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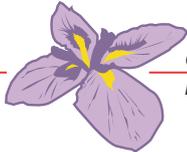
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**Attitudes to Family Policy Arrangements in Relation
to Attitudes to Family and division of Labour be-
tween Genders**

by

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Abstract The main aims of the paper are to analyse and compare attitudes of inhabitants of eleven European countries toward the state family policy arrangements in the light of peoples attitudes regarding family and marriage, and division of labour between men and women; and to identify which countries cluster together regarding such attitudes. In particular we test whether respondents attitudes toward the above phenomena differ significantly between EU-15 countries and new member states. The analysis is based on the data coming from two international surveys: International policy acceptance study 2000-2003 (IPPAS) and International social survey program 2002 (ISSP).

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ATTITUDES TO FAMILY POLICY ARRANGEMENTS IN RELATION TO ATTITUDES TO FAMILY AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN GENDERS AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

Abstract: The main aims of the paper are to analyse and compare attitudes of inhabitants of eleven European countries toward the state family policy arrangements in the light of people's attitudes regarding family and marriage, and division of labour between men and women; and to identify which countries cluster together regarding such attitudes. In particular we test whether respondents' attitudes toward the above phenomena differ significantly between EU-15 countries and new member states. The analysis is based on the data coming from two international surveys: International policy acceptance study 2000-2003 (IPPAS) and International social survey program 2002 (ISSP).

1. INTRODUCTION

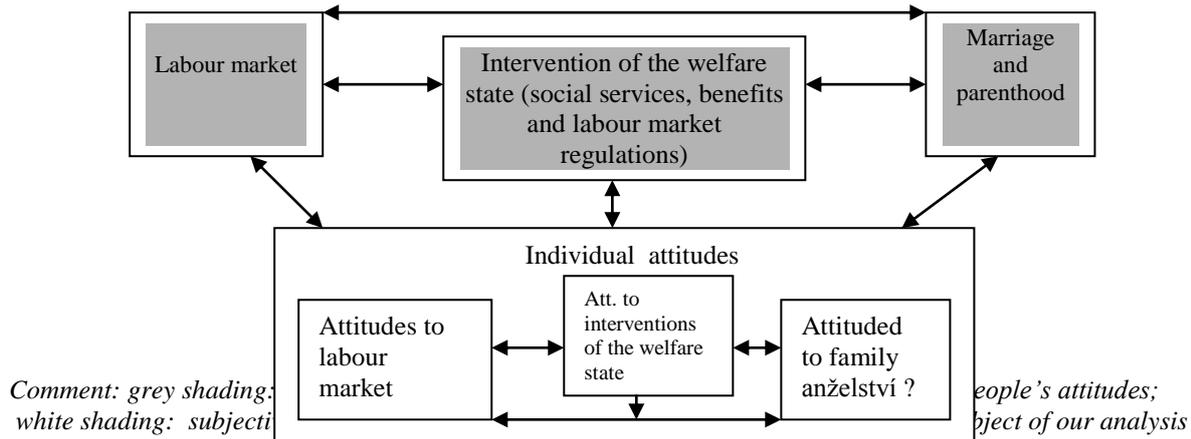
Since the country specific information on values and attitudes helps us to understand the similarities and differences regarding demographic and political behaviour (Fux 1996), in this paper we review and compare people's attitudes toward family policy arrangements and attitudes toward marriage and parenthood, and division of labour between genders. In addition, we try to identify clusters of countries which are close to each other with respect to their citizens' attitudes toward these three phenomena. We will be particularly interested in examining whether there are some significant differences between the old and the new EU-15 members states. The analysis is conducted on 11 selected European countries representing both the old EU-15 countries and the new member states. The data come from two independent surveys: the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) from 2002 and from the International Policy Acceptance Survey (IPPAS) from 2000-2003.

The main contribution of the article is it allows us to cluster surveyed countries on the basis of the people's attitudes to three interlinked phenomena which have been up to now treated separately. The analysis will include the new EU member states and thus will allow us to test the hypothesis concerning prevailing differences between the new and old EU member states.

The paper will be structured as follows. In the first chapter we conceptualize the main dimensions of our comparison: family policy analysis, marriage and parenthood, and division of labour between genders and we provide readers with a brief description of the institutional and historical context of the examined phenomena in the analysed countries as well as links between these phenomena. The next part of the paper is dedicated to methodological comments and introduction of the used data sets. The fourth chapter presents the attitudes toward the arrangements of family policy, marriage and parenthood, and division of labour between genders. Here we compare countries with respect to the three issues individually. In the final chapter we put all three research dimensions together and identify in which countries people have similar attitudes. Then we test whether there are some identifiable differences between the old and the new EU member states.

2. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Scheme 1 : Conceptual scheme of the analysis



Since the main aim of the paper is to conduct a comparative research regarding people's attitudes, we must firstly define compared phenomena. Rokeach (1968-1969:550) defines an attitude "as an enduring organization of several beliefs focused on a specific object (physical or social, concrete or abstract) or situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner". Thus, an analysis of the attitudes should help researchers to uncover people's beliefs regarding specific phenomena and deduce people's preferences. However, it is not possible to conduct a comparative analysis of attitudes in different countries without introducing the dimensions of comparisons and the objective context in surveyed countries. We agree with Groenman (1971) who states that in the social sciences all phenomena are context-bound. If we compare different countries we realize that the analyzed phenomena (in our case attitudes toward the three above specified dimensions) should be placed in a new context if we want to understand them. If the voting behaviour of a nation is under study, one should interpret the data in the context of the political system of that particular country.

If the phenomena we analyze and compare is of a subjective character such as attitudes, we should not only describe different contexts and different social systems in different countries, but we have to bear in mind that values and attitudes might be to a great extent a product of the existing contexts and social systems/institutions. Inglehart et al (1998) speaks in this context about the so called institutional determinism. The theory of institutional determinism claims that a society's institutions are among the factors that help to shape its culture and consequently values and attitudes of its inhabitants. Similar ideas stand being the concept of institutional nationalism (Forma, Kangas 1999: 161). The theory of institutional nationalism suggests that people tend to perceive existing institutions as a reference point, they have a tendency to take them for granted and interpret their world in the light of these institutions. Thus it is very likely that people perceive the institutions they are familiar with as better than those that are alien to them. Thus, while analysing attitudes toward family policies, marriage and parenthood, and labour market division we should bear in mind that these attitudes are context bound and might be to a great extent determined by systems within which individuals operate.

2.1. WELFARE EFFORTS - FAMILY POLICY ARRANGEMENTS

If the main aim of our paper is to analyze attitudes of people toward family policy arrangements, marriage and parenthood, and division of labour between sexes, firstly we must

specify and conceptualize what we mean by these terms. In other words, how can we define the phenomena to which we examine people's attitudes? Then we describe the objective structure of social systems /institutional systems within which people operate and within which they shape their attitudes. Understanding of the objective social/institutional context of the compared countries will help us interpret the data regarding attitudes¹.

