

ALTERNATIVE POLICIES FOR CARING FOR CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF 3

THE HUNGARIAN CASE

A Report Written by Julia Szalai with the Contribution
of Ágota Horváth

Institute of Sociology Hungarian Academy
of Sciences

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A. Baseline data - children under age 3 and their parents

I. The children

1. Total number under age 3.

1.1.1975.

/1. I. 1976; girls, boys together/

518.728

Out of it:

a/ Aged 0-1 year: 188.385 /born between 1.I.1975. and
31. XII. 1975. and alive on 1.I.1976/

b/ Aged 1-2 year: 179.643 /born between 1.I.1974. and
31.XII.1974 and alive on 1.I.1976/

c/ Aged 2-3 year: 150.700 /born between 1.I.1973. and
31. XII. 1973 and alive on 1.I.1976/

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975. CSO, Budapest

1.2.1976.

/1. I. 1976; girls, boys together/

547.616

Out of it:

a/ aged 0-1 year: 180.307 /born between 1.I.1976. and
31.XII.1976. and alive on 1.I.1977/

b/ aged 1-2 year: 187.837 /born between 1.I. 1974. and
31.XII.1975. and alive on 1.I.1977/

c/ aged 2-3 year: 179.472 /born between 1.I. 1974. and
31.XII.1974. and alive on 1.I.1977./

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1976. CSO, Budapest,

2. Percentages of child population under age 18, who are under age 3.

1975:	1976:
20,0 %	20,9 %

/Sources: Demographical Yearbook,s 1975, 1976./

3. Number under age 3 for the following years:

1965:	381.583
1970:	444.100
1975:	518.729

/Sources: Demographical Yearbooks, 1965,1970,1975./

4. a/ Birth rates for the last three years per 1000 women in the reproductive ages/15-49/:

1974:	69,6 ‰
1975:	72,8 ‰
1976:	69,9 ‰

- b/ Birth rates for the last three years, per 1000 inhabitants:

1974:	17,7 ‰
1975:	18,4 ‰
1976:	17,4 ‰

/Sources: Demographical Yearbooks, 1974,1975,1976./

5. Projected size of under 3 cohort on January,1,1979:

a/ A projection made by the Central Statistical

Office in 1973 /based on population data of

I.1.1973/:

Size: 493.100

Source: The Projection of the Population of Hungary,
1972-2001; CSO, 1973.

b/ A projection of CSO from 1977:

512.300

/The basis of my computation was a projection on the number of births from 1977 to 2000, and, on the other hand, the mortality rates of the various cohorts in 1976./

II. Men, Women, Mothers

1. Total number of males and females in age cohort 18-64:

Male /1975/

3.240.642

/Female /1975/

3.387.972

a/ Hungary has a different definition of "productive" ages: it is 15-55 for women and 15-60 for men /cooperatives in agriculture are exceptions, because their members reach the end of "productive"-ness 5 years later /according to the pension-system/. But the last re-definitions of eligibility for pension defined the aim of having the same system for agriculture and other branches and the homogenous system must be built up for 1980. After 1980 members of agricultural cooperatives reach the eligibility-age at 55 and 60, for women and men, respectively/.

"Productive" ages:

Male /1975/	Female /1975/
3.200.929	3.036.330

b/ Percentage of productive^{x/} adults in the total population:

b.1. <u>Productive male-cohorts</u>	
Total number of female population	62,4 %
b.2. <u>Productive female-cohorts</u>	
Total number of female population	55,8 %
b.3. <u>Productive population</u>	
Total population	59,0 %

x/ Productive-ness means productive cohorts by Hungarian definitions.

c/ Data source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975.

2.1.

Percentage of the age cohort in labor force in 1975 /15-60 aged men, 15-55 aged women - productive ages by Hungarian definition/.

Males: 85 %

Females: 66 % /without those being on mother's leave with child care grant/.

75 % /including those who are on child care leave during the period in question/.

Source: Statistical Yearbook, 1975.C.S.O.

2.2.

Labor force participation means that one was engaged in some kind of work with some earning. Concerning one year, the person had to have a contact with one or several workplaces at least for 90 days out of the 365 days of the year. To consider one's work as labor force participation, the person has to have a valid note on his/her employment record, or at least some kind of certificate, e.g. a contract one has with a private person /scarcely/ or with an enterprise, a cooperative, an institution e.t.c./more often/.

2.3.

We do not have detailed data about part-time employment. But that phenomenon is fragmentary in the economic life of Hungary. It is somewhat more frequent as a supplementary source of income for pensioners. /In the last 5-6 years incentives have been introduced to motivate those reaching pensionable age-limit not to use it, and continue their full-time work, and, on the other hand to motivate pensioners to do some kind of part-time work. The reason is that Hungary has manpower shortage in several braches at the moment/.

Part-time work is - by statistical terms - the activity of those, who are active, but their working time is 39 hours or less a week.^{x/} The rate of persons working part-time in industry is 0,7 % of all blue collar earners and 0,4 % of all white collars. /To have some basis for comparison, I have to note, that in the case of all blue and white collars the average length of weekly working time /without overwork/ is 43,6 hours and 43,9 hours, respectively./ /Data are indicted^{a/} for September, 1976./ /Data on part-time work by sex are not available/.

x/

Nevertheless, in some occupations shortened working hours do not mean part-time employment. There exist a centrally defined list of occupations, where work in itself /with its inherent extra stress on the physical or mental state/ is regarded dangerous. The compulsory reduction of working hours in these cases /typically 36 hours a week/ compensate to some extent for the underisable side-effects of work.

3.

Percentage which women constitute of the
labor force:

43,7 % /without those ~~women~~ on child care
leave/

48,9 % /including those on child care leave/

Source: Statistical Yearbook, 1975.

4.

Trends ⁱⁿ female participation in labor force in
Hungary:

1960: 35,5 %

1970: 41,2 %

1973: 42,7 %

1975: 43,7 %

/without those on child
care leave/

Source: Collection of Data Concerning Working Women
CSO, 1977. and Statistical Yearbook, 1975./

5. Mothers of children in labor force

551. Participation rate of mothers of children
under age 18

a/ Rate of working mothers, whose youngest
/dependant/ child is ^{under} ~~not~~ age 18: 64 %

b/ Rate of employed mothers /working mothers +
mothers on child care leave/, whose youngest /dependant/
child is under age 18: 75 %

Source: Income-survey, 1973. CSO

/The Income-survey included a country-wide representative
sample of nearly 36.000 households/

5.2. Participation rate for mothers of children /by age
of youngest child/

- who are under age 3: a/ 33 % /without those on
child care leave/

b/ 82 % /including those on
child care leave/

- who are age 3 but not yet age 6: 75 %

- who are age 6 but not ^{yet} ~~yet~~ age 15: 74 %

- who are age 15 but not yet age 18: 73 %

/Comment: The included children are those who live in the
household as dependants./

Source: Income - survey, 1973. C.S.O.

5.3. Total number of youngest children under
age 3 whose mothers are at work:

The number can only be estimated. Estimation is based on the relevant ratio of the income-survey and on demographical data about youngest children of families in this cohort.

The number is approximately: 110-120 000

Other characteristics of families with children

Unfortunately there are very-very few data about those families where there is at least one child under ^{age} 3. Most of the following data about them are estimations. There are some surveys of which data can be presented about families with children under school-age. But most of the sources present data about families with children under ^{age} 18 who are dependants /study or are in the household/, and differentiations are made concerning the ^{number}^x /not the age/ of the children in the household or in the family. So the next pages will present you some insight: how families with children live, how many of the families are one-parent ones, how many families with children are in low-income strata, what is their share of social benefits etc.

A. Marital status

There are three view-points to show the situation of children in this respect.

x/ The reason is that one of the mostly discussed issues in the recent years has been the existing and quite marked differences in the living conditions and life chances of members of families with different numbers of children. The very complex problem of social inequalities-labour market situation - schooling and training in general of children of large families has got the first priority in social political thinking and - partly - in the practice of social policy in the last 6-8 years./See later/.

1./ Marital status of mothers at the moment of the birth of the child:

The distribution of the 194.240 ^{live} child-births in 1975 according to the marital status of mothers was, as follows:

In 94,4 %	of all cases	mothers were	married
In 4,5 %	- " -		unmarried
In 0,2 %	- " -		widowed
In 0,9 %	- " -		divorced.

According to the age of the mother these ratios are somewhat different:

The highest rate of unmarried mothers can be found in the youngest ~~age~~ age-group /under age 19/: out of all mothers ^(of this age-group) 15,1 % was not married yet /4.248 babies/. The rates of widowed and divorced mothers were highest in the cohort of 40-49 years old mothers: 3,4 % was widowed /54 babies/, 4,4 % was divorced /69 babies/. /Demographical Yearbook, 1975/.

2./ Another aspect of marital status takes into account the position of the new-born child in the sequence of children:

Percentage-distribution:

Marital status of the mother	The position of the new-born child in the sequence of the lively-born children					Total
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
Unmarried	6,7	1,9	3,2	5,5	8,0	4,5
Married	92,8	97,2	94,5	90,5	90,0	86,4
Widowed	0,1	0,1	0,5	1,2	2,0	0,2
Divorced	0,4	0,8	1,8	3,3	3,6	0,9
Together	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number of children	84.681	76.839	20.849	5.729	61142	194.240

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975. and own computations.

The relatively high rate of fourth, fifth e.t.c. children who do not get into a "formalized" type of family life can be explained in a great deal by the life-style and norms of gipsy families /the number of children is higher here - see below/.

The gipsy families do not see the marriage as an absolutely necessary prerequisite of family-life. They live in large families, where the "head" sometimes changes and where others forms of partnership /not always formalized marriages/ are quite frequent.

The gipsy family often ^{me} means a family with several generations living together, several types of kinship within the household - helping each other. Therefore marriage often has not the same function and the same necessity as in smaller "nuclear" families.

3. The composition of households - one - parent families

/Data come from the Income-survey of 1973./

Type of the Household. Percentage distribution of household by age of the head of the household

Type of the Household	-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-	All hou- seholds	Number of households	%
Couple without children	0	3	4	5	16	25	47	100	11.665	32
Couple with one child	0	5	16	29	32	14	4	100	7.253	20
Couple with 2 children	0	2	13	49	29	6	1	100	5.326	15
Couple with 3 or more children	-	2	5	52	34	6	1	100	1.394	4
One parent with one child	1	6	10	27	40	14	2	100	701	2
One parent with two or more children	1	2	9	44	36	7	1	100	295	1
Other types of households together	1	4	5	10	16	20	47	100	9.216	26
All households	0	3	8	20	23	18	28	100	35.850	100
Percentage of male-headed households out of those, where a couple keeps at least one child:	100.0	99,6	99,8	99,8	99,8	100,0	100,0	99,8		
Percentage of male-headed households out of those, where only one parent keeps at least one child:	27,3	22,9	11,2	7,3	10,8	19,8	55,0 ^x	12,3		

One-parent households out of all households with children: 7 %

^x not significant

The third aspect of marital status can be the situation of mothers /parents/ in the family.

More precisely:

The composition of households - one-parent families

Data of the previously presented table /page 14./ show, that one-parent households constitute 7 % of households with children /dependant children/. Most of these households are female-headed. The main reason of that fact is - presumably - the divorce of parents. /The divorce-rate is very high in Hungary: ^{in 1975, was} ~~It is~~ 250,5 per 1000 ^{weddings} ~~marriages~~ and 2,7 per 1000 inhabitant^{x/}/. In the case of those divorces, where children are affected, the laws, regulations and the practice of courts and guardianship-authorities try to give priority to the interest of the child: If both of the parents are able to rear the child sufficiently, then the decision would be to leave the child with his/her mother if he /she/ is under age 6.

x/ With that high ratio Hungary comes as the 4th country in a cross-national comparison, including data about divorces in 23 countries. Only the USA, USSR and Denmark preceded Hungary/. /Demographical Yearbook, 1973. New York, 1974. United-Nations - The data are referred to by Lőcsei, p.: Problems of Disintegration of Marriages in Hungary, in: The changing family, ed. by Cseh-Szombathy, L., Kossuth, Budapest, 1978./

If the child is over age 6 at the time of divorce than - according to the present regulations - his/her care should be carried out in the home of the parent who can offer better facilities and home - atmosphere.

A main principle is that ^{siblings} ~~brothers~~ and ~~sisters~~ should not be separated from each other. The ~~dis~~erable situation is that, when parents themselves can agree on the best solution. The right of the "excluded" parent to visit the children from time to time is guaranteed by the guardianship-authorities. They decide in all the disputable cases, too, representing at their best the interest of the child/ren/. Any change in the placing of the children is ~~undefinable~~, and can be ^{ex}cepted in an utmost case /since a radical change can ~~badly~~ affect the child, causing an extra psychological stress./ The parent who brings up the child/ren/ after the divorce, is entitled for an allowance from the other parent, assisting the well-being and material safeness of the children. The magnitude of the allowance is defined by the court.

Apart from the unfavourable rate of divorces according to the age of the child /see below/, the legal practice can give us some explanation of the high rate of female-headed households among one-parent families.

The distribution of divorces according
to the number/age of children

Number of affected children	Percentage of divorces
0	37,4
1	38,5
2	17,9
3 or more	<u>6,2</u>
	100,0

Age of the children /Only those cases where children were affected/ /Year/	Percentage of divorces
0-6	48,9
7-15	43,4
16-17	<u>7,7</u>
	100,0

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975.C.S.O.

B. Lyfe cycle patterns ^{of} ~~the~~ women

1. Average age at which men and women marry:

Year	<u>Average age of marriage</u>	
	Men	Women
1970	27,1	23,6
1971	27,0	23,5
1972	26,8	23,4
1973	26,7	23,3
1974	26,2	22,9
1975	26,4	23,3

2. Average age of women at the birth of:

first child: 22,2 year

second child: 25,5 year

third child: 27,9 year

Average age of mothers at childbirth

/in general/: 24,7 year

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975, C.S.O.

C. Labor force participation

The^{re} have been no surveys focu^sed exactly on the longitudinal /life-long/ changes of labor force participation of women, on the causes and factors of ch^{an}ge and on social differences in this respect. Nevertheless there have been several studies discussing one or another aspect of the issue. On the basis of these various informations some kind of description can be made. Most of the data are aggregated and therefore less can be said about their inner composition, that is: about the differences according to the qualification of women, to the socio-economic situation of the family e.t.c. We do not know very much about the actual weight in female labor force participation of those - presumably very important - factors which influence the possibility to enter the labor force: the quantity and quality of workplaces in the surrounding, the possibilities to commute /the standard of the whole infrastructure, including child care insitutions, too/, e.t.c.

/

Motivations for wanting to enter the labor force, aspirations of women also show quite marked differences

in accordance with other determinants of social situation /socio-economic factors, territorial differences, differences ⁱⁿ of the level of qualification and so on/.

- . -

A. I would like to refer first to two - recently published - papers dealing with changes in female employment on a general level.

András Klinger describes the situation, as follows:

Comparing data of 1949 and of 1973 he found that labor force participation has shown a declining tendency in the youngest /aged 15-19/ and in the oldest /over age 54/ age groups of women. The explanation is - on the one hand - that much higher proportion of girls continue their studies in secondary and higher education than ⁿ previously /the rate of employed girlsⁿ in the 15-19 cohort dropped from 53 % to 47 % while the rate of non-studying dependants decreased, too./ On the other hand, the number of women getting pension over 54 years grew rapidly /previously there were many who, for one reason or another, were not eligible for pension and therefore had to work further/.

The ratio of working women in the next two cohorts has changed radically since 1949.

In 1949 only a minority of women aged 20-40 were employed, but in 1973 $2/3$ of 20-29 year olds and $3/4$ of those aged 30-39 were employed and worked. Adding the relevant numbers of those who studied on day courses and those who were on child care leave in 1973, the ratios were 86 % and 79 %, respectively.

Two-third of women aged 40-54 were employed in 1973, but there were many in this cohort who - for various reasons - get some kind of pension or life-annuity /widow's pension or allowance e.t.c./

/Klinger A.: Economic Structure of Our Society, Resources of Manpower in the Country; in: Women- Economy - Society / ed.by: Szabady, E., Budapest, 1976./

Because of high rate of employed /or studying/ women in each age-group, the life-cycle patterns of women have got closer to each other, especially in the last 8-10 years. Therefore we can accept the general periodization of family-life and the description of the phases of life-cycle /including the patterns of entry and

withdrawal of the labor force/ given by László Cseh-Szombathy.

The first phase in this description is the life of the newly created family. The family in this phase typically consists of the young couple who have no children yet. The founding of the family /the period before the first child is born/ is generally a short period, since in most of the cases childbirth follows the ^{wedding} ~~marriage~~ within one or two years. /E.g. in 1974 48 % of all 1st children were born within 11 months after the wedding, 27 % one year after it and 11 % of them came after a two-year period of childless life./ Most of the wives in these families are working.

