

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

JUDIT MONOSTORI – LÍVIA MURINKÓ

MAIN FINDINGS

- » There were 4.11 million households at the time of the 2011 Population Census. The number of people living in private households was 9.67 million, 97.5% of the total population.
- » The average number of persons per household was 2.36 at the last census. The average size of households has decreased for decades, mainly due to the spread of one-person households as well as the decrease in the number of children and the proportion of families with young children.
- » The proportion of one-person households increased from 24% to 32% between 1990 and 2011. In 2011 1.317 million households belonged to this category, thus 14% of the population lived alone. Nearly two thirds of those living alone are women and their share is highest in older age groups.
- » The proportion of families with children aged under 15 years fell from 44% to 33% between 1990 and 2011. The two-child family model has lost some of its weight among families with children during the past decades.
- » The proportion of couple-type families has slightly decreased: it fell by five percentage points from 85% in 1990. The proportion of married and cohabiting partnerships have also fundamentally shifted. While the percentage of families based on marriage decreased from 80% to 65%, the share of those based on cohabitation increased from 4% to 15%.
- » An increasing proportion of children grow up in families with cohabiting parents. During the period of regime change 4% of minor children lived in such families, two decades later their share is 17%.
- » The increase in the proportion of single-parent families from 16% to 20% is mainly due to the postponement of young people leaving the parental home, which resulted in the higher prevalence of single-parent families with older children.
- » It is still primarily mothers who live together with their children in single-parent households. This type of family constituted 91% of single-parent families with children aged under 15 in 2011.
- » As a result of the delayed home-leaving of young people, the number of young adults living with parents has increased. Between 1990 and 2011 their proportion increased from

47% to 71% among the 20–24 year olds and from 18% to 43% among those aged 25–29 years.

» Young and middle aged adults living with parents constitute an increasingly sizeable group. In 2012 14% of 30–49-year-old women and 23% of men lived in a shared household with one or both of their parents. However, they are not a homogenous group: they are characterised by a variety of life situations, social and demographic background, and they also view the advantages and

disadvantages of leaving the parental home in a different light. Four characteristic types can be identified: residents of the comfortable “hotel mama” (40%), residents of the meagre “hotel mama” (21%), returned divorced parents (21%) and three-generational families (18%).

» The proportion of those living in three- or multigenerational families (grandparents, parents and grandchildren living together) continuously decreases, therefore one- or two-generational households make up an increasing share of the population.

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES

Two and a half decades ago, at the time of the 1990 population census, there were 3.89 million *private households*^G in Hungary. The number of households was 3.86 million in 2001 and 4.11 million in 2011. The number of persons living in private households was 9.697 million in 2011, 97.5% of the population. The 2011 population census registered 235 thousand people living in institutional households and 5,571 homeless persons.¹

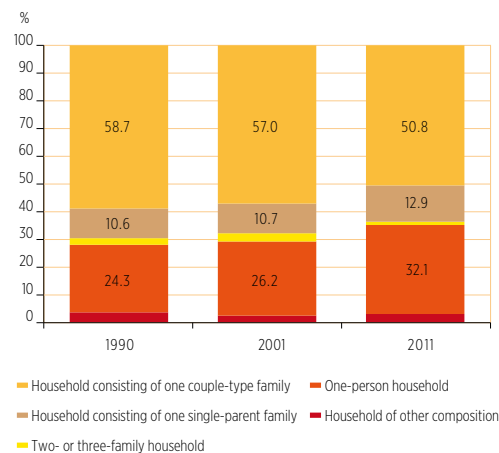
The average size of households was 2.6 persons in 1990 and 2001, and this fell to 2.36 people by 2011. The main reasons are the spread of one-person households and the declining share of families with young children. The average size of couple-type families was 3.18 persons in 2001, while only 3.10 ten years later. The average size of families of cohabiting couples increased from 2.98 to 3.06 in the same period. The difference between the number of children of married and cohabiting couples decreased. Although the number of single parent families increased, their average size remained basically the same during the examined period (2.61 persons in 2011). One-person and *one-family households*^G combined together make up nearly 96% of all households, thus it is increasingly less common for more than one family or non-relatives to live together under the same roof (*Figure 1*).

In terms of the composition of households, the share of *one-family couple-type households*^G has gradually decreased since 1990, however they still make up half of the households and two thirds of the population live in such households. Households in which one married or cohabiting couple live together (with or without children)

are included in this group. The spread of cohabitation is indicated by the fact that in 2001 16% and in 2011 already 9% of households consisted of cohabiting partners (with or without children). This means that in 18% of single-family couple-type households the partners lived together without being married to each other in 2011 (see Chapter 1 for more details on cohabitation).

The proportion of *single-parent family households*^G stagnated between 1990 and 2011, however it increased in the last ten years (*Figure 1*). In 2011 13% of households consisted of one parent and his/her never-married child(ren). (The co-residence of one parent and his/her married, divorced or widowed children is not considered a single-parent family by population census records. In this case the children are recorded as 'other relative' – see Glossary). The source of growth was the increase in the number of single-parent families with older children.

Figure 1: Distribution of households by household composition, 1990, 2001, 2011



Source: HCSO Population Census 2011. Part 5: Households, living conditions of families, 2013.

¹ The population census data considerably underestimate the number of homeless people; the number of service recipients in the homeless care system in itself exceeded 10 thousand in 2012.

Another important change was the increase in the prevalence of *one-person households*⁶, which was a particularly strong trend over the last ten years. In 2011 nearly one in three households consisted of one person: 14% of the population, i.e. 1.317 million people lived alone. It is more common among women than men. The share of men among those living alone was around 35% in 1990 and 2001 and it increased to 39% by 2011. The narrowing of the gap between women and men can be partially attributed to improving male mortality and the spread of solo-living among never-married men.

