

Post-Communist Family Policy

Outline

- Look at policy changes
- Place PL and CR into typologies
- Ask whether these policies are in line with the needs and aspirations of women
- Look at the results
- Explain these changes

State Socialist Model



- Women forced to work
- But maintain full responsibility for the household
- Women work, men have careers
- Relatively high access to daycare
- Maternity leaves and additional maternity leaves

Decrease in Access to Daycare

- Declined in both countries for children under 3
- As nursery schools have been closed down, more children 2-3 years old are attending kindergartens in the Czech Republic
- There has been a decline in kindergarten spaces, but not the percentage of children attending, as fertility rates have dropped

Comparison on daycare

190 *S. Saxonberg and T. Sirovátka*

Table 2. Enrollment rates of children in public pre-school facilities

	1989		2002	
	birth to age two (0–1–2)	age three to five (3–4–5)	birth to age two (0–1–2)	age three to five (3–4–5)
Czech Republic	20.3 (13.2% in nurseries)	78.9%	10.3% (0.7% in nurseries)	94.7%
Hungary	11.7% (11.2% in nurseries)	85.7%	10.1% (9.6% in nurseries)	87.8%
Poland	9.1% (8.7% in nurseries)	48.2%	5.1% (4.2% in nurseries)	49.9%
Slovakia	17.7% (15% in nurseries)	88.6%	5.6% (0% in nurseries)	80.1%
Germany (in 2000)			5%	82%
Sweden (in 2000)			37%	77%
EU-15 (in 2000)			25%	81%

Increase in Parental Leaves

- Maternity leaves have remained the same in all countries, but for a short while increased in Poland
- The benefit level has decreased but only changed slightly
- They are shorter in Poland
- Parental leaves have been extended by one year in the Czech Republic (now 3-tier system)
- They are means-tested in Poland
- Only Hungary has an income replacement parental leave

Parental Leaves in CE

Table 1. Paid family leave (2002)

	Maternity leave		Parental leave		Level in % of average wage (and absolute in EUR and national currency)	Main changes during 1990s
	Length (weeks)	Replacement rate	Length	Type of benefit and benefit formula		
Czech Republic	28 (37 multiple births)	69% of daily assessment base, low ceiling	4 years	Universal 1.1 x MSL of adult person (1.54 MSL since 2004)	14.9% €82.6 (2,552 CZK) since 2004 increased to €115.7 (3,573 CZK)	parental leave: benefit level an length increased
Hungary	24	70% low ceiling	a) 2 years (if fulfilling social insurance condition - <i>child care fee</i>), b) 3 years, c) 8 years (third children)	Universal a) 70% of wage, ceiling 2 x min wage, b), c) min old age pension	22.8% €82.6 (20,100 HUF)	maternity leave: benefit level decreased
Poland	16 (18 second child, 20 multiple births), 2 (4 weeks) may be used by father	100% low ceiling	4 years	Income – tested Explicit (low level)	15% €83.3 (318.1 PLN) 23.9% = €132.4 (505.8 PLN) in case of lone parent	parental leave: extended to men, benefit level increased for families with 3 (or more) children
Slovakia	28 (37 multiple births)	90% of daily assessment base low ceiling (since 2004 55%)	3 years	Universal 0.913 MSL of adult person	29.6% €88.8 (3,790 SK)	parental leave: benefit level an length increased

No Incentive for Men to Stay at Home

- Were not given benefits until after 1989
- Were not given the right to return to their jobs until much later (1996 in PL, 2001 in CR)
- Level of pay too low to give economic incentives for men (Hungarian case)
- No months reserved for men
- In Hungary they have the best incentives and greatest # of men at home (around 5% which is similar to Denmark)
- Hungary shows that policies matter, as attitudes there are the most conservative toward gender roles

What types of policies?

- CR?
- PL?
- SK?
- H?

