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CONTACTS WITH INSTITUTIONS  
IN THE LIGHT OF A TIME BUDGETS SURVEY

As you know, time budgets have already been studied for eighty years [S c h e u c h, 1969, p. 745]. This specialized section of social research has various applications. The data on time spending may be put to use in many branches of social sciences. They are also useful in many spheres of social practice. Thanks to the time budget data, one may solve various research problems in comfortable manner, the research being easy to organize, as information on time budgets may be obtained by means of various specific techniques, from an enquiry, a questionnaire interview, to observation techniques. Despite the wide range of available techniques, all studies of time budgets must supply the following basic information:

- a) about the activities performed by the subjects of the research,
- b) about the duration of these activities.

The sequences of both classes of primary information constitutive for the time budget research are then processed usually in the form of statistical analyses. The result of such handling - the time budgets of individuals and social groups - is the pairing of the classes of activity, containing specific categories of activities, with the respective mean durations expressed in hours and minutes. The most popular kind of budget survey contains information about how the respondents use time during a twenty-four hours period. Thanks to the probability sampling of the respondents and rotation sampling of

the study days, the time budgets bring the picture of everyday activities of the surveyed population as regards the kinds of activities performed and the structure of time use.

The simplified description presented above obviously refers to the minimal variant of the survey of the time budgets. It is often complemented with much additional information - e.g. about where the activities are performed, the motivation for undertaking them, the distinction between the basic and concomitant activities, etc. One may also process the basic data differently, in this way obtaining such results as: the knowledge about the time of day at which specific activities are performed, the daily/weekly rhythm of the activities, the percentage of people performing a given activity, and the real (non-average) time of performing the activities.

It may be seen from these remarks on the time budget surveys, that they may also bring some information about the respondents' contacts with institutions, as any such contact should be registered as an activity in the time diary, whenever it occurs in a respondent's study day. And since institutions demand, alas, that we allot time to them, this fact should find its place among other ways of spending time in the structure of the time budgets.

Whenever time budgets are studied, one usually does not go deeper into the multidimensional setting of the activities and actions, confining oneself to registering the fact of their performance. Thus the significance of the time budget data for the issue which is the subject of this conference, viz. Institutions and Everyday Life, may be defined as a general outlining of the phenomenon. From the time budgets, one may learn about how often various institutions appear in the "stream" of the daily activities of the respondents, and about what these institutions are; about how much time is spent by individuals (or social groups) on the institutional spheres of life, and therefore, how much is left of their "private time" - which, in common opinion, is more valuable. One may also learn whether the particular social groups profit equally from the institutional offer, and what spheres of life demand the expansion of this offer, or are suitable ground for introducing new institutions. The time budgets also inform us about when the respondents con-

tact institutions most often - i.e. in which days of the week or at what times of day.

The time budgets might bring much more information on the problem that we are interested in, if it were not for the fact that there is no distinction of a separate class of activities connected with institutions, although the theorists in this field of research point to the significance of dichotomic division of the quantum of time into public (social) and private time [B u s c h, 1975]. They emphasize the fact that the range of the former "time" is always expanding, as a result of the growing institutionalization of the social life. Thus the wanted and unwanted contacts with institutions occur ever more often, and the influence of the institutions on the organization of communal life and on the organization of an individual's activities is ever growing. Let us note here that the instrument we use for measuring time - the clock (as well as the calendar) - has itself become a kind of an "institution", whose pernicious influence may be felt by all those who happened to miss a train or travel on a train which was an hour late.

Not going deeper into the subtle matter of the relationships between individuals and institutions, we would like to present some figures showing the frequency of appearance of institutions in the time diaries, the time spent on contacts with them, the differences among the social groups in this respect. We shall base ourselves on the results of a time-budget survey conducted in Łódź in 1976/77 on a representative sample of active earners, male, 25-55 years old, with a full family ["Studia Socjologiczne" 1977]. In a six-month period, each of the 500 respondents filled in (by self-registration) seven twenty four hours time diaries.

This survey did not have a too extended category of activities connected with institutions, either, as it had a different aim: it was used as a tool in the study of the "ways of life". Neither was the way of handling the quantitative data very helpful in isolating the information essential for the delineation of the phenomenon that interests us. Therefore, taking into account the surveyed sample and the directly available data, we shall be drawing a rather incomplete picture of the contacts with institutions. Moreover it must be made clear that because of the

limitations following from the conception of the survey and from the method of analysing the results, we shall be using the specific concept 'institution' rather freely, in this way enabling ourselves to make use of the already analysed data. This possibility is limited by the coding list of activities, which was employed for the analysis. In 79 detailed categories of activities, only 29 referred to the contact with some institution, and as much as 13 of these concerned cultural institutions.