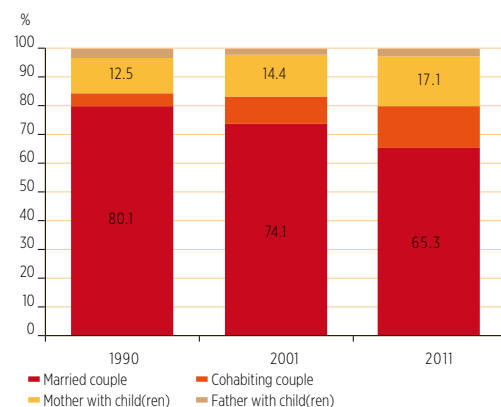
In Hungary 7.783 million individuals, 78% of the population lived in 2.713 *families*⁶ in 2011. The number of families gradually decreased between 1990 and 2011, by about 182 thousand families in total. The average family size changed from 2.92 to 2.87 persons.

The composition of families has undergone major transformation (*Figure 2*). The share of couple-type families consisting of married or cohabiting partners decreased from 85% in 1990 to 80% over two decades. Within this group the proportion of cohabiting unions increased steadily. By 2011 15% of all families and 19% of couple-type families consisted of cohabiting partners, with a total of 1.176 million people living in such families.

The share of single-parent families increased from 16% in 1990 to 20% in 2011 due to the high number of divorces, the relatively high instability of cohabiting unions and the postponement of moving out of the parental home. In 2011 there were a total of 1.315 million parents and children living in single-parent families. The vast majority of these families consist of the mother and her children; single-parent families of the father and his children are fairly uncommon (the latter group represented only 3% of one-family households and 13% of single-parent

families in 2011). The proportion of lone mother families increased between 1990 and 2011, while that of lone fathers and their children hardly changed. Overall, the share of single-mother families increased within single-parent families: from 80% in 1990 to 88% in 2001 and 87% in 2011.

Figure 2: Composition of families, 1990, 2001, 2011



Source: HCSO Population Census 2011. Part 5: Households, living conditions of families, 2013.

CHANGES IN HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY STRUCTURE AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE COURSE

The majority of changes in household and family structure of the Hungarian population are part of a trend spanning over many decades; however, some aspects can be clearly linked to the transformation brought about by the regime change. We are witnessing a number of phenomena that appeared or changed substantially over the last decade. Some trends are linear, while others create cyclical patterns in the composition of the Hungarian society by family structure.

One of the long-term linear trends affecting the transformation of family structure is the continuous decrease of

9. FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Table 1: Distribution of the population by household and family structure, 1990, 2001, 2011

Household and family structure	1990	2001	2011 (%)	
			Distribution	Population (thousand people)
I. Lives alone	9.0	10.2	13.6	1318
1. Lives alone, aged under 65	5.4	5.5	7.9	762
2. Lives alone, aged 65 or over	3.6	4.7	5.7	556
II. Couples, without child(ren)	17.5	17.7	17.9	1739
3. Couple without children, both aged under 65	10.8	10.4	10.4	1008
4. Couple without children, at least one of them aged 65 or over	6.7	7.3	7.5	731
III. Couples, with children	52.4	52.4	48.3	4709
5. Couple with one child aged under 19	12.4	10.4	10.4	1014
6. Couple with two children aged under 19	19.9	14.8	11.2	1089
7. Couple with three or more children aged under 19	6.4	6.7	6.0	585
8. Couple with two children, one aged under 19 and the other aged 19 or over	3.4	4.2	3.4	327
9. Couple with three or more children, at least one aged under 19 and at least one aged 19 or over	1.6	2.6	3.3	320
10. Couple with child(ren) aged 19–24	5.0	8.0	6.5	634
11. Couple with child(ren) aged over 24	3.6	5.7	7.6	741
IV. Single-parent families	10.7	11.5	15.5	1509
12. One parent with one child aged under 19	3.0	2.2	2.8	272
13. One parent with at least two children aged under 19	3.5	2.0	2.7	265
14. One parent with two or more children, at least one aged under 19 and at least one aged 19 or over	1.1	1.0	1.8	174
15. One parent with children aged 19–24 or them and child(ren) aged over 24	1.2	2.1	2.3	224
16. One parent with child(ren) aged over 24	1.8	4.2	5.9	574
V. Multi-family households	6.2	7.1	2.8	276
VI. Other household forms	4.4	1.1	1.5	150
Total (rows I–VI)	100.0	100.0	100.0	9701

Source: HCSO Population Census 1990 and 2001: 2% sample; 2011: 10% sample; authors' calculation.

Note: We considered all persons as children who were reported to have a child status by the respondents, i.e. people who lived together with at least one of their parents. However, population census records only consider never-married persons as children. Therefore the proportion of those living in families with children is somewhat higher according to our calculations than in the population census reports.

fertility, due to which Hungary has one of the lowest fertility levels in Europe. As a result, the proportion of families with children aged under 19 years fell greatly. While in 1990 51%, in 2011 42% of the population lived in such families. The decrease was greater in couple-type families than in single-parent ones. In the former group it fell from 44% to 34% over the examined period (Table 1).

After the political transformation the new phenomenon of young people postponing leaving the parental home has emerged. This has implications for living arrangements as well, because nowadays considerably more young adults still live in the parental home than a few decades ago, when they typically started their own family in their early twenties.

The lengthening of the child status within the life course is also revealed by calculations that show the proportion of family members in child status in the family for each year of age. In the case of younger age groups, 47% of 20–24 year olds in 1990 and 71% in 2011 lived in child status within the family. Among the 25–29 year olds the corresponding value increased from 18% to 43% over the same period (Figure 3).

