

Chapter Eight

►► HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY Country Survey Reports

ROMANIA

[Manuela Sofia Stănculescu, Ionica Berevoescu, ICCV]

[Contents]

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY [399]

INTRODUCTION: THE ROMANIAN HWF SURVEY [402]

1. PATTERNS OF WORK [404]

Formal work, cash informal work and subsistence agriculture || The main economic activity ||
Secondary economic activity

2. PATTERNS OF FLEXIBILITY [410]

Patterns of time flexibility || Patterns of place flexibility || Pattern of Flexibility of institutional
conditions || Work autonomy and satisfaction with the main activity || Patterns of career flexibility

3. NON-PAID AND VOLUNTARY WORK [427]

Non-paid work || Voluntary work

4. HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION [429]

The Distribution of domestic roles in the household || Patterns of decision making in the household

5. WORK AND HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS [433]

Integration of home and work || Employment and child care arrangements || Perceptions of
family/work arrangements

6. ECONOMIC STANDARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD [443]

Properties || Durable goods || Incomes and expenditures || Money and power in the Romanian
households || Subjective assessment of the household economic situation

NOTES [449]

ANNEX [450]

[List of tables and figures]

Table 1.	Population of 18 years or over in the country sample	402
Table 2.	Workforce (employed and unemployed) by education level and by gender and residency (per cent)	403
Table 3.	Employment by gender, age, education, type of settlement and region	404
Table 4.	What do you do in present? Which of the following apply to you? (multiple response, s1_6_i) (per cent)	405
Table 5.	Patterns of work of the ISCO groups (per cent)	410
Table 6.	Occupational categories in the main and secondary activity	410
Table 7.	Usual number of working hours per week in the main activity by residency and gender (per cent)	411
Table 8.	Satisfaction related to hours of work and the potential to flexibility (per cent).....	412
Table 9.	Working schedule by residency and gender (per cent)	413
Table 10.	Patterns of time flexibility	414
Table 11.	Patterns of time flexibility by ISCO groups (per cent).....	414
Table 12.	Which is the place of work for your main activity? (per cent)	418
Table 13.	Type of work contract in the main activity by professional status and by occupational portfolio (per cent)	421
Table 14.	Work trajectories after 1989 by gender and by residency	423
Table 15.	1989 employment by situation in 2001 (per cent)	424
Table 16.	Changes in the occupational life after 1990 (per cent).....	425
Table 17.	The main change in the occupational life between 1989 and present by professional status in 2001 (per cent)	426
Table 18.	Additional educational courses (per cent)	426
Table 19.	Unpaid work for relatives outside the household or friends (per cent)	427
Table 20.	Voluntary work for a non-profit organisation such as charity, church, clubs and associations (per cent)	428
Table 21.	Household types by individual and family life cycle (per cent)	429
Table 22.	How were (are) decisions in your household(s) taken with regard to the following issues ...? (per cent)	432
Table 23.	Dominant economic profile of Romanian households (per cent).....	433
Table 24.	Household economic profiles by mean age and by residency	434
Table 25.	Patterns of place flexibility and average number of hours in paid work by household economic profile	435
Table 26.	Level of education; Unpaid work and voluntary work by household economic profile.....	436
Table 27.	Types of households of respondents of active age (per cent).....	437
Table 28.	Child care responsibility by type of household and by gender of the active age respondents (per cent)	438
Table 29.	Child care and work by type of household by residency and by gender of the active age respondents	439
Table 30.	How often in the last three months your work made it difficult for you to do some of the household tasks that need to be done?.....	441
Table 31.	How often in the last three months your work made it difficult for you to fulfil the responsibilities towards your family and other important persons in your life?	441
Table 32.	How often in the last three months you have to take work from your employment home to finish?	441
Table 33.	How often in the last three months your responsibilities towards the family and other important persons in your life prevented you from doing your work adequately?	442
Table 34.	How often in the last three months you preferred to spend more time at work than to spend more time at home?	442

Table 35. Do you and your other household members usually agree or disagree about ...? (Respondents from households with at least two members).....	442
Table 36. Considering all income sources of all household members, which is the most important in the last twelve months? (per cent).....	444
Table 37. Self-provisioning: How much of the household food consumption was covered by the food products obtained within the household or received from relatives and friends in the last month (January 2001)? (per cent).....	445
Table 38. Types of household according to the number of working earners.....	446
Table 39. Economic standard of the household – subjective assessment.....	448
Table 40. Economic standard of the household – subjective assessment.....	449
Table 41. Employment by formal work, informal work, and agriculture (per cent)	450
Table 42. Income sources of the workforce in the last month and in the last twelve months.....	451
Table 43. Employment by occupational groups and by socio-demographic characteristics (per cent) ...	452
Table 44. Employment by professional status and by socio-demographic characteristics (per cent)	453
Table 45. Employment with secondary activity by socio-demographic characteristics	454
Table 46. Work autonomy and work satisfaction in the main activity	455
Table 47. The main change in the occupational life between 1989 and present by residency and by gender (per cent)	456
Table 48. In what way do the following tasks usually get done in your household? (multiple response s2_1i)	457
Figure 1. Distribution of employment by formal work, informal work, and agriculture (per cent).....	405
Figure 2. Employment by occupation (ISCO classification) (per cent)	407
Figure 3. ISCO groups by gender	407
Figure 4. Mean income by ISCO groups and gender.....	409
Figure 5. What is the reason for doing this activity at home?.....	418
Figure 6. How satisfied are you in general with your location of work in the main activity? (per cent) ...	419
Figure 7. The combination between unpaid work in agriculture and unpaid work non-agriculture	427
Figure 8. Number of households with children under 15 years	437
Figure 9. Main income earner and the head of the household.....	446
Figure 10. Dynamics of the household economic situation of the household – subjective assessment ..	449

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In this paper is presented the analysis of the Romanian HWF survey (N=1864) in which four meanings of the concept 'work flexibility' are discussed: flexibility as atypical forms of work, flexibility as empowerment (more freedom of decision), flexibility as adaptability to changes, flexibility from the perspective of work and family integration

A) Work flexibility as atypical forms of work is structured on five dimensions:

1. **The occupational portfolio** and secondary activity. The larger and more complex the occupational portfolio (patterns of work) the higher the work flexibility. About 16 per cent of Romanian employment combines formal work with informal work and/or agriculture. In this respect, men tend to be more flexible (combinatory) than women. Rural residents are more flexible than those in urban areas. University graduates and people who belong to better-off households (such as prevail in urban areas) declared a secondary activity in a significantly higher proportion compared to the poorly educated people from poor households.
2. **The time of work** – a typology was built on three sub-dimensions, specifically number of working hours, variability of working hours, and working schedule. Only about a third of Romanian employment has standard working times (normal hours, not varying, regular schedule) or disguised standard forms. Non-flexible patterns are associated with formal work performed by women workers and medium or highly educated people, mainly located in urban areas. The rest of the workers have various patterns of working time flexibility (atypical) to some degree. Highly flexible patterns predominate, particularly at the top and the bottom of the social structure (ISCO 1, ISCO6, ISCO 9), while low flexible or standard forms are specific for the middle strata. Mostly men hold jobs with highly flexible time patterns divided into a few highly differentiated groups.
3. **The place of work.** Non-flexible patterns of place of work (within the locality but not at home) are highly associated with non-flexible working time; 30 per cent of workers are in this situation, and these are mostly women and urban residents. Place flexibility is highly correlated with highly flexible working time; 18 per cent of workers accumulate these characteristics, mostly for men based in rural areas. Ten percent of employees are compelled to have high flexibility (place and time), namely people who work in agriculture or in the informal sector because they could not find other jobs.
4. **The institutional conditions of work** Permanent work contracts (held by 57 per cent of workers) are associated with non-flexible or low time and place flexibility. As with time and place, non-flexible kinds of work

conditions are found mainly among women, the medium or highly educated, and urban residents. At the other end of the spectrum are people working without contract and these account for 8 per cent of employments. They hold insecure and low paid jobs characterized also by forced place and time flexibility. The flexible form of work that is self-employment is divided into two highly different groups. Agricultural self-employed represent 22 per cent of our respondents in employment. This group is characterized by high place and time flexibility as well and mainly comprises men, rural residents, elderly people (50 or over), the poor and poorly educated. In contrast, non-agricultural self-employment represents only 5.3 per cent of the employment and these are mostly university graduates based in Bucharest, operating in services, mainly trade. One half of them belong to households found in the highest income / consumption quintile at the national level. Amongst them are a third of those working at home by choice and 15 per cent of people with long hours and an irregular schedule but satisfied with this.

5. **Unpaid and voluntary work** About a third of the adult population perform unpaid work, which is mostly in agriculture and brings in return services and/or products. Thus, 'unpaid' means with no monetary returns. Unpaid work in Romania is rather a means of getting along either with lack of modern agricultural equipment or with insufficient monetary incomes. Voluntary work is specific to the elderly from rural areas and it is church related.

In conclusion, according to the definition of work flexibility as atypical forms of work, in Romania men are more flexible than women, rural residents more flexible than urban residents, and forced flexibility prevails. Flexibility by choice is to be found at the top of the social structure amongst employers, managers and professionals

while forced flexibility is specific to people with no/low access on official labour market, poor, with low level of education forced to earn a living either in agriculture or in the informal sector.

Most of the Romanian workers would prefer a standard job with a permanent contract, normal working hours and a regular schedule located within the locality but not at home.

B) Work flexibility as worker's empowerment takes into consideration the relation between work autonomy and satisfaction towards work. The relation between work autonomy and work satisfaction depends on the institutional conditions and types of flexibility. More freedom of decision-making results in satisfaction only for a well-paid activity. This approach underlines the dual nature of flexibility. The higher the degree of forced flexibility, the higher the work autonomy but the lower the work satisfaction. In this case, flexibility implies insecurity and 'freedom' to search daily for some work for a small amount of money just to survive. At the other extreme, flexibility by choice is associated with both autonomy and satisfaction for people with multiple choices on the labour market and with developmental resources.

C) Work flexibility as career flexibility and high occupational mobility.

Only 40.5 percent of persons succeeded to stay in the official labour market until 2001 if we compare the present jobs with the employment in 1989, while 7 per cent became farmers, 10 per cent self-declared unemployed, 21 per cent early retired, 15 per cent retired at the proper age limit and 6 per cent exited labour market for good to become self-declared house-persons outside of the labour force (non employment). Two of these trajectories are specific to women, specifically employment and non-employment, compared to men who to a significantly larger extent became farmers or retired.

Occupational mobility is specific to men and to urban residents. The main reasons for occupa-

tional mobility are structural: cuts in production, downsizing and redundancy.

D) Flexibility from the perspective of work and family integration.

In this light, women are more flexible than men. They are more preoccupied with the integration of work and home mainly because for them home represents a second workplace with a multitude of domestic tasks to be completed and responsibilities towards the family to be fulfilled. Child-care and the relation with work is managed by rich and poor in a similar manner, particularly if they live in nuclear families. Child-care responsibilities mainly belong to mothers and they are therefore either out of the labour force or work shorter hours compared to women in other situations. Fathers are mainly the breadwinners and consequently, they work longer hours either formally or informally in order to provide for the family.

Family and work arrangements are perceived as source of tension and pressure in urban areas to a significantly larger extent than in rural ones. In Romania, employment in rural areas, particularly farming (both women and men, especially the elderly), is the most successful way of integrating family and work to the satisfaction of the respondent. Also, workers with non-flexible working time / place, especially women, are satisfied with this situation since it allows them to integrate work and family.

People who consider work to be a permanent source of pressure upon the completion of household tasks are mostly the sole earners in one-income households. They are high school graduates, formal employees or informal skilled workers (ISCO 7 or 8). Most of them have highly flexible working times (long hours, on average 49 hours per week, shifts) and would like to work shorter hours because these are a source of dissatisfaction. Many of them commute, which makes the time for their family even shorter.

The self-employed rarely considered their work burdened by responsibilities towards the family. Informal workers, particularly the poorly educated and those from large households declared that responsibilities towards significant others frequently prevented them from doing work adequately – hence they sometimes see work as an escape from home.

Irrespective of gender or education, most of the adult population declared that agreement predominates in their household relationships. The elderly tends to stress agreement even to a greater extent than the younger respondents. Agreement about household finances is lower in larger households, particularly those who are poorer. The allocation of domestic tasks among household members seems more debated (a source of disagreement) in nuclear families with children, particularly in two-earner ones and when the respondent is an employer or works in the informal sector. Significantly lower agreement regarding the amount of time spent together is found in households with younger members, particularly in two-earner or one-earner nuclear families with children located in cities. The same is true with regard to the amount of time spent at work. In contrast, in larger households in which there are pensioners capable of taking care of the children and/or various domestic tasks as well as members in employment, there is a higher level of agreement related to the allocation of tasks as well as time spent at work.

The patriarchal model is predominant. Poorer households tend to adopt the patriarchal model while those better off adopt more democratic models in organizing their households. Democratic households represent only 27 per cent of the sample, especially the well educated, mostly based in urban areas, couples with (35 per cent) or without (43 per cent) children, two-earner (37 per cent) or one-earner (36 per cent) households, mostly in the superior income quintiles (34 per cent of Q4 and 35 per cent of Q5).

INTRODUCTION: THE ROMANIAN HWF SURVEY

In Romania, the Institute for Study of the Quality of Life did the fieldwork for the HWF survey between 13th and 26th February 2001. The HWF random sample is representative at the national and regional level for the population with voting rights (18 years or over). The sample is stratified according to the 18 sub-regions and types of locality (seven types of locality; four types of urban settlements according to the size of the population

and three types of rural settlements, according to three levels of global development).

The HWF dataset includes 1864 cases. The face-to-face interviews were carried out with individuals mainly (86 per cent) selected based on the electoral lists (updated in 2000) from 171 sampling points (electoral sections) located in 106 Romanian localities. The HWF data are not weighted.

Table 1. Population of 18 years or over in the country sample

<i>categories of respondents</i>	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total (N)
Pupils/students	60	5	36	29	65
Total house-persons and work disabled	64	109	157	16	173
House-persons of active age *)	50	73	118	5	123
Total pensioners	259	180	273	166	439
Pensioners of active age	82	27	42	67	109
Unemployed	82	36	59	59	118
Total in employment	554	505	516	543	1059
Employment of active age	527	373	435	465	900
No response	6	4	4	6	10
Total sample	1025	839	1045	819	1864
Total sample of active age	811	527	700	638	1338

Note * In Romania the active age is 15 – 56 olds (here 18 – 56) for women and 15 – 62 olds (here 18 – 62) for men.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Within the HWF sample the share of women is 56 per cent compared to 52 per cent in the total population of 18 years and over. Regarding residency, the share of urban population in the HWF sample is similar to that of the population generally (55 per cent).

In the HWF data compared to RLFS 2000 (Romanian Labour Force Survey) women represent 49 per cent of the total workforce (employment + unemployment) and 48.7 per cent of the total employment fairly close to 46 per cent, 46.4 per cent respectively. According to HWF data, in

February 2001 the unemployment rate was significantly higher at 10.3 per cent for women and 9.8 per cent for men than the values recorded for 2000 by the RLFS (6.4 per cent for women and 7.7 per cent for men). The discrepancy in unemployment rates as well as in the structure of residency presented below, is most probably the effect of the difference in the method of recording. In the rural areas people in individual farms who worked at least fifteen hours in the previous week are recorded either as self-employed in agriculture or as unpaid family workers (see country context report: 15). In the HWF survey however, respondents selected from a list of eighteen status categories those they considered adequate for their

situation. As result, active job seekers called themselves unemployed, irrespective of the number of hours worked in the previous week. Consequently, the unemployment rate in the rural areas is more than double (6.7 per cent) the RLFS 2000 (3.1 per cent) rate. In addition, people from rural areas, particularly women, tended to declare themselves as unemployed, house-persons or pensioners, which has created in the HWF data a larger share of the urban workforce and urban employment in comparison to the RLFS 2000. Thus, the share of urban respondents in the total workforce is 54 per cent compared to 49 per cent in RLFS 2000, and 52 per cent in employment compared to 47 per cent.

Table 2. Workforce (employed and unemployed) by education level and by gender and residency (per cent)

<i>level of education</i>	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total
No school	0.5	2.2	1.6	1.0	1.3
Primary education	1.6	17.4	11.1	6.6	8.8
Gymnasium	7.2	27.2	15.7	17.1	16.4
First stage of secondary education (10 grades)	8.2	8.1	10.4	6.0	8.2
Vocational and apprenticeship	20.3	24.2	11.7	32.1	22.1
High school	31.8	12.4	28.2	17.8	22.9
Post high school, technicians and foremen	9.9	5.4	7.7	8.0	7.8
College	3.0	0.6	2.8	1.0	1.9
University	17.5	2.6	10.8	10.5	10.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Compared to the RLFS 2000, there are shares of up to five percent higher for the higher levels of education and lower for primary education, gymnasium and high school in the HWF sample, particularly for women.

Nevertheless the HWF data re-confirms the structural relations between age, education, gender, residency, and employment found elsewhere. Unemployment (irrespective gender) is significantly higher for young people (18 – 24 years) and for graduates of vocational schools (former work-

ers made redundant) mainly in the urban areas and in the southern regions of the country. Nearly all self-declared house-persons (that is, those taking care of the house and the family) are women between 25 – 44 years, mostly poorly educated and located in the rural areas. All over the country, women of active age have higher odds of being house-persons (one in five) than men, except for the graduates of the tertiary level of education.

Table 3. Employment by gender, age, education, type of settlement and region

variable	value	(%)	total
Gender	Women	48.7	100%
	Men	51.3	
Age	18 – 24 years	9.7	100%
	25 – 44 years	45.4	
	45 – 59 years	29.8	
	60 years and over	15.0	
Education	Primary at most	10.9	100%
	Gymnasium, unskilled	16.8	
	Vocational, skilled	27.7	
	High school	23.1	
	Post – secondary	8.0	
	University or higher	13.4	
Types of settlements	Villages	47.7	100%
	Small towns	9.8	
	Large cities	33.0	
	Bucharest	9.5	
Region	Moldavia (NE)	24.3	100%
	S, SE, SW	31.4	
	Center, W, NW	33.3	
	Capital region	11.0	
	Total	100.0	
	N	1059	

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

1. PATTERNS OF WORK

1.1. Formal work, cash informal work and subsistence agriculture

As shown in the country context report, in order to earn a living, a large number of households supplement their income from official sources (salaries or social transfers) either with non-monetary incomes, mainly from agricultural activities, or cash informal incomes, occasional or day work. People participate in a multiplicity of economies (state, market, and informal) holding a portfolio of occupational statuses, of which they

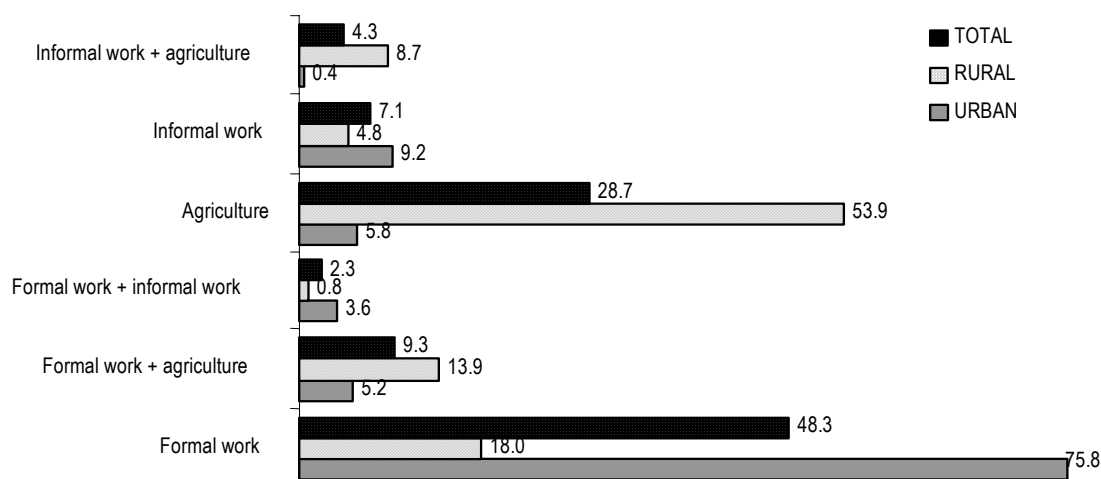
declare one or another, depending on their situation or interest. Thus, a comprehensive analysis on work flexibility in Romania (like in other transitional countries such as Poland or Bulgaria) should start with patterns of work.

