with Crosby's theory of role accumulation. According to Crosby (1991), fulfilling a role in the labour market and family has a positive effect on the self-esteem of working mothers. In this case, the positive effect of the dual role on the individual can be highlighted, which intensifies when one of the roles comes into the background. In the case of a temporary weakening of one role, exercising the other role reduces the feeling of redundancy. Nguyen (2005) states that the energy released is recouped by investing in another area of life (it is not a material return). For example, the role of the woman having a child in the labour market is weakening, and at the same time it is oriented towards the family and the household (Nguyen 2005). The multi-pillar role, which includes paid (contract work) and unpaid work (domestic work, raising children), can be interpreted as a difficulty on the one hand, but as a protection factor on the other. This explains why the psychological burden of unemployment (in the short term) affects men more than women. “In the case of unemployed women, the household and the upbringing of children become a real framework for life management, time management and everyday life” (Bánfalvy 2002: 100).

Based on the above example, it can be clearly seen that unemployment is a very complex socio-economic phenomenon, according to Bánfalvy (2002), in order to understand it, it is inevitable to place it in a social context, to examine it in a socio-demographic, socio-economic, psychological, political framework.

4. Brief presentation of the Hungarian labour market processes

The employment situation in Hungary has shown an increasingly favourable picture recently, although the road to it has been very bumpy; two difficult periods characterize the labour market processes of the regime-changing Hungary.

During the period of regime change, dramatic processes began in the labour market. As a result of the political and economic changes that took place in the early 1990s, the share of the employed among both men and women dropped drastically, as a result of which unemployment and the number of inactive people increased exponentially and permanently. (Csoba et al. 2009)

The most obvious consequence of the process was the emergence of employment problems, including mass unemployment. The number of registered unemployed has been growing steadily since 1990, reaching a peak in 1993 (13%), when their number rose to 694,000, nearly thirty-fold in three years. From 1994 a slow decline began, then at the beginning of the millennium (5.7% in 2001) the unemployment rate of Hungary was low in international comparison. (Galasi – Kőrösi, 2002)

At the turn of the millennium, the Hungarian labour market was characterized by duality. While the proportion of the registered unemployed was relatively low by international standards, the employment rate also stagnated at a low level. (Frey 1997) However, the really big problem was reported by unemployed people who were not looking for work and were not registered for various reasons (education, health, geography, etc.) (Frey 1997). The proportion of women was very significant.

The female unemployment rate was 9.5 percent in 2000, then rose to 10.7 percent in 2010 after a temporary decline (KSH 2010). Until 2004, it was a kind of Hungarian peculiarity that the unemployment rate of women was lower than that of men, compared to the member states of the European Union. The under-represented presence of Hungarian women among the unemployed was due to the fact that a higher proportion of men work in sectors (as a civil servants, in state-owned employers) where the risk of job loss has been

relatively low for a long time. In recent years, however, the gap between the two gender's unemployment rates has been closing and even leveled off in 2004, at 6.1% for both women and men. In the following period, we witnessed women becoming more and more unemployed, as their share was already half a percent (7.7%) higher in 2007. The reason for this is that during this period the downsizing hit the area of public administration the hardest, thus, the female-dominated sphere was hit hardest. Then, as a result of the economic crisis, the situation before 2005 was restored, as the redundancies were mainly observed in the mechanical engineering and construction industries, where a higher proportion of men already worked. (Table 3). According to the data of the Central Statistical Office (KSH), between 2009 and 2010, the gender distribution of the unemployed shows a difference of almost one percentage point to the detriment of men, so that in the two years studied both women (9.8 and 10.7%) and unemployment among men (10.4 and 11.7%) increased (Frey 2005, 2009).

Table 3. Unemployment rate of women and men (15-74 years) 2005-2019

	2005	2009	2010	2013	2015	2017	2019
Total	7.2	10.1	11.3	10.2	6.8	4.2	3.5
man	7	10.4	11.7	10.3	6.6	3.8	3.4
woman	7.5	9.8	10.7	10.2	7.1	4.6	3.5

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/thm/2/indi2_3_2.html

In the 10 years since then, there has been a significant decline in unemployment rates, and although there is still a nearly one percentage point difference between the two genders in 2017, by 2019 this difference has almost disappeared.

Employment

The employment rate has fallen, although to varying degrees, in each region over the past two decades, it was rising gradually since 1996, but well below the level of the 1980s. The negative shift was most drastic in the first half of the 1990s, followed by signs of stabilization in the second half of the decade. Since 2001, employment rates have risen in all regions. The favourable trend was interrupted after the end of 2008, and the employment rate of 15-74-year-olds fell below 50% (Nagy 2001; KSH 2009).

Employment problems in the early 1990s were significant for both sexes, but the proportion of women in employment fell more sharply than the proportion of men (Galasi and Kőrösi 2002). Between 1990 and 1996, the employment rate of men aged 15-59 fell from 83.3% to 64.2%, while that of women aged 15-54 fell from 75.5% to 54.1% (Nagy 2001).

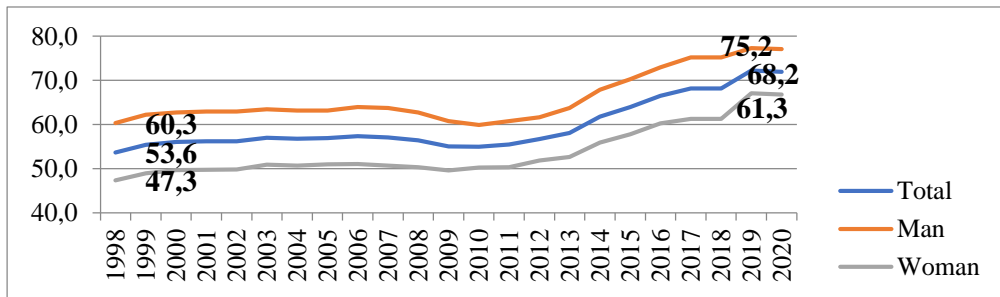
In the first half of the millennium, the level of female employment increased insignificantly, by one percent (0.7% for men), mainly due to the biennial increase in the retirement age, the possibility of further employment, the increasingly strict inactivity before the retirement age, and the relapse of proven disability. (Koncz 2004; KSH 2010). This is supported by the fact that the employment rate of women aged 25-54 has stagnated over this time interval. Thus, similar to the trend in the European Union, the employment level changed in two distant age groups. While that of the older age group almost doubled, that of the younger ones decreased. The unfavourable indicators of the latter group can be explained partly by the widening of participation in education and partly by the declining employment opportunities (Nagy 2001; Koncz 2004).

The improving employment trend observed in the years after the turn of the millennium was broken in 2008. At that time, the number of people in employment fell by 47,000. This unfavourable trend did not change in 2009 either, which is faithfully illustrated by the decrease in the number of employees of about 98,000 (KSH 2010).

The second employment crisis was triggered by the global financial crisis that erupted in the second half of 2008, which turned into a general economic crisis by 2009, resulting a shrinking in employment and a consequent sharp rise in the number of unemployed. The labour market recession has hit the regions of the country in different ways. The impact of the crisis has hit the regions with more favourable economic and labour market conditions and higher employment first and foremost. The number of unemployed in 2009 averaged 421,000 person, 92,000 (27.8%) more than in 2008. According to the KSH's labour force survey, the last time this was the case was in 1993. The unemployment rate among 15-74 year olds rose from 7.8% to 10.7% in one year. In 2010, according to the Labour Force Survey (MEF), the decline in the number of employees stopped, the growth in the number of unemployed slowed down (KSH 2009), but in 2013 the labour market recovered.

The improving trend has been observed since 2013, when the economy recovered from the shock caused by the crisis of 2008, which, in addition to the economic recovery, is due to social and economic policy measures that promote employment.

Figure 1. Development of the employment rate by sex (15-74 years), 1998-2020



Source: https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/mun/hu/mun0017.html

Examining the gender distribution of the employed, it can be seen that the proportion of men is higher every year (54.1% of the employed in 2009 are men), but the Labour Force Survey (MEF) data also show that the negative effects of the crisis affected men more than women. This is related to the fact that the recession reaching the labour market was significant in the male-dominated sectors (manufacturing, machinery, construction). As a result, there is a greater change in men's employment rates. While the employment rate for women fell by 0.6% between 2008 and 2009 and by a further 0.1% by 2010, the employment rate for men fell by 1.7% and 0.6% over the same period. Nevertheless, inequalities in employment opportunities remain significant. Between 2010 and 2020, both non-employment indicators show an upward trend, but it can also be seen that the difference has not changed in the 10-year perspective. The employment disadvantage of women seems to be perpetuating.

In terms of region, the employment rate of women was the most favourable in Central Hungary (61.4%), while the Northern Great Plain took the last place in the ranking (48.6%) (KSH 2010, 2020).

Based on the latest statistical data, the situation in Hungary is currently very favourable. In 2019, the employment rate was 60.8% and the unemployment rate was 3.4% in the population aged 15-74. (KSH 2019)

Unemployment in Hungary is characterized by a high degree of territorial differentiation, similar to international trends. Unemployment affected different parts of the country to varying degrees after the change of regime, and inequality proved to be persistent. (Bánfalvy 2002, Czibere–Molnár 2017) The worst-positioned counties include Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Nógrád counties. Among the regions, the regions of the Northern Great Plain and Northern Hungary and Southern Transdanubia are most affected by unemployment. The situation of the smaller areas is also differentiated within the individual counties, which can be traced back to the differences in accessibility due to the lack of adequate infrastructure.

Table 4. Unemployment rate of the population aged 15-64

Territorial unit	Unemployment rate %							
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Northern Great Plain	14,1	11,6	10,7	9,1	7,3	6,5	6,2	7,2
Hajdu-Bihar	14,8	12,7	11,1	8,5	6,4	5,5	4,5	5,2
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	11,1	7,5	7,0	6,4	6,6	4,5	5,7	7,7
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	15,5	13,5	12,8	11,4	8,4	8,7	8,1	8,8
National	9,9	7,5	6,7	5,0	4,1	3,6	3,3	4,2

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/mun/hu/mun0077.html

Reducing territorial inequalities is hampered by the fact that those with the lowest levels of education are generally located in the most disadvantaged counties. According to the national comparison, in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county belonging to the Northern Great Plain region (at the site of our 2018 survey) the distribution of the education of the population in the 25–50 age group is the worst. (Varga 2015) The consequence is that one of the biggest problems of today's society and economy is the low level of education of the young people of the cumulatively disadvantaged areas, and the consequent lack of labour market skills. (Láczy 2017)

Table 5. Unemployment rate age groups [%]

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
15–19	49.7	45.4	43.0	51.5	51.7	38.0	32.6	26.2	23.9	22.4	23.3	24.8
20–24	23.9	24.4	24.2	26.0	23.8	18.4	15.4	11.3	9.0	8.4	9.6	11.1
25–29	11.2	13.3	11.7	13.0	11.2	8.9	8.0	6.0	4.6	4.1	4.4	5.7
30–34	8.3	9.5	8.3	9.1	8.7	6.8	6.0	4.3	3.7	3.5	2.4	3.4
35–39	8.1	9.3	9.4	9.3	7.6	6.1	5.5	4.3	3.7	3.4	2.7	3.8
40–44	8.7	9.5	9.7	8.4	8.8	6.3	5.1	3.8	3.1	3.1	2.8	3.4
45–49	8.8	9.7	10.3	9.1	8.6	5.8	5.2	3.7	2.8	2.6	2.5	3.2
50–54	7.7	9.1	9.6	9.5	8.1	5.8	5.8	4.5	3.7	3.0	2.4	2.8
55–59	7.1	8.6	10.0	8.8	8.4	6.0	5.1	3.8	3.0	2.4	2.3	3.1
60–64	3.5	4.3	5.4	6.3	6.6	7.6	7.4	5.6	4.5	2.9	2.1	2.8

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/mun/hu/mun0033.html

Based on the socio-economic processes ranging from the change of regime to the present day, the following employment/labour market periods can be distinguished in Hungary (the author's own typification):

1. The period from 1989/90-1993 the *I. period of Employment Crisis*: As a result of the change of regime and the transition to a market economy, employment and social security were greatly shaken.
2. The period from 1994 to 2000 is *the period of transition*: Labour market processes are characterized by a slow but steadily improving trend.
3. The period between 2001-2007 is the *I. rising period*: In this period the employment situation improves, with the accession to the European Union the repertoire of active instruments promoting labour market integration and the possibility of financing expands.
4. The period from 2008 to 2010 is the *II. period of employment crisis*: The financial crisis from the United States is ringing, reaching the countries of Europe. The unemployment rate reaches the indicators of the period following the change of regime.
5. The period from 2011 to 2019 is the *II. rising period*: Employment levels are rising, mainly as a result of the policy responses to the general economic crisis.

It also appears from the above that the 2005 and 2015 databases analysed later (see Chapter 13) contain data for the two rising stages, when we hope that labour management has shown a more open, development-ready “face”.

In order to evaluate the periods, it must be taken into account that the periods of socio-economic processes have also been reorganized by international and domestic political events. The most significant of these is that Hungary became a member of the European Union in 2004, in which the more intensive relationship with the foreign economy has a great impact on investments and our labour management.

The epoch is marked by 2019, although it came here because it is our last closed marketing year, but it is possible that 2020 will be the beginning of a new period due to the COVID 19 pandemic. Whatever the future brings, we will need the experience and good practices of recent years.

DUPress

5. Job satisfaction / Bad work - good work

According to Giddens, most people don't do work that they would ideally consider ideal for themselves. Let's face it, we have to be very lucky to find a job that suits our ideas and work aspirations, but together we can still think positively about our own jobs, we can think that it would be even worse if it weren't. A bigger problem is the mismatch between education and the work done, or the poor, non-motivating, stressful, and thus destructive work environment.

According to Warr's (1987) theory, psychological harm from a poor work environment rivals the harm caused by unemployment, arguing that one cannot be interpreted without the other. According to the theory, there would be good and bad jobs. Time spent in a bad job, with a bad work, can be just as devastating mentally and later physically as unemployment, and moreover, according to Warr, losing a bad job can even have a positive effect on the individual concerned. It identifies the criteria for a good job on the basis of the following factors: "a good job is defined as one with a low psychological burden and a high income, a diverse job, stable employment, a high level of skills, a good work atmosphere and the job is socially appreciated. (Bánfalvy 2010:80) And a bad job is all that is the opposite of what has just been listed. Based on all this, it is understandable that dissatisfaction with work can also be considered as a feature of the precariousness, since the uncertainty factor can be understood in action even in this situation. A person who is dissatisfied with his/her job experiences constant stress, is not loyal to his/her job, is looking for other employment opportunities during working hours, and cannot concentrate on the current work activity.

Learning about job satisfaction is playing an increasingly important role in the context of studies exploring subjective well-being, health status, happiness, workplace engagement, and the effects of workplace stress. It also shows that job satisfaction research is a multidisciplinary field of research, as it also has psychological, sociological and economic implications. A significant part of the previous studies focuses on job satisfaction in one occupational group and, in this context, on leaving the profession. From this aspect of the study, both domestically and internationally, most people examine health care workers,

and nurses are the focus of the surveys. This is also evidenced by the study of Bethlehem (2012) and Németh (2013) and Deutsch et al., (2015).

Another area of surveys is given by jobs that focus on workplace stress. In Hungary, a separate research group deals with this topic: the *Workplace Stress and Stress Management research group* at Semmelweis University, headed by Adrienne Stauder.

An international comparative study was conducted by Medgyesi and Róbert (2000), who analysed the issue of satisfaction based on the data of reference groups. They found that women, as well as those with higher earnings, managers and the self-employed, were more satisfied with their jobs. Satisfaction is counteracted by differences in an individual's work value and the characteristics of the current job, as well as when the work is physically and mentally stressful. Their results show that a good personal relationship with co-workers increases the level of satisfaction.

5.1. Theoretical models of job satisfaction

We can read about different theories and measurement possibilities in the literature on job satisfaction. They differ in that they are not completely different, yet they look at job satisfaction from different perspectives. The possible differences observed in the theories depend on the discipline from which they approach the scientific question, and on the external and internal, organizational and person-dependent indicators that are taken into account in the evaluation model.

Sociologists, Medgyesi, Róbert (2000) and Hajdu, Sik (2016) focus mostly on the pattern of job satisfaction in the context of different stratification variables, as well as certain social (demographic) groups and value choices. Since the 1970s, the range of research examining employment and labour market generation differences has been very wide, both in work and organizational sociology and in the field of management science (Hajdu and Sik, 2016). As a new aspect, the research topic of health sociological research, which has hardly been researched so far, but is decisive for the future, may be the assessment of the impact of work-life balance on self-rated health status.

Economics-themed research examines job satisfaction as a balance of investment and return on human capital.

Among the representatives of classical economics, Smith was the first to examine empirically how investing in human capital and skills that can be utilized in the labour market shapes income and wage structure. In economic research, the emphasis is on the relationship between investment-profit and expenditure-benefit. According to Locke (1976), employee values influence their job satisfaction and this depends on the extent to which workplace factors meet employee expectations. In addition to the increase in income, better and less harmful working conditions, more comfortable work and increased leisure time can be interpreted as the return on higher education. These are the so-called external or additional benefits of education. (Locke, 1976; Rosen, 1998)

The study of the relationship between investment and return on human capital development in economics is based on microeconomic foundations, the sociological aspect follows the practice of status acquisition models. The fundamental difference between economic and sociological approaches is that while economics examines the investment/return relationship within an objective, material framework, in sociology the subjective satisfaction indicators of the individual also appear as explanatory variables. (R. Fedor, 2015) Researching individual subjective satisfaction is another challenge for researchers, because if we start from the fact that the existence of safety has become outstanding in job evaluation, it is likely that it can significantly influence the employee's adaptation to job retention, also to a lower satisfaction threshold. If this assumption can be proven, then the test aspects need to be expanded.

5.2. Models

One way to survey job satisfaction is through Herzberg's two-factor model based on Maslow's general hierarchy of human needs. According to this, the satisfaction is determined by the so-called hygienic (external) factors and motivators. Herzberg classified working conditions, leadership style, wages, and workplace relationships as hygienic factors. Meeting hygiene needs is not a direct consequence of satisfaction. Rather, he states that their lack causes dissatisfaction but does not motivate them to perform better. He listed higher needs as motivators. In his opinion, these internal motivational factors determine satisfaction the most, such as recognition, opportunity for promotion, professional development, responsibility, curiosity of work. That is, if we motivate the employee with these motivators, they will be more

creative, perform more efficiently, and thus increase their satisfaction. (Herzberg, 1968)

In Warr's vitamin model, he identified each workplace factor with vitamins "C," "E," and "A and" D. Vitamins "C" and "E" such as salary, social position, physical security are not harmful in large quantities either, while the variety of work, the degree of control, the amount of skills required embodying vitamins "A" and "D", the degree of interpersonal relationships can be toxic in large quantities, of course in the context of the relationship between the employee and the workplace.

Warr (1987) sees job satisfaction as an indicator of well-being at work, in addition to work-related anxiety and emotional exhaustion. These characteristics are greatly influenced by work-specific autonomy, workplace requirements, and workplace social support.

According to Strauss's model, work can be incentive and not incentive. The employee's orientation to work can also be of two types: extrinsic (asset-type) orientation, when work is seen as a means to achieve their goals outside work, their needs, and intrinsic (expressive) orientation, when work is an end in itself, a source of expression of hidden abilities. (Strauss, 1974)

5.3. The *raison d'être* of job satisfaction research

According to Locke, the evaluation of work is associated with a positive emotional state. It can be put in the simplest way that the opportunities offered by the work done coincide with the aspirations associated with the work expected by the individual. That is, the employee gets what he expects, he considers ideal. It can also be seen from this that job satisfaction is not only a function of the so-called hard variables, but also significantly depends on the individual's personal values and aspirations.

In summary, employee satisfaction is determined by the combined presence of several factors. Social recognition of work, wages, working conditions, opportunities for advancement, control, contact with employees, opportunities for self-employment, the role of the worker in the organizational hierarchy and the possibility of influencing one's own work, as well as socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors, individual life goals and aspirations. Taken together,

this has an impact not only on job satisfaction but also on life satisfaction in general.

In addition to subjective aspects, we must not forget the importance of macro-level determinants either. The situation of the given social policy and labour market. What is the current level of employment? Are there employment difficulties and, if so, are there adequate responses at the policy level? If not, there is a general labour market insecurity, which not only causes the phenomenon of precariat as a swelling of a labour market groups living in uncertainty, but also increases employee dissatisfaction.

Measuring job satisfaction is not only individual, but organizational, and if you like, a societal interest. The general view is that whoever is satisfied performs better in the workplace. Although the causal relationship is not yet clear, it is that the employee performs better because he is satisfied or satisfied because he performs well. Moreover, it can be observed that researchers dealing with the topic formulate two different positions in this regard. While Iaffaldano and Muchinsky (1985 cited by Deutsh et al., 2015) and Donald et al., (2005) showed a clear relationship between job satisfaction and productivity, Jude et al., (2001) considered this relationship to be weak. However, Tait et al., (1989) and Warr (2007) found that job satisfaction correlated strongly with life satisfaction.

However, there is a consensus that the more satisfied an employee is with his or her job, the more loyal he or she is to his or her actual work during working hours, the less he or she is on sick leave, and he or she does not think about leaving the organization.

The results of the empirical study of job satisfaction are explained in detail in Chapter 13.

One of the background variables in job satisfaction is how we can reconcile paid work with our private roles. Do we have a private sphere outside of work at all? Can we devote enough time to what we consider sufficient for our other roles, do we have free time? If so, is that enough for recreation? Lack of free time can also be seen as a kind of precarious criterion. The employee of the precariat also performs paid work in his spare time, since the production of sufficient goods necessary for subsistence can only be done in this way. Today's work organization trend and the rapid development of technology and

IT are almost forcing a continuous online presence. Our phone notifies you when an email arrives, and we are forced to read it. Employers are aware of all this, and since our work organization tool, laptop, phone is almost always available, they feel (and this is so) that they can start an email about another task anytime, from anywhere. And the employee, being online, becomes aware of the new task as soon as the message arrives, which he or she immediately begins. As a result, work time and leisure time blur. However, this will soon lead to a conflict between work and private life. In the next section, I will introduce this problem.

However, new reasons for examining job satisfaction have been observed in recent years. On the one hand, due to the pandemic, atypical and/or home office work, which was originally characterized by a self-employed, versatile, creative, skilled workforce that can easily adapt to the new environment, has now become almost common in the labour market. With this, all the previously identified phenomena related to work and leisure and organizational culture affected a large number of people. On the other hand, the large number of people with low preparedness and education have lost their jobs. At first, they may be hoping that this condition will be temporary, but it will push many of them into insecurity forever if they don't get help to work again. This has a strong precarious effect.

On the other hand, it is closely linked to the above phenomenon that unemployment is persistently high in certain areas, affecting different generations and, to varying degrees, even skilled workers.

Thus, we cannot measure the same characteristics in the cumulatively disadvantaged districts and regions as in a stable organization, in a predictable social environment, in a hierarchy that provides professional advancement.

To a certain extent, this gap is reduced by public employment, but we can hardly talk about a predictable vision and competitiveness in such working conditions. The resulting backlog can lead to outsourcing, and inability caused by a deprived environment. The precedent arising from this situation is a new area of research, the goal of which, based on social responsibility, must be to create opportunities.

6. Work-life balance/conflicts

Reconciling work and private life responsibilities can be a temporary difficulty for those in certain special life situations. This is especially true for families with young children but reconciling work and private life responsibilities is not an easy task for other groups, such as those caring for a sick or elderly family member, those studying in addition to work, or those in poor health due to old age.

Workers in certain sectors may be more affected by these difficulties. Such are those working in the health and social spheres, among whom women with families, young children or children are over-represented. Workers have to perform regularly in stressful situations, fluctuation is high, and labour shortages are significant in some areas. The question arises: on the basis of these, can we say whether there are sectors with more significant precarious characteristics than the average or the majority. If they exist, they are occupational groups located in the middle, lower segment of the hierarchy of health and social work organizations.

As a result of the difficulties in balancing work and private life, the conflict between the two areas, the individual faces shortcomings in the performance of both family tasks and work tasks, and the resulting remorse becomes permanent. The prolongation of the conflict between the two spheres affects the employee's productivity, the balance of family relationships, the realization of the planned number of children, which in the long run shape the individual's subjective well-being, perceived health and ultimately even real health.

This problem mainly affects families with small children, especially women, but perhaps the worst off are the members of the sandwich generation, who, in addition to raising children, also take care of their elderly relatives (R. Fedor 2015; Nagy, Paksi 2014) the question of work-life balance, of course, also affects men. Today, there is also a kind of double role expectation for men. Despite the fact that the majority of society still considers the provision of the family's financial background to be their main task, there is a growing social demand for their active participation in the upbringing and daily care of children (Makay, Spéder 2018).

The need to balance work and private life is also reflected in the strategic objectives at the domestic and international level. Promoting employment and

work-life balance is an important domestic and international goal in strategic documents aimed at economic development, employment promotion and the successful social integration of young people.

- The Employment priority of *The Economic Development and Innovation Operational Program 2014-2020 (Gazdaságfejlesztési és Innovációs Operatív program)* focused on improving the adaptability of workers and employers, as a result of which disadvantaged jobseekers (e.g. those with young children, carers of elderly relatives) should have more opportunities to access flexible forms of employment, work and employment. to reconcile privacy.
- *The policy strategy laying the foundations for the development of employment policy for the period 2014-2020 (5.4.1) (2014-2020 közötti időszak foglalkoztatáspolitikai célú fejlesztéseinek megalapozását meghatározó szakpolitikai stratégiában)*, also calls for the promotion of flexibility in the workplace, the promotion of work-life balance, and the support of the employment of women with small children.
- *The National Strategy for the Promotion of Social Equality between Women and Men 2010-2021 - Directions and Goals (1004/2010. (I. 21.) (A Nők és Férfiak Társadalmi Egyenlőségét Elősegítő Nemzeti Stratégia - Irányok és Célok 2010-2021)* also emphasizes that one of the key goals of the Europe 2020 strategy is to increase the employment rate to 75% in the group of women and men aged 20-64, and therefore the implementation of the strategy should pay particular attention to removing barriers to women's participation in the labour market. In addition, the commission strategy aims to bring women's employment rates as close as possible to men's.
- the 88/2009. (X. 29.) *parliamentary resolution on the National Youth Strategy (88/2009. (X. 29.) OGY határozat a Nemzeti Ifjúsági Stratégiáról)* is one of the special goals of the development of the environment necessary for the successful social integration of the youth age groups, one of the central elements of which is the *Reconciliation of Childbearing, Family - Family and Career*.
- *Communication from the European Commission (COM 2017 252) draws attention to "Supporting work-life balance for working parents and carers"*
- *the Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council (COM 201 253) " Promoting work-life balance for parents and carers". (<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/DOC/?uri=CELEX:52017PC0253&from=EN>)*

In developed market economies, the need for a full life has been in focus in recent decades. As a reflection of this, the importance of family life, the pursuit

of earning activity and the harmony of family life grew. Overload due to the conflict between work and private life, lack of free time can be observed mostly in the case of women raising young children, which hinders their participation in training, limits their opportunities to build relationships, and influences the realization of their childbearing plans. Great progress have been made in the last few years in ensuring the reconciliation of work and private life and in Hungary, mainly by expanding the family policy instrument system, but there are still shortcomings. Employment and inflexibility of work organization can be mentioned as a hindrance. A very small proportion of atypical forms of employment, and employees related to family roles, it makes it more difficult to strike a balance between a family with a more traditional attitude and work related to family and employment roles. Inequalities resulting from territorial differentiation also set back the mitigation of difficulties. The ever-expanding but still limited number of places in children's institutions also hinders the balance between these two spheres. (R. Fedor 2016)

Today, one of the biggest problems for families with children is balancing childbearing and paid work. Since the advent of the two-earner family model, it has become less and less common for women to consider only the role of mother and wife desirable, and the exclusivity of exercising their role in the labour market is acceptable to only a few. The most common life path is the “dual career”, which includes the parallel presence and importance of paid and unpaid work (Spéder 2001; Koncz 2006). Hungarian society is notoriously child centric. Rejection of childbearing is not an alternative even for women who are carefully building their careers in the labour market. However, it can be observed more and more that the time schedule of priorities has changed, the date of having the first child is postponed, and the assumption of the imagined number of children falls short.