Welfare state policies play a rectifying role in social processes and may prevent unwanted side effects of economic and demographic development. It may initiate social change or it may slow it down. One of the accepted roles of the welfare states in now-a-days Europe is to facilitate the reconciliation of family and professional life of individuals. Thus, family policies not only support families with children but try to play active role in externalization of traditional family duties and soften the negative impacts of motherhood/parenthood on the labour market participation of mothers/parents.

The aim of family policy can be understood differently. In the narrow sense, it includes only arrangements related to the presence of children in the household (Berger et al 2002). This narrow interpretation of family policy is based on the idea that additional expenses of a household related to having a child should be at least partially compensated by the state. It includes for example child benefits, birth allowances/grants and transfers into schooling and health system, tax relief and tax benefits for parents with children. This strict, more traditional approach to family policy does not reflect upon the gender equality, female market participation of women and reconciliation of family and family life. This is the main reason why the understanding and definition of family policy has widened and has incorporated all of the above mentioned aspects. The wider definition of family policy thus, includes all interventions of the welfare state which directly or indirectly deal with family life of the individual and which facilitates the reconciliation of family and professional life. Thus, on the top of all arrangements which are included in the strictly defined family policy, the wider approach takes into account arrangements related to the participation of parents in the labour market such as: maternity , parental and child care leave, possibility to work part-time, safe working environment for mothers, benefits for people taking care for disabled members of the household. In our paper we will focus on the wider definition of family policy efforts.

The family policy arrangements differ significantly with respect to their forms and eligibility. Some of the arrangements are universal, other income related or based on declared need. Some of them take forms of indirect support (mainly investment in publicly available services) or direct help (financial or in kind). Some provisions are there to prevent poverty and assure minimum income of individuals, others to compensate for costs and income losses related to the presence of children in a household or to safeguard equal opportunities for parents in the labour market. The structure, functions and magnitude of family welfare provisions vary across countries, while each country tends to design and maintain its particular character of family policy efforts.

We can find vast amount of studies and articles reviewing and comparing different systems of family policy across Europe using various types of methods and data sources such as for example: description of family policy measures (welfare efforts) (Kamerman and Kahn 1978), historical legacy analysis (Kaufmann 2002), micro analysis of the outcomes of family policies on the life situation of children (Bradshaw et al 1993), or comparison of long-term development of family policies leading to the definition of the family policy models (Gauthier 1996).

Given the purposes of this chapter which is to help us have some general overview of the systems of family policies (family policies in the wider sense) in the EU-25 countries, we

¹ Since we analyze the data concerning the attitudes towards family policy arrangements , family and parenthood, and division of labour between gender in 2002 or around that year, the contextual information will refer to the countries' situation in 2002.

decide to use the Beat Fux's (1996) classification of family policies as a base theoretical/classifying framework. Since the amount of information is large and thus a comparison of a larger number of countries becomes too complex, it is very useful to work with regimes or systems that transcend individual countries. In this approach countries are attributed certain basic features which they are expected to share with other countries. This way the complexity of comparison is reduced. (Muffels et al 2002)

The main advantage of the Fux's classification of family policy models in Europe, on the contrary to an exhaustive and detailed work of Gautier (1996), provides empirical evidence regarding the clustering of the analysed countries and allows us to attribute more clearly countries to the family policy models. Fux applies the principal component analysis on 9 European countries.

The following indicators have entered the analysis: standardize family allowance, index of maternity leave benefits, duration of child care leave, percentage of children below age 3 in publicly funded child care, percentage of children 3 years old till school age in publicly funded child care, combined de-commodification, and the conservative, socialist and liberal regime attributes. The author distinguishes three main family policy types: etatistic, familialistic and individualistic one. As the title suggests, the etatistic regime relies strongly on the involvement of the state in family matters. It tends to support discriminated living arrangements, different forms and gender equality. It can be characterised by service type interventions, focus on gender-equality issues and universalistic individual rights of partners and children than on the traditional concept of family as a unit. The familialistic family policy type stresses the importance of extensive economic support and financial arrangements for families; family is seen as an important social institution and a mean of informal redistribution. Gender equality is rather neglected and the welfare arrangements favour and facilitate the bread winner model. The following features can be attributed to the individualist type: low level of both state financial support as well as services provided by the state which is compensated by low taxation, focused by non-intervention in private lives of individuals and a more residual, problem oriented character of support. Sweden and Denmark are prototypes of the etatistic regime. Post socialist countries can be partially assigned to this model as well. France, Germany, Ireland and Italy are representatives of the familialistic regime. The individualistic regime includes United Kingdom, Switzerland and the Netherlands. The Fux's classification overlaps to a great extent with the welfare state regime classification of Esping-Andersen (1990) which will be mentioned later.

2.2. FAMILY AND PARENTHOOD

Thanks to demographic, cultural and economic changes, the institution of family goes through a dramatic development and it becomes more fragile and less durable. Post-modern western societies can be characterised by below-replacement rate fertility, low level of nuptuality, low level of union stability and growing pluralization of living arrangements. (Kuijsten 2002) The changes can be observed only with respect to the structure of family settings but as well with respect to the function of this institution. Traditional marriage, defined as a long-lasting legal companionship of man, women and children, is being replaced by other forms of cohabitation such as pre-marital cohabitation, unmarried cohabitation, distance cohabitation. The divorce rates are continuously increasing. Partnerships are being less focused on reproduction and child bearing, and the number of so called patch-work families is increasing. Moreover, the number of childless couples or single parent families is growing constantly. (Strohmeiner 2002)

According to Gustaffson et al (2002), one of the dominating strategies in now-a-days Europe is the so called "postponement effect". Partners postpone having kids till late age which

means that they have in general fewer children due to shorter reproductive period. The postponement effect developed as a new reproductive strategy because of two main reasons. Firstly because women tend to establish their job career and utilize obtained human capital. Secondly, parents anticipate the cost of a child and prefer to work and cumulate financial resources not to experience a financial, so called consumption smoothing.

The policy consequences of these changes are at hand, people living in non-traditional family settings have different needs and solve different type of problems, which are very often not met by traditional family policies. (Pfau-Effing 2004; Kaufman et al 2002) For the sake of social justice and wellbeing of new groups of individuals in need, national welfare states have to adjust to a more fluid character of families and partnership and focus more on individual rights than on a traditional concept of family based on legally recognized marriage which is based on traditional division of labour between men and women.