The Czech Case

- **Short, but generous maternity leave (=conservative)**
- **Long, but low-paid parental leave (=conservative)**
- **Lack of Access to childcare for children under 3 (conservative)**
- **Slovakia similar**



Poland

- **Shorter maternity leaves (4 months instead of 6) = liberal**
- **Means-tested parental leaves = liberal**
- **Less support for childcare = liberal**
- **33.4% of children 3-6 attending kindergartens compared to 87% in the CR in 2002**
- **Polish authors see the country as conservative and influenced by the Church because they do not make comparisons**

Hungary

- Relatively high access to daycare
- Only slight decrease in access to nursery schools for children under 3 (moderately degenderizing)
- Only country with parental leaves as % of income
- Thus, only country with incentives for fathers to stay at home, but moderate incentives
- Again, moderately degenderizing
- Although the goal of the government is to increase childbirths, not increase gender equality

Goes against the Needs of Women?

- At theoretical level, since anti-feminist, but changing
- At the concrete, daily level, women feel they must work, they find it fulfilling and want men to help out more at the home

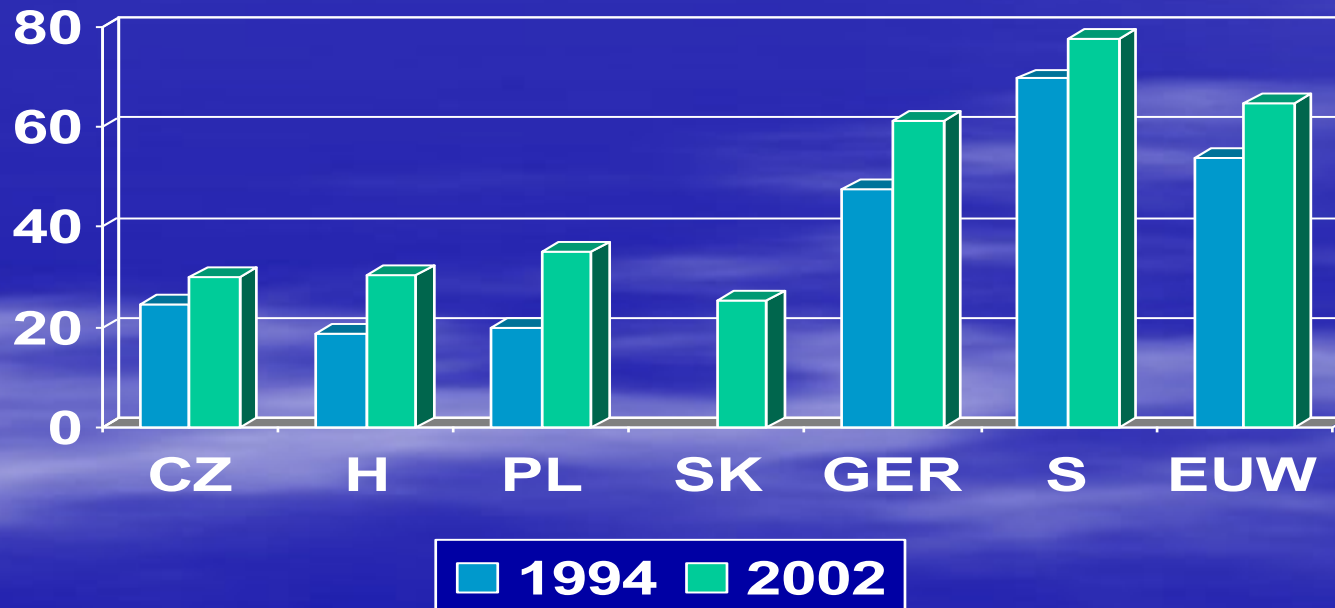
Goes Against the Aspirations?

Theoretical Level

- Central European still support traditional gender roles in general
- But attitudes are changing
- Younger are less supportive