Work occupies an essential place in an individual's life, as after home it is the place where we spend most of our time in our lives. For this reason, it is extremely important under what circumstances we experience this, how we feel while performing our tasks, and how satisfied we are with our work and our workplace. Examined from another aspect, economic activity as well as its absence has an impact on an individual's subjective and physical health status.

Satisfaction with work and the workplace is particularly important the work of employees who are in improving the fate of the vulnerable, based on human

relationships, as stress and burnout are increasing among those working in the auxiliary profession. In our planned study, the almost everyday problems of this connection between two intertwined work areas, those working in the health and social spheres, raise the urgency of learning about this topic, especially considering the possible effects of post-pandemic phenomena.

Our primary target group is characterized by a shift work schedule. This disturbed circadian rhythm can cause sleep disturbances, psychic, psychosomatic, and somatic complaints. A common problem for shift workers is sleep disturbance due to disturbed circadian rhythms (Fusz et al., 2016).

During work, workplace conditions, such as work schedule, atmosphere, and work ethic, are directly related to performance. If we are satisfied with our job, we will work better, more efficiently than those who are dissatisfied. A dissatisfied worker often changes jobs, misses more from work, does not spend a significant portion of his or her time working, but searches for other job opportunities and earns a living from other sources. An additional problem is that dissatisfaction affects both the subjective and objective health status of the employee in the long run. (R. Fedor, Balla 2019) The statement made from the above two aspects can be deduced from both motivation and loyalty, but in both cases, there is an employment relationship. However, uncertainty about the existence of a job can have a number of other consequences.

7. The appearance of the precariat in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county

Most of my research is related to the Northern Great Plain region, which is the second largest and most populous region of Hungary, located in the north-eastern segment of the Great Plain and bordering three neighbouring countries, Slovakia, Ukraine and Romania. The Northern Great Plain region is one of the most disadvantaged regions in Hungary, and this unfavourable position is also reflected in the indicators of economic activity. There are special tables in the annual reports of the KSH, which provide a picture of the labour market situation, labour force and employment statements by country, region and county. From these, it can be proved with very eloquent summaries that, based on the most disadvantaged or close conditions, the population of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county is the poorest within the region.

7.1. Demographics already tell us about the future

Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county is the third most populous county after Pest and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties. Its natural increase and decrease index of population is the second most favourable in the country after Pest county. In terms of its migration balance, however, it ranks last on the national list, most people emigrated from this county in 2018. The second most abandoned county was Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, so the areas with the most disadvantaged employment and economic conditions for decades are most affected by emigration.

Examining the districts of the county, we see that only the natural increase/decrease index of the Kemece district entered the positive field in 2018, the balance of each of the other districts has a negative sign. The emigration affects the four border districts (Záhonyi, Fehérgyarmat, Csengeri, Vásárosnaményi) as well as the districts of Kisvárdai and Baktalórántháza the most.

The resident population of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county on 1 January 2019 was 552,964, which is 5,197 less than a year earlier.

In 2018, the natural decrease of the population in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county - in line with the national growing trend - was significantly higher than in the previous year.

During the year, a total of 5,650 children were born and 7,000 died. The number of live births was 5.4% lower and the number of deaths 3.1% higher than in 2017.

The decline in population is not a county feature but the result of a national trend. A very unfavourable demographic process started in Hungary as early as 1981, which continued after the change of regime. While in 1990 the total fertility rate was still 1.85, by 2010 it had fallen to 1.25. Today we can report slightly more favourable data, in 2018 the total fertility rate in Hungary was 1.49. In addition, the number of marriages has decreased significantly, and the number of divorces is very high.

Several approaches have emerged to explain the new demographic characteristics of post-socialist countries. Some researchers on the topic explain the change in the willingness to have children with changes in values, new structural conditions, and unpredictable and uncertain labour market processes. Others see the cause of the unfavourable demographic processes in the expansion of educational opportunities, the inadequacy of the institutional system providing day care for children, and in working conditions that push the harmony of family life into the background. (Spéder 2006)

Another significant demographic and socio-political issue in the demographic trend is the increase, in our case, in life expectancy at birth, which is good news. However, the increase in life expectancy, the low birth rate balance and the emigration of young people of working age have pushed the aging index unfavourably¹, which is nationwide according to the latest data 139.5 (2021). This indicator in 2012 was 116.4.

Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, mentioned as the “cradle” of Hungary, has been known to be one of the counties with the highest number of children for decades. Due to this, as well as the lower-than-average national life expectancy at birth, the aging index is the lowest here, at 109.9, although there is also an increase compared to previous years.

¹ One of the most frequently used measures of population aging is the aging index, which also predicts future trends. The aging index shows the proportion of older people (aged 65 and over) in the population aged 14 and under.

Table 6. Life expectancy at birth

Territorial unit	2001	2012	2020	2001	2012	2020	2001	2012	2020
	men			women			total		
Budapest	69.3	73.6	74.3	76.5	79.2	79.9	72.9	76.41	77.09
Pest county	68.7	71.9	72.7	76.5	78.2	78.8	72.61	75.08	75.79
Hajdú-Bihar county	68.04	71.83	72.37	76.63	79.23	79.75	72.34	75.53	76.06
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county	67.43	70.55	70.55	76.25	77.62	77.61	71.84	74.09	74.08
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county	65.78	70.05	70.7	75.74	78.26	77.5	70.76	74,155	74.1
Northern Great Plain	67	70.8	71.3	76.2	78.4	78.3	71.6	74.64	74.81
Country total	68.2	71.5	72.2	76.5	78.4	78.7	72.32	74.92	75.48

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/nep/hu/nep0039.html

Regional disparities can also be seen in demographic trends. It is sad news that the life prospects of the people living here are the worst after Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. The data show that a man living in Budapest lives on average 2.5 years longer than one living in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county.

Within the county, the districts most affected by aging include the districts of Nyíregyháza, Csengeri, Nagykálló, and in this respect the districts of Mátészalka, Nyírbátor and Kemece are in the best position.

Table 7. Aging index

Territorial unit	2001	2012	2021
Budapest	138.3	149.1	160.8
Pest county	74.1	89	104.8
Hajdú-Bihar county	73.4	99.6	126.3
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county	88.1	118.5	143.7
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county	63.1	79.9	109.9
Northern Great Plain	72.9	96.2	124.1
Country total	91.3	116.4	139.5

Source: https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/nep/hu/nep0039.html

7.2. Employment versus unemployment

Looking at the latest unemployment data (2020), we see that the regional indicator is 3% higher than the 4.2% measured nationally. Examining the internal unemployment structure of the region, it can be seen that the indicator of Hajdú-Bihar county (5.2%) only slightly exceeds the national level, but the

unemployment rate of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, which is the worst positioned at the regional level, is more than twice as high (8, 8%), also in the last place nationwide.

The financial crisis of 2008 set in motion a catastrophic change in developed countries. The collapse of the financial market had a direct impact on the world of work. Hungary's employment indicators reached a low point as during the change of regime. The labour market crisis has abated since 2013, when the employment rate exceeded 58.1%. In the following period, largely due to the active instruments of employment policy, the trend started in 2013 continued, and the 2016 data already show an employment rate of 66.5%. Studies have shown that the positive trend is due to the absorption effect of public works programs on the unemployed. Without them, the employment rate would probably be worse. It is also worth mentioning that there are small settlements - of which I would like to highlight some settlements of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county in the Northern Great Plain region - where income from public work is the only legal income related to work, and as such, it is vital to for families with uncertain life prospects. (My experience with research camp leaders related to the Children's Opportunity program has also supported this.) On the other hand, income from public works is not even close to income from the open labour market.

Hungary is characterized by a large regional difference in terms of employment and unemployment, which is similar to international trends, but its depth is different.

The most disadvantaged counties include Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, and Nógrád counties, and the most favourable counties are Győr-Moson-Sopron, Vas, Fejér and Pest counties. In terms of regions, the regions of the Northern Great Plain (7.2%) and Northern Hungary (5%), Southern Transdanubia (5.2%) are most affected by unemployment, and the least affected areas are the regions of Western and Central Transdanubia. (2.3% and 2.7%). Within each county, the situation of smaller areas, districts and small villages is sharply separated, which can be traced back to the incomplete infrastructural features. (KSH 2021)

Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county is more affected by this feature, the proportion of settlements with less than 1000 inhabitants in the Fehérgyarmat, Csengeri and Vásárosnamény districts is over 70%.

Table 8. Proportion of small settlements in some border districts

Settlements	White Colony district	Csengeri district	Mátészalka district	Vásárosnamény district
Proportion of settlements with less than 1000 inhabitants	85%	72%	30%	74%

Source: Láczy (2020), manuscript

The employment prospects of the county are further deepened by the fact that in the previous year we were in the last place among the counties in terms of the proportion of unemployed and public workers, and even that the county has a relatively large population.

Figure 2.
Unemployment rate in the population aged 25-50 by county, 2018

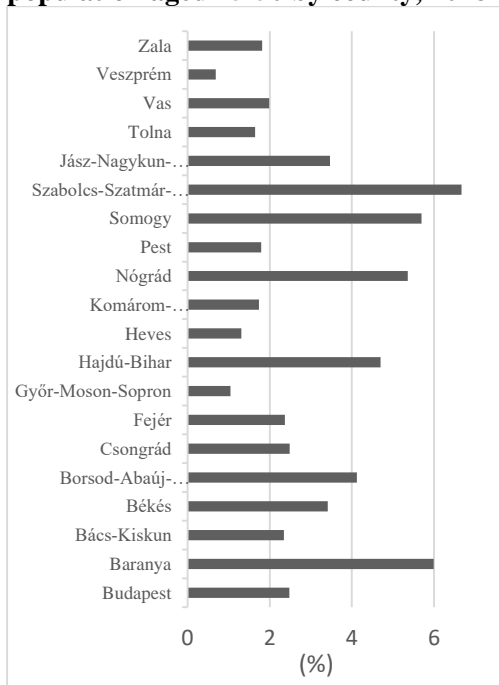
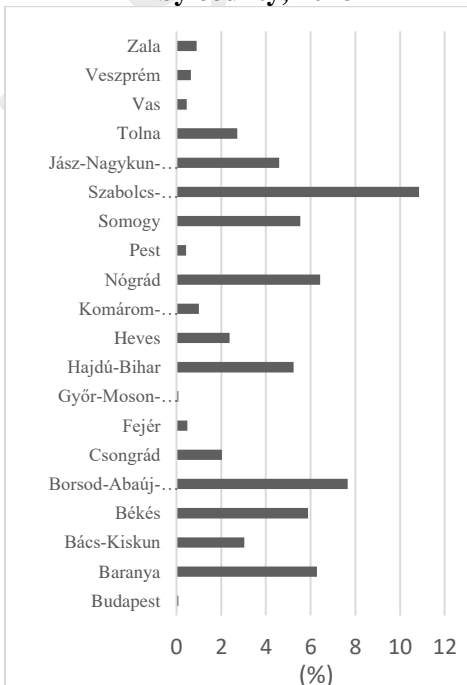


Figure 3.
Proportion of public employees by county, 2018



Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): A közoktatás indikátorrendszere

These data in themselves prove income poverty, as it can be seen from the high proportion of the unemployed and the public employed that almost a quarter of the county's population lives on aid and very low amounts of support. In

addition, the income of those employed is significantly lower than the national average, and even lower than that of the other two counties in the Northern Great Plain region. Although average earnings increased relatively here as well, as a result of the increased minimum wage, they did not represent a real increase in income.

In all districts of the county, the unemployment rate is higher than the national average. Even in the county seat and in the district of Kisvárda, which has made several large investments in recent years, they have only approached the average, but the actual number is also very high here, and it has even increased due to the virus epidemic. When considering the actual conditions, we must also take into account that in 2018, this county had the highest proportion of public employees among the employed. If we look at the distribution by district, we see that their numbers are highest in the same areas as those of job seekers. The social perception of public works is not exactly good, but it can be seen that the loss of this opportunity would result in these workers also being transferred to jobseekers, the unemployed, and thus unemployment could reach up to a fifth or a quarter of the population. Moreover, the employment rate here was only 56% in the first quarter of 2020, which is 3.5% worse than the national average. The number of inactive people has also increased, by 5% over the previous year, and their chances are further worsened by the Covid-19 epidemic. (Láczy 2020) Based on all this, we have to see that in the areas with the worst employment indicators, participation in public employment is the only legal income for the under-educated.

In the Fehérgyarmat district, for example, in 2018 the number of the working age population was 27,653, the number of registered jobseekers was 2,718 and the number of public workers was 3,628. Together, the two vulnerable groups make up nearly a quarter of the population. According to the latest surveys, the situation has not improved either, and the data for the first half of 2020 highlight another important factor. The working age population has declined almost everywhere in the county, which goes beyond natural demographic processes (birth-death). Rather, he warns that the stratum from Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county whose retention would be the key to the future is the young, well-educated source of labour.

The smoothing out of territorial inequalities is hampered by the fact that those with the lowest levels of education are located in the worst-off counties.

According to the national comparison, in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county belonging to the Northern Great Plain region, the distribution of the education of the population in the 25–50 age group is the worst. (Varga, 2015)

In addition to the geographical location of the region, this can presumably be explained by the fact that Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county belonging to the region is one of the counties with the most employment difficulties. The regions with the best labour market situation include Central Hungary (70.8%), Western Transdanubia (68.9%) and Central Transdanubia (68.4%). In addition, the regional employment situation has improved, as the employment rate increased by 13.5% between 2009 and 2017 (KSH statdat 6.2.1.10, 6.2.1.2).

Low educational attainment, lack of professional qualifications, belonging to the Roma ethnic group, and deteriorating municipal infrastructure are known to complicate the labour market, which can lead to long-term unemployment, income poverty and, ultimately, exclusion. Roma families are characterized by almost all of the above barriers to employment. The situation is further exacerbated by the eastern border. 52% of the Roma population lives in the Northern Great Plain region of Northern Hungary, which has the most unfavourable employment indicators. Among the two regions, the disadvantage of the Northern Great Plain region and within that of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county also stands out.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that employment indicators have improved in recent years, but the growing demand in the labour market does not affect certain regions of the country equally. We can also confirm that the increased demand for labour should be seen as a positive change, but the structural asymmetry of supply and demand cannot be ignored. According to the latest data, the employment disadvantage of the Northern Hungary, South Transdanubia and the Northern Great Plain regions emerges in regional conditions. The difficulties of 15-19 and 20-24 year-olds are decisive in each age group, examining the distribution by gender, the disadvantage of women can be observed (they are the main target groups of my research).

7.3. Patterns of education

Low educational attainment, lack of professional qualifications, belonging to the Roma ethnic group, and living in villages (small villages) are known to

make it harder to stand in the labour market. The proportion of those with a low level of primary or higher education is the highest in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, where a quarter of those aged 25–50 belong to this group.

Regarding the upper grades of primary schools, year repetition is the most common in the counties of Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plain, especially in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Nógrád counties. This also contributed to the fact that the regional differences increased between 2010 and 2016: while the annual recurrence rate decreased in most counties, it increased in Nógrád and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties.

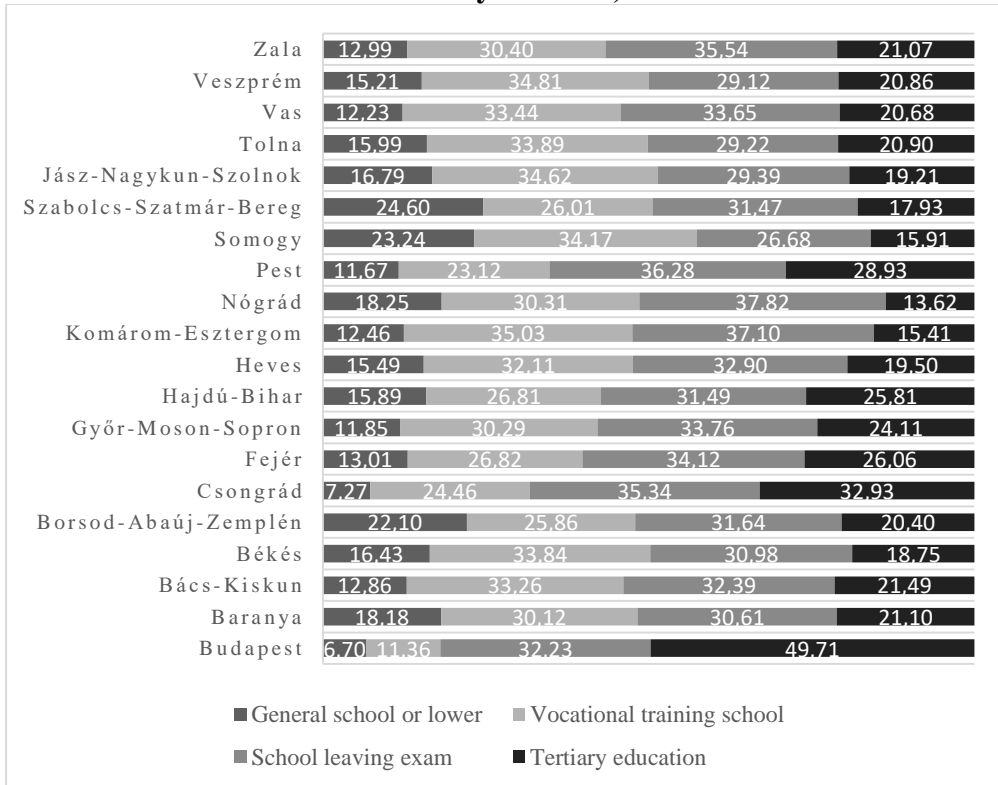
There are also significant regional differences in the proportion of young people who are neither working nor studying. Among 15–19-year-olds, the rate is around 10 percent in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county (compared to 2 percent in Fejér county, for example). Among young people aged 20–24, the proportion of non-employed and non-students is more than 30 per cent in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county (for example, less than 10 per cent in Csongrád county). (Varga 2019)

It can be seen that Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county is among the worst counties in several respects. The persistence of territorial inequalities is reinforced by the fact that those with the lowest levels of education are located in the worst-off counties, and these characteristics also worsen employment opportunities. (Láczy and R. Fedor 2017) In our county, this is added by the fact that Roma families are characterized by almost all of the above barriers to employment. (R. Fedor 2018). Employment difficulties induce further problems, which can ultimately lead to income poverty and exclusion.

In Hungary, a significant process of exclusion can be observed, a “new poverty”, which is particularly strong on three levels, in residential (territorial), school system and labour market exclusion. All this can be traced back to the rearrangement of macroeconomic factors, and it can also be assumed that the Hungarian education system in its current form is not suitable for reducing inequalities, but rather amplifies social differences, cultural backgrounds and cultural differences. Labour market indicators, despite partial improvements in some cases, are permanently exclusionary, leading to an increase in income poverty, which determines the quality of life (education, health, etc.). As a result of the above findings, three large social groups in our region need to be highlighted, the unemployed, the low-income and the Roma people, they are

all can hope to improve their destiny most from education. The education of the working age population of the county is very sad in this respect because we have the worst classification in the country. (MEP, 2020)

Figure 4. Distribution of the population aged 25-50 by highest level of education by counties, 2018



Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): A közoktatás indikátorrendszere

What would make this statement favourable, the same causes the most unfavourable position of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. It can be seen that the number of people with up to eight years of general education is decreasing in the counties and the proportion of people with secondary and higher education is increasing. The example of Budapest, on the other hand, clearly shows that those with higher education give up half of the age group, the proportion of those with up to eight grades is the lowest. In Szabolcs, however, this has changed so that the proportion of high school graduates has increased, but there are fewer people with higher education than those who have completed at most primary school. What's more, we don't know exactly how many of them didn't even finish elementary school. (MEP)

Table 9. Distribution of the education of the population of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county in the 25-50 age group

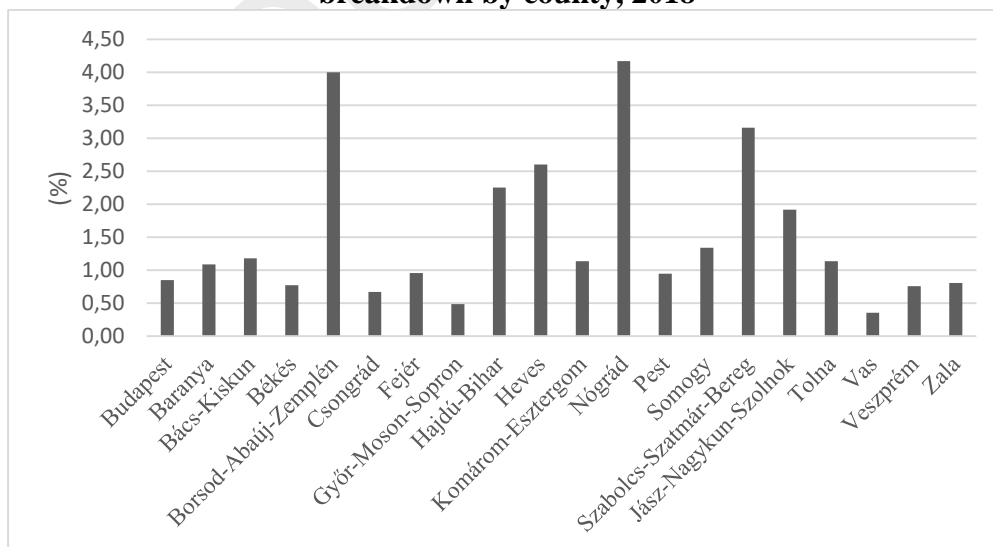
Year	Up to primary school	Vocational school	High school	Higher education
2015	26,8%	30,8%	26,5%	16,02
2018	24,6	26,01	31,47	17,93

Source: KSH

Addressing the situation of young people who drop out of the training system is a long-term problem, mainly because their chances in the labour market are reduced, which strengthens the reproduction of the layers of those who are long-term unemployed and drifting to the periphery of the labour market. The phenomenon of early school leaving is a very complex problem, rooted in personal, social, economic, educational and family background factors, so that it is almost self-evidently intertwined with socio-economic disadvantage. Early school leaving has a history, such as poor academic performance and unjustified absences.

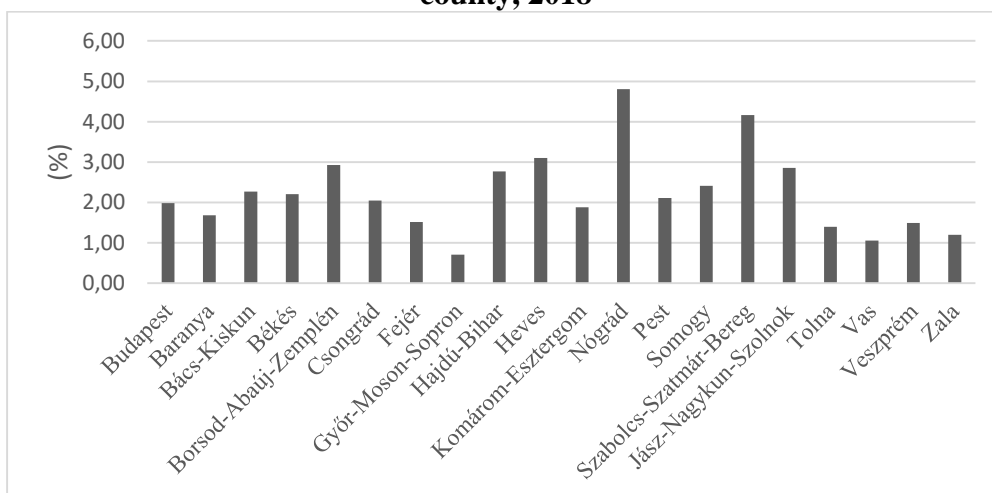
The proportion of students missing 30 or more unverified hours among primary school students exceeded 2 percent in five counties, all in the eastern half of the country. This includes, among others, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county.

Figure 5. Percentage of students with minimum 30 hours of unauthorized absence in primary and lower secondary education, breakdown by county, 2018



Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): A közoktatás indikátorrendszere

Figure 6. Percentage of students with minimum 30 hours of unauthorized absence in upper secondary education, breakdown by county, 2018

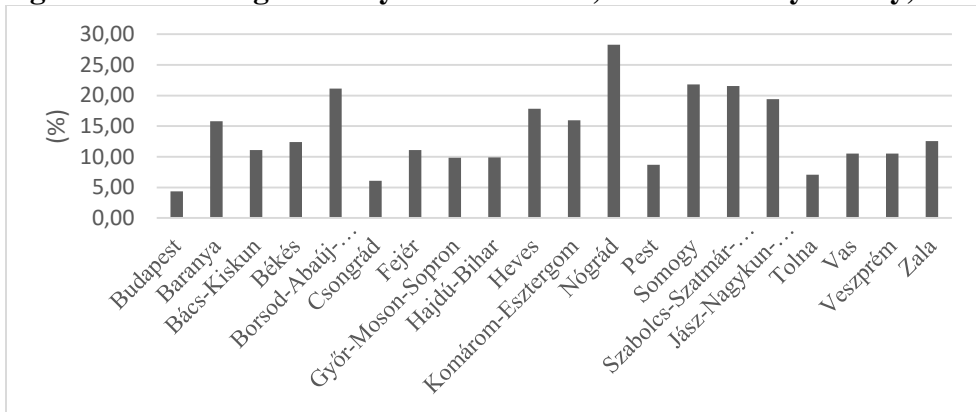


Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): *A közoktatás indikátorrendszere*

There may be individual, personal reasons for leaving school, such as a health problem or a conflict with classmates or teachers. However, it can be assumed that a significant proportion of school leavers have already had a similar case in the family, or that adult family members themselves are loosely attached to the school system and the labour market. A comparison by gender shows that boys are more involved. The *raison d'être* of anti-social exclusion programs is even more pronounced in these cases.

The data on early school leavers speak for themselves. Territorial differences are also very significant here. Their proportion was the highest in Nógrád county in 2018, reaching almost 30%. The subsequent counties of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok have the highest drop-out rates, above 20%. It is perhaps no coincidence that these counties have the highest youth unemployment rates.

Figure 7. Percentage of early school leavers, breakdown by county, 2018



Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): A közoktatás indikátorrendszere

Liskó (1995) draws attention to the fact that teenage unemployment is a different type of unemployment than that of the older age groups. Their problems cannot be remedied by labour market solutions. More coordinated education and social policy solutions need to be developed to address the problem of disadvantaged young people.

8. Problem map of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county²

8.1. The disadvantaged situation of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county is proved by the centrally supported (beneficiary) districts

The definition of disadvantage in both EU and Hungarian relations has already been defined by legislation³. We can apply the phenomenon to the area itself and to the people who live here. We can say that the county and some of its districts are disadvantaged because

- their chances and opportunities in the labour market are lower than average,
- live in geographically disadvantaged settlements (small sack villages),
- high numbers of low-educated and unskilled people,
- the situation of the Roma population is further aggravated by socio-cultural isolation,
- an increase in deprived (impoverished) strata is common.

For individuals, socio-economic reasons stand on one side, while those with health (genetic) disadvantages stand on the other. The assessment of the areas is, of course, not independent of the people living here, and according to the criteria of the legislation, the responsible authority tries to assess it from time to time.