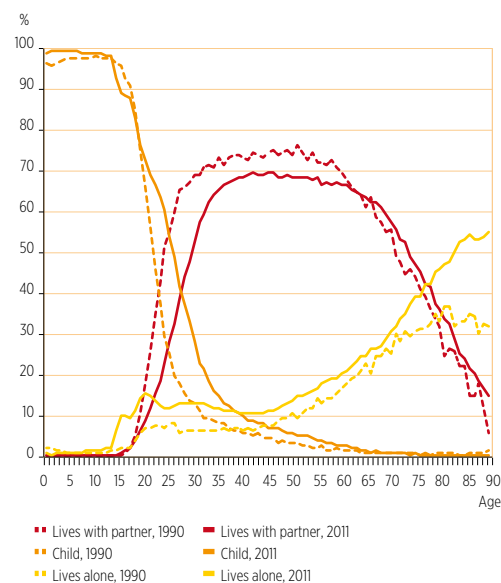
In terms of parental statuses, these phenomena imply that people become parents at an increasingly later stage of their life course, and – even if they have the same number of children – their parental life period ends later as children also leave the parental home later. This is supported by the fact that in 1990 18% and in 2011 already 30% of those in a parent status were aged over 50.

An important driving force behind the changes in family structure is the decline in the proportion of people living in a union. This trend already started in the decades before the regime change, however it seems to have accelerated over the last decade. The share of the partnered decreased in all age groups under 60 (Figure 3). Among the youngest this is related to the postponement of leaving the parental home and family formation, while in the case of the middle aged the increased instability of relationships is behind this phenomenon. There is no decline in the population aged over 60, instead there is a slight increase in the proportion of partnered persons in all relevant age groups (Figure 3). This can largely be explained by the convergence between the life expectancy of men and women, which means that the life prospects of men have improved substantially over recent years.

The proportion of people living alone has been growing for decades. The analysis of

data on *family status*⁶ by age reveals that the increase affects all age groups, however changes are most marked among the elderly, especially those aged over 70–75 years (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Main family statuses by age, 1990, 2011



Source: HCSO Population Census, 1990: 2% sample; 2011: 10% sample; authors' calculation.

Note: The following family status categories are distinguished in population censuses: 1. husband or wife; 2. cohabiting partner; 3. single parent; 4. child; 5. ascending relative; 6. other relative; 7. non-relative. The figure does not include all statuses. People with a family status of husband, wife or cohabiting partner were considered as partnered.

One of the long-term linear trends in the transformation of family structure is the decreasing number of people who live in three- or multi-generational families. It does not simply mean a decline of the co-residence of multiple families but also the decreasing share of families where ascending or other relatives live together with the nucleus (father, mother, children).

CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

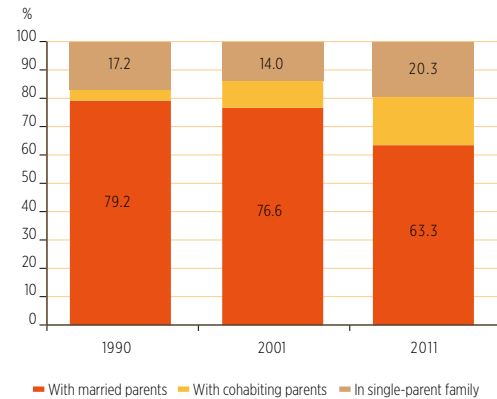
As it has been mentioned, the share of those living with minor child(ren) in the household has also decreased alongside the decline in fertility and the demographic ageing of society. Nevertheless, changes affecting families with children do not only mean a decline in their numbers but also the transformation of their structure.

Among children aged under 19 years, the proportion of those living in families with parents and two children significantly decreased over the past two decades. In 1990 39% of children belonged to this category, in 2011 only 29% do so (Table 2). However, it should be noted that if the focus is not solely on the period after the regime change but a longer period is considered, this is not a linear trend but rather a cyclical pattern. For example, the distribution of families by the number of children in 2011 is exactly the same as it was in 1970 (data not shown).

With the spread of cohabitation, the share of children living with cohabiting parents also increased. In 1990 79% of children aged under 19 lived with married parents, in 2011 only 63%. During the same

period the percentage of families based on cohabitation rose from 4% to 17% (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Distribution of children aged under 19 years by household structure, 1990, 2001, 2011



Source: HCSO Population Censuses, 1990 and 2001: 2% sample; 2011: 10% sample; authors' calculation.

Note: Data for one-family households only.

Naturally, living arrangements change over the main periods of the life course, however there are also important changes within individual life stages in contemporary societies. A number of studies show that these changes have become increasingly

Table 2: Distribution of children aged under 19 by household structure, 1990, 2001, 2011

Household structure	1990	2001	2011
I. One-family	92.7	91.3	97.0
1. Couples with one or more children	76.3	78.7	77.3
1.1. Couple with one child aged under 19	15.8	16.0	17.9
1.2. Couple with two children aged under 19	38.8	34.2	29.2
1.3. Couple with three or more children aged under 19	15.7	19.7	19.8
1.4. Couple with children aged under 19 and older	6.0	8.8	10.4
2. Single-parent families	16.4	12.6	19.7
2.1. One parent with one child aged under 19	5.5	4.7	6.8
2.2. One parent with at least two children aged under 19	9.2	6.1	9.3
2.3. One parent with children aged under 19 and older	1.7	1.8	3.6
II. Multi-family or other living arrangements	7.4	8.7	3.0
Total (rows I-II)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: HCSO Population Census, 1990 and 2001: 2% sample; 2011: 10% sample; authors' calculation.

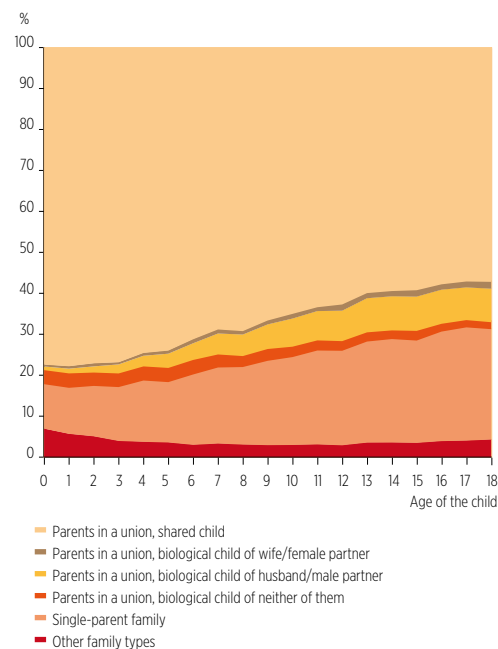
frequent, thus individuals experience an increasing range of living arrangements during their life course. These dynamics are also highlighted by cross-sectional data that – although do not observe individual life trajectories – provide information on the distribution of children of different age by family structure.