By reorganizing the data according to the three types of work (formal, informal, and agriculture) in February 2001 the employment was distributed as presented in Figure 1.

Table 4. What do you do in present? Which of the following apply to you? (multiple response, s1_6_i) (per cent)

<i>types of employment</i>	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	N
Pensioners + agriculture	4.0	30.7	13.6	19.7	16.7	177
Unemployed + agriculture	0.2	6.3	1.2	5.0	3.1	33
Farmers	1.6	18.2	13.6	5.7	9.5	101
Formally occupied + agriculture	5.1	13.9	5.8	12.5	9.3	98
Informally occupied + agriculture	0.4	7.1	2.3	4.8	3.6	38
Pupil / student + formally occupied	2.9	0.4	1.9	1.5	1.7	18
Pupil / student + informally occupied	1.6		1.0	0.7	0.8	9
Pensioners + formally occupied	2.9	1.2	1.6	2.6	2.1	22
Pensioners + informally occupied	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	4
Unemployed + informally occupied	2.7	1.8	1.6	2.9	2.3	24
Formally occupied	70.2	16.8	51.4	38.5	44.8	474
Formally + informally occupied	3.6	0.6	2.9	1.5	2.2	23
Informally occupied	4.3	2.8	2.9	4.2	3.6	38
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	554	505	516	543		1059

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Figure 1. Distribution of employment by formal work, informal work, and agriculture (per cent)

Note: N = 1059 of which 554 urban, 505 rural

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Compared to the total employment, the six groups (Figure 1) have distinctive features, specifically the over-representation of the following characteristics:

- Formal work => women, 25 - 44 olds, graduates of high school or university, mostly located in large cities and Bucharest.
- Formal work + agriculture => men, graduates of vocational schools, and people based in small towns or villages.
- Formal work + informal work => highly educated people from large cities.
- Agriculture => people of 45 years or over, poorly educated mostly unskilled, based in the villages particularly in Moldavia (North - East region).
- Informal work => young (18 - 24), graduates of vocational school located in the large cities of the country.
- Informal work + agriculture => men, graduates of gymnasium or with vocational training, mostly in the rural areas. (Table 41)

Enlarging the time span to the last twelve months, the non-combinatory groups developed one income-generating activity on average, groups combining formal / informal work with agriculture performed 1.5 activities (as expected, agriculture is under-estimated in February), and the smallest group of people combining formal and informal work carried out two activities. This indicates that the pattern is rather stable over the year.

1.2. The main economic activity

From the portfolio of income-generating activities people chose the one they considered 'the main current activity' according to their preferences. These main activities represent the focus of the present analysis of flexibility.

Similar to the other European transition countries since 1990, Romania has gone through a restructuring process from the communist status-ordered society to an emerging class society. After

During the previous twelve months a third of the unemployed had no income while ten percent did informal work, particularly seasonal construction or agriculture day work in rural areas. The rest relied solely on unemployment benefit. A quarter of the group doing formal work group also had additional incomes, mostly from various professional services developed on their own account or on the side and from self-employed jobs officially registered. In the rural areas, people do agricultural work on their own plots and also develop some non-agricultural self-employed activities, particularly the men. In the urban areas, poorly trained people working in the informal sector earn incomes mainly from unskilled or semi skilled casual work whilst people with higher qualifications perform either skilled work or professional services. (Table 42)

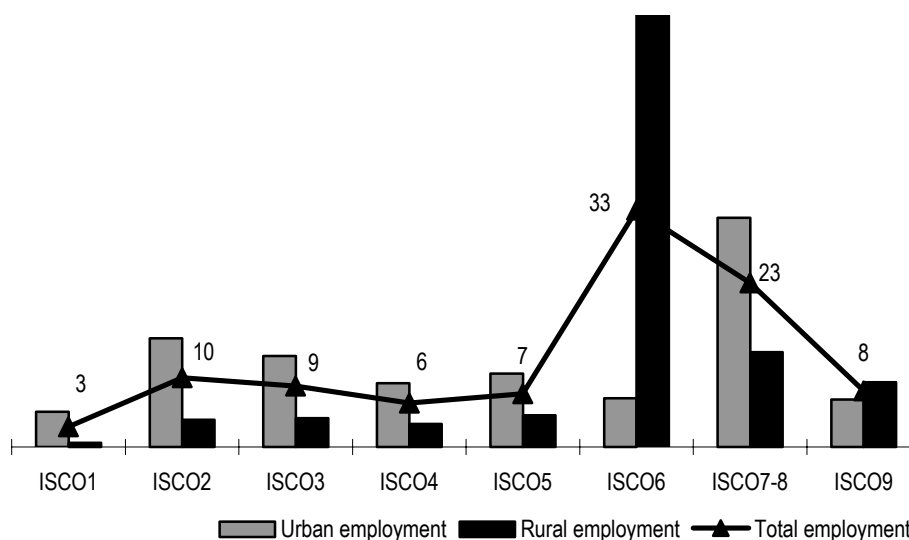
From the life cycle perspective, in the phase of their early working life, before marriage, women in employment are more likely to have a formal job. After marriage and before the couple has had the first child, women and men have the same chances of finding any type of work. In the phase of the nuclear family, women are predominantly in formal work while men tend to develop additional activities either in agriculture or informally for cash. Overall, men are more inclined to combine various activities compared to women and this behaviour is consonant with the family model predominant in Romanian society, with the man as the main breadwinner and the woman in charge of the house and family (country context report and 6.2 below).

eleven years of transition to the market economy, the Romanian social structure has become strongly differentiated, so that the occupational groups have drawn nearer to becoming distinctive **social strata**. The managers, employers (ISCO1) and professionals (ISCO2) make the upper layer of the social structure followed by technicians and associate professionals (ISCO3), clerks (ISCO4), and service workers (ISCO5) which form

the middle strata. The lower layers encompass workers (craft and related and plant and machine operators and assemblers, ISCO7 – 8) followed by the self-employed in agriculture (ISCO6) and unskilled workers (ISCO9). The higher the social

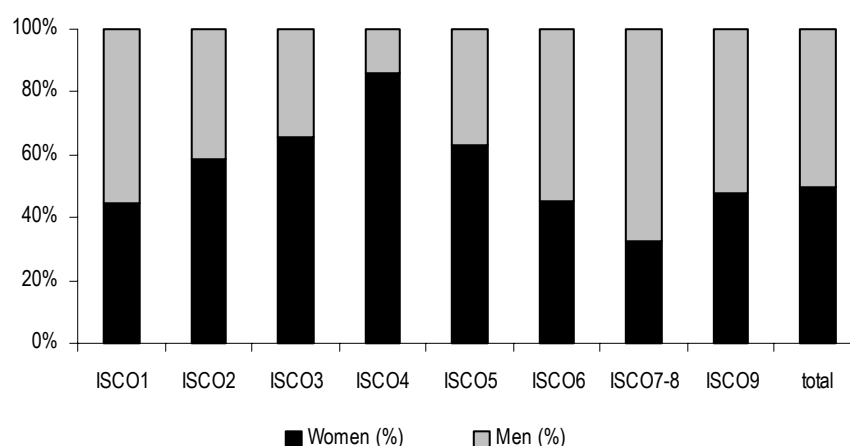
layer, the higher the human and economic capital: the higher the level of education, the social position and the income of the individual as well as the total income/consumption of his/her household and its assets. (Table 43)

Figure 2. Employment by occupation (ISCO classification) (per cent)



Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1008 (4.8% missing cases); ISCO10 includes only 10 cases, which were excluded from the analysis

Figure 3. ISCO groups by gender



Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1008 (4.8% missing cases)

The upper social strata are mainly based in the large cities and in Bucharest while the middle social layers are spread over all the urban areas of the country. The workers are predominantly located in the large cities, particularly in Transylvania. On the one hand, this is due to the communist policy of concentration of the industrial plants in the large cities and on the other, it is due to lower levels of redundancy combined with higher economic development of the Transylvania region. The agricultural and unskilled workers are mostly situated in Moldavia and in the southern regions, particularly in the rural areas.

The state **sector of the economy** predominates in the urban areas encompassing over 60 per cent of the professionals, technicians and associated professionals, and clerks. The private sector is more heterogeneous, comprising employers, service workers but also the agricultural and most of the unskilled workers.

Women predominate amongst professionals and middle strata occupations while men constitute the overwhelming majority of workers. In addition, women prevail in trade, financial and banking services, education and health while men have significantly larger shares in construction, transport, agriculture and various services to firms. In the other economic branches there are no significant gender disparities. Amongst women some few groups are distinctive. First, there are the young (18 - 24) highly educated women over-represented within professions and in contrast to the male professionals who are mostly in their forties or fifties. Secondly, there are the young women graduates of high school, that are workers in industry compared to male workers mostly over 45 years with vocational training. The third group comprises poorly educated women of all ages who - particularly in the large cities - find only unskilled jobs (many in the informal sector) compared to men with elementary occupations who are mostly graduates of vocational school and are located in the rural areas.

Professional status in the main activity declared by over a half of the Romanian HWF sam-

ple in employment (53.4 per cent) are 'employees'. This is very close to the share of employees reported by the RLFS 2000, namely 56 per cent. There is a gap between the HWF sample and the RLFS concerning 'unpaid family worker' as professional status. A mere fifteen people declared themselves to be unpaid family workers in our survey compared to 19 per cent registered by RLFS¹ 2000. Rural agricultural workers declared themselves to be self-employed farmers instead. Thus, agricultural self-employment in HWF data, which accounts for 31.2 per cent of employment, corresponds rather to the sum of 23 per cent self-employed with 19 per cent unpaid family workers from the RLFS 2000. In the HWF survey, employers and non-agricultural self-employed represent only small shares in total employment (2.8 per cent and 3.3 per cent respectively). In addition to their formal professional status, people could declare, 'work without contract (casual work, day work, 'when I find it', on the side and unofficially registered activity on own account)'; 9.3 per cent of employment declared informal workers as the main activity. (Table 44)

Overall, compared with other professional statuses, employees are associated with the 25 to 44 age category, medium and high education, from large cities and from Bucharest. The majority of employees (82 per cent) work only on the formal labour market being often women (87 per cent) and urban residents (90 per cent), regardless of age and education. An important proportion of employment (15 per cent) combines formal work with agriculture. As we have mentioned, this is specific to men (22 per cent), with vocational training (20 per cent), from rural areas (40 per cent). Only 3 per cent of the employment combines formal work with informal activities, with no clear cut statistical profile.

Employers (30 cases in Romanian HWF sample) are equally likely to be men and women, with high school education or a university degree, mainly from Bucharest. The majority of them perform only formal work (80 per cent of total employers). The self-employed in non-agricultural

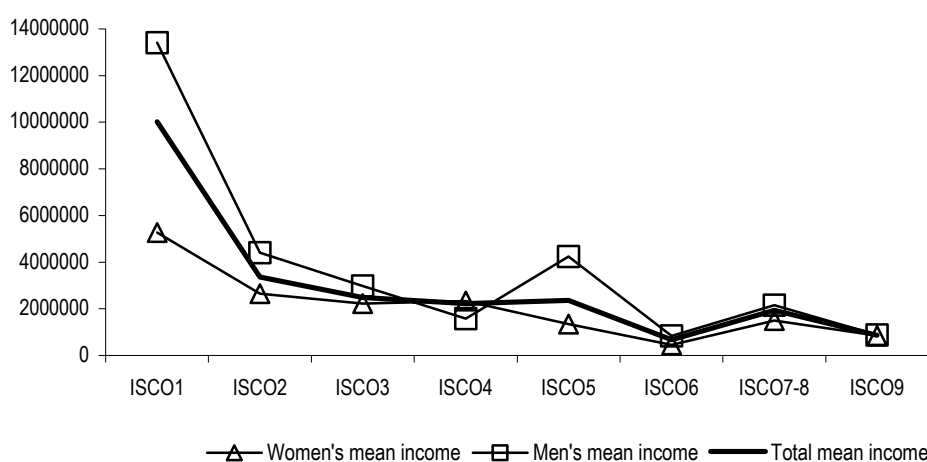
activities (35 cases) are mainly men (71 per cent of them), with at least high school education (71 per cent), performing only formal work in urban areas (57 per cent).

Leading positions mostly belong to men irrespective of education level, particularly in the state sector.

There are significant disparities between the total income of men and women except for the young and graduates of university. In the same

occupational group with the same education and the same age women have significantly lower incomes compared to men, particularly in the state economic sector. The average income is lowest for the agricultural self-employed, followed closely by the unskilled workers. Compared to the former, the average income is 2.9 times higher for workers, 3.3 to 3.7 times higher for the middle strata occupations, 5 times more for professionals and 15 times for managers and employers.

Figure 4. Mean income by ISCO groups and gender



Note: Due to the small number of cases the gender differences are statistically significant only for groups ISCO 2, 3, 6, 7/8 according to One-Way ANOVA analysis ($p < .05$). Based on the same technique, the differences between ISCO groups are significant ($p = .000$).

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1008 (5.75% missing cases)

1.3. Secondary economic activity

Excluding the agricultural self-employed, within each social group between 14 per cent (ISCO1) and 54 per cent (ISCO 9) perform informal work or agriculture in addition to formal work.

However, regarding the secondary activity, only thirteen percent of the employed declared it. A half of those developing secondary activity do agriculture on their own plot. In addition most of those with elementary occupation are day labourers (11 cases of the 18) in agriculture. Thus, agricultural occupations dominate by far.

Men are twice as likely to perform a secondary activity than women. Furthermore, men performing secondary activity have average earnings significantly higher than the other men, a relation which is not valid amongst women. It is noteworthy, that it is not the poorer who work more in order to supplement their incomes but university graduates and people who belong to better-off households who declared a secondary activity more often than the poorly educated people from poor households (Table 45).

Table 5. Patterns of work of the ISCO groups (per cent)

	Formal work		Formal work + agriculture		Formal work + informal work		Agriculture		Informal work		Informal + agriculture		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ISCO1	25	86.2	1	*	3	*							29	100
ISCO2	74	74.7	10	10.1	9	9.1	1	*	5	5.1			99	100
ISCO3	67	77.0	11	12.6	3	*	2	*	4	*			87	100
ISCO4	51	81.0	7	11.1	3	*			2	*			63	100
ISCO5	58	76.3	9	11.8	1	*			8	10.5			76	100
ISCO6			13	3.8			300	88.5	1	*	25	7.4	339	100
ISCO7-8	175	74.5	34	14.5	5	2.1			20	8.5	1	*	235	100
ISCO9	37	46.3	10	12.5					17	21.3	16	20.0	80	100
Total	487	48.3	95	9.4	24	2.4	303	30.1	57	5.7	42	4.2	1008	100.0

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1008

Table 6. Occupational categories in the main and secondary activity

Secondary activity	Main economic activity									Total N
	ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7-8	ISCO9		
ISCO2	1	10	1							12
ISCO3		3	4	3						10
ISCO4	1			2						4
ISCO5		1	2	1	2	2	1			11
ISCO6	1	10	10	2	8	8	20	6		67
ISCO7-8						4	10	1		15
ISCO9			1	1	1	10	2	1		18
Total (N)	3	24	18	9	11	24	33	8		137

Note: ** Seven of these cases spoke only about their secondary activity. Thus, only 130 cases gave full information concerning both the first (main) and the secondary activity

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 137

2. PATTERNS OF FLEXIBILITY

Out of the 1059 individuals in employment, 132 declared themselves as 'working on own plot' (80 cases whilst retired and 9 cases whilst unemployed) but also answered the main activity related questions. Given that the fieldwork was done in February we have included these cases in the analysis of patterns of work and on main ac-

tivity, but due to non-response, these cases are missing from the analysis on patterns of flexibility. In addition, 41 cases (half of them doing informal work) did not specify their activity, and thus did not answer the flexibility related questions. Therefore, our analysis on patterns of flexibility is based on 886 cases.

2.1. Patterns of time flexibility

In Romania the 'normal' (standard) working time is 40 hours per week. The distribution of employment by categories of working hours is pre-

sented in the table below (Table 7). There are substantial differences in the working hours by gender, age, education, occupation and residency.

Table 7. Usual number of working hours per week in the main activity by residency and gender (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total
1 – 9 hours	1.7	2.0	1.6	2.0	1.8
10 – 19 hours	3.5	6.8	6.9	2.8	4.8
20 – 29 hours	5.4	6.1	7.4	4.0	5.7
30 – 39 hours	5.8	10.1	7.7	7.3	7.5
40 – 49 hours	60.0	31.1	53.7	44.5	49.0
50 – 59 hours	10.4	13.2	9.8	13.1	11.5
60 and more	13.1	30.7	13.0	26.4	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	480	296	378	398	776

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=886 (12.4% missing cases)

We distinguish three intervals of working hours. In this paper less than 30 hours per week is considered as short hours, 31 to 49 represent normal hours, and 50 hours or more are long hours. In Romania half of the employed work normal hours, 17 per cent short hours, and 32 per cent long hours.

A. Women (57 per cent) of between 30 and 39 years (62 per cent), with high school (59 per cent) or university (60 per cent) education, clerks (77 per cent) or skilled workers and machine operators (66 per cent), located in urban areas (62 per cent) work normal hours.

B. There are mainly two groups working short hours comprising mostly women (20 per cent):

- i. Those over 60 years (39 per cent), with primary education (29 per cent), peasants (24 per cent) based in rural areas (20 per cent), which overall account for 27 per cent of those with short hours
- ii. Professionals (28 per cent) and technicians (28 per cent); together represent 38 per cent people with working short hours.

C. By contrast, a significantly larger share of men (40 per cent) either 18 to 20 olds (50 per cent) or in their 50s (41 per cent) work long hours and these fall into two groups:

- i. Poorly educated (45 per cent) or with vocational training (39 per cent), performing agriculture (49 per cent) or elementary occupations (42 per cent), mainly in rural areas (44 per cent). Altogether this makes 40 per cent of those working long hours.
- ii. Managers, employers and officials (61 per cent).

The usual number of working hours helps to embed regularity, and assumes predictable and habitual time spent working every week. The relevance of this indicator drastically diminishes when the number of working hours varies from one day, week, month or season to another and even more when it varies randomly. Therefore, the dimension of number of hours should be seen in conjunction with the variability dimension. Only for 45.3 per cent of the Romanian employees do the working hours never vary. This is correlated with a type of regular schedule or shift work and standard working hours. Accordingly, it is characteristic for women from urban areas, me-

dium or highly educated people and those doing formal work. Working hours vary on a daily basis for 14 per cent of those in employment, mainly men, either employers or day workers in agriculture, mostly in rural areas. For unskilled workers, particularly those in informal work, the working hours vary randomly ('when we find it'). This ac-

counts for 7.2 per cent of all employment. As we might expect, peasants' working hours vary according to seasons, and this is characteristic for 22.2 per cent of those in employment. For the rest, the number of working hours varies each week (6.4 per cent of employment) or each month (4.8 per cent of employment)..

