

SHARING PROFESSIONAL AND HOUSEHOLD DUTIES WITHIN THE
POLISH COUPLES - PREFERENCES AND REAL CHOICES

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INTRODUCTION

Since women started to enter the labour market in the post-war period the issue of work and family reconciliation has been more and more widely discussed. It attracted even more interest after it became obvious that Europe is experiencing a significant change in the patterns of family formation and dissolution. Many researchers claim that the conflict between family and work, that is perceived to be one of the reasons for the declining fertility, has even got stronger in the last years. The reason is the rising competitiveness in the markets due to globalisation and in Eastern Europe also economic transition resulting in more uncertain employment conditions (Kotowska, 2005; Blossfeld, Mills, 2003). The issue that in many European countries has not been solved yet is, however, not only how to moderate this conflict, but also which family models with respect to the share of professional and household duties are most optimal from the point of view of the individual, the family and the economy. Taking up a serious discussion on this topic is particularly important for the Eastern European countries where the process of the demographic change began relatively late but has been proceeding with a much higher intensity than in the West.

Therefore the objective of the paper is to answer the question what family model is Poland heading for. It will be done through the analysis of the preferences and life choices of the Poles in this respect, paying special attention to the policy regulations that determine these choices. Firstly, following Leira (2002), the evolution of the concepts on family models with respect to the share of professional and household duties is described. The distinguished models are: male breadwinner, sequential male breadwinner, modernised male breadwinner, dual earner – female double burden, dual earner – dual carer. The next two sections cover the results of the analyses respectively on the preferences of the Poles toward family models and their life choices. Special attention is paid to the discrepancies between the preferred and achieved family models. They are discussed in the cultural and institutional context. The last issue is particularly widely discussed in order to answer the question what family model is supported by the state policy and how it harmonizes with the preferences of the Poles.

1. EVOLUTION OF THE THEORIES ON THE SHARE OF PROFESSIONAL AND HOUSEHOLD DUTIES. CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY MODELS

The theoretical background of the paper constitute sociological theories on the family models proposed by Talcott Parsons (1955), Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein (1956) and Rita Liljeström (1978) (following Leira, 2002). The first of them stays in line with the Becker's economic theory of family, saying that the household's resources may be used in an optimal way only due to the specialization of its adult members. The specialisation results from biological differences between women and men, presupposing female's role as a carer and male's role as an economic provider (male breadwinner model). Any other task division does not seem to be optimal, as it contradicts the natural abilities of women and men. Since the 1950s., however, increasing education level of women and rising demand for female labour have implied a substantial increase in the opportunity costs of motherhood and made the Parsonsian task division no more optimal.

For these reasons Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein (1956) proposed a different family model. According to their conception the role of a man being main economic provider does not change. What changes is the role of a woman who gets a possibility of combining work and family. Nevertheless, the family model proposed originally by Myrdal and Klein does not allow women to participate in the labour market in the same degree as men. Because of their household and care duties women are expected to sequence family and work responsibilities, taking up the latter in the next stage of their family life cycle after raising children. However, the model proposed by Myrdal and Klein does not differ from the one proposed by Parsons by the perception of the male social role – being still the main economic provider he is exempted from the responsibility for household and care duties. In this sense the model proposed by Myrdal and Klein is just a modification of the Parsonsian concept that allows women for economic activity (sequential male breadwinner model). A slightly changed version of the model proposed by Myrdal and Klein is also the so called modernised male breadwinner (see Pfau-Effinger, Geissler, 1992) that has become enormously popular in some Western European countries. Without changing the role of a man it presupposes a woman to be an additional earner combining family duties with part-time employment.