Despite the general divergent tendencies in Europe leading to weakening the position of traditional marriage and parenthood, the differences across European countries remain recognizable. If we have a look at the main demographic indicators we see that main differences across countries can be found with respect to life birth outside marriage, fertility rates and crude marriage age². Scandinavian countries, France, Great Britain, Estonia and Slovenia are the most open to new forms of family life. The number of life births outside marriage exceeds 40% in 2002. These numbers indicate that in these countries marriage is not a necessary precondition of parenthood. On the other hand there are countries where the percentage of outside marriage births are up to 10% such as for example in Cyprus, Greece and Italy. With respect to the fertility rate, the post socialist countries such as the Czech Republic (1.17), Slovenia (1.18), the Slovak Republic (1.21), Lithuania and Poland (1.24) score very low. The strikingly low fertility figures in these countries can be explained by the transitional pressures. At the cultural level people were confronted with new possibilities, life opportunities and different life styles (Rabusic 2001). At the structural level, during the transformation process the state has lowered the level of policy efforts directed to families (mainly in form of services), problems in the housing sector, and threat of unemployment made the cost of children too high for many young people. The post socialist countries are followed by Southern European countries: Greece, Spain and Italy (fertility rates around 1.26). In these countries the low fertility might be caused by high unemployment rates among young people and financial difficulties with starting a new family. Alike in the post socialist countries, the bad situation regarding available housing plays a role. At the top scores regarding reproductive behaviour we find Ireland (1.97), the Netherlands (1.73), Denmark and Finland (both 1.72). As the marriage behaviour is concerned, the highest crude marriage rate can be found in Cyprus (14.5). Denmark is scoring relatively high as well (6.9). In Portugal, Greece, the Netherlands, Finland, the Czech Republic, Ireland, Great Britain, Spain and Poland the crude marriage rate is between 5 and 6. The marriage rate varying between 4 and 5 can be found in Italy, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Slovak Republic, Lithuania, Estonia and Hungary. In Belgium and Slovenia the marriage rates did not exceed the level 4. (http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)

2006) The average crude divorce rate, which represents the number of divorces per 1000 persons, varies between 0.7 in Italy and 3 in Belgium and Scandinavian countries. (Eurostat 2005).

² Life birth out of marriage is defined as a proportion of children born out of the legal marriage out of all children born during 2002. Total fertility rate represents the mean number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her lifetime if she were to pass through her childbearing years conforming to the fertility rates by age of a given year. Crude marriage rate represents the number of marriages per 1000 persons.

There is a vast academic literature concerning the relationship between various types of family policies and family forms (Fux 2002, Strohmeier 2002). It can be concluded that the high incidence of unmarried cohabitation in the Scandinavian and post-social countries can be to certain extent attributed to the family policies which support individual emancipation and which are not targeted at family as a unit but more at an individual.

2.3. DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN GENDERS

Working women is not a product of the present time. However, industrialization and consequent urbanization can be seen as an important milestone in the perception of female work. Industrialization and the related formalization of the labour market relations drew a clear line between formal employment and household work where men occupied the sphere of paid work and women, once married, were mainly in charge of domestic labour. This division of tasks has been in operation since the 1960s. Esping-Andersen (2002:20) claims that “everywhere the post-war contract was built on the realistic assumption that women, once married, withdraw into housewifery”. This has changed dramatically during the last decades when the above “social contract” was put under pressure. In the literature one can find many explanations for this shift of division of labour between men and women, i.e.: changes in labour market demand, changes in female labour supply and demographic changes.

With regard to factors related to labour demand, female employment was triggered by the development of the service sector and an increasing number of white-collar jobs. (Esping-Andersen 2002; Castels 1997, Hakim 2000). Increased flexibility of the labour market and in particular the possibility to work part time made paid labour more accessible for women. This way, women/mothers were enabled to reconcile family and career. (Hakim 2000) Female labour market participation was also stimulated by a drop of the real salaries destabilizing the quality of life in one-earner households. It is no longer possible to maintain a relative level of well-being with only one bread winner income (Cook 2001).

Regarding the supply side changes, the increase of female employment depends on women’s human capital. Nowadays, women obtain the same level of education as men, which improves their employability and labour market qualifications. Women who obtained higher education are more eager to “capitalize” on their investment in the labour market. Demographic changes such as the declining importance of traditional family and marriage have an impact on female labour participation as well. In all European countries more and more people remain single, divorce or cohabit, which significantly undermines traditional division of labour between genders. (Pfau-Effinger 2004) Erosion of traditional family found on legal companionship of men and women makes women act as individual actors, rather than relying on delegated social rights and the income of their spouses, thus they are more eager to join the labour market and be financially independent.

Due to the above interrelated factors, the female employment rates in the European countries have been continuously growing during the past decades (Cook 2001, ILO 2003). Nevertheless, women’s employment patterns are disrupted, to a greater or lesser extent, from one country to another because of the presence of children in the household and by their age. (Hantrais, Letablier 1996) Nowadays, the main problem for women in the labour market is not that they are women but the fact that they can be or that they are mothers. The core issue of analysis of female labour participation is thus a problem of conciliating paid labour and family.

Female labour market participation and labour market inactivity are two sides of the same coin, inevitably interrelated. Whether women are or are not engaged in the labour market depends heavily on gender division of labour in each particular country.

In the countries where the state does not pay enough of attention to the arrangement facilitating access and re-entry of women in the labour market (possibility to work part time, affordable and easily accessible child care and well designed parental leave) and to the problem of reconciliation of work and family life women are more likely to face the dilemma: either to choose for paid labour and reduce their reproductive behaviour or to have children and withdraw from the labour market. There authors who claim that particular setting of welfare state and in particular family policy arrangements have an impact on female labour participation of women. For example, the joint taxation system favouring married couples where one of the partners is inactive in the labour market due to family responsibilities encourage a male-bread winner type of family settings and consequently female labour market inactivity. On the contrary, service oriented family policy (affordable child care facilities), flexible working arrangements and paid parental leave may support dual-earner family forms and consequently higher female labour market participation rates (Esping-Andersen 2002, Sainsbury 1996, Fux 2002).

According to the Eurostat data, (http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL) in the EU-25 countries employment rate of men is higher than that one of women (71% to 54.7% in 2002). In all these countries it is women who are more likely to work part-time than men (29.8% to 6.5% in 2002) while one of the main reasons for working part time are family or child care responsibilities. Women are as well more likely to be unemployed than their male counterparts (10% to 7.8% in 2002) for the EU-25). Male labour market inactivity due to family care is almost a non-existing phenomena. Only less than 1% of men in the EU-25 zone in the age category 25-54 withdrew from the labour market due to family duties while 11.6% of women in the same age category identify family responsibilities as the main reason for being outside the labour market.

If we have a closer look at the female participation in the labour market and if we compare the figures for the EU-25 countries, we can see that the highest female employment rates can be found in the Scandinavian countries, followed by the Netherlands and Great Britain (more than 65% in 2002). On the contrary, the lowest female employment rates are in Italy, Greece, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Slovak Republic and Luxembourg (up to 52% in 2002). In Germany, France, Ireland, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Lithuania, Slovenia and Estonia the female employment reaches a moderate level (between 55 and 60% in 2002). [.http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL))

A relatively longest professional career for women is found in the Scandinavian countries and in Great Britain where the average time spend in paid labour is 25-32 years. On the contrary, the shortest participation of women in paid employment can be found in Spain, Italy, Greece, Luxembourg, Italy and Belgium, where women on average do not spend more than 20 years in the labour market.