Table 8. Satisfaction related to hours of work and the potential to flexibility (per cent)

Working hours	Would you like to work on this activity						Total	
	The same number of hours		More hours		Less hours		%	N
	Very or somewhat dissatisfied	Very or somewhat satisfied	Very or somewhat dissatisfied	Very or somewhat satisfied	Very or somewhat dissatisfied	Very or somewhat satisfied		
Short hours (<= 30)	4.1	51.2	14.9	14.0	8.3	7.4	100	123
Normal hours (31 - 49)	3.9	56.8	5.9	16.0	9.0	8.3	100	388
Long hours (>= 50)	7.7	35.7	6.8	12.3	22.6	14.9	100	235
Total	5.1	49.3	7.7	14.5	13.2	10.2	100	746

Notes: (1) N = 1059 of which 554 urban, 505 rural
 (2) In the Romanian HWF survey the scale of satisfaction included only four positions, specifically 'very satisfied', 'somewhat satisfied', 'somewhat dissatisfied', and 'very dissatisfied'.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

People who work short hours are to a large extent professionals or full time workers in education and these are inclined to be satisfied with the hours they work and are not willing to change them. The majority of the rest of the people working short hours would prefer to work longer hours, and thus tend towards the normal schedule. Most of the employment with normal hours, especially workers in formal work, state that they are satisfied with their situation and would not change it. Finally, 37.5 per cent of people working long hours are willing to work less hours and thus they tend to prefer the normal number of hours of work too. Therefore, at the attitudinal level, full time employment with normal hours represents the ideal combination in Romania.

More than half of those in work would like to keep the number of hours of work unchanged, particularly in the urban areas (58 per cent). Women are more likely (57 per cent) than men to be willing to keep the present working hours because in this way they (47 per cent of women) can meet the domestic commitments. In contrast, men

who declare that they are willing to work the same number of hours either earn already enough (13 per cent) or they would not be able (like) to work longer hours (41 per cent).

Nearly a quarter of those in work would like to work shorter hours. A half of these work long hours at present. They are both women and men, mainly elderly (43 per cent of people over 60), doing agriculture (nearly 40 per cent of farmers), and are located in rural areas (27 per cent compared to 21 per cent in the urban areas). Consequently, the most frequent (45 per cent) reason is that 'it is too tiresome'. A second important reason (32 per cent) mostly mentioned by women is that they want to spend more time with the family while reasons specific to younger people are to reduce the main activity in favour of other income-generating opportunities.

Irrespective of the number of working hours at present, about a quarter (22 per cent) workers would like to work more hours. These are mostly men (28.5 per cent) between 21 and 25 olds (34 per cent) with vocational training (28.5 per cent) at

present doing informal work alone (45 per cent) or combined with agriculture (66 per cent), mainly in the rural areas (28 per cent). More than 90 per cent of these people want to work longer hours because they need more money. In conclusion, willingness to change the present number of

working hours throws light on the forced nature of the present situation – the elderly working longer hours than they would like due to insufficient pensions and the young finding less work than they would like due to job shortages and low-paid jobs.

Table 9. Working schedule by residency and gender (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total
Regular working schedule: Monday morning to Friday afternoons	48.4	21.5	42.2	32.2	37.0
Shift work	21.5	8.2	18.7	13.1	15.8
Flexitime	6.7	2.4	4.7	5.0	4.9
Other regular schedule	8.9	6.9	8.4	7.7	8.0
Irregular, it varies	14.6	60.9	26.0	42.0	34.3
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	508	376	427	457	884

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=886 (0.2% missing cases)

The third sub-dimension of time flexibility refers to the working schedule. The largest share of the Romanian workers (37 per cent) have a regular working schedule, followed closely by 34 per cent that work irregular hours.

- A regular working schedule is specific to women (42 per cent), of between 21 and 60 (45 per cent), graduates of high school (45 per cent) or university (55 per cent), professionals (54 per cent), clerks (73 per cent) and workers (53 per cent), particularly based in the urban areas (48 per cent).
- Other regular schedules consist of 47 per cent having an annualised hour contract, 34 per cent a prolonged schedule (more than 8 hours, for more than 5 days per week), and the rest have a regular schedule with less than 8 hours per day. These types of working program are found among professionals (22 per cent) and associated professionals (14 per cent), mostly with a university degree (17 per cent).
- Shift work comprises mainly rotating shifts (64 per cent) or prolonged shifts. A significantly larger share of women work in shifts than men. Mostly they are under 40 years old

(22 per cent), with medium education (23 per cent), service workers (30 per cent), industrial workers (28 per cent) or unskilled workers (27 per cent).

- Flexitime is defined as regular hours, which may start/end one or two hours earlier/ later than the regular daily schedule. In the Romanian survey only 5 per cent of the employment work flexitime and a half of them are managers or employers. The rest are divided into very small groups of mothers with children under 3 (6 cases), commuters over long distances (4 cases), persons in training (4 cases) and others (6 cases). The managers with flexitime represent 35 per cent of the entire group ISCO1 and as described above, they are highly educated and based in large cities.
- Irregular schedules are well represented in Romania, most of them being related to agriculture, but also to casual work and day work (17 per cent). It is typical for men (42 per cent), in the rural areas (61 per cent), for elderly people (86 per cent) and people with primary (87 per cent) or gymnasium (65 per cent) education.

Intersecting the three sub-dimensions discussed above – number of working hours, variability of working hours, and work schedule – eleven patterns of time flexibility emerge. Theoretically, we can identify three main patterns (each with sub-types) of working time:

1. non-flexible – regular schedule, normal hours not varying
2. low flexible – flexible either by working hours or by schedule
3. highly flexible – simultaneously flexible schedule and varying/atypical hours of work.

Table 10. Patterns of time flexibility

Working hours		Working schedule			
		Regular	Shifts, flexitime	Irregular	
Short	Not varying	Low flexible 1 (4.2%)	3%	Low flexible 2	No cases
	Varying	Low flexible 2		Highly flexible 1 by agriculture (7.1%)	
Normal	Not varying	Non-flexible (22%)		Low flexible 4 (6.9%)	No cases
	Varying	Low flexible 3 by hours (8.9%)		Highly flexible 2 (9.7%)	
Long	Not varying	Low flexible 5 (4.5%)	9%	Highly flexible 3	
	Varying	Highly flexible 3		Highly flexible 4 (14.3%)	
Non-response	Varying	No cases		Highly flexible 5 by agriculture (9%)	

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 886 (1.4% missing cases)

Table 11. Patterns of time flexibility by ISCO groups (per cent)

	ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7-8	ISCO9	Total
Low flexible 1	0	14.1	17.4	*	*	0	*	*	4.3
Low flexible 2	0	8.1	*	*	*	0	3.4	*	3.1
Highly flexible 1	0	*	7.0	*	*	17.2	2.6	11.7	7.3
Non-flexible	21.4	37.4	25.6	50.8	14.5	*	30.2	11.7	21.9
Low flexible 3	*	10.1	5.8	14.3	*	2.5	15.1	7.8	9.0
Low flexible 4	0	*	12.8	9.5	13.2	0	9.5	10.4	7.1
Highly flexible 2	0	5.1	7.0	*	15.8	16.3	10.3	*	9.8
Low flexible 5	*	*	*	*	11.8	0	6.5	9.1	4.6
Highly flexible 3	17.9	*	9.3	7.9	14.5	4.4	10.8	15.6	9.1
Highly flexible 4	39.3	5.1	8.1	*	13.2	30.0	9.5	11.7	14.6
Highly flexible 5	*	*	*	0	*	28.6	*	10.4	9.1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	28	99	86	63	76	203	232	77	864

Notes: (1) Coloured cells have adjusted standardized values bigger than 2. Thus it represents the specific time patterns for each occupational group.

(2) Gender differences are significant only with regard to the pattern low flexible 1, in which nearly all professionals are women, and pattern non-flexible 2 when nearly all clerks are women and the majority (67%) of skilled workers are men.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 886 (13% missing cases)

The non-flexible pattern accounts for 22 per cent of workers. It is associated with formal work performed by female workers, medium or highly educated people and those located in the large cities. More than a half of clerks and more than one third of professionals and of workers / machine operators share this pattern of working time. The average number of working hours is 39 per week and 2.5 in a secondary activity. More than half (56 per cent) of these belong to households in the higher income quintiles (Q4 and Q5). All these do overtime to a lesser extent than the rest of the workers and when they do, it is in the afternoons (37 per cent compared to 45 per cent of the total workers) rather than in the evenings or at night. Work time and schedules are out of their control, being decided by the employer (82 per cent of them compared to 56 per cent of the total). However the majority are satisfied with this and they would not change the number of hours worked on this activity (67 per cent of them compared to 48 per cent of the total), mainly because in this way they can meet their domestic commitments and spend time with the family. Thus, in Romania women consider that standard working time allows for the satisfactory integration of work and family.

The low flexible pattern comprises five sub-types, which are flexible either by schedule or by hours of work, but not by both. The low flexible pattern of work time is specific to workers in formal work, which represent between 77.5 - 89 per cent of them. The five sub-types of low flexible time pattern are highly differentiated - some have a clear-cut statistical profile while others are more heterogeneous. Two sub-types are specific to women, mostly based in large cities:

- Low flexible 1 - professionals and associated professionals mostly in education or health many from households in the highest income quintile (Q5). The average working hours are 22 per week (in the main activity) and further 4.4 in a secondary activity, tutoring mainly. The short work hours are related to an annualised work contract typical for a full time

teacher in Romania. Hence, this is rather disguised part time work.

- Low flexible 4 - technicians and service workers working in shifts or flexitime an average 39.6 hours per week, plus one hour in a secondary activity. 27 per cent of these live in households found in the medium income/consumption quintile (Q3).

These two sub-types are similar to the non-standard pattern regarding work autonomy and satisfaction. Also most of these women would not change their working hours because it leaves them enough time for family responsibilities and commitments. The similarities between these two sub-types and the non-flexible pattern indicate in our view that the former represent in Romania a disguised standard situation for certain occupational groups rather than a flexible pattern.

The other three sub-types of the low flexible pattern have low statistical profiles. Male and female professionals (sub-type 2), skilled industrial workers (sub-type 3) and service workers (sub-type 5), mostly from the urban areas (71 per cent from the overall group) and with a medium economic standard, share the low flexible pattern of time. Professionals work short hours and very rarely work overtime. In contrast, ISCO 5/7/8 work normal or long hours and, in addition, about 60 per cent of them have to work overtime mainly in the afternoons and weekends (57 - 63 per cent) as the employer decides. In fact, the employer decides the number of working hours as well as the schedule for 70 per cent of the people with low flexible work time. Nevertheless, these three sub-types of low time flexibility distribute in the same way as the all the other workers with regard to satisfaction and the number of hours they would like to work. Hence, they are rather satisfied with their situation.

A half of the workers have a highly flexible pattern of work time, varying/atypical number of hours and flexible working schedule. There are five sub-types, all well defined.

- Highly flexible 1 and highly flexible 5 differ only because the second group did not re-

spond to the question related to working hours. Both are typical for the rural areas and include almost only poorly educated agricultural day labourers or self-employed. Their working hours and schedule varies according to seasons and – as one might expect – during agricultural seasons they work unsocial hours as well. More than 70 per cent of them (compared to 35 per cent of the total) decide on their own when and for how long they work. However, the younger representatives of these sub-types, mainly day labouring, declare dissatisfaction with the situation and willingness to work more hours (39 per cent of each sub-type) because they need more money.

A mixture of employees and non-employees share the other three highly flexible sub-types:

- Highly flexible 2 – half employees and half non-employees, the later mostly elderly agricultural self-employed. On average they work 41 hours per week in the main activity and 2.4 additional hours in the secondary activity, which is mainly agriculture. A third of the employees work overtime at night compared to 14 per cent of the other workers. Although the employer decides the working time of workers, they are satisfied with it and would not like to change it.
- Highly flexible 3 – 69 per cent workers and 31 per cent non-workers, mostly young unskilled people who work long hours (overall 59 hours per week in average). The average of 59 hours per week also distributed within a ‘regular’ schedule making about 12 working hours per working day or about 10 hours per day. Consequently, these people work unsocial hours, work at weekends, etc. thus accumulating the characteristics of a (self)-exploited worker. This is the reason we include this sub-type within the highly flexible pattern. Overtime is practiced among a significantly larger share (65 per cent in the afternoons, 48 per cent in the evenings, 24 per cent at night and 66 per cent in the weekend)

compared to the total employment (45 per cent, 24.5 per cent, 14 per cent, and 33 per cent respectively) based either on their decision (42 per cent) or on their employer’s (51 per cent). Although they work about ten hours per working day, which is a source of dissatisfaction (12 per cent of them), half of them would not like to change this. Conversely, irrespective of satisfaction, two fifths of them would like to work shorter hours – women (57 per cent) because they want to spend more time with their families and men (54 per cent) because they feel not able to do more work. Therefore, at least for half of these people the flexible pattern of working time is rather forced.

- Highly flexible 4 – 28 per cent employees and 72 per cent non-employees among which managers and agricultural self-employed hold significantly larger shares (9 per cent, 48 per cent). This sub-type is specific to men (21 per cent compared to 8 per cent of women) and to rural areas (23 per cent versus 9 per cent of urban). People who belong to households in the lowest income / consumption quintile are over-represented, specifically 26 per cent compared to 14 per cent of all workers. Similar to the previous sub-type, the overtime work during unsocial hours is significantly higher than for all other workers, both for employees and non-employees, which results in 65.5 hours per week on average. Although the majority of these people (64 per cent versus 35 per cent of employment) decide the working time on their own, only 38 per cent of them would like to work the same number of hours (compared to 53 per cent of employment). In addition, the number of worked hours represents a source of dissatisfaction. Consequently, a significantly larger share of them (36 per cent) would like to work shorter hours, which altogether indicates self-exploited people.

Keeping the phase of the life cycle under control, the differences between women and men depend

on the residential area. In the urban areas, women and men distribute similarly among the time flexibility patterns presented above except for the phases of couple with children and only when they do not share the household with others. Thus, for the younger generations living in nuclear families, the women are concentrated within the non-flexible time pattern (low flexible 1 – short hours, regular schedule, or low flexible 4 – normal hours, shifts) while men have mainly the pattern highly flexible 4. For 41 to 50 year olds, with grown up offspring still at home, women tend to hold a non-flexible job (regular schedule, normal hours) and men the same highly flexible 4. In the rural areas, the main gender differences are either for young couples with small children or for older women. Both tend to work in agriculture only short hours (sub-type highly flexible 1) taking care of the household and family for the rest of the time, while men are over-represented

within sub-type highly flexible 4, as in the urban areas.

In conclusion, women are more preoccupied with family and work integration whilst men are focused on earning more. A highly flexible pattern of working time is specific both for the top and the bottom of the social structure while the middle strata are predominantly found in standard or low flexible jobs.

In the secondary activity the share of people with regular work schedule decreases sharply to 9 per cent, the rest being 15 per cent flexitime (mainly professionals of 25 – 44 years in formal work in the large cities and Bucharest), 34 per cent work time varying according to seasons (mainly people combining formal work with agriculture of 45 – 59 in the small towns) and 43 per cent irregular (mainly in the rural areas). The gender, education, occupation or professional status makes no difference.

2.2. Patterns of place flexibility

Most (63 per cent) of the Romanian workers work within the locality of residency but not at home. Significantly more women than men and significantly more urban workers than rural ones are in this situation. Non-flexible patterns of work place are highly associated with non-flexible patterns of working time. Thus, more than 85 per cent of the non-flexible as well as low flexible sub-types 1 and 4 of working time work within the locality where they live, which overall makes 46 per cent of people with non-flexible place of work and 30 per cent of workers.

All the other situations involving various degrees of place flexibility are specific to rural areas. A significantly larger share of men work in jobs with place flexibility compared to women. The two groups working at home and combining work at home with work elsewhere are in fact one, which comprises elderly (75 per cent of peo-

ple over 60), poorly educated (60 per cent of primary education and 50 per cent of gymnasium) and poor (38 per cent of Q1 compared to 21 per cent of employment) making a living from agriculture (79 per cent of farmers). This type of place flexibility (work at home or combined at home with elsewhere) is significantly correlated with four sub-types that are highly flexible regarding work time. Thus, 68 per cent of people with working time highly flexible 1, and 37 per cent of highly flexible 2, and 42 per cent of highly flexible 4, and finally 49 per cent of highly flexible 5 work at home or combine work at home with work somewhere else. Overall, these cases bring together high place flexibility with high time flexibility to represent 88 per cent of people working totally or partially at home and 18 per cent of workers.

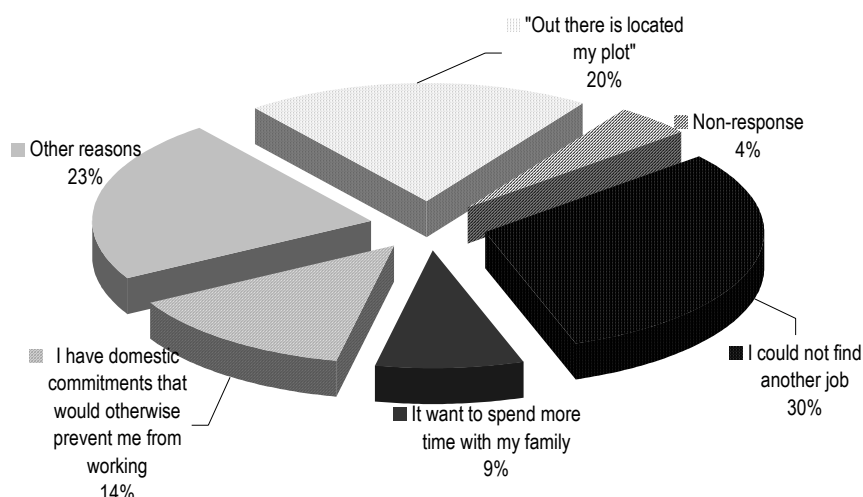
Table 12. Which is the place of work for your main activity? (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total
At home	4.0	22.1	10.9	12.5	11.7
Combined at home and elsewhere	3.2	19.9	8.0	12.5	10.3
Within the locality where you live (non-flexible)	83.5	34.2	72.1	53.4	62.6
Within a different locality to which you commute	7.0	18.9	8.7	15.2	12.1
Always changing	2.2	4.9	0.2	6.4	3.4
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N	497	366	423	440	863

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 886; 2 cases worked abroad and 14 cases were in 'other situation' (0.8% missing cases)

Regarding the reason for doing the main activity at home, there are no gender differences, even controlling for age, residency, level of education or occupation. Instead, residency plays an important role: 'I could not find another job' (36 per cent of rural versus 18 per cent urban) and 'out there is located my plot' are typical reasons for rural areas whilst 'I want to spend more time with my family' (38 per cent of urban versus 20 per cent of rural) and 'other reasons' (such as 'at home is my computer /tools ', 'poor health' or 'at home is the best') are typical for urban areas. More than a third of people doing agriculture and more than

60 per cent of people working in the informal sector declared 'I could not find another job'. Therefore, about a third (31 per cent, 57 cases) of this type of place flexibility is rather forced and not by choice. Those working at home in order to spend more time with their families are mainly 25 to 44 olds (17 per cent), have high school education (23 per cent), and do formal work (28 per cent). These people, preoccupied by the integration of family and work, are flexible regarding place of work by choice and represent only 9 per cent of the 185 cases in this situation.

Figure 5. What is the reason for doing this activity at home?

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 191

As we have already mentioned, commuting is specific to men (15 per cent) in rural areas (19 per cent) mostly 31 to 40 olds (17 per cent) with vocational training (20 per cent), skilled (26 per cent) or unskilled (17 per cent) workers, mainly workers in industry, combining formal work with agriculture (24 per cent). Commuting is a type of low flexibility in terms of place of work and it is significantly associated with the sub-type 5 of low work time flexibility; 31 per cent of low flexible sub-type 5 are commuting.