Nevertheless, in many countries further increase in educational attachment of women, development of the service sector and further changes of values and norms caused a sharp increase in female employment. As a result the male breadwinner model proposed by Parsons or even the sequential model of Myrdal and Klein have been gradually outdistanced and

replaced (at least partly) with the dual earner family. Becoming more and more widespread the latter model got also its economic rationale. Firstly, it diversifies a risk of a job loss by one of the spouses, which becomes even higher under the circumstances of a sharp competition in the markets in the globalising world (i.e. Kotowska, 2004, 2005; OECD, 2001). Secondly, it is inevitable in the light of deinstitutionalisation and destabilisation of family forms (i.e. Knijn, 2002). Finally, in the low and mid income countries it allows couples to meet ends meet, while in the rest it gives an opportunity to achieve higher living standards (Kotowska, 1999, 2002). Nevertheless, in spite of a wide development of the dual earner model one thing has not changed - the perception of the gender roles (i.e. Muszyńska, 2004; Leira, 2002). Women, in spite of their professional duties, are still the only ones who are responsible for household and care. As a result, double burden of responsibilities they have to carry out (dual earner – female double burden model) makes them less competitive in the labour market that in the era of globalisation becomes even more demanding in terms of qualifications and availability of an individual. Double burden of responsibilities and higher requirements in the labour market lead to an increase in difficulties with combining family and work. It results in the postponement of marital and fertility decisions and a drop in the number of births (Kotowska, 2004, 2005; Blossfeld, Mills, 2003; Meulders, Gustaffson, 2002; Palomba, 2003).

For this reason in the late 1970s Rita Liljeström (1978) proposed another family model with both, a woman and a man, fulfilling the roles of earners and carers (dual earner - dual carer model). It is perceived to be a means for increasing gender equity in the labour market and creating better conditions for work and family reconciliation (Kotowska, 2004, 2005; Leira, 2002; Meulders, Gustaffson, 2002). According to Kotowska (2005) all, the sequential and modernised male breadwinner and the dual earner - female double burden models are only a step in the transition process from the traditional male breadwinner to the dual earner – dual carer. This change in the share of duties between partners is deeply rooted in the process of social change that has been taking place in Europe in the post war period (with some differences between its Eastern and Western parts). It manifests in the rise of educational attachment, changes in the structure of labour demand (development of the service sector, increase in the instability of employment forms, shift toward better skilled and more available workers), changes in the values and norms and destabilisation and deinstitutionalisation of family forms. Similar hypothesis can be found at Walby (2001) who forecasts the transition of the gender regimes from the domestic (care provided by family members, mainly by women) to the public one (care provided by public institutions, allowing partners equal involvement in

the labour market). Due to the original differences between countries they are at different stages in this process and move at different rates under the impulse of modernisation and restructuring (Walby, 2001). The most advanced in this process are the Scandinavian countries. Although the dual earner – female double burden model is still dominating in Europe, in the Nordic countries it is much more often than in the other accompanied by the dual earner - dual carer (Leira, 2002). In the Southern Europe it coexists rather with the male breadwinner, while in such countries like Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Austria and Belgium with the modernised male breadwinner (Pfau-Effinger, Geissler, 1992; Jaumotte, 2003; Hofaecker, 2003). On the contrary, in the Eastern European countries the transition from the male breadwinner model toward dual earner was straightforward. The communist ideology aimed at full utilization of the labour force potential accompanied by a rapid industrialisation forced women into full-time employment. Nevertheless, the apparent gender equality observed in the labour market did not translate into equality in the household-related tasks. Women, in spite of their professional duties, were expected to perform homework and provide care (Siemieńska, 1997; Klammer, *et.al.*, 2000). Hence, high female labour force participation in this region was rather a result of an outward pressure not an inward change (Siemieńska, 1997). For this reason a dual earner - female double burden model was adopted in Central and Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, in the course of the economic transition this region of Europe has experienced a high drop in employment, which in majority hit women much stronger than men. As a result some of the CEE countries (like Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Hungary) indicate relatively low female employment rates. Although part-time employment has not become popular in this region over the last 15 years, the preference for it is relatively high in some countries (see Matysiak (2005a) for the evidence for Poland, Estonia, Romania and Lithuania). An interesting case is the East Germany where mothers, although rather unwillingly, have been adopting the Western employment patterns with respect to the reduced working hours much more quickly than in the other post-socialist countries (Matysiak, 2003). Therefore a question arises – what family model are the Central and Eastern European countries heading for (dual earner – dual carer, sequential or modernised male breadwinner) and what are the model selection determinants. In this paper an attempt was taken to answer this question for Poland.