Second phase: Families with 0-2 years old child/ren/. Since the introduction of the child care grant /1967/. the typical situation has been that mothers stayed at home for a while.

Third phase: Families with 3-5 years old child/ren/. In this phase many of the mothers continue their earlier /interrupted/ work; quite a high rate of the relevant age-group of children is in pre-schools during the working

hours. The rate is somewhat fluctuating by the number of children in the cohort and by territorial differences but it has been around 75 % in the last years. Several mothers, however, are continuing their child care leave, having /a/ younger /child^(ren), ~~the~~ too.

Fourth and fifth phase: Families with children, who learn in primary or secondary schools. In most of these families both of the parents are employed and work again.

Sixth phase: Families with "grown-up" children. Parents and children are employed /perhaps children study in higher education/, but the children live together with their parents, not having their own, separated household and "new" family yet.

Seventh phase: Couples living already without their children. Very often at least one of them^{is} pensioners already. Children founded already their own family.

/Cseh-Szombathy, L.: Main Characteristics of the Family Today in Hungary, ~~in~~ The Changing Family, ed. by Cseh-Szombathy, L., Budapest, 1978/.

B. Some additional informations and data concerning social differances in female labor force participation:

a/ The differences of patterns according to the number of dependant children in the various social strata can be illustrated /approached/ by data of the Income-survey of 1973.

Number of dependants in productive ages^x per 100 households, by number of dependants under 19

age

Type of the household	Nubmer of dependants under 19					Total (Average)
	0	1	2	3	4 or more	
	in the household					
Working class households	14	20	25	44	89	21
Peasant-households	18	44	45	61	95	35
"Mixed" households ^{xx}	24	23	23	31	81	25
White collar households	8	9	12	22	52	10
Households of selfemployed	13	29	34	60	94	25
All households with at least one of the members who is employed	14	21	25	44	88	21

x/ Dependants in productive ages are those, who are not employed, are not on child care leave and do not study on day-courses. /The majority of them are housewives./

xx/"Mixed" households have at least two bread-winners: one /or more/ of them is employed in agriculture, one /or more/ outside it.

b/ Since labor force participation - ratios are very high in the young age-groups of women, we can conclude that the wedding in itself does not incite women to withdraw from labor force /Perhaps an other - opposite - stimulation is even stronger to begin to work: the need for an own flat and all the rapidly growing expenditures in this period ~~make~~ make it necessary to have a second earning in the household. To secure the eligibility for the child care grant also stimulates young wives to enter the labor force before the first child is born/. Childbirth is the first event in the life of the family which stops /for a shorter of a longer period/ female employment.

The data below give some information about the social differences in the timing of this event, that is, about the average ages of working mothers in various social strata at the birth of their children.

Average age of working mothers
at childbirth in 1975

Socio-occupational group of the mother	
Manual work in agriculture	22,7 years
Manual work outside agriculture	24,0 years
Non-manual	25,3 years
Total	24,7 years

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975. C.S.O.

c/ We have some informations about the relationships between education and employment: how a given educational level influences labor force participation and how did the tendencies change in the last thirty years.

Rate of employed women with a given level of education as a percentage of all women with the same educational level

Level of education	Y e a r			
	1949	1960	1970	1973
Primary	39,1	50,9	58,5	60,5
Secondary	50,7	70,9	75,7	74,8
Higher	69,1	85,7	84,4	85,5

Source: Erdész, T.: Level of Education and Training and Cultural Activity of Working Women, in: Women - Economy - Society, ed. by Szabady E. Budapest, 1976./

D. Differences in earnings between men and women

1./ Average monthly earning of working women as a percentage of average monthly earnings of men /except those who are manual workers in agriculture/.

1972

Socio-economic group	Age-Group					Total
	-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60-	
Managers high, professionalists	88,1	77,7	78,5	74,0	82,0	70,9
Middle-range professionalists	81,3	69,9	70,7	74,6	46,8	69,6
Clarks, administrative staff	80,5	70,5	67,5	80,7	..	70,3
White collars	75,5	66,4	63,4	63,6	43,3	59,8
Skilled workers	81,5	68,2	66,9	68,2	58,3	70,4
Semi-skilled workers	75,3	67,1	66,8	66,4	62,7	68,1
Unskilled workers	68,4	60,9	61,3	63,8	71,6	64,9
All blue-collars outside agriculture	74,0	61,2	60,1	61,2	59,8	69,9
Total	75,2	67,0	64,2	62,6	48,1	65,9

Source: Collection of Data about Working Women, CSO, 1977.

2./ Differences in the earnings of fathers and mothers
/Those families, where both parents are employed/

Families with dependent child/ren/ under 19^{age}
Mother's average earning as a % of father's average earning

Families with child/ren/ aged 0-2^x
Mother's average earning as a % of father's average earning

Budapest	61,6	64,6
Other towns	61,8	74,1
Villages	60,2	62,9
Average	61,2	68,2

Source: Income-survey, 1973.C.S.O. and own computations.

3./ Urban-rural differences in the average earnings of fathers and mothers with dependant children /Those families, where both parents are employed/

	Families with dependent children under 19		Families with child/ren/aged 0-2 ^x	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
	in villages=100		in villages = 100	
villages	100	100	100	100
in urban towns	113	110	124	105
in industrial areas	127	125	118	114
in urban areas	111	110	115	106

Mothers work and are not on child care leave.

Source: Income-survey, 1973. C.S.O. and own computation

What percentage of women work in regular shifts and in other types of shifts

Unfortunately no data are available about the working-systems of mothers. Differences can be presented only by age-groups of working women.

Differences and distributions according to the working-systems /shifts/ of women doing manual work /except those employed in agricultural cooperatives/ are presented in the following tables on pages 27-29.

Supplementary data about families with children

Composition of households /only those household where the head is employed/

Type of the settlement	Dependents under age 15	Average number of Dependents in the productive age cohort	Employed persons	Persons living together
	per 100 households			
Budapest	51	20	185	299
Other towns	77	32	184	335
Villages	86	45	189	366
Country	76	36	187	343

Source: Level and Distribution of Family Income in 1972 /published data of the Income-survey/, CSO, Budapest, 1975.

x/ Includes those who study on day courses, but those on child care leave are excluded.

The per capita income in households with a different number
number of children^{All} / ~~the~~ children under 14 and those in school
under 19/

Households with	1962	1975	Households with no children=100 1962	Households with no children=100 1975	Percent in- crease 1975/ 1962
No children	1281	2643	100	100	206
1 child	1002	2095	78	79	209
2 children	786	1758	61	67	224
3 children	588	1473	46	56	251

Level

Standard of Income and Other Relevant Characteristics of Households (Where Head of the Household is Employed), According to the Number of Dependant Children Under Age 19

Number of dependant children under age 19	Number of Households	Persons	Average income originated from work of those employed	Monthly ave- rage income per hou- per capita seholds	NUMBER OF	
					Number Earners	Non- studying dependants in producti- ve ages
					per 100 households	
No dependant child under age 19	12.716	31.762	2.564	2.091	250	182
1 child	8.828	31.918	2.696	1.654	362	200
2 children	5.857	25.888	2.864	1.349	442	180
3 children	1.097	6.074	2.785	1.101	554	176
4 or more children	546	4.108	2.230	738	752	180
Total:	29.044	99.748	2.671	1.643	343	187

Level

Source: ~~Standard~~ and Distribution of Family Incomes in 1972 /Published data of the Income-Survey/, C.S.O.1975.

Distribution of households by per capita

monthly income

Type of the household	monthly income					Together	
	Low -1000 Ft	Lower middle 1001-1400 Ft	Middle 1401- 1800 Ft	Upper middle 1801-2200 Ft	Upper 2201- 2400 Ft		Highest 2400-
Couple without children	17	16	20	18	7	22	100
Couple with one child	8	24	34	20	5	9	100
Couple with two children	18	42	26	9	2	3	100
Couple with three or more children	54	33	9	2	1	1	100
One parent with one child	20	36	24	13	2	5	100
One parent with two or more children	45	33	18	3	1	0	100
All other types of households	26	20	20	14	5	15	100
T o t a l	19	24	23	15	5	14	100

Source: Income-survey, 1973. C.S.O.

Share of deciles of population^x / in various types
of income and benefits

Deciles of population	Income gained by any type of work	Family allowance	Child care grant	Benefit covering the 20 weeks of maternity leave	Maternity benefit	Benefits in cash together	Total dis-possible income
Lowest decile - 1.	3 %	16 %	4 %	2 %	9 %	13 %	4 %
2.	5	16	12	3	8	12	6
3.	6	15	16	8	11	11	7
4.	8	13	16	11	12	10	8
5.	9	11	13	15	14	9	9
6.	10	9	11	12	11	9	10
7.	10	7	9	15	12	9	11
8.	13	6	9	13	10	9	12
9.	15	4	6	12	8	9	14
Highest decile-10.	21	3	4	9	5	9	19
T o t a l:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

X Footnote on next page

x/

Population is divided into deciles by monthly income per consumption ^{unit} ~~net~~. Hungarian income-surveys count not only income per capita, but income per consumption-^{unit} ~~net~~, too. These calculations serve to take into account the various needs and the distribution of burdens within the various types of households. Therefore the needs of various cohorts are aggregated taking into account their "weight" in the household.

- a child aged 0-3 is equal to	0,9	cons. ^{unit} net
- a child aged 5-6 is equal to	0,5	cons. ^{unit} net
- a child aged 6-10 "	0,6	"
- a child aged 7-13, not studying and a person over his/her/ productive ages, not working	0,7	"
- a child aged 11-13, studying and pensioners	0,8	"
- "Other grown-up person"	1,0	"
- Common costs of the household /those costs which are independent of the number of persons living together in the household	0,4	"

Live-births by the Duration of Marriage

Year	Year						15-X	To-gether	
	Less than 1 Year	1	2	3	4	5-9			10-14
	Duration of living together in a marriage before childbirth								
1960	27.608	24.763	16.827	13.289	10.879	30.222	11.106	3.751	138.445
1966	29.656	23.370	14.364	10.364	8.925	30.138	10.437	3.286	131.400
1967	27.235	30.077	15.548	12.091	9.659	31.654	11.779	3.414	141.457
1968	33.932	25.926	15.975	12.664	10.484	31.826	12.392	3.463	146.662
1969	34.712	26.335	16.351	12.830	10.293	30.258	11.991	3.493	136.263
1970	35.118	25.671	16.448	13.014	10.154	28.782	10.904	3.489	143.580
1971	35.409	25.090	16.455	13.246	10.368	27.679	10.179	3.529	141.973
1972	35.919	25.052	16.815	13.957	10.703	28.723	9.361	3.549	144.079
1973	37.581	24.661	17.120	14.079	10.870	29.897	9.265	3.547	147.020
1974	41.392	27.573	20.599	17.778	13.902	38.947	11.417	4.138	175.741
1975	43.365	28.516	21.870	18.074	14.469	41.144	11.930	4.068	183.436
1960	19,9	17,9	12,2	9,6	7,9	21,8	8,0	2,7	100,0
1966	22,6	18,2	10,9	8,2	6,8	22,9	7,9	2,5	100,0
1967	19,3	21,3	11,0	8,5	6,8	22,4	8,3	2,4	100,0
1968	23,1	17,7	10,3	8,6	7,1	21,7	8,5	2,4	100,0
1969	23,7	18,0	11,2	8,8	8,0	20,7	8,2	2,4	100,0
1970	24,5	17,9	11,4	9,1	7,1	20,0	7,6	2,4	100,0
1971	24,9	17,7	11,6	9,3	7,3	19,5	7,2	2,5	100,0
1972	24,9	17,4	11,7	9,7	7,4	19,9	6,5	2,5	100,0
1973	25,6	16,8	11,6	9,6	7,4	20,8	6,3	2,4	100,0
1974	23,6	15,7	11,7	10,1	7,9	22,1	6,5	2,4	100,0
1975	23,6	15,5	11,9	9,9	7,9	22,4	6,5	2,2	100,0

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975. C.S.O.

Childbirths according to the length of the period since
previous childbirth

Year	Less then 1 year	Length of the period between present and previous childbirth /year/										Un- know	Second and further chi births together
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7-9	10-14	15-x			
1941	3,8	31,6	24,6	13,0	7,8	8,7	5,8	3,2	0,5	1,0	100,0		
1948											100,0		
1960	2,1	29,0	21,1	14,2	10,5	7,5	5,1	6,8	3,1	0,6	0,0	100,0	
1966	1,7	23,2	18,4	13,0	10,6	8,6	6,9	11,7	5,3	0,6	0,0	100,0	
1967	1,7	23,4	18,2	13,2	10,4	8,3	7,0	11,6	5,6	0,6	0,0	100,0	
1968	1,7	23,5	18,3	13,1	10,2	8,3	6,6	11,9	5,8	0,6	0,0	100,0	
1969	2,1	24,5	18,9	13,0	10,0	7,8	6,3	10,9	5,9	0,7	0,0	100,0	
1970	3,1	25,1	19,7	12,6	9,5	7,6	6,0	10,0	5,6	0,8	0,0	100,0	
1971	2,9	25,5	20,1	13,2	9,7	7,4	5,9	9,2	5,2	0,8	0,1	100,0	
1972	2,9	25,3	20,0	13,0	10,4	7,9	5,8	9,0	4,9	0,8	0,0	100,0	
1973	4,4	24,8	19,6	12,7	10,2	8,4	6,2	8,4	4,5	0,8	0,0	100,0	
1974	4,3	24,9	19,5	12,5	10,0	8,1	6,6	9,1	4,2	0,8	0,0	100,0	
1975	4,4	25,9	18,9	12,1	9,5	8,2	6,6	9,5	4,2	0,7	0,0	100,0	

Source: Demographical Yearbook, 1975. C.S.O.

III. Where the Children Under Age 3 are Most of the Day

Number and Percentage of Children in Various Types of Care

Data below are presented for the total cohort, since the exact number of mothers who have at least one child under age 3 and they are working, is unknown. Data are indicated for 1975. Data with a sign "+" are more or less exact, others are my own estimations, based on various types of informations: a./ number of mothers who have not been employed before childbirth and the demographical characteristics of the sequence of births within a period of 1-3 years; b./ ratio of mothers on child care leave with more than one child.

I cannot present data broken down according to the age of the child within the cohort. Nevertheless data about take-up of child care grant /Chapter B/ and informations about situation in crèches /Chapter C/ give us some insight.

Type of care	<u>Number</u> of children under age 3	<u>Percentage</u>
Children at home with their mother who is on child care leave	295.000	57
Children at home with their mother /mother was a housewife/dependant/ before childbirth/s//	89.000	17
Children in crèches /including those in five-or six-day group care/	55.000	11
Children in preschool ⁺	6.000	1
Children in resident ⁺ nurseries /infants' homes/	4.000	1
Children ^{x/} in other types of care	70.000	13
T o t a l	519.000	100

x/ Most of them are at home with grandparents while mother is working. The number includes those newborn children, too, whose mother is at home with them on paid maternity leave. A small proportion of children /especially children of upper white collars and only in large cities/ are cared for within the framework of some private solution /paid help in own home; cared for in home of non-relative e.t.c./

IV. Where the Children from Age 3 to Compulsory School Age /from age 3 to age 6/ are Most of the Day.

Part of the data are reported /exact/, part of them are estimated. Bases for estimation are given partly by the Income-survey of 1973, partly in a report about the take-up of the child care grant. Data are indicated for 1975.

Type of care	<u>Number</u> of children aged 3-6	<u>Percentage</u>
Children in preschool program ⁺	335.000	76
Children in crèches ⁺	6.000	2
Children in residential state-homes ⁺	5.000	1
Children at home with their mother /mother being a dependent housewife/	80.000	18
Children at home with their mother who is at home with a younger child on child care leave	10.000	2
Children in other types of care	3.000	1
T o t a l	439.000	100

V. "After - School" Arrangements

The problem might be only fragmentary in Hungary, since preschools and crèches operate on a 12 hours basis. The timing ~~(of)~~ opening and closing then is adjusted to the working hours of adults. The issue might be disputed if parents wish some other opening hours. Crèches and preschools attached to enterprises open and close in accordance with shifts of their employees, the users. Most of the child care institution open at 5.30 - 6.00 A.M. and close around 5.30 - 6.00 P.M., working on a two-shifts basis. /Problems arising out of this solution, burdens of the early start and the negative pedagogical-psychological consequences of changing shifts - especially in crèches - have become already quite well known and are much discussed nowadays. I will discuss the issue in more detail in Chapter C/.