Among the districts of the county, four of our districts are among the first twenty and our eight districts are among the first fifty districts with the most disadvantages, so we belong to the quarter of all districts in the country, with the exception of one district of Nyíregyháza, which needs complex development. (Láczay 2020)

² Source: R. Fedor (2020): Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county County Opportunity Pact, SZSZB County Local Government, Nyíregyháza

³ 1993. LXXIX. Section 121 of the Act, Disadvantaged child, student: a person whose entitlement to a regular child protection benefit due to his or her family circumstances and social situation has been established by the notary; the only difference between a cumulatively disadvantaged student is not the social situation of the family - which is the same for both target groups - but the difference in the educational level of the parents. 1993. LXXIX. Regulation XXXI of 1997 on Child Protection and Guardianship Administration, as well as the statutory regulation amending it on 1 September 2013 (as defined in Section 45 of Act XXVII of 2013). Act 67 / A. §), the law also determines for the social and educational sector who will be included in the category of disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged children and students from September 2013.

Table 10. Beneficiary districts of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county in 290/2014. (XI. 26.) and 105/2015. (IV.23.) Government Decree (2018)

Name of district	District to be developed	Beneficiary district	To be developed with a complex program	Beneficiary settlements	Settlements with significant unemployment
Baktalórántházai Number of settlements: 12	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	10
Csengeri district Number of settlements: 11	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	6
White Colonial Number of settlements: 50	Yes	Yes	Yes	44	30
Ibrányi district Number of settlements: 8	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	8
Kemecse district Number of settlements: 11	Yes	Yes	Yes	5	8
Kisvárdai district Number of settlements: 23	Yes	no	no	14	14
District of Mátészalka Number of settlements: 26	Yes	Yes	Yes	19	18
District of Nagykálló Number of settlements: 8	no	Yes	no	3	6
District of Nyírbátor Number of settlements: 20	no	no	Yes	14	16
Nyíregyháza district Number of settlements: 15	no	no	no	2	5
Tiszavasvár district Number of settlements: 6	Yes	Yes	no	3	4
Vásárosnaményi Number of settlements: 28	Yes	Yes	Yes	20	20
Záhony district Number of settlements: 11	Yes	Yes	Yes	10	9
County total Number of settlements: 224	109	54	56	153	154

Source: TeIR

The most serious problems can be identified in the narrowing of the quality of life of the people living here, unemployment, the educational infrastructure of

children below the national average and the vulnerability of their health prospects.

It can be stated that the children living in the area under study now make up almost a third of the young people entering the country's labour market in the next decade or two, but their situation and prospects are far from reassuring.

It is worrying that for all districts except the Nyíregyháza district, it is true that the majority of the settlements have significant unemployment, and the same can be said about the distribution of the beneficiary settlements.

In my previous works exploring the situation of the county, the problem map of the county was prepared on the basis of the analysis of the HEPs, TeIR data and the questionnaires with the mayors. The problems were outlined on two closely related threads. In one set of ideas, we explored the lack of services at the county level, and then - as the development of the county is likely to be problem-specific, territorially differentiated, we focused on the difficulties that arise at the district level that require priority in terms of problem solving.

The recommendations of the Hungarian National Social Cohesion Strategy (MNTFS) were taken into account in the definition of the services analysed in the study and the equal opportunities groups. Thus, access to education, access to employment, and access to health and social services became the focus of the study. Our target group was provided by the full range of equal opportunities groups defined in the MNTFS: those living in deep poverty, Roma; children, young people; women; the elderly; handicapped.

In this monograph, I now analyse access to education, through the target group of women, young people, Roma people, while in the case of the equal opportunities group of the elderly I have focused on social relations.

8.2. Possible ways of creating opportunities for the problems of groups living in the precariat

Based on the available documents (Local Equal Opportunities Programs), databases (TeIR, KSH), interviews with mayors, questionnaires and the results of our previous county research, the following problem groups characterize access to certain services of the county and equal opportunities groups.

Problems with the quality of available services:

In terms of *access to education*, the early development of children, the lack of programs targeting disadvantaged students, and the lack of vocational and adult training to be implemented, locally emerged. According to the analysis of recent trainings, the lack of basic and digital competencies is the most significant.

The problem of *access to work* is mainly caused by the lack of local jobs. In this regard, priority should be given to the group of women for whom, in addition to the importance of raising children, caring for the elderly and performing household chores, the need for atypical forms of employment is important and should be emphasized as a possible priority.

In the case of *access to health and social services*, in addition to solving the housing difficulties of segregates (e.g. sewage disposal), there is an important need for group organization of health care services, screening tests, especially for those left without workplace control, both children and women, and for both the elderly and the disabled.

It is important to note that adapting the timetable and conditions of *long-distance public transport* (including for people with disabilities) to the needs is a basic criterion for ensuring access to both education and work, furthermore as health and social services.

Problems and opportunities for each of the target groups involved:

The situation of the *Roma people living in deep poverty* could be helped by the completion of primary education, the acquisition of a marketable profession, debt management techniques, knowledge of the labour market, family planning and life management, and the improvement of housing conditions.

The best possible quality of life and future opportunities for *children and young people* can be ensured by the expansion of nursery care, the organization of useful leisure time, the organization of information forums and various prevention programs that help further learning. The coordination of the work of those working in the auxiliary professions, the recognition and mentoring of talented children appeared as important hurdles.

For *the group of women*, the shortcomings arising from the reconciliation of work and private life are most pronounced. For them, solving regular or occasional childcare, providing atypical forms of work, and engaging in

training may be the solution. The importance of access to legal aid services to remedy domestic violence and abuse should be emphasized.

Helping *the elderly* to participate in specialist care and screening programs is of paramount importance. This can be envisaged at community level, for example in the context of group passenger transport. The same can be said for children, women and people with disabilities. Prevention knowledge, especially in the field of health and crime prevention, is a shortcoming in this group. In order to improve their well-being and general physical and mental well-being, it is important to organize programs that strengthen intergenerational cooperation. Residential accommodation for the elderly is also a problem.

Among *people with disabilities*, the lack of factors closely related to employment stands out based on the analysed data. However, it is important to eliminate the difficulties of accessing health care institutions and the shortcomings in the accessibility of public transport, public buildings and infocommunication surfaces. In addition to those listed so far, we have identified the organization of social events that draw attention to the special needs of people with disabilities as an area of shortage. The lack of specialists (e.g. development educator) also appeared to be a problem to be solved.

Based on the results of the analysis at the district level, I was able to conclude that, there was not a single district where employment concerns did not appear as a cardinal problem. We find only a difference in which employment group of equal opportunities is the biggest problem in the region. For example, in the districts of Csengeri, Fehérgyarmat, Kemece, Kisvárd, Nyíregyháza and Tiszavasvár, the improvement of the labour market situation of women, Roma and people living in deep poverty came to the fore. In Ibrány, Nyírbátor, this was supplemented by the employment difficulties of those under the age of 25. (see *Table 11.*)

The district of Baktalórántháza is plagued by general employment problems, and the integration of low-skilled workers into the labour market is a priority in Nagykálló. In the Kisvárd district, the emphasis is on keeping young people in place. The latter problem affects the whole county uniformly, as the loss from emigration is higher year by year. Young workers see a greater perspective and better living conditions in the capital and in Transdanubia. Belief in a more predictable future, the supposed job security, encourages able-

bodied, family-oriented human resources to utilize their skills and knowledge in the other half of the country. This is a double loss of the county, because it not only brings a decrease in the quality and reorganization of the labour force, but also affects the development of the demographic characteristics of the county, as emigrating young people realize their childbearing plans and starting a family elsewhere. This tendency further worsens the situation of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, which already has poor economic and social prospects; and this further deepens the phenomenon of the west-east slope.

Table 11. Name complex problems

Name of district	Complex problems
Baktalórántházai	improving the employment situation, expansion of residential nursing homes
Csengeri	employment of women, education of Roma, unemployment
White Colonial	unemployment, women's employment, part-time work, people living in deep poverty, Roma employment, job creation
Ibrányi	day care for the disabled, employment of women, training of the Roma and the unemployed under the age of 25
Kemecsei	employment of women, difficulty of integration into the labour market after having children, residential institution for the elderly, loneliness of the elderly
Kisvárdai	adequate public transport to go to work, reduction of the number of unemployed, job creation, employment of people living in deep poverty, local employment of mothers with small children (0-16 years)
Mátészalka	filling a pediatric position, employing a special education teacher, housing for the elderly
Nagykálló	access to employment, employment of low-educated people
Nyírbátor	employment of Roma, increasing the retention capacity of the population of the settlement, catching up with low educated people
Nyíregyháza	access to employment, women's employment, Roma education, housing for the elderly
Tiszavasvári	job creation, employment of women, education of Roma, catching up
Vásárosnaményi	care for the elderly, housing, complex education and employment program, early childbirth, job creation, employment of women, training of Roma in the profession to get a job, sports opportunities
Záhonyi	housing for the elderly, providing employment opportunities, catching up and educating the Roma

Source: Own editing

9. Women in changing family roles and in the workplaces

The most important result of the mapping of county service gaps for the group of women is that it is difficult for women raising a child to get a job after having a child. One of the problems is that the day care of the child is not provided for the duration of the work due to the lack of nursery space, and that the eight-hour work schedule is difficult to reconcile with the tasks related to childcare and household. That is why it would be important to provide regular or occasional childcare in settlements with insufficient capacity, for example in such a way that childcare would be one of the tasks of Safe Start Orphanages. This, in turn, requires human resource development. Childcare could include women of pre-retirement age with little service, employment, additional employment in good health as a pensioner, or the occasional involvement of local volunteers who are on are on baby/child care fee. Another goal is to solve the problem of flexible opening of institutions for day care for children, adapting to the needs of the target group.

Prioritizing atypical forms of work would serve to reconcile work and private life. This requires, first and foremost, the shaping of the attitudes of employers and employees, and last but not least, state support. Creating family-friendly jobs, making work start flexible, working from home and promoting atypical forms of employment can increase women's participation in the labour market.

These findings are reinforced by our study of the labour market behaviour and employment attitude of women raising young children which was conducted in 2013 in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county with the involvement of 427 people. Based on the theoretical framework of the literature and the closely related research antecedents, the aim of our research was to explore and present the factors and background variables influencing the integration of women with small children into the labour market. We examine how stakeholders judge their own labour market situation and opportunities. In our analytical work, we sought the answer to when women with small children schedule their return to the labour market after parental leave, and what factors shape their decision. Data collection was carried out using the Survey method, dividing the group of women into two subsamples, a subsample of women already working again at the time of the survey and women on parental leave with their children.

We have addressed a number of research dimensions in the study, but now I deal with a slice of this study, mainly the employment characteristics of women with young children involved, the characteristics of returning to the world of work, and the pattern of sharing work and private family roles.

Employment characteristics of women raising young children

There are many benefits to having a pre-child labour market presence. The only downside is that mothers who start a family after a longer employment are more likely to give birth in their late twenties, early thirties. In their case, the adoption of an additional child may be jeopardized. This problem mainly affects mothers who stay in the education system for a longer period of time, those with higher education, who are less likely to have a child directly after completing their studies. They are much more likely to choose paid work after graduation.

Among the benefits is the fact that the labour market attachment before childbirth determines the benefits available in connection with childcare, the amount of which is more favourable for those working before childbirth. On the positive side, those who had a job before giving birth have a near-smooth return to the world of work, unless the employer ceases to exist without a legal successor. Of the 427 main mothers of the respondent, 23.7% did not have labour market experience before giving birth, they did not work before having a child. Prior to starting a family, the majority of employees (53.4%) worked in state and municipal institutions before the birth of the youngest child, 11.4% in large companies, 21.8% in medium and small companies, in non-governmental organizations 2.5%, 5.5% in individual proprietorship. More than three-quarters of women with children work in the intellectual, service sector, a quarter in the physical service sector, and nearly 10% in the mental and physical productive sector. 80% of those surveyed worked forty hours a week, 13.3% worked multiple shifts, and 12% worked flexible hours. 8.9% of the respondents stated about part-time employment, which is almost the same as the national trend. Working hours of more than 40 hours per week were reported by 5% of those affected.

Of the mothers in the sample, those with the most work experience worked 18 years before having a child and there were those who gave birth after a few months of employment or as a career starter. Women spent an average of 44.1

months, so 3 years, eight months in the world of work before their first pregnancy. This seems to be a very short time given the extension of childbearing age, but the over-representation of those with tertiary education in the sample may explain this phenomenon. In Hungary, students in higher education, in full-time, obtain their diplomas in the early and middle of their twenties, and after that they give birth to their first child after a few years of work experience (Spéder 2006). We asked about the work experience and its duration separately for each child in the family. While mothers worked an average of three and a half years after the birth of their first child, there were only slightly more than a year and a half (19.8 months) before having their second child. Subsequently, each additional child significantly reduced the period of employment between two births. From this, we can conclude that between two births, mothers calculate that they return to the labour market for a relatively short period of time, during which time they acquire the right to a higher amount of employment-related childcare allowance. We cannot substantiate our reasoning from the responses to the questionnaires, as we did not specifically ask why the mothers went back to work between two births. However, responses to conscious family planning, albeit indirectly, support our explanation above that nearly three-quarters of respondents planned their last pregnancy. Although 12% planned to have their youngest child, they imagined it to happen at a later date and almost as many did not plan their last pregnancy at all.

We found a significant relationship between the number of children and the planned pregnancy. As the number of children in the family increased, the number of unplanned and expected children increased linearly. 7.9% and 9.3% of those with one and two children, respectively, while one in three of mothers with three children answered that they did not plan their last child. Two of the five mothers with four children made a similar statement.

We also confirmed the presence of a significant relationship depending on education (Fisher's $p=0.003$). One in three mothers of up to eight general graduates, 13.4% of skilled workers, 8.5% of graduates and 6.9% of those with a university diploma, did not plan to conceive their youngest child. The proportion of those planning for the future also developed accordingly, with the difference that in this respect graduates (12.7%) were ahead of those with a high school diploma (8.5%).

16.6% of mothers worked less than a year before their first birth, they were not entitled to the higher amount of childcare allowance due to the legislation at the time. University graduates worked an average of 32 months before their first birth, and high school graduates 37.6 months. Those with the profession gained half as much experience in the labour market (16.1 months), and those with eight or no years of primary education spent even less time in the labour market (11.2 months).

Examining work experience by the number of children, we found that as the number of children increased, the proportion of those employed before pregnancy decreased. While 78% of respondents worked before the first pregnancy, this proportion was only 43% before the second pregnancy and 38.3% before the third and subsequent pregnancies. This is because a significant proportion of responding mothers (37.4% after the first child, 29.3% after the second child) were at home with their older children before further pregnancies.

There is a significant relationship between maternal education and economic activity (Fisher's $p=0.013$). The higher the educational attainment of the mother concerned, the more likely she was to have worked before the birth of her youngest child. In both subsamples, the labour market benefit of higher human capital was demonstrated. Among graduates, the proportion of those excluded from the labour market prior to having a child was the lowest and the highest among those with up to eight years of primary education.

Among those currently on parental leave, we found the largest number of mothers who had a child after graduation in the group of graduates, and about 10% of this subsample responded that their child, who is currently at home, was born immediately after completing various degrees of study. In the subsample of working mothers, this proportion was 2.6%. The proportion of unemployed and domestic workers and working women in the subsample is 3.8%, and that of those on parental leave is 12.6%. While working mothers did not meet a graduate mother who was unemployed or domestic before having a child, nearly 10% of those currently at home fell into this category.

Taking into account the above, we can state that, on the whole, the labour market attachment of the two subsamples differs significantly from each other, in this respect the disadvantage of those who are/is poor.

Table 12. Economic activity before childbearing% (N = 427)

	One child	Two children	Three or more children
Worked	78.0	43.4	38.3
Learned	6.6	1.0	0.0
He was unemployed	5.9	5.6	14.7
He was a housewife	2.3	5.6	11.0
He was home with an older child	0.0	3.8	0.0
He doesn't know	0.0	37.4	29.3
Other	2.1	1	1.7
Missing answer	5.1	2.2	5.0
Altogether	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Fisher's $p = 0.082$)

Source: R. Fedor (2015)

Depending on the number of children, the proportion of those who remain unemployed increases between the two pregnancies. Nearly 15% of those with three or more children responded that they were unemployed before their last pregnancy. This will be three times that of single and two children. A similar trend can be observed in the quantitative change of households.

Termination of paid employment

The period spent away from work is not the same as the time spent on parental leave. This would be the case if employed mothers worked until the day of delivery. However, the mothers' response shows that most of them quit active work earlier than this, so the period spent away from work is extended by this time interval. Mapping this was made possible by asking in our questionnaire how many weeks of pregnancy the respondent worked.

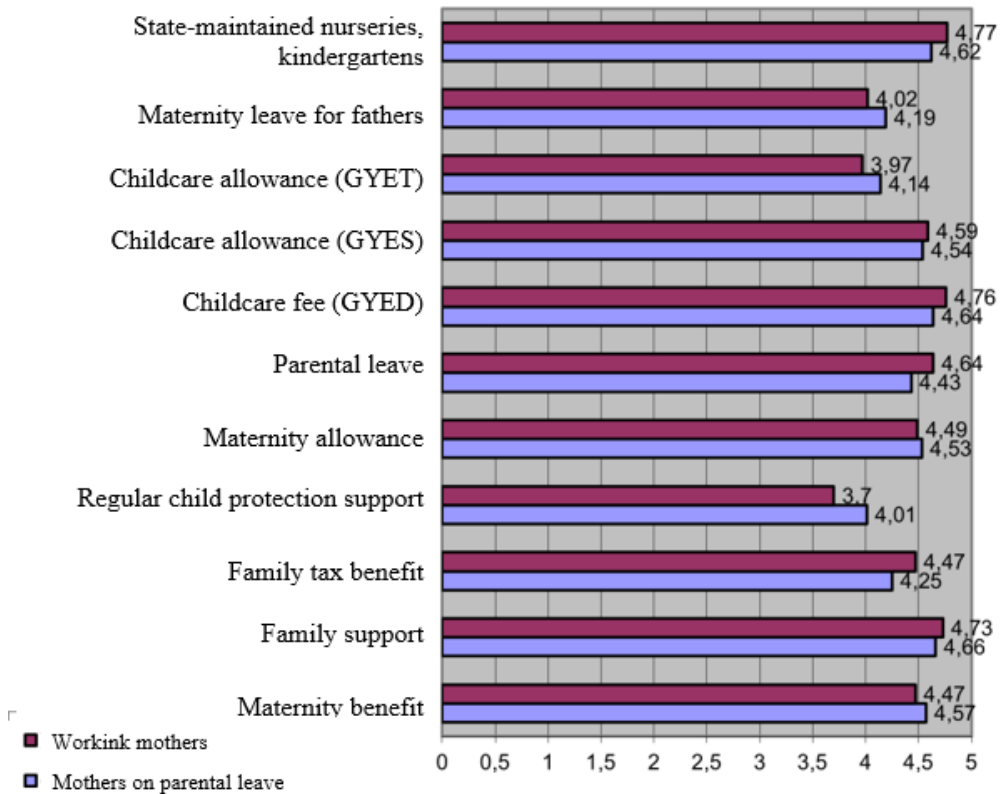
Respondents worked with their first child for an average of 28.7 weeks pregnant, 27.4 weeks for the second child, 20.9 for the third child, and 23.7 weeks for the fourth and additional children. The timing of leaving work shows a very varied picture. In connection with having children, the earliest person who left quit stopped working in the third week of her pregnancy, 15 people worked until the birth. Overall, examining the trend in exit timing, we found that responses were grouped around several prominent time points, around

weeks 9, 12, 30, and 40. More than one-fifth of women worked until the 30-32th week of pregnancy, a quarter worked until the 12th week of pregnancy, most of them until the 9th week of pregnancy, when they were most likely past the most risky period for early miscarriage. The same explains the result that 56% of women considered the period between 9-12. weeks to be the most ideal for announcing the fact of their pregnancy to their supervisors and colleagues at work, who, according to nearly three-quarters of the respondents, were supportive of the news reporter. Nearly 40% of mothers marked one of the dates between 30-40th weeks as the date of leaving the job. Most of those who left paid employment shortly before the scheduled birth were on maternity leave. There is a significant proportion of those who are absent due to pregnancy and other health reasons, travel difficulties and the work environment.

Use of family allowances

Respondents in our study were asked to rate on a five-point scale the importance of particular forms of family support. Among the forms of care to be classified, the focus of our study is those that the state regulations link to the birth and upbringing of the child (Figure 8).

Figure 8. How important do you consider forms of family support?
(N = 427) (on a five-point scale)



Source: R. Fedor (2015)

Both subsamples consider the listed forms of family support to be very important, with average values between 4 and 5 appearing in almost all cases. Exceptions include regular child protection allowance, which was rated as an average of 3.7 by working mothers and 4 by mothers on GYED/GYES. The relative lower field also includes the GYET and the paternity leave. Family support and GYED proved to be the most important forms of care. The former was evaluated by 77% of the total sample and the latter by 76%, so it was considered to be the most important.

Among those who work before having children, the GYED priority is the strongest, with 83% believing that this form of family support is the most important for them. Understandably, since GYED is a form of care of a relatively favourable amount and duration, which provides a kind of financial security for the period spent at home. Prior to childbirth, 57% of unemployed, domestic, and student mothers felt similarly. Among them, GYES became the

most favoured benefit, with three-quarters choosing it as one of the most important forms of support. The support for the family allowance is due to the fact that it is for a relatively long period for all families with children.

State-maintained nurseries and kindergartens are very important for both examined groups, and overall, mothers ranked them among the three most important forms of family support. In percentage distribution, we found that 73.5% of those on GYED/GYES and 83% of working mothers responded that the institutional form of childcare was fully important to them. The nearly 10% difference observed between the two subsamples suggests that placement of children for the duration of work is a central issue in the management of work-family conflict in mothers who have already returned to the labour market. Forms of cash family support are used to alleviate the increased family expenses related to raising children, while services provided in kind are used to implement tasks related to family, raising children and work. Both are apparently important for mothers raising children, as the four categories identified by them as specific are GYED, GYES, family allowance, and state-funded day nurseries and kindergartens for the care of children. The distribution of the use of individual benefits has changed accordingly. The use and planned use of the family allowance was characteristic of almost the entire range of the sample, similarly to the maternity allowance. Popular forms of family support include GYED, with three-quarters of respondents living or planning to take advantage of this opportunity. The remaining 15% rejected that form of care due to lack of eligibility. 68% of respondents said they have used or plan to use GYES, meaning that approximately 30% of mothers do not plan to stay at home with their child for the maximum period of parental leave. The minimum utilization rate is related to regular child protection allowance, GYET and paternity leave. It is no coincidence that the latter two forms of care are at the very end of the order of importance. One in two mothers surveyed lived, and a further 29% plan to live with the opportunity of day nursery and kindergarten care for children. This is in line with the fact that 78% of the total sample evaluates primarily state kindergartens and nurseries as one of the most important forms of family support.

We were curious about how mothers think about who should play the biggest role in solving the problems of women raising young children. Therefore, we asked them to rank the following actors: state, friends, NGOs, family, churches, employers, and local government. 57% of the total sample

emphasized the primacy of the family, but the proportion of those who supported state involvement was very significant, with 33% ranking first. Relatively many, one in four mothers, count on the help of friends in the first place, and to a lesser extent on municipalities, NGOs and churches.

Cash family allowances make up a significant proportion of the total income of families raising a child. These benefits appear to be a primary source of income for those raising children under the age of 3. The proportion of family benefits within household income is differentiated according to the number of children, their health status and the type of family. In Hungary, cash family support benefits make up 24.5% of the total income of families raising children aged 0-3 (Gábos 2008). Based on this, we asked mothers in our own sample to estimate the combined share of family allowance, GYED, GYES, and other child-raising allowance in the monthly income of their household. On average, 20% of the income of working mothers is accounted for by various cash family support benefits, and almost twice as much by 37% of mothers who are at home. It is noteworthy, and not surprising at the same time, that 10% of single mothers have stated that half or more of their family income comes from family allowances. Among them were also those who considered the weight of the support to be 100%.

Labour market impact of family benefits

In the study of the labour market impact of family benefits, Bálint and Köllő (2008) concluded that one of the reasons for the low employment rate of Hungarian mothers with small children is that the Hungarian family support system offers mothers a long-term stay at home.

The impact of family benefits on the labour market was measured through the use and planned use of two forms of care, GYED and GYES. In both subsamples, we examined which of the two above-mentioned parental leave the respondent mothers took or wished to take advantage of, and based on this it became clear that those who did not choose the period to be spent at GYES after GYED were mothers appeared on the labour market before the child was three years old. A significant part of the recipients of the three-year form of care provided by GYES were employed or planned to re-enter the labour market at the age of three or later. However, there were also those who appeared among those who used GYES but returned to work before its expiration.

15% of working mothers could only use GYES due to lack of employment. 21.2% of those entitled to a higher amount of benefits (GYED) did not use the GYES option, which replaced the two-year period, and they returned to work by the end of the second year. A significant proportion of mothers using GYES did not fully exhaust the three-year period, 47.6% of them returned to work before the child was 36 months old, so before the end of the period of entitlement to GYES.

80% of mothers who are pregnant plan to use GYES, so in this group it is expected that only 20% of them will return before the child is three years old. It should be noted that among mothers currently at home, these plans may change in the meantime, so the return to the labour market planned at the time of the survey and then implemented may not coincide.

The impact of family benefits on the labour market in Hungary has so far been analysed by a single study. Bálint and Köllő (2008) found that the majority of mothers exhaust the maximum eligibility period, so that those who are employed before giving birth spend an average of 3.7 years, while previously non-working mothers spend 4.7 years at home with their first child. The results of our own study contradict this. If we take into account that mothers in our own sample worked until the 29th week of gestation on average, so they stopped working for eleven weeks before giving birth and add to this the actual and imagined date of return, we get the length of time spent at home.

Working mothers returned to work when their child was an average age of 25.7 months, while those who are on GYED/GYES, according to their ideas, their child will be 31.9 months old when they return to work. Thus, working mothers will spend an average of 28.5 months on parental leave at home, while mothers currently at home will spend 34.7 months at home. It can be seen that for both subsamples, the period spent at home remains within three years. The difference measured by our national and own data can be said to be significant, one of the reasons for which may be that we did not have data on the duration of work-related leave accumulated during parental leave, so we had to disregard it. It is probable that this period is also included in the calculations of Bálint and Köllő, however, in our view, this does not fully explain the difference mentioned above.

The time and form of raising children and getting a job can be significantly influenced by the new possibilities and benefits of the family policy legislation

that has appeared in recent years. Extending childcare allowances, working with childcare, and the amount of childcare available in addition to wages, and the fact that nurseries can accommodate the little ones anyway, will certainly bring a lot of change. It is the ever-expanding atypical job opportunities and the home office that make it possible for those who are able, prepared to find such a job. On the other hand, according to the law, another member of the family can go to GYES/GYED with the same benefits. These opportunities have not yet become measurable in our region. We estimate that low-educated, unskilled women living in the spiral of the precariat, especially if there is no nursery or job available, have little chance of seizing the opportunity.

Work-life balance - Sharing family roles

The return to the labour market after childbearing is influenced by a number of factors. There are economic constraints that encourage a (former) return to the labour market other than aspirations. Coercions from employers also result in earlier returns. Women who return to work after having children experience a number of difficulties that cause the balance between their employee role and family roles to be upset. Conflict between work and private life, depending on its duration, can lead to conflicts within the family. However, a more equal sharing of roles within the family can significantly improve the conflicting nature of mothers' roles in the family and the labour market by taking over certain activities that are originally related to women's roles. This contributes to an increase in social capital within the family, in such a way that the sharing of daily tasks reduces the tension of the mother, as a result of which she can spend more time with her child. Its further significance is in reconciling family and labour market roles, as a result of which the mother does not feel that her presence in one scene would limit her standing in the other.