We shall thus be using the term 'institution' rather as it is commonly understood: some people assuming the roles of clients, customers, viewers, audience, readers, passengers, citizens, employees, and other people assuming the roles of clerks, authors, editors, shop-assistants, announcers, censors, servicemen, attendants, employers. This list, of course, does not pretend to be exhaustive: we hope, however, that in this way we are not in conflict with the 'serious', theoretically well-founded definitions of the term we are using here.

1. Institutions according to the frequency of appearing  
in time budget diaries  
and the time allotted to dealing with them

Because of the variety of institutions appearing in the time budget diaries, we have adopted for the purposes of our report the following classification according to the criterion of the character of the institution's activity:

A. The INSTITUTIONS OF WORK (or of EMPLOYMENT), in which the respondents play the role of workers. This group of institutions appears in the time diaries as a) the time spent in primary employment, b) overtime work connected with the primary job, c) the time of additional paid-work, e.g. second job.

B. The INSTITUTIONS OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION - mainly tram and bus services.

C. The INSTITUTIONS OF THE THIRD SOCIAL SETTING OF CULTURE - television, radio, daily newspapers.

D. The INSTITUTIONS OF RETAIL TRADE AND SERVICES, of which the respondents are customers.

E. The SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS of which the respondents are members or activists.

F. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS where the respondents and their children are taught.

G. ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES, whose services the respondents use as clients.

H. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, where the respondents are part of the congregation.

I. The INSTITUTIONS OF THE SECOND SOCIAL SETTING OF CULTURE, such as cinemas, theatres, museums.

The first four categories occupy a dominant position in the structure of the time budgets, ranging over the majority of the members of investigated population.

In the period under research, a hundred per cent of the respondents did paid work for at least one day, and 82 per cent of them worked for at least five days in the study week. The average time of effective work in primary employment was 343 minutes per day. In addition, 13 per cent of the men worked overtime, and 10 per cent declared holding a second job. The daily average time spent on doing the income-supplementing work is 11 minutes.

Also, the whole surveyed population were using the services of public transport, 87 per cent of them daily. The total time spent on commuting and waiting for the tram or bus was 104 minutes.

99 per cent of the respondents declared watching TV, and only a slightly smaller percentage - 90 per cent of the respondents - read the daily newspapers. The TV, however, appears more often in the diaries; 70 per cent of the respondents watch it at least five times a week, while only 30 per cent read newspapers with similar frequency. Radio broadcasts were listened to by 35 per cent of the respondents, and magazines were read by 38 per cent. The average time devoted to contact with the media was 112 minutes daily, the main time 'consumer' being television.

Shopping was registered by 85 per cent of the men, of which 21 per cent visited the shops once a week, 16 per cent - twice, 17 per cent - three times a week, and 32 per cent five or more times a week. Using services was much less popular; it was re-



gistered by 29 per cent of the respondents. The survey reported here did not provide information on how much time was spent on shopping, so we shall quote the relevant data after the 1976 survey conducted by Central Statistical Office [1978]. Shopping and using services took 16 minutes of a male respondent's (married, with children) time, and this kind of activity was registered by 20 per cent of the respondents (only one twenty-four hours period was being described).

The other kinds of institutions 'range' over 20 to 25 per cent of the respondents. 25 per cent were members of social organizations, and another 5 per cent doing volunteer work. The average time spent on these kinds of activities was 10 minutes daily. Also 10 minutes daily was spent on educational activities (declared by 25 per cent of the population). Slightly less, i.e. 23 per cent of the men took their children to and from school, kindergarten or infants' nursery. And only 5 per cent registered a more serious contact with the educational institution: parents-teacher meetings, talking to teachers etc.

Spending time in various offices as clients was registered in the surveyed period by 21 per cent of the respondents. An almost equal number, or 20 per cent of the respondents, went to church, and the time spent on religious practices averaged 2 minutes.

The last position as regards the number of users, is occupied by the institutions of the second social setting of culture. Cinema is the most popular of them, and 12 per cent of the sample went there. Sport events were watched by 4 per cent, 2,5 per cent went to museums, 2 per cent to the theatre, and circa 1 per cent saw an opera, an operetta, or a variety performance. Only 0,2 per cent went to a philharmonic concert. The total amount of time spent on above activities was 4.5 minute daily.