B. Social Benefits Which Assist Mothers - Parents - Families
With Young Children

I. Types of Statutory Benefit

Type of the benefit	Available		For parents of children under age 3	For parents of children over age 3	Note
	Yes	No			
Cash or in-kind maternity or childbirth benefits	X		X		Discussed below in detail
Paid maternity or parental leaves for employed women or parents	X		X		Discussed below in detail
Paid maternity or parental leaves for employed parents if no place is available in childcare programs		X			
Unpaid but job-protected maternity or parental leaves for employed parents	X				In several cases for children between 3-6, in special cases over age 6 /up to age 14/
Cash allowance /children's allowance, family allowance/provided a parent because of the presence of a child in a household					For children up to age 16, depending on number of children and some other factors
Cash allowance provided an employed parent to purchase child care by someone other than the parent					Discussed below in some detail

Type of the benefit	Availability		For parents of children under age 3	For parents of children over age 3	Note
	Yes	No			
g/ Cash allowance for employed women who withdraw from the labor force and remain at home to care for a child until the child reaches a specified age	X		X		Discussed below in detail
h/ Cash allowance for mothers regardless of prior labor force status, who remain at home to care for a child until a specified age /Mother's wage/				X	
i/ Single wage earner allowances				X	
j/ Special credits for social security entitlements for mothers who stay home to care for their children /a calculated benefit in social security, without paying the usual contribution/				X	
k/ Tax credits or tax deductions for costs of child care				X	
l/ Special housing allowances or priorities for families with children	X				Specific prerequisites Discussed below in some detail
m/ Special benefits for single parent families	X				For children under age 16 Included in family allowance scheme, discussed there

Type of the benefit	Available		For parents of children under age 3	For parents of children over age 3	Note
	Yes	No			
n/ Special benefits or allowances covering the use of a relative as a child care person /or permission to include relative under regular benefit/		X			
o/ Nursing mother's benefit		X			
p/ Special clothing allowances for food subsidy grants for families with children	X			A coupon for price-reduced milk, for children under age 6	
q/ leave from work or an insurance benefit <u>at home to care</u> for a sick child	X			For children under age 6	Discussed below in detail
r/ Child health services /special maternal and child health programs for all children/	X			For all children	
s/ 1. Extra holidays for mothers of childer under age 14					Discussed below in some detail
2. Reduction of working hours for working mothers of children under age 1					Discussed below in some detail

II. Types of non-statutory benefits

Non-statutory benefits play not a too important role in assisting families with children. These types of benefits are offered by some of the enterprises, by some local branches of trade unions or (rarely) by other, voluntary agencies like e. g. Red Cross.

A great variety of helping mothers do exist - especially in those industries where the ratio of women is higher than average -, but the form of help is not necessarily a "benefit". In many cases it means practical help: finding some suitable form of daily child-care or supervision for the vacation of the child (since paid holidays of the parents are generally less than the vacation of a child); giving priorities to employees with (several) children in the allocation of bonds for buying some place in a state-subsidized holiday-home; e. t. c. Aids are also paid by several firms to help from time to time mothers bringing up children alone.

Other types of "benefits" offered by trade unions or firms are the gifts bought for children of the employees for Christmas and for the "Day of Children". Some benefit in kind or an extra aid is offered at the beginning of the school-year, helping families to buy all the necessary tools and equipment for their children.

III. A. Introductory remarks

1.) The history, as well as the present state and structure of benefits supporting (early) child-care cannot be discussed separately from general characteristics of social policy after the second World War.

Before the War Hungary was an underdeveloped agricultural country. This fact was reflected not only in the structure of the economy, of production and

employment, but in every aspects of policy (including social policy, too). The former social structure and the policy to maintain it can be described shortly with extreme inequalities, systems of guaranteed privileges on the one hand, and the complexity of disprivileges on the other. The rapidly growing working class (its rapid growth went paralelly with the growth of industry in the thirties) was not strong enough to change that semi-feudal character of the society. It lacked traditions and "knowledge" of how to achieve some more of democratic rights, and its trade unions were also without sufficient amount of experience in clashes with the ruling classes. Therefore the various interest-groups were not equal partners for each other : they were unequal not only in power but in handling their power, too. This "anti-equilibrium" of power formulated and determined general social policy of the thirties, which - regarding ideology and regulations - represented a mixture of conservatism of early capitalism and of bismarckian social policy : universal benefits, rights, entitlements practically were non-existent (in accordance with the lack of general insurance schemes enhancing at least those employed), and a great variety of means-tested benefits were in operation, being uncertain and discriminating. In other words : that social policy deeply divided society ; agricultural laborers, smallholders were excluded from any kind of general statutory welfare policies, benefits and programs, remaining excluded even from ordinary services offered by social security. Social policy involved schemes of benefits and programs for the better-off strata, and had a typical "just-to-cure"-policy for the rest of the population, with extremely undemocratic, stigmatizing policy for the poor. The situation of the latter and the tempering of their prolonged struggle for a minimum of existence ^{x)} depended almost exclusively on the benevolence of charity-organisations, voluntary agencies.

x) The reasons were : the fluctuation of agricultural production, unemployment e.t.c.

2.) To eliminate the previous extreme inequalities, to assure more equality and to diminish disparities in every aspects of life - these goals were declared by the new leadership of the country after the war as the fundamental principle of socialist change. The egalitarian goals were laid down in the Constitution, in a series of laws and were realized to some extent in the introduction of the first benefits, covering even at their start a much wider part of the population than previously. The equalizing efforts of the leadership of the country met the elementary claims for change, not only that of the socialist workers' movement, but of a broad stratum of agrarian laborers, peasants, too. Nevertheless, because of general poverty of the country and damages caused by the war (40 per cent of the national wealth was destroyed), the goals could have been realized only on a very low standard in that early period.

The egalitarian striving of social policy can be shown by the fact, that despite hard material difficulties, tensions between ends and means, most of the presently existing benefits were brought into being just after the war, most of them having little in common with their prehistory before the war. (Some of them had no Hungarian prehistory at all.)

The systems and scales of the benefits had undergone several and important modifications during the last 25-30 years, but their basic structure remained unchanged, expressing in itself the continuity of basic goals. The previous preponderance of means-tested benefits has ceased, and most of the new types of benefits became universal in the sense that eligibility for them became independent of one's economic situation (the hated system of the stigmatizing "certificate of poverty" was abolished). Many of the benefits were not only universal but flat-rate, too. (That is true first of all for a great part of benefits assisting families with children.) The high share of benefits in kind within the total range of benefits serves also as a factor of reducing inequalities: their existence represents a guarantee of some standard of consumption for all

those entitled; they should unburden family budgets, that is, to make consumption independent of the material means of families. (The latter function is strengthened by offering them free of charge or on a much reduced - centrally subsidized - price.)

The financing and administration of the benefits became also much simpler. The greatest part of them are covered either in the framework of social security or directly from the state-budget. (However, eligibility for the benefits is not automatic, those entitled have to claim for them.)

3.) Benefits, as well as the main programs assisting child-care and child-rearing have had at least three functions in common from the earliest period on.

The first one has been to help and stimulate female participation in labor force. (Participation of women in itself has been partly an economic necessity of extensive and rapid industrialization, partly a traditional socialist aim of emancipational movements, regarding employment a main prerequisite of further steps toward equal rights and equal position for women in society.)

The second function has been to express and - in accordance with economic development, with the growth of relevant financial resources - to realize the responsibility of society toward new generations, their well-being and education.

The third function has been to eliminate, or, at least, to reduce the previous marked social inequalities regarding the capacities of families in different strata to bring up their children sufficiently. The ratio of universal, flat-rate and in-kind benefits is therefore higher in this field of social policy than in others. (The same striving is expressed, not only in benefit-schemes, but for example, in subsidizing the prices of cloths for children, offering meals for children on a much reduced price e.t.c.)

III. B. Detailed description of benefits assisting families with children

1. MATERNITY BENEFIT

Maternity benefit is offered for the mother, once a child is born. It is a flat grant benefit in cash. The size of the sum a mother gets after childbirth depends on the number of children from the same delivery (it is doubled, e.t.c. in the case of twins) and it is somewhat differentiated according to the number of visits one consulted a physician ^{x)} during the period of pregnancy. The current regulations were introduced in 1974.

History of the benefit

From the beginnings (1949) to 1974 maternity benefit consisted of two parts: a part in kind, and another in cash. Value of the benefit and the inner ratio of the two parts were adjusted several times, especially in the case of cooperative-members in agriculture. That part of the benefit which was given in kind, served to assure the necessary minimum of clothing and napkins for the new-born child. The other part - in cash - represented a share of society in the suddenly grown expenditures of the family.

x) A minimum of required consultations serves to increase the safeness of the pregnant and of her baby.

In cities and in larger villages a gynaecologist supervises the health status of the pregnant. In smaller villages the tasks of supervision and that of giving the necessary advices is carried out by the general practitioner (partly by the district nurse); the pregnant consults a specialist only if necessary because of some kind of complications. Delivery is conducted by a tocologist in a hospital or in a maternity home in more than 99 per cent of the cases.

Detailed history of regulations

Finland
1949 - 1953

The precondition of becoming eligible for maternity benefit was to have a certificate ^{x)} about at least three consultations (three visits at the doctor) during the period of pregnancy. (In the case of premature babies one previous consultation was enough for eligibility.)

At that time the in-kind part of the benefit was represented by a bond ^{xx)} offering an opportunity to buy the first package of 20 napkins on a reduced price. (The price of napkins is subsidized otherwise, too, so in this case it meant a twofold subsidy.)

x) The certificate is called "booklet of the pregnant". It is a document containing several important informations about the health status of the pregnant. Each time a pregnant consults her doctor, the doctor puts in a short description about her state and the changes in it. This certificate serves to ease the conduction of delivery and increases the security of the health of the pregnant and her foetus in any event. After the birth of the child this certificate becomes the basic document entitling for several benefits.

xx) To judge eligibility and the administering of bonds for napkins has been the task of local councils, and it remained in their hands for a long period.

The other part of maternity benefit consisted of a sum of 500 Forints (a flat grant benefit for all the young mothers outside agriculture who have been involved before their birth in the general social insurance scheme.^{x)} Members of cooperatives in agriculture were entitled for an other kind of benefits - see below).

1953 - 1974

The first years of the period (1953 - 1955) can be characterized by a very extensive population policy stimulating childbirth by quite strict regulations

x) The number and the percentage of the population eligible for at least some of the services offered by the rapidly extended general social insurance scheme changed, as follows :

	Number of those involved in general social insurance	Percentage of total population
1938	2.8 million	31
1950	4.4 "	47
1960	8.5 "	85
1965	9.8 "	97
1970	10.0 "	97
1975	10.5 "	100 +)

+) Medical care, hospitalization free of charge become a civic right in 1975.

Source : Statistical Yearbooks of the relevant years.

including the prohibition of abortions. x) The modified regulations of eligibility for maternity benefit served also as a kind of incentives for having more children in the families.

From 1953 to 1957 the eligibility for maternity benefit-in-kind became independent of participation in the insurance scheme : the only prerequisite of

x) As the detailed histories of most of the benefits will show it, their inner modifications (the regulations on extending or curtailing the value or entitlements, e.t.c.) occurred quite parallelly with each other. Population policy always had some influence on these modifications. But three distinct periods can be separated in the last 30 years regarding the greater emphasis given to the interests of stimulating population-growth.

The first period was that of the early fifties. Views on cold war, on the one hand, and the general atmosphere of the voluntaristic policy of these years were the main factors of introducing strict administrative rules on abortions and supporting childbirth by all means. (Nevertheless the manpower-needs of forced industrialization - projected to be a long-term process - should not be neglected, too.) (The strict law prohibiting abortions was repealed in 1956, after it the decision was up to the pregnant, and abortions became practically free.)

The second period of greater concern about the size of future population began in the mid-sixties, after some years of extraordinarily low fertility rate. The new regulations of the period (including the introduction of the child care grant, the raise of family allowances e.t.c.) were much more liberal than before ; instead of administrative (punitive) rules, they tried to stimulate child-birth by means of giving priorities to child-rearing families in the allocation of resources and funds of social policy.

The beginning of the third period can be indicated by the declaration of the Decision on Population Policy of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party in 1973. According to the Decision, the ideal (and propagated) number of children in a family is thought to be three. Important modifications of nearly all of the relevant benefits and programs (and some aggravation on abortions to decrease their high rate) serve to help the realization of the goals of the Decision. The new incentives are in accordance with an other aim of social policy, namely the stressed efforts on supporting large families and on reducing their social and material disadvantages.

entitlement was the number of consultations during pregnancy (at least three consultations were required). The regulations emphasized that the bond for layette was a benefit given to the child,

After 1957 (up to 1974) the regulations changed and the bond became a benefit of the insured mother again.

The value of the bond for layette was fixed in 400 Forints (a flat grant ; the value was equal to about 50 % of per capita monthly income of households of those employed outside agriculture in 1959, and to 24 % of that in 1973).

It became a free choice of the family to decide, what kind of equipment (dresses, napkins, e.t.c.) to buy for their baby in those baby-shops, where they could encash the registered bond (previously the maternity benefit-in-kind helped the purchase of only the necessary napkins). (The administration of getting the registered bond did not change otherwise.)

Regarding in-cash maternity benefit, the regulations for eligibility did not change between 1949 and 1966 only insured mothers outside agriculture were entitled.

The sum of the benefit became somewhat differentiated according to the number of children of the mother in 1953, stimulating the birth of the first child : The value of the benefit was 700 Forint in the case of the first child, and 600 Forint for each of the additional childbirths. If the young mother has not taken part on at least three consultations during the period of pregnancy (and the newborn baby was not premature), than the mother was eligible for a reduced sum of 500 Forints (independently of whether she has had or not a child already). (Other - not very important - differentiations were also introduced concerning the length of the previous period in insurance.)

The whole system of regulations of in-cash maternity benefit has different history in the case of cooperative members in agriculture. x)

The most important difference was that women in agricultural cooperatives got only one type of benefits after childbirth, whereas working mothers outside agriculture were eligible for a second type, too, namely for paid maternity leave. Nevertheless, the sum of the once-paid maternity benefit in the case of cooperative-members was higher than in other branches, intending to cover the living-costs during the period of the otherwise unpaid, but job-protected maternity leave of these mothers.

The special regulations concerning cooperative-members existed between 1949 and 1966, however, the sum of in-cash maternity benefit was raised several times within that period. (Members of cooperatives were eligible for the same in-kind benefit after childbirth, as the others.) Between 1949 and 1953 the value was 1330 Forints ; the last modification within the period occurred in 1963, and

x) The differentiation between the sector of agricultural cooperatives and the other sectors of economy is characteristic not only in the case of benefits assisting childbirth/childcare. Social policy in general followed to some extent the main lines of economic policy in the last 30 years.

One main resource of investments serving forced industrialization in the early fifties was the reallocation of a great part of the total production of agriculture into the industry. In other words : agriculture paid the price of rapid industrialization through the channels of central redistribution.

After 1958 the foundation of great numbers of cooperatives has hindered the economic growth of agriculture for some years.

The organizational and political conditions of abolishing differences between agriculture and the other branches of national economy were achieved only in the mid-sixties. In the last 10-12 years more and more laws, regulations, incentives e.t.c. show the tendency of efforts to minimize the previously marked differences.

by that the sum was raised to 2900 Forints for the first child and 2800 Forints in the case of all additional childbirths. (The sum was about 3,8 times higher than the per capita monthly income of households of cooperative members in 1963.)

In 1966 the same regulations were introduced for women in agricultural cooperatives, which have already been in operation in all other branches. These modifications fundamentally changed the situation since they extended the rights for paid maternity leave. Between 1966 and 1974 cooperative-members were entitled for exactly the same maternity benefit (both, in kind and in cash), as non-agricultural ~~laborers~~. *women & employees*

The present regulations of maternity benefit were introduced in 1974. There are some important new elements :

a.) The previous in-kind part of the benefit was abolished and the whole of the benefit became a once-paid in-cash one.

b.) The sum is differentiated according to one factor only : the number of consultations during the period of pregnancy. That means, that all the other differentiations (according to the duration of previous insurance and whether the child was lively-born or still-born ; the position of the birth-in-question in the birth-order) were repealed. (The differentiation according to the given indicator of health-care - the number of consultations - serves to stimulate for a better self-protection of the pregnant.)

The precondition of getting the full sum of the benefit is, that one had to have at least 4 consultations during pregnancy, and at least one of them had to occur in the first 140 days of the period. In this case the value of the benefit is 2500 Forints/child (more than double of the value of the total sum - in-kind plus in-cash - of maternity benefit before 1974). If any of the preconditions are not met, but there has been at least one consultation than the reduced sum of

the benefit is 1000 Forints. (One consultation makes one entitled for the full sum of the benefit only in the case of premature birth.)