Another key indicator of position of division of labour between genders is the figures on the female labour market inactivity due to family responsibilities. Malta, Luxembourg, Ireland, Greece, Spain and Cyprus are top scorers with respect to the number of women who are out of the labour market due to family responsibilities (18% or more of women in the age category 25-54). On the contrary, the lowest figures of female inactivity due to family (around 5% of all women aged 24-54 years) can be found in Denmark, Sweden, Slovenia, Lithuania, France and Finland. (Harderson 2006)

3.1. WELFARE REGIMES – LINKING CONCEPT

From the previous text we can deduce that the three examined phenomena are interrelated and numerous hypotheses regarding their association and causal relationships could be found in the academic literature. However, the main aim of this paper is not to develop on relationships between family policy, marriage and parenthood, and division of labour between genders, but to see how similar or different the surveyed countries are with respect to attitudes to these three dimensions. Since the amount of contextual information covering all three dimensions in all surveyed countries is large and comparison of a larger number of countries in this context becomes too complex, we classify the analysed countries into several regimes. In this approach countries are attributed certain basic features which they are expected to share with other countries. This way the complexity of comparison is reduced and one gets around the problem of too much of information and fragmentation caused by treating the situation in each country separately. (Muffels et al 2002)

The theories of welfare state regimes seem to be as good base for identifying similarities and differences between countries with respect to their objective institutional setting within which people operate and formulate their life strategies and attitudes. According to the classic theory of welfare state regimes, Esping-Andersen (1990), a welfare state regime is the distinctive configuration of market, state and family that a nation has adopted in the pursuit of work and welfare. Looking at the quality of social rights and the extent to which these rights liberate citizens from market forces (the possibility to be independent of participation in the labour market thanks to functioning welfare state arrangements is known as decommodification), the resulting pattern of stratification and the way in which the state, market and family is interrelated, Esping-Andersen distinguishes three types of the welfare regimes: liberal, corporatist and social democratic one. The liberal model can be briefly defined as a system with underdeveloped universal benefits and social insurance schemes, strengthening accent on work-conditional benefits, a rather low level of decommodification. Within the liberal model private welfare provision is encouraged and public responsibilities are limited mainly to acute market failures and targeted poverty prevention. Great Britain can be taken as the representative of this model. The key components of the corporatist/conservative scheme are the family and the rule of subsidiarity which is a concept base on idea that only if the family is not able to absorb and cope with the social problems of its members the state takes over responsibility and assist its citizens. Social rights depend on social class and occupational status. Social security provisions are income dependent and transfer-bias. Labour market is rather rigid, evolving in a two-tire system of well protected insider and rather vulnerable outsiders. Social security system is to a great extend based on the traditional bread winner model of division labour between genders. Representatives of this regime are for example Austria, Germany, Southern European countries, to a lesser extend France, Belgium and the Netherlands (the last three mentioned countries exhibit some features drawing them apart from the ideal-type characteristics of the corporatist regime mainly with respect to female labour market participation, family and work reconciliation policies and the tendency to individualize social benefits and social rights)?????. The social-democratic model, represented for example by the Scandinavian countries, can be characterized by a very high level of decommodification, universal social security provisions and high level of formal solidarity and redistribution. It stresses the importance of activation labour market policies and service oriented social policy.

Esping-Andersen's typology initiated a great deal of discussion mainly questioning its gender bias methodology (validity of the indicators on which different regimes are distinguished, reliability of these measures, applicability of the typology in the changing European context, gender biased approach etc.) However, this critique served as a base for new analyses which its ambition was to improve or enlarge the original typology. Ferrera (1996) for example enlarges the Esping-Andersen's typology by the fourth welfare state regime. He claims that the so called Southern model that can be found in Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal

must be taken into account and treated separately. This model, has a very fragmented structure consisting of various corporatist social insurance a social security arrangements, an universalistic system of health care, and a special public-private mix of provides of social provisions and social assistance. A family plays a very important role in this model. It absorbs and deals with a lot of shortcomings of the official welfare state and is a sphere of social redistribution of material as well as non-material goods. Structure and quality of the Southern European welfare state model are significantly influenced by clientelistic relationships between welfare providers and recipients.

In the literature dealing with welfare state typologies and regimes we can find arguments supporting the idea of existence of a distinctive post socialist welfare state model. For example Deacon (1993) argues that distinctive character of the welfare state in the post socialist countries is due to a transitional process from the system based highly subsidized prices on food, housing, transport and basic necessities, guaranteed employment, adequate health and education provisions and small differentials between the wages of workers, professionals and managers to a more market oriented regime. Deacon argues that in some time it will be possible to interpret the welfare regime in these countries within the framework of the Esping-Andersen's typology. Fenger (2005) suggests that conducting an empirical study including EU-15, post socialist as well as some developing countries and using cluster analysis based on indicators of governmental programmes, social situation and political participation to asses the similarities and differences among surveyed countries, suggests that post socialist countries differ from the rest of the countries. If we focus only on those post socialist countries which entered the EU in 2004, we can see that this family of countries can be divided into two main sub-clusters: the former Soviet republics and the Central European countries. The cluster of the former Soviet republics is characterized by high level of female labour participation, a rather extensive public sector, high economic growth and high inflation. Family of Central European postsocialist countries seem to be a mix of corporatist and social-democratic welfare regime as Esping-Andersen defines them.

With respect to family policy legacy in the post socialist countries, Sirovatka (2004) states that since the full employment was a corner stone of the socialist ideology the socialist order was designed in such a way that it supported the reconciliation of family and full employments of both parents. Various types of child care services and education were free of charge, housing was regulated and subsidised. However, the quality and availability of the services and state interventions were not always matching demands. After the fall of socialist regimes, the situation has changed dramatically. During the transformation process the post socialist states have lowered the level of policy efforts directed to families. The most radical financial cuts concerned child care services. The problems related to family life and reconciliation of family and work were overruled by more urging social problems such us unemployment and appearing and growing social inequalities.

4. ANALYSIS

4.1. Data and methodology

Comparative analysis will be conducted at two levels. In the first step of our analysis we measure attitudes of citizens in 11 selected countries toward arrangements of family policies, family and parenthood, and division of labour between genders separately. To measure attitudes toward these general concepts we use batteries of questions available in the ISSP and IPPAS survey. When possible and reasonable, we create sum indexes which aggregate average answers of inhabitants to individual items of these thematic batteries. The indexes have been created on

the basis of the items which have been depolarized in the same direction and which passed the test of reliability measures by the Crombach Alfa.³

In the second step we examine how the surveyed countries cluster themselves with respect to attitudes of their citizens to family policy arrangements, family life and division of labour between men and women. To meet this objective we apply cluster analysis to examine the closeness of the analyzed countries with respect to all three dimensions together.