Having approximately summed up the time devoted to the activities performed within the aforementioned groups of institutions, we may conclude that the respondents spend more than 10 hours within their range. After we have deducted the time spent on sleeping, only about 7 hours are left for any activity outside institutions. Let us also note that institutions not only consume time, but also 'organize' the way of life of individuals,

particularly on work days. According to the survey of the Central Statistical Office [1978], most of the respondents go to work between 6 and 7 a.m., using the public transport (trams and buses). From 7 to 9 a.m. most of them do paid work (or at least are present at their workplace). Between 9 and 11 a.m., however, they usually deal with offices or are active in social organizations. On Sunday, at this time they go to church. From 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. the respondents are back at their workplace. Then they do shopping till 5 p.m. or do additional work till 7 p.m. The men who go home after work immediately, may read newspapers or magazines from 4 to 7 p.m., and from 7 to 9 p.m. all of the respondents may watch TV or listen to the radio.

## 2. The social differentiation of the participation in the institutional spheres of life

The picture drawn above is a statistical average for the whole of the examined population. It is true in a sense; it does not, however, allow for the differentiation of this population, although it seems reasonable to assume that various social groups differ as regards the direction of the institutional activity - i.e. prefer or need different kinds of this activity. They also differ in their willingness to accept the influence of institutions on their lives - some would rather not feel this influence - or in the ability to use them. To take a different view, the system of institutions may engage or exploit some groups of people more than the others. We must remember that this system of institutions, and more generally, the social system, is directly or indirectly controlled by the state - a special kind of institution, which is based on the planning of the social life and the transformation of social structures. We should also add that the examined period is one of the so-called turning-points in history, at these years are thought to be formative of the processes that led to the failure of a certain type of the philosophy of administering the society, and in consequence have led to the still lasting acute socio-economical and political crisis.

It is perhaps less well justified, yet rather tempting to entertain that hypothesis that the time budget data collected in that period and viewed from the perspective of our experiences of the last few years, could form a basis (however unsound) from which conclusions can be drawn concerning the relationships between the categories of the social structure and the institutional organization of the society. We must, however, make the reservation that the data is so unreliable, that what we shall report now should be treated as rather free speculations. This will thus give as fictional a picture of the phenomenon as the one obtained by means of the statistical analysis of the data, only of qualitative character.

And so, examining the data on the time spent by socio-occupational groups on the activities connected with some types of institutions chosen from our list, we suppose that they may be interpreted in such a way that we could in effect distinguish different types of involvement in the institutional spheres of life, or different patterns of allocation of time. We must make the reservation, however, that the types presented below comprise only one of the possible orderings of the empirical data, and also, that they are simplified constructions, leaving out some - perhaps important - pieces of information.

The relevant figures on which we have based ourselves when creating the allocation patterns are presented in APPENDIX 1; we shall not be reporting them here. Let us only say that we have taken into consideration the institutions of work, those of culture and social organizations, and time allotted to these institutions by 13 specific socio-occupational groups. Analysing these pairs, we have been looking for the categories of which it may be said that they realize a related pattern of the allocation of time, resulting either from personal preferences and needs, or from the specific composition of the institutional offer. The analysis presented in appendix as a series of 'steps' has led to the isolation of the following types:

A. The OUTSIDERS - i.e. those occupational groups which are the least involved in the system of institutions.

B. The BUREAUCRATS - i.e. the occupational groups allotting a large proportion of their time to institutions, and probably enjoying it.



C. The PROFESSIONALS - i.e. these occupational groups that are mainly involved in the institutions of work.

D. The UNDEREMPLOYED (or UNNECESSARY) - in contrast to the 'professionals', not fully put to use by the institutions of work.

E. The SECOND-JOB HOLDERS - i.e. these occupational categories involved in the institutions enabling them to do additional paid work.

F. The SUPERVISORS, i.e. the occupational categories forming the lower ranks of the hierarchy of managers, with a specific pattern of the allocation of time.

Let us make the above 'labels' more specific. The OUTSIDER type is represented by two diverse occupational categories: people involved in the arts and the unskilled workers. In five of the six aforementioned kinds of institutions they come last in the hierarchy of the allotted time. One exception is the media, whose services these respondents use in a moderate degree. This is the only kind of involvement in an institution that they share with the - otherwise quite different - group of BUREAUCRATS (Institution people). It may be supposed that these two oddly matched occupational groups remain outside the institutional sphere on account of the specificity of their social standing. And so, the persons involved in the arts (and also such groups as free-lance journalists etc.) have their sources of income partly outside the sphere of institutions - whenever they do rely for their income on an institutional patron, they are allowed more freedom than the other occupational categories. Moreover, manifesting their independence lies in the tradition of their style of life. The unskilled workers, on the other hand, do not have to associate with institutions, as they have a rather limited range of needs. It may also be claimed that they are less competent as regards the efficiency of moving within the institutional system, hence the unwillingness to deal with it. Finally, the sources of their incomes and the satisfaction of their needs lie largely outside institutions, or are even illicit (e.g. speculation, illicit distillation of liquor).