For the overall sample, we found that 20% of mothers tended to expect any or no help from their partner in everyday tasks, while 46% testified to the full helpfulness of their partner. The remaining 34% fell into the category of more supporters. We find that one in five mothers do their daily chores alone, without help.

The higher level of education of fathers shows a move towards a more egalitarian division of roles, as those with a degree have the greatest helpfulness, with nearly sixty percent of them providing full support to the mother with small children. This proportion is nearly the same for graduates

and fathers with vocational qualifications, 42 and 40%, while 36% of those with up to eight years of primary education show a similar level of involvement.

The educational level of mothers should be considered as an explanatory variable because previous research showed that mothers with higher education are more willing to help their partner, so their husband's participation rate is expected to be higher (Pongráczné and Murinkó 2009). Our own results only partially support this. The involvement of a pair of graduates (45.5%), high school graduates (45.5%) and skilled mothers (44%) in household chores is almost the same. We found lower participation in the partners of mothers with up to eight years of primary education. One third of them receive full assistance.

There was no significant difference in the types of settlements, both in the county seat and in other towns and villages the proportion of fathers participating in everyday tasks ranged from 42 to 46%. More appreciable differences can be observed in the proportion of “rather no” and “not at all” helpers, which was the lowest among the respondents of the municipalities (15.6%). Of this, the proportion of residents of the county seat and 8% of those living in other cities is about 5% higher.

The presence of a supportive spouse has a demonstrable beneficial effect and reduces the level of concern about various factors. In our study, we considered two endpoints of the level of anxiety, i.e., we focused our attention on the level of anxiety of mothers who received significant help with housework and the anxiety of mothers who did not expect help. (*Table 13*).

Table 13. Extent of anxiety based on the father's involvement in everyday tasks (%) , (N = 427)

	A father who is fully/ rather involved in everyday tasks		A father who is not/not at all involved in everyday tasks	
	She's not worried at all	She's very worried	She's not worried at all	She's very worried
Her relationship with her child deteriorates	43	14.8	40.9	10.2
She will not have time for her child(ren)	16.9	24.3	6.7	26.7
She won't have time for her partner	16.9	18.5	28.6	0
The child will suffer if she does not take care of him/her	24.3	15.3	28.3	14.3
The child will be sick more often than before	22.8	25.4	14.3	28.6
It will be difficult to reconcile family and work	9	22.8	4	29.3
If she misses a lot of her job, she will be fired	16.4	31.7	5	36.1

Source: R. Fedor (2015)

From the data in the table above, we can see that mothers who can count on the help of their partner in their daily activities, with two exceptions, are less worried about the given factors than their non-helpful peers. One exception concerns a statement related to child custody, where the anxiety of mothers receiving help is slightly higher than that of those who can only rely on themselves to manage the current affairs of the household. The other, much more significant difference is in the presumption of lack of time spent on the partner. Among the latter mothers, the proportion of those who are not at all worried, almost twice as high as in the other group, and the zero value of those who are not worried at all can be assessed as a kind of tolerance.

Reconciling parenting and work in the workplace is a headache for both groups. On this issue, the proportion of mothers who are not at all worried is the lowest, which is an even more characteristic problem than those raising more children. Fear of losing a job related to raising children was expressed in the minds of most. In this context, the biggest concern of mothers is that being

away from work a lot due to the child’s illness can potentially lead to their dismissal.

The timing of entering the labour market is influenced by social norms related to gender roles. Despite the generalization of the two-earner family model, the traditional perception that the man is the breadwinner and the mother is focused on the day-to-day tasks of caring for the children and running the household is still alive today. To learn about attitudes about gender roles, we asked the responding women to rate each statement on a five-point scale.

Table 14. Evolution of acceptance of “agree” and “disagree” statements about family role sharing and women's employment, (N = 415)

	"Strongly agree" and "agree"	"Strongly disagree" and "Disagree"
<i>Role-sharing attitudes</i>	Total sample (%)	Total sample (%)
It would be good if the fathers also stayed home for a few months after the birth of the child.	37.1	26
The husband's job is to create financial security, it is women's job to ensure family life.	52.8	17.4
Parents should be equally involved in housework.	61.4	11.9
<i>Attitudes towards self-realization</i>	Total sample (%)	Total sample (%)
The position of the husband should be stable, it should be maintained, the position of the mothers should be reconciled with family life	54.1	16.2
The prenatal job position is difficult to regain	48.2	18.2
For women with small children, part-time work would be most ideal	62.1	7.5

Source: R. Fedor (2015)

The two most supported statements, “*Parents should be equally involved in housework*” and “*It would be good if men earned enough to support their families*”. At first glance, two contradictory statements garnered the greatest agreement among mothers. Yet we believe that in both cases there is a burden of difficulties in achieving a balance between family and labour market roles. Opinions on gender role-sharing reflect well the identification with the

traditional values typical of Hungarian society in general and the need to involve the father in domestic work, which tends towards more liberal thinking.

The data of the topic group on self-realization clearly strengthen the role of the “husband-breadwinner” of men and the “secondary money-seeker” of women. Although 80% of the respondents say that work is part of a person's life, for mothers with small children, part-time work is the idealized form of work, in addition to which family tasks and child-rearing can be solved relatively smoothly. The data in the table above show that having children significantly limits labour market opportunities and successes. Loss of birth-related position was considered a real danger by 48.2% of the respondents.

In the light of the data, it can be stated that the mothers with small children in our sample are basically characterized by a tradition-following attitude. This is indicated by the definition of a man as a main seeker, which is somewhat contradicted by his strong identification with the statement “work belongs to a person’s life”. The resolution of the tension between this duality is explained as follows. Although there is a clear sympathy for the traditional division of roles, the labour market difficulties do not consider the single-earner family model feasible for real reasons, their income from work is essential for the family's livelihood and well-being.

The difference in agreement with traditional gender role sharing is mostly seen in terms of educational attainment. Identification with traditional gender roles, although common to all educational groups, is strongest among skilled workers and even more so among those with up to eight years of primary education. In the next part of our analysis, we will focus on this.

Table 15. Opinions agreeing with each statement by educational attainment (%) , (N = 427)

	8 years of primary education	Vocational training	Graduation	Diploma	Average
It would be good if the fathers also stayed home for a few months	30.0	36.9	38.8	42.6	37.1
Parents should be equally involved in housework	53.8	60.9	62.7	63.8	61.4
It is the job of men to create financial security, it is the job of women to ensure family life	56.8	54.1	53.8	46.8	52.8
Work is important for women with small children because of money	64.3	67.2	60.9	37.8	57.5

Source: R. Fedor (2015)

The results show that mothers with a degree expect the most equal sharing of care responsibilities. A similar correlation can be observed in the issue of men's involvement in domestic work. Although in this case the unanimous opinion of the group of graduates is slightly higher than that of the graduates. The preference for the classic division of “breadwinner husband - good housewife and mother” is reflected in the responses. Apparently, more educated mothers are less likely to admit this statement, but the nearly 50% agreement rate is still characteristic. We found the greatest difference in the cross-section of education only among those who defined the importance of paid work as a source of money. Supporting the statement “*Work is important for women with small children because of money*” is very prominent among those with up to eight years of primary education and vocational training graduates. The proportion of those who agree is on average 5% lower than the former. The position of the group of graduates is characteristically separate from all three groups of graduates. The 37.8% share of those who agree is, on average, 25% behind the group of graduates, those with up to eight years of primary education and vocational training graduates.

The question arises as to how graduates who typically hold traditional gender roles can be explained as a relatively significant rejection of work as a means

to earn money. In our view, the possible explanation lies in the fact that in the lives of mothers raising young children, according to the specifics of the given family life cycle, family roles have a clear priority over work. They testify that at present, the upbringing of the child, the role of the mother and compliance with it are more important than gaining a foothold in the labour market.

On the other hand, it may also show that more educated mothers see work as a means of self-fulfillment in addition to making a living. They hope for a return on their acquired human capital in the labour market. At the same time, their need for greater help in domestic work and childcare, affirming the sharing of multiple burdens, shows that reconciling work and family responsibilities is the biggest problem for them.

DUPress

10. Results of regional studies conducted among Roma people

10.1. General situation

The Roma in Hungary carry centuries of disadvantages, which have been exacerbated by the socio-economic environment that has changed as a result of the change of regime (Angyal, 2015) The trained and unskilled work of the formerly low but secure income earners are mostly low educated and Roma, was the first to fall victim to the changed labour market conditions, the first unemployed came out of these occupational groups into the world of work, and became permanently and then eventually unemployed. The lack of integration has brought with it a lifestyle drift without a common job, the long-term consequences of which have since been felt by generations growing up. Educational and employment opportunities for members of multi-generational unemployed families have narrowed and their social mobility has stalled. The biggest losers in the transition to a market economy were the Roma social group, and this unfavourable position has not been substantially improved since then.

The largest ethnic minority in Europe and Hungary is the Roma population. In 2011, Hungary received the rotating presidency of the European Union and prepared a discussion paper on the European Roma Strategy, in which an estimated 550-640 thousand citizens in Hungary declared themselves to be Roma at that time. Most recently, researchers at the University of Debrecen (J. Péntes J.-Pásztor I.Z.) estimated their national population at 876,000 in 2015.

Table 16. Distribution of Hungarian Gypsies by region (%)

Gypsy population of the regions%	CIKOBİ, 1984–87	Census, 1990	Census, 2011	Kemény – Kertesi, 1993	Hard – Janky, 2003	University of Debrecen, 2010–13
Southern Great Plain	7.9	7.2	8.2	7.9	12.4	8.9
Southern Transdanubia	14.2	12.7	13.8	14.0	12.4	11.0
Northern Great Plain	22.3	29.1	26.1	25.1	16.8	23.6
Northern Hungary	28.0	32.2	29.6	27.6	32.1	24.4
<i>In the two regions combined</i>	50.3	51.3	55.7	52.7	48.9	48.0
Central Transdanubia	5.2	4.1	5.1	5.2	6.5	6.1
Central Hungary (Budapest)	17.4 (11.2)	10.4 (5.7)	13.0 (6.4)	15.3 (9.4)	14.1 (10.5)	21.8 (13.8)
Western Transdanubia	5.0	4.2	4.3	4.9	5.7	4.2
Country total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Péntzes - Tátrai - Pásztor: Changes in the territorial distribution of the Roma population in Hungary in recent decades, *Territorial Statistics*, 2018, 58: 3-26.

Based on the reported data, the area where most people live can be well distinguished. The Hungarian Roma society cannot be considered unified, partly due to immigration at different ages, partly due to different material, cultural and lifestyle differences. About half of the domestic Roma ethnic group is located in the North-Eastern region. Among them, the proportion of Romungros, the so-called Hungarian gypsies, is the highest in this region (around 70%). They are native Hungarian speakers, and most of them declared themselves Hungarian at the time of the census. The increasingly frequent Hungarian-Romungro pair relations can be observed among them. By reorganizing their job opportunities lost during the regime change, they would be more open to integration. (MEP)

According to the 2011 census data, the majority of the Roma population of the Northern Great Plain region (82,373 people) (54.3%) live in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county (44,738 people). 19,089 people in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county and 18,546 people in Hajdú-Bihar county declared themselves Roma.

The housing conditions of the Roma are very diverse. They live separately in segregates, sharply or roughly separated within a settlement and scattered on the outskirts, settlement-like. (MEP) The level of comfort and equipment of the flats living in colony-like conditions differs from the average population, these endowments and the differences in lifestyle determine their health status and life prospects. The average life expectancy of Roma at birth is 8-10 years lower than the upper level indicated in the majority society. (Habicsek, http://real-j.mtak.hu/6332/1/50_1_2007.pdf)

One of the only means of creating opportunities, advancing in the social hierarchy, is education. Multiple school failures and the consequent early school leaving deprive the young people concerned of the opportunity to become a strong base of labour market supply and to choose their own destiny freely rather than through coercion. Some young Roma people have no chance of doing so.

The proportion of young Roma people who do not study or work is four times higher than that of non-Roma. The fact that the school failures of Roma children can be traced back to very complex reasons plays a decisive role in this. In addition to language disadvantage, prejudice, segregation, different cultural backgrounds and family socialization, and poor relationships between family and institutions all contribute to children leaving school early. (Fejes 2005, Károlyi 2009). Kertesi and Kézdi (1996) also argue that the causes of school difficulties are to be found in pre-school family socialization and in the immaturity of children (authors: which is most likely also related to pre-school family socialization). (R.Fedor-Balogh, 2016)

The labour market potential of the working age population is basically determined by the disadvantage of a region or, in a narrower sense, the given living environment, several negatives of the peripheral situation. There are a number of options for defining a disadvantage, depending on how we approach it. From the point of view of the employment policy aspect: a person with worse-than-average labour market opportunities and chances is cumulatively disadvantaged. We get closer to reality by considering the causes and characteristics. Reasons for discrimination in the labour market may include exclusion based on gender, ethnicity, age or religion, or possibly disability. In Roma communities living in small settlements, these may be accompanied by large families, frequent unemployment, prejudice and higher than average

levels of illiteracy. This condition, especially if persistent, pushes those living here deeper and deeper into poverty. (Láczay-R. Fedor n.y.)

The low level of education, the lack of professional qualifications, the belonging to the Roma ethnic group, make it harder to stand in the labour market, which can ultimately result in long-term unemployment and income poverty. Roma families are characterized by almost all of the factors hindering this location. The situation is further exacerbated by the eastern border. 52% of the Roma population live in the Northern Great Plain region of Northern Hungary, which has the most unfavourable employment indicators. Among the two regions, the disadvantage of the Northern Great Plain region (*Table 17*) and within that of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county also stands out (*Table 17*). The results of the 2003 and 2004 county surveys show that half of the heads of households have completed primary school, four-tenths do not have a primary school education, 6.3 per cent have a vocational education, 1.8 per cent have a high school diploma and 0.2 per cent have a degree. (Fónai - Péntes 2006:81). These figures largely explain the employment situation of the Roma.

Table 17. Economic activity of the population aged 15-64

	2014		2018		2020	
	Unemployment rate %	Employment rate%	Unemployment rate %	Employment rate%	Unemployment rate %	Employment rate%
Central Hungary	6.2	66	2.8	72.0	3.4	73.4
Central Transdanubia	5.6	64.3	2.2	70.9	2.8	71.7
Western Transdanubia	4.6	65.8	2.0	73.0	2.4	73.1
Southern Transdanubia	7.9	58.6	5.6	64.5	5.4	64.2
Northern Hungary	10.5	55.7	4.8	65.6	5.1	65.3
Northern Great Plain	11.9	57.3	6.7	65.7	7.4	65.4
Southern Great Plain	9	59.7	3.4	68.8	4.7	68.8

Source: own editing, based on KSH:

https://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_qlf031.html

According to the latest data, in line with previous years, Roma employment lags far behind the non-Roma population. Among them, 23.9% worked less and 14.7% were more affected by unemployment than members of the majority society. While it is also true that between 2014 and 2017, their employment situation improved: the share of the employed increased by 11.6% and the share of the inactive decreased by almost the same amount. This can be explained by their higher participation in public employment. Within the group of employed, the proportion of Roma public employees was 41.8% and that of non-Roma 4.2%. (KSH, 2018) (Láczay-R. Fedor n.y.)

Table 18. Distribution of the population aged 15-64 by economic activity 2014, 2017

	2014		2017	
	Roma	Not Roma	Roma	Not Roma
They are employed	33.4	62.8	45.0	68.9
Employment rate for men	42.2	68.6	54.6	75.9
Employment rate of women	25.1	57.1	35.9	62.1
Unemployment rate	30.1	6.8	18.5	3.8
Long-term unemployment rate	53.9	57.2	38.0	41.0
Early school leavers (18-24 years old)	57.0	10.3	65.3	9.4
NEET (not studying, not working)	38.2	12.7	38.2	9.4

Source: KSH. MEF.

<http://www.ksh.hu/docs/eng/xftp/idoszaki/munkerohelyz/munkerohelyz17.pdf>

Overall inequalities in the labour market are more pronounced for already disadvantaged groups of Roma workers. The labour market disadvantage of women is more pronounced compared to non-Roma women. The lower employment rate of women is also explained by the high number of children and cultural influences related to gender roles. While the employment rate of non-Roma women is 62.1%, the rate for Roma women is only 35.9%. It is also true that the employment rate of Roma women increased by more than 10% between 2014 and 2017. In 2001, Durst concluded in a study of Roma in a small town in northern Hungary that, in an increasingly difficult labour market situation, having children early is the only way to become an adult and gain respect and self-esteem. Using data from Gypsy studies, Jánky (2005) concludes that a significant proportion of young Gypsy women have no

prospect of successful labour market integration and therefore place greater emphasis on status promotion through childbearing, which in turn further undermines the chances of any future integration process. (R. Fedor-Balogh 2016) However, it can also be observed that the reproductive choices of Roma youth (living in non-settled conditions, mainly in large cities) are increasingly converging with those of young people in the majority society. Boreczky (2009) explains this by the fact that minority societies do not operate in a hermetically sealed manner, but are deeply embedded in the majority society, not being exempt from its socio-economic conditions and culture.

Cultural difference, family values, attitudes and lack of opportunities also explain the 65.3% share of early school leavers aged 18-24 with no more than primary education. NEETs (15-24 year olds who are not in employment, education or training) is 38.2%, which is far higher than the rates in the non-Roma population, where they are both 9.4%.

Table 19. 16-19-year-olds and 20-24-year-olds not in employment, education or training (NEET), breakdown by age and county, 2018

County	16-19-year-olds	20-24-year-olds
Budapest	4,45	9,03
Baranya	14,94	20,29
Bács-Kiskun	5,79	12,61
Békés	4,80	12,36
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	12,60	23,92
Csongrád	1,75	9,20
Fejér	4,40	10,46
Győr-Moson-Sopron	2,47	7,48
Hajdú-Bihar	7,50	15,02
Heves	11,64	22,56
Komárom-Esztergom	5,52	18,79
Nógrád	13,69	15,97
Pest	4,75	8,34
Somogy	17,00	21,53
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	15,41	24,71
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	9,46	22,17
Tolna	6,31	12,92
Vas	5,37	8,18
Veszprém	8,65	14,63
Zala	4,93	14,74

Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): A közoktatás indikátorrendszere

The proportion of NEETs is highest in both the 16-19 and 20-24 age groups in Baranya, Somogy, Szabolcs, Nógrád, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok counties. Highlighting Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, it can be seen that the proportion of young people aged 20-24 who are NETT is the highest here (24.71%), while for the 16-19 age group it is "only" second (15.41%).

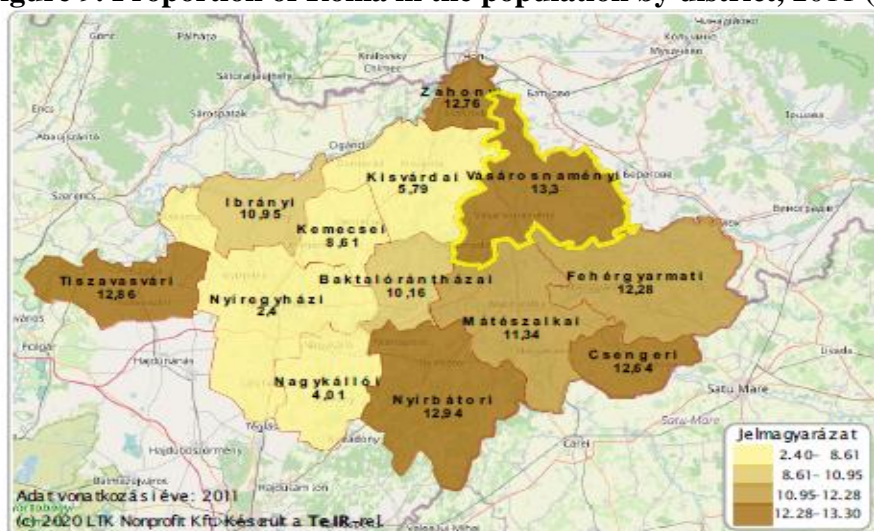
Job security is also affected more for Roma (50.5%) than for non-Roma (9.2%) workers by short-term fixed-term contracts, which are unfavourable for predictability and planning ahead.

A fourth generation is slowly growing up without their parents or grandparents having experienced a primary labour market presence. Thus, the disadvantage of the families concerned is passed on from generation to generation.

The precarious labour market characteristics described above are defined as so-called precarious characteristics, some of which may be present in the lives of all social groups, but the accumulation of precarious factors, defined as general precariousness, is not as strong for any social group as it is for the Roma. (R. Fedor and Fónai, 2017)

In the county, the highest rates are found in the districts of Vásárosnamény (13.1), Nyírbátor (12.94%), Tiszavasvár (12.86%), Záhony (12.76%) and Csenger (12.64%). The data in the official graph below is taken from the 2011 census. However, it may be ten percent higher overall, according to a survey conducted by university researchers in Debrecen and in the Partum region - in the subsequent period. This means that there are settlements with Roma populations of 50% or more.

Figure 9. Proportion of Roma in the population by district, 2011 (%)



Source: TeIR

The distribution of Roma in the county by district is highest in almost the same districts where the number of jobseekers and under-schooling is highest.

The conditions for achieving integration are clear. Employment, socialisation, better living conditions, education. It would be important to know to what extent the people concerned recognise the need for these in order to improve the quality of their lives. The responses from mayors in our own survey confirm this, and research conducted by the University of Debrecen and the Partium Christian University in 2016 showed that Roma national minority municipalities think similarly about the factors that help integration.

10.2. Regional employment situation of Roma living in settlement conditions

In the following, we present the results of an empirical study (2019) conducted in two slums of Nyíregyháza - Huszártelep and Keleti housing estate - focusing on the employment situation. Some of the data will be compared with the data of our study entitled Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza (2018), thus giving us the opportunity to observe differences and similarities in some characteristics of economic activity of the majority population and the Roma in Nyíregyháza.

Residents of the two settlements live in settled conditions, with a quarter of respondents looking for work at the time of the survey. They are presumably

the ones who are unemployed or who are thinking about changing jobs for some reason. There is almost complete consistency of opinion on this issue between the two estates, with 24.5% of those living in the Huszártélep and 24.3% of those living in the Keleti housing estate expecting to find work.

We also wanted to know what factors explain the attitudes of those not looking for work. In this context, we asked respondents to choose the most relevant reason from the 11 we identified.

Table 20. Why aren't you looking for a job? (%) (N = 271)

Reasons	He mentions	He doesn't mention it
because he/she has a job, he is satisfied with it	39.8	60.2
he/she won't find it in the area anyway	6.6	93.4
he/she won't find a suitable one anyway	7.1	92.9
he/she won't find one that pays well anyway	8.1	91.9
he/she wants to have a child	2.5	97.5
he/she wants to move	8.1	91.9
for other family reasons	11.1	88.9
he/she still has to learn, retrain him/herself	5.1	94.9
he/she is still studying	1.5	98.5
he/she has casual jobs, undeclared work anyway, he/she doesn't want to search	9.1	90.9
other reason	30.5	69.5

Source: Field research 2019.

Table 20. shows that the highest proportion of those who did not look for work said that they were currently in a job and were satisfied with it (39.8%). The second most cited factor was in the group of other reasons. Health, retirement age, childcare leave and other forms of inactivity were the main explanatory factors for those who indicated the other category.

No significant differences were found when comparing the responses of residents in the two settlements. Pearson's Chi-Square test also indicated statistically significant differences for only two factors: *'would like to move'* and *'have casual or undeclared work'*.

The data show that residents of the Huszártelep are slightly more likely to be looking for work, but also show that they are more pessimistic about their chances of finding a job. The proportion of residents who said *'he/she won't find a job in the area'*, *'he/she won't find a suitable one anyway'* or *'he/she won't find a job that pays well'* was higher. In this context, it is perhaps for these reasons that they are more open to moving and studying, which are more likely to improve their situation.

Table 21. Why aren't you looking for a job? (%)

Reasons	Frequency of mentions in Huszártelep (N = 145)	Frequency of mentions in Keleti housing estate (N = 53)	Pearson Chi-Square
because he/she has a job, he is satisfied with it	41.2	35.8	p = 0.495
he/she won't find it in the area anyway	7.6	3.8	p = 0.338
he/she won't find a suitable one anyway	7.6	5.7	p = 0.640
he/she won't find one that pays well anyway	9.7	3.8	p = 0.179
he/she wants to have a child	3.4	0.0	p = 0.171
he/she wants to move for other family reasons	11.0	0.0	p = 0.012
he/she still has to learn, retrain him/herself	19.0	3.0	p = 0.140
he/she still studying	6.2	1.9	p = 0.219
he/she is still studying	2.1	0.0	p = 0.291
he/she has casual jobs, undeclared work anyway, he/she doesn't want to search	11.7	1.9	p = 0.033
other reason	28.5	35.8	p = 0.318

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

The majority of jobseekers (59.8%) think they will be able to find a job within six months, 17.5% think it will take more than six months, while a quarter of respondents (25.5%) are very pessimistic about the question, saying they will not be able to find a job at all.

Table 22. How long do you think you will be able to find a job?
(%) $p = 0.640$

Period	Huszártelep	Keleti housing estate	Two colonies together (N = 102)
Within 2 weeks	9.2	7.7	8.8
Within 3-4 weeks	7.9	19.2	10.8
Within 1-2 months	14.5	23.1	16.7
Within 3-4 months	10.5	7.7	9.8
Within 5-6 months	14.5	11.5	13.7
Within a longer period of time	15.8	11.5	14.7
Will not be able to locate	27.6	19.2	25.5
Altogether	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

The opinion of the inhabitants of the two settlements also shows the pessimism of the Huszártelep. Among them, more people think that they will not find a job after more than six months or not at all.

One third of the Roma employed in the two settlements are in what can be considered general employment for 40 hours a week. This is far behind the Nyíregyháza residents in the Quality of Life Survey, where the proportion of Roma employed for 40 hours a week is 76.3%. Less than 25.5% of them work less than 40 hours, while 10.8% work more than 40 hours. One third of the residents of the settlement work under a public works programme. Part-time employment is more prevalent in the Huszártelep, while employment on fixed-term contracts is more common among residents in the Keleti housing estate. Most people are employed on contracts of 6 months to a year.

Table 23. How are you employed? (%)

	Site inspection (N = 112)	Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza (N = 322)
Continuous, normal employment (8 hours a day, 40 hours a week, by appointment)	31.3	76.3
With a fixed-term contract	17.9	8.1
Part time	5.4	5.5
Public works program	28.6	1.9
Casual work without a contract	11.6	2.3
Other	5.2	5.8

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

The difference between settlement and non-settlement employment data can be explained by the different educational composition of the two samples. In the Roma sample, the share of those with at most primary education is particularly high. Very few have a secondary school leaving certificate and only a few have tertiary education; it is in these two categories that the drop-out rate is highest for those living in settlements. The question arises as to what kind of motivation future school-age children will have to learn and acquire knowledge in such an educational environment and family atmosphere, since motivation to learn is the main determinant of success in school. In this context, Fejes (2005) notes that in the socialisation environment outside school, a number of factors may hinder the development of Roma pupils' learning motivation. Therefore, it would be important to strengthen the motivation of Roma learners from several directions. (Balogh 2019) Without a supportive, controlling and cooperative environment, motivation to learn is lost, with the probable consequence of a high level of lack of basic skills to be acquired in primary school and later on, complete drop-out from school.

Table 24. Characteristics of education (%)

	less than 8 years of primary education	8 years of primary education	high school without graduation	graduation	higher education qualification
Site inspection	16.4	59.3	20.5	2.3	1.5
Quality of life in Nyíregyháza	2.0	14.4	21.0	35.9	26.7

Source: Balogh, 2019

Returning to the employment data, more than three quarters of the respondents have the highest level of education of eight grades or less, which means that they are likely to be the ones who can only take advantage of employment opportunities with precarious characteristics such as fixed-term contracts, casual work, undeclared work.