Attitudes at the Theoretical Level: Against Changing Roles

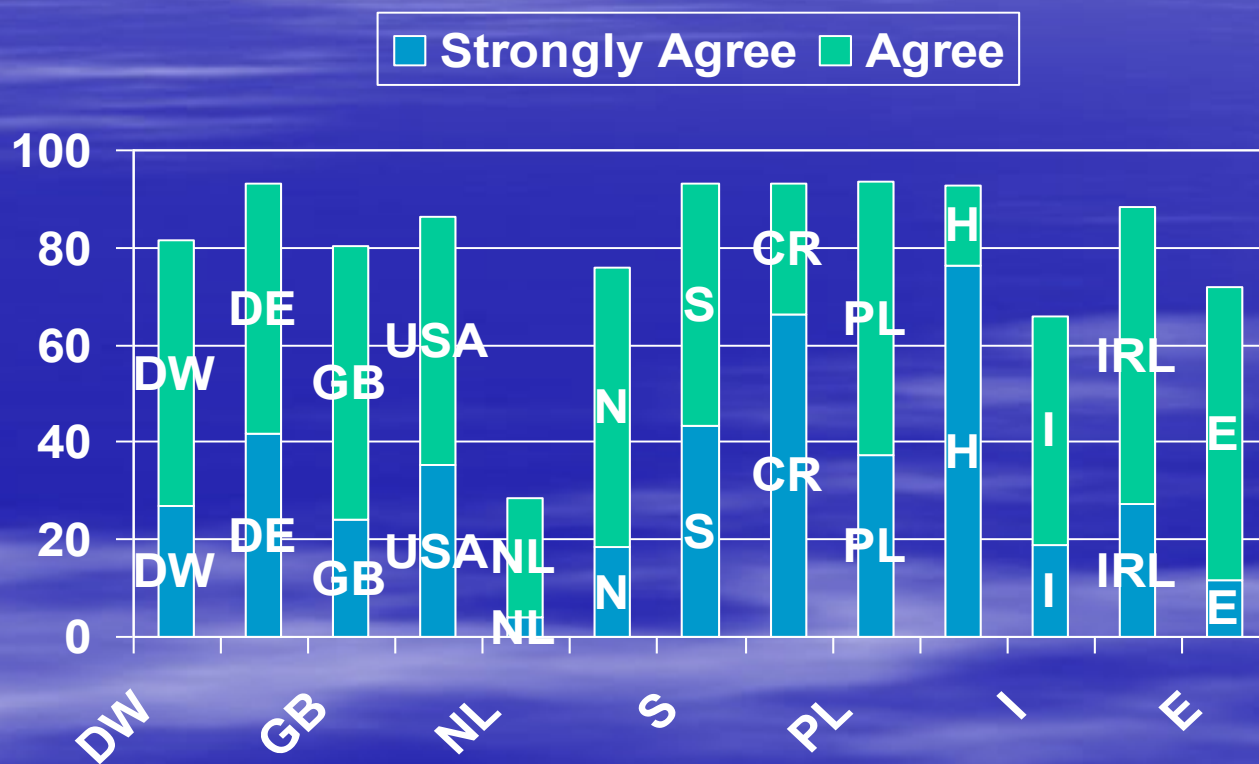
% Disagreeing that men should work and women should stay home (ISSP)