There are two main reasons why we decided to use cluster analysis. Since we analyze concepts which are covered by two different surveys (analyses of attitudes toward family policy arrangements and family and parenthood are based on the IPPAS data and attitudes toward division of labour between genders on the data coming from the ISSP survey) we can not directly test any type of association between three dimensions of the research at the micro data level. Hence the need arises to aggregate the micro-level attitudes to all items covering the three research dimensions at the country level and then apply the hierarchical cluster analysis to aggregated data. In this case, cluster analysis seems to be an ideal procedure to examine and detect latent structures in the data. Gough (2001: 165) states that: “a cluster measures the distance between the cases on a combination of dimensions and uses this to identify groups of cases within which there is a considerable homogeneity and between which there are clear boundaries”. Hierarchical cluster analysis, which we apply in this paper, firstly identifies two closest items and attributes them to the first cluster. Step by step other couples of items, couples of clusters or couples consisting of a cluster and an item enter the analysis till the last item is included. (www.statsoftinc.com/textbook/stcluan.html) While working with cluster analysis we should bear in mind its explanatory limitations, cluster analysis provides information on the structure of the data but it does not explain why individual items belong to clusters.

Surveys dealing with attitudes⁴, such as ISSP and IPPAS, are based on data which show how respondents subjectively perceive examined phenomena. While working with this type of data one should reflect upon its evident short-comings. The subjective indication is based on the assumption that all individuals are capable of rational self-reflection and that they are able clearly verbalize their opinions and nuances. However, this assumption is very often violated and people are very often asked about issues which they are not familiar with. One should as well bear in mind that subjective indicators are not the best predictors of actual or future behaviour (Cobb 2000). Regarding the IPPAS survey in particular, Stopnik (2001) states that the family policy measures used in the survey are not well enough defined to be considered as a reliable source of information for any serious policy-making and respondents are not well enough informed about issues they are supposed to comment and to which they express their opinion. It is very common as well that there is certain inconsistency in respondents between their attitudes to general question referring to general principles and specific questions (especially when welfare state efforts and their extend are at stake). When it comes to more specific questions which are directly related to everyday life respondents expect a stronger welfare state than when general questions are asked. (Sirovatka, Rabusic 1999; Mishra 1999)

Taking into account the above methodological shortcomings of attitude surveys, we are fully aware that the outcomes of our analysis do not speak so much about real state of affairs with respect to examined phenomena but should be more understood as an indicator of general atmosphere among people living in surveyed countries.

³ Crombachova Alpha is a coefficient of releability (consistecy) which gives information on whether and how well the batery of questions measures unidimensional latent construct. The lower the level of the coefficient, the more likely it is that items represent the multidimensional constructs. Unidimensionality of index can be reached by exluding items which lower the level of Alpha coefficient.

⁴ Rokeach (1968-1969:550) defines an attitude „as an enduring organization on several beliefs focused on a specific object (physical or social, concrete of abstract) or situation, predisponing one to respond in some preferential manner“.

The data used in the paper come from two international surveys: International Social Survey Program) ISSP –Family and changing gender roles from 2002 and International Population Policy Acceptance Survey from 2000-2003⁵. The ISSP survey 2002 was performed in 40 countries. IPPAS was conducted in 13 countries.⁶ In this study we include only countries which are covered by both mentioned surveys.

As stated earlier, the welfare setting varies significantly across countries both with respect to structure and magnitude and create distinctive welfare and family policy systems. Relying on the theoretical background presented at the beginning of the paper and taking into account the concept of institutional nationalism, we expect that particular historical legacies, institutional structures and different ways of evolution are reflected as well in attitudes and approaches of surveyed populations. Thus, we hypothesise that respondents from the new EU member states will differ in their attitudes from respondents from the old member states. We anticipate that people in the post socialist countries will exhibit stronger reliance on family policies provided by the state and due to economic hardship during the transitional period, they will express stronger involvement of the state in family affairs. Given the long tradition of high participation of women in the labour market and longstanding experience of people living in these countries with the dual earner family model, we expect rather an open approach to the engagement of women in paid labour. Regarding marriage and parenthood, we set the hypothesis that the attitudes of respondents from the post socialist countries will be to a great extent influenced by the fact that during the transitional period the reproductive behaviour changed dramatically (unprecedented drop of fertility, postponement of family setting), etc.. We also hypothesise that there will be differences in attitudes between old member states that belong to different families of welfare state and family policy legacies.

4.2. Attitudes toward family policy arrangements

In this chapter we examine the attitudes of people toward family policy arrangements, more specifically on all provisions of family policy which are related to the presence of children and to the reconciliation of family and professional life of parents. The data covering this dimension come from the IPASS survey and show how respondents in different countries answered the following question: “What do you think about social policy efforts facilitating parenthood and care of children? Are you strongly in favour, neither in favour nor against, strongly against?”

Even if the formulation of this question is a bit misleading and suggests that these policies should be only now introduced while in reality they all already exist in most if the analyzed countries, we decided to treat this question as an indicator of the respondents’ support to these type of arrangements.

Table1: What do you think about social policy efforts facilitating parenthood and care of children? Are you strongly in favour, neither in favour nor against, strongly against?

⁵ The research was conducted as follows: Belgium 2003, the Czech Republic 2001, Germany 2003, Estonia 2003, Cyprus 2002, Lithuania 2002, Hungary 2000-2001, The Netherlands 2002, Austria 2001, Poland 2001, Slovenia 2000, Finland 2002

⁶ The following figures inform us about non-weighted number of respondents in surveyed countries. ISSP: West Germany N= 936, Easter Germany N=431, Austria N=2047, Hungary N=1023, The Netherlands N=1249, the Czech Republic N= 1289, Slovenia N= 1093, Poland N=1252, Cyprus N=1004, Belgium (Flanders) N=1360, Finland N=1353. IPPAS: Austria N=1995, Flanders N=3957, the Czech Republic N=1073, Estonia N=1681, Finland N=3821, Germany N=4110, Hungary N=3057, Lithuania N=1400, the Netherlands N=1989, Poland N=4597, Slovenia N=1550, Cyprus N=1163.