The type BUREAUCRATS encompasses two categories - managers and clerical office workers, i.e. the categories characteristic for

bureaucratic structures. Then it is now wonder that they allot enough time to each of the above-mentioned kinds of institutions to come high in the hierarchy of time. However, they are not the most active in any of them. We may note that they come the lowest in the hierarchy of additional paid work. The managers, it may be supposed, are well-paid, and the demand for additional clerical work is not too big.

The contrasting patterns of the allocation of time are made up of the types SUPERVISORS and SECOND JOB HOLDERS. The SUPERVISORS are persons occupying lower and middle positions connected with the proces of organizing and controlling the work. For this reason these are the categories that are relatively well paid for the relatively small amount of working time. Thus they allot the time left at their disposal to the media and voluntary work, which is their characteristic form of participation in social organizations. They do not need to look for addictional sources of income, which is reflected in the low position of SUPERVISORS on the scale of the time allotted to additional paid work.

The SECOND-JOB HOLDERS are represented by academics and specialists in non-technological areas. These are the groups closely attached to their places of employment, yet because of the existing structure of incomes, their are comparatively underpaid in relation to their qualifications and perhaps their aspirations. It is thus understandable that they seek additional sources of income, which they also find in the system of institutions, usually as second full-time or part-time job, or work at order. They thus occupy the first position on the scale of the time spent on income-supplementing work. It also seems that the price that the institutional system demands for their priviledges is their equally high share in organizational activity. It may be said with some exaggeration that this group of intelligentsia is to some extent corrupted. They preserve, however, the remnants of their old style of life, as is reflected in their high position with regard to the use of institutions of the second setting of culture, and in the lowest position as regards the use of mass media.

Another pattern of allocation of time may be labelled as PROFESSIONALS. This type is represented by skilled workers, sub-

foremen, and doctors. All these professional categories are characterized by a large share of effective working time. The skilled workers and subforemen are pivotal to the process of production: the realization of the scheduled tasks usually depends on the expenditure of their time. Doctors, on the other hand, are forced to expend so much working time, since there are too few of them in proportion to the needs. They are also, like the other groups of intelligentsia, underpaid as regards their basic salaries. Thus the demand for their services and the low salaries make them take up income-supplementing work, often within the institutions of medical sector. In turn, the skilled workers and the subforemen often work overtime in their places of work. In result, the total amount of working time of these categories is the highest (the workers and the subforemen 382 minutes each, the doctors 373 minutes, i.e. 10 to 20 minutes more than the next group, the academics). Such considerable effort requires the reduction of interest in other institutions, with the exception of the institutions of the third setting of culture, which provide relaxation in the intimacy of one's home.

The UNDEREMPLOYED/UNNECESSARY type, contrasted with the PROFESSIONALS, carries the label which may seem to shocking when applied to engineers and technicians. Still, this label reflects the pattern of the allocation of time specific for these occupational categories. Specialists in technological areas usually play an important role in the development and organization of work, and were believed to be playing such role during the period of the so-called 'dynamic development'. The time budget data show, however, that these groups were actually not made much use of by their employers, and neither did they take up much income-supplementing work. It may be supposed that the institutions of work did not offer sufficient prospects and incentives for the full use of technical knowledge, despite paying the engineers relatively high salaries. In connection with this, they could allot their excess time to institutions 'ornamental' from point of view of their social function - the institutions of second setting of culture, voluntary work and activity in organizations.

## APPENDIX 1

STEP 1. Average time allotted by occupational groups  
to selected types of institutions

Occupational category	Time in minutes allotted to:					
	main job	second job	vo-luntary work	social orga-niza-tions	mass media	2nd setting of culture
Managers	344	8.2	5.0	16.6	93.3	5.9
People inv. in arts	293	7.7	0.3	10.6	95.9	1.5
Academics	340	22.4	3.7	11.5	83.2	6.3
Non-technolo- gical spe- cialists	301	26.5	3.4	8.7	112.5	3.2
Doctors	353	20.3	2.3	2.8	120.7	1.9
Engineers	326	14.4	5.3	6.2	110.3	5.7
Technicians	311	8.0	4.9	6.2	112.2	7.2
Foremen	317	6.8	6.8	8.4	125.1	2.1
Clerks	340	10.4	4.5	5.3	124.8	3.7
Manual/Office workers (store-kee- pers, quali- ty control inspectors)	343	8.0	12.7	4.9	145.4	0.0
Subforemen	363	18.8	4.7	4.8	112.7	7.9
Skilled work- ers	374	8.2	1.8	4.3	116.3	4.3
Unskilled workers	331	3.2	0.9	2.7	122.1	1.9