Costs and take-up of maternity benefit

The total budgetary cost of maternity benefits was 431 million Forints in 1975 (covered and administered ^{x)} by social security). That sum is equal to about 43 Forints per inhabitant. Taking into account only those who actually got the benefit in 1975, the average value of the sum paid for them was 2258 Forints. (190 840 childbirths were followed by the payment of the benefit in 1975, some 5000 less than the total number of childbirths in that year. The number of twins is 2 % of the total number of births.)

The full grant - 2500 Forints - was paid in 160 230 cases, the reduced one - 1000 Forints - in 30 560 cases, that is : in 16 % of all occurrences.

The number of children whose birth was not followed by taking up the benefit gave some 2.6 % of all childbirths in that year (1975). The reason might be that a small proportion of the population lives in a very disadvantaged situation, involving a very poor cultural level ; in these circumstances pregnant women often do not get to a physician before delivery.

x) Administration has not changed too much in the last 30 years. The mother has to certify eligibility with her "pregnancy-booklet" and with a document registering the delivery and the number of children (one child or twins, the latter entitling her for a multiple sum). The benefit is paid directly from social security.

Regarding the value of maternity benefit, some relevant ratios can be presented :

Value of maternity benefit	Maternity benefit as a percentage of	
	average monthly earnings of all those employed outside agricultural cooperatives	average disposable income per capita
	in 1975	
Full sum (2500 Forints)	100.5	116.4
Average sum (2258 Forints)	90.8	105.2
Reduced sum (1000 Forints)	40.2	46.6

SICK-PAY FOR CARING FOR A SICK CHILD

Detailed history of the benefit

The need for a kind of guaranteed income in the cases of (temporal or permanent) disability to work has been one of the main traditional claims of workers' movement before the war. ^{x)} Since social insurance schemes at that time involved only a smaller part of those employed (about one-third of the population), the need remained often unsatisfied before 1945.

It is quite understandable that the issue of security of existence was one of the first main concerns of the newly established socialist system after 1945.

x) As far as I know, these basic needs were those met first by social security systems in each of the countries where the system has been established.

The eligibility for a kind of sick pay was among the first rights assured for all those employed. The first law declaring the right was formulated in 1943. x) The same law extended eligibility for a sick-pay for the cases of sickness of the child, too. It declared that working mothers had the right to get a sick-pay for caring for their babies at home (under age 1). The working mother was entitled for the benefit to be able to suckle her child treated in a hospital, too. The regulations concerning the value of sick-pay for caring for children were the same as in the cases of "own" illnesses.

In the case of sick children aged 1 - 6 years working mothers were entitled for an unpaid but job-protected leave.

The regulations were partly modified in 1953, in accordance with the above mentioned greater emphasis on population policy. The eligibility for a sick-pay for caring for sick children was extended up to the age of 2 in the case of working mothers bringing up their child(ren) alone. An extension of eligibility for an unpaid sick-leave was introduced, too: working mothers became entitled up to the age of 10 of their children. (The new regulations permitted to stay at home on an unpaid - job-protected - leave for 30 days/child a year, as a maximum. Mothers bringing up child(ren) alone were entitled for 60 days per child per year. Nevertheless it was left to the decision of the enterprise to give some extra leave if necessary.)

The sum of the sick-pay was defined as a per cent of the average earning of the working mother (the regulations on the value of sick-pay because of child-

x) At the same time medical treatment became free of charge for all those involved in the social security scheme. (The number of those involved was higher than the number of those employed, since children, wives were often entitled on the right of the employed head of the household.)

-sickness have been modified always in accordance with sick-pay in general, and were the same at any given period). If one has been working (and has been insured) for at least two years before claiming for sick-pay benefit than the sum of the benefit was 75 % of the average earning ^{x)}; if previous employment (insurance) has been less than two years then the value was defined at 65 % of average earning.

The special situation of agriculture can be followed in the history of changes of regulations on the eligibility for sick-pay of agricultural cooperative-members, too.

~~Since most of the women in agriculture became involved in the social security-scheme after the end of the campaign of organizing cooperatives in agriculture (around 1963), their rights for the same (or similar) benefits (including sick-pay for caring for sick children) were declared in the mid-sixties. The sick-pay benefit in that case has been called "sickness-aid" ^{xx)}, and concerning the entitlement for the case of ill child, the relevant rules were introduced in 1966. The sum of the benefit was defined as a percentage of the average income rising from work performed in the cooperative during the preceeding year. The ratios varied between 50 and 75 %, depending on the number of days one has worked in the given year in the cooperative.~~

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New (in some respects, radically new) regulations were introduced in 1974 ^{xxx)}, being in operation at the moment. These new regulations reduced the differences between members of cooperatives in agriculture and those employed

-
- x) Average earning was calculated for the preceeding year.
 - xx) The different name covers a somewhat different framework and operation of the relevant insurance-scheme.
 - xxx) The regulations constituted an organic part of the above mentioned new stream in family - and population - policy.

~~W...~~
in other branches. Their new characteristic is, that the age of the child(ren) is taken into account more than previously and the limits on maximum durations of the sick-leave are better adjusted to the arising needs. ^{x)} Another new feature - sociologically quite a radical one - is that the first steps are made toward involving fathers, too. (The share of the father in the responsibility for the mental and psychological well-being and for the care of the child has been a much discussed issue in the last 5-10 years. At the same time, greater emphasis is given to the claims on extending eligibility for various types of child-care-benefits for fathers, too.)

The new regulations are, as follows :

In the case of a sick child under age 1 working mothers and those fathers who bring up child(ren) alone (in the temporal ^{xx)} or permanent absence of the spouse) are entitled for a sick-pay caring for the sick child at home without any limits on duration. If the child is treated in a hospital then mother is entitled for the benefit for the period of breast-feeding.

In the case of children aged 1 - 3 years working mothers and fathers alone are eligible for a paid sick-leave for 60 days per year per child, as a maximum.

The maximum duration of paid sick-leave of working mothers (except those bringing up child(ren) alone) is reduced to 30 days in each year for each

x) The previous regulations on unpaid but job-protected leave because of the illness of the child remained in force. That is : if one needs a leave but the given framework of paid sick-leave has been already exhausted then she (he) is entitled for an unpaid leave. A similar situation occurs in the case of sick children aged 6-10 years.

xx) For example : the mother is abroad ; is in hospital, e.t.c.

child in the case of children aged 3 to 6 years. Those parents (both, mothers and fathers), who bring up child(ren) alone, are entitled for 60 days/child/year.

If a child suffers in scarlet-fever and is cared for at home then the benefit is paid (for 22 days as a maximum) to the person who cares for him (her). That person can be not only the mother or the father, but anybody else, too. If she (he) is employed then is entitled for the regular sick-pay.

Other regulations (concerning e.g. the calculation of the sum of sick-pay) remained unchanged.

The effects of the new regulations can be illustrated by the following data :

Data ^{x)} about paid sick-leave and budgetary costs of sick-pay because of a child is sick

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
	y e a r					
- Total number of days spent on paid sick-leave because of sickness of children (million days)	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.9	4.1	4.4
- Ratio of total number of days spent on paid sick-leave because at child-sickness as a percentage of total number of days on sick-leave (for any reasons)	1.9	1.9	1.9	5.3	5.2	6.1
- Daily average of number of persons on paid sick-leave because of sickness of the child	4 000	4 000	4 100	12 900	13 600	14 600
- Percentage of those being on sick-leave because of sickness of a child on a given day as a ratio of the total number of these employed	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3
- Total budgetary costs of sick-pay granted because of sickness of children (on current prices) (million Forints)	49.6	53.8	55.4	183.4	216.4	245.8
- Average daily cost of the benefit per user (Forints)	40.3	44.3	44.4	48.0	52.3	55.4
- Growth of daily average take-up 1971 = 100	100.0	100.0	102.5	322.5	340.0	365.0
- Growth of total budgetary costs of the benefit (Calculated on constant prices) 1971 = 100	100.0	105.2	105.3	347.6	387.8	427.5

x) Data include only those employed outside agricultural cooperatives.

Source : Statistical Report on Social Security, 1977 and own calculations.

As the data show, the year of 1974 really meant a demarcation-line in the history of the benefit. The two last rows of the table show that the extensions of the benefit had an effect on involving the better-paid strata. It is understandable, since earnings of mothers (parents) with older children are generally higher because of a longer period of employment.

A rough estimation can be made on the average duration of sick-leave because of the sickness of the child (taking into account the number of "eligible children" - whose mother works). According to the estimation the average duration of illnesses is about 9-10 days.

PAID MATERNITY LEAVE

Detailed history

The first law declaring the eligibility of the working mother for a paid leave after childbirth was formulated in 1948. At that time mothers were entitled for a paid leave of 6 weeks.

The first modification of the length of the leave (and the introduction of a regulation on reduced working hours for the period of breast-feeding - see later) constituted a part of the population - and family-policy of the early fifties.

In 1953 the working mother (outside agriculture) became entitled for a 12 weeks long paid maternity leave. In the case of cooperative-members in agriculture maternity leave was unpaid but job-protected. ^{x)} If there were anomalies at the delivery (e.g. premature birth, e.t.c.) the duration of paid

x) As it was mentioned above, women in agriculture got a once-paid maternity benefit, supporting them for the total period of unpaid leave, too.

maternity leave could have been lengthened by an additional period at 4 weeks. (The paediatrist - or the general practitioner - had to make a suggestion on the extension of the leave.)

The sum of the grant for the period of maternity leave was defined as a percentage of the average earning ^{x)} of the mother before childbirth. One got the total sum of the average earning in those cases when she had worked at least 9 months out of the preceding 2 years. ^{xx)} If one had worked less than 9 months but at least 6 months then was entitled for a grant equal to 50 % of her average earning.

The regulations of the period declared that it was desired to return into work after the end of paid maternity leave. But at the same time - if it was necessary because of any reasons - the mother had the right for asking for an additional unpaid leave. (The enterprise had to ensure an unpaid, but job-protected leave for the mother for 3 months as a maximum.)

In 1963 the length of the paid maternity leave was extended again. Working mothers became entitled for a 20 weeks long leave. 4 weeks out of it preceded the expectable date of the birth, but - if otherwise not dangerous for the health-state of the pregnant - she had the right to decide to continue work and spare the total of 20 weeks' leave for the period following the delivery.

If the premature baby was cared for in a hospital, the mother had the right to postpone a part of her paid leave, and she could make use of it later (up to the age of 1 of her baby).

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- x) Average earning was calculated out of earnings of the year before childbirths.
 - xx) With the exception of those who had studied previously, and therefore had a shorter period of employment before childbirth.

In the same year (1963) there was a modification of the potential length of unpaid (job-protected) leave, too. It was radically lengthened: mothers became entitled up to the third birthday of their child. (The extension of unpaid leave can be regarded as one of the immediate antecedents of the introduction of the child care grant.)

Members of agricultural cooperatives became entitled for a paid maternity leave in 1966. Their eligibility was regulated in a similar way, - only slight differences existed according to the specific definitions of labor force participation in agriculture.

Some new (not too important) modifications were introduced in the last years (from 1974 on).

- That part of the grant for paid maternity leave which is spent in hospital (just after delivery) is covered by a higher sum (90 % of average earning) than it has been previously (80 %).

- The grant of those who had worked at least 6 months out of the preceding 2 years (but less than 9 months) is now defined as 65 % of average earnings (it has been previously only 50 %).

- Mothers, who have a second (or third) child within the period of being on child care leave with their older child, have an opportunity to choose between the two grants: either to take up the grant offered for the 20 weeks of maternity leave (that is their previous average earning), or to claim for the child care grant for that period, too (that is, they get child care grant after two or three children). In the case of those with quite low previous earnings the choice might be a real alternative. In March, 1973 450 women took the opportunity. It was about 2-3 % of all childbirths in that month. (The information is given by the Center of Social Security. Previous data are not available.)

Data on paid maternity leave

(Data refer to 1975)

- Total budgetary cost of the grants for paid maternity leave	1 276 Million Forints ^{x)}
- Daily average of mothers on paid maternity leave	53 000
- Average daily value of the grant per user	79.60 Forints
- Average sum of the grant per user for the total period of 20 weeks' leave	11 144 Forints
- Average value of the grant per inhabitant	121.40 Forints
- Percentage of those taking up the grant as a ratio of all employed	1.3 %

Source : Statistical Report of the Center of Social Security, 1977.

x) The grant is directly paid of social security ; payments are administered by the staff of the Center of Social Security. Mothers get the grant by mail, it is sent to their home.

CHILD CARE GRANT

Child care grant has the shortest but perhaps the most interesting history among the benefits discussed in our paper. At the time of its introduction (1967) that type of the benefits was unique, without no previous experiences even of other countries. The Hungarian example and the several favourable features of the benefit have influenced child-care policies of other countries ; several of them have followed Hungary since that time, striving on establishing a similar type of benefits.

Factors playing role in the introduction of the benefit

A short list and description of the main factors playing role in the introduction of the benefit can be presented, as follows :

a.) General economic situation in the mid-sixties

The trends of economic development showed a change in several respects in the mid-sixties. The previously rapid yearly growth of national income has been slowed down somewhat, and some signs of lower rates of growth were observable concerning other indicators (yearly growth of per capita real income ; rates of growth of consumption e.t.c.). Economists interpreted these changes as an end of the period of extensive growth (based mainly on establishing new workplaces and involving large numbers of those previously not employed), and urged a structural change of the economy toward an intensification of production. That striving for structural changes was realized in the elaboration of the system of new economic management (introduced in 1968). The essence of it was to leave a greater autonomy to the enterprise to decide over more details of its activities within the framework of national planning : to orient it toward a more efficient type of production, toward a better utilization of its manpower and capital by applying only indirect regulators.

At the same time there was some fear of the emergence of partial unemployment. Since full employment was a principal socialist value, several (legal, economic, social political e.t.c.) safeguards were established (or strengthened) to avoid unemployment : regulations on the employment- and income-policy of the enterprise, incentives for on-the-job training ; several forms of helping adult-education ; a right for free choice among workplaces (one of the main guarantees) ; e.t.c. Child care grant can also be interpreted as one of these guarantees offered for young (frequently unskilled or semi-skilled) women : it offered an alternative for them to withdraw from the labor force without losing their job after childbirth. It safeguarded them from suffering disadvantages in the competition for workplaces because of childbirth (assured by strict laws on employment, too) ; preserved their rights and entitlements (connected with labor force participation) during the period of young-motherhood, e.t.c.

b.) Temporary tensions in the composition of manpower

A second feature of the general situation in the mid-sixties was a temporary surplus of supply of manpower as an effect of the forced population-policy of the early-fifties. ^{x)} A yearly surplus of 20 - 40 000 young people (aged 14 - 18 years) was expected to enter the labor force in those years. According to

x) Trends and oscillations in the yearly number of live-births can give some illustration :

Year	Number of live-births	Year	Number of live-births
1950	195 600	1960	146 500
1951	190 600	1961	140 400
1952	185 800	1962	130 100
1953	206 900	1963	132 300
1954	223 300	1964	132 100
1955	210 400	1965	133 000
1956	192 300	1966	138 500
1957	167 200	1967	148 900
1958	158 400	1968	154 200
1959	151 200		

the principle of full employment they had to ^{live} had an opportunity either to study or to work. A lengthening of their studies in the forms of secondary and higher education or vocational training meant only a partial solution (made the process somewhat more gradual, but needed investments in schools). The possibility of establishing a great number of totally new workplaces for them was limited because of the above-mentioned general economic problems. ^{x)} The introduction of the child care grant helped to ease these tensions, too: it postponed and made gradual the long-term employment of women of the relevant cohorts (since they entered the labor force for only a shorter period before childbirth); it stimulated some form of substitution in the labor force (enterprises were permitted to employ somebody else instead of the women on child care leave, however, only for the period of her being at home).

~~xxxxxx~~
c.) Characteristics of labor force participation of young mothers

It was calculated on the basis of data gathered since 1963 ^{xx)}, that labor force participation of women with young children was partly a formal one: up to (about) the age of 2 of their child they have spent 30-40 % of their total work-time on an unpaid leave or on sick-leave because of the sickness of the child. However, their "real" ^{participation in} ~~enter~~ and absence ^{of the labour force} could not have been planned: this fact has caused a frequent disorder in the process of production, especially in industries based mainly on women's work (e.g. branches of light-industry). Replacement was often unsolvable. - Child care grant seemed to offer some

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- x) The continuous operation of great numbers of new workplaces in industry was not expected to be guaranteed, since after the organization of cooperatives in agriculture the move of the potential labor force from agriculture into the industry slowed down, too. Agricultural cooperatives at that time were not yet strong enough to hold a great number of non-members either.
- xx) It has to be remembered that the regulations on unpaid (job protected) leave were radically changed in that year, extending the age-limit from 2 months to 3 years.

solution for that problem, too. (Partly by the possibility of substitution, partly by reducing the frequency of sicknesses of the child - see later.)

d.) Trends in population-growth

It was expected that the introduction of the child care grant would stimulate childbirths and positively influence the rate of births. The fertility rates of the years in the first half of the sixties were extraordinarily low; child care grant was expected to change the behaviour of young women (families) in this respect. It turned out, however, that the grant had an effect mainly on the timing of planned births, bringing forward the births of the second (third) child, and it has changed less the fertility-rates. (Nevertheless, fertility-rates became higher. But the share of other factors - including favourable modifications of other benefits and the introduction of new ones - cannot be neglected. These other types of benefits intend to stimulate the number of children, without affecting the date of additional births. Child care grant has a side-effect in influencing a part of the families to shorten the period of the leave whereas to raise the sum, becoming entitled for a grant for more than one child. Some 11-12 % of mothers on child care leave get their grant for more than one child.)