Figure 5 clearly shows that the older the children are, the less likely it is that they live together with both of their biological parents. This is around 77% among children aged 0–3 years, 60% among 13–15 year olds and 57% for those aged 18. At the same time, the proportion of children living in single-parent families or with no biological parents is growing. The percentage of single-parent families among the 0–3 year olds is between 10–13%, while among those aged 13–15 years it is nearly 25%, and 26–27% of minors aged over 15 live with only one parent.

The number of children living in *recombined families* starts growing around the early school years. The proportion of children who live with two parents but only one of them – typically the mother – is their biological parent fluctuates around 5–8% in these age groups. In older age groups one

in ten children live in such a family structure (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Distribution of children aged under 19 by the status of their parents, 2011



Source: HCSO Population Census 2011, 10% sample; authors' calculation.

Note: Data for one-family households only.

WHO DO WE CONSIDER CHILDREN?

There is no single definition as to who should be considered *children*^G in the Hungarian and international sociological and demographic literature or in statistical practice. This is partly due to the different research goals and also to the fact that some countries insist on approaches that have been used for many decades even if international research and data reports use other definitions.

The definition of *children* may be based on four key features. First, family status

that defines the individual's status within the family (husband, wife, single parent, child, other relative etc.). Second, age that has a central part in most definitions. Third, dependent status that covers those who do not have their own income. Finally, the fourth feature links the end of child status to important milestones of the institutional life course (such as the end of mandatory schooling, the typical age at leaving secondary education, the age of legal majority etc.).

These features are combined in a variety of approaches and in some cases supplemented by others such as

marital status. Some statistical reports only consider never-married persons as children.

However, the boundary between childhood and adulthood can be defined using a more flexible approach, similarly to studies looking at intergenerational transfers. These define the boundary between childhood and adulthood as the age where individual income first exceeds consumption.

Some examples for the definition of children from statistical practice:

Population censuses define children as those who live in child status within the family and have never been married. Therefore there is no age limit for the definition of children as family members, however some reports distinguish different age groups of children.

The analysis of Hungarian data collected in the international research programme EU-SILC (Statistics on Income and

Living Conditions) on income status and deprivation considers dependents aged under 25 years as children, while in the international studies everyone under 18 are considered children regardless of whether they are dependent or not.

In the long-established living wage calculations the age group of 0–14 years is considered as children.

National statistics on consumption use various definitions. Some studies define children as those aged under 20, living in child status within the family, in full-time education or without income, while others define them as dependents aged under 20 years who are in full-time education. Other studies also include those who are under 20, have child status in the family, and are not in education but looking for work.

International statistics on consumption and spending consider people who are aged under 25, inactive and live with at least one parent as children.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE IN THEIR THIRTIES AND FORTIES LIVING WITH THEIR PARENTS

Young adults typically leave the parental household later and later and at the same time the proportion of those in their thirties or forties who still (or again) live with their parents also increases. The co-residence of adult children and their parents may have advantages for both sides (such as cheaper housing, help with housework, looking after children, emotional support or care), however it may also become a source of conflict. Co-residence can be temporary or a long-term arrangement.

Data from the 2012–2013 wave of the Turning Points of the Life Course

demographic survey provide detailed information on the socio-demographic characteristics of adult children living with parents and their views on moving out. According to this data 16% of women and 27% of men in their thirties, and 10% of women and 19% of men in their forties live with at least one of their parents.² Men leave the parental home on average three years later than women, and the share of non-movers is also higher among them. Therefore it is not surprising that 63% of those who are in their thirties or forties and live with their parents are men. Compared to the total 30–49-year-old population respondents who live in the parental household had lower education (17% had tertiary and 22% at most primary education, compared to 29% and

² Among those who said that at least one of their biological parents was alive at the time of data collection.

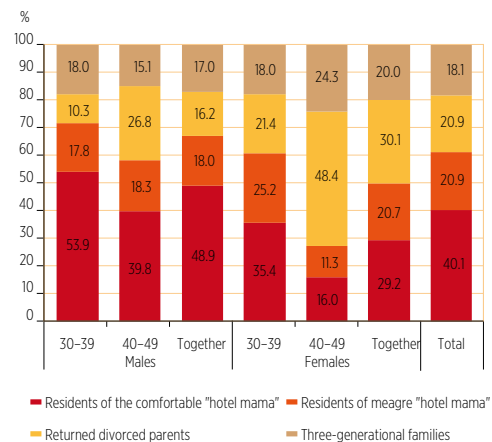
13% in the total population of the same age, respectively). The share of the unemployed is also higher among them (15% vs. 11%), as well as those receiving disability pension (7% vs. 3%), while the proportion of those in employment is lower (70% vs. 76%) than in the total population of the same age. Only 18% of those living with parents are married or cohabiting (as opposed to 67% of the total population aged 30–49), one in two are single (23%) and 24% has a noncohabiting partner. While 74% of all people in their thirties or forties have at least one child and 67% lives with their children, only 35% of those living with parents have children and 24% live in the same household with at least one of them.