	Improvement of parental leave	Lower income tax for people with dependent children	Better day care for children under 3	Better day care facilities for children older than 3	In favour of income-dependent allowance for families with children	In favour of allowance at the birth of each child	Allowance for care-taking parents	Substantial rise in child allowance	Child care for school-going children	Flexible working hours	More opportunities for part-time work	Substantial decrease in costs of education	Better housing for families with children	Index of family and work reconciliation – wider definition of family policy	Index of direct financial support – strict family policy 1	Index of public services related to family – strict definition 2
Austria	1.64	1.58	1.92	1.79	1.96	2.18	2.04	2.09	2.02	1.61	1.58		1.87	1.76	1.97	1.87
Belgium (Flanders)	2.27	1.87	2.06	2.12			2.16	2.12	2.12	1.92	1.80	1.98		2.05	2.05	1.98
Czech republic	1.69	1.66	2.21	1.99	1.86	1.61	1.74	1.79	2.08	1.85	1.87	2.06	1.77	1.95	1.7	1.92
Estonia	1.49	1.54	2.28	1.81	2.17	1.60	1.77	1.42	2.83	1.63	1.70	1.35		1.96	1.58	1.35
Finland	2.04	1.97	2.25	2.09	2.15	2.36	1.92	2.22	2.08	1.87	1.94	2.60	2.33	2.04	2.12	2.47
Germany	1.80	1.71	1.82	1.68	1.78	2.04	1.82	1.98	1.86	1.64	1.62	1.95	1.89	1.74	1.88	1.92
Hungary	1.50	1.44	1.99	1.62	1.42	1.61	1.81	1.32	1.79	1.41	1.39	1.25	1.24	1.61	1.54	1.25
Lithuania	1.59	1.62	1.84	1.81	1.82	1.53	1.54	1.87	1.87	1.77	1.84	1.59	1.63	1.79	1.64	1.61
Netherlands	2.13	2.22	2.23		2.31	2.83	2.50	2.35	2.58	2.11	2.00	2.12	2.63	2.21	2.48	2.36
Poland	1.58	1.69	1.82	1.88	1.47	1.53	1.64	2.14	1.95	1.94	1.92	1.56	1.62	1.85	1.75	1.59
Slovenia	1.60	1.79	1.72	1.77	1.80	1.63	1.85	1.76	1.94	2.00	1.85	1.65	1.59	1.81	1.74	1.62
Cyprus	1.45	1.33	1.59	1.58	1.59	1.57	2.08	1.65	1.63	1.53	1.60	1.47	1.65	1.56	1.66	1.56

Source: IPPAS 2000-2003

Note: values represent averages (1-strongly in favour, 2-in favour, 3-neither in favour, nor against, 4-against, 5-strongly against. The close the values to 1, the more strongly in favour of the mentioned arrangements

Respondents are in general in favour of all the mentioned interventions. Nevertheless, in general the most positive attitudes to the above presented family policy arrangements exhibit respondents in Hungary, Cyprus, Lithuania, Germany, Poland and Estonia. The least enthusiastic with regard to the listed arrangements are people in the Netherlands, Finland and Belgium. After having a closer look at the individual arrangements and how their introduction or improvement would resonate in surveyed countries we can conclude that the improvements regarding parental leave are especially pleaded for in Cyprus, Estonia and Hungary. Lowering income tax for people with dependent children resonates best in among respondents from Cyprus, and Hungary. Improvement of child care for children under 3 is demanded by most people in Cyprus, Slovenia and Germany. The most respondents from Cyprus, Germany and Hungary would welcome improvements regarding the child care for children older than 3 years. Income-dependent allowance for families with children resonates best among surveyed individuals in Hungary, Poland and Cyprus. Allowance at the birth of each child is best perceived by the Lithuanian, the Polish and the Cypriotes who support these arrangements the most. Introduction of an allowance for care-taking parents is the most popular among respondents in Lithuania and in the Czech Republic. The Hungarians, the Italians and the Estonians are amongst those most demanding an increase in child benefits. The most welcoming to Child care for school-going children are respondents in Cyprus, Germany and Hungary. Flexible working hours are strongly supported in Hungary, Cyprus and Austria and

better possibilities to work part-time in Hungary, Germany and Austria. Substantial decrease in costs of education would be strongly appreciated in Hungary, Estonia and Cyprus. The Hungarians, The Slovenians and The Polish are in favour of better housing for families with children.

While analyzing attitudes toward the arrangements of social policy we decided not to create one overall sum index, but three sub indexes. The main reasoning behind this step is that the listed arrangements serve different aims and represent different types of family policy. Given the presented division between narrow and wide classification of family policy arrangements, we create three indexes that summarize people's attitudes to the following distinctive subgroups of family policy efforts: the first group contains arrangements facilitating family and work reconciliation; the second one consists of arrangements providing direct financial support for families with children; and the third group of policies is focusing on services for families with children such as education and housing.

The index of attitudes toward family and work reconciliation policies contains items such as: improvement of parental leave, better day care children under 3 years old, children older than 3 and child care for school going children, flexible working hours and last but not least more opportunities for part-time work. The index of financial support consists of the following items: lower income tax for people with dependent children, allowance at the birth of each child, allowance for care-taking parents, and rise in child allowance. The third index is based on two items which represent welfare efforts in form of services such as decrease in cost of education and better housing for families with children. If we compare the level of the three indexes as they are presented in the last three columns of the table above, we can see that most people in post socialist countries are firstly pleading for indirect support to families in form of lower costs of education and better housing for family with children, secondly for the financial support to families with children and the least favourable family policies for them are those concerning the reconciliation of family and work. On the contrary, respondents from the old EU member states exhibit the strongest support for arrangements facilitating reconciliation of family-work, followed by direct financial support and arrangements targeted at education and housing.

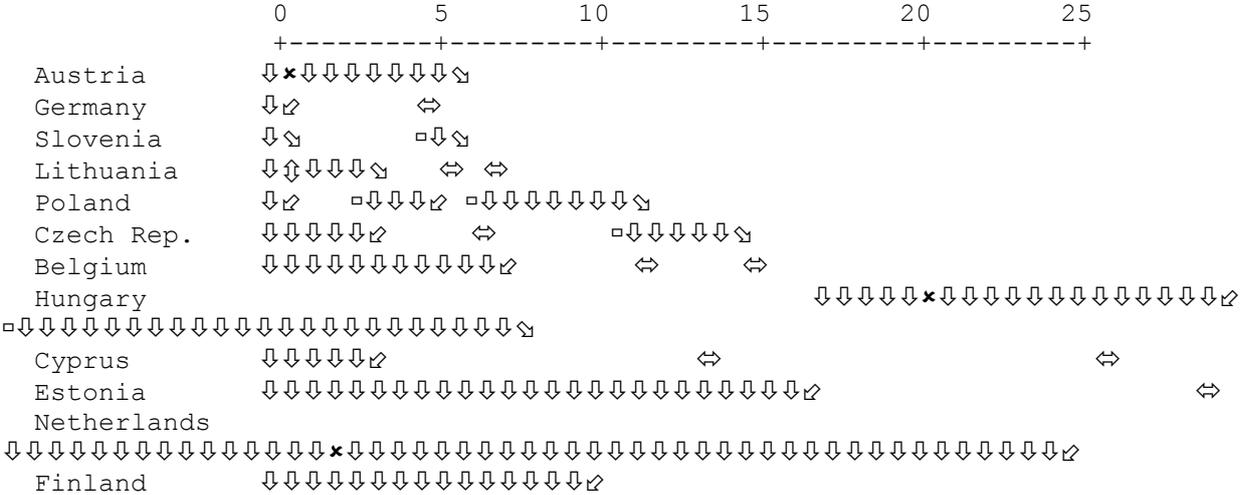
Another way of obtaining an overview of how family policy efforts are appreciated in surveyed countries and whether there are some countries which can be classified as "similar" or "close" with respect to their citizens' attitudes, is by applying a cluster analysis. All 13 items for 11 countries entered the cluster analysis (missing figure for some items in case of Belgium and the Netherlands have been replaced by estimated value which represents the mean value for the particular item calculated on the basis of values of each country).