Aspirations and Daily Level

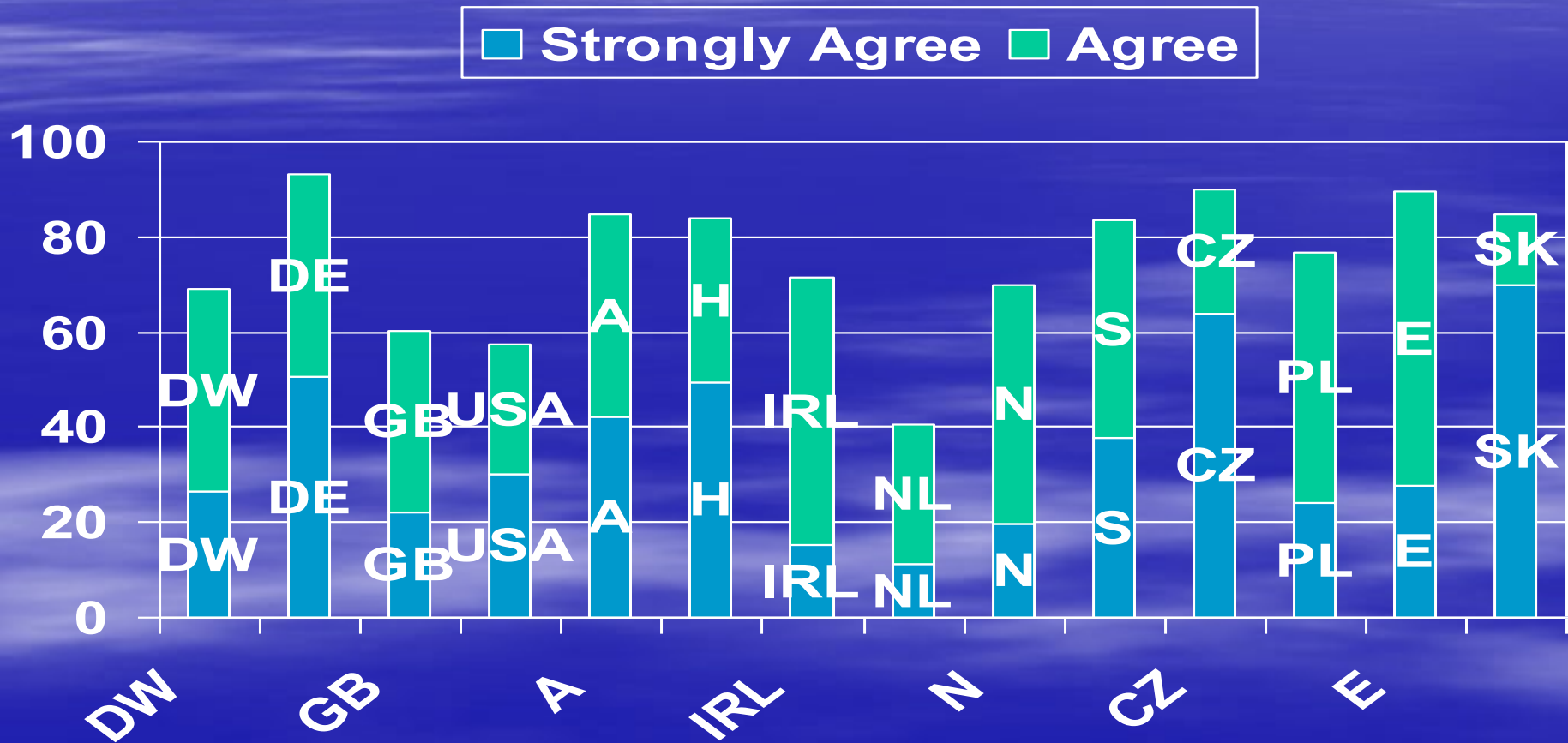
- Women need to work
- Women feel they should work
- Work gives them satisfaction and independence
- They believe the state should support families and men should help out more

Needs: Women must work to support their family (female respondents, ISSP, 1994)