People aged 30–49 years living with their parents cannot be considered a homogeneous group but they are characterised by a variety of life situations and attitudes; they have different life trajectories and also different expectations towards the future. Based on their relationship and fertility history, economic and housing situation, *four characteristic types* have been identified: residents of the comfortable “hotel mama” (40%), residents of the meagre “hotel mama” (21%), returned divorced parents (21%) and three-generational families (18%) (Figure 6).³

The common characteristics of young adults living in what is often termed as the “hotel mama” are that they have finished their studies but have not (yet) started their own family, namely they are not in a long-term partnership and do not have children, and they live in the parental home enjoying some of its advantages. The analysis also supports this image, however the residents of the “hotel mama” can be divided into two

groups. The residents of the *comfortable “hotel mama”* are more educated, their financial and housing situation is better and more of them live in Budapest, compared to the total group of those living with parents. Three quarters of them are employed, and the others are unemployed or other inactive. 12% do not have any income, however the majority regularly contribute to the household expenses with smaller or larger amounts. One in two had already lived away from the parents but moved back. Three quarters of the residents in the comfortable “hotel mama” are men and their proportion is higher in the younger age group.

Figure 6: Distribution of 30–49 year olds living in the parental household by type, sex and age



Source: HDRI GGS Turning Points of the Life Course, Wave 4 (2012–2013), new sample of 18–49 year olds; authors’ calculation, n = 388.

The residents of the *meagre “hotel mama”* are similar to the previous group in terms of their partnership characteristics, however their social situation is disadvantageous from several aspects. 54% have primary

³ The groups were distinguished using the method of latent class analysis. The method identifies homogenous latent (not directly observable) groups that are mutually exclusive and independent, based on observed categorical variables, and groups respondents into these classes. In our analysis the grouping variables were the following: marital status, partnership situation, whether they have children, have ever moved out of parental home, material deprivation (terciles based on the number of durable consumer goods and lifestyle elements that they have to go without due to financial reasons) and the number of household members per room (terciles).

education at most, only half of them work, many of them are on disability pension, are other inactive or have long term health conditions. Moreover, their housing and economic situation is the worst out of the four groups. 70% have never moved out of the parental home. Three quarters contribute to household expenses; however 20% spend all their (probably low) income on their own expenses.

The group of *returned divorced parents* include single persons who have returned to the parental home following the dissolution of a union (marriage or cohabitation). The proportion of women (52%) and over-40s (55%) are highest in this group. Although they have children, due to child custody practices after the divorce or separation of parents only 9% of men but 81% of women live together with their children. Their social situation is average or slightly below average, especially in terms of overcrowding.

Those who live in a *three-generational family* are married or cohabiting, they live in their first long-term union and two thirds have children. Similarly to the residents of the comfortable “hotel mama” they are relatively educated, their financial situation is average and they have the highest rate of employment (83%). One third regularly contributes to household expenses with larger sums and one fourth have a shared budget with the parents. This type is more common in villages and small towns.

41% of adult children aged 30–49 years living with parents plan to move out within three years (*Table 3*). Less than half in each group say that they intend to leave the parental household. The divorced with children have the lowest and the residents of the comfortable “hotel mama” have the highest propensity to move (this also shows how realistic each group thinks their plans are or they give up their intentions after some time).

The four groups also differ in terms of their expectations, the factors considered

during decision-making and the pressures they perceive. For those enjoying the comfort of the “hotel mama” moving out would be advantageous from non-financial aspects (e.g. general satisfaction, better relationship with parents, better sexual life), however 51% think that their financial situation would get worse and 39% would expect the deterioration of their housing situation. Their moving out depends on their financial and housing conditions, they are reluctant to give up the lifestyle they have got accustomed to, and they also consider a long-term relationship a necessary condition. They are aware of the pressures from their environment, relatives and friends, and 47% intends to move out within three years.

The advantages of moving for the resident of the meagre “hotel mama” are similar to the ones in the previous group, and among the disadvantages, alongside the economic and housing situation, the relationship with parents is also mentioned (out of the four groups they are the most satisfied with their relationship with their parents). If they have a (noncohabiting) partner, they perceive very strong pressure from them, however due to their relatively disadvantageous social situation they lack the financial means to move out.

A relatively high proportion of people who move back after a divorce or separation think that their housing and employment situation would improve and they would be happier and more satisfied if they lived apart from their parents, however their financial situation would deteriorate. They think their parents and relatives do not put pressure on them to move out and help them out in this difficult life situation. They would leave the parental home if they could do move in with a new partner and had stable financial situation.

The members of the “three-generational families” group expect the least positive (or negative) changes after moving apart and

Table 3: Opinion on starting to live separately from parents of people aged 30–49 years living in the parental household by type (%)

Opinion on starting to live separately	Com- fortable “hotel mama”	Meagre “hotel mama”	Returned divorced parents	Three- gene- rational family	Total
<i>Intends to leave the parental home within three years</i>	47.0	36.2	33.3	39.6	40.7
<i>Starting living separately from parents would have a positive effect on...</i>					
The possibility to do what they want	32.3	30.3	34.0	25.3	30.5
Employment opportunities	8.5	15.0	24.3	13.8	12.7
Financial situation	6.6	15.0	11.0	13.6	10.4
Housing situation	22.2	13.9	41.5	23.5	22.7
Sexual life	41.3	37.1	44.8	17.3	35.6
Relationship with parents	17.8	12.7	5.0	11.0	13.9
What people around them think of them	18.9	12.5	10.3	5.0	13.7
The joy and satisfaction they get from life	39.0	29.7	47.5	29.9	36.0
<i>Starting living separately from parents would have a negative effect on...</i>					
The possibility to do what they want	11.0	11.3	4.5	13.4	10.9
Employment opportunities	6.4	7.9	26.0	13.3	10.3
Financial situation	51.3	36.7	58.4	41.0	46.7
Housing situation	38.9	37.1	19.8	31.8	35.0
Sexual life	3.0	4.8	0.0	2.9	3.0
Relationship with parents	9.2	19.2	14.0	15.7	13.2
What people around them think of them	0.0	8.2	0.0	4.1	2.6
The joy and satisfaction they get from life	0.0	8.2	0.0	4.7	2.8
<i>How much the decision to move out depends on...</i>					
Financial situation	54.5	43.9	51.1	46.8	50.2
Work	19.7	23.0	48.2	24.0	24.3
Housing situation	52.2	34.5	62.4	40.3	46.9
Health status	6.0	4.8	7.1	10.0	6.7
Parents' health status	28.6	18.4	0.0	7.7	18.9
Quality of relationship with parents	22.2	18.3	20.5	8.4	18.2
Whether they have a partner	41.1	16.5	41.2	39.2	35.4
<i>.. think it is about time to live separately from their parents</i>					
Most friends	23.1	21.3	20.1	13.0	20.2
Parents	22.2	21.8	0.0	7.7	16.7
Most relatives	22.8	21.8	10.2	15.0	19.6
Their partner (if applicable)	53.4	78.6	56.7	54.5	58.1