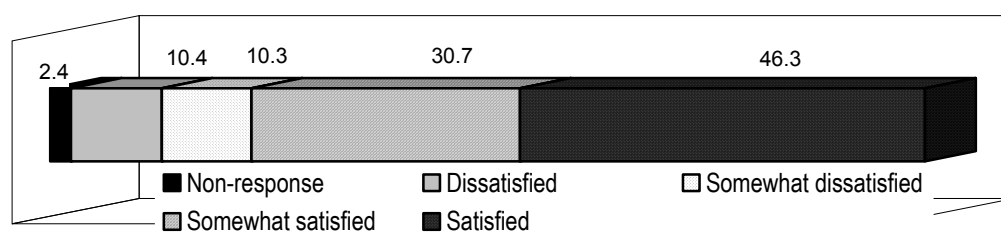
A small group of 29 people are always changing the place of work and have a distinct statistical profile. These are mainly young people (7 per cent of 18 – 24 years) and men (6.4 per cent) from rural areas (5 per cent) with vocational education (5 per cent) doing either informal work (15 per cent) or combining informal work with day labouring in agriculture (27 per cent). There are many from households in the lowest income quintile (41 per cent of them compared to 14 per cent of total). This pattern of high place flexibility is significantly associated with two highly flexible sub-types of work time, specifically 7 per cent of sub-type 4 and 10 per cent of sub-type 5 are always change their place of work. Adding this group to the one previously identified of 57 people, we end up with about 10 per cent of the

workers (86 cases), being compelled to engage in high place flexibility.

Each type of place of work has a specific variability pattern. In Romania, work at home is predominantly related to agriculture, as we have pointed out. For farmers, working at home means work in the household, including gardening and animal breeding near the house but also on different spots near the village. Accordingly, in the rural areas place of work never varies² (48 per cent of those working totally or partially at home) or does so seasonally (39 per cent). By contrast, in the urban areas 83 per cent of people working at home never change the place of work. For a half of those combining work at home with work elsewhere in the urban areas the place of work never varies while for a quarter of them (4 cases) it does according to seasons because they do some agriculture.

The non-flexible place of work within the locality but not at home (of which 86 per cent) and the low flexible commuting (of which 80 per cent) do not vary to any greater extent than the other types of work places. At the other extreme stands the highly flexible place of work that is always changing, which mostly varies randomly (48 per cent) or on a daily basis (21 per cent).

Figure 6. How satisfied are you in general with your location of work in the main activity? (per cent)



Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 886

As the graphic indicates the location of work in the main activity is a source of satisfaction for the majority of Romanian employment. However, one fifth of people are rather dissatisfied and their

dissatisfaction is mainly related to forced place flexibility. One half of people who are always changing the place of work as well as a half of people working at home because they could not

find another job, are dissatisfied. In accordance with the profiles described above, the dissatisfied people are mostly primary or gymnasium educated (30 per cent) working in agriculture (29 per cent) but also skilled workers (26 per cent) willing to change jobs.

Secondary activity is to a significantly larger extent developed at home. Out of those who declared the secondary activity, about a third (32 per cent) always perform this activity at home, 15 per

cent most often, and 17 per cent sometimes with no significant differences regarding gender, age, education, social group, economic standard of the household or place of work in the main activity. Once more, most of those working at home do some agriculture related activities, particularly in the rural areas (80 per cent). In the urban areas, people with a secondary activity never work at home (54 per cent), particularly service workers and day labourers.

2.3. Pattern of Flexibility of institutional conditions

The distribution of employment by types of contract reflects both the institutional conditions of work in Romania and people's strategies for getting by. On the one hand, a poor legal framework related to work is mirrored in the small number of contracts other than permanent ones. On the other hand, the population's retreat into agriculture and into the informal sector in order to meet the basics, results in large shares of agricultural self-employment and of work without contract.

More than half (57 per cent) of the respondents have the standard permanent work contract. The non-flexible form of work contract is specific to women (66 per cent) in the urban areas (76 per cent), of 26 - 50 olds (more than 70 per cent) with at least high school education (more than 75 per cent and 83 per cent of university), professionals, technicians and similar, clerks, skilled workers, and machine operators. This sort of work contract is associated with non-flexible or low time and place flexibility. Thus the majority of people work in the locality where they live but not at home (77 per cent) or are commuters (84 per cent). Nearly all of them (more than 80 per cent) exhibit the pattern of low flexible of working time. As with time and place, this standard form of work contract is a source of satisfaction, the majority of its holders being satisfied (55 per cent) or somewhat satisfied (28 per cent) with it (compared to 47 per cent, and 25 per cent respectively

in the employment). This is additional evidence that most of the Romanian workers would prefer a standard job with a permanent contract, normal working hours and a regular schedule located within the locality but not at home.

At the other end of the spectrum are people working without a contract, accounting for 8 per cent of workers. In fact, they hold insecure jobs while among them more than half (55 per cent) of the people are always changing the place of work and 23 per cent of those are forced to work home because they could not find another job. The high institutional flexibility is associated with high time flexibility. More than a fifth of people working varying number of hours either too short (22 per cent of highly flexible sub-types 1) or too long (22 per cent of highly flexible sub-type 5) with an irregular schedule have no contract. In addition, their jobs are low paid while about two fifths belong to households in the lowest income /consumption quintile at the national level. These people are mostly young (19 per cent of 18 - 24), men and women, unskilled workers (41 per cent, and all agricultural day labourers) based in rural as well as urban areas of the southern regions of the country. Under these conditions their strong dissatisfaction (74 per cent) is rather self-explanatory (compared to 27.5 per cent of all workers who are dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied).

Table 13. Type of work contract in the main activity by professional status and by occupational portfolio (per cent)

Professional status	Type of work contract	Formal work	Formal work + agriculture	Formal work + informal work	Agriculture	Informal work	Informal work + agriculture	Total
Employee	Permanent contract	45.4	8.2	2.0				55.6
	Fixed term/ temporary	1.9	*	*				2.4
	Civil convention	1.9		*				2.0
Employer	Employer	2.6	*	*				3.2
	Permanent contract			*				0.1
Self-employed	Self-employed	1.4	0.7	*				2.1
	Permanent contract	1.0	*	*				1.4
	Fixed term/ temporary		*					0.1
Farmer	Self-employed		*		19.2		2.5	22.0
Informal	No contract					6.2	1.8	8.0
Total (%)		54.2	10.4	2.7	19.2	6.2	4.3	97.0

Note: * Less than 5 cases; Civil convention or collaboration contract is a combination of part time and fixed term contract regulated by the Romanian legislation (see context report) There were: 1 case 'on call', 1 case of seasonal contract, and 2 cases of 'technical unemployment', which is a contract with no working time.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 886; (3% missing cases)

The flexible form of work, self-employment, is divided in two highly different groups. Agricultural self-employed represent 22 per cent of our respondents in employment. This group is characterized by high place and time flexibility as well. The self-employed in agriculture include 46 per cent of people with time of work highly flexible sub-type 4 and 68 per cent of sub-type 5. Furthermore, it also accounts for 80 per cent of the people working at home or combining work at home with work elsewhere; 63 per cent of people work at home due to lack of any other opportunity but also more than a half (53 per cent) of this minuscule group are flexible by choice. Concor-dant with our previous findings, people in this situation are mainly men (26 per cent) in rural areas (49 per cent), in their 50s (38 per cent) or over 60 (85 per cent), poor (43.5 per cent of lowest income quintile) and primary (59 per cent) or gymnasium (39 per cent) educated based in the north-eastern region, Moldavia (39 per cent). Consequently, their high level of dissatisfaction with the institutional condition of their work is not a refusal of self-employment per se but indicates

discontent with their global situation and its predominantly forced in nature: the low level of pensions and lack of other job opportunities push most of them to practice agriculture in order to survive. If among those working without contract exploitation is to be found, then self-exploitation is concentrated within the agricultural self-employed.

In contrast, non-agricultural self-employment represents only 5.3 per cent of the employed, mostly university graduates (9 per cent) based in Bucharest (10 per cent) in services, mainly trade. A half of them belong to households found in the highest income / consumption quintile at the national level. Amongst them are a third of those working at home by choice and 15 per cent of people with long hours and an irregular schedule (sub-type 4) but satisfied with this. Accordingly, 86 per cent of them are satisfied with the institutional condition of their main activity.

Only 2.5 per cent (22 cases) of employed work on fixed term contracts and only 2 per cent (17 cases) on civil convention. Both forms of work contract are associated with short hours and are

typical for the urban areas. Professionals (7 per cent) are over-represented amongst people with fixed term contracts and technicians (5 per cent) among civil conventions. All temporary workers as well as 89 per cent of those on civil convention do not have permanent contract because it was available only in these forms. Consequently, within these groups significantly larger shares

(about a third of each group) are dissatisfied with their institutional conditions of work.

Secondary activity in the majority of cases (men as well as women) is developed without a contract (82 per cent), particularly agriculture in the rural areas. The rest (12 per cent) are people on civil convention of which three quarters are found in the urban areas.

2.4. Work autonomy and satisfaction with the main activity

The relation between work autonomy and work satisfaction depends on the institutional conditions and types of flexibility (Table 46). The higher the autonomy, the higher the satisfaction is valid only for the employers. Workers are highly satisfied despite their low degree of autonomy. In contrast, farmers are less satisfied with their activity despite their high work autonomy, while people operating in the informal sector have at the same time lower autonomy and the lowest degree of satisfaction. The main explanation is that work satisfaction is highly correlated with the level of individual's (as well as household's) income.

Therefore, more freedom of decision results in satisfaction only for a well-paid activity.

On the other hand, the higher the degree of flexibility, the higher the work autonomy and the lower the work satisfaction, except for employers. Flexibilisation is a source of dissatisfaction, particularly when it is not by choice. Thus, people working at home because they could not find another job as well as those dissatisfied with their highly flexible time of work and willing to change it are highly dissatisfied with their main activity. At the other extreme, flexibility by choice is associated with both autonomy and satisfaction.

2.5. Patterns of career flexibility

In analysing the patterns of career flexibility we firstly focus on the work trajectories of people who entered the official labour market either before or after 1989. Almost one thousand of our respondents were in employment in 1989. Out of these only 40.5 percent managed to stay in the official labour market until 2001 while 7 per cent became farmers, 10 per cent declared themselves as unemployed, 21 per cent early retired, 15 per cent retired at the proper age limit and 6 per cent exited the labour market for good by becoming house-persons (non-employed).

Two of these trajectories are specific to women, specifically employment and non-employment, compared to men who in significantly larger numbers became farmers or retired.

The employed who managed to stay in the official labour market are mainly women from the large cities and Bucharest. Their predominant location in sectors (such as education, health, culture, public administration, services, etc.) less affected by redundancies (compared to industry), has ensured them more secure positions. Accordingly, mostly are 30 – 50 olds, professionals, technicians and service workers, medium and highly educated. In contrast, younger women, poorly educated who used to work in the former Agricultural Co-operatives or as unskilled workers exit the labour market and retreat into the domestic sphere, as housewives (non-employed).

Table 14. Work trajectories after 1989 by gender and by residency

	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total
Exit labour market through retirement before 1989 (N)	87	110	130	67	197
Total in the official labour market in 1989 (N)	613	376	472	517	989
Of which %	100	100	100	100	100
Employed entered official labour market before 1989	49.9	25.3	43.4	37.9	40.5
Exit official labour market through unemployment after 1990	11.7	8.2	10.2	10.6	10.4
Exit official labour market after 1990, in present farmers	1.0	15.7	3.4	9.5	6.6
Exit official labour market through early retirement after 1990	17.8	26.9	22.0	20.5	21.2
Exit official labour market through retirement after 1990	14.4	16.8	10.0	20.1	15.3
Exit official labour market after 1990, in present non-employed	5.2	7.2	11.0	1.4	6.0
Total entered official labour market after 1989 (N)	127	64	106	85	191
Of which %	100	100	100	100	100
Employed entered official labour market after 1989	89.0	87.5	91.5	84.7	88.5
Exit official labour market through unemployment after 1990	11.0	12.5	8.5	15.3	11.5
Total never entered official labour market (N)	148	257	290	115	405
Of which %	100	100	100	100	100
Pupil / student	50.7	1.9	14.5	33.0	19.8
Unemployed never entered official labour market	23.0	14.8	11.4	33.9	17.8
Farmers never entered official labour market	2.0	29.2	19.3	19.1	19.3
Non-employed never entered official labour market	18.2	28.4	32.8	4.3	24.7
Pensioners (handicapped, social, etc.) never entered labour market	6.1	25.7	22.1	9.6	18.5
Non-response (N)	50	32	47	35	82
Total sample (N)	1025	839	1045	819	1864

Note: The official labour market refers to jobs recorded in the official workbook. In this respect, the Romanian questionnaire included the question: Which of the following situations is more appropriated for you: 1. retired before 1989; 2. in 1989, employed with official workbook; 3. employed with official workbook after 1989; 4. never employed with official workbook. In addition, ISCO questions were applied related to employment in 1989 too.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

The early retired are significantly more likely to be men than women, 50 years or over, with primary or gymnasium education both from rural and urban areas. A third of them started to practice agriculture after retirement. The younger men (former industrial and agricultural workers) who are poorly educated too but mainly from rural areas, but who were not eligible for retirement became farmers. It is noteworthy that more than half of the latter group works at home because they have not found another opportunity, thus they are highly place-flexible by force.

Ten percent of people in the official labour market in 1989 lost their jobs and declared themselves as unemployed and are thus active job seekers. There are no significant gender differ-

ences. In the socialist economy most people used to be unskilled or skilled workers with vocational training, particularly from small towns dependent on a single enterprise, which was closed. In order to make a living, a third of them found a job characterized by high time flexibility in the informal sector.

ISCO 6, 7, 8, and 9 have been the occupational categories mostly affected by the structural changes occurring after 1989. Most of the labourers who used to work in the former Agricultural Co-operatives and State Agricultural Enterprises retired and/or became agricultural self-employed. The large group of skilled workers and machine operators / assemblers had the highest occupational mobility. Only about a third succeeded in

retiring and only 29 percent remained in the same occupational category. Elementary occupations have experienced the most difficult situation. A half of them were eligible for retirement and only a fifth succeeded to keep their positions in the official labour market.

People who entered the official labour market after 1989 and were employed at the time of the survey (February 2001) are more likely to be found in services and to a lesser extent in industry. Their distributions by gender and by education are similar to those of workers who managed to stay in the labour market since 1989.

The answers to questions on changes in the occupational life strongly depend on how people define the situation and do not simply describe facts. For instance, a skilled worker or a machine operator (1989) who became a farmer (2001) by definition represents a case of professional change. Only 15 per cent of our respondents in this situation agreed with our assessment, while the rest did not. Therefore, the results presented in the Table 16 should be interpreted rather as subjective assessments than as factual indications.

Table 15. 1989 employment by situation in 2001 (per cent)

Occupational group in 2001	Occupational group in 1989									Total (N)
	ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7	ISCO8	ISCO9	
ISCO1	46.7		6.0							20
ISCO2		59.0								56
ISCO3			48.8				2.3			55
ISCO4				33.8						39
ISCO5					42.9		3.7			44
ISCO6						16.5	5.6	8.7		53
ISCO7							29.0			112
ISCO8							1.7	29.4		48
ISCO9							4.8		19.6	31
Retired*	40.0	24.4	28.6	37.8	28.6	61.2	29.6	34.1	47.1	317
Unemployed*				8.1	8.9	5.9	15.8	11.1	9.8	104
Non-employed (house-persons)						5.9	6.5	4.0	15.7	45
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Total (N)	15	78	84	74	56	85	355	126	51	924

Note: * About a third of the group perform subsistence agriculture and/or a cash informal activity

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; 12 cases of ISCO10 were excluded; 5.4% missing that did not declare their occupational group from 1989

According to people's definitions, 61 per cent of the Romanian population over 18 years experienced after 1989 at least one of the changes mentioned in Table 16: 35 per cent one change, 12 per cent two changes, 7 per cent three, and 7 per cent four or more. More than a fifth retired from employment, more than a quarter changed employment (once or more than once), 16 percent lost employment at least once, and 13 percent entered

the labour market for the first time (official or informal). Occupational mobility is specific to men of active age, urban areas, with vocational, high school or university education. Women have lower occupational mobility and a lower proportion of them are retired. This is the effect of few factors. Firstly, women in employment prevail in sectors less affected by structural adjustments. Secondly, to a significantly larger extent women

tend to become non-employed (a house-person) either during certain phases of the life cycle (child bearing, child rearing) or for their entire life. Thirdly, overall, women tend to have smaller work seniority (years recorded as worked) than men, therefore lower chances to be found eligible for early retirement. Furthermore, in answering the questions on occupational mobility women are over-represented within non-responses.

Non-responses concentrate among either younger (18 – 24) or older people (over 60), farmers, people who never entered the official labour market, and people working without contract, in the informal economy.

It is noteworthy, that in the majority of cases the main change coincides with the present situation, and is thus the last change. To a significantly larger extent men mentioned a shift to business, agriculture or informal activity as the main change in their occupational life compared to women who chose 'stay at home'. In the urban areas there predominates stability of employment in the same firm and change to a company established after 1989 either as employee or as employer. In contrast, in rural areas agriculture, retirement, and women's retreat into the domestic sphere predominate. Also 'no change in the occupational life' is cited significantly more frequent in rural areas. (Table 47)

Table 16. Changes in the occupational life after 1990 (per cent)

After 1990 ...	Age				Residency		Gender		Total	
	18 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 59	60 +	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	%	N
Employed for the first time	39.9	23.1			14.7	10.1	11.9	13.7	12.7	236
Retired from employment		2.1	29.8	43.9	19.4	23.4	17.5	25.9	21.2	395
Changed employment only once	9.1	30.8	20.4	4.0	21.2	14.2	15.4	21.4	18.0	336
Changed employment more than once	4.8	15.8	8.0	1.9	10.6	6.0	5.9	11.8	8.5	159
Changed profession only once	4.8	17.1	8.8	1.5	10.9	6.8	8.0	10.4	9.1	169
Changed profession more than once	2.4	8.2	2.9		5.5	2.4	3.6	4.6	4.1	76
Started private business		8.5	6.6		7.1	2.4	3.0	7.6	5.0	93
Promoted to a higher position	3.4	11.1	8.2	3.1	10.3	3.3	5.8	8.9	7.2	134
Demoted to a lower position		1.0	2.1		1.1	1.0	0.7	1.5	1.0	19
Started an additional economic activity	2.9	7.3	5.6	1.3	6.0	3.0	2.9	7.0	4.7	87
Lost employment only once	9.1	23.2	16.7	1.7	13.1	14.8	12.2	15.9	13.8	258
Lost employment more than once	2.4	5.2	2.7		4.0	1.4	2.9	2.8	2.8	53
At least one of the above changes	42.8	72.1	68.1	46.6	65.3	54.8	52.3	71.1	60.6	1129
None of the above changes	38.5	20.8	25.7	39.8	25.1	34.8	35.3	22.0	29.5	549
Non-responses	18.8	7.1	6.2	13.6	9.7	10.4	12.3	7.0	10.0	186
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Total (N)	208	620	514	522	1025	839	1045	819		1864

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

The main reason for the 78 per cent of those who changed to unemployment as well as for the 60 per cent of those who changed to agriculture is either closure of the company or redundancy. For those people who changed the company (both existent in some form already prior to 1990 and newly established in or after 1990) a quarter were

dissatisfied with the former employment and a further quarter were offered a more interesting position. The main reason for starting a business is the urge to become self-employed for 60 percent of the people in this situation.

Cuts in production, company closure, and redundancy are reasons mentioned to a signifi-

cantly larger extent by people in their forties with vocational training who used to work in 1989 as skilled workers in industry or agricultural workers in former Agricultural Co-operatives or Enterprises. Dissatisfaction with their employment and the offer of more interesting positions are reasons mainly mentioned in the urban areas by younger people (21 – 30 olds) graduates of high school for the former group and university educated for the latter.