Table 25. How are you employed? (%) N=112; p=0.034

	Huszártelep	Keleti housing estate
Continuous, normal employment (8 hours a day, 40 hours a week, by appointment)	30.3	34.8
With a fixed-term contract	12.4	39.1
Part time	6.7	0.0
Public works program	31.5	17.4
Casual work without a contract	12.4	8.7
Other	6.7	0.0

Source: Field research 2019.

Table 26. If you work with a contract, please indicate for how long you have been contracted! (%) (N = 221)

Period	Site inspection	Quality of life in Nyíregyháza
for less than 6 months	8.6	12.6
For a period of 6 months to 1 year	64.3	12.6
For 1 year	15.7	15.2
Between 1-2 years	1.4	6.6
Between 2-5 years	So	19.2
Longer than 5 years	10.0	33.8
Altogether	100.0	100.0

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

A significant proportion of the respondents in the sites have/had previous work experience. 77.4% said they had worked before. No significant differences were found between the two housing estates on this question. 63.7% of respondents had worked in three or fewer jobs, while one in four (25.5%) said they had worked in four to six jobs. 10.8% had worked in more than 10 jobs in their lifetime.

Current economic activity was assessed by the question "*If not working - what is the reason*". Respondents were given the choice between work and personal reasons. Work-related reasons could be used to infer actual unemployment, while inactivity for personal reasons could imply other forms of inactivity. Our results show that 20% (53 persons) of the residents of the settlement were not working for work-related reasons at the time of the interview, they were unemployed. The situation is even worse if we include the 31 people who chose the category "*GYED/GYES/GYET (no job)*" in the unemployed, as they self-reported not having done any paid work before childcare, they were unemployed. Thus, the proportion of people with employment problems exceeds 30% (31.6%), which is several times higher than the 4.6% recorded in the Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza survey. The figures in Table 27 show the enormous disadvantage of the residents of the settlement. It is also worth pointing out that inactivity due to disability affects the labour market to an order of magnitude greater extent among the residents of the settlement, with 12% of the total sample not working due to this form of inactivity. This rate is 2.2% (!) in the Nyíregyháza Quality of Life survey. A good health status is also of particular importance for a stable presence in the labour market. By improving the health status of the population and reducing inequalities, development can be promoted and economic activity can be increased, which can have a positive impact on society (Jávorné 2016).

Table 27. Number of markers for the answer 'I am not currently working'
(persons) (N = 171; 186)

<i>Work - related reasons</i>	<i>Site inspection</i>	<i>Nyíregyháza Quality of life survey</i>
They were fired	9	6
My contract has expired	44	14
My business is ruined	0	3
<i>Personal reasons</i>	<i>Site inspection</i>	<i>Nyíregyháza Quality of life survey</i>
GYED / GYES / GYET (has a job)	9	8
GYED / GYES / GYET (no job)	31	3
Caring for a sick, disabled person	4	3
Moving	1	4
Continuation of studies	5	24
Own illness, disability, disability	32	11
Pension	17	87
Other	19	23
Altogether	171	186

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

The unfavourable labour market situation of people living in collective farms is reinforced by the fact that more than 70% of those surveyed have been unemployed and 49.8% are currently unemployed. In comparison, 35.7% of the participants in the Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza survey had experienced unemployment and 4.6% were unemployed at the time of the survey (2018). Closely related to this is the difference in the proportion of people in public employment. 58.3% of residents in the settlement have worked as a public employee, and one in three respondents are currently working in this way. By contrast, 6.7% of the respondents to the Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza survey had been in public employment and only 2.4% were participating in a public work programme at the time of the survey.

Table 28. Information on unemployment and public works (%)

<i>Have you been registered unemployed during your lifetime? N = 465</i>	<i>Site inspection</i>	<i>Nyíregyháza Quality of life survey</i>
yes, it still is	21.2	4.6
yes, but not at the moment	49.8	31.1
no	29.0	64.3
<i>Have you ever participated in a public works program? N = 467</i>	<i>Site inspection</i>	<i>Nyíregyháza Quality of life survey</i>
yes, he/she is still working on it	15.6	2.4
yes, but he/she is not currently working on it	42.7	4.3
no	41.6	93.3

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

People living in the settlement spent an average of 9 months unemployed, with an average of 4.5 stints in a public works programme, lasting an average of 19.8 months.

Table 29. How satisfied are you with your current salary and income? (%)

Satisfaction rate	Field test N=177	Nyíregyháza Quality of life study N=373
not satisfied at all	31.1	11.2
not satisfied	22.6	15.0
satisfied both and not	28.8	30.0
satisfied	12.4	31.3
fully satisfied	5.1	12.5

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

More than half of those surveyed in Nyíregyháza were "*dissatisfied*" or "*not at all satisfied*" with their salary (twice as many as Nyíregyháza residents). This is not surprising given the data on their employment. The high unemployment rate and the high proportion of people in public employment are important determinants of the income level of residents. The average income of the residents of the settlement is far below that of the residents participating in the Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza survey. The majority of the former (76.7%) fall into the bottom two income deciles. (Fábián and Takács 2019) It can be concluded that nearly 80% of the sample lives in income poverty.

Table 30. How satisfied are you with the working conditions? (%) N=354

Satisfaction rate	Field inspection N=133	Nyíregyháza Quality of life study N=354
not satisfied at all	12.8	3.9
not satisfied	18.7	9.0
satisfied both and not	27.1	27.0
satisfied	27.1	39.1
fully satisfied	14.3	21.1

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

Opinions on working conditions also differ significantly between the site and the Nyíregyháza survey. While 60.2% of the Nyíregyháza respondents fall into the "satisfied" and "completely satisfied" camps, 41.4% of the residents of these settlements think positively about this issue.

Table 31. How satisfied are you with your work schedule and type of work? (%) N=353

Satisfaction rate	Field inspection N=134	Nyíregyháza Quality of life study N=353
not satisfied at all	10.4	2.5
not satisfied	11.2	9.2
satisfied both and not	23.2	21.2
satisfied	35.8	37.8
fully satisfied	19.4	29.3

<i>How satisfied are you with the type of work? (%) N = 353</i>		
Satisfaction rate	Field test N = 134	Nyíregyháza Quality of life study N = 353
not satisfied at all	11.9	3.9
not satisfied	13.5	6.3
satisfied both and not	27.6	20.4
satisfied	31.3	36.1
fully satisfied	15.7	33.3

Source: Field research 2019, R. Fedor 2019, Nyíregyháza Quality of Life 2018.

Settlement residents are most satisfied with their working hours and the type of work they do, these two factors are close to the level of Nyíregyháza residents, although overall, the level of dissatisfaction in this respect is also higher than in the Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza survey.

Labour market opportunities can be increased through training, further training and retraining. Poorly chosen job search strategies and lack of basic labour market competences of Roma, under-educated groups can undermine their job search success. In addition to marketable qualifications, the quality of CVs and cover letters, which can be seen as a prelude to job search, and the outcome of personal appearances and appearances at job interviews are very important. The launch of courses to determine the effectiveness of these can be an important step in helping people to find a job. In this context, the respondents were asked whether they would be willing to take part in a training course in order to improve their chances on the labour market.

Table 32. Distribution of opinions on involvement in training N=204

Yes, but only for a short period of a few months of training	22.1
Yes, up to 6 months of training	32.5
No	45.4
Altogether	100.0

Source: Field research 2019.

Almost 55% of respondents said they would like to take part in some kind of training, and a third would not even turn down the opportunity to take training for more than six months. No statistically significant correlation was found between the two municipalities for this question.

Our results show a strong employment disadvantage for people living in the Huszártelep and the Keleti housing estates. The reasons for this are known to include low levels of Roma education, lack of vocational qualifications and Roma ethnicity, which make it difficult for them to find a place in the labour market and can lead to long-term unemployment, income poverty and, ultimately, exclusion.

A quarter of the respondents living in the two settlements were looking for work at the time of the survey. A slightly higher proportion of people living in the Huszártelep were looking for work, but it can be seen that people living in the Huszártelep are more optimistic about their chances of finding work than those living in the Keleti housing estate. In this context, it is perhaps for these reasons that people living in the Huszártelep are more open to moving and studying, which is more likely to improve their situation.

One third of employed Roma living in the two settlements are in what can be considered general employment for 40 hours a week. This is far below the figures for Nyíregyháza residents in the Quality of Life Survey. One third of the residents of the settlement work under a public works programme. Part-time employment is more common in the Huszártelep, while fixed-term contracts are more common in the Keleti housing estate. Most people are employed on contracts of 6 months to a year. Absences from the labour market due to disability or illness affect the residents of the settlement by orders of magnitude. Nearly 20% of the 'inactive' at the time of the survey were not in paid work due to this form of inactivity.

11. The precarity, a threat to children and young people and education as a way to prevent it

Many factors shape the decision to learn. These include family background, a person's ability and motivation (Becker 1998). Counselling would be an important tool for exploring abilities and skills, but access to counselling is limited for school-age children (Móré 2012). These barriers should be mitigated by education policy measures that compensate for the presence of disadvantage, for example by offering extra credit points in the admissions process for higher education. The financial means of those wishing to study are a barrier to further education, as tuition fees, even if subsidised, are only a part of the direct costs of learning (Rosen 1998). Thus, economic disadvantage is a significant explanatory factor for decisions to study.

The link between participation in education and the income earned and employment opportunities is very strong. Jobs that require higher education are a more favourable alternative, both in material and non-material terms (Rosen 1998). In addition to higher earnings, the returns to higher education can be interpreted as better and less harmful working conditions, more comfortable working conditions, and increased leisure time. These are the so-called external or co-benefits of education. According to Rosen (1998), "the value attached to the quantity and quality of leisure should be taken into account in any welfare measure [...] human capital has a significant value in home production for people, especially women, whose activities alternate between the market and non-market sectors" (Rosen 1998:93).

The decision to continue education is a crucial one for young people, as the choice of a profession sets a learning and professional pathway that takes years to prepare for and years to master. Therefore, good and (bad) career choices have a long-term impact on the lives of the individuals concerned. This confirms the importance of career guidance as a supportive activity. To define the concept, we refer back to Váry and Eszik (2011:5): "The aim of career guidance at school is to provide pupils with knowledge about themselves and their labour market environment in order to help them to establish their own career paths and to provide them with a sound basis for their career choice. Career guidance is about developing a continuous need for orientation in the world of work, a learning process where young people: accept that the world around them, its economic characteristics and the content of the jobs available

are changing, and recognise that their success in their careers depends on their ability to navigate these changes through self-awareness."

Career guidance is therefore not a one-off decision, but a process of decisions taken in parallel with the acquisition of information and the deepening of self-awareness. It can therefore best be defined as a kind of decision preparation process. The question may arise: what information is needed in this process? More important is the question of self-awareness, or how the individual thinks about him/herself, what his/her interests are, what he/she considers himself/herself to be talented in, and of course what kind of activity, what field of study, and within this, what profession is close to him/her. In the present case, we are dealing with social work, a helping profession with a very wide target group, which presupposes that the individual who chooses this career is socially sensitive and has a very strong desire to help others. The primary focus of career guidance is on young people about to enter further education, but we can also consider adults who are about to change or correct their career as a special group.

In order to make an informed career choice, individuals need to be aware of the characteristics of certain careers or occupations, as well as having knowledge of the labour market. As a next step, it is worthwhile to find out about the labour market value and social recognition of the careers concerned, and of course even this is not a guarantee, because the consequences of our choices are not always predictable in today's rapidly changing labour market. All this shows that choosing a career is not a simple task. "For an adolescent, the factors influencing the decision itself are not clearly and consciously separated. Family occupational traditions are no longer necessarily followed, but at the same time the family often exerts strong pressure on children, steering them towards a certain career that is considered to be good. In other cases, neither the school nor the family pays much attention to this process. Too much emphasis is placed on fashion and media-driven careers." (Váry and Eszi 2011:8)

Previous research on the subject highlights the role of the so-called *other effect* in young people's career choices, which means that reference persons in their lives, such as parents, teachers, friends, have a decisive influence on children and young people. However, it is also clear that, while the influence of peers is strong in the pursuit of certain behaviours, the role of parents in thinking

about future plans and in choosing a career path is valued. (Kissné 2015) The importance of the role of the family background does not need to be explained, but it is worth highlighting three dimensions of the family milieu that have a strong influence on attitudes towards employment in addition to career choice: the socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the family, and the dynamics of intra-family relationships. This triad is defined by Coleman as the social capital of the family, which, in his view, also determines the educational performance of children raised in the family.

The system of values and norms in the family sets the patterns of behaviour and behaviour to be followed, and these are largely determined by the educational attainment of the parents, which has an impact on the socio-economic status of the family. The quality of relationships within the family, the amount of quality time spent on children (time wasted) and the characteristics of communication between parents and children are the basis for the family background that follows young people's school career and provides information and advice to help them make a career choice.

The ideal situation is therefore one in which the family, the school and, if necessary, other career guidance services are involved in the process. Of course, the way this is done depends on the current age and life cycle of the person choosing a career. Sometimes we have spent a few years in a profession and then we find that we no longer want to do it, and our interests change. In this case, we are talking about a career change. People who decide to change or correct their career usually prefer to do correspondence courses that can be done while working.

In order to make an informed career choice, it is important, in addition to the above, that people are aware of their own personality and skills, and have information about the main characteristics of a profession or occupation. It is worth obtaining precise information about the exact tasks that will be required in each occupation, the working patterns and the working conditions that are likely to be encountered. It is also important to have an overview and knowledge of the major employers in the municipality and the current characteristics of the labour market supply. It should also be taken into account that the dynamics of the labour market are changing very rapidly these days and that employers are looking for skilled workers who are able to work

independently, who are adaptable and who are not shy of continuously improving their skills and knowledge.

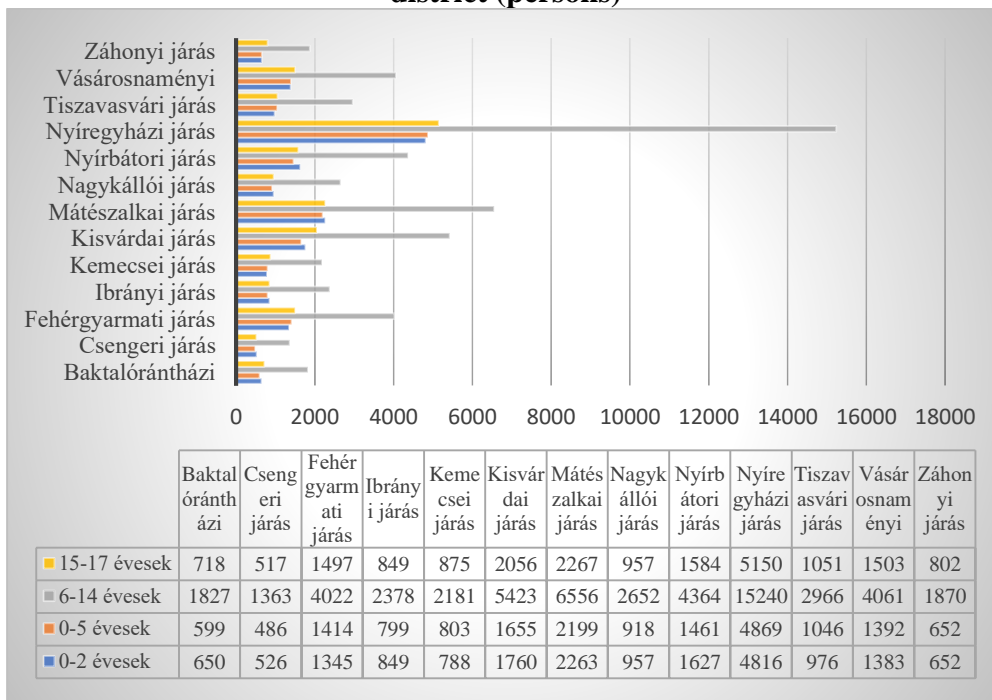
Taking all this into account, the ideal situation is that career choices are made according to interests and taking into account several aspects.

Of course, it is very interesting to think about the motivations for career choices in the light of the information described above. What are the motivations for career choices and further education of NEET young people, of children in extreme poverty who drop out early, of Roma children in conflict with school, who cannot participate in online education because they lack tools and internet connections? They are at a huge disadvantage, which stigmatises their fate from a very early age, setting them on a path towards low-paid, low-prestige jobs, and very soon they find themselves in the perfidious secondary labour market.

Promoting educational inequalities for these social groups is particularly important, as equal access to education must be guaranteed for all.

In Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, the total population under 18 years of age was 111 614 on 1 January 2020, approximately one fifth of the county's population. Looking at the distribution by district, the highest numbers of this age group are found in the districts of Tiszavasvár, Mátészalkai and Bakatlórántházai, where the number of young people living in extreme poverty and Roma youth is high.

Figure 10. Population of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county under 18 by district (persons)



Forrás: TeIR, 2020

In light of this, we believe that the responsibility of education policy makers is even greater, given the high proportion of children with multiple disadvantages.

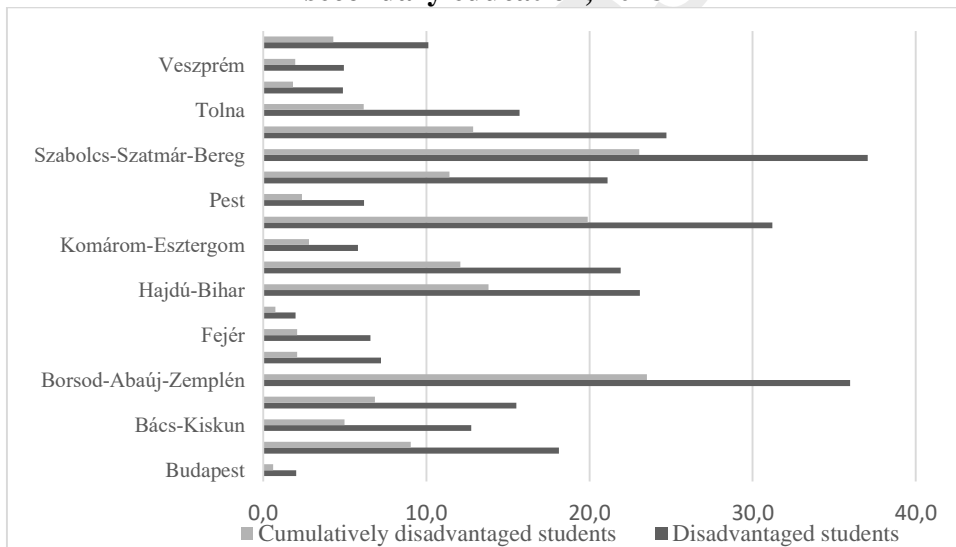
The North-East region's cumulative disadvantage is reflected in more data, but the subjective factors that have been less investigated include the restructuring of public education and the attitude of education staff to change. The other hypothesis is that the number of schools with other types of maintenance has increased. In our county, this is very high, as is the number of municipalities where there are no state-maintained public education institutions or services, even though the combined proportion of pre-school and primary school age groups is the highest in this county. In the light of these facts, the question rightly arises as to how the institutions that have been transferred, particularly because of the other difficulties arising from their peripheral location, are able to achieve equal opportunities, talent management and equal opportunities?

In the North-East, however, it is also typical that several disadvantaged settlements have a common educational institution, where we cannot talk about

segregation in most cases because everyone is disadvantaged and predominantly of Roma origin, so we have to understand segregation of the people living here differently from the other parts of the country. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly common for disadvantaged settlements to have only religious educational institutions. As can be seen from the performance of pupils, some non-state institutions are run as quality, sometimes elite institutions, while in other cases - particularly in vocational training and some grammar schools - they are more concerned with fulfilling their mission and accounting for grants. (MEP)

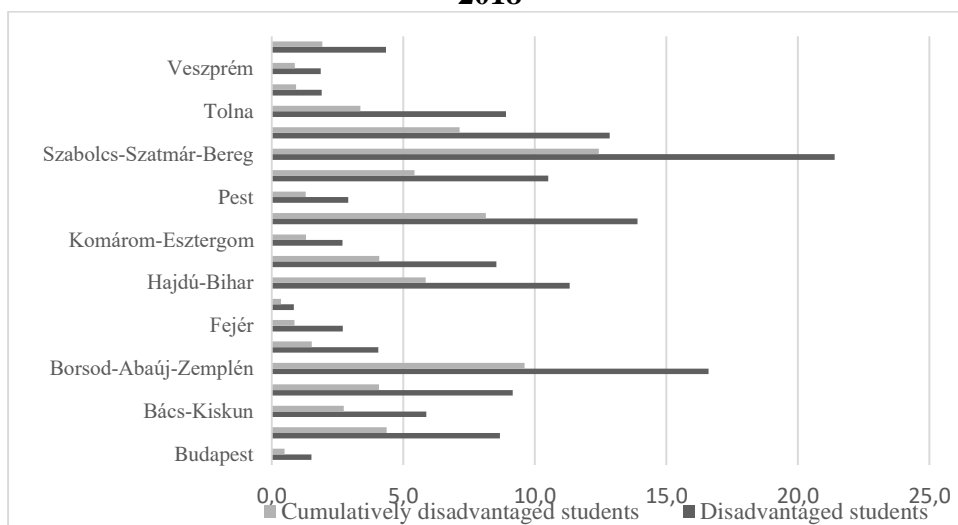
The data show that our county is home to the largest number of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged children in the country, who are most likely to find opportunities outside the county.

Figure 11. Proportion of disadvantaged (HH) and cumulatively disadvantaged (HHH) students by counties, primary and lower secondary education, 2018



Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): A közoktatás indikátorrendszere

Figure 12. Proportion of disadvantaged (HH) and cumulatively disadvantaged (HHH) students by counties, upper secondary education, 2018



Source: Hajdu et al, (2019): *A közoktatás indikátorrendszere*

According to KSH data, the proportion of disadvantaged and severely disadvantaged young people in the county is 60.1% among primary school pupils, three times the national average. For secondary school pupils, it is well over a third of the age group concerned (35.8%), and one in five students in tertiary education is disadvantaged (21.4%).

11.1. Predictors and protectors in multidimensional analysis of a study database

We analysed the trust relationships of young people in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg as a background factor of risk behaviour among children and young people living on the social periphery. We sought to answer the question of how family and friendships influence the development of young people's relationships and personality. We assumed that the peer supportive relationships (positive relationship with mother, father, satisfaction with friends) have a positive influence on the development of young people's personality, but that changes in any of these elements can become a risk factor. Good relationships with friends and parents help young people to do well at school and protect them from dropping out. A supportive family environment

serves as a model, and family members' suggestions for further education help to plan their future.

According to our results (Láczay and R. Fedor 2017), the role of the mother within the family is prominent, and her values determine the development of her children's personality. Obviously, they are the most traditional custodians of values, but at the same time, if they accept some change, they will also be the most active implementers of it. We see change in the way they are able to reconcile well with the permissive family model the outcomes expected from school. That is, they are permissive in the family and expect good results as the work of the school. The survey scores that show how much their children inform their parents about their school life, their free time and their friends prove this claim. There have been some significant shifts in this area, although it is still the case that the mother is more responsible for raising the children. She knows more about friends, where her child spends her free time, what she does and how much she spends. She knows about school grades in roughly the same proportions as above, but less about what is being done at school and what teachers think of her child. In fact, at this point, we can only talk about formal, rule-following care, but it cannot be said that there are many children who are truant or who live in families that do not care. In the two-parent, traditional family model, children have a more intimate relationship with the mother, but in our case the proportion of fathers who know nothing about their child's life outside the family is not very high either, with around a fifth of responses or less.

The ten questions we asked in three categories show that there is trust. What is your father/grandmother like with you, is he helpful, lenient, patient, understanding, likes you to make your own decisions, controls you, treats you like a child, can he comfort you, encourages you to learn or does he not think you make sense? We were interested in qualities that are representative of the parenting mentality, especially if the answer choice is almost always - sometimes - never. For young people, if the answer is positive, the family is a support that can protect them from the risk factors that put a large part of today's youth at risk (e.g. risky behaviour, exclusion, emotional bleakness, lack of confidence, stalking, etc.). In all groups of questions, the almost always positive opinion is higher, although the roughly 10% higher value for mothers is typical of the emotional world of the family, the traditional gender roles. On the positive side, we find that learning is considered important by both parents.

There are more evenly balanced scores in support of the young person's independence in the categories given, both in terms of the three optional behaviours and in terms of the father's and mother's attitudes. "*Tries to control everything*" and "*likes me to decide my own things*", statements of opinion, show that this is indeed a major challenge in relating to teenagers.

Despite the positive relationships of trust, another question arises: to what extent is this background sufficient for young people to be able to cope in another environment - e.g. in a higher type of school, a workplace, a larger municipality or even in the info-communication space - and does the family background provide sufficient support, and we are not talking about financial support? Can it protect them from subcultural communities that tempt them to try harmful addictions? In addition to the family, we can highlight the importance of school and friendly communities, which have the potential to make adjustments to young people's quality of life and attitudes, enabling even those from a disadvantaged background to shape their personal destiny through a responsible attitude.

In the research on protective factors, the same set of questions was used to rate friends, teacher and caregiver, and attitudes towards other adults. It was found that they can share their worries and thoughts with their best friend very easily (59.4%), but only 24.8% of respondents were registered in the category of easily able to share what they have to say. Overall, these two percentages show that they have trusting friendships. We do not know who they are, but when parents were surveyed, it turned out that they are interested and familiar with their children's leisure contacts. This is almost natural in smaller settlements. They also easily and very easily make contact with other friends of the same sex, sharing with them topics of interest, but here the proportions are more evenly balanced, and they also easily and very easily communicate with friends of the opposite sex, but this only affects approximately a quarter of the responses.

Table 33. How easily can you discuss things that are very bothering or disturbing you with the following people?

	<i>Very easily</i> 18 years and younger	<i>Very easily</i> 19 years and older	<i>Easily</i> 18 years and younger	<i>Easily</i> 19 years and older
With your father	24.0	33.1	32.7	32.3
With your mother	36.8	46.7	33.4	29.9
With your brother(s)	26.9	37.0	30.4	29.0
With your sister(s)	32.1	39.2	30.6	31.5
With your best friend	60.8	55.9	27.4	19.2
With friends of the same sex	44.8	39.2	35.3	28.8
With friends of the opposite sex	25.1	24.8	28.4	23.4
With one of your teachers	18.3	15.1	31.7	17.4
With one of your caregivers	32.1	39.2	30.6	31.5
With another adult	22.8	23.1	18.7	23.7

Source: Láczy-R. Fedor (2017)

When asked about the extent to which they can discuss their thoughts with a teacher, there is unfortunately a high proportion of responses (19.9%) for the category of no such person. This is all the more unfortunate because, in the Renzulli (1978) - Mönks (1992) interpretation of talent, the existence of school and peers, in addition to the family, provides the environmental background that can help latent talents to flourish. Our results also show that there are teachers with whom they can easily establish a relationship (27.8%), but we also know that there have been significant restructuring and mergers in the study area, and that they are most often absent from highly disadvantaged and segregated areas.

There are two important lessons from these results. The first is the need to strengthen confidence in the formal representatives of knowledge, teachers and schools in general, in the target population. The second is to focus the attention of education policy actors on keeping disadvantaged young people in school, identifying and mentoring latent talent, which is unthinkable without motivated, financially and socially valued teachers. In their absence, the disadvantaged communities of the region and the small rural areas will suffer

from a build-up of precarious characteristics, which could force these young people into the secondary labour market.