Source: HDRI GGS Turning Points of the Life Course, Wave 4 (2012–2013), new sample of 18–49 year olds; authors' calculation, n = 388.

they feel that their immediate environment does not encourage them to do so either. They are the most divided in terms of their intentions to start living separately: 28%

definitely wants to move and 48% do not want to move at all. Many people in this group probably consider living with parents (and also with partner and children) a

long-term arrangement that has mutual advantages and they can shape their lifestyle quite independently within the household. However others view this only as a stage in their family life course and look for ways to become independent, which has mainly financial barriers.

FAMILY STRUCTURE OF THE ELDERLY

One of the most pervasive demographic phenomena of the European and developed societies is the ageing of the population, resulting in the continuous increase of the over-65 population. Furthermore, due to increases in life expectancy, more and more people fall in the category of the 'oldest old' – those aged over 80 years.

The latter trend suggests that more and more people will leave private households and move to a communal setting. According to data from the latest population census in 2011 6% of those aged 80–84, 9% of those aged 85–89 and 14% of the over-90s live in an institutional household, predominantly elderly home.

In private households one in three elderly persons lives alone. Their percentage increased over the past two decades (*Table 4*).

Table 4: Distribution of the elderly population aged 65 years or over by household structure, 1990, 2001, 2011

	(%)		
Household structure	1990	2001	2011
One-person household	27.3	31.0	34.5
Couple household without children	36.4	39.0	37.7
Couple household with children	6.2	6.5	8.3
Other household structure	30.1	23.5	19.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: HCSO Population Censuses, 1990 and 2001: 2% sample; 2011: 10% sample; authors' calculation.

The older the age group is, the higher the proportion of those living alone is. Among people aged 65–70 years it is just over one in four, while nearly half of the over-80s live alone (*Table 5*). More women than men bear the physical and emotional burden of living alone because the share of women living alone is much higher in all elderly age groups. One of its reasons is that women still have higher life expectancy and are more likely to become widowed than men. This is also supported by the fact that the proportion of women living with a partner is lower in all age groups.

Table 5: Distribution of the elderly population aged 65 or over by household structure and age group, 2011

Household structure	Females				Males				Total			
	65–70	71–74	75–80	81+	65–70	71–74	75–80	81+	65–70	71–74	75–80	81+
One-person household	33,2	42,1	50,8	54,9	16,0	17,0	19,2	27,5	26,0	32,5	39,8	46,7
Couple household without children	38,0	30,7	20,7	8,5	56,9	60,8	61,3	50,5	45,9	42,2	34,7	21,0
Couple household with children	8,7	5,2	2,9	0,9	18,6	14,0	10,4	7,1	12,9	8,6	5,5	2,8
Other household structure	20,1	22,0	25,7	35,7	8,5	8,2	9,2	14,9	15,2	16,7	20,0	29,5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Source: HCSO Population Census, 2011: 10% sample; authors' calculation.

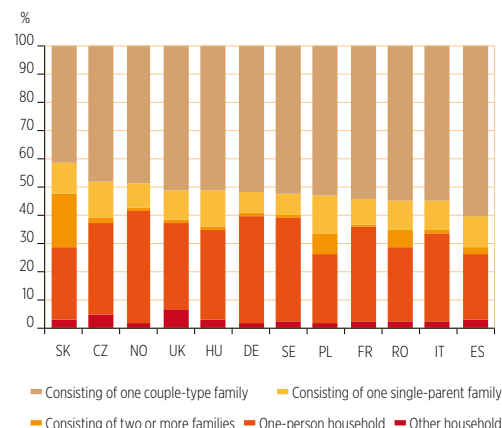
FAMILY STRUCTURE IN EUROPE

Several elements of the demographic processes and changes in family structure are converging across Europe, however this is not true for all factors and the rate of changes also differ. The diversity of living arrangements, therefore, cannot only be observed within each country but the family structure of different countries' populations also differs in many ways. Below the main differences will be illustrated using some selected European countries as examples.

An increasing proportion of households are characterised by the co-residence of only one or two generations across Europe. The share of multi-family (typically three-generational) households is negligible in almost all countries with a few exceptions – out of the countries included in this analysis Slovakia, Poland and Romania –, where their percentage is well above average. In Slovakia, for example, around one fifth of the households are multi-family, while in Poland this is 7% and in Romania 6% (Figure 7). Cultural and economic reasons may also play a part in the high prevalence of multi-family households in some areas. The patterns of looking after ageing parents, the difficulties faced by young families to get their own home, the number of single parents moving back to the parental home after the dissolution of their union may all shape the proportion of multi-family households in any country.

The proportion of those living alone is high and shows an increasing trend in most countries of the Continent. A key source of this change is demographic ageing, namely the proportion of the elderly increases in every European society and most of them live alone. As far as young people are concerned, delayed family formation and the increased instability of unions are behind this phenomenon.

Figure 7: Distribution of households by household type in selected European countries, 2011



Source: Eurostat, Census Database (data from 2011); authors' calculation.