The tendencies can be presented by the following data :

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Year	Rate of births per 1000 inhabitants	Percentage of births according to the position in birth-order			Percentage of births according to the length of the period since previous childbirths (only births out of a marriage)		
		1 st	2 nd	3 rd	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years
		child					
1966	13.6	49.2	31.0	9.2	1.7	22.6	18.2
1967	14.6	48.7	32.4	9.2	1.6	22.9	17.9
1968	15.1	48.3	33.6	9.1	1.7	22.9	18.2
1969	15.0	48.8	33.3	9.1	2.0	23.9	18.8
1970	14.7	48.9	33.5	9.1	2.9	24.5	19.6
1971	14.5	49.1	33.6	9.1	2.8	24.9	20.1
1972	14.7	48.9	34.3	9.0	2.8	24.6	19.9
1973	15.0	48.6	34.2	9.7	4.3	24.2	19.6
1974 ^{x)}	17.8	44.3	33.1	10.7	4.2	24.5	19.5
1975	18.4	43.4	39.3	11.0	4.3	25.5	18.9

x) The effects of new incentives of population-policy have to be taken into consideration, too.

Handwritten note: "to see from statistics, and then by a little further discussion"

e.) Shortage of places in the creches

An important consideration proofing the necessary introduction of a new form for caring for children under age 3 was the insufficient supply of places for children in creches. In those years only about 9 % of the relevant age cohort

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could have been admitted. Creches were overcrowded ^{x)}, providing an unsatisfactory care (high frequency of sickness; high rate of children showing the distressing signs of hospitalization, neurosis e.t.c.).

An other important aspect was that by reducing the demand for places in creches, a reallocation of resources and a concentration of investments could be realized for preschools. The foundation of great numbers of places in preschools can assure a better supply for the next age-group (children aged 3-6), for children, entering group-care after the end of child care leave of their mothers.

f.) Other considerations

1.) The introduction of a new type of a universal flat-rate in-cash benefit served other, general aims of social policy, too. It expressed a priority given to child-rearing families, and was expected to contribute to further reduction of income-inequalities.

2.) The previously accumulated experiences on the unfavourable consequences of early group-care on the development of children (their higher risk in getting severe illnesses; break of personality-development; a worsening of physical state e.t.c.) gave some further arguments for helping families with young children to solve individual home-care.

3.) The considerations on easing the overburdening of young working mothers (the much discussed issue of tensions arising of their second and third

x) The number of admitted children per 100 places was 114 in 1960, and increased to 124 in 1966. After the introduction of the child care grant there was some decrease: the number was 124 in 1967, 112 in 1969. From the beginnings of the seventies a new wave of increase started, approaching the ratio of 1966 in 1973. The monthly value of the child care grant was raised in 1974, a new decrease of the level of overcrowding followed it: the number of children per 100 places was reduced to 117. (It has to be noted that the number of places grew by about 45 % between 1966 and 1975.)

shifts in the household) also played some role in preferring a solution that could promote the integrity and more balanced life of the family.

The introduction of the benefit ; modifications of eligibility since 1967

As a result of the above discussed circumstances and considerations, the new type of benefits, the child care grant was introduced in 1967.

The prerequisites to become entitled were the following :

- For working mothers (outside agricultural cooperatives) : one had to have a continuous full-time employment in the 12 months before child-birth, or had to work (full-time) at least 12 months out of the preceding 18 months.
- For members and employees of agricultural cooperatives : one had to work full-time at least 120 days in the cooperative within the preceding 12 months (full-time work in this case means a work-day of 10 hours).

The mother who wants to take up the grant, has to appeal for an unpaid leave at her workplace ; for the period of the unpaid leave she becomes entitled for the grant. ^{x)} The maximum duration of child care leave was defined in 1967 to cover the period up to the age of 30 months of the child (that meant roughly 25 - 26 months after the 20 weeks of maternity leave).

x) The budgetary costs of the grant are met by the state-budget but the transfer goes through the administration of Social Security.

Child care grant was declared as a ~~proportional~~ flat-rate benefit. x)

The value of the grant was 600 Forints per child ^{xx)} in case of mothers outside agricultural cooperatives, and 500 Forints per child for cooperative-members (and employees of cooperatives).

The mother had the right to break off the leave because of two types of reasons :

a.) the birth of an additional child (then the mother became entitled again for the 20 weeks of maternity leave and for her total previous earning as the benefit covering maternity leave),

b.) the mother became ill and her sickness proved to be a lasting one (more than 30 days) : in this case - by interrupting the child care leave - she became entitled for a regular sick-pay. ^{xxx)}

x) Some discussion has been going on about the issue : because of socially different ratios of take-up, there were some, who suggested to transform the scale of the benefit and to make it wage-related. Up to now these suggestions have been refused with the following arguments :

- a) a flat-rate grant expresses the equal importance of each child for the society,
- b) it has the equalizing function in income - redistribution, reducing the inequalities between families with different numbers of dependant children,
- c) the socially different rates of take-up have several causes and financial reasons constitute only a part of them.

xx) The sum covered about 40 per cent of the average monthly female earnings in 1967.

xxx) Generally both kind of benefits (that for maternity leave and sick-pay) represented a higher value than the child care grant.

In 1969 the maximum duration of child care leave (and eligibility for the grant) was extended to the age of 3 of the child. At the same time the circle of those eligible was broadened, too : young mothers previously studying on day-courses and entering the labor force within 90 days after the end of their studies became entitled (independently of the length of actual employment before childbirth).

Successive increases of the value of the grant have been introduced in the last years, for several reasons. The following table summarizes these modifications :

Changes in the value of child care grant

Changes in the value of child care grant

Year	Reasons of increase	Value of the benefit per child	
		For women outside agricultural cooperatives	For women as members or employees of agricultural cooperatives
1967	-	600	500
1973	Additional 50 Forints per child to compensate for the increase of prices of milk and dairy-products	650	550
January, 1974	Differentiation according to the number of children; general increase of the values to adjust them to average standards of living	1st child : 800 2nd child : 900 3rd child : 1 000	1st child : 700 2nd child : 800 3rd child : 900
September, 1974	Additional 50 Forints per child to compensate for the increase of prices of fuel	850, 950, 1050	750, 850, 950
July, 1975	Additional 60 Forints per child to compensate for the increase of prices of meat and meat-products	910, 1010, 1110	810, 910, 1110

The most important modification of regulations was introduced in 1974. The value of the benefit was differentiated according to the number of children, stimulating for second and third childbirths. (The number of all births has to be taken into account. That means that a mother who had previously one - still-born or already died - child, gets the higher grant in the case of a following childbirth.)

Some further modifications (reflecting on the effects of the benefit on the economy) can also be mentioned.

Since, the composition of the labor force has changed for the seventies ^{x)}, some side-effects of the benefit became observable: A shortage of manpower because of high ratio of missing labor force (i. e. women on child care leave) caused quite serious problems in production in those branches where mostly women were employed. ^{xx)}

x) The numerous cohorts have already entered the labor force and began to take up the child care grant in a higher ratio, the number of new entrances was decreasing; other structural changes have occurred as an outcome of the new economic management-system, e. t. c.

xx) Percentage of those on child care leave in the total number of employees in various branches of the economy

	December, 1975	%
Industry		7,3
Out of it :		
- Engeneering industry		6,1
- Building-material industry		7,2
- Chemical industry		6,9
- Textile industry		14,0
- Leather-work		12,2
- Clothing industry		16,2
- Food industry		7,4
Building industry		2,4
Agricultural cooperatives		3,8
Average in the total of the national economy		5,6

Source : Statistical Yearbook, 1975, C. S. O.

Therefore some modifications were introduced to stimulate the return to the labor force :

Mothers on child care leave got the right to break off the leave for an additional reason, namely to turn back to work. First the opportunity was given only once during the 3 years, but in 1976 it became extended, and now child care leave can be interrupted once in each year.

The same goal is served by an other new regulation, permitting one type of gainful work beside the take-up of the grant ^{x)} : mothers on leave can accept 1 - 3 other children to care for (a kind of non-registered, daily care in the home of a non-relative). It is hoped also to ease somewhat the shortage of places in creches by this means. ^{xx)}

Opinions and debates about the benefit

The grant became very popular, as data on the tendencies of take-up show it (see in the series of tables to this subsection). It offers a real alternative for most of the young mothers. Their overburdens have diminished, and they can better concentrate on the needs of their children and family. The grant had a favourable effect on the situation and pedagogical atmosphere of the creches, too.

Nevertheless the grant has some doubtful effects, too.

a.) The decision to remain at home on child care leave has several *Wandlungen* consequences : the young women decides about her immediate future. She becomes

x) Previously any type of gainful work during the period of child care leave was prohibited, to avoid the misuse of the benefit, since it is intended to offer a good care of the child and not an additional opportunity for uncontrolable work of the mother.

xx) The number of those utilizing the opportunity is unknown.

a "housewife" for several years, and stops or retards her self-development in skills, qualification, e.t.c. (not to speak about the forgotten elements of her work-routine). Therefore she suffers disadvantages in several respects when she turns back to work. ^{x)} These unavoidable side-effects often retain better-skilled and professional women from taking up the benefit : they take it up in a significantly smaller ratio and for a shorter period than those without qualifications or with more unfavourable work. But on a societal level that means some increase of inequalities among women of different social strata. ^{xx)}

b.) The opportunity offered by the child care grant has some unfavourable side-effects on the relations between men and women, husbands and wives. A general experience is that families change their inner relations in the period of the mother's leave : the father becomes the "outdoor" representative of the family, whereas the mother takes small part in all the matters occurring in outside world. It introduces a traditional pattern of division of labor, division of responsibilities, interests, e.t.c. Young husbands often reduce their participation in home-chores, whereas the young mother tries to certify the importance of her activity by focusing on household - obligations in an exaggerated manner ; she is becoming a "housewife", neglecting often the aim of her being at home : the child. On the other hand, the whole shift frequently makes women nervous, since they are unsatisfied with their new situation. It is insufficient for them to be closed, since they got used to a more eventful life, and they feel themselves excluded. A frequent situation is that they become aggressive with their child as if he were the "cause" of their problems. *was ...*

x) Material disadvantages are smaller since the enterprise is obliged to pay the returning mother a higher wage/salary, than before childbirth including all those increases that her work- have got as regular yearly increase during the period of her being on child care leave.

xx) I have to stress that not only financial reasons play a role (the greater loss of income of better-paid women by taking up the grant), but the importance of their work. Some findings of surveys on the motivations of women on entering the labor force seem to prove it, too.

~~xxx) These frustrated women on child care leave become sometimes alcoholists.~~

c.) The third - doubtful - side-effect of the benefit is that it stimulates somewhat for shortening the period between successive childbirths, thereby exposing the woman (and the next child) to a higher risk of health-problems, complicated pregnancy and delivery ; higher risk of premature birth or spontaneous abortion e.t.c. (See the table in the series after the subsection.)

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
Suggestions for further modifications

a.) One main suggestion is for extending eligibility on the grant and to make it a parental right. The arguments are involved in the critique of the side-effects : it would offer a more real alternative for the families ; they could decide about dividing the whole period between mother and father and by that both would reduce losses regarding temporary non-participation in labor force ; it would reduce the above-mentioned types of inequalities, e.t.c.

b.) Some would like an other type of extension of eligibility : to involve employed grandmothers. (~~XXXXXXXXXX~~)

c.) A quite general suggestion is to introduce an automatic yearly increase in the value of the grant, and adjusting it to increasing living-costs. It would keep standard the attractiveness of the grant (without a bias in the direction of lower-paid women).

d.) Some suggestions are formulated relating the benefit to child-care institutions :

Since both, the number of places and the pedagogical atmosphere is generally better in preschools than in creches, it is desirable to make entrance to the preschools more flexible, concerning age-limits. On the other hand, a series of new incentives serve to increase the construction of more creches and to make them more attractive places (offering "family-like" care for children).

e.) There are some suggestions on easing manpower shortage related to the child care grant : Some argue to modify the benefit and make it degressive by duration. According to the idea the sum of the grant would be highest for the first year, lower for the second, and much decreased for the third. A positive function of the solution would be (aside the desirable effects on turning back to work) that the age of the children in creches would become less uneven and pedagogical work more balanced.

Trends of the take-up of the child care grant

Year	Total number of those eligible	Number of those taking up the benefit	Percentage of those taking up the benefit in the entitled population
1967	85 600	61 400	72
1968	97 400	68 200	70
1969	105 200	69 100	66
1970	113 100	77 000	68
1971	115 200	82 000	71
1972	121 500	89 000	73
1973	126 000	98 200	78
1974	136 200	117 800	86
1975	150 100	123 700	82
1976	152 400	121 900	80

Source : Ten Years of the Child Care Grant, 1967 - 1976, Center of Social Security, 1977, Budapest.

Total budgetary costs of the child care grant,
1967 - 1976

Year	Total budgetary costs of the child care grant		Supplementary expenditures covering the rise of prices of milk, fuel and meat	Total budgetary costs
	Employed Mothers Outside Agricultural Cooperatives	Members of Agricultural Cooperatives		
MILLION FORINTS				
1967	60	4	-	64
1968	420	29	-	449
1969	815	55	-	870
1970	1 108	83	-	1 191
1971	1 223	97	-	1 320
1972	1 293	104	-	1 397
1973	1 406	115	-	1 521
1974	2 180	164	40	2 384
1975	2 685	179	142	3 006
1976	3 033	183	260	3 476

Source: Ten Years of the Child Care Grant, 1967 - 1976, Center of Social Security, 1977, Budapest.

The percentage of those on child care leave out of those eligible in the various age-groups

Age of the eligible mother	Take-up of the benefit as a percentage of the total number of those eligible				
	1967	1968	1969	1972	1973
- 19	62.9	66.8	65.6	74.3	80.4
20 - 24	75.1	73.0	68.9	76.9	82.3
25 - 29	71.9	69.6	64.2	70.5	74.8
30 - 34	67.2	65.6	61.2	68.1	69.8
35 - 39	65.9	63.6	58.5	64.1	67.9
40 -	60.0	60.8	59.5	63.3	67.6
Total	71.7	70.1	65.7	73.2	77.9

Source : Main Data on Child Care Grant, 1967 - 1974, C. S. O. 1975.

Take-up of the child care grant according to the educational level of the mother
(Percentage of all those eligible)

Educational level	1967	1968	1969	1972	1973
Primary	77.3	76.2	71.6	76.0	81.1
Secondary	65.3	63.9	59.9	72.5	76.4
Higher	34.4	33.0	32.6	50.8	56.2

Source : Main Data on Child Care Grant, 1967 - 1974, C. S. O. 1975.

Distribution according to the duration of the period on child care leave ^{x)}

Duration of being at home on child care leave	Total	Out of the total	
		Blue collars	White collars
Less than 6 months	11.9	7.8	18.1
7 - 12 months	15.2	12.4	19.5
13 - 18 months	12.2	10.8	14.5
19 - 24 months	11.6	11.2	12.2
25 - 30 months	13.5	13.9	13.0
31 months or more	35.6	43.9	22.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

x) Data of those turning back to work from child care leave between 1, July, 1973 and 30, June, 1974.

Source : Main Data on Child Care Grant, 1967 - 1974, C.S.O. 1975.

Distribution of those on child care leave according to the number of 0 - 3 aged

children in the family

December, 1976

Those on child care leave with	Outside agricultural cooperatives		Agricultural cooperatives		Together	
	Total sum of the benefit	Percentage in total population on leave	Total sum of the benefit	Percentage in total population on leave	Number	%
					of population	
One child						
1st	800	42.0	700	34.8		
2nd	900	35.0	800	37.1		
3rd	1 000	11.4	900	19.2		
Together		88.4		91.1	254 460	88.7
Two children						
1st - 2nd	1 700	8.1	1 500	5.7		
2nd - 3rd	1 900	2.1	1 700	1.9		
3rd - 4th e.t.c.	2 000	0.9	1 800	1.1		
Together		11.4		8.7	31 973	11.1
Three children						
1st - 2nd - 3rd	2 700	0.2	2 400	0.1		
2nd - 3rd - 4th	2 900	0.0	2 600	0.0		
3rd - 4th - 5th e.t.c.	3 000	0.0	2 700	0.1		
Together		0.2		0.2	708	0.2
Four children						
1st - 2nd - 3rd - 4th 2nd and additional	3700-4000	0.0	3 300	0.0	8	0.0
Total		100.0		100.0	287 150	100.0

Source: Ten Years of the Child Care Grant, 1967-1976. Center of Social Security, 1977, Budapest.