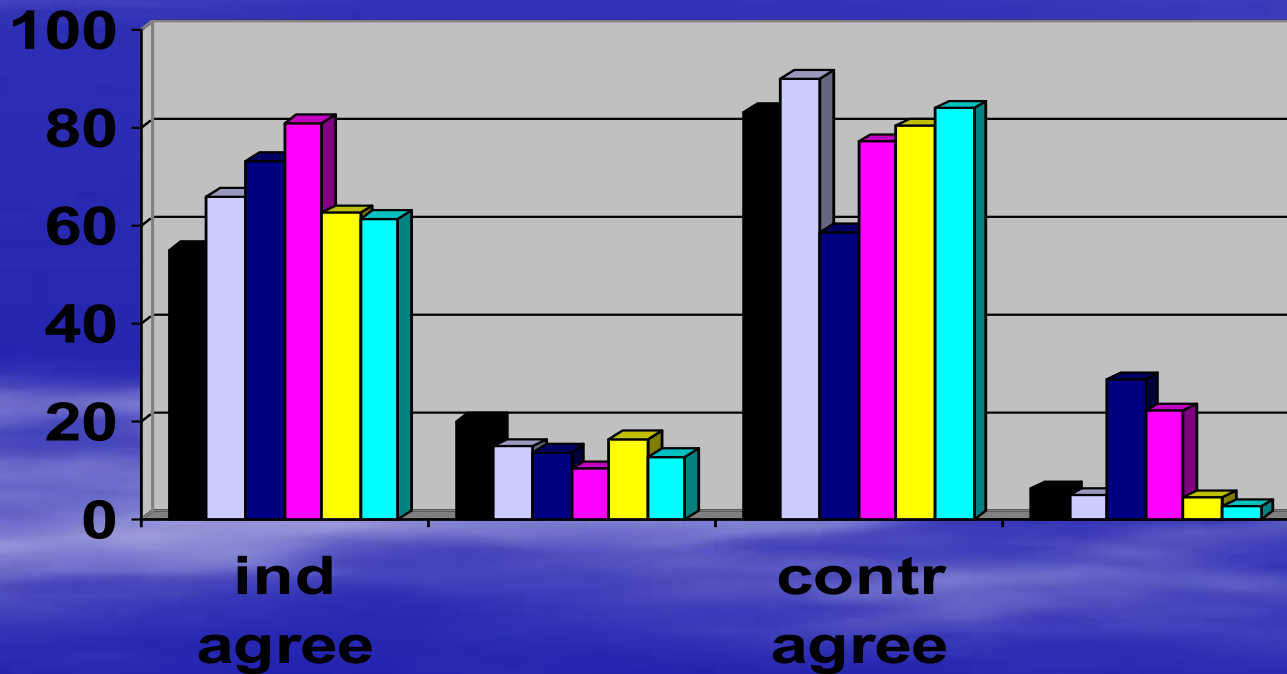


Aspirations: Both spouses should contribute to the family income

(female respondents, ISSP, 2002)

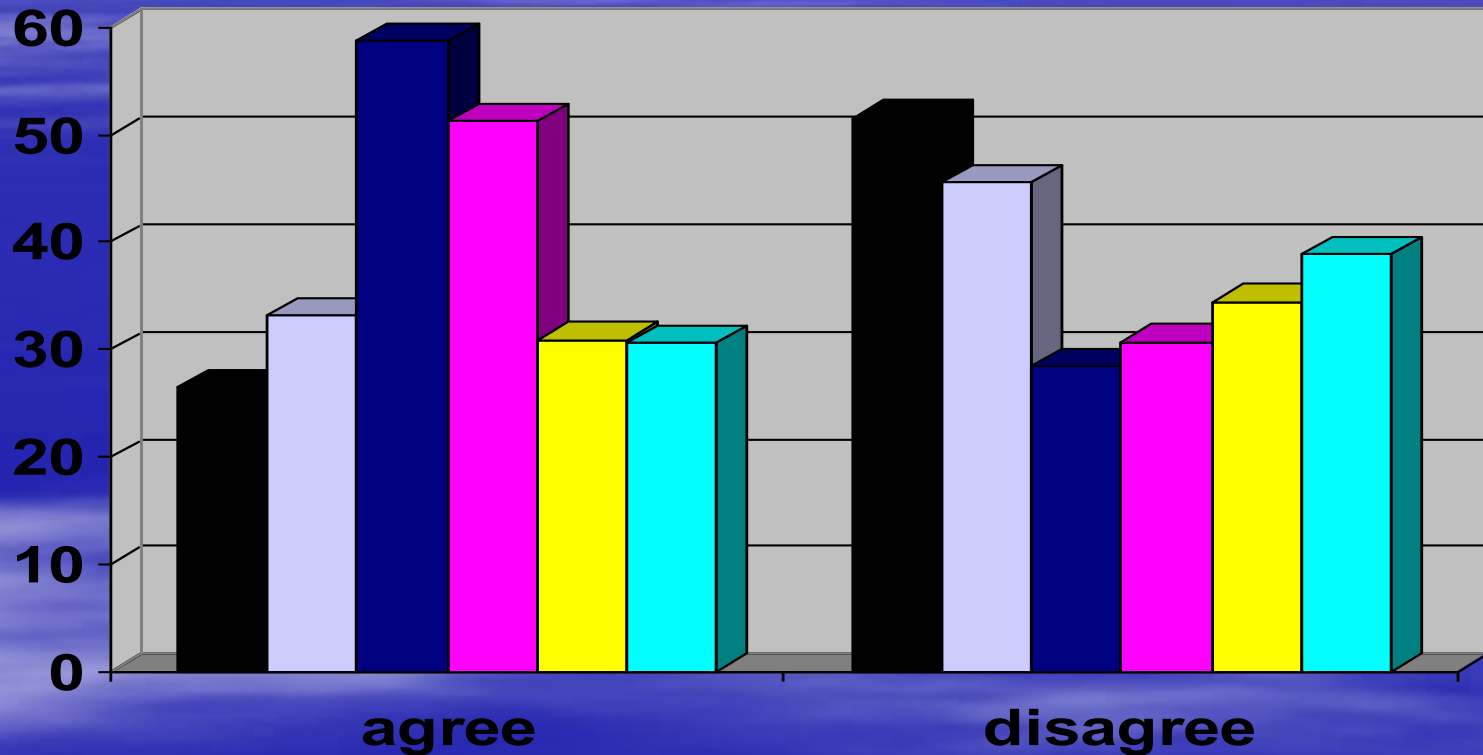


**Economic Independence
(only female respondents)**
a) work is best for woman's independence
b) both spouses should contribute to the family income