2. PREFERRED AND ACHIEVED FAMILY MODELS

2.1. Data and research methods

The analysis of the preferences and life choices of the Poles with respect to the family models was conducted on the Population Policy Acceptance Study (PPA2) and the Polish Labour Force Survey (LFS). The first survey mentioned was carried out in Poland in the 4th quarter 2001 on about 15% of the LFS sample aged 18-64 (4,200 respondents). Apart from Poland PPA2 was conducted also in other 13 European countries in the years 2001-2003 as a part of a larger European project 'Population Policy Acceptance Study – The Viewpoint of Citizens and Policy Actors regarding the Management of Population Related Change' under the 5th Framework Program of the European Commission. The objective of the survey was to examine the awareness of demographic changes among the citizens, their attitudes toward these changes and toward population related policies on the following fields: family and fertility, ageing and gender roles. On the other hand, Labour Force Survey is a cyclical survey conducted in Poland every quarter on a representative sample of about 18,000-22,000 households (which gives about 48,000 respondents aged 15+) to examine the situation in the labour market. The combination of the PPA2 data on opinions and attitudes with the LFS data on the labour force participation gives a deeper insight into the behaviour patterns of the individuals.

In order to examine the preferences of the Poles toward the family models the PPA2 data was used and in particular the answers to the following questions: 'Do you think that men should share the household duties with women?' and 'Which of the work and family reconciliation options enumerated below would best fit you and which options you find most suitable for your partner?'. Only the married or cohabiting were asked the second question (2,913 respondents). They could choose between eleven different arrangements: full-time work and no children, full-time work and one child, full-time work and two children, full-time work and more than two children, part-time work and no children, part-time work and one child, part-time work and two children, part-time work and more than two children, no job when children are young, no job at all if there are children, I have no opinion. On the basis of the questions mentioned above a synthetic variable 'Preferred family model' was constructed.

The variable has five categories:

- 1 - male breadwinner model – a man should work (full-time or part-time) and a woman should not work,
- 2 – sequential male breadwinner – a man should work (full-time or part-time) and a woman should not work when children are small,
- 3 – modernised male breadwinner model - a man should work full-time and a woman part-time,
- 4 - dual earner – female double burden – both partners should work full-time / part-time but a man should not participate in household duties,
- 5 - dual earner – dual carer - both partners should work full-time / part-time and a man should participate in household duties.

The variable ‘Preferred family models’ describes preferences of 71% of the respondents living in marriage or cohabitation. Among the rest 29% 19% did not have an opinion either on the preferred work-family arrangement for themselves or for their partner and 10% preferred family models different from the distinguished above.

Apart from the variable ‘Preferred family models’ also a synthetic variable ‘Achieved family models’ was constructed. This variable was built on the basis of the information on respondent’s and his/her partner’s labour force participation from the LFS and the declared in PPA2 share of household duties between partners¹. The variable has four categories:

- 1 - male breadwinner – a man works (full time or part-time) and a woman does not work (unemployed or inactive),
- 2 - modernised male breadwinner – a man works full-time and a woman works part-time,
- 3 - dual earner – female double burden – both work full-time / part-time but a woman carries out over 60% of the household duties (excluding duties that are carried out by other persons than the partners),
- 4 - dual earner – dual carer – both work full-time / part-time and each of them carries out about 40-60% of the household duties (excluding duties that are carried out by other persons than the partners).

The variable ‘Achieved family models’ describes choices of 64% of the respondents living in marriage or cohabitation for whom an information on partner’s labour force

¹ The list of household duties included: child related duties (preparing meals for children, child dressing, visiting a doctor with a child, arranging childcare, playing with a child, helping at homework) and household-related

participation was available². Among the rest 36% 29.5% live in a couple with a non-working man (out of which 17.5% live in a couple with both non-working partners and 12% in a couple with only a woman having a job), less than 2% in a couple with a man working part-time and a woman working full-time and the rest in a couple with both working partners who share the domestic and professional duties in some other way than the variable 'Achieved family models' indicates.