11.2. Background to decisions on further education

The importance of the added value of school was highlighted in another of our studies on young people's further education. In this research, we explored the perceptions of secondary school students about their future through a 'general' and a vocational secondary school. The "general" secondary school was one of the most preferred secondary schools in the county studied, attended by children of highly qualified parents.

In our empirical work, we used a cross-cutting questionnaire of 44 questions and assessed their views on, among other things, starting a family, value choice, motivation to study, further education and employment. In the present work, we focused on one segment of our findings. We explored whether there is a difference between students' perceptions of learning and labour market placement depending on whether they attend a 'general' upper secondary school or a vocational upper secondary school, and whether different characteristics of family background affect young people's future plans.

Table 34. What is your plan after graduating from high school (%)

	High school	Vocational high school	Altogether
I continue my studies	81.8	34.0	56.8
I take a job	0.0	20.6	10.8
I will work and study at the same time	14.8	38.1	27.0
I stay at home	0.0	1.0	0.5
I do not know yet	1.1	2.1	1.6
I'm going abroad	2.3	4.1	3.2

Plans/school type: p = 0.000

Source: R. Fedor- Pálosi (2018)

The students' opinions on "general" high school students revealed a homogeneous group of students with very high academic results, highly qualified parents, favourable income conditions, most of them excellent and outstanding students, and almost all of them envisage their near future in higher education. The distribution of vocational secondary school pupils by similar dimensions was much more heterogeneous, and overall they lagged behind the

secondary school group in terms of both educational attainment and parental education and income. And while none of those in upper secondary education said they would work after leaving school, one in five of those in vocational upper secondary education said they would. These differences can be attributed to the type of school, its mission and "catching up" and, perhaps most importantly, the added value of the school. This partly explains the differences we found. However, it should also be pointed out that in our study we found a correlation between young people's plans for further education and employment and the financial situation of the family.

Table 35. Students' future plans in light of families' income status

Income situation	I continue my studies	I take a job (I go to work)	I will work and study at the same time	I stay at home	I do not know yet	I'm going abroad
We live modestly, we have to manage every day	0.0	16.7	83.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
We live on average, we have enough money for our daily needs, we can no longer get more expensive things	43.1	21.5	29.2	1.5	0.0	4.6
We live pretty well, we get everything	63.6	4.5	26.1	0.0	2.3	3.4
We live very well compared to others, we can also afford luxury things	85.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	5.0	0.0
He didn't answer	66.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0

$p = 0.010$

Source: R. Fedor-Pálosi (2018)

It was clear that students from more favourable circumstances tended to predict further education, while those with less favourable income parameters tended to predict the combination of further education and work and to work only, among the listed response options. This suggests that financial well-being, or

the lack thereof, determines post-school study plans and thus works against equality of opportunity.

The possibility of working abroad is presented on the basis of the views of recent graduates. On the DPR 2011 database, nearly half of the respondents at the University of Debrecen were considering a possible job abroad. A significant proportion of those who consider working abroad a realistic prospect are, perhaps unsurprisingly, medical graduates. Among them, 42% said they planned to work in another country.

11.3. Labour market insecurity of young graduates

There is a strong link between higher education and success in the world of work. Both previous research and statistical data show that those with higher qualifications have higher employment rates and lower unemployment. It is well established that the under-educated belong to the precarious stratum, but the literature on precariousness highlights as one of the criteria for defining the phenomenon that it is a precarious group, which is heterogeneous in terms of human capital. This raises the question of whether young graduates could be affected by the phenomenon. In other words, can we say to what extent the phenomenon of precariousness is present in a social group that is generally in a more favourable position in the labour market?

To find out, we examined some labour market characteristics of recent graduates using the database of the Graduate Career Tracking System (2015). (R. Fedor-Fónai, 2017) In our analytical work, we seek to answer the question to what extent the precariousness of the labour market situation is perceived among young graduates, and which main explanatory variables are most relevant for the interpretation of this phenomenon. The question was raised whether socio-demographic and socio-cultural characteristics, including gender, marital status, level of education (bachelor's or master's degree, PhD), type of qualification, type of settlement, are the main determinants of labour market outcomes?

Our results confirmed the positive impact of high educational attainment on the labour market, with an unemployment rate of less than 3% among recent graduates. The majority of those who were working at the time of the survey (82.7%) had a permanent contract of indefinite duration. 14.7% were employed on a fixed-term contract, while 2.7% were employed on a casual, contract-for-

hire basis. What is surprising, however, is that almost one in five graduates worked part-time.

The advantages of a favourable position in the labour market hierarchy are manifold. It can offer people higher incomes, more free time and the possibility to work their own hours. However, it is also important to know whether the investment in human capital by the individual is paid back in the labour market. In this sense, we have looked at whether or not recent graduates are working in graduate jobs according to their qualifications. The tables below (*Table 36 and 37*) show a clear female disadvantage. Women are under-represented in both upper, middle and lower management.

When we aggregate their proportion at the three levels of management, we find that 17% of women hold a management position, compared with 26.7% of men. The picture is even worse when comparing women and men with children. Men dominate with 43.3% compared to 23.4% for women. The 20% difference is significant and is confirmed by the results of our previous study in the county, which showed that in 95% of cases women stay at home with their children on childcare leave (R. Fedor 2105). And a characteristic feature of interrupted labour market careers is that during the period spent at home, women's labour market careers are not only stagnant, but even show a downward mobility. (Róbert and Bukodi 2002) It is also noteworthy that the data on the status of "employed non-graduate", which indicates a job that does not match the educational attainment, also reinforces the disadvantage of women.

Table 36. Proportion of people in management positions by sex and child
(%) N=14 858

Post	Woman	Man	Woman with child	Man with child
Senior manager	2.2	3.2	4.0	6.7
Middle manager	8.6	13.1	13.9	23.6
Lower leader	6.2	10.4	5.5	13.0
Graduate occupation	67.8	62.7	61.8	46.5
Subordinate non-graduate occupation	15.2	10.6	14.7	10.2
Altogether	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

($\chi^2 p = 0.000$)

Source: R. Fedor and Fónai

60% of senior managers and middle managers with children are men, and the proportion is even higher for middle managers at 66%. The differences in magnitude are reversed at further levels of seniority, with the 'favour' of women in graduate and non-graduate occupations. In these categories, women dominate (61% and 63% respectively) (see *Table 36*)

Table 37. Proportion of people in management positions by gender and child (%) N=14 548

	Top manager	Middle manager	Lower leader	Graduate occupation	Subordinate non-graduate occupation
Woman with child	41.7	41.2	33.6	61.2	63.1
Man with child	58.3	58.8	66.4	38.8	36.9
Altogether	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

($\chi^2 p = 0.000$)

Source: R. Fedor and Fónai

Overall, although the overall labour market situation of recent graduates is favourable, our results confirm the already existing labour market disadvantage of women. For example, they have a higher proportion of fixed-term contracts compared to men, and are more likely to have interrupted their careers. A higher proportion of women answered 'Yes' to the question 'I am not working now but I have had a job'. The same can be said for part-time employment, with one in four women respondents working in this atypical form of employment at the time of the survey.

This suggests that the less stable and less secure labour market characteristics of graduates also tend to affect women.

12. Results of a precariat study in the elderly

The phenomenon of ageing societies is now well known, and its demographic, economic and social impact is felt in many countries around the world. The increase in average life expectancy at birth and the low number of children have inevitably led to the emergence of ageing societies. This has presented policy-makers and national and international organisations with a number of challenges, particularly in promoting active and healthy ageing. Uncertainty can also be observed in this social group, only here it is not seen as a labour market phenomenon, but as a precarious dimension, the unpredictability and uncertainty of the dimensions that determine the quality of life in inactive age.

The globalisation of the ageing process and the growing trend towards ageing societies present demographers, social workers and all researchers with a serious challenge. The WHO predicts that the proportion of the population aged 60 and over will continue to rise, with the number of people aged 60 and over expected to double by 2050. In Hungary, the proportion of the population aged 65 and over increased from 13% in 1990 to 19% in 2017, and is projected to reach 29% by 2070 (Monostor - Gresits 2018: 127).

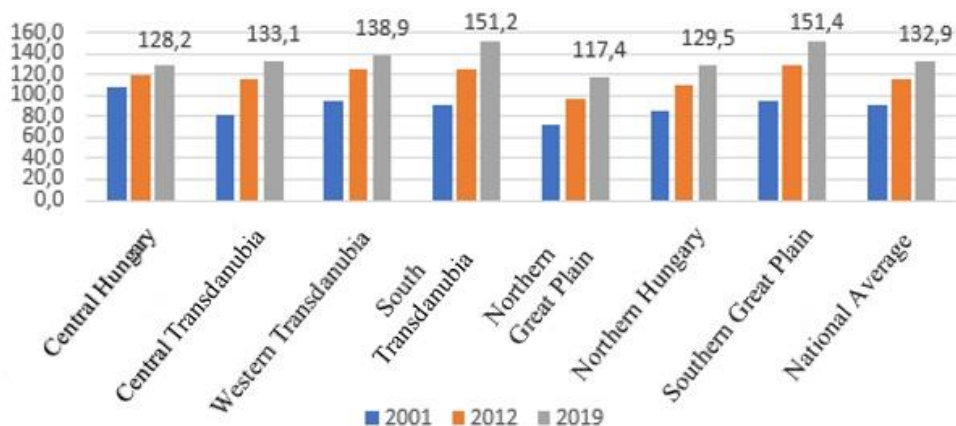
The demand for active ageing has triggered the thinking of practitioners towards an innovative service design process. Improving the quality of life of older people, maintaining and enhancing their well-being, and maintaining physical activity, also includes a mentally active lifestyle. The maintenance of physical and mental health has become a central issue in ageing societies, both for older people living at home and for older residents in residential care. In this section, we present the results of our study in three residential care homes in the Northern Great Plain, focusing on community activities, leisure time and social interaction characteristics.

12.1. An aging society

Old age is perhaps one of the most critical periods of our lives. As we age, our options become increasingly limited. This process implies the need to give up and change roles (Donászy 2002). The ageing process is accompanied by economic inactivity and the withdrawal from the world of work, which is directly linked to the deterioration of social relations. Preston (1994) defines old age as a critical period of development, accompanied by major biological,

physical, mental, psychosocial and social changes. Success in adapting to these changes is determined by the preparation for old age in adulthood, which is essentially shaped by socio-cultural influences (Bagdy 2000, Jeszenszky 2003, Pikó 2007). Western societies are performance-oriented, and the evaluation of performance is mostly linked to paid work and activity (Hézser 2002). As a result, the ageing, retired person may, after a while, feel superfluous, a useless member of society. This state can be dampened by the planned, useful use of increased leisure time. Helping the younger generations with their work-life conflict and caring for grandchildren also provides an opportunity to bring older people back into the social mainstream. However, some obstacles cannot be ignored, such as physical distance from children and grandchildren, or the demographic trend, which is and has been for some time, of a steady decline in the proportion of young people (0-14 years) and a parallel dramatic increase in the number of people aged 60 and over. This also means that those who are ageing have fewer children and grandchildren and fewer siblings and cousins of the same age, which is associated with a dysfunction of the primary support system within the family (Iván 2002). This also shows that the intergenerational distribution in an ageing society has changed significantly. The ageing index is a measure used to illustrate the ageing of the population and shows the proportion of elderly people (aged 65 and over) per population aged 14 and under.

Figure 13. Aging index



Source: own editing

The data in Figure 13 show the spatial and temporal evolution of this indicator. It can be seen that the ageing index has increased significantly over the last 18

years. The national average in Hungary today is 133 people aged 65 and over for every 100 children under 14. This ratio is most favourable in the Northern Great Plain region, where our study is carried out, although the number of older generations exceeds the number of young people. The worst situation is in the South Transdanubian destination, where the number of older people is one and a half times higher than the number of people aged 14 and under.

From a health sociological point of view, we can say that in the process of ageing, many factors that used to function as protective factors are eroded, which in the long term have a negative impact on the experience of ageing. The reduction in social contacts, the loss of a spouse can lead to loneliness, and economic inactivity can lead to a reduction in the standard of living to which people were accustomed. The cumulative experience of loss creates a stressful situation which can be detrimental to health in the long term. A supportive family background plays a crucial role in resolving the crisis and achieving a happy old age. However, in recent decades, family structures and gender roles have been changing in our society, with effects also felt in the field of care for the elderly. (Szalkóné 2020) In this context, institutions caring for the elderly have an increasingly important role to play in shaping and preserving the quality of life of older people, and can do much for older people by continuously reviewing and developing their services.

The lack of a social support system is closely linked to perceived and, in the long term, actual health. Those who have fewer social contacts are more likely to become sad, to experience depressive symptoms, to report feelings of being superfluous, and this in turn determines their general well-being and satisfaction. These characteristics are more pronounced in older people, so social leisure is seen as a protective factor. This is particularly true for residents of residential care homes for the elderly, who often choose to live in a home for the elderly because of difficult living conditions, illness or death. Change always involves adaptation, getting to know the new environment and establishing contact with the people living there, which is often no easy task. However, experience shows that, for older people who often live in isolation, residential care facilities offer the opportunity to expand their social networks, to develop new social contacts and to try out new and previously unknown leisure activities. Both domestic and foreign studies confirm the long-standing finding that limited human contact, a low number of active days and a lack of social support have a negative impact on the mental and physical well-being

and health of individuals (Berkman-Syme 1979, Ellwardt et al. 2014, Kopp - Skrabski 2007). Ellwardt et al. (2014) add that income poverty in old age reduces the likelihood of fostering and forming close relationships.

Cohen-Mansfield et al. (2012) identified leisure activities, alongside social relationships, as a way of avoiding feelings of excess, and cite this as a protective factor against stress. Janke, Nimrod and Kleiber (2008) attributed a significant role to leisure activity in overcoming negative life events.

The national literature also argues that the characteristics of older people's social relationships and the quality of these relationships are closely linked to the characteristics of their leisure time, and this is particularly true for people living in residential care. According to the results of previous studies, older people prefer to spend their leisure time socially, for example in religious activities, but their involvement in organisational activities is also prominent (Töröcsik 2015). They also like to talk to each other and watch TV. Older people spend one and a half times as much time watching TV per day as the general population (Lampeck 2015).

All this suggests that the institutional environment is conducive to the design of organised leisure programmes, as the target group is not only physically present but can also shape the content of the programmes with their suggestions and ideas, according to their interests.

12.2. Elderly loneliness, relationship insecurity

In the winter of 2019, we (R. Fedor-Ungvári-Markos) assessed the support and intervention needs of three elderly care facilities in the Northern Great Plain region in order to further strengthen the pillars of safe and high quality service delivery. Dementia and psychiatric care are also provided in residential care facilities.

In this context, we have mapped the social relationships of the residents in residential care homes and their relations with their relatives, their fellow residents and the staff of the institution was carried out. We asked questions

about knowledge of health behaviour and leisure activities. We also looked at satisfaction with living conditions, and finally asked respondents to make suggestions for active leisure, learning and information in old age, and improvements to living conditions. We expect that the development of services in this way, which reflect the needs of older people, will have an impact on their general well-being, mental activity and quality of life.

It is in the social interest of society that older people do not lose contact, do not become isolated, but participate in community activities and have reciprocal social relationships that make them feel useful members of the community. Strengthening intergenerational cooperation and communication is important for a number of reasons. On the one hand, it helps the process of intergenerational knowledge transfer and, at the same time, it helps to ease intergenerational tensions, which are most often caused by different world views, different knowledge, different ways of thinking, different perspectives, different experiences, different knowledge and different vocabulary (Lampek 2015, Dobos 2016). In addition to intergenerational relations among older people living in residential care, which mainly involve children and grandchildren, the importance of intergenerational relations and relations with carers in the institution should be highlighted. Previous national research has shown that the most important indicators of quality of life for older people are health, belonging to a family, helping others (and receiving help from others), love, the characteristics of human relationships, talking to others, and the existence of inner and outer peace (Tróznai - Kulmann 2003). Problem-focused coping, having goals for the future and having peer support are identified as protective factors in the health-related quality of life of older people. Risk factors include depressive and anxiety symptoms, dysfunctional attitudes, being female, pain symptoms and negative life events (Füzesi - Boros 2015).

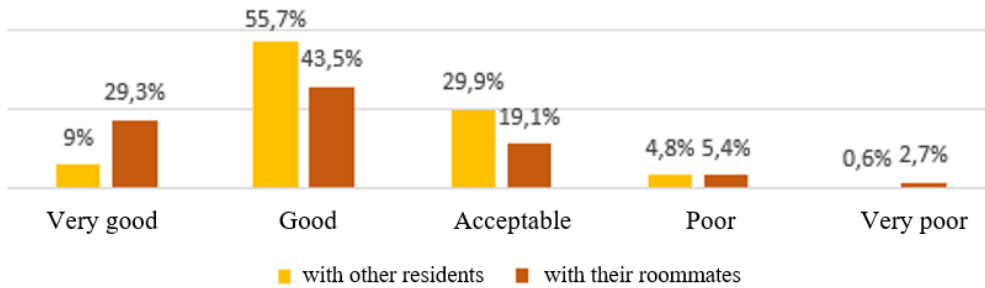
Based on all this, we assessed the personal social support system and social relationships of the target group we studied. To find out about this, we explored how older respondents relate to each other, their roommates and carers. We also wanted to know with whom they could discuss their problems, and who visited them and how often.

In our survey, we found that the majority of elderly residents (55.7%, 93 people) had good relationships with their fellow residents in the institution. 29.9% (50 people) said that their relationships with other residents were

generally acceptable. While 9% (15 people) said they had very good relations with other residents, 4.8% (8 people) said they had poor relations with other residents and 0.6% (1 person) said they had very poor relations (Figure 5).

As we saw earlier that the majority of residents have a roommate, we also asked seniors how they felt their relationship with their immediate roommate was. From the responses, it seems that residents have a better relationship with their immediate roommate than with the rest of the residents in general. 29.3% (43 people) said they have a very good relationship with their roommate; 43.5% (64 people) said they have a good relationship with their roommate. 19.1% (28 people) gave an indifferent (acceptable) answer, while 5.4% (8 people) had poor relations with their roommates and 2.7% (4 people) had very poor relations (Figure 14).

Figure 14. What is your relationship with your peers living in the institution, your roommates?



Source: own editing

Using a Likert scale from 1 to 5, the average score for relations with roommates and housemates is 3.7, while the average score for relations with housemates is 3.9.

There is no significant difference between male and female residents in how they rate their relationship with their roommates. However, it is noteworthy that women rate their relationship with their flatmates slightly better than men. Nearly three quarters of women respondents, compared with nearly half of men, considered their relationship with their housemates to be good or very good (Table 38).

Table 38. What is your relationship with your roommates in the institution in general? (%)

	Man	Woman	Altogether
Very good	8.0	10.0	9.4
Good	48.0	59.1	55.6
Acceptable	34.0	27.3	29.4
Poor	8.0	3.6	5.0
Very poor	2.0	0	0.6

Source: own editing, $p <= 0.293$

We also asked a further question about the relationship between the residents of the institution. Here we found that 68.5% of the elderly residents (113) felt accepted by their fellow residents. 57.3% (94 people) said that they were respected by other residents, 45.7% (75 people) said that they were valued by others, and a further 44.2% (73 people) said that they felt trusted by others. However, 15.2% (25 people) said that other residents are distant towards them, 4.8% (8 people) said that they are looked down upon by their fellow residents, and 4.3% (7 people) felt ostracised by other residents.

The nature of their relationships and the way they relate to each other is well reflected in the values they named. The social indicators of acceptance and positive perception, namely appreciated, respected and trusted, do not refer to close relationships, but rather to a self-rating and a prominent role within the group. The reasons for disdain, distancing, ostracism are not mentioned, which could be a subjective feeling of being closed in, or could be a result of differences in health, wealth, education, but this is not referred to.

Moving on to the analysis of roommate relationships, we asked respondents to rate the statements listed as similar to their school grades (1=not at all typical, 5=very typical). Of the listed statements, the highest rating was given to inclusion and acceptance (3.98). This was followed in order by the other statements about the relationship between residents: relationships are characterised by friendliness (3.90), patience (3.84), mutual attention (3.81), understanding (3.65), trust (3.53), openness (3.51). People living here try to make friends, develop close relationships (3.40) and joint activities (3.26). The results presented are consistent with the characteristics of the friendship relationships formed among older people. 50.9% of residents (83 people) said that they had a relationship with their fellow residents at the home that had now developed into a friendship. 41.7% (68 people) of the residents surveyed

did not have a person they would call a friend among the residents. And 7.4% (12 people) could not say whether they had a friend in the home. Slightly more women (52.3%) declared friendships at home than men (46.9%).

The well-being of people living in residential care is greatly influenced by how often they are visited by relatives and friends. According to the results of a 2014 survey of single-person elderly households, 40% of elderly people see their children on a weekly basis (Patyán 2014). In our own study, we found a similar correlation. 36.9% (59 people) of the residents responded that they receive visitors every week. 25% (40 people) receive a visit once a month. 11.9% (19 people) are visited a few times a year, and 18.8% (30 people) are visited even less frequently. 7.4% of older people (12 people) said that they were never visited.

In terms of age, we see that the frequency of visits of the oldest people (71 years and over) is higher than that of the youngest (sig.p<=0.014). Among them, nearly one in two residents is visited by relatives on a weekly basis and one in five on a monthly basis. In comparison, 16% of people aged 48-60 and 21% of people aged 61-71 receive a visitor every week, 44.4% of people aged 48-60 and 27.9% of people aged 61-70 receive a visitor every month. People aged 61-70 are the least visited. 42% are visited a few times a year or very rarely. A quarter of the other two age groups reported similar patterns of visits (Table 39).

Table 39. Frequency of receiving elderly visitors by age (%)

	Weekly	Monthly	A few times a year	Even less often	Never	Altogether
Under 60 years	16.7	44.4	22.2	5.6	11.1	100
61-70 years old	20.9	27.9	14	27.9	9.3	100
Over 71 years old	48	19.4	9.2	17.3	6.1	100

Source: own editing, $p \leq 0.014$

In 64% of cases (103), the visitors are children of elderly people. 25.8% (41 persons) are visited by their siblings and 6.4% (10 persons) by their former neighbours. 25% (40 people) of the residents ticked the category of other

visitors, which we can only assume to be mostly grandchildren and possibly older friends and girlfriends.

A statistically significant relationship was found between frequency of visits and the "Do you have children" questions (sig.p<=0.002). As expected, older residents who have a child are visited on a weekly basis. Among them, nearly one in two elderly people are visited every week (45.2%), compared to only 6.5% of those without children. However, it is a sad fact that one in three older people with children are visited a few times a year, very rarely or never. This type of visit (or lack of it) is typical of 38.1% of the total sample (with and without children). This shows that a significant proportion of older people rarely have personal contact with people other than their housemates and carers. It is therefore very important to know how trusting relationships have developed between residents and carers (Table 40).

Table 40. Respondent seniors' frequency of receiving their visitors in relation to whether they have a child (%)

	Weekly	Monthly	A few times a year	Even less often	Never	Altogether
She has a child	45.2	22.2	11.1	15.9	5.6	100
She has no children	6.5	32.3	16.1	29	16.1	100

Source: own editing, $p \leq 0.002$

The majority of elderly residents (56%, 93 people) have a good relationship with the carers of the institution. 24.7% (41 people) consider that they have a very good relationship with them. While 16.3% (27 people) said they had an acceptable relationship with carers, 3% (5 people) said they had a poor relationship with them. Looking at the mean score on the Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, it can be seen that the respondents rated their relationship with the caregivers of the institution as 4.02, which can be considered as good.

An additional question was also asked to assess how the elderly residents feel the caregivers relate to them. Here we found that 73.5% (122 people) of the residents felt welcomed by the staff. 66.9% (111 people) said that they were respected by the carers, 59.5% (99 people) said that they were appreciated and a further 44.3% (74 people) felt loved by the carers. However, 10.8% (18 people) said that the staff of the institution were distant towards him, 3.6% (6

people) said that the carers looked down on him and 8.4% (14 people) felt that he was indifferent to them. It can be seen from the results that the elderly residents perceive their relationship with the staff of the institution as slightly better than with the other residents of the institution.

The elderly residents are most likely to tell and discuss any problems they may have with staff and nurses (52.8%, 86 people) and family members (49.4%, 80 people). It may seem strange that the workers and carers are at the top of the ranking, but they are basically the people they physically meet on a daily basis. 30.9% (50 people) of residents can talk about their problems with their roommates, 22.4% (36 people) with their manager, and 20.2% (33 people) with their roommates. 9.3% of respondents (15 people) said they could discuss them with a friend. 6.7% (11 people) chose the other category, of whom 9 residents could not tell anyone about their problems.

12.3. Institutional opportunities to promote active aging

At first glance, it may seem an interesting idea how to support the process of active ageing in residential institutions. In this social context, we must look away from the labour market approach. Rather, we need to think about activities in which older residents can actively participate, which can maintain their attention and encourage them to organise and participate in further joint activities. The importance of this idea has been reinforced by the COVID 19 pandemic, since it is well known that during the emergency the virus spread rapidly in nursing homes, and it was here that closures and bans on visits began, along with hospitals. As a result, personal contact with relatives outside the institution was forbidden for a long time, and therefore the activities and active leisure activities organised within the institution became even more important.

We first asked whether the institution organised cultural and leisure activities for residents. 83.3% of respondents (135 people) said that they did. Another 9.3% (15 people) said that they did, but not enough. In total, 92.6% of residents (150 people) said that the institution usually organises events for residents. 5.4% (9 people) said that they did not organise such events, and a further 1.8% (3 people) did not answer the question.

As part of the institution's service development, it wanted to reflect on improving the leisure activities of residents and on information and learning for older people, so we asked older people if they would like the institution to

organise events for them. The majority (64.8%, 105 people) were positive about the lectures and would like the provider to organise this type of programme. One in five respondents (20.4%, 33 people) said that they did not consider them important. A further 14.8% (24 respondents) were unsure.

Women were significantly more positive about whether the institution should organise lectures for the people they care for. Almost three quarters (81) of them would like to have such lectures, while only 45.8% (22) of men answered in the same way. At the same time, while only 12.8% of women (14 persons) would not like to have such events, 33.3% of men answered in the negative. 12.8% of women (14 people) and 20.8% of men (10 people) were unsure about this question.

Almost half of the interested residents would attend these events if the topic appealed to them. In the spirit of the needs assessment, the next question asked for suggestions from residents for topics for lectures. More than half of the respondents (55.6%, 65 people) suggested presentations on healthy lifestyles and health promotion. More than a third of respondents (34.2%, 40 people) would like to hear about psychology (24.1%, 28 people) and intergenerational differences and relationships (23.9%, 28 people). This was followed in order by the other topics proposed: mental health care (21.6%, 25 people), social relationships in old age (17.9%, 21 people), depression in old age (17.9%, 21 people), protection and preservation of mental health (17.9%, 21 people), grief (14.5%, 17 people) and intimacy in old age (8.5%, 10 people). The other category was selected by a further 8.5% (10 people), with the following suggestions: nature conservation, culture, quizzes, music, theatre, humour, singing, film and sport. With regard to the latter, it is of course worth highlighting a gentle form of sport appropriate to age and physical characteristics, such as intensive walking, or, as Móre and Bene (2020) suggest, even the possibility of online sporting activities under suitable infrastructure conditions.

There was no significant difference between the needs of women and men in terms of the topic of the presentations, nor were there significant differences between age groups. Comparisons by age group revealed statistical differences along the lines of interest in depression in old age. The topic of depression in old age was significantly more interesting for people aged 61-70 (34.8%, 8 people) than for people older than them (11.8%, 9 people) or younger (23.5%,

4 people). We also asked carers what they thought the ideal length of lectures would be for older residents. 64.5% (80 people) said they would prefer shorter lectures and as many topics as possible.