■ CR94 ■ CR02 ■ PL94 ■ PL02 ■ SW94 ■ SW02

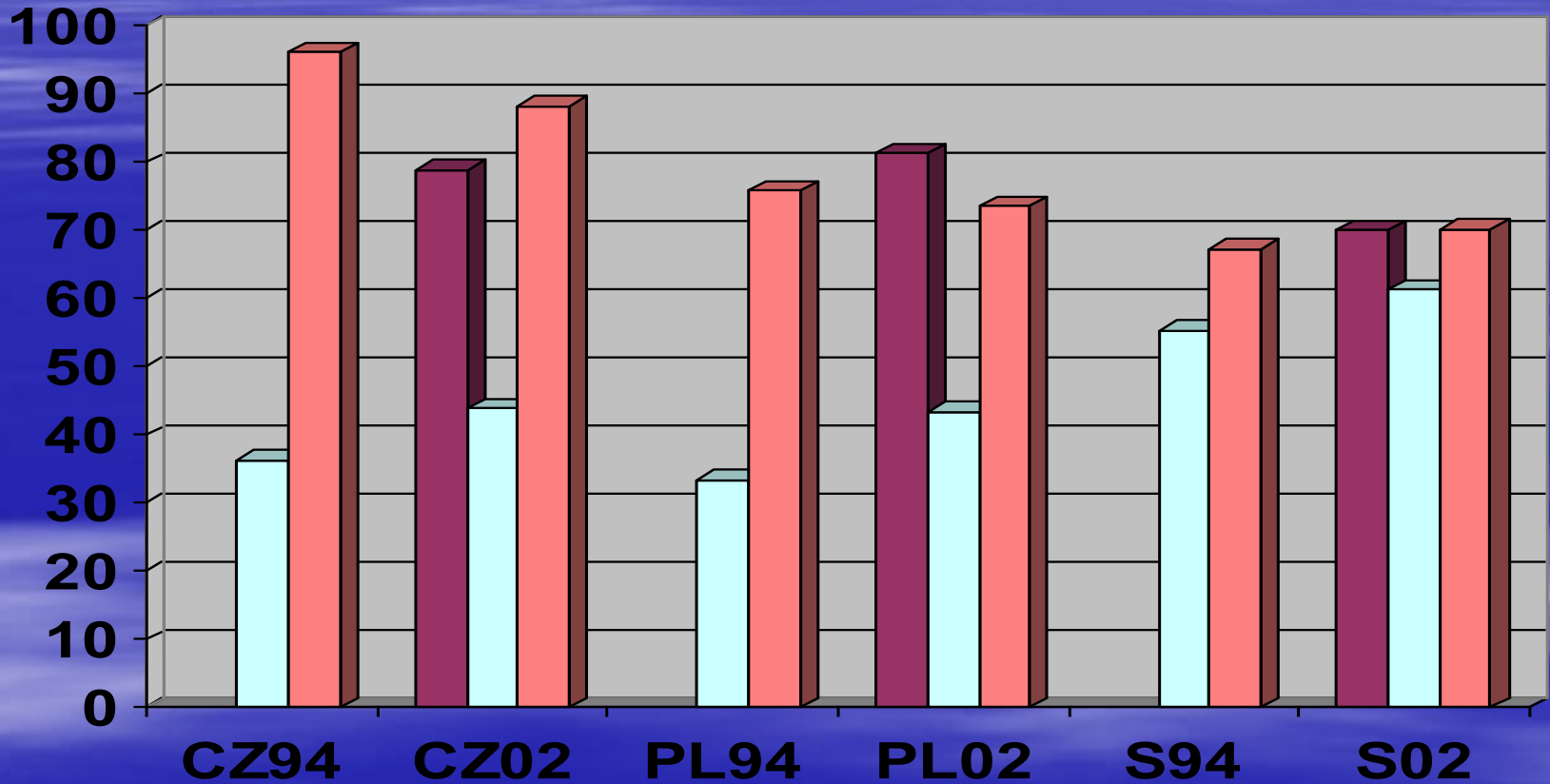
Housewife Satisfaction
Response to the question whether housework
is as rewarding as a job
(only female respondents)