OTHER TYPES OF STATUTORY BENEFITS

A brief description

1.) Family allowance

The enclosed tables on the modifications of the value of the benefit and on the take-up will give some insight.

According to the present regulations :

- All those families where the number of children is at least two, and at least one of the parents was employed for at least 21 days of the preceding month are entitled, up to the age of 16 of the children. If the older child (children) are over the age-limit but there is one under it, then the number of non-entitled children is taken into account and the family gets the relevant ratio of the benefit.

The number of children is taken into account in the case of divorces : if one of the parents marries again and has children out of the new marriage, then the number of children out of the previous marriage is taken into consideration.

- Those parents who bring up a child alone, are entitled for one child.

- If there is one child only but he (she) is handicapped then the family is entitled.

The benefit is universal and flat-rate. Costs are covered by Social Security. The total budgetary cost of the benefit gave 6 426 Million Forints, representing about 14 per cent of the total expenditures of Social Security.

The rates of family allowance in forints (monthly sums)

Year, month	In families with children				Surplus per child in larger families	Parents alone ^{xxx)} with children ^{xxx)}	Allowance after three children as a % of the average wage
	1	2	3	4			
	children						
	Workers and employees						
1946. X.	10	24	42	64	26 - 18	10	24
1947. I.	18	36	54	72	18	18	36
1948. I.	18	40	66	96	34 - 50	18	40
1951. XII.	30	75	135	210	50 - 100	30	75
1953. III.	-	75	180	260	70 - 110	30	75
1959. IV.	-	75	360	430	120	90	240
1965. VII.	-	200	360	480	120	90	240
1966. II.	-	300	510	680	170	140	340
1972. I.	150 x)	300	810	1 030	270	240	540
1973. I.	200 x)	400	960	1 280	320	290	640
1974. VI.	300 x)	600	960	1 280	320	300	640
1975. VII.	300 x)	600	960	1 280	320	300	640
1976. VI.	350	720	1 140	1 520	380	360	740
	Members of co-operatives						
1953. III.	-	-	144	208	72 - 80 - 60	-	-
1959. IX.	-	-	210	280	70	70	140
1966. VII.	-	140	210	280	70	70	140
1968. VII.	-	200	360	480	120	120	240
1972. I.	100 x)	200	660	880	220	220	440
1973. I.	150 x)	300	810	1 080	270	270	540
1974. VI.	250 x)	500	810	1 080	270	270	540
1975. VII.	300 x)	600	960	1 280	320	300	640
1976. VI.	350	720	1 140	1 520	380	360	740

Source : Statistical Yearbooks, and the successive decrees on family allowance.

x) In case of more than one child, but when the elder children cease to qualify.

xx) Or handicapped children.

xxx) Until 1968 only mothers alone were entitled, since 1968 this is a parental right.

Distribution of families getting family allowance, according to the number of children
for whom they got the benefit (%)

Year	Parents-alone with		Families, getting family allowance for							Together
	1 child	2 children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more	
1960	7.9	3.1	-	55.0	21.6	7.5	2.9	1.3	0.7	100.0
1965	9.0	3.5	-	58.1	19.6	6.0	2.2	1.0	0.6	100.0
1970	13.0	3.8	-	62.9	13.8	3.8	1.5	0.7	0.5	100.0
1971	13.8	3.9	-	63.1	13.1	3.6	1.4	0.6	0.5	100.0
1972	13.6	4.1	4.6	60.0	12.1	3.3	1.2	0.6	0.5	100.0
1973	13.0	3.9	9.1	57.5	11.4	3.0	1.1	0.6	0.4	100.0
1974	12.5	3.7	12.4	55.7	10.9	2.8	1.1	0.5	0.4	100.0
1975	12.3	3.7	14.1	54.9	10.7	2.5	0.9	0.5	0.4	100.0

Source : Statistical Yearbook, 1975. C.S.O.

2.) Special housing allowances or priorities for families with children

Several forms exist. Since housing-problem is perhaps the most urgent social problem of the country, all these forms help to facilitate families with children with a dwelling, to assure their priorities in purchases as well as in the case of building up new flats on own efforts.

a.) In cities (where the shortage is most pressing) a form of price-reduction was introduced in 1971 at some forms of purchases : a young couple can make a contract with the National Savings Office (granting credits for purchases) ; according to the contract the young couple should have one child within 3 years or 2 children within 6 years and by signing that contract they get a reduction covering about 8 - 10 or 16 - 20 per cent (respectively) of the total price of the flat. (It was introduced to stimulate childbirths, too.)

b.) In the allocation of state-owned flats (administered by the local councils) families with 3 children have to get above-all priority. Since waiting lists are extremely long, that priority (extended to families with 2 children very recently) means often several years.

c.) Several forms of higher credits and a great variety of benefits offered by the enterprises to their employees with children try to ease the problem and to reduce the period while children are exposed to bad housing-conditions.

3.) Special grants for subsidizing consumption

a.) One type of subsidies was already mentioned : the flat-grants given to families for compensating the increase of prices of some goods (see the description of the child care grant). The last increase of family allowances was introduced also for the same reason in 1975.

b.) State-subsidized prices of dresses, shoes, coats, e.t.c. for children also can be mentioned here.

c.) Pregnant women from the fifth month of pregnancy to the age of 1 of their child, and children from their birth up to the age of 6 are eligible for a milk-card : a card entitling them to buy 0.5 liter milk per day for a much reduced price (the price is about 25 per cent of the ordinary one). Each month the family has to express the claim for that price-reduced milk (it is a special kind of milk, produced only for that purpose : it is double-pasteurized and separately stored) in one of the shops near-by, and then they can buy it in that shop everyday. (Because of organizational and other problems there are some settlements where the sufficient supply of special milk is unsolvable.)

4.) Child health service system is described in the previously mailed paper of Alice Hermann.

5.) There are two types of benefits related to work-time I would like to mention.

a.) Reduced working hours for mothers with a child less than 9 months old.

The benefit serves to ensure a solution of feeding (first of all of breast-feeding) of the infant while mother works. The benefit was introduced in 1953 and the regulations changed somewhat in 1967. The working mother (who is not on child care leave) is entitled for a reduction of daily working hours up to the age of 9 months of the infant. In case of a child under 6 months the reduction is : three quarters of an hour twice a day (at the beginning and at the end of the shift or regular working hours), but the mother can utilize the whole of the 1.5 hours reduction - if desired - either at the beginning or at the end of the work-time. In case of children aged 6 - 9 months the reduction is a once-utilized portion of

three quarters of an hour.^{x)} The mother utilizing the reduction of working hours for feeding her infant^{xx)} is entitled for the relevant part of her average monthly earning for the hours covered (in other words : no decrease of her earning is permitted because of feeding the child). The benefit is paid by the enterprise.

Since the introduction of the child care grant the benefit has lost somewhat its importance. Nevertheless it eases the situation of young working mothers in several cases.

b.) Extra holidays for mothers with children

Working mothers bringing up children under age 14 are entitled for extra holidays. In case of one child they are entitled for 2 extra days, in case of two children under age 14 the number of extra holidays is 5, and if they have 3 or more children, then they are entitled for 9 extra days a year. They get their average earning for these extra holidays from their work-place. Mothers have the right to decide the date of the utilization of their eligibility.

The declared goal of the benefit is to decrease overburdens of mothers with children,

The same goal is served by an other kind of benefits : mothers with at least two children under age 14 are entitled for one day of unpaid leave in each month (apart from their eligibility for paid holidays).

x) Between 1953 and 1967 the reductions were $2 \times \frac{1}{2}$ hours and $1 \times \frac{1}{2}$ hour, respectively.

xx) In case of twins reductions are multiplied.

Chapter C. Programs and Services to Care for Children Outside of Their Own Homes

I. Types of Programs or Services

Program or Service	Available		For under 3 only	For under 3 as well as other children	Comment
	Yes	No			
A. Group, center-based child care	X		X	In exceptional cases for children over 3 who temporarily remain in the creche	Discussed in detail below
B. Statutory or social agency-operated family day care		X			
C. Individually operated family day care	X		For a fragmentary part of the cohort. Recent modifications on child care grant created the opportunity (See in the sub-section on child care grant)		In the lack of informations no description will be presented
D. Preschool (under educational authorities)	X		In exceptional cases children under age 3 are admitted	Only for children aged 3 - 6	At the moment only a discussion is going on about extension of the preschools for age-groups under 3. A description of the program is presented on pp. 385-422 of the reproduced part of the book of Alice Hermann
E-II. Other types of programs	X		Cover only fragmentary parts of the cohort		In the lack of informations no detailed description can be presented

II. Detailed description of center-based daily care for children under age 3 :
the creche

1. Name and Description of the Model

The name of the program in Hungarian is : BÖLCSÖDE ; the exact meaning of the word in a strict translation would be : a place where cradles of babies are put.

The program offers a daylong care for children under age 3 whose mother works. As it was shown above, most of the children of the relevant cohort are cared for at home (by their mothers on child care leave or by somebody else - the grandmother e.t.c.). Nevertheless some 11 % of children aged 0 - 3 are involved in the program.

Since the introduction of the child care grant the distribution of children according to their age has changed and there has been a shift toward "older" sub-groups within the cohort :

The distribution of children in creches according to their age
(December, 1975)

Age of the children in months	Percentage distribution
0 - 11 months old	6.6
12 - 17 " "	22.0
18 - 35 " "	61.2
Over 36 months	10.2
Together	100.0

The program does not offer education for the children. The main goal is to establish a situation as close to home-situation as possible and assist the child in developing many-sided abilities. The widely accepted current view about the function of the creche is, that it should not only guard the children while mothers work but should provide them a warm atmosphere and facilitate them with all the

necessary requisites of a healthy, joyful and happy life. ^{x)} Pedagogically the main emphasis is nowadays on the autonomous activities of children with only an indirect participation of the nurse. ^{xx)}

~~_____~~
Regarding administration, creches operate under the direction and supervision of the Ministry of Health. (Local supervision is executed by the Departments of Health of the local councils.) The Ministry defines standards and elaborates main objectives of the program. The training of the staff is also organized by the Ministry of Health, in coordination with the Ministry of Education.

Each creche is attached to a methodological creche that organizes on-the-job training; the chief nurse of these methodological creches has to visit and supervise periodically other creches in the surrounding. The National Methodological Center of C reches has the task to elaborate and introduce new methods of care,

-
- x) The introduction of the child care grant produced some pressure on creches to redefine their functions: since the alternative offered by the grant has eased somewhat the demand for places in creches, both, the possibility and the requirement was given to turn from mere "physical care" toward paying more attention to pedagogical and psychological needs of children. A slow shift can be observed in this respect.
- xx) Some recent studies have shown that creativity of children in creches is one of the most endangered abilities, since nurses want to "teach" them how to play "best". They often suffer disadvantages regarding autonomous thinking and initiatives as compared to children cared for at home.

The explanation is that nurses of creches generally measure the effectivity of their work by comparing themselves to preschools. They want to "prepare" children to fit best to the requirements of preschools (the next program level) and since preschools are explicitly educational institutions, the staff of the creche tries to imitate methods of them. The later side effects and disadvantages of an early uniformity, the peculiarities of different ages and phases of child-development are often not taken into account.

to suggest modifications in the schedule of different age-groups, to define pedagogical requirements and to coordinate the modification of technical standards (place ; norms for food e.t.c.).

The district paediatrist or the general practitioner supervises sanitary conditions and health status of children in the creche.

Financial resources are provided to a great extent by the state budget (that transfers it to local councils), and in a smaller part by the enterprises. (See in more detail below.)

2. Program content

Mmmmmmm
a.) See in more detail in the previously mailed material of Alice Hermann, on pp. 379-382.

b.) There is no general agreement on the best and worst ages. The dispute is going on between those preferring home care of the child for as long a period as possible and those who prefer an early introduction of the child into groups-life.

Main arguments of those preferring home-care: The child builds up the first and decisive patterns of emotional life and the whole of his personality in the first years of his life. The precondition of a well-grounded pattern is the opportunity to establish a constant and close relationship with a person who concentrates love and attention on the child. The chances for the realization of a stable connection with one person (mostly with the mother) are higher in a family than even in the best group-care. Therefore no "best age" can be defined when to attend group care under age 3. But if it is necessary and unavoidable than it should be postponed as much as possible. (The arguments are held mostly by psychologically trained paediatrists and child-psychologists. However,

staff in a great number of creches has changed its preferences toward admitting older children, and - if possible - they try to convince mothers of very young infants to stay with the child on child care leave.^{x)} The arguments are supported by several investigations on the frequency and severity of sicknesses of children in creches as compared to those at home ; experiments and observations on general - mental, physical and emotional - development of the two groups e.t.c.

The arguments on the other side - preferring early group-care - are held by those (psychologically untrained) doctors, district nurses e.t.c., who stress the better facilities, equipment and hygaemic conditions provided by a creche. The other part of the argumentation consists of a superficial observation : the very young infant does not show the signs of conflict and disappointment when gets to a creche ; it seems as if he better got used to radical changes, more easily accepted the separation from his mother, e.t.c. Neverthelss there has been accumulated more and more evidence on a deeper break in the further development, a higher probability of later retardation e.t.c.

c.) The introduction of the child (and of his mother) into the creche became a vital issue in recent years. A special series of programs for gradual introduction of the child into group-life was elaborated. The aim of these programs is to alleviate the negative effects and emotional break produced by the radical change of the situation of the child, to ease the difficulties of getting accustomed to the new circumstances. There are four main types of gradual introduction in operation at the moment :

1.) The duration of the period of introduction is defined in one week and the mother spends the day in the creche, arrives and leaves together with her child.

x) Their considerations are influenced, of course, by the length and composition of the waiting list, too.

2.) Gradual introduction over a period of one week without the participation of the mother. In this case gradualness means only steps in the lengthening of the duration a child spends day by day in the creche (from 1 - 2 hours a day to 8 - 10 hours per day). Mother only brings her child and picks him up, but does not take part in the daily activities in the creche.

3.) The period of gradual introduction is extended to two weeks ; mother participates in the activities in the group.

4.) The period of introduction covers two weeks, but mother does not take part.

The most frequently realized form is N⁰ 1. x)

The steps of the program are the following :

First day: Mother and child are together in the creche for a period of 3 hours (no meal is given to the child, but he is invited to take part in the play e.t.c.). Mother clothes the child. The nurse only observes it and tries to establish a friendly contact with the child.

x) The form of gradual introduction depends on the possibilities on both sides : whether the creche can admit the child before mother actually has to turn back to work (present regulations do not make it possible in each case to admit a child whose mother is on child care leave. But generally creches interpret it in a more flexible way and try to admit the child somewhat before the mother really has to go back to work. The duration of the period of gradual introduction depends on the number of children the creche has to admit within a given period (the pressure of the waiting list ; number of children leaving the creche and entering preschools e.t.c.).

On the other hand sometimes mothers cannot find a solution to make themselves "free" for a period of two weeks.

Second day : Mother and child spend together 4 - 5 hours in the creche ; one meal is given, the mother feeds the child, the nurse is only a passive observer.

Third day : Mother and child spend again 4 - 5 hours in the creche ; the meal is served by the nurse and the mother is asked to remain passive.

Fourth day : Two meals are given. The nurse tries to involve the child in more and more activities of the group. Mother remains there for the whole day. The child can turn to her as many times as he wishes.

Fifth day : First sleep in the creche. After that sleep mother and child leave the creche.

Sixth day : Mother is not in the creche through the whole period of wakefulness but comes for the child just after sleep and they leave.

Seventh day : The first "normal" day in the creche.

Mothers are requested not to establish contact with other children in the group and to remain a passive observer as far as possible. But they have to be ready to help or to calm their own child. Cooperation of the nurse and the mother is an essential precondition of success.

The new program of gradual introduction is welcome by mothers and nurses, too. The favourable consequences are :

a.) The child is much more quiet and well-balanced on the first day when mother leaves him alone in the creche.

b.) Mothers get some insight : they have an opportunity to learn a lot about the schedule, the daily rythm of life in the creche, the everyday rules and

customs and the main principles serving as a basis for the care given by the nurse.

c.) Nurses can better get acquainted with the child, have more opportunity to establish a good contact with him in harmony with the mother's will ; the nurse can immediately ask all the arising questions. She can observe how the mother cares the child, how she feeds him ; what are the typical reactions of the child and what are the answers of the mother for them e.t.c.

d.) Fathers do not take too much part in the program and at the moment it is less initiated.

e.) No special influence of any broad and classic theories can be mentioned. ^{x)} Nevertheless the influence of Piaget and Wallon can be shown, though it is quite indirect. But it has to be taken into account that the mere presence of any of the psychological theories and the partial effect of child-development considerations guiding or orienting the work in creches is in itself a new feature, a result of the recent years.