In the last twelve months, 10.5 per cent of population 18 years or over, both men and women, mostly younger people from the large cities and Bucharest, undertook some additional

educational courses. The majority had already achieved at least high school education. Almost a quarter are students and 69 per cent are in employment (which represents 13 per cent of total workers) of which half entered the official labour market before 1989 and the other half entered after 1989, mainly workers as managers, professionals, technicians, and clerks. Additional education significantly increases the likelihood in entering the labour market and it is associated with upward mobility (14 per cent of those who undertook it were promoted to higher positions).

Table 17. The main change in the occupational life between 1989 and present by professional status in 2001 (per cent)

	Retired	Non-employed	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Farmer	Informal	Total	
	Unemployed							%	N
Work basically in the same place, but the firm privatised			10.2	*	*	*	*	3.4	64
Went to a different company, which existed prior to 1990	*		10.2		*	*	*	3.4	63
Went to a different company established in or after 1990	1.0		19.6	*	*	*	*	6.9	129
Started own business	*		1.1	86.7	42.9		*	2.8	53
Unemployed (looking for a job)	7.6	*				5.8	9.2	4.8	90
Went to work in agriculture	0.6					12.4	*	2.6	48
Work without contract (where and when you find)	*	*			*	2.4	35.7	2.7	50
Stay at home	6.5	*				3.3	*	3.8	70
Retired	30.6		1.9		*	31.2	*	19.5	364
Other situation	1.5		19.8		*	*	*	7.1	132
No change in the occupational life	50.4		27.6	*	*	42.1	32.7	39.5	737
Non-response	1.1		8.1	*	*	*	*	3.4	64
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	Total (N)	805	566	30	35	330	98		1864

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Table 18. Additional educational courses (per cent)

In the last twelve months ...	Age				Residency		Gender		Total	
	18 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 59	60 +	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	%	N
Additional educational courses	37.0	13.7	6.2		15.9	3.9	11.6	9.2	10.5	196
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	208	620	514	522	1025	839	1045	819		1864

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

3. NON-PAID AND VOLUNTARY WORK

3.1. Non-paid work

The Romanian version of the HWF questionnaire includes an additional question on unpaid work in agriculture performed for a relative outside the household or a friend on a regular basis during the agricultural seasons. By intersecting the two questions we distinguish three groups: 1. doing unpaid work in agriculture at least monthly (10 per cent); 2. doing unpaid work in agriculture at least monthly during agricultural seasons (8 per cent); 3. doing unpaid work in something else than agriculture (14 per cent). The reason for distinguishing among these groups lays in the variety of practices related to unpaid work in agriculture highlighted by various community studies. On the one hand, in certain regions of the country

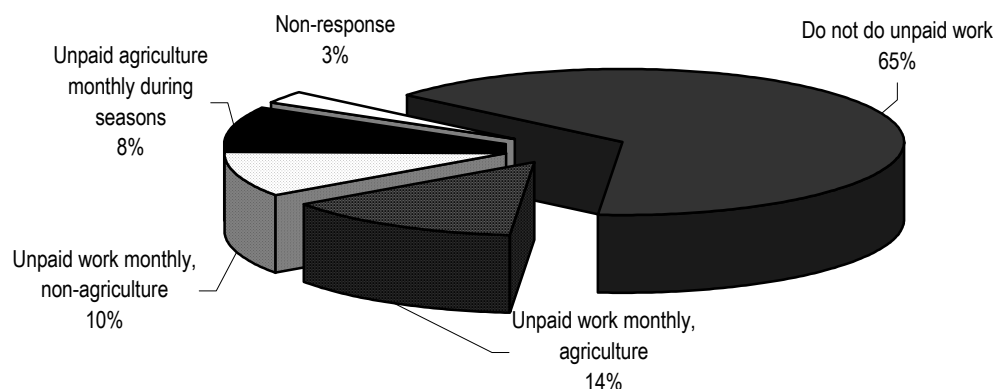
villagers associate together to work the land, particularly in kinship networks. In fact this type of unpaid work represents a mean of coping with lack of modern equipment. On the other hand, unpaid work in agriculture relates to kinship networks in which the elderly parents and the grown-up children who have not left the village form the rural nucleus, while their adult children who left the village make up the urban part of the network. The rural nucleus provides the urban relatives with food products. In return, the urban children offer other products or services, such as help in work in the weekends ('weekend agriculture'), help in case of illness, accommodation in the city, or rarely, monetary help.

Table 19. Unpaid work for relatives outside the household or friends (per cent)

At least monthly in the last year	Age				Residency		Gender		Total	
	18 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 59	60 +	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	%	N
Unpaid agriculture during work seasons	18.0	23.4	28.7	17.2	17.7	28.3	19.7	26.0	22.5	412
Total (N)	205	612	502	513	1004	828	1028	804		1832
Unpaid work	21.7	29.0	26.5	18.0	22.3	27.1	21.2	28.6	24.4	446
Total (N)	203	611	501	510	1002	823	1021	804		1825
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864

Figure 7. The combination between unpaid work in agriculture and unpaid work non-agriculture



Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864

This type of unpaid work is mainly is a means of coping with insufficient monetary incomes. According to the data of HWF survey, in the urban areas, unpaid work in agriculture is significantly associated with food products received from relatives and friends, which cover more than a quarter of the total household food consumption (almost two thirds of those from groups 1 and 2 in comparison of a third of the rest). Thus, in fact unpaid work in agriculture brings in return either services or products.

- Group 1 – doing unpaid work in agriculture at least monthly (10 per cent) – mainly men (17 per cent), 41 – 60 olds, vocational training (17 per cent), early retired (20 per cent) or farmers (30 per cent) based in villages (19 per cent) or small towns (20 per cent) mostly from the southern regions of the country. As we might expect, those performing agriculture (27 per cent) as the main activity do also

unpaid work in agriculture at least once a month.

- Group 2 – doing unpaid work in agriculture at least monthly during agricultural seasons (8 per cent) – men and women from cities and villages equally, mostly 41 – 60 olds, skilled workers (13 per cent) and non-employed (15 per cent) who exit labour market through redundancy.
- Group 3 – doing unpaid work something else than agriculture (14 per cent) – is specific to urban areas (12 per cent) and Bucharest (15 per cent). It includes men and women of 25 – 44 years performing as main activity either formal (15 per cent) or informal (18 per cent) work, mostly technicians and service workers, employees (14 per cent) or employers (23 per cent). This type of unpaid work is associated with main activity worked without contract (20 per cent) and place of work, which always changes (31 per cent).

3.2. Voluntary work

Twelve percent of the population does voluntary work on a regular basis. These are women and men mainly in their fifties (17 per cent), pensioners performing agriculture (27 per cent) with primary education 16 per cent, mostly based in the

rural areas. This profile, together with the fact that charity, clubs and associations are underdeveloped in the Romanian rural areas, leads us to the conclusion that most of the voluntary work mentioned by our respondents is church related.

Table 20. Voluntary work for a non-profit organisation such as charity, church, clubs and associations (per cent)

At least monthly in the last year	Age				Residency		Gender		Total	
	18 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 59	60 +	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	%	N
Voluntary work	10.4	9.2	14.7	14.3	8.6	16.7	11.3	13.5	12.3	225
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	201	611	505	516	1008	825	1027	806		1833

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864; (1.7% missing cases)

4. HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION

The average household size in the Romanian HWF survey is 3.5 persons, larger than the one registered by RLFS (2.8, NCS based on HIS 1998). This is due to the selection method in HWS survey. HWF sample is representative for individuals of 18 years or over, selected on the basis of voting lists as a sampling frame. This leads to an over-representation of households with a larger num-

ber of members and an under-representation of those with smaller household size.

The average size of household is larger in rural (3.7 persons per household) than in urban areas (3.3). Both in urban and rural areas household size is negatively correlated with the average number of school years of the households' adult members and with the mean age of household members of 15 years and over.

Table 21. Household types by individual and family life cycle (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	Total %	Total N	Average size of household
Young unmarried living on his/her own	1.7	0.1	1.0	18	1.0
Young unmarried + others (parents /siblings most often)	13.6	6.8	10.5	196	3.8
Young couple without children	2.4	1.4	2.0	37	2.0
Young couple without children + others (parents most often)	2.8	1.8	2.4	44	3.9
Nuclear family with dependent children	24.0	14.7	19.8	369	3.7
Couple with dependent children + others	5.1	8.2	6.5	121	5.5
Couple with grown up (unmarried) children at home	11.8	10.5	11.2	209	4.0
Couple with grown up children at home + others (son/daughter-in-law)	6.5	16.1	10.8	202	5.2
Couple with grown up children who left home	12.8	18.1	15.2	283	2.0
Widow/widower alone	3.4	6.6	4.8	90	1.0
Widow/widower alone + others (married grown up children most often)	5.5	8.6	6.9	128	3.5
Other household types	10.4	7.2	9.0	167	2.5
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0		
N	1025	839		1864	3.5

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

For the analysis of household organization, we have used a typology that takes into account respondent's life cycle and composition of his/her household. The typology that emerged encompasses 91 per cent of the sample. For all phases of life cycle it is worth noting the large share of people who have to share the households with other persons besides their partners or dependent children. Thus, the multi-generational cohabitation strategy is widespread, representing a means of coping with poverty and the shortage of dwellings.

- Young unmarried persons represent 11.5 per cent in the total sample and the great majority of them live with others (mainly the family of origin and not consensual unions). Only 1 per cent of the sample is young peo-

ple living in one-person household. They are women and men, mainly from urban areas.

- Young people in childless partnership are only 4.4 per cent in the sample. Less than half of them live by themselves, the others sharing the household with their parents or other relatives.
- Married women and men with dependent children (considered here children under 15 years or 15 – 18 years attending school) live mainly in mononuclear households, this being one of the predominant groups in the sample, but representing only 20 per cent. In addition, 6.5 per cent of the total sample (8 per cent in rural areas) have a spouse and children and live with other relatives.

- Persons in couples with grown up children represent 37.2 per cent of the sample. Only 15 per cent (18 per cent in rural areas) are households in which children have left home and succeeded in setting up their own households. Another 11 per cent of couples share the household with their grown up children. A further 11 per cent (18 per cent in rural areas) live together with their grown up children of whom at least one has set up their own family (partner + children). Thus, these are three-generational extended families.
- Widows/widowers make about 12 per cent of the sample (15 per cent in rural) and less than half of them live by themselves. In both groups women represent four fifths.

Consensual unions and single-parent families have a small share in the Romanian HWF sample:

- Only 37 people (2 per cent of the sample) declared they live in a consensual union, both

in urban and rural areas. The age category 20-24 is over-represented amongst them and most of these young consensual unions share the household with their parents (more than a third belongs to 'childless couple + others'). In addition, 24 persons (1.3 per cent of the sample), of all ages and equally from rural and urban areas, declared they are 'non-legally' married. About a third of the two groups (consensual union, 'non-legalized' marriage respectively) have dependent children.

- Only 36 persons in the sample are single parents, without any partner and with dependent children. Most of them are women (32 cases), widows/widowers (19 cases) and divorced persons (11 cases), mostly from urban areas (23 cases).

4.1. The Distribution of domestic roles in the household

Among the domestic tasks considered, only working in the garden or agricultural plot is shared amongst members in nearly all households that perform it. Routine maintenance/repair of the dwelling interior and daily shopping are tasks shared in two of every three households. The other tasks are shared by only in one of every three/four households.

- Most domestic tasks are assigned to one member and in most households this, both in urban and rural areas, is a woman. Women take care of children, cook, wash and clean the houses, and take care of sick persons (children or others).
- Men are in charge of the maintenance of the house building and small repairs.
- Women and men share daily shopping and agricultural work on the family's plot.
- Children - girls and boys have roles that follow the gender pattern described for their parents.

- In larger (multi-family) households domestic activities are more distributed but the gender pattern is kept in place. Household women share the female roles and men are in charge with male roles. Thus, the gender pattern of role-allocation is part of the first stages of socialization.
- The share of households paying somebody for any activity is very small (less than 1 per cent). (Table 48)

The answers are unbalanced in some extent: both women and men tend to attribute themselves a larger share in participation in domestic tasks, the differences in evaluations being up to 30 per cent.

A comparison between three phases of the life cycle - young couple without children, nuclear family with children, and couple with grown up children who left home - throws light on the dynamics of role allocation in the Romanian family. With young couples domestic tasks tend to be more 'equally' distributed between partners. Men

take more family responsibilities. In the phase of the nuclear family, men start retreating from the domestic sphere. For instance, the share of women doing small repairs among the young couples is between 12 per cent (declared by men) and 25 per cent (declared by women). In nuclear families the share of men fulfilling this task stays the same, while women's share increases to 20 per cent (according to men) – 33 per cent (according to women). In the case of a tasks attributed to women, the situation is reversed. Let us considered cleaning. In young couples men clean the house in a share between 40 per cent (according

men) and 35 per cent (according women). In nuclear families the corresponding share diminishes to 21 per cent (in men's view) – 25 per cent (in women's view). The changes that take place in the nuclear families with children become the rule and are maintained afterwards, even after the grown up children leave the house. There are no available data based on which to establish whether these changes are related to life cycle or whether they are the result of more recent changes at the attitudinal level which is becoming visible among younger generations.

4.2. Patterns of decision making in the household

Decision-making related to what school to attend is highly differentiated between generations and between social groups. In fact it reflects the changes that took place in the society concerning child – parents relationships and in the educational system. Parents decide what school their children should attend, particularly in the rural areas, for girls and for older generations. Traditionally, in the villages the girls (the majority of them) were not sent to school but they were taught to take care of the household. Accordingly, 37 per cent of our respondent of 60 years or over (mainly from rural areas) declared that their parents decided what school they should attend; most of them have only primary education that could be found in the village. During the socialist regime the situation changed completely. Schooling was costless and compulsory so that irrespective of gender, all children attended school according their preferences and abilities.

Consequently, generations of 26 – 59 olds (70 per cent) declared that they decided on their own what school to attend; they have at least vocational school or similar, the minimum compulsory education level during the socialist regime. In the new context of the society, the relationships between children and parents have become more democratic, therefore the young (18 – 20 years) declared that they participated together with their

parents in the decision-making process. This is mainly in the urban areas. In the context of job shortage and high costs related to school, in rural areas, particularly in poor farming households, there has been a return to the traditional model – parents cannot afford to support children in school (nearly all vocational and high school and universities are located in cities) and orient their children towards the household and agriculture. An effect of the high increase in school related costs is the widening gap between rich and poor – in richer households people decide on their own the school they want to attend while in poor households the parents decide for children to an increasing extent not to attend school further than the costless and compulsory minimum level.

In rural areas, particularly in poor households, parents decided about employment by bringing offspring into farming for young (13 per cent of 18 – 20) or older people (8 per cent of 60 or over), especially for those with primary or minimum education. Women based in rural areas are more likely to decide the occupation together with their partners. However, the large majority of the population decided about their occupation on their own, particularly men (87 per cent), university graduates (90 per cent), and urban residents (85 per cent).

Table 22. How were (are) decisions in your household(s) taken with regard to the following issues ...? (per cent)

	Ego	Partner	Ego+ partner	Ego+ parents	Ego+ partner+ others	Ego+ others	Parents	Other situation	Total (%)	N
When to have the first child*	13.4	7.0	75.5				4.1		100.0	1326
Women	13.8	7.2	75.2				3.8		100.0	734
Rural	14.4	7.1	74.2				4.3		100.0	630
What school to attend	59.3		3.8	10.5			24.4	2.0	100.0	1722
Women	55.2		3.8	11.8			27.2	2.0	100.0	951
Rural	49.2		3.3	11.3			33.5	2.7	100.0	764
What occupation to choose	81.8		5.6	2.8			4.7	5.0	100.0	1498
Women	78.6		7.1	2.7			5.7	5.9	100.0	814
Rural	77.8		8.0	2.9			6.0	5.4	100.0	666
Where to live	47.5	7.6	20.7	2.2	1.9		14.1	6.0	100.0	1668
Women	41.8	11.5	23.4	1.6	2.6		13.0	6.1	100.0	936
Rural	46.0	9.6	21.9	2.1	3.4		13.0	4.0	100.0	759
Where and how to spend the holiday*	35.1	4.7	54.9				5.4		100.0	895
Women	33.8	4.7	56.5				4.9		100.0	485
Rural	37.0	5.9	48.1				8.9		100.0	270
When major expenditures are undertaken*	16.0	7.0	57.5	2.5	4.9	4.9		7.2	100.0	1378
Women	17.2	8.6	55.9	3.2	4.6	4.4		6.2	100.0	746
Rural	18.0	8.8	58.1	2.7	2.9	5.6		3.9	100.0	590

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1864; * N=1716 households with at least two members

Understandably parents are the most important in deciding where young people should live and most of the unmarried young still live with their parents. University graduates in households in the superior quintile, mostly men in their forties decided on their own where to live. In contrast, women in the rural areas, particularly poorly educated ones, live where their partners decided. In nuclear families the couple takes the decision.

We consider only households with at least two members (1716 cases) in discussing decisions related to first child, holiday and major expenditures. In the majority of cases, when to have the first child is a consensual decision taken by partners, irrespective gender, age, education, residency or economic situation.

Of respondents belonging to households with two or more members, only 52 per cent answered to the question on holidays, 39 per cent considered the question 'not applicable' (they have no holiday), and the rest (9 per cent) did not respond. No holiday is specific for the elderly, particularly farmers in rural areas (62 per cent), the poor (64 per cent), and those with only primary or gymnasium education. Young (18 -25) women and men, married or not, decide on their own when and how to spend the holiday. Couples in nuclear families (also from cities) decide together on this issue.

Regarding major expenditures (furniture, car, house, or land) men alone decide in rural households while partners decide together in urban areas.

5. WORK AND HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

5.1. Integration of home and work

Taking into consideration the economic status categories of the majority (more than half) of household adults (over 15 years, which is the official eligibility age for employment) who are not enrolled in education, ten profiles emerged. Table 23 shows the household composition of each profile.

The best-represented household economic profiles are (employment + non-employment) that represent the standard one-earner family and (pensioners) the standard couple of pensioners. Each former profile makes up a fifth of the households in the sample. The second large profile (10 – 11 per cent of the sample each) are (employed) – multi-earner households, (pensioners + farmers) – specific to rural areas, and households with no dominant profile.

As a rule, fully employed households tend to be over-represented in the superior income/consumption quintiles at the national level, a high proportion of pensioners is associated with

over-representation within the medium quintiles while the farmers and the unemployed are associated with the lower quintiles. Accordingly, the highest economic standard belongs to households (employed + non-employed) and (employed) which make up more than a half of the households in the highest income quintile. Conversely, the lowest quintile is overloaded with households (pensioners + non-employed – 19 per cent), (unemployed + non-employed – 9 per cent), (farmers + employed – 9 per cent), and those with no dominant economic profile (18 per cent).

Taking into consideration the economic status categories of the majority (more than half) of household adults (over 15 years, which is the official eligibility age for employment) who are not enrolled in education, ten profiles emerged. Table 23 shows the household composition of each profile.

Table 23. Dominant economic profile of Romanian households (per cent)

Dominant economic profile of the households	Average number of adults in the hhd.	Average share in the total number of adults in the households of ...						Total (N)
		Non-flexible employment	Flexible* employment	Farmers	Unemployed	Non-employment	Pensioners	
Employed	3.0	77.5	13.4	0.0	1.4	1.1	4.6	211
Employed + non-employed	2.3	64.8	18.1	0.0	1.8	15.0	4.1	377
Employed + unemployed	2.1	39.3	15.6	0.0	53.3	2.5	0.0	61
Farmers + employed	3.0	19.0	11.2	72.0	4.6	4.3	3.7	101
Farmers + unemployed + non-employed	2.2	7.1	9.6	60.0	20.5	29.1	8.6	40
Unemployed + non-employed	3.4	7.1	2.2	0.0	72.0	14.2	5.2	67
Pensioners + employed	2.3	40.4	15.8	0.0	0.3	1.0	58.8	97
Pensioners + farmers	2.7	10.8	5.0	46.2	0.0	11.3	59.6	206
Pensioners + non-employed	3.3	11.7	5.9	0.0	16.6	36.6	22.3	163
Pensioners	2.0	3.3	0.9	0.0	1.6	6.4	87.4	352
No dominant profile	3.7	24.2	11.8	18.4	15.1	10.4	12.3	189
Total sample (%)	2.7	32.0	9.8	12.2	8.8	11.4	31.3	1864

Note: * Flexible employment is established according to the institutional conditions of the work and encompasses temporary employees, civil conventions, self-employment, and work without contract.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

The best-represented household economic profiles are (employment + non-employment) that represent the standard one-earner family and (pensioners) the standard couple of pensioners. Each former profile makes up a fifth of the households in the sample. The second large profile (10 – 11 per cent of the sample each) are (employed) – multi-earner households, (pensioners + farmers) – specific to rural areas, and households with no dominant profile.