■ CR94 ■ CR02 ■ PL94 ■ PL02 ■ SW94 ■ SW02

Concrete, Daily Level:

Percentage of Women Supporting Gender Equality (ISSP)



home equality mother-child rel state support

Daily level

- Support for belief that men should help out more at home (but large gender gap)
- Increasing belief that working women can have good relations with children
- But communist legacy still influences, so levels of support are relatively low
- High support for state benefits

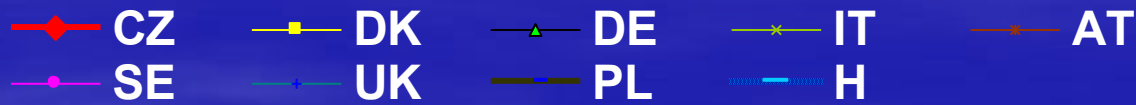
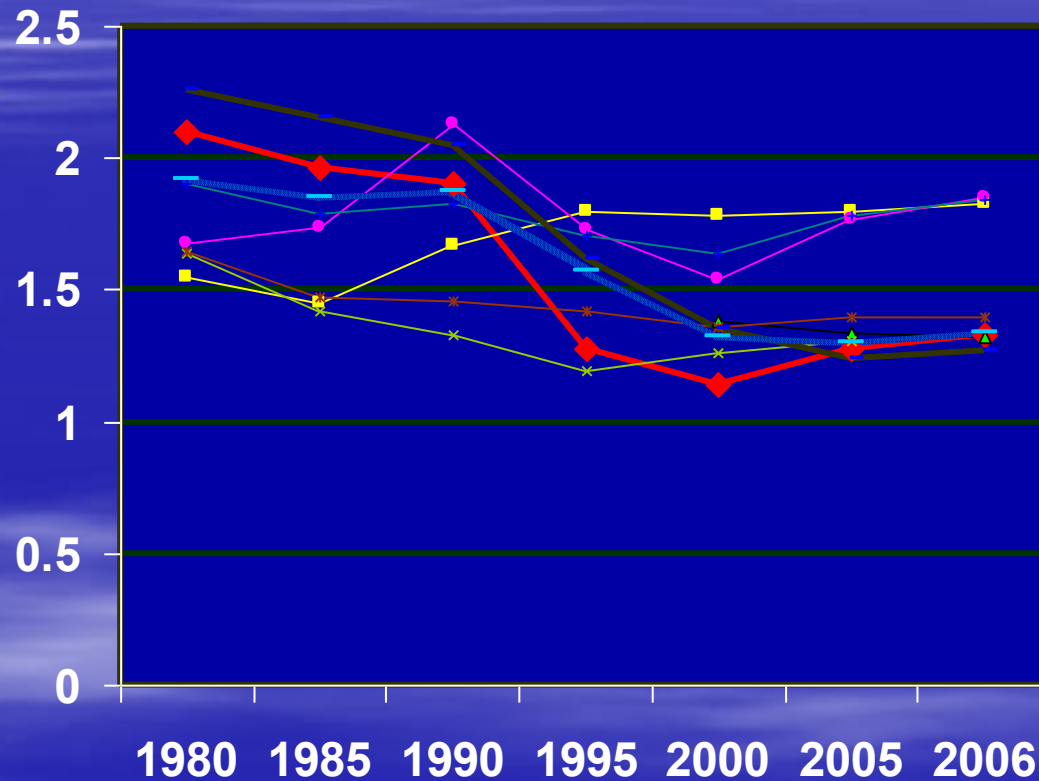
Result

- Women have not left the labor market
- But they have left the reproductive market