Our results suggest that the older people we surveyed are not a homogeneous group. There are differences in their social contacts, openness, participation in community activities and interests, mainly due to health, social and age-related reasons.

The majority of elderly residents have good relations with their fellow residents, and the quality of their relations with the staff and carers of the institution is also positive. Relationships with relatives are an important part of their daily life and health, but their daily needs and problems are more related to carers and internal staff. In most cases, they discuss their problems with carers and family members. Respondents consider the way they relate to others (respect, esteem, etc.) as an important part of their self-evaluation.

Residents generally attend the leisure activities organised by the institution, but a higher participation rate could be predicted if these activities were organised on topics closer to their interests and of a duration appropriate to their age. They all participate in faith-based activities. However, many preferred to organise lectures on healthy lifestyles, health maintenance, conflict management, the psychology of ageing and intergenerational differences and cooperation.

13. Results of measuring job satisfaction in different settings

In the field of job satisfaction, we conducted two surveys based on our own data collection in Nyíregyháza (2018) and in Cigándi district (2019). In addition, we had the opportunity to review the databases of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) covering a similar topic in 1989, 1997, 2005 and 2015, from which I analysed the trend following the millennium, comparing it with the data from the county.

The district of Cigánd does not directly belong to my research area (North Great Plain region, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county), it is a district of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, which however shows the characteristics of disadvantaged settlements in Szabolcs as it is located on the border of the two counties. For this reason, I consider it appropriate and sufficiently explanatory for the comparison of regional differences in precarious characteristics to combine the data of a city with county status and a district with good conditions, with data from a part of the most disadvantaged settlements.

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the national and urban data, and the conclusions of the comparison of urban and district data are presented in the chapter entitled *Identities and differences in national and local outcomes*.

For the analysis, I have included two independent variables to examine work-related values and job satisfaction. One variable was the perception of the importance of work. The questionnaire "How satisfied are you with your job?" was answered by the respondents using a five-point Likert scale. Another important aspect of the analysis was based around the Herzberg two-factor model. In this context, I looked at how respondents perceived some of the statements classified in the group of hygiene or external incentives (good pay, secure job, good hours) and internal motivators (interestingness of work, usefulness, helping others, autonomous decision making about some aspects of work). The third aspect of the survey is a brief description of the characteristics of work-related stress.

13.1. Identities and differences in national and local outcomes

The national sample used for the analysis was 1011 in 2005, 1031 in 2015 and 453 in Nyíregyháza in 2018. The average age was 49-50 years based on the 2005 and 2015 dataset, and 47.4 years in 2018.

All three surveys show a slightly higher propensity to respond among women. The largest difference was found in educational attainment. Comparing the three samples, we observed that the level of education of Nyíregyháza respondents is higher than the average of the two national surveys. We explain this by the fact that the county seat functions as a kind of centre in the socio-economic relations between the county and the region. It is here that employers are concentrated who essentially require highly qualified workers. We also know that the more highly qualified tend to be more willing to respond than the less educated. Whatever the reason for the over-representation of highly educated people in the Nyíregyháza sample, this fact must be taken into account when explaining the results and the correlations.

Most relevant to the topic - How satisfied are you with your job? - the following results emerged. Opinions on working conditions reveal a picture of a more satisfied Hungarian society. We see that the proportion of people who are satisfied and fully satisfied with their job decreased slightly between 2005 and 2015, but still nearly three quarters of respondents in both years indicated this category. By comparison, 60.2% of the local (Nyíregyháza) population falls into the "*satisfied*" and "*fully satisfied*" categories.

Of the response options shown, "*satisfied*" was the most popular in 2005 and 2018, but "*fully satisfied*" was the most popular in 2015. It is interesting to note that there is a slight difference in the opinions of respondents in 2005 and 2015 between the satisfied and fully satisfied categories. In contrast, the local community has a more characteristic view of job satisfaction.

Clear dissatisfaction was reported by 6% and 7.8% of respondents in the two national surveys. A higher proportion (12.9%) of respondents in the local community consider that they are not satisfied with their job. (*Table 41*)

The pattern of satisfaction did not show a statistically significant relationship with age and gender variables with either the 2005 ($p < 0.102$; $p < 0.304$) or the 2015 ($p < 0.689$; $p < 0.110$) national data.

The gender (male/female) variable ($p < 0.097$) also does not shape job satisfaction of local residents (Nyíregyháza residents), but age does ($p < 0.000$). It was found that the most fully satisfied people belong to the age groups 20-29, 30-39 and 60+. In this respect, those aged 50-59 and 40-49 were less satisfied.

Table 41. How satisfied are you with your work? (%)

	2005 (national) N = 469	2015 (national) N = 564	2018 (local) N = 354
not satisfied at all	3.0	3.2	3.9
not satisfied	3.0	4.6	9.0
satisfied both and not	19.6	19.3	27.0
satisfied	39.4	35.5	39.1
fully satisfied	34.9	37.4	21.1
satisfied and fully satisfied overall	74.3	72.9	60.2

Source: ISSP 2005, 2015, *Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza 2018*

Opinions on job satisfaction show a significant relationship with the education variable in 2015 ($p < 0.000$) and 2018 ($p < 0.000$). (Table 42)

National data show that those with the highest level of education are the most satisfied (86.3%), followed by those with a high school diploma (77.2%), those with a vocational school diploma (66.5%), and those with no more than a primary school education (57.7%). It follows that dissatisfaction is highest among the latter group (14.8%), as is the proportion of those who are indifferent (27.7%).

Local data show a partly similar pattern. Those with tertiary education are the most satisfied, with 61.4% of them belonging to the satisfied and fully satisfied groups. They are followed by those with a vocational education (61%) and slightly behind by those with a school leaving certificate (58.2%). Those with up to 8 years of primary schooling are sharply separated in this respect. Among them, the satisfaction rate is 31.3%, and the dissatisfaction and total dissatisfaction rates are higher at 35.7%. In the latter category, 14.6% of those with vocational schooling, 8.7% of those with a school leaving certificate and 5% of those with tertiary education fall into the latter category.

Comparing the national (2015) and local results, although the trend is almost identical, there are marked differences when looking at the opinions in detail. While it is true that basically both samples show a satisfied employee attitude (except for the local lowest skilled workers), it is clear that the national population is much more satisfied. They have on average 20% higher satisfaction rates in all educational groups, except for those with vocational school qualifications. It can also be seen that among local respondents, the dissatisfaction of those with low educational attainment is more pronounced. 45.7% of those with no more than primary education and 14.4% of those with

vocational education fall into this group. This is well above the proportion of people with the same level of education (14.8% and 9.0% respectively) who have a similar opinion nationally. It is also striking to note the high proportion of indifferent respondents, with a high proportion of those who answered "both satisfied and not satisfied".

Table 42. How satisfied are you with your work? (%)

		Educational attainment						
How satisfied are you with your work?	2015 (national)				2018 (local)			
	8 years of primary education	Vocational school without graduation	High school diploma	Higher education	8 years of primary education	Vocational school without graduation	High school diploma	Higher education
not satisfied at all	2.0	4.7	1.9	2.4	17.1	2.4	2.6	3.6
not satisfied	12.8	4.3	4.4	2.4	28.6	12.2	6.2	9.4
satisfied both and not	27.7	24.5	16.5	8.9	22.9	24.4	33.0	25.7
satisfied	29.8	39.7	36.7	25.5	20.0	43.9	41.7	39.9
fully satisfied	27.7	26.8	40.5	60.8	11.4	17.1	16.5	21.5

Source: ISSP 2015, *Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza 2018*

The following questions were answered to assess the importance of the statements listed.

The role of job security was considered important or very important by respondents in all three survey years. However, the stability and security of one's own job was perceived by members of Hungarian society to varying degrees over time and space. The most striking difference is that members of local society living in regions and counties that are basically disadvantaged were the most likely to say - one in four of those surveyed - that it was very true for them that they had a secure job. This result may seem surprising, but I would like to point out that the educational composition of local respondents is more favourable compared to the two national databases, i.e. they are less affected by the fear of job loss. This is evidenced by the results of a two-sample test of responses to job security by educational attainment, which found that educational attainment is an explanatory variable for job security perceptions. ($p \leq 0.001$) The more highly qualified the employee, the more secure he/she

feels. This result confirms my reasoning above. The national opinions in 2005 and 2015 are almost identical. The indifferent, hesitant "*both true and false*" category was highest in 2015, with one in three Hungarian respondents holding this view.

After job security, high earning potential was the most preferred category in all three survey years. On average, 90% of respondents considered it important or very important. This is not surprising, given that in Hungary, income from work is the basis of livelihoods. Although the interest of work came third, it is worth highlighting that it was the most important in 2005. The slightly less favourable perception in 2015 and 2018 is identified as a side effect of the 2008 financial crisis and regionalism.

The perception of the importance of the subsequent response options paints a very varied picture.

The questions in *Table 43* were answered on a five-point Likert scale, with the following options: 1. *very important*, 2. *important*, 3. *both important and not important* 4. *not important*, 5. *not important at all*. In the table summarising the responses, I combine the categories of important and very important, not important and not at all important. The options important also and not important are not shown in the table.

Table 43. How important it is to you personally to...

	<i>"Important, very important"</i> (%)			<i>"Not important at all, not important"</i> (%)		
	2005 (national)	2015 (national)	2018 (local)	2005 (national)	2015 (national)	2018 (local)
... be sure of your job?	98.7	92.9	93.8	0.6	1.4	1.6
... have a high salary?	92.8	88.4	89.7	1.0	1.8	1.0
... have an interesting job?	80.9	74.8	75.7	5.3	4.8	6.0
... have good opportunities for progress?	67.5	66.7	74.9	12.9	10.9	4.4
... have an independent work?	72.9	67.1	71.5	9.6	9.5	7.8
... be useful to society?	80.4	71.5	69.2	4.5	6.5	9.1
... have a job that can help others with?	74.4	61.1	67.7	4.6	10.6	7.6
... have a job where one is free to decide at what time of day or on which days to work?	47.6	44.1	46.1	26.2	24.5	28.5

Source: ISSP 2005, 2015, *Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza 2018*

The opportunity for promotion was ranked higher in our local survey, coming fourth in importance. This shows that three quarters of respondents think it is important to have a job, in a workplace, where there are good opportunities for progression. In the other two years of the survey, it was ranked sixth and seventh - although a majority still agree with the importance of progression in the job hierarchy. The reasons for this phenomenon could be explored in further studies, because at the level of the phenomenon we find that, especially in disadvantaged, small rural settlements, the hierarchy is already consolidated, the opportunities for mobilisation have become more limited, and on the other hand, for those with low levels of education, education has become more valuable and they expect it to provide them with a secure job.

Self-employment and the individualisation of working hours implies a move away from collective work and mass production, a shift towards the individual

and the need to work in a way that is more adapted to the individual's circumstances.

The importance of working independently was considered important and very important by an average of 70% of respondents. It was the fifth most important value in the values of local society in 2018 and the fifth most important value in Hungarian society in 2015, and the sixth in 2005. Working hours at the time of day of one's choice was considered least important by respondents in all three survey years (46% on average).

The issue of working for the benefit of society was very dominant in 2005, ranking fourth. This position was also "voted" by Hungarian society in the 2015 survey, but the differences in distribution are significant (80.4%, 71.5%). 69.2% of local society felt similarly about this issue in 2018, positioning this statement in sixth place.

Attachment to altruistic values was also strongest in 2005. It is important or very important to three-quarters of respondents to do work that helps others directly or indirectly, with 61.1% of respondents in 2015 and 67.7% in 2018 responding similarly. (*Table 43*)

Table 44. Ranking of work-related values according to Herzberg's model
(%)

Herzberg's typification	"Important, very important" (%)					
	ranking	2005 (national)	ranking	2015 (national)	ranking	2018 (local)
Hygienic factors						
... be sure of your job?	1.	98.7	1.	92.9	1.	93.8
... have a high salary?	2.	92.8	2.	88.4	2.	89.7
... have an independent work?	6.	72.9	5.	67.1	5.	71.5
... have a job where one is free to decide at what time of day or on which days to work?	8.	47.6	8.	44.1	8.	46.1
Motivators						
... have an interesting job?	3.	80.9	3.	74.8	3.	75.7
... be useful to society?	4.	80.4	4.	71.5	6.	69.2
... have a job that we can help others with?	5.	74.4	7.	61.1	7.	67.7
... have good opportunities for progress?	7.	67.5	6.	66.7	4.	74.9

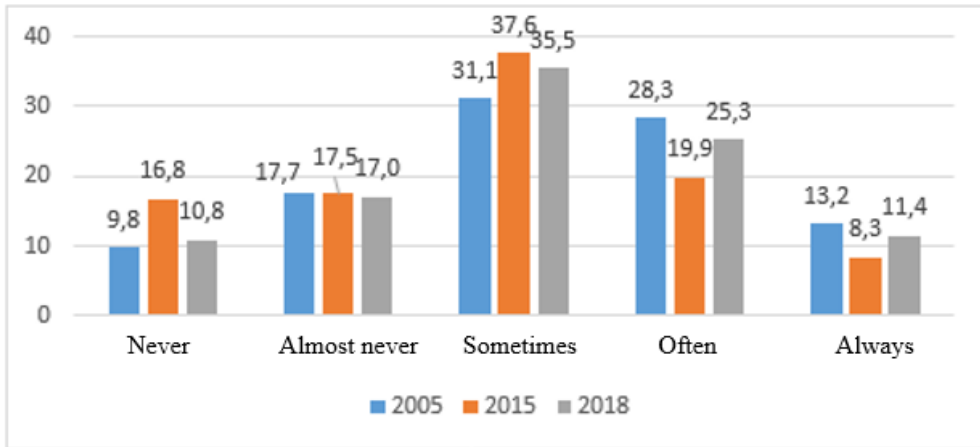
Source: ISSP 2005, 2015, *Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza 2018*

Applying our results to the Herzberg model, we find that the two most important values associated with work became job security and earnings, which are external factors, in each year of the study. The third ranked motivator, interesting work, and the last ranked motivator, hygiene, were also found to be unchanged, as was the perception of the ability to make an independent decision about the time of day at work. It is striking that the social utility of work and the importance of helping others have lost ground in space and time. The former has slipped from fourth to sixth place, the latter from fifth to seventh. At the same time, the importance of the opportunity to get ahead has increased, reflecting an appreciation of individual values.

Overall, in a favourable economic climate, attitudes towards hygiene factors tend to remain stable, while changes in attitudes towards motivators dominate.

This may mean that hygiene factors form a basis for thinking about work-related values, setting priorities and, once these are met, motivators come to the fore.

Figure 15. Is your job stressful and mentally demanding? (%)



Source: ISSP 2005, 2015, *Quality of Life in Nyíregyháza 2018*

As I said above, work has a fundamentally beneficial, positive influence on the well-being of individuals. However, there are some working conditions that have a long-term detrimental effect on workers and significantly affect their job satisfaction, which can impair their relationships with their immediate family and wider social circle. It is well known that prolonged negative stress is not only a threat to subjective perceptions of well-being, but also to objective, real health in the long term. In the three data sets examined, I identified prolonged stressful situations using the response categories "often" and "always" to the question "Is your job stressful or mentally demanding?" These show that work-related stress was most prevalent among the respondents in the 2005 national sample (Figure 15). In that year, a very high proportion of respondents, 41.5%, said that the work they did was often or even constantly mentally stressful. In comparison, the situation is only slightly better among members of the local community in Nyíregyháza, 36.7% of whom answered in the same way. In terms of work stress, the 2015 data are the most favourable, showing a more balanced pattern of respondents. The proportion of people reporting frequent stress is 20.0%, while the proportion of people reporting constant stress is less than 10%. The same differences in proportions are reflected in the responses "almost never" and "never".

The question was raised whether sociodemographic and cultural factors are related to the relationship between mental characteristics at work. The statistical test performed showed a significant correlation with the variable education in 2005 ($p \leq 0.087$) and with education ($p \leq 0.000$) and gender ($p \leq 0.032$) in 2015. We found that a higher proportion of people with tertiary education report frequent or continuous mental strain, and that a higher proportion of women never feel mentally strained or stressed at work. The explanatory power of educational attainment in the local community was also confirmed ($p \leq 0.000$). When the cross-tabulation was examined, however, a very complex picture emerged. A significant proportion of those who indicated "never" and "almost never" were among those with up to 8 years of primary education and those with vocational education. In contrast, workers with a high school degree and graduates are often under stress. Those most affected by the constant stress of working are those with vocational and tertiary education, i.e. presumably those who have to perform tasks involving decision-making, and the precarious groups most affected by job insecurity⁴.

13.2. Is society satisfied?

Overall, opinions on job satisfaction paint a picture of a more satisfied Hungarian society. We see that the proportion of people who are satisfied and fully satisfied with their job decreased slightly between 2005 and 2015, but still nearly three quarters of respondents in both years indicated this category. In comparison, the opinion of local (Nyíregyháza) society is worse (2018). The very favourable attitudes of respondents in both countries can be explained by the following: in 2005, as a result of the accession to the European Union, the arrival of foreign investors absorbed (cheap) labour. In other words, those who were previously most affected by unemployment and the associated precarious lifestyle became the beneficiaries of this period. The high level of worker satisfaction in 2015 is probably due to the fact that the effects of the 2008 crisis had not yet passed without a trace. The crisis-related employment crisis peaked between 2009 and 2010, and in 2015 Hungarian society was only just recovering from this. High levels of satisfaction can therefore be partly explained by the fear of job losses experienced recently, which is reshaping workers' values; they are satisfied to have a job at all. Lower levels of

⁴An accurate analysis of work-related stress can be explored by including additional explanatory variables, which I will elaborate in a later analytical paper.

satisfaction in local society reflect a general dissatisfaction with regional differences and difficulties.

Job security and high earning potential are the most preferred categories in all three survey years. On average 90% of respondents rated these categories, defined as hygiene (external) factors in Herzberg's two-factor model, as important or very important. Our results show that attitudes towards hygiene factors tend to be stable, while attitudes towards motivators are dominated by change. This may mean that hygiene factors form a basis for thinking about work-related values, setting priorities, and that motivators come to the fore once these are met.

It can be seen that both differences and similarities characterise the job satisfaction and work attitudes of the respondents in the three study years. The results confirm the validity of the human capital theory, according to which the labour market benefits of a high level of education are still undisputed.

The rising periods taken into account in the selection of the study years were even more fortunate in reducing the different causes of regional differences. In the last decade, however, there has been a shift in the respondents' choice of values in relation to work, which is not clearly visible in the present study because the characteristics of Nyíregyháza and the job opportunities in the disadvantaged border regions show similar differences to those that can now be measured between the more developed and the lagging regions of the country (unemployment, level of education, large differences in average incomes, etc.) and call for rapid, innovative solutions.

Otherwise, the gap could in practice lead to a permanent regional disconnection that would drag many down.

The analysis of work-related attitudes presented above can therefore provide an important basis and starting point for planning the economic and social processes needed in the near future. It is in the interests of the national economy and society as a whole that the new decade should be one of change, not crisis.

14. Research results on the phenomenon of precariat⁵

Precariousness, in my research work, on the one hand refers to the groups affected, groups dependent on the volatility of the labour market, and on the other hand offers a new approach to labour market studies, a new analytical aspect. Both aspects are integrated into the theories I have used so far, integrate them and, at the same time, supplement the lack of research focus that has resulted from the correlation, which has been proven by many, that employment difficulties are always linked to some disadvantage or disadvantaged social group. Of course, the theory of precariousness does not contradict this, but it does move the researcher's thinking in a direction that focuses not only on disadvantaged groups of workers but also on a deeper understanding of the employment situation and possible difficulties, and possibly the vulnerability, of groups that are currently in a favourable labour market situation.

In the empirical mapping of precarious characteristics, it has become clear that the precariousness, while defining a well-conceived labour market group, has a rather heterogeneous meaning. It can be both a concept and a characterisation, a phenomenon and a qualifier, and therefore studies should strive to be precise in their formulation. My studies, based on a broader understanding of precarious characteristics, show that at certain stages of an individual's employment journey, employment insecurity linked to the phenomenon of precariousness can emerge, which, depending on its duration, can even grow into a generalised insecurity of existence, with a perceptible impact from one generation to the next. The precarious family background forms an imprint, shaping the thinking of the next generation, determining the individual's view of his or her own future, his or her attitudes towards labour market expectations and further education. The same may be true for those with highly qualified parental backgrounds. My research results (2017) among young people living on the periphery confirm the determinant role of family background. Social supportive relationships (positive relationship with mother, father, satisfaction with friends) have a positive impact on the development of young people's personality, but changes in any of these

⁵ In this chapter I will focus on my research results, but in order to present them in full, I consider it essential to further describe the characteristics of the precariat, now related to my research results, as a kind of explanatory background.

elements, possibly distorted values, can become a risk factor. Studies of the risk behaviour of marginalised children and the attitudes of secondary school pupils towards further education and employment have also shown that the role of the mother is prominent within the family and that her values determine the development of her children's personality. Obviously, they are the most traditional custodians of values, but they are also the most active implementers of change.

For young people, the family, if it responds positively, is a support that can protect them from the risk factors that put a large part of today's youth at risk (e.g. risk-taking behaviour, exclusion, emotional bleakness, lack of confidence, stalking, etc.) Despite the positive relationships of trust, another question is to what extent, for example for young people living on the periphery, this background of strong emotional attachment but precarious labour market skills is sufficient to enable them to cope in another environment, such as a higher type of school, a workplace, a larger municipality or even the ICT space, and whether the family background provides sufficient support. In addition to the family, we can highlight the importance of school and friendship communities, which have the potential to shape the quality of life and attitudes of young people, enabling even those from a disadvantaged background to shape their personal destiny through a reactive attitude.

In addition to the future impact of the nature of the trusting relationship between parents and their children, the impact of the human capital characteristics of parents should also be mentioned. In my studies, I operationalised human capital on the basis of Rosen's definition, thus considering parents' educational attainment - and, thinking this further, their position in the labour market and the family's income situation - as the determinants. Although the latter explanatory variable goes beyond the notion of human capital, Smith, a leading figure in classical economics, also demonstrated that the characteristics of human capital shape income and wage structures. Marshall emphasised the crucial role of the family, according to which the social and economic status of the family has a significant influence on learning decisions. (Fuchs 2003) I have treated these relationships as the basic context in my analysis. As well as Coleman's theory of the three-factor family background, according to which children's educational performance, which determines their later labour market position, is determined by family

financial capital, and the human and social capital of their parents. My research (2016, 2017, 2018) exploring the motivation of secondary school students to continue their education and employment has demonstrated the characteristic driving force of these family background characteristics, which dominate as a sort of ordering principle already at the school choice stage. We found that, while the parents of students attending upper secondary school were dominated by the presence of highly qualified parents, the parents of students attending vocational upper secondary school⁶ had a higher presence of parents with intermediate and lower education. Young people's perceptions of their family's income situation were consistent with the above finding. The children of parents with higher human capital (i.e. those in upper secondary school in the study) rated the economic situation of the family much better than those in vocational upper secondary school. And my statistical analyses have clearly shown that young people's perceptions of labour market placement and educational attainment are significantly related to the characteristics of the Coleman family background.

As for their ideas for the future, while none of the high school students and one in five of the vocational high school students said they would work after graduation. These differences can be attributed to the type, mission and "uptake" of the two schools and, perhaps most importantly, the added value of the school. This partly explains the differences we found. However, it should also be pointed out that in our study we found a correlation between young people's plans for further education and employment and the financial situation of the family. It was clear that students with more favourable circumstances tended to predict further education, while those with less favourable income parameters tended to predict a combination of further education and work, and to work only, among the response options listed. This suggests that the presence or absence of financial well-being, i.e. the presence of either of these precarious characteristics within the family, determines the post-school age study plans and thus works against equality of opportunity.

Szépe (2012) interprets the precariat as a group with homogeneous human capital. This definition encouraged me to analyse the group of highly skilled people by precarious characteristics in addition to the groups with unfavourable labour market parameters, and to point out that the

⁶ It is one of the most preferred high schools in the Northern Great Plain.

precariousness is not limited to the unskilled labour market group with low educational attainment. This finding is clearly demonstrated by our studies of graduates.

The middle class is affected for a number of reasons. Firstly, young people who have just graduated and are entering the labour market have a strong income expectation. If employers do not provide this, they will take on the temporary job insecurity. In addition to personal reasons, there are also factors that shape the already delicate labour market balance at the aggregate - macroeconomic - level. In addition to globalisation, rapid technological progress, the withdrawal of foreign (international) firms, job restructuring and downsizing, the employment difficulties arising from the global economic crisis are affecting middle-class, highly qualified and low-skilled workers alike. The huge difference between the two groups is that while the highly qualified or skilled have the competences needed for employment integration, the low-skilled and unskilled lack the competences that can be used in the labour market. So the labour market demand in the economy is for a teachable, creative, innovative professional who is not far from lifelong learning.

According to human capital theories, higher education, the length of time spent in education, the experience gained in the world of work, all encourage individuals to put their human capital to use in the world of work. Engaging in education can be a means of later career change - and this is particularly relevant for adult learning - and changing jobs, according to Rosen (1998), is a form of accumulating human capital. There are certain family life cycles where the need for and importance of adult learning is even more pronounced than at other times. Women with young children interrupt their direct presence in the labour market during childcare leave. However, this period away from the world of work also erodes the knowledge and skills that can be used in the labour market and increases the loss of human capital for women on parental leave. One way of reducing this loss is to engage in adult education and training, thus preventing them from 'slipping into precarisation'.

The results of our research among women with children show that one in five women chose to invest in human capital (self-education) during their time at home while caring for children. In terms of educational attainment, women with upper secondary education accounted for the bulk of those entering training. Two conclusions can be drawn from this. Firstly, they are the ones

who see leaving the labour market for a shorter or longer period of time as a real labour market disadvantage and who see the period after having children as a precarious phase of reintegration into the labour market. On the other hand, they are the ones who are teachable, innovative and ready to innovate, even if out of necessity. The lower motivation for training of those with tertiary education, in parallel with childcare, can be explained by the fact that they have already acquired a certain degree of protection on the labour market before starting a family. The attitudes of women with the lowest levels of education, on the other hand, can be explained by their traditional gender role attitudes, which see the childbearing period as a time for child-rearing alone, and are not driven by labour market considerations.

An essential feature of precariat is that the uncertainty of the labour market is a barrier to certain decisions being made according to the preferences of the people concerned. My research supports this claim in several ways. In my survey of women with children, respondents preferred the institution of three years' childcare leave, and opinions on the optimal length of time to spend at home with the child reflected this. In our view, the returns from three years of home care are reflected in the healthy development of the child and the long-term benefits of good mother-child relationships. Moreover, the adoption of three years of childcare is a consequence of a strong traditional social-historical influence, an imprint of a cultural pattern of identification with the behaviour expected by the social environment. Yet we found that almost three quarters of working mothers, and almost half of those with children, had returned or planned to return to work before the age of three. This suggests that there are constraints on the return to the labour market after having a child. My results suggest that economic, social and human capital constrains or allows space in the enforcement of the length of the ideal childcare period and determines how the optimal return strategy is enforced.

The issue of labour market precariousness is also recurring in the study focusing on young people's propensity to have children (2015). Young people, who are otherwise highly marriage (!) and child-centred, stated that the realisation of their plans to start a family and the timing of their plans are strongly influenced by their situation on the labour market, which, above all, both economically and existentially, either underpins or prevents the realisation of their plans to start a family. In other words, difficult labour

market conditions with precarious characteristics may override young people's aspirations to start a family.