As a rule, fully employed households tend to be over-represented in the superior income/consumption quintiles at the national level,

a high proportion of pensioners is associated with over-representation within the medium quintiles while the farmers and the unemployed are associated with the lower quintiles. Accordingly, the highest economic standard belongs to households (employed + non-employed) and (employed) which make up more than a half of the households in the highest income quintile. Conversely, the lowest quintile is overloaded with households (pensioners + non-employed – 19 per cent), (unemployed + non-employed – 9 per cent), (farmers + employed – 9 per cent), and those with no dominant economic profile (18 per cent).

Table 24. Household economic profiles by mean age and by residency

Dominant economic profile of the households	Mean age of members of 15 years or over	Urban	Rural	Total	
				%	N
Employed	35.2	17.7	3.6	11.3	211
Employed + non-employed	36.4	27.0	11.9	20.2	377
Employed + unemployed	34.8	5.2	1.0	3.3	61
Farmers + employed	40.9	0.9	11.0	5.4	101
Farmers + unemployed + non-employed	43.4	0.5	4.2	2.1	40
Unemployed + non-employed	36.2	4.2	2.9	3.6	67
Pensioners + employed	49.4	7.8	2.0	5.2	97
Pensioners + farmers	55.9	2.5	21.5	11.1	206
Pensioners + non-employed	42.3	7.1	10.7	8.7	163
Pensioners	62.5	19.6	18.0	18.9	352
No dominant profile	37.9	7.5	13.3	10.1	189
Total (%)	45.1	100	100	100.0	
Total (N)		1025	839		1864

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Four household economic profiles are specific to urban areas, specifically those in which more than half of the adult members are in employment. The two household profiles in which farmers prevail as well as those of pensioners either with farmers or with non-employed mostly are based in the rural areas. Only two household economic profiles are undifferentiated distributed by residency, namely the vulnerable (unemployed + non-employed) and the standard couples of pensioners.

Specific economic profiles of the household correspond to certain phases of the life cycle.

The young economically independent (who live on their own) are more than half (56 per cent) employed compared to the young still living with their parents (and/or other relatives) who less than a fifth are employed and are concentrated in households (employed + non-employed).

Young couples separated from their parents are largely over-represented (68 per cent) among households (employed + non-employed), more often a member is working while the other is still in education. Young couples, which share the household with parents (and or others), might be found in households with all economic profiles.

The nuclear families with small children mostly (43 per cent) are (employed + non-employed), more often the man has a paid job while the woman takes care of the children and the house. Only 17 per cent of these households are dual-earner families and only 10 per cent are (employed + unemployed). In contrast, couples with dependent children living within larger households have two economic profiles: (pensioners + non-employed – 17 per cent) and (mixtures with no dominant profile – 17 per cent).

The nuclear families with grown up children (15 years and over) are: 24 per cent (no dominant profile), 20 per cent (employed), and 7 per cent (employed + non-employed) in which parents work and children attend education. When these households includes also other members the dominant economic profile becomes (pensioners + non-employed – 16 per cent) or (pensioners + farmers – 18 per cent).

Couples with grown up descendants that left home are (pensioners – 46 per cent), (pensioners + farmers – 26 per cent), or (pensioners + employed – 8 per cent).

Widows living alone are pensioners, 12 per cent performing also agriculture on own account. When the widow/widower live together with their children (and/or others) the household economic profile is a combination of pensioners in a significantly larger extent with non-employed (16 per cent).

Thus, young people who succeeded to set up their own households are mainly those who are economically independent (employed). During the childbearing and child-rearing phases of life cycle the predominant economic profile of the household is (employed + non-employed), or a one earner family. After the children have grown up, women tend to re-enter the labour market and the household economic profile depends on how successful is this attempt.

Table 25. Patterns of place flexibility and average number of hours in paid work by household economic profile

Dominant economic profile of the households	Proportion of households in the group in which someone ...							Total	
	Work at home	Work at home and somewhere else	Work in the locality they live but not at home	Commuters	Place of work always change	Short hours in paid work	Long hours in paid work	%	N
Employed	13.3	8.5	88.2	18.0	0.5	25.1	34.6	100.0	211
Employed + non-employed	14.9	4.5	78.8	18.8	5.8	19.9	37.9	100.0	377
Employed + unemployed	24.6	3.3	82.0	9.8	8.2	16.4	11.5	100.0	61
Farmers + employed	59.4	28.7	40.6	17.8	3.0	31.7	40.6	100.0	101
Farmers + unemployed + non-employed	72.5	10.0	25.0	10.0	2.5	12.5	37.5	100.0	40
Unemployed + non-employed	29.9	1.5	29.9	10.4	3.0	6	14.9	100.0	67
Pensioners + employed	27.8	7.2	72.2	14.4	3.1	24.7	23.7	100.0	97
Pensioners + farmers	61.7	20.4	23.8	18.4	2.4	21.8	26.7	100.0	206
Pensioners + non-employed	45.4	3.7	28.2	22.1	5.5	11.7	18.4	100.0	163
Pensioners	27.8	0.9	9.9	3.4	0.9	4.8	4	100.0	352
No dominant profile	35.4	10.1	51.3	20.1	5.3	21.2	36.5	100.0	189
Total (%)	32.2	7.9	48.3	15.1	3.4	17.4	25.8	100.0	
Total (N)	601	148	901	282	64	324	480		1864

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Patterns of place and time flexibility at the household level are highly differentiated according to the household economic profile. Households in which employed members prevail are concentrated among people working in the locality but not at home while farming is associated with work at home. Short hours in paid work seems to be more frequent in large households with many adults (and children) amongst whom some work at home and some do unpaid and voluntary work, particularly located in the rural areas. Longer

hours are specific to households with non-employed members, thus the employed person(s) compensate with longer hours for the lack of paid-work hours of the other(s). Also long working hours are related to one-family nuclear households, mostly with children, in which we find people who work in the resident locality or commute and develop some additional activities. In many of these households at least one member does voluntary work.

Table 26. Level of education; Unpaid work and voluntary work by household economic profile

Dominant economic profile of the households	Proportion of households in the group in which someone ...					Total	
	Primary or gymnasium educated	University educated	Unpaid work in agriculture	Unpaid work	Voluntary work	%	N
Employed	4.7	28.4	28.0	32.2	11.4	100	211
Employed + non-employed	7.7	17.8	24.1	31.8	9.3	100	377
Employed + unemployed	*	*	23.0	39.3	1.6	100	61
Farmers + employed	28.7	6.9	48.5	38.6	14.9	100	101
Farmers + unemployed + non-employed	22.5	*	37.5	40.0	17.5	100	40
Unemployed + non-employed	20.9	*	35.8	34.3	7.5	100	67
Pensioners + employed	11.3	24.7	14.4	25.8	11.3	100	97
Pensioners + farmers	38.3	5.3	36.9	36.9	19.9	100	206
Pensioners + non-employed	37.4	*	30.7	30.7	16.0	100	163
Pensioners	22.7	8	15.6	19.6	6.3	100	352
No dominant profile	28	10.2	41.3	41.3	18.0	100	189
Total (%)	20.2	12	28.2	31.5	11.9	100	
Total (N)	375	223	525	588	221		1864

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; * Values less than 5.

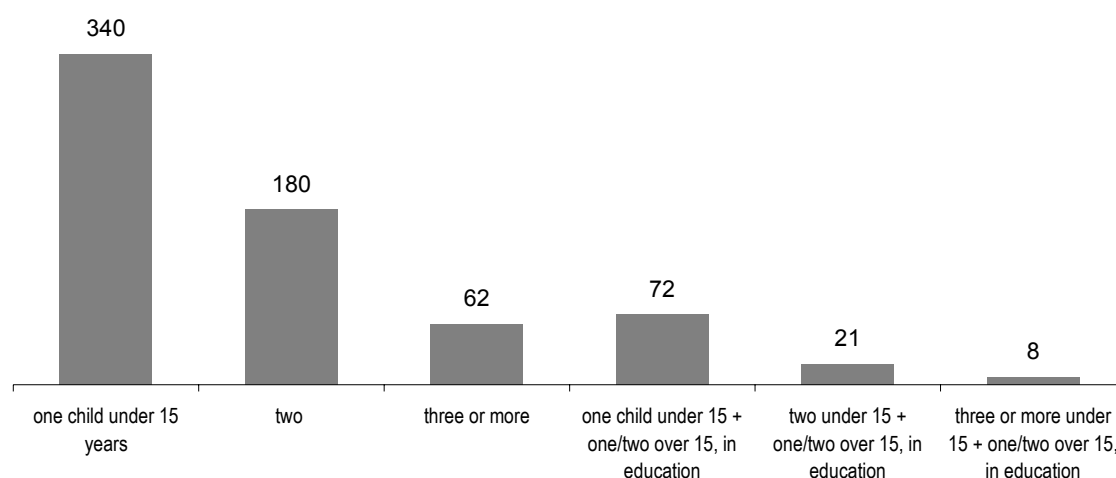
Unpaid work is carried out mainly in agriculture, particularly in farmers' households based in rural areas. As with the individual level, voluntary work is specific to households based in rural areas with members with primary education. It is noteworthy that the respondents who perform unpaid or voluntary work to a large extent belong to

households in which other members do the same. Except for the unpaid work in agriculture, which was previously discussed, it seems that unpaid and voluntary work are either a matter of family culture or people who declare one of these tend to extend their own behaviour to the other members of their households.

5.2. Employment and child care arrangements

In discussing employment and childcare arrangements, we consider only households with children younger than 15 years, which is the eligible age for entering official labour market. How-

ever children remain economically dependent of their parents until they complete their education and continue living with them until find employment and a dwelling.

Figure 8. Number of households with children under 15 years

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=683

Households with children are divided into three groups:

- 323 (47 per cent) are nuclear families (parents + children) of which the great majority (264) have all their children less than 15 years. The rest have also children over 15 in education. The respondent is a parent.
- 117 (17 per cent) are nuclear families sharing the household with others. All children in these households are under 15, except in nine cases. The respondent is one of the parents.

- 243 (36 per cent) are extended households, which include families (either two-parents or lone parent) with children. In only 33 of these cases are there both children under 15 and children over 15 enrolled in education. The respondent is a member of the household other than a parent.

It is noteworthy that households with no children are over-represented in the higher income quintiles while the three types of households with children younger than 15 years are crowded into the lowest two quintiles.

Table 27. Types of households of respondents of active age (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					(%)	(N)
Households with no children under 15 years	61.4	47.2	54.1	57.7	55.8	747
Household = parent in nuclear family with children under 15 years	24.2	23.9	26.6	21.3	24.1	322
Household = parent in family with children under 15 + others	6.0	12.9	7.7	9.9	8.7	117
Households = non-parent respondent + others including a family with children under 15 years	8.4	15.9	11.6	11.1	11.4	152
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	
Total (N)	811	527	700	638		1338

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001

Female and male respondents are similarly distributed in the four types of households. In contrast, the large households, which encompass other members besides a family with children, are two times more frequent in rural areas while households with no children predominate in urban areas.

There is consensus between men and women regarding child care responsibility, which mainly belongs to household women. In nuclear families with children under 15 mothers are mainly responsible for taking care of the child / children both daily and when they are sick. Less than 5 per cent of them receive help from others or pay someone in this respect. In families with all children over 15 years, enrolled in education (recorded as households without children in Tables

27, 28, and 29) mothers are still defined as mainly responsible for taking daily care of them, particularly in nuclear families.

In larger households, which include families with children and other members, child-care is shared by the women in the household. According to the mothers/fathers of the children, in these larger households child-care responsibility mainly belongs to them in a share of about 85 per cent. When the respondent is a member of the household, other than children's parents, most often it is a grandparent who declared child-care mainly the grandmother's responsibility in a share of 40 - 56 per cent. The same pattern is recorded for other domestic tasks too, such as cooking, cleaning the house, and washing the laundry.

Table 28. Child care responsibility by type of household and by gender of the active age respondents (per cent)

		Respondent	Partner	Other Household member	Other situation	Total	
						%	N
Who is mainly responsible for taking daily care of the child(ren)?							
Women	Woman in households with no children under 15	25.1	0.5	4.0	69.3	100	378
	Mother in nuclear family with children under 15	90.1	5.0	0.6	3.9	100	181
	Mother in family with children under 15 + others	74.5	9.8	11.8	3.9	100	51
	Woman + others including family with children under 15	55.1	1.3	38.5	3.8	100	78
	Total (%)	49.3	2.5	7.6	39.8	100	688
Men	Man in households with no children under 15	2.7	12.8	3.8	79.5	100	366
	Father in nuclear family with children under 15	4.6	87.8	2.3	3.8	100	131
	Father in family with children under 15 + others	8.6	75.9	10.3	5.2	100	58
	Man + others including family with children under 15	5.6	33.8	42.3	14.1	100	71
	Total (%)	4.0	36.7	8.5	49.4	100	626
Who is mainly responsible for taking care of children when they are sick?							
Women	Woman in households with no children under 15	29.3	0.5	3.4	65.2	100	379
	Mother in nuclear family with children under 15	91.1	3.3	0.6	3.9	100	180
	Mother in family with children under 15 + others	77.4	9.4	9.4	1.9	100	53
	Woman + others including family with children under 15	51.9	1.3	38.0	7.6	100	79
	Total (%)	51.7	2.0	7.1	37.8	100	691
Men	Man in households with no children under 15	2.7	12.0	3.6	80.6	100	366
	Father in nuclear family with children under 15	6.1	84.0	2.3	6.9	100	131
	Father in family with children under 15 + others	8.6	82.8	3.4	5.2	100	58
	Man + others including family with children under 15	2.9	37.1	44.3	11.4	100	70
	Total (%)	4.0	36.5	7.8	50.4	100	625

Note: Sum by row may be lower than 100%. The balance represents 'friend, neighbour' or 'we pay someone'.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1338 (1.8% missing cases)

Irrespective of the economic standard of the household, a significantly larger share of mothers are not employed in nuclear families due to the multitude of tasks related to children and home. In compensation, under the pressure to provide for the family, a significantly larger share of fathers are employed compared to the other types of households.

Thus, the most common arrangement is that in the phase of the family with children, women are out of employment while men work more. Furthermore, mothers of children under 15 in employment have significantly less working hours compared to women with no child care responsibility only in the urban areas: 27.8 hours per week – younger mothers with small children in larger households (nuclear families + others) and 35.2 hours per week – mothers with children under 15 in nuclear families compared to the standard 40 hours worked in average by active

age women in employment. In the rural areas the differences might be blurred by the moment of the survey (February) under agricultural conditions. In contrast, fathers of children under 15 based in rural areas do paid work on average 43 hours per week compared to 31.75 worked by active age men in employment with no children. In the urban areas, fathers work in average 42.6 hours compared to 41.2 done by other active age men in employment.

In conclusion, the relation between child-care and work is managed by poor and by rich in a similar manner, particularly if they live in nuclear families. Child-care responsibility mainly belongs to mothers and so they either are out of employment or work shorter hours compared to women in other situations. Fathers are mainly the breadwinners and consequently they work longer hours either formally or informally in order to provide for the family.

Table 29. Child care and work by type of household by residency and by gender of the active age respondents

		Pupil/ student	Pensioner	Non- employed	Unem- ployed	Employed	Total (per cent)	(N)
Women/Urban	Woman in households with no children under 15	11.2	10.0	7.4	9.3	62.1	100	269
	Mother in nuclear family with children under 15	0.8	4.9	17.1	11.4	65.9	100	123
	Mother in family with children under 15 + others	0.0	0.0	22.7	4.5	72.7	100	22
	Woman + others including family with children under 15	8.3	8.3	11.1	13.9	58.3	100	36
	Total (%)	7.6	8.0	11.1	10.0	63.3	100	450
Men/Urban	Man in households with no children under 15	8.7	16.2	1.3	9.6	63.3	100	229
	Father in nuclear family with children under 15	1.4	5.5	0.0	11.0	82.2	100	73
	Father in family with children under 15 + others	0.0	0.0	3.7	14.8	81.5	100	27
	Man + others including family with children under 15	15.6	15.6	3.1	9.4	46.9	100	32
	Total (%)	7.2	12.7	1.4	10.2	67.0	100	361
Women/Rural	Woman in households with no children under 15	1.8	4.5	23.6	1.8	68.2	100	110
	Mother in nuclear family with children under 15	0.0	0.0	50.8	6.3	42.9	100	63
	Mother in family with children under 15 + others	0.0	0.0	21.9	12.5	65.6	100	32
	Woman + others including family with children under 15	0.0	2.2	26.7	6.7	60.0	100	45
	Total (%)	0.8	2.4	30.8	5.2	60.0	100	250
Men/Rural	Man in households with no children under 15	0.7	13.7	1.4	7.9	75.5	100	139
	Father in nuclear family with children under 15	0.0	0.0	3.2	4.8	92.1	100	63
	Father in family with children under 15 + others	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	88.9	100	36
	Man + others including family with children under 15	5.1	5.1	7.7	10.3	71.8	100	39
	Total (%)	1.1	7.6	2.5	7.9	80.5	100	277

Source: HWF Survey. Romania, 2001; N=1338

5.3. Perceptions of family/work arrangements

Family and work arrangements are more likely to be perceived as source of tension and pressure in urban areas than in rural ones. According to our data, in Romania employment in rural areas particularly farmers (both women and men esp. elderly) seem to succeed in integrating family and work in a satisfactory manner. Their work does not make it difficult for them to do some of the household tasks or to fulfil their responsibilities towards significant others. Responsibilities towards family never prevents farmers in the rural areas from doing their work adequately. Furthermore, farmers perceive are much less likely to see the workplace as an escape from home than urban workers.

Despite the fact that most of the domestic tasks are done by household women, there are no significant gender differences between women and men in employment regarding household-work relation. Work **rarely** made it difficult to accomplish various household tasks or fulfil responsibilities towards the significant others for men and women, workers with permanent contract, particularly ISCO3 who work normal hours with a regular schedule but additionally perform a secondary income-generating activity. Work **sometimes** hampered the completion of household tasks mainly for members of nuclear families with children, mostly with children under 15. In concordance with findings presented above, mothers in employment from these households tend to work shorter hours, which seems to leave enough room for them to complete the household tasks. In contrast, fathers tend to work longer hours than men with no family responsibilities. Thus, in their perception work frequently prevents them from doing the household tasks they are responsible for. Furthermore, most of those who perceive that work sometimes encroaches on family life do formal work or combine it with agriculture. They are service workers, skilled work-

ers and machine operators (ISCO5, 7, and 8), workers with permanent or temporary contract, many working in the main activity flexi-time, normal hours, which is a source of dissatisfaction but they would not change due to the need for money. In addition, they belong to household with all adult members in employment based in urban areas. People considering work a permanent source of pressure (**often/always**) upon completion of household tasks mostly are the unique earner of households (employed + non-employed). They are high school graduates, formal employees or informal skilled workers (ISCO 7 or 8). Most of them have highly flexible working times (long hours, in average 49 hours per week, shifts) and would like to work shorter hours because these are source of dissatisfaction. Many of them commute, which makes time for their family even shorter.