STEP 2. The ordering of the occupational categories according to rank positions

A. People inv. in arts	13	11	13	3	11	12
Unskilled workers	8	13	12	13	4	10
B. Managers	4	7	4	1	12	4
Clerks	6	6	7	8	3	7
C. Subforemen	2	4	6	10	7	1
Skilled workers	1	7	11	11	6	13
Doctors	3	3	10	12	5	10
D. Engineers	9	5	3	6	10	5
Technicians	11	9	5	7	9	2
E. Academics	7	2	8	2	13	3
Non-technological specialists	12	1	9	4	8	8
F. Foremen	10	12	2	5	2	9
Manual/Office workers	5	9	1	9	1	13

STEP 3. The positions of groups A-F according to the average rank in the respective types of institutions

A	10.5	12	12.5	8	7.5	11
	VI	VI	VI	V	III-IV	V-VI
B	5	6.5	5.5	4.5	7.5	5.5
	II	III	III	II	III-IV	II-III
C	2	4.6	9	11	6	8
	I	II	V	VI	II	IV
D	10	7	4	6.5	9.5	3.5
	V	IV	II	III	V	I
E	9.5	1.5	8.5	3	10.5	5.5
	IV	I	IV	I	VI	II-III
F	7.5	10.5	1.5	7	1.5	11
	III	V	I	IV	I	V-VI



STEP 4. The types of the involvement  
in the institutional spheres

The type of involvement/occupational groups	Position according to the scale of involvement in type of institutions (viz. table above)					
	2nd setting of culture	social organizations	second job	main job	voluntary work	mass media
A. OUTSIDERS (people inv. in arts, unskilled workers)	V-VI	V	VI	VI	VI	III-IV
B. BUREAUCRATS (managers, clerks)	II-III	II	III	II	III	III-IV
F. SUPERVISORS (foremen, quality control inspectors)	V-VI	IV	V	III	I	I
E. SECOND JOB HOLDERS (academics, non-technological specialists)	II-III	I	I	IV	IV	VI
C. PROFESSIONALS (skilled workers, subforemen, doctors)	IV	VI	II	I	V	II
D. UNDEREMPLOYED (engineers, technicians)	I	III	IV	V	II	V

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KONTAKTY Z INSTYTUCJAMI  
W ŚWIELE BADAŃ BUDŻETU CZASU

Na podstawie wyników badań budżetów czasu przedstawiono w artykule statystyczny obraz częstości i czasochłonności kontaktów z instytucjami. Uczestniczący w badaniu mężczyźni - mieszkańcy Łodzi pozostawali przez ponad 10 godzin dziennie w zasięgu działania różnych instytucji. Według relacji budżetowych najczęstsze były kontakty z instytucjami zatrudnienia (pracy), komunikacji miejskiej, handlu i usług, telewizją i środkami masowego przekazu, z którymi stykało się od 100% do 80% badanych. Znacznie mniejsza część badanych (od 20% do 25%) zarejestrowała kontakty z instytucjami religijnymi, administracją, placówkami kształcenia i wychowania oraz z organizacjami społecznymi. Najmniejszą liczbę kontaktów miały instytucje drugiego układu kultury.

W drugiej części artykułu analizując średnie czasu poświęconego przez różne kategorie zawodowe na kontakty z poszczególnymi typami instytucji wyróżniono kilka wzorów alokacji czasu w instytucjonalnych sferach życia. Minimalizacja kontaktów z instytucjami charakteryzowała tzw. wolne zawody i twórców oraz robotników niewykwalifikowanych. W wielu typach instytucji angażowali swój czas kierownicy i urzędnicy. Mistrzowie i pracownicy fizyczno-umysłowi więcej czasu od innych poświęcali na mass media i pracę społeczną. Pracownicy naukowi i inteligencja nietechniczna przeznaczali swój czas na pracę w instytucjach dostarczających dodatkowy dochód oraz na działalność w organizacjach społecznych. Z kolei robotnicy wykwalifikowani, brygadziści i lekarze charakteryzowali się wysoką średnią efektywnego czasu pracy zawodowej. Natomiast inżynierowie i technicy częściej od innych korzystali z oferty instytucji drugiego układu kultury.