The percentage of those living alone is highest in the Scandinavian countries. Out of the countries included in this analysis, the examples of Norway and Sweden illustrate this clearly: in Norway 40% and in Sweden 36% of households are one-person households. Apart from the Scandinavian countries, the share of one-person households is also high in Germany (37%) and France (34%) (Figure 7). The age composition of those living alone indicates that the share of solo-living also tends to be higher among younger and middle-age persons in these countries. No detailed data by age group is available, however it is known from other sources that young people tend to leave the parental home very early in these countries, however this does not necessarily mean that they form a union, thus they often move out of the parental home without a partner. The so-called "singlehood phenomenon" is most prevalent in these countries.

The relatively low proportion of people living alone is mainly characteristic of Southern and Eastern European countries. Overall, it can be concluded that the

aggregate indicator of the EU-15 countries, even with the inclusion of Southern European countries, is much higher than that of countries that joined the European Union later. However, there are also significant differences within the Eastern European region. While the proportion of those living alone is 25% in Slovakia, 24% in Poland and 26% in Romania, in Hungary this was considerably higher, 32% in 2011 (Figure 7).

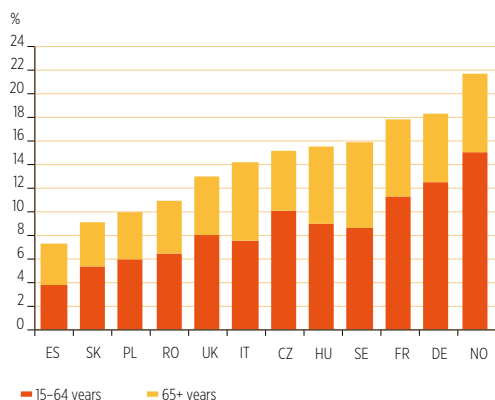
If we examine rates for persons aged under 65 and older age groups separately (Figure 8), it appears that the lower figures of Southern and Eastern European countries are partly due to the fact that the life expectancy of the elderly are still less favourable there compared to the Western and Northern European countries; therefore changes in family structure arising from demographic ageing have a smaller effect. Thus, the share of elderly people living alone is still relatively low in these countries. On the other hand – and this is more significant – in Southern and Eastern Europe young people move out of the parental home later and it is less common for them to form an independent

household without a union. So the proportion of young and middle aged people living alone is much lower than in the majority of Northern and Western European countries.

Most European societies are generally characterised by low, sub-replacement fertility. Partly as a result of this, the number of families with resident children is decreasing everywhere.

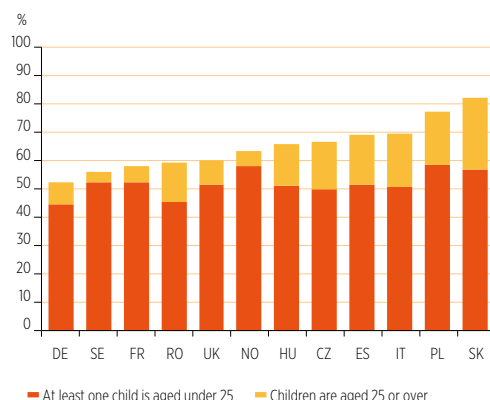
The share of families with resident children is lower in countries where either fertility is low or young people leave the parental home early (Figure 9). Germany is characterised by both, so it is not surprising that only every other family has at least one resident child aged under or over 25 years. In Sweden – that has relatively high fertility but young people tend to move out early – and also in France only 56–58% of families have resident children and they are typically aged under 25. Contrastingly, in the Eastern and Southern European countries included in the analysis the share of families with resident children is higher because of the widespread co-residence of adult children aged over 25 and their parents.

Figure 8: Proportion of people living in one-person households within the total population by age in selected European countries, 2011



Source: Eurostat, Census Database (data from 2011); authors' calculation.

Figure 9: Proportion of families with child(ren) within all families by age of child(ren) in selected European countries, 2011

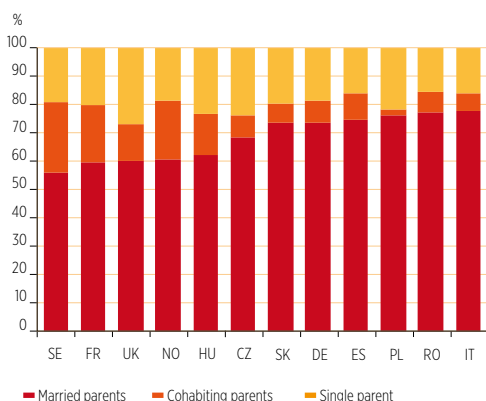


Source: Eurostat, Census Database (data from 2011); authors' calculation.

There are also large differences between European countries in terms of the proportion of single- and two-parent families in the total number of families with children and the form of partnership in two-parent families. The proportion of children living in cohabiting families is typically higher in Scandinavian countries and France and it is lower in Eastern and Southern Europe (Figure 10).

It would be difficult to identify country groups based on the percentage of children living in single-parent families because there is a variety of patterns in both the Western and the Eastern parts of Europe. In the Eastern European region the proportion of children in single-parent families is highest in Hungary and the Czech Republic but it is lower in Romania. Their proportion is exceptionally high in the United Kingdom, there more than one in four children live in single-parent families, while it is generally lower in Northern and Southern European countries (Figure 10).

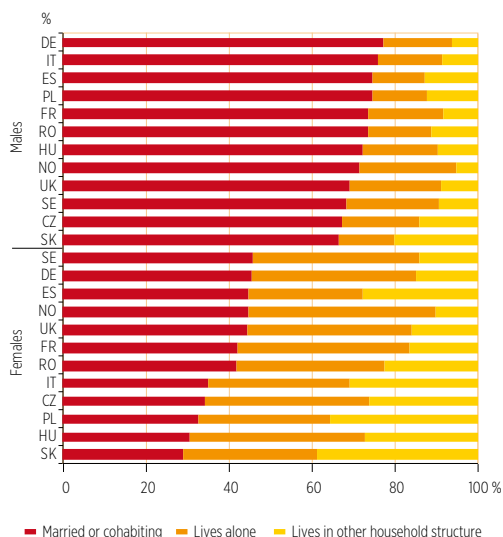
Figure 10: Distribution of families with at least one child aged under 25 years by family structure in selected European countries, 2011



Source: Eurostat, Census Database (data from 2011); authors' calculation.