14.1. Female - male precarity, precarisation of young - old

A general feature of the labour market situation is that female employment is generally lower than male employment. However, there is also a tendency for women to be more precarious, with a higher proportion of short-term, fixed-term workers and a higher incidence of discontinuity in the labour market, for example when having children. This is also a trend in Europe, North America and Japan (Standing 2012). Women's participation in the labour market, on the other hand, is essential for the family's livelihood. It is also becoming increasingly clear that the role of mother and employee, previously referred to as a 'double burden', has swollen over the past two decades into a 'triple burden' (Standing 2012), with the double burden of child-rearing and working life being joined by the care of elderly parents and family members later in life. The current demographic trend (rising average life expectancy at birth, postponement of the first child) calls for a parallelism of action in three areas. This further aggravates the already precarious situation of this group on the labour market, which could lead to a postponement of family formation.

The solution would be to combine home care tasks with a market wage (which is being achieved in the case of women with experience in the labour market in the field of child care). Until then, however, women are caring for elderly relatives in their free time, i.e. in the "third shift". The situation is even more pronounced in the light of the increasing prevalence of women's breadwinning role, which used to be mainly male. The reason for this is not only the increase in the number of single-parent families, but also the changing social roles. My findings are somewhat contradictory, but instructive. The summary of the opinions expressed in the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county survey reflects a basically traditional attitude, despite the fact that in some cases a modern approach can be observed in the way some statements are expressed. Yet, in our view, the high level of agreement with the statements *"It would be good if men earned enough to support the family"*, *"The husband's job is to provide financial security, the woman's job is to provide for the family"*, *"Work is important for women with small children because of the money"* implies a positive view of the traditional division of roles. In contrast, a high proportion of those who agree with the statements *"Parents should share equally in the*

housework", *"Work is part of one's life"* and *"Family life should be adapted to work"*, show a modern approach. However, in the case of the latter two factors, a kind of economic imperative, which is also shared by traditionally minded mothers, is thought to underlie the opinions, and the single-earner family model is seen as dysfunctional. The opinions revealed an interesting construct of role sharing. The father's breadwinning nimbus was complemented by an extension of the father's involvement in domestic work and childcare. The need for egalitarianism in the gendered division of family roles is evident in the opinions of the female members of the character groups we constructed as 'Adaptive', 'Family-centred', 'Co-ordinating-balancing' and 'Career-building' (2014). Based on the perceptions of mothers with young children, a father image emerges that is prominent in earning an income and also takes an active role in family life and childcare.

This raises the question of whether and in what way men are affected by the phenomenon of precariat. The answer is clearly yes. As a result of changing social roles, the proportion of women giving up their careers for their spouses' careers in the labour market has declined as women have entered the labour market and have the opportunity to build their careers in employment. This means that dual-career families are becoming increasingly common, with both men and women seeking to be closely linked to the labour market as much as possible.

To return to the original question - yes, men have something to lose in the world of work. Consider the financial crisis of 2008, whose negative impact on the labour market is quantifiable and has been the basis of numerous studies. The labour market difficulties that arose in parallel with the crisis have affected men worldwide, and skilled men in particular. This was no different in Hungary, where, in contrast to previous experience, it was not male workers in the counties and regions with the lowest employment levels who fell victim to the crisis, but skilled workers in the counties and regions with the most favourable labour market opportunities. Although the county of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg was not one of these counties, we also measured the decline in male employment in the 2012 and 2015 household panel data.

In my empirical research, the gendered characteristics of the labour market situation have been a constant feature, as well as the almost stochastic role of educational attainment. Precariousness as a new aspect of investigation

directed my attention towards a seemingly controversial research question, inspired by my former supervisor (Mihály Fónai). Based on one approach to the precariat, which argues that the precariat as a labour market group shows that human capital has heterogeneous characteristics, we set out to see whether precariat characteristics could be measured among the highly qualified.

The labour market participation of recent graduates is positive, with the vast majority (88%) of the more than 20,000 respondents to the DPR survey⁷ working at the time of the survey. 8.4% said they were not currently working but had a job, and 3.4% had never worked. The majority of those who were working at the time of the survey (82.7%) had a permanent contract of indefinite duration. When looking at men and women graduates separately, the picture is slightly more favourable. A higher proportion of women than men reported interrupted labour market presence, i.e. *"not working now but had a job before"*. Although the responses did not reveal the reasons for the interrupted labour market career, it can be said that the lack of continuous labour market presence, which can clearly be interpreted as a form of insecurity, is more common for women than for men.

This is confirmed by the results of my research among women with young children. The same can be said of a further precarious indicator, casual, contract or fixed-term employment. 19.9% of men with a degree and 28.2% of women have this type of contract, which offers less job security. The presence of child/children shows an opposite correlation to our expectations with the type of employment contract. We assumed that the proportion of those with children with a casual, contract or fixed-term contract would be higher than for those without children. This assumption is based on the assumption that the greater responsibility and financial burden of having a child will lead workers to accept a job opportunity even under less favourable working conditions. Our results show, however, that 10.6% of those with children and 21.4% of those without children are typical of this type of contract. This can be "attributed" to two factors. One is the age effect and the other is the risk-free attitude to work associated with the presence of a child. The age effect is thought to be the following: those without children are likely to be younger and, as early entrants to the labour market, more likely to encounter and accept casual, contract or

⁷ The 2015 DPR database was checked for precarious characteristics with the permission of the data owner.

fixed-term opportunities. According to Standig (2012), they are the winners of the precariat. In turn, a child-related security attitude may imply that child holders do not get involved in unstable situations. They prefer longer-term opportunities, perhaps less creative and risky, but at the same time risk-free, than those without children.

The impact of employment with precarious characteristics is twofold. On the one hand, both among women and men and among the elderly and young, there are those who prefer to work in precarious conditions and who see advantages in autonomous time management, individual work choices, self-employment, etc., and there are those who, in the absence of other alternatives, are forced to take precarious jobs. The former can be called the winners of precarity, the latter the losers of precarity.

Some young people who prefer an unconstrained lifestyle, are adventurous and want to try out different areas of work, and are particularly keen on long-term, unconstrained employment opportunities. They may be particularly interested in project work, in ad hoc organisations, in a research team developing an innovation. They are the ones who have no problem finding a job. On the other hand, there are students who work during the summer holidays or university students who work part-time or part-time as students in order to pay their tuition fees or rent. Although it is also true that they fall into the category of the economically inactive in terms of the labour market and are at risk in terms of their livelihood.

Another side of the coin are young people who have no chance of entering the labour market and typical forms of employment. They are the ones who are forced to compete with older workers who offer cheaper labour.

The winners in the older age group are those who have a decent pension and health care, but who also work part-time because the activity they do brings them pleasure and an extra source of income. The losers in their age group take precarious work because their security in old age depends on it. Women with precarious characteristics who are winners are those who do not need to be in the paid labour market to support themselves because they have a partner who is earning. The losers are women living in single-person households and those who face the triple burden of caring for children and elderly relatives and of being in the labour market. Among men, the winners are those living with a

partner with a predominant income, while the forced precarious side is made up of single earners.

So certain precarious characteristics, such as part-time work, fixed-term contracts, are an opportunity rather than a disadvantage for certain social groups. The respondents of the survey of women with children would appreciate the possibility of part-time employment, but do not consider it a realistic prospect in the current labour market conditions and therefore prefer flexible working hours. The unskilled would prefer part-time work, while skilled workers, high school and university graduates would prefer flexible working hours. The types of responses by number of children show a linear shift from traditional to atypical forms of work. Part-time work would be the preferred option for those with three or more children. From an employment policy perspective, part-time work is the preferred form of employment for women with children, but does not offer realistic prospects for the majority of families due to the current part-time wage. A household economy based on a two-earner family model can hardly do without the income loss that this entails. Moreover, even those who would still take up this atypical form of work are unable to do so because of a lack of employer interest.

14.2. Changing jobs - changing schedules - changing skills

In the modern world of workplaces and employees, the boundaries between the workplace and the home and private sphere are blurring. People who want to stay in the world of work no longer work only in the physical place of work, but in their homes, cars, cafés and restaurants, and with the development of technology, this is facilitated by so-called managerial tools. It is for this reason that, according to Standing (2012), the phrase 'work-life balance' is losing its relevance. Accepting his statement as a starting point, it is clear that we are witnessing the emergence of a new phenomenon, the understanding of which requires new scientific methods, which is likely to lead to the development of an internationally accepted paradigm shift. However, this is only possible if the new features are taken into account and analysed.

The dividing line between work and leisure is also becoming increasingly blurred at the pace dictated by the current labour market. The classic structure of eight hours of work - eight hours of rest - eight hours of leisure is no longer relevant to everyday tasks, and the current dynamics of work are leading to an

indivisible use of time. This means that many people are doing their work-related tasks at home after working hours. The reverse is also true.

Groups at risk of precarisation work increased hours due to their vulnerability and fragility to the labour market. Those with more favourable parameters work under more favourable conditions, while groups with precarious labour market attachment work the longest hours. Precariousness thus reinforces the deepening of labour market inequalities.

For these reasons, overwork is also a common phenomenon, and precarious workers are more affected. Some people work several jobs at the same time, partly because of low wages and partly to qualify for insurance-related benefits. For women, this burden can increase up to fourfold. Some of their work involves caring for children, others for elderly relatives, and they may also have two jobs. It is not uncommon for a woman to have several part-time jobs at the same time, one of which may be an informal part-time job. This also increases the 8 hours of work per day that is considered optimal, so it goes hand in hand with a lack of free time. It is estimated that men have two hours more free time per week than women (Standing 2012).

In our study on quality of life, we found the opposite, namely that extra work is seen as an opportunity in the world of work. This finding is supported by the fact that, although a minority of respondents (35%) are satisfied with their pay, on average only 10% of them are in other gainful employment in addition to their main job. By gender, we find that men have a higher share of other income-generating activities than women. This is probably because women are less attracted by the opportunities offered by the secondary labour market, which is also hampered by their family responsibilities. Second jobs as an additional income-generating activity are most available to the more qualified social groups. This is probably explained by differences in the knowledge of people with different educational levels that can be sold on the secondary market and thus differences in opportunities. For those who express dissatisfaction with pay, increased participation in the secondary labour market may be a solution.

The fatigue and stress associated with an overworked lifestyle increases the risk of certain diseases. According to a British study, people who work three or more hours overtime a day are 60% more likely to develop cardiovascular problems, diabetes, depression and stress than those who work seven hours a

day (Virtanen et al., 2010). And if precarious workers work the most, they are also the most likely to have these health risks. However, the converse is also true, inactivity in a work-free lifestyle can also be detrimental to health in the long run. As well as providing a livelihood, work gives individuals self-confidence, a structured environment and social relationships. Studies in the sociology of health show that socio-economic status has a significant impact on health, and this is particularly true for men. In our quality of life study, we measured this relationship by the effect of educational attainment on subjective health status. We found that as educational attainment increases, the proportion of people who perceive their health as acceptable or good increases, i.e. higher educational attainment is generally associated with better health. The reasons can be explained by the specific work and material circumstances, psychosocial factors and lifestyle associated with educational attainment levels.

It must also be recognised that in an ever-changing labour market, the renewal and development of employable skills is increasingly important. In order to meet the changing challenges of the labour market, workers should spend at least 15% of their time on training, retraining and upskilling (Standing, 2012). From this point of view, verbal and non-verbal communication, body language and the ability to sell oneself are just as important as formal skills. In addition to training to strengthen the position in the labour market, a very important part of workforce development is the way to refine the personality, employability, and the preparation of CVs that help people to find a job. This is particularly important for low-skilled groups with limited human and social capital.

The impact of formal education on the labour market is undeniable. However, those in the precariat may expect lower rates of return for any type of training, in addition to the fact that the cost of training requires a higher proportion of their actual income. Thus, the counterproductive effect of more precarious employment is a refusal to engage in further training. In contrast, groups with strong labour market attachment and a predictable occupational trajectory will have a much higher rate of return to training in the long run than precarious groups. The results of my empirical research have partly confirmed this. Almost half of the respondents considered the loss of labour market position related to childbirth as a real risk. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that one in five of the women in the study had received training during their time at home. The motivation for mothers to study during childcare leave was

to refresh their knowledge before having children and to strengthen their position in the labour market in the majority of cases, but some women started studying because they were thinking of changing jobs. The results confirmed the relationship between family income and willingness to learn, with the background that the family's income situation was likely to have changed significantly as a result of having a child and thus the mother's time off work. In addition, we found that the possible public coverage of the costs of education favours mothers' willingness to study. The availability of free training increases the willingness to participate in education. Almost half of respondents would be willing to study if the possibility of training were free or at a reduced rate for mothers with young children.

While some groups in society suffer from a lack of qualifications and skills, a significant part of modern market society has a skills surplus. One by-product of educational expansion is an over-skilled workforce. Some of the diplomas and degrees thus accumulated, attesting to different qualifications, are never used; on the other hand, the phenomenon of over-qualification is not always based on actual knowledge, especially if those who have been unemployed are not motivated. Previously, in the pre-transition period, a profession was linked to a specific time period (e.g. apprenticeship years) and learning a profession provided a lifelong basis for gainful employment. Today this is less and less the case. The endless accumulation of different qualifications and diplomas is also not fit for purpose, because there will be a huge stock of knowledge and skills that will not be used in the labour market, and this in turn increases the likelihood of status frustration. Related to this, we assess as a feature of precariousness the mismatch between the job and the qualifications of the worker, i.e. the mismatch between the qualifications and the job actually performed. According to the results of the data survey of graduates, the status of "employed non-graduate" reinforces the disadvantage of women. Furthermore, we found that women are under-represented in both senior, middle and lower management. When we aggregate their share at the three management levels, we find that 17% of women hold a management position, compared to 26.7% of men. The picture is even more negative when comparing women and men with children. Men dominate with 43.3% compared to 23.4% for women. The 20% difference is significant and is confirmed by the results of our previous study in the county, which showed that in 95% of cases women stay at home with their children on childcare leave.

Status frustration can be protected against by taking part in training and further training directly related to the construction of a specific pre-designed occupational pathway, thus making better use of the opportunity to mobilise the acquired up-to-date skills in the labour market. Conversely, for vulnerable precarious groups, it is precisely the problem of planning for the future that prevents the same effectiveness from being achieved through continuous training.

Some theorise that the internet and social media are the dominant consumers of precarious workers. Today's youth are spending more and more time online and maintaining more and more contacts. Already in 2010 there were more than half a billion Facebook users. More than half logged in daily, spending 700 billion minutes a month on Facebook globally.

Of course, social media has its advantages and disadvantages. One of the biggest problems, according to Standing (2012), is the so-called "collective inattention syndrome". Constant online contact strengthens weak bonds and weakens strong bonds. The signal of an incoming call or message interrupts personal conversations or other activities such as work. Checking and replying to emails, Facebook messages distracts concentration. This kind of multitasking fosters restlessness and agitation, while eroding the qualities of patience, concentration and determination, which are (also) so important in the labour market.

The large amount of time spent online has become part of the precariat (Standing 2012). Conversations through social networks are replacing actual interaction with people. The internet is addictive and can affect an individual's academic and work performance. Multitasking may also be a characteristic of precarious young people because they lack the time-structuring effects of work, which can potentially act as a barrier to a continuous online presence. This implies that young precarious workers have too much free time. However, this free time does not represent quality free time, but an unstructured use of time without any conscious planning. Poor leisure is probably linked to poor financial background. The lack of personal social interaction is also problematic from a labour market perspective. The lack of social contacts hinders the informal flow of information, which may create opportunities to take up a potential job. Both our study of quality of life and our surveys of young people support this reasoning. The decline in direct communication is also

being held back by the widespread use of ICT, but it is also a fact that these tools have become fully embedded in our everyday lives, including as a means of motivating young people to learn. Good academic results are often rewarded by parents with a smart phone or tablet, according to our survey of students in the region of Hajdúság, which explores motivation to learn and labour market expectations.

The use of appropriate job search strategies determines the success of job placement and can shorten the time spent looking for a job. Domestic practice shows that, when recruiting, employers look primarily in their own immediate environment for the right person to fill a vacancy (e.g. through their own contacts or through recommendations from employees of the company). The job search strategy of Nyíregyháza workers and the way employers choose their employees are almost identical: the vast majority of them found a job through information from family and friends, i.e. through the immediate social environment defined by Granovetter (1988) as strong ties. Facebook and other social media, by contrast, connect people to 'friends' they have never met in real life.

The young people in secondary school, the main target group of my research, also considered the labour market value of the links to be very significant. And although they are realistic about their labour market opportunities, basing their job prospects on language skills, skills and diligence, they also value the labour market determinant of familiarity and protection. In the list of 15 characteristics, this is considered the third most important factor, followed by diligence and hard work and the importance of the qualification obtained.

The importance of working abroad is negligible in the thinking of young people in upper secondary education about their future, probably due to age effects. However, the possibility of working abroad was raised by more than half of young graduates. This shows that there is a duality in working abroad, as in leisure and overtime. Working abroad as an alternative appears at two ends of the qualification spectrum. On the one hand, it is a defence mechanism to overcome unemployment, i.e. it is a constraint. At the other end, it appears as an opportunity to build a professional career. A significant proportion of young graduates who considered working abroad as a realistic prospect were medical students.

A planned future on the labour market, a conscious choice of profession, a higher education qualification gives its holders a sense of confidence. The optimistic attitude of those concerned, who value the labour market value of their profession, is reflected in the fact that the vast majority of them do not foresee any difficulties in finding a job after graduation.

The results of the research presented show the emergence of a precarious group/groups with a very homogeneous composition in one respect, but with multifactorial characteristics. The groups affected by precariousness include the young, the elderly, women and men, those with and without children. The characteristics describing precariousness are measured by the attributes of *presence in the world of work, resumption of a career interrupted in the labour market, amount and type of leisure time, extra work, part-time employment, participation in the labour market according to qualifications, and presence at different levels of the work hierarchy*. They do not affect all these social groups in a uniform way, so the precariat cannot be interpreted as a homogeneous group. This is further underlined by the finding that certain precarious characteristics (e.g. part-time employment) are an opportunity for some and a constraint for others. In this way, the precariat can be understood as a two-faced phenomenon.

15. Regional research has brought new results and findings

The research objectives formulated earlier can be addressed by the following demonstrable findings, which are supported by the research results:

1. The range of precarious characteristics has been further increased and differentiated through my research findings in our region. The definition⁸ given in the literature should be supplemented by the fact that the precariat has become multidimensional. The impact of the precariat on human resources can be caused not only by backwardness, but also by progress and innovative technology.

Our results provide convincing evidence that, in addition to the job losses and vulnerability caused by extreme restructuring and crises, precariousness can also be found within a group of highly skilled workers in a favourable labour market situation. For example, statistically relevant differences were also found in the gender distribution of recent graduates. Here too, the clear disadvantage of women in the labour market and the male advantage at senior levels - which was particularly significant in lower and middle management - confirmed the thesis of the glass ceiling mechanism.

It can be concluded that precariousness is a form of labour market insecurity and exclusion whose characteristics are not concentrated in a single social group. It can involve both highly and low-skilled economically active groups. It can affect young entrants to the labour market, adult and older workers by age, and women and men by sociodemographic characteristics. The presence of children reinforces precarisation for women, while the opposite is true for men.

2. Personal and regional risk factors for labour market exclusion can arise in different regions, social groups and technological contexts.

The reasons for its emergence are at opposite poles, and the causes and reactions are partly different. Precariousness, which is a social phenomenon in

⁸ Precarious as a noun is a collective noun for a specific group of people, precarious as a noun covers the context, the causes, the spreading precariousness, and precarious as an adjective form, which is an adjective for (in)precarious situation(s) and relationship(s) (Szépe, 2012). According to another approach, precariat is a class in the making (Standing, 2012)

high-tech regions, expects labour market actors to be prepared for continuous change (training, LLL, mobility, support for innovative skills, etc.).

However, in the peripheral areas of deprived areas, unemployment, unskilled labour, traditional attitudes to gender roles, living near the border, socio-cultural and ethnic relations, etc. are the root causes of precarious phenomena in a stagnating or, in worse cases, declining economic environment.

3. Precarious groups cannot be linked to one or a few disadvantaged social groups, since, according to our studies, environmental and economic policy factors can also lead to the emergence of precarious characteristics among the highly qualified.

Lack of work or excessive workload, work activity and assignments not in line with qualifications are also characteristics of precariousness. It follows that this is a very complex phenomenon, which can be observed at both ends of the educational scale (low-skilled and high-skilled). In this case, the effect of qualifications is modified by other characteristics: disruptions in labour market stability, in certain family-life cycles, or in subjective age cycles when subjective factors induce a state of insecurity. Examples include looser labour market attachment due to childbearing, or insecure labour market entry for those starting a career.

4. Labour market opportunities can be increased by a combination of management responding to the precariousness from the aspect of change and the methods of adult education and vocational training expected by the labour market.

The answer to the search for a way out can be the application of change management tools at organisational level. The human capital dimension is an area of intervention that can be addressed at the level of the individual, the development of which partly helps to produce economic capital within the family, and the essence of which is to ensure that human resources capable of adapting to changing labour market conditions, capable of renewal, motivated and with marketable competences are present on the labour market. In our region, such programmes are particularly relevant in the training of disadvantaged (HH) and cumulatively disadvantaged (HHH) groups in line with labour market needs, mentoring for lifestyle and socio-cultural change, etc.

My assumptions are supported by the results of my research and, accordingly, we can say that precariousness is a kind of subjective and collective crisis, the depth of which depends to a large extent on the economic environment, the economic and social policies, strategies and cultural relations of the country and/or region. The resolution of the crisis of job insecurity is desirable at both individual and societal levels, and its results can therefore be measured at both individual and societal levels.

Overall, I conclude that the most widely accepted definition in the literature can be extended. Precariousness is not only a labour market issue but also a quality of life issue. Work defines an individual's place in society and, outside the world of work, shapes his or her daily activities, habits and social perception in many areas of life. In the absence of work, in addition to financial hardship, the individuals and social groups concerned suffer disadvantages in many areas of life, preventing them from participating in activities that are generally accepted and customary for members of society.

Based on the research done so far, the definition of precariat can be extended as follows:

Precariousness is a multidimensional social organisation, but essentially a social organisation resulting from labour market insecurity, affecting different social groups and concentrated in fixed-term contracts, part-time work, low position in the labour market hierarchy, too little or too much (but in this case unstructured) free time, lack of work or excessive workload, low pay, skills and a mismatch between the work actually done and the work actually done.

The degree and duration of precariousness depends to a large extent on the educational attainment, labour market experience, social capital, family life cycle and place of residence of the persons concerned. The nature of these factors shapes and determines the possibility of leaving precariousness.

Depending on its duration, insecurity in the labour market can trigger a generalised insecurity that can also manifest itself in other dimensions that determine quality of life (health, housing, leisure activities, etc.). All these factors may represent an opportunity to operationalise future studies on precariousness.

Afterword

In my monograph I presented the main results of my teaching and research activities in recent years. My aim in writing this paper is to touch on the main stages of my career and to show the development of my teaching and research personality through the topic of my monograph which I have chosen. The multiple reasons for my choice of topic, in addition to my personal interests, are supported by the subjects I have taught and developed, my thesis and my TDK and PHD topic guidance, my empirical work, my national and international conference presentations, my publications and my academic notes. These have been greatly influenced by my exposure to the labour field as a young graduate and by the fact that I have been able to teach what I have been doing in practice as a lecturer in parallel with my duties as a labour analyst in the civil service.

The focus of my research so far has been on labour market integration and the related issues of family formation and work-life balance. I have investigated the opportunities and expectations of different social groups with different family and age cycles and socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics in the world of work, and the extent to which employment indicators that characterise family background influence young people's human capital investment and employment plans.

My results show that the family - both the financier and the producer of human capital investment - and the family background are a demonstrable factor in shaping young people's future plans. From the students' perceptions of 'general' high school students, a homogeneous group of students with very high academic achievement, highly qualified parents, favourable income conditions, most of whom are excellent and outstanding students, and almost all of whom envisage a future in higher education, emerges. The distribution of vocational secondary school pupils by similar dimensions was much more heterogeneous, and overall, they lagged behind the secondary school group in terms of both educational attainment and parental education and income. And while none of those in upper secondary education said they would work after leaving school, one in five of those in vocational secondary education said they would. These differences can be attributed to the type of school, its mission

and "catching-up" and, perhaps most importantly, the added value of the school. This partly explains the differences we found. However, it should also be pointed out that in our study we found a correlation between young people's plans for further education and employment and the financial situation of the family. Our statistical analysis confirmed our hypothesis that family financial capital, presumably determined by the human and social capital of parents, influences young people's educational performance and future plans. In parallel with my research, and by looking at the international literature, I have recognised that the labour market changes and crises that threaten workers with insecurity affect not only those living in the disadvantaged periphery, but also those living in Western advanced economies. However, I have found significant differences in the threat and in the preparedness and attitudes of workers. It is typical, but more pronounced in the Hungarian context, that precariousness in the family has an intergenerational impact, shaping the future vision and labour market opportunities of family members.

The analysis of young people's labour market expectations also revealed that the value preferences of an otherwise very pro-children young society reflect a vision of the future that is in line with their priorities for employment.

The income situation was also found to be an explanatory factor for women on parental leave with interrupted labour market attachment. A significant proportion of the group concerned would consider it important to support their integration into the labour market after having children by enrolling in training or further training, but only those with a more favourable economic background are able to take on the associated tuition fees. Support for the training of women with children and, at the same time, for their successful reintegration into the labour market could be provided by means of a training component that could be incorporated into the parental component of the family allowance.

Based on the results of my research, I can conclude that the childbearing period is a period in women's occupational careers that anticipates and carries precarious characteristics, especially for women. In support of this, in addition to the obstacles to accessing training opportunities just mentioned, I would mention part-time employment, which is so highly valued by those concerned but is not a realistic long-term solution. The fact that women with young children are unable to take advantage of the childcare period they consider

optimal is further evidence of their precarious lifestyles, for reasons related to the labour market and the unacceptability of the loss of income resulting from having children.

The results of the survey among university graduates also confirmed the precariousness of the highly qualified groups, and that these factors are more pronounced among women. This is associated with career interruption in the labour market, which is also more pronounced for women. In addition, the current family life cycle, such as child-rearing, is also a determining factor in shaping the employment of the group concerned. The employment patterns of graduates in relation to having children, however, only partly reflect the characteristics described above, and in their case, we find that those with children are less likely to work on casual, contract or fixed-term contracts. It is interesting to note, however, that the distribution by occupation showed significant differences between those without children and those with children, in favour of the latter group. The proportion of senior and middle managers was higher among women and men with children. This relationship can be described as a consequence of the age effect.

There is also a statistically significant relationship between labour market status and subjective health. Our analyses show that people who are out of work experience a breakdown in their social relationships, in the absence of which they perceive their health and subjective well-being as worse than others.

My research has shown that some precarious characteristics, such as part-time employment, are an option for some groups and a constraint for others. The same can be said about overtime work. But what does not differ, either in terms of educational attainment or age and family cycle, is the centrality of work in an individual's life. The most important characteristic, which includes all the factors listed below, is job security. Work means security. First and foremost because the income from work provides the basic conditions for a livelihood. However, people without work face the lack of a number of services and benefits (social security) linked to work as a condition. The income from work, the social environment provided by the workplace, also contributes to the individual's ability to participate in activities that are common to the majority of people in society. Work is also important because the lack of income, even

indirectly, has an impact on a child's future educational performance, further education, career choice, employment opportunities and career prospects.

In conclusion, we can say that precariousness, as an international and domestic phenomenon, is a social process that has a common cause (insecurity of existence due to the situation on the labour market), but its uniform appearance and position in the structure of society is far from being apparent in the course of social organisation.

It is possible that a new formation (new poverty, underclass, etc.) could emerge which is different from the previous social groupings (class, stratum), but it is also possible that a new attitude to work could emerge, which would be accompanied by the continuous development of human capital in line with the needs of the knowledge society.

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