Women as Percentage of all Working Adults 18-65

	1988	1996	2005
Czech Republic	47.9%	45.6	43.2
Poland		45.1%	44.7

Low Birthrates (Eurostats)

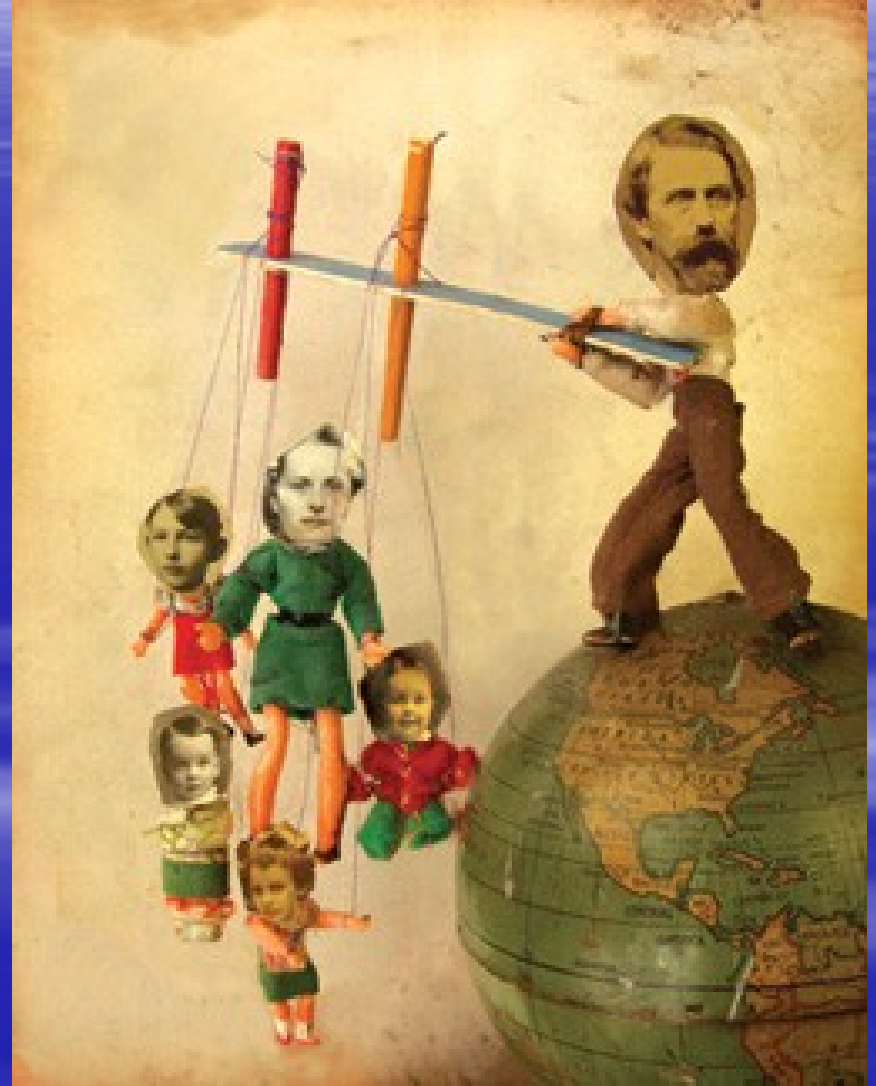


Why Did they Choose these Policies?

- Anti-Feminist Communist Legacy
- Economic pressures?
- Institutional similarities
- Institutional differences

Anti-Feminist Ideological Legacy

- Forced to work + continued double burden of domestic and paid labor
- Association of feminism with communism
- Anti-feminist propaganda
- Inability to organize around interests
- Prestige of the family



Economic Pressures?

- Calculation that it was cheaper to have mothers stay at home than pay for daycare
- Budgetary pressures during the transformation
- Calculations do not take into account loss of tax revenues from working women
- Nor do they take into account *future* tax revenues, as women give up their careers

Institutional Legacy: Explaining Similarities (refamilialization)

- Problems with nursery schools
- Inheritance of two-tier caring system
- Health ministry control of nurseries
- Inheritance of two-tier parental leave system

Institutional Explanation of Difference

- Poland had lower access to kindergartens already under communist rule
- Poland had means-tested additional maternity leaves already under communist rule
- So these policies have continued