~~Abstract~~
3. a.) The broad program goals are in accordance with the already mentioned goals of social policy in general. (See "Introductory remarks" in Chapter B. on benefits assisting child-care.) It has to be mentioned that

x) Dr. Emmi Pikler, who is the head of the Methodological Institute of Infant's Homes had a distinguished role in influencing child-oriented and psychologically based work in creches. The excellent staff of her institute can be regarded nowadays the main creator of scientifically based child-care in the country. The investigations and studies of several psychologists of the Institute represent a high quality and they have unique experiments and findings in some fields. In a sense Dr. Emmi Pikler shaped an autonomous school in child-development studies.

programs and benefist frequently represent alternative solutions (I will discuss the problem in some detail later.) Therefore the broad program goals regarding child-care were defined together with the intended functions of benefits.

Concerning creches there has been some shift, however. Creches always served to help working mothers and to assist female labor force participation. That remained the main function of them. But since the introduction of the child care grant more emphasis is given to their roles in offering some help to children from disadvantaged families ; to assure a good care for neglected children ; to assist large families e.t.c.

b.) Only general objectives and recommendations can be mentioned. (See the book of Alice Hermann on pp. 379-381.) Their realization depends largely on the local circumstances and the knowledge and convictions of the staff.

4. (Data refer to 1975.)

Number of program units : 1132

Total number of places : 49 356

Number and distribution of places according to the type of the settlement

Type of the settlement	Number	Percentage distribution
	of places in creches	
Budapest	16 793	34
Other towns	20 619	42
Villages	11 944	24
Total	49 356	100

Number of program-units and places in various types of creches

Type	Number of	
	program-units	places
Public	869	39 573
Associated with enterprise	263	9 783
Total	1 132	49 356

5. Average size and Capacity of Program Units

Average number of children per creche

a.) registered : 49

b.) attending : 39

Average number of places per creche : 44

6. a.) Those children are eligible whose mother has any type of employment or is permanently sick. In case of the absence of the mother children are also entitled, More exactly : the child is not entitled only if his mother is a housewife or is on child care leave. Priority should be given to :

- children of one-parent families
- children of large families
- children of disadvantaged families
- other possible solutions of child care should be taken into account in case of waiting lists (the availability of a grandmother e.t.c.).

b.) Eligibility criteria do not vary but the interpretation varies according to the local circumstances (the greater the pressure the stricter the interpretation

of "employment", giving priority to those who work full time and in shift-work e.t.c.).

c.) Since there is a high shortage of places and the take-up of child care grant varies according to the socio-economic situation of the family (percentage of those who do not take up the grant is higher in higher, better qualified social strata, women with better qualification and job remain at home for a shorter period), the outcome is a socially uneven distribution of access :

Percentage of children of the relevant age cohort in various social strata
who are admitted to a creche

Type of the household	Head of the household						Average
	High white collar	Lower white collar	Skilled worker outside agriculture	Semi- or unskilled worker outside agriculture	Manual worker in agriculture	Pensioner	
Couple with 1 child	28	23	14	11	4	-	17
Couple with 2 children	33	18	9	9	4	-	12
Couple with 3 or more children	6	15	7	4	-	-	4
Together	30	23	11	8	3	-	12
One parent with 1 child	100	50	75	33	-	-	32
One parent with 2 or more children	-	75	-	67	-	-	24
Together	100	56	75	58	-	-	28
Other types of households	32	18	7	8	4	3	9
All households	30	23	11	8	3	1	12

Source : Income - survey, 1973, C.S.O.

7. Fees

The use of the creche is never free but fees are very low. Fees are the same for creches and for preschools in every child-care program of the country. Fees are determined once a year and generally no change is introduced between two dates. Fees are required to pay each month. The number of dependant children in the household and the monthly earnings of husband and wife are taken into account. The following table presents the variations. ^{x)} (The given values refer to the daily value of the fees. Monthly value is calculated only for those days that the child presumably will spend in the creche. If the child is sick a reimbursement will occur.)

To give some basis for comparison :

If there is a family where both, husband and wife earn an average earning and they have two children, than they pay a daily fee of 8 Forints. The total fee for one child for one month (25 workdays, Saturday included) will be 200 Forints. That sum is about 4 per cent of their common earnings, some 10 % of the monthly earning of the mother and some 6 % of the father's earning.

x) The fees are established centrally. Creches and preschools have to calculate the individual fees by using the table. Fees are paid directly to the creche or the preschool and they are obliged to use it only for covering the costs of the meals (they get usually a subsidy from the local council to it, too).

Daily fees in child care programs in Forints

Monthly earnings of the parents	Number of dependant children in							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	the household							
- 1 000	2	1.50	1.30	1	1	1	1	1
1 000 - 1 600	3	2.50	2	1.50	1	1	1	1
1 600 - 2 200	4	3.20	2.80	2.50	1.50	1	1	1
2 200 - 3 000	5	4	3.50	3	2	1	1	1
3 000 - 3 800	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	1
3 800 - 4 600	9	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
4 600 - 5 600	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2
5 600 - 7 000	12	10	8	7	6	5	4	3
7 000 - 8 000	15	13	11	9	8	7	6	5
8 000 - 9 000	17	14	12	10	10	10	10	10
9 000 - 10 000	18	15	13	11	11	11	11	11
10 000 -	20	16	14	12	12	12	12	12

8. Operating costs

~~Operating costs~~

Included are : earnings of the staff ; current costs of operation - meals, cleaning compounds, e.t.c., all costs of maintenance and smaller repair (not total reconstruction) ; clothing for staff and - in most creches - for children ; costs of refreasing equipment ; some opportunity to buy toys e.t.c.

Distribution of sources of funds

Parent fees	15 %
State-budget (transferred to relevant local authorities)	68 %
Enterprises	17 %
	<hr/>
	100 %

Capital costs :

Included are : land, construction, the total of the starting equipment e.t.c.

It is covered by local councils and mostly by the state-budget. Enterprises do not build new creches in the last years but they contribute to the capital costs in their surrounding. Data are not collected on the share of these contributions in establishing new places in child care institutions. The overall share of funds transferred from enterprises to local councils ^{x)} gives some 6 - 10 % of the total funds serving for investments of the local councils.

~~Operating costs~~

9. Quantitative sufficiency

There is a general agreement on the quantitative insufficiency of places in creches. The need for places is pressing and access differs very markedly by

x) Not only for establishing new places in child care institutions but for assisting construction of flats and several fields of infrastructure.

~~The overutilization of places can be illustrated by the ratio~~
local circumstances. The overutilization of places can be illustrated by the ratio of registered children as a percentage of the number of places. The ratio was 117,3 per cent in case of public creches and 112,5 per cent in case of creches attached to enterprises ; the average ratio was 116,3 (data refer to December, 1975). (The relevant ratios of those actually attending the creches were at the same time : 79,1 % ; 76,2 % ; 78,6 %.)

The quantitative inadequacy can be shown from the other side : the number of children registered already on the waiting list. (The real number should be even higher, since many of those who would like to register, withdraw because their chances seem to be very low. They try to find some other solution.)

~~The percentage of those on the waiting list in the number of places :~~
The percentage of those on the waiting list in the number of places :

Budapest	30 %
Other towns	21 %
Villages	15 %

The high risk of getting ill in a creche is also not independent of overcrowdedness. Dr. Andor Kardos, one of the leading paediatrists conducted an investigation in one district of Budapest in November, 1976 on the risks of 0 - 3 aged children cared at home and those in creches. They found that during a one-month period the average occurrence of calling on the doctor because of sickness of the child was 56 per 100 children out of those cared at home, whereas the relevant number was 300 in case of children attending a creche. Those children who attend a creche have 5,4 times higher risks to become ill.

The present five-years plan laid down the creation of some 17 000 - 18 000 new places in creches and that means a great expansion. During the period of the preceding five-years plan (1971-1975) the number of new places was altogether somewhat less than 10 000. The long-term plans forecast the number of places to offer daily care outside home for 15 % of the cohort (by 1985).

Plans declare the goal to concentrate efforts better on creches (the situation regarding preschools is good, therefore the rate of further expansion can be reduced), while the alternative way, i. e. that of offering a benefit for home care by child care grant has to be developed, too.

Since there is a small diversity of available programs, people know quite well the real alternatives before them.

The opening of a new creche generally follows (and not precedes) the emergence of urgent needs, therefore no further propagation is needed to fill it up.

10. Unit costs

a.) The average capital cost of a new place in a creche (including the costs of construction and land, but not including costs of equipment) was some 130 000 - 135 000 Forints in 1975. (About half of the new places built in that year were created on the average price.) It has to be mentioned that since 1975 centrally elaborated norms on technical characteristics have to be met. Variations are permitted in the utilized building materials but are prohibited regarding space per place and other main characteristics. (The banks supervise ground-plans of the building and do not give a credit if the norms are not met.)

b.) Operation costs per child per month were in 1976 : 1400 - 1500 Forints (including costs on staff, maintenance, everyday operation-costs e. t. c.).

11. a.) Differential access is discussed above.

b.) The next program level is the preschool. Children coming from creches have priority at admission.

12. Standards - Regulations

a.) Physical -technical standards

1.) The new norms on technical characteristics require $28.5 \text{ m}^2/\text{child}$ as an overall, total space. $4 \text{ m}^2/\text{child}$ netto-space should be guaranteed within the room for play. Since most of the creches are situated in re-built buildings, according to some estimations the percentage of places meeting the norms is about 15 - 20 %.

2.) Some basic elements of equipment serving the personal needs of the child and the undisturbed functioning of the creche are generally assured. The variety and quality of toys and other means to develop different abilities does not show uniformity and depends not only on the disposable funds of the creche but on the attention paid by the parents and by the persons (district nurse, paediatrist, members of the staff of the local council e.t.c.) who supervise and visit the creche. General standards are not elaborated.

3.) Hygaenic conditions are strictly supervised.

- Nurses are required to change their clothing ; children are re-dressed when they arrive/leave.

- Apart from the period of gradual introduction into the program parents are not permitted to enter the room of the children. They "give in" and get their naked children in the vestibule.

b.) Staff

The required number of qualified nurses is 2 for each group of 10 children. But the ideal situation is quite scarce. There are several reasons of it.

1.) The change of nurses within the staff is quite frequent. The work is very hard and relatively low paid (successive raise of the salaries in recent years reduced somewhat their relative disadvantages); a relatively high ratio of young nurses is on child care leave and the creche has to employ somebody temporarily; e.t.c. The high ratio of fluctuation is going on in the staff together with a shortage of qualified nurses, therefore there is a relatively high rate of unqualified personnel, spoiling in itself the desirable ratio of children and qualified staff.

2.) There were structural changes recently in the training of nurses, causing a temporary shortage, too.

3.) The overcrowdedness of creches is a spoiling factor in this respect, too.

As a result, the place/qualified personnel ratio was 9 on an average in 1975, the child/staff ratio was 11. But the range was great, and there were creches with a child/staff ratio of 17 - 18, too.

about nurses training
Nurses are trained in the relevant vocational secondary schools offering a general qualification needed in health-care and they get their specialization in a 10 months on-the-job training course.

c.) Group-size and composition

The desirable size of a group is limited in 10 children, who are in the same age-group. The latter requirement is met generally (though in smaller creches children are together, various age-groups are mixed), the former one not - because the above mentioned shortage of places in the creches.

d.) There are only guides and recommendations regarding program-content. However, there is a generally accepted schedule of the day, defining the timing of meals, afternoon-sleep, e.t.c.

e.) The daily costs of food are regulated by centrally defined norms, the content and composition of the meals are defined locally, generally by the head-nurse of the creche. Children get usually 3 meals in the creche. The daily cost of meals per child is 9.50 Forints at the moment (a bias of 10 per cent is permitted).

f.) A regular supervision of the health-status of children is assured everywhere.

g.) 1.) Creches work on a two-shifts basis; they open usually at 5.30 A.M. and close at 5.30 P.M. One of the nurses is with the group from 5.30 A.M. to 01.30 P.M., the other nurse starts at 9.30 A.M. and leaves at 5.30 P.M. Therefore in the most busy part of the day they are both with their group.

2.) Creches are open generally for 6 days of the week. But since shortened weekly working hours (44 hours a week) are quite widespread, a great number of creches is open on every second Saturdays, and is closed on free Saturdays, in accordance with the worktime of the parents.

3.) Creches generally close for 2 - 4 weeks a year, always in Summer. Children whose mother cannot adjust her holidays to the closing of the creche (and nobody in the family can care for the child) are placed temporarily in a near - by creche.

h.) 1.) Parents (mothers) participate during the period of gradual introduction. (It is more and more recommended.)

2.) There is an "open-day" once or twice a year when parents can visit the creche and spend a day there.

Both forms can be regarded widespread.

~~_____~~
13. Apart from the above mentioned forms of parent participation, the following forms exist :

1.) Head nurses have regular reception-hours when parents can visit them.

2.) Parents keep a close relationship with the nurses of their child and have an everyday contact ; nurses are requested to inform parents as frequently as possible and not only in cases of abnormal situation or conflicts.

But the standard of participation is quite low and rapid further development is desirable.

14. There are diversified forms of enterprise-participation in programs. The most important one is the financial help given by enterprises to creches. They prepare or buy toys or equipment for the creche.

Since there is a great shortage of repairing services a great help is for the creches if an enterprise or a socialist brigade of workers of it patronizes the creche (contact is usually established following the suggestion of a member of the brigade whose child is in the creche). Socialist brigades frequently offer work and services for the creche and they get material (financial) help from their enterprise. The sponsorship of creches by one or several socialist brigades of workers is an officially stimulated and honoured form.

~~_____~~
15. Apart from those issues discussed previously, the main dispute is going on regarding the alternative policy of further development : creches or child care grant ?

The official declarations stated a further development of both, nevertheless some experts would like to see a greater expansion of the network of creches, whereas others that of the grant.

Suggestions for a compromise include more flexible regulations of entrance age-limits to the preschool ; a progressive admission into the creche by age (discussed in detail at the description of disputes on further development of the child care grant).

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16. Program relationships

a.) With child health services : *Handwritten scribble*

Only the general supervision of the creche by district doctors can be mentioned. Apart from it children are regularly visited at home by the district nurses.

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b.) The network of child guidance services has been built up in the last 10 - 12 years. Each country has one center and there are centers in each district of large cities. Neurotic children are sent to the center and child care institutions ask for advices from the center. But the relationship is not very close and possibilities of better utilization of accumulated psychological knowledge of experts in the centers is not well-known.

c.) The network of other types of services is quite poor.

d.) District creches and preschools are in close relation, they inform each other about the children, but their relationships are generally informal.

e.) Except the above mentioned priority of children getting from creches to preschools, no special advantages can be mentioned.

~~Handwritten scribble~~
17. Program Description : a short summary

Creches are child-care institutions offered for children whose parents work. The main function of the program is to help parents' work by caring for the child during the day. Therefore ~~main emphasis~~ ^{main emphasis} is given to care, and less attention is paid to education of the child. As a result of great efforts of psychologists and pedagogues, mere care is not characteristic already for the activities of a creche ; they try to ensure general child-development and to assist the development of well-balanced, happy children. The precondition of it is seen in a stable and durable contact between the child and one adult. Therefore efforts are made to reduce fluctuation and change of the staff. No general program-guides are in operation, only suggestions are made by experts.

~~Alma~~ ~~bydell~~
There is a great diversity of physical facility : some 75 - 80 per cent of the operating creches are situated in buildings originally serving other functions. Nevertheless there is a rapid increase of number of up-to-date creches, offering better facilities (regarding both, equipment and space) than the average of Hungarian dwellings and households. But a more or less general conviction is that physical conditions (including hygaenic conditions, too) are not the main factors of child-development in the phase of life under age 3, but emotional relationships and conditions play an outstanding role.

The daily routine of a typical day :

The child arrives at 6 - 6.30 A.M., his clothing is changed and then he enters the room. Free and autonomous play goes on up to 9.000 A.M. Then children get breakfast. After breakfast they go for a walk (if the creche has not its own garden or ground) and they play in the open air. The nurse is requested to take only an indirect part in the play of children. In the period of the morning after breakfast both of the nurses are in the group. If the weather is impleasant, they play in the room of the group. At noon children get a lunch, after it they go to sleep. (Meanwhile one of the nurses leaves.) They get a snack and something to drink at 3.00 P.M. They remain in the group and play; parents can take them home at any time after 3.00 P.M.