Taking work from employment home is rarely necessary, especially in the case of women, professionals, mainly teachers. People who sometimes or often have to take work home to finish it are university graduates, either employees or self-employed, mainly located in urban areas. Most of them are ISCO 1, 2, and 3 and used to work short hours, flexi-time or a regular schedule with permanent contract.

Acknowledgement of work inadequately done as well as of work as an escape from home is highly socially undesirable; therefore the majority of the population did not mention this. It was mostly self-employed people who considered their work rarely burdened by responsibilities towards family. Informal workers particularly poorly educated and from large households declared responsibilities towards significant others frequently prevented them from doing work adequately, thus they preferred rarely or sometimes to spend more time at work than to spend more time at home.

Table 30. How often in the last three months your work made it difficult for you to do some of the household tasks that need to be done?

Employment	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					%	N
Never	40.1	59.4	50.8	47.1	49.0	471
Rarely	18.3	16.0	16.3	18.2	17.3	166
Sometimes	27.4	15.6	22.0	21.8	21.9	211
Often/always	14.3	9.0	10.8	12.9	11.9	114
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	
N	519	443	472	490		962

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1059 (9.2% missing)

Table 31. How often in the last three months your work made it difficult for you to fulfil the responsibilities towards your family and other important persons in your life?

Employment	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					%	N
Never	46.6	67.7	56.3	56.3	56.3	539
Rarely	19.1	14.1	16.8	16.8	16.8	161
Sometimes	23.5	10.9	18.9	16.6	17.7	170
Often/always	10.8	7.3	8.1	10.3	9.2	88
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	
N	519	439	471	487		958

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1059 (9.5% missing)

Table 32. How often in the last three months you have to take work from your employment home to finish?

Employment	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					%	N
Never	72.9	86.7	75.6	82.8	79.3	745
Rarely	7.3	7.0	8.8	5.5	7.1	67
Sometimes	10.0	4.0	7.8	6.7	7.2	68
Often/always	9.8	2.3	7.8	5.0	6.4	60
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	
N	510	430	464	476		940

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1059 (11.2% missing)

Table 33. How often in the last three months your responsibilities towards the family and other important persons in your life prevented you from doing your work adequately?

Employment	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					%	N
Never	72.6	74.9	73.8	73.5	73.6	707
Rarely	13.5	14.7	13.0	15.1	14.1	135
Sometimes	11.0	8.6	11.1	8.8	9.9	95
Often/always	2.9	1.8	2.1	2.7	2.4	23
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	
N	518	442	470	490		960

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1059 (9.3% missing)

Table 34. How often in the last three months you preferred to spend more time at work than to spend more time at home?

Employment	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					%	N
Never	83.2	82.0	81.2	84.1	82.7	792
Rarely	6.6	8.4	7.7	7.1	7.4	71
Sometimes	6.8	5.7	7.1	5.5	6.3	60
Often/always	3.5	3.9	4.1	3.3	3.7	35
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	
N	518	440	468	490		958

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N=1059 (9.5% missing)

Table 35. Do you and your other household members usually agree or disagree about ...? (Respondents from households with at least two members)

	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Sometimes agree	Usually agree	Non-response	Total	
						%	N
Household finances	5.7	4.0	10.0	75.1	5.3	100	1716
Allocation of household domestic tasks	4.1	5.2	11.1	74.3	5.3	100	1716
Amount of time spent together	4.5	8.1	8.9	71.5	7.0	100	1716
Amount of time spent at work*	6.0	9.1	7.1	65.2	12.5	100	1240

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; * At least a household member in employment

Irrespective of gender or education, most of the adult population declared that agreement predominates in their household relationships with respect to all issues. The older respondents tend to stress agreement even to an even greater extent than the younger respondents. Agreement about household finances is lower in larger households,

particularly those who are poorer. The allocation of domestic tasks among household members seems more debated (a source of disagreement) in nuclear families with children, particularly in two-earner ones and when the respondent is an employer or works in the informal sector. There is significantly lower agreement regarding the

amount of time spent together in households among younger members, particularly in two-earner or one-earner nuclear families with children located in cities. The same is true regarding the amount of time spent at work. In contrast, in larger households in which, besides members in

employment, there are pensioners capable of taking care of the children and/or various domestic tasks there is a higher level of agreement related to the allocation of tasks as well as time spent at work.

6. ECONOMIC STANDARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

6.1. Properties

Dwelling

Both in cities and villages about three quarters (74 per cent) of our respondents own their dwellings and more than a fifth (22 per cent) live in a dwelling owned by their parents or relatives. In the rural areas nearly all (93 per cent) people live in houses while 71 per cent of people in cities live in blocks of flats. The average number of rooms per dwelling differs significantly by residency: 2.72 rooms in cities and 3.21 in villages. Households in the highest income/consumption quintile have on average one household member per room compared to poor households (lowest quintile) in which on average two members have to share a room.

Dwellings in urban areas are much better endowed with facilities than those in rural areas. In cities, 87 per cent of dwellings have running water, 84 per cent sewerage system, 81 per cent inside toilet, 70 per cent central heating, and 68 per cent cooking gas provisioning. The corresponding proportions in the rural areas are of only: 18 per cent, 12 per cent, 11 per cent, 2 per cent (the rest heat their houses with wood or coal stoves), and 16 per cent respectively.

Only ten percent of people in the urban areas and five percent of rural respondents own a sec-

ond dwelling and these belong mainly to households in the highest income quintile (19 per cent).

Land and agricultural assets

The majority (80.5 per cent) of people based in rural areas own land while the share decreases to 23 per cent in urban areas. Due to the way in which land was restituted to its owners previous to communist collectivisation, most owners are elderly people. An average rural household owns 2.7 hectares of arable land, one cow, one pig, two sheep and twelve poultry. Most of these households practice subsistence agriculture. More often rural household members work land by themselves (37 per cent) or by turn in kinship networks (27 per cent). About a fifth (21 per cent) of rural households pay informal agricultural workers during the agricultural seasons and only a third can afford mechanized work. Agricultural products cover the household consumption, are exchanged for other products (11 per cent) or are given to relatives in the cities (21 per cent). Only 13 per cent of the rural households are market oriented.

6.2. Durable goods

The urban - rural gap related to durable goods is strongly in favour of cities. In every hundred urban households 93 have a refrigerator, 38 a freezer, 36 an automatic washing machine, 83 a colour TV set, and 71 cable TV subscription, 39

own a car, 74 have phone and 25 mobile phone. The situation is much worse in rural areas where the corresponding values for one hundred households are: 61 refrigerator and 18 freezer, only 4 automatic washing machine, 46 colour TV set, 9

cable TV or satellite dish, 18 own car, 22 have phone and 8 mobile phones.

Between the poorest 20 per cent of households and the richest 20 per cent, the gap is even higher. Goods such as personal computers or

Internet access are exclusively concentrated in the higher income quintiles: 27 per cent of households in the highest quintile have personal computers but only 8 per cent also have Internet connection.

6.3. Incomes and expenditures

In Romania, most of the households combine monetary incomes with food products either produced within the household or received from relatives or friends.

The large majority of respondents mentioned wages or pensions as the most important sources of monetary income of their households. Particularly in rural areas, self-provisioning represents an important source of non-monetary incomes, ensuring a large part of the household food consumption. Based on the methodology established by the National Institute for Statistics and the Institute for Study of the Quality of Life we determined the monetary counter-value of self-provisioning and added this to the monetary incomes/expenditures of the household. The sum

represents the total income/expenditure of the household, which divided by the number of household members represents the household income/expenditure per capita.

The poorest 20 per cent of the households earn on average a total income/expenditure per capita of 240 thousands ROL (about 10 EURO³) monthly. These are large households (4.5 members in average) mostly with children. The adults are poorly educated and only one in four is employed in a non-agricultural occupation. A third of rural households belong to this quintile, mostly households of farmers, unemployed and (pensioners + non-employed). These poor rural households are also likely to own land (77 per cent versus 90 per cent of non-poor rural residents).

Table 36. Considering all income sources of all household members, which is the most important in the last twelve months? (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	National	
			%	N
Wage	63.3	33.8	50.1	891
Social convention	0.3	0.4	0.3	6
Self-employment	3.7	1.8	2.8	50
Additional activities	1.9	4.8	3.2	57
Self-employment in agriculture	0.7	8.0	4.0	71
Investments, rents and properties	0.9	0.5	0.7	13
Pension	24.3	42.2	32.3	575
Unemployment benefits	1.8	3.4	2.5	45
Other social transfers	1.1	2.4	1.7	30
Private transfers (money from relatives or others)	0.8	1.5	1.1	20
Others sources	1.0	1.4	1.2	21
Total (%)	100	100	100	
N	982	797		1779

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864 (4.6% missing cases)

Table 37. Self-provisioning: How much of the household food consumption was covered by the food products obtained within the household or received from relatives and friends in the last month (January 2001)? (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	National	
			%	N
Did not produce/receive food products	68.8	23.0	46.8	794
About a quarter of total household food consumption	17.3	31.7	24.2	411
About a half of total household food consumption	6.5	19.8	12.9	218
About three quarters of total household food consumption	4.3	9.6	6.8	116
Almost entirely	3.1	16.0	9.3	157
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	882	814		1696

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864 (9% missing cases)

The richest 20 per cent households have an average monthly income/expenditure per capita more than 15 times the average income per capita of the poorest households (more than 150 EURO). These are nuclear families with small number of children and with well-educated adults, 62 per cent of them employed. More than a quarter of the urban households are in this highest quintile, mostly (employed all), (employed + non-employed), and (pensioners + employed).

In addition to the total income/expenditure of the household the respondent declared also the income she/he earned in the last month (January 2001). Based on these data we determined the share of respondent's income in the total income of the household. This indicates the importance of the respondent's contribution (in earnings) to the well being of the entire household. In Romanian households, women carry out most of the domestic work but also contribute on average 32.8 per cent to the household total earnings. Men bear the responsibility for very few domestic tasks and they provide in average 44 per cent of the total household earnings. When we subtract the counter-value of self-provisioning from the total household budget and take into consideration only the monetary earnings the average women's contribution represents 37.5 per cent while the average share brought by men goes up to 52 per cent.

Personal income of younger respondents (18 – 24 years) represents on average 16 – 21 per cent of the household total earnings. Respondents of 25 – 59 years declared on average a personal income that represents between 36 – 39 per cent of the total household budget while elders (60 years and over) have on average 47 per cent, which reflects the predominance of the two-pension households for this age category.

The personal incomes of respondents in employment represent on average 40.5 per cent of the total household earnings while unemployed and non-employed working casually in the informal sector contribute in average with 20 – 24 per cent to the household. Among occupational categories, farmers (28 per cent) and unskilled workers (32 per cent) have the lowest contribution to the total household budget and managers and employers have the highest (53 per cent). The more income-generating activities the respondents declare the higher the share of their personal incomes in the total household budget. Thus, respondents combining formal work with informal work make up on average 55 per cent of the total income of their households.

Due to the large number of pensioners, 38 per cent of the households, mostly based in rural areas, have no working earners. A half of the young couples are two-earner family and 42 per cent are one-earner. Among nuclear families with children the share of one-earner family remains 42

per cent but the share of two earners diminishes to 40 per cent. The two-earner and multi-earner households are over-represented in the higher

income quintiles and under-represented in the lower income quintile, in which no-earner households predominate.

Table 38. Types of household according to the number of working earners

	No working earners	One-earner	Two-earner	Multi-earner	Total	
					%	N
Urban	27.6	30.9	33.6	7.9	100	1008
Rural	50.5	30.6	14.9	3.9	100	837
Total (%)	38.0	30.7	25.1	6.1	100	
N	701	567	464	113		1845

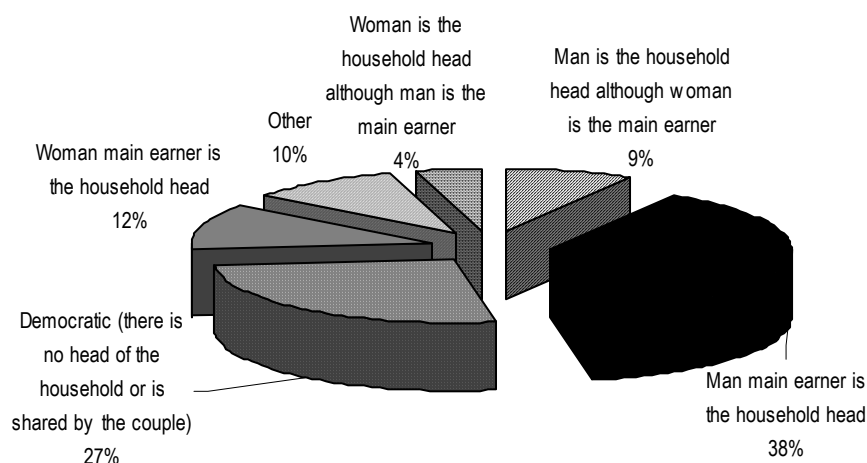
Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864 (1% missing cases)

6.4. Money and power in the Romanian households

Men and women strongly disagree upon which person in the household mainly brings in the income. The great majority of men (82 per cent) declared themselves or another man in the household as the main income-earner. In contrast, only 58 per cent of women declared a man as the main

income earner. The gap deepens the higher the respondent's level of education. For university graduates the share of women declaring a woman as main household income-earner increases to 61 per cent while more than three quarters of men declared a man.

Figure 9. Main income earner and the head of the household



Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864 (1% missing cases)

Three main types of household structure of power result (Figure 8) when we combine the main income-earner and head of the household (person who makes decisions for the household as a

whole). Firstly, the structure of power is based on the relations between generations – the elders are in power irrespective of their earnings. This is the case in households headed by women, which

make up 16 per cent of the sample. This mainly corresponds to old retired widows living either alone or with their grown up children (mostly 18 – 25 unmarried). The difference between the two sub-types presented in Figure 8 reflects the two points of view of the persons making the assessment. Both the widow and her grown up child(ren) agree on who is in power but regarding the main income-earner each of them tend to declare themselves or for the young to declare the older brother.

The second type of household is traditionally organized as well. This time gender structures the relations of power within the household – the men are in power irrespective of their earnings. The two sub-types (Figure 8) of households headed by men represent nearly a half (47 per cent) of the Romanian HWF sample. Mainly men (48 per cent) but also women out of employment (54 per cent), farmers (54 per cent) with gymnasium (48 per cent) or vocational education (44 per cent) mostly based in rural areas (48 per cent) declared a man to be both the main income-earner and head of the household. These are typically larger households formed of couples in their fifties (many retired) and their grown up children (married or not) who have not left home and mostly work as farmers. The father runs the household. This type of household organization is specific for poorer households. The second situation encompasses nuclear families with children (12 per cent), mainly with high school education (12 per cent), in which the father is unemployed (17 per cent) while the mother is in employment. Mother represents the households main income-

earner (at least temporarily) but the father nevertheless retains the role of household head.

The third type comprises the democratic households and represents 27 per cent of the sample. Particularly respondents in their forties (30 per cent), ISCO 1, 2, 3, or 4 (41 – 46.5 per cent), well educated (36 per cent of high school and 44 per cent of university graduates), mostly based in urban areas (36 per cent) declared that a household head does not exist or it is shared by the partners. These are couples with (35 per cent) or without (43 per cent) children, two-earner (37 per cent) or one-earner (36 per cent) households, mostly in the superior income quintiles (34 per cent of Q4 and 35 per cent of Q5). In other words, the poorer tend to adopt the patriarchal model while those better off adopt more democratic models in organizing their households.

In the 'other' category there are mainly large households of farmers from rural areas (14 per cent) including an older couple with their grown up children of which at least one is married. The main earner tends to be a younger member (26.6 years in average) while the household head is an older parent (mainly the father 52.4 years in average). Thus, inter-generational relationships seem to be the most important criteria in determining the household structure of power. It is also to be considered that this pattern is enforced by the structure of land property. The younger obey the elders not only because 'this is how it should be' but also because the elders own the land, thus young people's access to the main mean of subsistence depends on how they develop their relationships to their parents.

6.5. Subjective assessment of the household economic situation

The average values indicate the Romanian population over 18 is rather dissatisfied with the economic situations of their households, which deteriorated in the last five years. Consequently, most Romanians are pessimistic (believe situation will not improve in the next five years) and declare themselves as being

rather poor. Overall, only 35 per cent of adult population are satisfied with the way they live.

The subjective assessment of the household economic standard does not differ significantly according to gender but varies significantly according to age, education, and household income/expenditure quintile. The younger people

have more positive assessments and more optimistic expectations compared to older people, particularly if they have succeeded to become economically independent and set up their own households. The higher the achieved education level, the more positive the assessment, the more

optimistic the expectations, and the higher the satisfaction towards the way they live. The better the household economic situation objectively determined the better the subjective assessment and the higher the satisfaction of the respondent.

Table 39. Economic standard of the household – subjective assessment

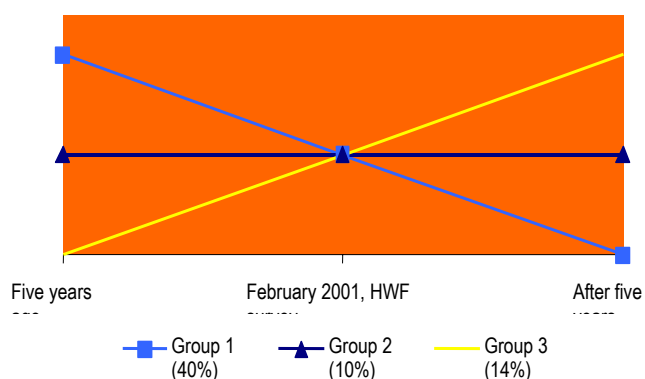
		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Total
On a scale from 1 (poor) to 10 (rich) where would you place your household?	N	353	369	336	356	352	1766
	Mean	2.7	3.5	3.7	4.2	4.6	3.7
	Std. Deviation	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.7
Generally, how satisfied are you with the way you live? 5 = very satisfied, 1 very dissatisfied	N	353	372	337	356	354	1772
	Mean	2.1	2.4	2.7	2.9	3.4	2.7
	Std. Deviation	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
Generally, how satisfied are you with the economic situation of your household? 5 = very satisfied, 1 very dissatisfied	N	353	370	334	357	350	1764
	Mean	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.2	2.5
	Std. Deviation	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4
Would you say that the present situation of your household compared to that of five years ago has clearly improved (5) or clearly deteriorated (1)?	N	353	370	336	356	349	1764
	Mean	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.8	2.3
	Std. Deviation	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.2
Do you believe that in the next five years the economic situation of your household will clearly improve (5) or clearly deteriorate (1)?	N	304	328	279	323	315	1549
	Mean	2.7	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.4	3.0
	Std. Deviation	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864

The dynamics of the household economic situation in the time span defined by the past five years – present – future five years enables us to distinguish three statistically clearly cut groups. The best represented (40 per cent) group comprises people who share the belief that their households' economic standard has continuously deteriorated and this trend will persist in the next five years. These are mostly women, of 40 years or over (particularly living alone), people with primary education without opportunities to enter the official labour market, pensioners (50 per cent), non-employed (48.5 per cent, especially those who used to be employed before 1989 and lost their job), unemployed (49 per cent), elementary occupations and day labourers. At the survey moment, a half of group 1 belonged to households in poverty (Q1 and Q2). Thus, many of the poor lost the

hope that in the near future their household situation will improve.

In contrast, people satisfied and with expectations that in the near future their households' economic situations will improve form a second group, which accounts for 14 per cent of the sample. These are mainly men, young people, pupils / students, employed in formal work, middle or highly educated people based in large cities and Bucharest. A half of them belong to households in the highest income quintile. It is mostly farmers who perceive their households' economic situations have stayed the same in the last five years; they used to be poor, they are poor and in the near future their situation will continue to stay this way. This pattern is specific for the 10 per cent of the sample, which chose 'stay the same' both for the past and for the next five years.