From the outcomes of the cluster analysis we can deduce that Lithuania, Slovenia, Poland and the Czech Republic, most of the post socialist countries in the sample stand very close to each other with respect to their citizens' attitudes to the listed family policy arrangements. If one examines the data in detail, one can see that respondents in all these countries support very strongly mainly the direct financial support to families with children (namely, allowance for care-taking parents, allowance at the birth of each child, improvement of the parental leave measure and housing for families with children).

Another cluster consists of Austria and Germany, the countries which traditionally represent corporatist welfare state model. The third clearly identifiable cluster is composed of two new accession countries, Hungary and Cyprus, which, generally speaking represent the most demanding countries with respect to improvements and implementation of most of the mentioned family policy efforts. The Netherlands and Finland create the fourth cluster however, the closeness of these two is somewhat weaker than the former groups of countries. After having a closer look at the data, the Dutch and the Finish seem to be the most satisfied with the

family policy efforts of their state thus, they do not express strong need for improvements and changes. Estonia stand a bit aside of the above mentioned four clusters.

Scheme 2: Output of the cluster analysis concerning 13 arrangements of the family policy in surveyed countries - dendrogram



Source: IPPAS 2000-2003
 Interpretation: dendrogram provides a visual accounting of how closely related surveyed countries are. The more characteristics in common, the closer they are related.
 Footnote: The missing figures for Austria (1 missing figure), Estonia (1 missing figure), The Netherlands (1 missing figure) and Belgium (3 missing figures) have been replaced by figures corresponding to an average values of attitudes expressed by respondents in all countries toward a particular item.

4.3. Attitudes toward Family and Parenthood

Another from the main tree dimensions of our research deals with family and its functions. In this subchapter we analyze attitudes toward marriage and parenthood as it has been surveyed by the ISSP survey in 2002. Seven questions asked during this survey measure how traditional or liberal people are with respect to marriage and parenthood.

After the first glance, we can see that marriage is not seen as a necessary and only possible way of living family life and respondents are in general convinced that no marriage is better than a bad one. Divorce is widely accepted as the best solution when a couple can any longer work out their marriage problems. Respondents are as well rather open to non-standard ways of family life –cohabitation and pre-marital cohabitation. However, in the majority of countries (with the **exception of Slovenia and Flanders, two countries with the lowest marriage rates in Europe**) respondents think that people who want children ought to get married. This indicates that marriage is still relatively strongly related to parenthood and that children should be born into a traditionally understood family. This statement is supported by the fact that respondents in Hungary, Slovenia, Cyprus and Finland also doubt that single parents can raise a child as well as two parents.

Respondents in Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia and Cyprus see in marriage the way to personal wellbeing and happiness. On the contrary, people in Flanders and in the Netherlands are a bit more sceptical about this positive impact of the marriage.

Given the fact that there are many questions dealing with marriage and parenthood matters and it is not very easy to have a clear overview of the situation, we decided to create an index which aggregates fragmented pieces of information. The index has been created on the basis of the items which have been re-polarized in the same direction (from the most

conservative to the least conservative) and which passed the test of reliability measures by the Crombach Alfa. According to the test results, we decided not to include the following items in the calculation of the sum index: Single parents can raise a child as well as two parents; a bad marriage is better than no marriage at all.

Aggregated data show that the most traditional attitudes demonstrate respondents in Cyprus (the value of the equals to 2,88). The average in this country did not reach the value of 3 which indicates support for traditionally formulated items. Relatively neutral seems to be Poland, where the value of index oscillates around the value of 3. Respondents in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Hungary express slight liberal tendencies, however not really strong ones. As more liberal we can consider respondents in Flanders (3,73), the Netherlands (3,70) and Austria (3,62).

Table 2: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Index of attitudes toward marriage and parenthood.

	Married people are in general happier than unmarried	Its better to have a bad marriage than no marriage	People who want children should get married	Single parents can raise a child as well as two	It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married	It is a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first	Divorce is the best solution when a couple can not work out their marriage problems	Index of attitudes toward marriage and parenthood
West Germany	3,00	4,43	2,72	3,00	2,10	2,14	2,18	3,46
East Germany	2,76	4,43	2,87	2,72	2,24	2,05	2,01	3,45
Austria	2,92	4,44	2,91	2,76	2,03	1,94	1,87	3,62
Hungary	2,47	4,18	2,92	3,27	1,98	2,26	2,39	3,36
Lithuania	2,67	3,97	2,51	3,41	2,78	2,29	2,41	3,14
Netherlands	3,25	4,46	3,47	2,92	1,81	2,28	2,18	3,70
Czech Republic	2,76	3,98	2,40	2,93	2,55	2,12	2,34	3,23
Slovenia	2,82	4,03	3,14	3,28	2,36	2,02	2,39	3,44
Poland	2,59	3,90	2,28	2,60	2,53	2,65	2,47	3,07
Cyprus	2,62	4,06	2,26	3,50	3,19	2,81	2,44	2,88
Belgium (Flanders)	3,56	4,29	3,36	2,98	1,92	2,18	2,30	3,73
Finland	3,20	4,35	2,86	3,29	1,99	1,97	2,40	3,57

Source: ISSP 2002

Note: Values represent average (1- strongly agree, 2 – agree, 3-neither agree nor disagree, 4- disagree, 5- strongly disagree). The closer the presented values to 1, the stronger agreement with the statements.

The lower the value of the index, the more conservative attitudes toward marriage and parenthood.

4.4. Attitudes toward Division of Labour between genders

The third key dimension of this paper deals with the division of labour between men and women. When we say division of labour we mean both paid and not paid, for both are equally important for good understanding of the problem of family policy arrangements and family life. The fact that the traditional division of labour which assigns paid labour to men and family and child care to women has been heavily challenged during the past decades and there are many questions to be answered: how is it possible to reconcile family and work life when more and more women are joining the labour market? How do partners share unpaid household work and child care? Which forms of female employment are seen as the best? Etc.

The issue of division of labour between partners, and in particular the problem of female employment is covered by a battery of questions in the ISSP survey (for exact listing of the items see the table below).