Chapter D. Some Further Remarks on Alternatives of Social Policy for Caring for Children Under Age Three and on Related Studies and Investigations

I. I have to complete the description of Hungarian social policy regarding child-care with two additional notes:

a./ The contribution of benefits to the costs of bringing up children.

Related to the discussion going on about further development of benefits and programs, the Central Statistical Office published a report on "Costs of Subsistence and Education of Children" in 1973. I would like to refer to some of the findings:

1./ "On an average about two thirds of the total costs of per capita consumption of dependant children under age 19 was covered ^{in 1970} by earnings of their parents and 36 per cent of the costs was met by statutory benefits. Two-third of the /relevant/ benefits consisted of in-kind benefits, one-third was granted in cash. Family allowance gave half of the costs of the latter, the other half consisted of payments on child care grant, benefit for paid maternity leave, scholarships e.t.c."

2./ Average monthly value of various types of benefits^x
calculated for those taking them up /1970/^{xx}

Type of the benefit	Average monthly value of the benefit per child taking it up /Forints/
- Crèches	995
- Preschool	355
- Education in primary school	237
- After-school day-care for children in primary schools	275
- Education in secondary schools	368
- Students' hostel for pupils in secondary school	904
- Student's canteen and school-room for pupils in secondary education	168
- Vocational training /including subsidy of hostels, but not including scholarship provided for those trained in the relevant schools/	412
- Scholarship of those in vocational training	216

x/ The generally used classification of benefits in social policy in Hungary refers to programs and social services as given types of in-kind benefits

xx/To give some basis for comparison, the average monthly disposable income per capita was 1500 Forints in 1970.

b./ Dilemmas of social policy: benefits or programs?

As it can be seen from the previous detailed description of benefits and programs, the relative standard and the inner diversity of the "package" of benefits is better developed than that of programs--services. The reasons are manifold. I would like to discuss briefly some of them.

1./ The general social political aim of the society has been to offer a basic /legal, material/ guarantee for security of existence for the whole of the population. That goal can be achieved by a guarantee of regular income /by full employment and by the avoidance of unemployment/ and by a great variety of benefits /both, in cash and in kind/.

The inherent function of programs and social services /apart of their being a type of in-kind contribution to the costs of living of those, utilizing them/ is to offer a type of care of some assistance /by activities/. But programs and services are relatively expensive, since their functioning generally needs great amounts of preceding capital investments.

The expansion of investments has two prerequisites. One is a relatively high standard of economic development, general affluence of the society, the satisfaction of basic needs. The other precondition is a question of decision: a turn of economic policy toward the "non-productive" spheres of life, toward an accelerated development of the whole of the infrastructure.

The existing discrepancies between economy /in the limited sense of productive branches/ and the infrastructure serving it in a more indirect form became one of the most discussed issues in recent years. Similar problems emerged not only regarding child care institutions, but in health-services, in the network of household-services e.t.c.

2./ The overall social political aim of reducing social inequalities was combined with a great emphasis on central regulation of principles of redistribution, on rights, eligibility e.t.c. For quite a long period it seemed to be a guarantee in itself for a balanced and equalizing distribution of resources of social policy. In other words: the declaration of universal /and in a great part: uniform/ entitlements for benefits was thought to serve the reduction of inequalities by definition whereas less concern was paid to the operational guarantees. Therefore the discrepancy between universal rights and universally equal share were growing in all those cases, where entitlements were defined for goods or services being available in an insufficient number /or uneven quality/.

3./ A detailed analysis of the nature and operation of various types of benefits regarding the social consequences of operation is a result of the last 10-12 years. Periodically collected data on income-distribution and on the factors shaping it were the prerequisites of elaborating scientifically based alternatives for social policy.

II. Some remarks on relevant investigations

The investigations regarding early child care and related fields have a special history and present situation in Hungary. The development of the various professions connected with early childhood /paediatrics, psychology; sociology of the family; demographic studies on family-problems e.t.c./ and - as a consequence - the accumulation of relevant, scientifically based knowledge in various fields has been going on very unevenly. There are topics that have been continuously discussed and investigated and there are some /e.g. problems of early socialization; social differences in caring for infants e.t.c./ where relevant studies are practically lacking.^x The reasons of uneven development are far-reaching and the detailed explanation in itself would be an issue of historical studies. Perhaps two of the important factors can be mentioned.

1./ Hungary is relatively a too small country to keep on the agenda all the vital topics of the world-literature and international interest.^{xx} A natural undertaking and acceptance of results of researches in other countries can be the only solution.^{xxx}

x/ The main findings of studies on a given issue were summarized in the detailed discussion of each of them /See for example research on social inequalities in Chapter A; debates - based on preceding researches or on some kind of data-collection- regarding the further development of the child care grant versus crèches in Chapters B. And C e.t.c./

xx/That is true, of course, in other broad fields, too.

xxx/Therefore the knowledge of one or more world-languages is a very important "skill" required more and more in any of the professions.

2./ In the fields of sociology and - especially - in psychology serious errors of the voluntarist period of the fifties had a long-lasting impact on the course of progress of studies and hindered the organic development.

After all, three main types of evolution of researches can be described:

a./ Those fields where there is a long tradition and unbroken development. Paediatrics would be the first to mention here.^x

Demographic studies have to be referred on the second place. Since the decrease and fluctuation of fertility-rates has been a problem from the beginning of the 20th century, a great amount of studies on the related problems was accumulated.

The high rate of infant-mortality and the efforts on reducing it in the thirties also inspired left-wing demographers and committed writes before the war to explore the causes and to help to find social political solutions. Their tradition has affected demographers to focus on problems of family, though the problems themselves ^{have} radically changed /as a result of universal and free health care and of other efforts, infant mortality rates were radically reduced./

x/ The short summary of main results of leading Hungarian paediatrists is presented in the previously referred book of Alice Hermann. A copy of her description - together with a summary on pedagogical and psychological research - is enclosed. (Appendix to Chapter D)

b./ The second type of investigations/enhancing very different kinds of professions and of researches/is related to those topics that emerged with the development of the society in the last 30 years, namely: all those researches that have the aim to find out the relationship between declared goals and their realization; between ends and means e.t.c.

Most of the researches in social statistics and in sociology belong here. Since the main and basic goal of society is to reduce social inequalities, the whole series of studies dealing with one or another aspect of social differences and their trends should be listed here. Nevertheless, the essentially important fields of equalizing efforts /chances ^r regarding social mobility; ^{implications of} income distribution; the shaping of conditions concerning education e.t.c./ created a new tradition of periodically repeated researches. /Their ^p impact on social policy has been mentioned already/.

c./ The third type of researches has its ^{inner} ~~inner~~ diversity, too. I would characterize them by one common feature: studies belonging to very different fields were all brought into existence by the economic and social development of the last 10-15 years, by the appearance of debates about alternatives of further development and shaping of society. Studies on benefits and programs and the turn toward child-~~development~~ ^{psychology} of early childhood and a great variety of socio-economic studies can be mentioned here.

/Since the main findings are reported in preceding chapters and most of the studies on the above-mentioned fields were published in Hungarian, I do not present a bibliography./

APPENDIX

VIII^{x/} to Chapter D.

Dissemination of information on child rearing

THE SOURCES of information on child rearing are numerous and reflect the effort to reach all segments of the population. In terms of quantity, a bibliography compiled by the Section for Preschool Child Education of the Hungarian Pedagogical Society listed 352 items for the 1945-1968 period concerning this age group in popular publications and articles alone.

The most extensive and systematic work in this area was done by the National Council of Hungarian Women. Its publications (usually printed in 25,000 copies each and often published in serial form) are very cheap and reach the parents mainly through the local Women's Council (now the Committees of the Popular Front) either directly or through the preschools. Most publications may also be bought in shops. Among these publications there are 150-200-page books, volumes of the so-called Parents' Library, which summarizes information for every age group (Pikler, 1963; Hermann, 1961). A review of the national "Plan of Education" was published for parents in a half-million copies.

As indicated in the results of several surveys, parents prefer shorter pamphlets to books and prefer the spoken word over the written. The Women's Council therefore has switched in recent years to publishing pamphlets of one or two pages and continues with its lectures. They organized the "School for Mothers" (in conjunction with the Red Cross) which sponsors a series of four to six lectures per year each attended by an annual total of about 150,000 parents. In addition, they deliver lectures mainly for rural parents on different topics (e.g., "Is the child bad?" "The role of the father," "Speaking again about beating the child,"). The lectures are sometimes followed by sewing and needlework courses. In addition to the preschool conferences for parents, the serialized pedagogic lectures broadcast by radio and television probably have great influence, although the popularity and possibilities of television have not yet been fully exploited.

There are many books in circulation about infant care. A very

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Source: Hermann, A. - ~~Konkósi, S.~~ Early Child Care in Hungary, ECDC, Special Monograph Issue, ed. by Joseph Marcus, Gordon & Breach Science Publisher Ltd., London, 1972.

popular one is the "Book of Mothers" (Láslo & Pikler, 1969) which has been published in ten editions of 27,000 copies each. (By the standards of some larger countries this figure does not sound very impressive, but we must remember that Hungary has only ten million inhabitants.) The problem of child-rearing is discussed more or less systematically by each of a number of newspapers, periodicals and magazines. The periodical, *Your Child*, is intended to aid the task of child rearing in the family with very vivid, well-written articles and well-chosen illustrations. Although it speaks primarily to parents of school-age children, it also contains articles pertaining to preschool children's upbringing. The largest newspaper, the *Népszabadság*, has a weekly column, "To Parents about Child Rearing," which sometimes has articles relating to preschool children. In our most popular magazine, *Nők Lapja* (Women's Magazine), published weekly in 60,000 copies with two million readers, skilfully written articles are offered for parents of children of various ages. Articles about pedagogy and child hygiene appear from time to time in the most widely read popular scientific periodical, *Elet és Tudomány* (Life and Science).

We must consider it a serious defect in our whole educational system that in our schools, preparation for parenthood as well as information about child psychology and education are completely absent; they are taught only in special schools for students of pedagogics. Otherwise the popularization of pedagogic information is not lacking. Parents tend to feel, in fact, that they are "overinstructed" and that the responsibility for children's behavior problems is unjustly shifted upon them. This is surely due to the fact that, particularly in previous years, the pedagogical publications have not always used simple enough language, and at time have been too patronizing and accusing in tone. Today this is greatly improving.

Literature for professionals dealing with this age group of children, and especially for those working with children of three to six years, is quite comprehensive. The monthly periodical *Ovodai Nevelés* (Preschool Education), dealing with current preschool problems, is an excellent means of educating preschool teachers and provides information and book reviews also from abroad. There are in addition other important publications of more or less scientific value, such as

Education for Work in the Preschool (Bakonyi-Vince, 1965), *Esthetic Education in the Preschool* (Mészáros, 1966), *Collective Education in the Preschool* (Bakonyi-Vince, 1969), and *The Foundation of Ideology in the Preschool* (Hermann, 1966). The required curriculum of preschools is owned by every preschool and by nearly all preschool teachers.

IX

Research relating to the infant and preschool child

A. MEDICAL RESEARCH WORK

HUNGARIAN PEDIATRICS has for a long time enjoyed high status in the international scientific world. One of the first pediatric hospitals in Europe was founded in Budapest, for example. The names of Bókay jun, who identified herpes zoster and varicella, and more recently G. Petényi, who established a method for the successful treatment of meningitis tuberculosa and O. Kerpel-Fronius, who made important discoveries about the salt-liquid economy of infants, are well known through the medical world.

Pediatric research is today vigorous and productive in Hungary. Most of the research is sponsored by the Ministry of Health, but some support is also given by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. What follows is a list of only some of the most important on-going research projects, and the institutions at which they are being pursued:

Hematological research aimed at more precise fetal diagnosis (Clinics of Gynecology in Debreczen and Szeged).

Improvement of the treatment of newborn and premature infants: hypoxia, respiratory and metabolic acidosis, liver and kidney function, economy of metallic substances and vitamins, etc. (Pediatric Clinics in Szeged, Pécs, Budapest I, and Budapest II).

Metabolic disorders of premature and atrophied infants and their treatment by adequate climatic conditions (Pediatric Clinic in Debreczen).

Production of humoral immunity in newborns and infants (Pediatric Clinics in Szeged and Debreczen, Institute for Production of Human Vaccine).

Production, titration, and application of human somatotropin (Pediatric Clinic II in Budapest and Heim Pál Pediatric Hospital).

Some infantile disturbances in thyroid function (Pediatric Clinic in Debreczen).

Recognition of innate enzyme defects (Pediatric Clinics in Szeged and Pécs).

Longitudinal observation of all twins born since January 1, 1970, in Budapest, including documentation of placenta, blood-group, haptoglobin and chromosomal factors (Heim Pál Pediatric Hospital, Central Home for Infants in Budapest, Anthropologic Department of the Eötvös Lóránt University in Budapest, cooperating with the Institute of Demography and the Biometrical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

Examination of factors influencing birth weight and the effects of their changes (Heim Pál Pediatric Hospital, Clinics of Gynecology in Debreczen and Pécs, Central Statistical Board, Health Section of the Council of the County Baranya).

Investigation of the medical conditions and the social and moral family conditions of all infants who have died in Budapest since January 1, 1962 (Heim Pál Pediatric Hospital).

B. PEDAGOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

In Hungary, there is an overall scientific plan which guides the research work for which support is granted from the two available sources: the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Research relating to the child from infancy to six years is carried out by several organizations, including agencies of the various ministries, teacher training schools, universities, and the Hungarian Pedagogic Society. In spite of the plan, neither its co-ordination nor its financial support is satisfactory.

Within each research-oriented university department, a similar research plan exists. Faculty members, who unfortunately have little time left over from their teaching duties for such matters, undertake research projects on their own initiative, within these broadly-defined areas. Financial aid for such studies is, however, rather limited.

Research is undertaken by the education department of the Eötvös Lóránt University of Budapest. Serious publications have been issued there on historic topics, such as the origin of English Infant Schools (Vág, 1969a) and preschool play (Vág, 1969b). The psychological section is doing wide-ranging studies concerning

esthetic development and the esthetic education of the preschool child (Székács-Vida, 1968; 1970).

The Developmental Psychology Section of the Psychological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has for many years done studies mainly in the field of development of cognitive ability in the preschool child.

Research is also one of the responsibilities of the National Pedagogic Institute of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, carried out for this age group by the preschool section of the pedagogical section. Unfortunately, this section includes only two permanent and two part-time staff members and is responsible for designing the preschool curriculum as well as organizing the post-school instruction of preschool teachers. In spite of this, it is here that perhaps the most systematic work having some coordinating influence on the research of the Institutes for Preschool Teacher Training is done. A large part of the work deals with testing the curriculum and surveying its results; long-range studies treat problems of play (Bakonyi, unpublished), the didactics of preschool teaching (Hermann, 1969; 1970), mathematics in preschool (Burchard, 1966; 1971). A number of the studies mentioned earlier—concerning the development of retarded children in preschool homes and manuals for preschool teachers, for example—were designed in the Institute.

The importance of research in the Section for Preschool Education of the Hungarian Pedagogic Society should be particularly stressed, since this is the only group whose work includes the full infancy to six-year range. This is an independent association, loosely connected with the union of pedagogues. The Pedagogic Society and with it the Preschool Section were organized only in 1968. Since then, the Section has inquired mainly into the various problems of transition (from the nursery home back to the family, from the family or crèche to preschool, from preschool to school). A collection of these studies has been published (Szabadi et al., 1971).

Research is also conducted in the Training Schools for Preschool Teachers. Here the emphasis is partly on preschool education, partly on problems of teachers' training. Research reports appear yearly in a volume of collected studies.

-Special note should be given to the work of the excellent child

psychologist, Mérei (1948; 1966), who has pursued research mainly having to do with group dynamics, within the scope of several institutions.

Research relating to the age group of infancy to three years is pursued mainly in the National Institute for Infants' Care and Education (see above). This home provides the setting for longitudinal investigations of motor development of the child (Pikler, 1966; Pikler & Tardos, 1968), manipulative abilities (Barkóczi, 1966; Tardos, 1966), and development of social contacts from the third month on (Vincze, 1970). Some research has also been carried out in the Central (transitory) Home for Infants, in Budapest, and quite recently in the Methodological Crèche.

Physiological research is undertaken at the Institute for Public Health.

The anti-psychology trend which occurred in the few years after the liberation has left its mark on research as well as on practice. With the exception of some investigations (e.g., manipulation, motor development, social contact of infants, sociological and sociometric research in preschool) basic psychological research is relatively rare and not too significant in terms of scientific value. Research tends rather to answer questions posed by practice and has its value in helping practitioners. So far the choice of topics and the impetus of research is satisfying and at times furnishes as a "by-product" some rather remarkable psychological findings. Obviously, more generous financial support would permit more extensive application of modern scientific research methods.