As it has been highlighted previously, it is uncommon for older generations to live together with the children and their family in contemporary societies; the majority of them live alone or with a partner. Therefore the proportion of those in a union is determined by two factors: first, the number of the divorced who did not start a new partnership; second, the number of the widowed. The latter one is also linked to sex differences in mortality. In Hungary, for example, due to the large gap between the life expectancy of men and women, many women are widowed in older age. Therefore, the share of those living alone is high among old(er) women and the share of those living with a partner is low. This pattern is similar to other Eastern European countries, however some differences can also be noted. Out of the Eastern European countries included in this analysis, the percentage of those living in “other” household types – mainly elderly people living with their children – is lowest in Hungary and highest in Slovakia.

Figure 11: Distribution of the population aged 65 and over by household structure and sex in selected European countries, 2011



Source: Eurostat, Census Database (data from 2011); authors' calculation.

GLOSSARY

The main source of definitions related to families and households is the methodological guidelines for the population census prepared by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. Any differences from these are highlighted.

Household: A (*private*) household consists of people who live together in a common housing unit or part of it, and – at least partly – bear together the costs of living (for example meals, daily expenses). The other type of households is the *institutional household* (for example students' residence, old people's home or prison), where residents live in a communal setting and possibly receive some kind of board.

Family: The *family* is the narrowest circle of persons living together as spouses, cohabiting unions or kin. According to census definitions, the family may be: a) *couple-type*, including a married or cohabiting couple with never-married child(ren) or without children, or b) a lone parent with never-married child(ren) (*single-parent family*).

Family household: A household consisting of one or more families is the *family household*. If the household consists of one family, the family and the household are essentially identical, then it is a *one-family household*. The one-family household differs from the family in that the number of relatives or non-relatives living with the family is not included in the size of the family but it is included in the size of the household. If more than one family shares the household, then it is a *multi-family household*. The size of households consisting of two or more families includes – similarly to one-family households – the number of individuals

living with the families who do not constitute a separate family, in addition to the number of family members.

Non-family household: Households where no family relations exist are *non-family households*. These are as follows: a) *one-person household*, consisting of one person; b) *households of other composition* that consist of people who constitute no family. This might include a household of co-resident relatives who do not form a family (e.g. siblings; a mother or a father living with his/her married, divorced or widowed child; a grandparent with a grandchild of any marital status) or non-relatives (such as friends).

Children: Census reports on household and family structure only consider never-married persons as children. In this case ever-married individuals who are otherwise in child status are included among other relatives. The second part of the analysis uses a broader definition of children: we consider as children all persons who are reported to have a child status by respondents, namely individuals who live together with at least one of their parents. Therefore the co-residence of one or both parents with married, divorced or widowed children are included under different family types by the two methods.

Family status: *Family status* indicates the family or other (economic) relationship between individuals living in the same household. According to family status, members of the household can be husband or wife, cohabiting partner, single parent with resident children, child, ascending relative, other relative, non-relative and lone person. In this case a child is the child of the husband, wife, cohabiting partner or single parent, if they do not have their own family, regardless of their age, marital status and whether they have their own income.

REFERENCES

and recommended literature on the Hungarian situation

- Földházi, E. (2008): *Az első házasságkötés után. A párkapcsolatok dinamikája, egyszülős családok kialakulása és megszűnése Magyarországon a 20. század második felében*. PhD disszertáció. (After the first marriage. Dynamics of partnerships, routes into and from lone parent situations in Hungary in the second half of twentieth century. PhD dissertation). Corvinus University of Budapest. http://phd.lib.uni-corvinus.hu/350/1/foldhazi_ertzsebet.pdf
- Harcsa, I. – Monostori, J. (2012): Családi struktúrák az életciklusban (Family structures in the life cycle). In Kolosi, T. – Tóth, I. Gy. (eds.): *Társadalmi riport 2012 (Social Report 2012)*. TÁRKI, Budapest: 65–92.
- Harcsa, I. – Monostori, J. (2014): Demográfiai folyamatok és családformák pluralizációja Magyarországon (Demographic trends and the pluralization of family forms in Hungary). In Kolosi, T. – Tóth, I. Gy. (eds.): *Társadalmi riport 2014 (Social Report 2014)*. TÁRKI, Budapest: 83–109.
- KSH (2013): *2011. évi népszámlálás. 5. Háztartások, családok életkörülményei*. (HCSO Population Census 2011. Part 5: Households, living conditions of families, 2013). KSH, Budapest.
- KSH (2013): Családtípusok és párkapcsolati formák változása a népszámlálási adatok tükrében (Changes of family types and cohabitation forms based on census data). *Statisztikai tükrök*, 115. <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/csaladtipusok.pdf>
- Monostori, J. (2013): Az egyszülős családdá válás társadalmi meghatározottsága (The social determinants of the formation of single-parent families). *Socio.hu*, 2013/3. http://www.socio.hu/uploads/files/2013_3/2monostori.pdf
- Murinkó, L. (2013): *Első elköltözés a szülői házból Magyarországon. A szülői ház elhagyásának időzítése, párkapcsolati környezete és családi háttér szerinti különbségei*. (Leaving the parental home in Hungary. Timing, partnership context and differences by family background.) KSH NKI Kutatási Jelentések 94. p.166. <http://demografia.hu/kiadvanyokonline/index.php/kutatasijelentesek/issue/view/138>
- Murinkó, L. – Földházi, E. (2012): Household and family structure. In Őri, P. – Spéder, Zs. (eds.): *Demographic Portrait of Hungary 2012*. Hungarian Demographic Research Institute, Budapest: 113–122.

WEBSITES

Eurostat, Census Database: <https://ec.europa.eu/CensusHub2>