The simple analysis of the questions in the ISSP survey shows that in general people in all examined countries think that a working mother can have as good relation with her children as a mother who does not work. People as well agree that having a job is the best way for a woman to become independent. However, if we ask whether pre-school children or family life suffer by the fact that women work we can see that, with the exception of respondents from Finland, Eastern Germany and Cyprus, people admit that employment can harm family life. Interestingly enough respondents in Hungary, The Czech Republic, Slovenia (countries where women were fully engaged in paid labour during the period of socialism), and Flanders support the statement that being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay. Germans, Dutch, Austrians and Lithuanians on the contrary, tend not to agree with this idea.

Table 3: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Index of attitudes to division of labour between men and women

	A working mother can establish as good relationship with her children as a non-working	A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works	Family life suffers if woman has a full-time job	A job is all right but what women really want is a home and children	Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay	Having a job is the best way for a woman to become independent	Both partners should contribute to the family income	A man's job is to earn money, a woman's is to look after home and children	Men do a larger share of household work than they do now	Men do a larger share of child care than they do now	Index of attitudes to employment of women
West Germany	1,94	2,69	2,88	3,56	3,10	2,05	2,32	3,55	2,49	2,29	3,37
East Germany	1,44	3,36	3,49	3,85	3,56	1,86	1,67	3,90	2,45	2,34	3,72
Austria	2,01	2,29	2,37	3,32	3,02	1,87	1,89	3,19	2,51	2,33	3,18
Hungary	2,16	2,22	2,55	2,25	2,49	2,78	1,82	2,81	2,46	2,38	2,91
Lithuania	2,45	2,48	2,62	2,74	3,04	2,25	2,00	2,61	2,54	2,31	3,04
Netherlands	2,33	2,95	2,90	3,18	3,21	2,54	2,78	3,77	2,58	2,56	3,62
Czech	2,15	2,76	2,79	2,31	2,95	2,32	1,60	2,66	2,35	2,18	3,19
Slovenia	2,27	2,85	2,68	2,52	2,92	2,22	1,71	3,33	2,42	2,15	3,11
Poland	2,54	2,70	2,95	2,74	2,71	2,12	2,17	2,81	2,35	2,19	3,40
Cyprus	2,22	3,28	3,32	2,82	3,33	2,25	2,02	3,26	3,06	2,72	3,29
Belgium (Flanders)	2,64	2,95	2,89	2,87	2,63	2,42	2,46	3,44	2,41	2,40	3,19
Finland	2,50	3,14	3,58	2,75	2,91	2,76	2,24	3,76	2,19	2,13	3,40

Source: ISSP 2002

Note: Values represent average (1- strongly agree, 2 – agree, 3-neither agree nor disagree, 4- disagree, 5- strongly disagree). The closer the presented values to 1, the stronger agreement with the statements.

The lower the value of the index, the more conservative attitudes toward traditional divisions of labour between genders

The opinion that both partners should contribute to the household budget dominates in all surveyed countries, however it is very difficult to distinguish what is the reasoning behind this. It may be either a result of gender emancipation or simply the financial need of dual-bread winner system. If we look at the magnitude of the support of the equal contribution of men and women to household budget it is evident that this idea resonates strongest in the Czech Republic, Eastern Germany, Slovenia and Hungary, which means mostly in the countries of the ex-Eastern block where financial pressures on household indeed require both partners to work to maintain certain level of well-being. Here we witness a paradox. In the Czech Republic and Hungary people strongly support the idea of dual bread winner model but at the same time they are relatively strongly in favour of the statement that a man's job is to earn money, a woman's is to look after home and children. This paradox can be easily explained by the fact that in

Source: IPPAS 2000-2003 and ISSP 2002

Interpretation: dendrogram provides a visual accounting of how closely related survey countries are. The more characteristics in common, the closer they are related.

Footnote: ISSP treats West and East Germany separately while IPPA provide data for unified Germany. In order to be able to run cluster analysis for Germany we aggregated the data of West and East Germany and calculated average value representing unified Germany.

In the following text we elaborate on possible explanations why people in the post socialist countries express similar attitudes toward examined phenomena and what makes them different from other surveyed countries. Respondents from the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia, Hungary and Lithuania expect more family support from the welfare state than the rest of the countries, while particular attention is paid to direct financial support to family with children, improvements regarding parental leave and housing conditions for families with children. This might be explained by the fact that after the fall of social regimes and during transition period when planned economy was being into market economy, many countries had to introduce severe retrenchments of traditionally rather generous socialist welfare provisions and services. The problems of family and reconciliation of family and work were overruled by more pressing problems of growing unemployment and social inequalities. Thus, the family policy has not been a priority and did not attract enough of attention of the transitional governments.

We can observe that respondents in the majority of the surveyed post socialist countries are less liberal regarding the division of labour between genders than their counterparts from old EU states. For example, only respondents from Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland support the statement that a man's job is to earn money, a woman's is to look after home and children. This is in contradiction with the fact that in the same countries people are in favour of equal contribution of men and women to the family budget. This paradox can be explained by the clash between "preferred and actual". Respondents, mainly men, in the post socialist countries are in favour of traditional division of labour but the real economic situation and the socialist legacy does not make possible to put certain things in practice. Women in the post socialist countries used to work and contribute to the household finances, the worsening economic situation and growing unemployment after the collapse of socialist regimes made it impossible to change this pattern. Thus, majority of the population has to join the labour market no matter what their real preferences regarding the female labour participation are. Mainly full-time engagement of women in the labour market is therefore considered as a norm. On top of this, women are expected to take care of household and children. Given the fact that the availability of the public services (nurseries and kindergartens) has worsened during the transitional period, women find it a bit more difficult to reconcile family and professional life. This might be as well a reason why the respondents in these countries plead for a possibility to take care for household and children.

Even if the attitudes of respondents in post socialist countries toward marriage and parenthood are rather liberal, they are still much milder than those of the EU 15 countries. People in these countries are in favour of opinion that married people are in general happier than non-married ones. In general, the institution of marriage has been seriously shaken by the transition as well. In most of the post socialist countries the marriage rates and fertility dropped significantly. The ISSP survey data show that the main obstacle for this behaviours are firstly poor financial and material situation of young people and insecurity in the labour market (IPPS data, own analysis). Thus, in theory people have rather high opinion about the institution of marriage but in practice they can not afford it and postpone it till older age.

Despite the fact that we could not work with all EU-25 countries, our study presents enough of evidence that new members states with a post socialist and transitional experience differ from the old EU states with respect to their people's attitudes toward family policy arrangements, marriage and parenthood, and division of labour between genders. From this we may derive that the objective situation in a country is being reflected in its inhabitant's attitudes and the other way around, that peoples' attitudes mirror the institutional setting in a country.

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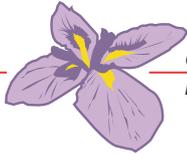
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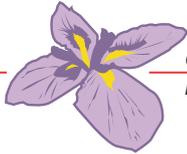
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