Figure 10. Dynamics of the household economic situation – subjective assessment

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864 (13.7% missing cases)

Table 40. Economic standard of the household – subjective assessment

Household economic situation	Total, N	Valid %
Has deteriorated and it will further deteriorate	640	40
Has stayed the same and it will not change	163	10
Has improved and it will further improve	223	14
Has deteriorated but it will improve in the next five years	290	18
Other combinations	293	18
Total (N)	1609	100.0

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864 (13.7% missing cases)

NOTES

1. According to the official methodology used in RLFS, within a household of farmers the person(s) declared the 'head of the household' is/are recorded as self-employed whilst the other members of the family, performing the same agricultural activity (work on own plot) is/are recorded as 'unpaid family workers'. In HWF survey people could choose without restrictions any of the 18 status categories those they consider appropriate for their situation.
2. The presented percentages probably are affected by the fieldwork moment, February.
3. We use the conversion rate provided at http://europa.eu.int/cgi-bin/make_infoeuro_page, namely 1 to 31 January 2001, 24023 ROL per EURO.

ANNEX

Table 41. Employment by formal work, informal work, and agriculture (per cent)

		Formal work	Formal work + agriculture	Formal work + informal work	Agriculture	Informal work	Informal work + agriculture	Total %	N
Gender	Women	54.7	5.8	3.1	28.1	5.8	2.5	100.0	516
	Men	42.2	12.7	1.5	29.3	8.3	6.1	100.0	543
Age	18-24 olds	50.5	6.8	2.9	16.5	20.4	2.9	100.0	103
	25-44 olds	63.4	11.2	2.9	9.1	8.1	5.2	100.0	481
	45-49 olds	44.0	11.4	2.2	33.2	3.8	5.4	100.0	316
	60 olds and over	9.4	1.3		86.8	1.9	0.6	100.0	159
Education	Primary education at most	6.1	1.7		82.6	3.5	6.1	100.0	115
	Gymnasium, no qualification	16.9	5.6		57.9	10.1	9.6	100.0	178
	Vocational school, skilled	45.7	13.7	1.7	24.6	7.8	6.5	100.0	293
	High school	70.2	10.2	2.0	8.2	8.6	0.8	100.0	245
	Post-secondary education	64.7	12.9	3.5	12.9	4.7	1.2	100.0	85
	University and postgraduate	78.9	7.7	7.7	2.1	3.5		100.0	142
Residency	Urban	75.8	5.2	3.6	5.8	9.2	0.4	100.0	554
	Rural	18.0	13.9	0.8	53.9	4.8	8.7	100.0	505
Locality type	Villages	18.0	13.9	0.8	53.9	4.8	8.7	100.0	505
	Small towns	51.9	13.5	1.9	21.2	9.6	1.9	100.0	104
	Large cities	81.1	2.6	3.7	2.6	10.0		100.0	349
	Bucharest (capital city)	82.2	5.9	5.0	1.0	5.9		100.0	101
Region	Moldavia (NE)	37.7	8.6	1.9	40.5	5.8	5.4	100.0	257
	Southern regions (S, SE, SW)	43.7	7.5	1.8	32.2	8.4	6.3	100.0	332
	Centre, W, NW	50.7	13.0	2.3	24.4	6.5	3.1	100.0	353
	Capital region	76.9	5.1	4.3	6.0	7.7		100.0	117
	Total (%)	48.3	9.3	2.3	28.7	7.1	4.3	100.0	
	N	511	99	24	304	75	46		1059

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1059

Table 42. Income sources of the workforce in the last month and in the last twelve months

	Unem- ployment	Formal work	Formal work + agriculture	Formal work + informal work	Agricul- ture	Informal work	Informal work + agriculture	Total
In the last month (January 2001) % of respondents had								
Wage	0	84.9	82	81.0	0	*	19	46.9
Pension	0	3.9	0	0.0	63	*	0	18.6
Unemployment benefits	59	0.0	0	0.0	5	19.0	0	8.2
Other social transfers	7	4.5	6	*	*	14.3	*	5.1
Earnings from investments, rents, properties	0	1.1	0	*	*	*	0	1.0
Earnings from self-employment activities	0	3.5	1	23.8	0	*	*	2.7
In the last twelve months % respondents had incomes from ...								
Self-employed job (officially recorded)	*	7.1	10	38.1	*	*	13	5.7
Small scale agriculture on his/her own plot	*	3.4	80	*	74	7.9	60	29.7
Seasonal construction or agricultural work	4	1.7	*	*	4	7.9	13	3.6
Any unskilled or semi skilled casual work	*	0.7	*	*	2	42.9	32	4.9
Any skilled manual work, short term or no contract	*	2.6	*	*	*	15.9	15	3.3
Any professional services, short term or no contract	0	7.5	*	23.8	*	14.3	*	5.3
Agency and distribution work	0	1.1	*	*	0	*	0	0.8
Other sources	*	1.7	0	*	*	*	*	2.0
Total number of cases per group (100%)	118	536	82	21	310	63	47	1177
Share of respondents who answered	70	98.9	100	100.0	95	100.0	100	95.1
Share of responses in total number of cases	80	123.7	194	233.3	155	158.7	168	137.9
Source:	HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1177; * Less than 5 cases							

Table 43. Employment by occupational groups and by socio-demographic characteristics (per cent)

		ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7-8	ISCO9	Total %	N
Gender	Women	2.6	11.6	11.4	10.8	9.6	30.9	15.3	7.6	100.0	498
	Men	3.1	8.0	5.9	1.8	5.5	36.3	31.2	8.2	100.0	510
Age	18-24 olds	1.1	9.8	14.1	5.4	12.0	19.6	28.3	9.8	100.0	92
	25-44 olds	2.7	10.4	10.6	9.3	10.0	13.7	31.9	11.3	100.0	451
	45-49 olds	4.9	12.3	7.8	4.9	5.5	39.0	19.8	5.8	100.0	308
	60 olds and over	0.6	3.2	1.3	0.6	1.9	88.5	2.5	1.3	100.0	157
Education	Primary education at most			0.9			87.7	1.8	9.6	100.0	114
	Gymnasium, no qualification			2.4	1.8	2.4	68.7	11.4	13.3	100.0	166
	Vocational school, skilled	0.7	0.3	2.4	1.4	8.4	30.1	45.5	11.2	100.0	286
	High school	2.7	3.1	17.7	16.8	17.7	10.2	26.5	5.3	100.0	226
	Post-secondary education	3.6	9.6	27.7	6.0	9.6	15.7	25.3	2.4	100.0	83
	University and postgraduate	13.6	62.1	9.1	9.8		2.3	2.3	0.8	100.0	132
Residency	Urban	5.1	15.6	13.0	9.1	10.5	7.0	32.9	6.8	100.0	514
	Rural	0.6	3.8	4.0	3.2	4.5	61.3	13.4	9.1	100.0	494
Locality type	Villages	0.6	3.8	4.0	3.2	4.5	61.3	13.4	9.1	100.0	494
	Small towns	3.3	12.0	10.9	7.6	13.0	26.1	21.7	5.4	100.0	92
	Large cities	4.6	14.3	12.8	10.0	9.7	3.3	38.0	7.3	100.0	329
	Bucharest (capital city)	8.6	23.7	16.1	7.5	10.8	1.1	25.8	6.5	100.0	93
Region	Moldavia (NE)	3.8	7.6	10.5	2.9	6.7	49.2	16.8	2.5	100.0	238
	Southern regions (S, SE, SW)	1.9	6.0	5.7	7.5	6.6	36.8	23.3	12.3	100.0	318
	Centre, W, NW	1.7	11.1	7.9	7.0	8.5	28.6	27.1	8.2	100.0	343
	Capital region	7.3	22.0	15.6	7.3	9.2	6.4	25.7	6.4	100.0	109
Household Income / expenditures per capita - Quintiles	Q1 – the poorest 20%		1.3	1.9	0.6	5.7	61.4	13.9	15.2	100.0	158
	Q2	1.1	3.2	2.7	3.2	4.3	42.2	30.5	12.8	100.0	187
	Q3		5.6	8.7	4.3	10.6	24.8	37.9	8.1	100.0	161
	Q4	2.8	9.4	11.8	12.3	9.9	22.6	26.9	4.2	100.0	212
	Q5 – the richest 20%	8.1	23.0	15.7	8.5	6.9	22.2	13.3	2.4	100.0	248
Assets	Automobile owners	7.0	18.7	13.4	9.6	8.2	16.6	24.8	1.7	100.0	343
	Personal computer owners	11.8	30.3	17.6	15.1	6.7	3.4	10.9	4.2	100.0	119
	Total (%)	2.9	9.8	8.6	6.3	7.6	33.6	23.3	8.0	100.0	
	N	29	99	87	63	76	339	235	80		1008

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1059 (4.8% missing cases)

Table 44. Employment by professional status and by socio-demographic characteristics (per cent)

		Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Farmer	Informal	Total %	N
Gender	Women	59.3	2.3	1.9	29.1	7.4	100.0	516
	Men	47.9	3.3	4.6	33.1	11.0	100.0	543
Age	18-24 olds	58.3		1.9	17.5	22.3	100.0	103
	25-44 olds	69.9	3.5	4.0	11.6	11.0	100.0	481
	45-49 olds	50.3	4.1	2.8	37.0	5.7	100.0	316
	60 olds and over	6.9		3.1	87.4	2.5	100.0	159
Education	Primary education at most	7.0	0.9		83.5	8.7	100.0	115
	Gymnasium, no qualification	20.2	0.6	1.1	64.0	14.0	100.0	178
	Vocational school, skilled	55.3	1.0	4.4	28.3	10.9	100.0	293
	High school	74.7	4.9	2.4	9.0	9.0	100.0	245
	Post-secondary education	72.9	4.7	3.5	14.1	4.7	100.0	85
	University and postgraduate	80.3	6.3	7.7	2.1	3.5	100.0	142
Residency	Urban	76.0	4.3	4.3	6.0	9.4	100.0	554
	Rural	28.7	1.2	2.2	58.8	9.1	100.0	505
Locality type	Villages	28.7	1.2	2.2	58.8	9.1	100.0	505
	Small towns	58.7	2.9	5.8	22.1	10.6	100.0	104
	Large cities	79.9	3.7	3.7	2.6	10.0	100.0	349
	Bucharest (capital city)	80.2	7.9	5.0	1.0	5.9	100.0	101
Region	Moldavia (NE)	42.4	3.9	1.2	45.1	7.4	100.0	257
	Southern regions (S, SE, SW)	48.5	1.2	3.0	34.9	12.3	100.0	332
	Centre, W, NW	58.9	2.3	4.8	25.8	8.2	100.0	353
	Capital region	75.2	6.8	4.3	6.0	7.7	100.0	117
Household Income / expenditures per capita - Quintiles	Q1 – the poorest 20%	20.8		3.6	54.8	20.8	100.0	168
	Q2	45.4	1.5	3.6	40.7	8.8	100.0	194
	Q3	65.5	1.2	3.6	23.8	6.0	100.0	168
	Q4	70.0	1.4	1.8	21.7	5.1	100.0	217
	Q5 – the richest 20%	63.0	7.2	4.5	20.0	5.3	100.0	265
	Total (%)	53.4	2.8	3.3	31.2	9.3	100.0	
	N	566	30	35	330	98		1059

Source: HWF Survey. Romania, 2001; N = 1059

Table 45. Employment with secondary activity by socio-demographic characteristics

	Employment		Total		
	Only main activity	Main + Secondary activity	%	N	
Gender	Women	8.9	91.1	100	516
	Men	16.8	83.2	100	543
Age	18-24 olds	10.7	89.3	100	103
	25-44 olds	14.1	85.9	100	481
	45-49 olds	14.9	85.1	100	316
	60 olds and over	6.9	93.1	100	159
Education	Primary education at most	2.6	97.4	100	115
	Gymnasium, no qualification	10.7	89.3	100	178
	Vocational school, skilled	14.7	85.3	100	293
	High school	11.8	88.2	100	245
	Post-secondary education	16.5	83.5	100	85
	University and postgraduate	20.4	79.6	100	142
Residency	Urban	11.7	88.3	100	554
	Rural	14.3	85.7	100	505
Household Income / expenditures per capita - Quintiles	Q1 – the poorest 20%	6.0	94.0	100	168
	Q2	12.9	87.1	100	194
	Q3	7.7	92.3	100	168
	Q4	15.7	84.3	100	217
	Q5 – the richest 20%	20.0	80.0	100	265
	Total (%)	13	87	100	
	N	137	922		1059

Notes: ** Seven of these cases spoke only about their secondary activity. Thus, only 130 cases gave full information concerning both the first (main) and the secondary activity.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 1864

Table 46. Work autonomy and work satisfaction in the main activity

		Employment (N)	Global Satisfaction Index	Global Autonomy Index
Residency	Urban	510	44.5	-41.9
	Rural	376	19.9	10.2
Age	18 -24	90	36.2	-38.0
	25 -44	438	37.2	-40.1
	45 -59	264	32.3	-9.0
	60 and over	94	21.9	62.4
Gender	Female	428	38.2	-26.6
	Male	458	30.1	-13.4
Institutional conditions of work	Employee	551	48.6	-60.9
	Employer	29	63.5	93.1
	Self-employed	32	44.8	34.8
	Farmer	196	3.4	70.5
	Informal work	78	-7.6	-20.2
Place of work:	At home	101	14.6	69.6
	Combined at home and elsewhere	89	5.9	76.1
	– because could not find another job	86	-16.1	39.2
	– because wants to spend more time with the family	16	39.4	83.6
	Within the locality where you live	540	44.1	-44.0
	Commuting	104	34.7	-62.4
	Always change	29	-5.2	-8.6
Time of work	Non-flexible and low flexible sub-types 1 and 4	292	53.5	-64.9
	Low flexible (sub-types 2, 3, 5)	146	43.3	-43.1
	Highly flexible (sub-types 2, 3, 4)	293	24.4	5.1
	– dissatisfied and willing to work shorter hours	58	-24.9	2.8
	Highly flexible by agriculture (sub-types 1, 5)	143	7.2	43.6
	– dissatisfied and willing to work longer hours	27	-55.9	10.9
Total		874	34.5	-20.0

Notes: (1) Global Satisfaction Index (GSI dominant opinion) = (positive – negative) * (6 – missing)/36, where positive = satisfied or somewhat satisfied, negative = dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied; Values: + 100 = completely satisfied; – 100 = completely dissatisfied. Six indicators are aggregated within this index, concerning satisfaction/dissatisfaction: in general with the main activity; the stability of work; the duration of contract; the hours of work; the location of work; the earnings from the main activity. According to a factor analysis (principal components) with KMO = .88 these six indicators are related to an unique factor, which explains 59.5% of the total variance. Thus, the model is one-dimension and the aggregated index GSI is strongly correlated with the factor score (Bravais Pearson coefficient .93).

(2) Global Autonomy Index (GAI dominant opinion) = (positive – negative) * (4 – neutral)/16, where positive = 'I decide', negative = 'Employer decides' or 'It is outside our control'; neutral = 'Employer and I decide together' or missing; Values: + 100 = completely autonomous; – 100 = not at all autonomous. Four indicators are aggregated within this index, concerning who takes decisions on: the number of hours of work; the general working schedule; the overtime; the place of work.

(3) A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the differences are significant (p=.05) except for gender.

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N = 886; (1.35% missing cases)

Table 47. The main change in the occupational life between 1989 and present by residency and by gender (per cent)

	Urban	Rural	Women	Men	Total	
					%	N
Work basically in the same place, but the firm privatised	5.5	1.0	3.2	3.8	3.4	64
Went to a different company, which existed prior to 1990	4.1	2.5	2.9	4.0	3.4	63
Went to a different company established in or after 1990	9.3	4.1	5.7	8.4	6.9	129
Started own business	4.1	1.3	1.8	4.2	2.8	53
Unemployed (looking for a job)	4.9	4.8	3.4	6.6	4.8	90
Went to work in agriculture	0.7	4.9	1.2	4.3	2.6	48
Work without contract (where and when you find)	2.6	2.7	1.3	4.4	2.7	50
Stay at home	3.1	4.5	5.3	1.8	3.8	70
Retired	18.0	21.5	16.6	23.3	19.5	364
Other situation	8.8	5.0	7.3	6.8	7.1	132
No change in the occupational life	34.7	45.4	47.8	29.1	39.5	737
Non-response	4.3	2.4	3.5	3.3	3.4	64
	Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	Total (N)	1025	839	1045		1864

Source: HWF Survey. Romania, 2001

Table 48. In what way do the following tasks usually get done in your household? (multiple response s2_1i)

	Ego	Partner	Son / grandson	Daughter / grand-daughter	Other household member	Friend / neighbour / relative	I/ we pay someone	Other situation	Responses share of cases	Number of cases
Routine maintenance and repair of dwelling interior	58.2	38.1	13.5	2.8	17.6	6.4	8.3	1.0	145.9	1837.0
Women	36.1	56.9	16.1	4.0	16.6	8.2	9.2	1.3	148.3	1033.0
Men	86.7	13.9	10.2	1.4	18.9	4.1	7.1	0.6	142.9	804.0
Cooking	59.1	36.1	1.5	7.3	20.7	2.5	0.6	0.5	128.3	1843.0
Women	88.8	8.6	1.5	7.8	18.6	2.2	0.7	0.3	128.5	1037.0
Men	20.8	71.6	1.5	6.6	23.3	2.9	0.5	0.7	127.9	806.0
Cleaning the house	62.4	37.6	4.2	10.9	20.6	2.0	0.7	0.5	138.9	1837.0
Women	91.2	11.5	4.5	11.6	18.1	1.7	0.8	0.5	139.9	1034.0
Men	25.3	71.2	3.7	10.1	23.8	2.2	0.6	0.6	137.6	803.0
Washing the laundry	57.6	35.0	1.9	8.5	19.9	1.9	0.5	0.7	126.0	1840.0
Women	89.8	6.5	2.3	9.5	17.5	1.4	0.5	0.9	128.3	1036.0
Men	16.2	71.8	1.4	7.2	23.0	2.5	0.6	0.5	123.1	804.0
Daily shopping	69.6	43.9	10.1	9.4	18.6	2.5	0.5	1.0	155.7	1818.0
Women	79.2	31.8	11.3	11.4	17.2	3.0	0.6	1.2	155.7	1023.0
Men	57.2	59.6	8.6	6.7	20.5	1.8	0.4	0.9	155.6	795.0
Taking daily care of child/children	52.4	36.0	2.8	5.7	15.0	1.7	1.3	15.6	130.6	1155.0
Women	71.7	14.8	3.5	6.8	15.0	1.7	1.3	15.0	129.8	600.0
Men	27.0	64.0	2.0	4.2	14.9	1.8	1.3	16.5	131.6	455.0
Taking care of child when they are sick	54.0	35.4	2.5	5.9	14.4	2.4	1.4	15.3	131.2	1057.0
Women	73.6	14.3	3.4	6.7	13.6	2.6	1.5	14.3	130.0	609.0
Men	27.5	64.1	1.1	4.7	15.4	2.0	1.3	16.7	132.8	448.0
Taking care of sick friend or relative	52.8	33.3	1.8	3.9	14.4	2.5	1.2	17.2	127.0	954.0
Women	68.1	14.2	1.3	3.8	12.5	3.3	1.1	17.8	122.0	551.0
Men	32.0	59.6	2.5	4.0	16.9	1.5	1.2	16.4	134.0	403.0
Working in garden or agricultural plot	72.5	50.9	17.5	9.3	21.7	4.2	3.8	11.3	191.2	1198.0
Women	69.3	48.3	20.2	11.1	20.6	5.3	4.9	12.3	192.0	659.0
Men	76.4	54.2	14.3	7.2	23.0	2.8	2.4	10.0	190.4	539.0

Source: HWF Survey: Romania, 2001; N= 1864, women = 1045 and men = 819