Comparing the variables 'Preferred family model' and 'Achieved family model' one can notice that first of them consists of five and the second of four categories. The difference lies in the category 'sequential male breadwinner model' which could have been distinguished in the case of preferences but not in the case of practices. It results from the fact that LFS gathers information only on a present situation of a respondent in the labour market. For this reason there is a bias in the variable 'Achieved family models'. Those who live in the male breadwinner model in a given moment may do it only for some time due to the family duties. On the other hand, those who practise the dual earner model may switch into the male breadwinner after the necessity to take care appears. In reality in both cases respondents practise the sequential male breadwinner model which cannot be identified. This bias will be taken into account while interpreting the research results.

In the next two sections the preferences and practices of the Poles with respect to the family models will be described using the constructed variables. Additionally, in section 2.3 some attention will be paid to the differences between preferred and achieved family models on a general level. Detailed analysis of the discrepancies between preferences and practices of the Poles will be conducted in section 2.4.

2.2. Preferred family models

If we define the preferences for family models in the way described in section 2.1 it occurs that respondents have highest support for the dual earner-dual carer model (34.5% out of all living in marriage or cohabitation). The second place is taken by the modernised male breadwinner (15.9%) and the sequential male breadwinner (12.8%). The remaining 8% prefer either the pure male breadwinner model or the dual earner-female double burden nearly in the same degree.

duties (preparing meals, cleaning, shopping, dish washing, washing, managing the household budget, paying bills and handling administrative duties).

² Out of 2,913 respondents living in marriage or cohabitation the information on the partner's labour force participation was available for 2,620 (which means that both partners participated in LFS).

Table 1 Preferred family models

Preferred family models	N	% out of the married or cohabiting	% out of those whose preferences were classified into one of the distinguished models
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
male breadwinner	95	3.3	4.6
sequential modernised male breadwinner	372	12.8	18.0
modernised male breadwinner	464	15.9	22.4
dual earner-female double burden	133	4.6	6.4
dual earner-dual carer	1005	34.5	48.6
other	304	10.4	-
no opinion	541	18.6	-
Total	2913	100.0	100.0

Source: author's calculations

This outcome confirms the results obtained by the Institute of Labour and Social Affairs (ILSA) in 2001 (Graniewska, Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2003). Although there are some differences in the distribution of preferences, it may result from the different methodological approach. In the ILSA survey the preferences were studied by asking respondents an indirect question ‘Which way of sharing professional and household duties do you prefer most?’. The list of possible answers on this question was slightly different from the family models distinguished by the author of this paper (see Table 2). Nevertheless, both studies lead to the same conclusions: the Poles would mostly like to live in a relationship with both partners sharing equally the professional and household duties and they are definitely least eager to choose the male breadwinner model.

Table 2 Preferences for family models in the study by Institute of Labour and Social Affairs, 2001

Preferred family model	%
a man as an economic provider and a woman as a full-time carer	13.9
both working partners, a woman withdraws from employment for the care period	15.3
working woman combining work and family	15.1
both partners sharing equally the professional and household duties	54.5
a woman considering work as a first priority	0.8
no data	0.4
total	100.0

Source: Graniewska, Balcerzak-Paradowska, 2003

In order to investigate the determinants of the respondents' preferences two logit models were estimated – one with a dependant variable sequential male breadwinner model

vs. dual earner - dual carer, the second with a dependant variable modernised male breadwinner model vs. dual earner - dual carer. The predictors used were: gender, education level, age of the youngest child, age of the respondent and place of residence. The preferences for the other two family models (male breadwinner and dual earner – female double burden) were not examined more deeply due to a very low support they gained (which results in a small number of cells).

One of the most surprising conclusions that can be drawn from the estimation results is that the studied preferences do not depend on gender (see Table A1 in the appendix). The support for either the sequential or the modernised male breadwinner vs. dual earner-dual carer is similar for both, women and men. The respondents' preferences are, however, diversified with respect to the other socio-economic characteristics.

First of all, while having a small child (aged 4 or less) significantly increases the odds of preferring the sequential male breadwinner vs. dual earner-dual carer model (by about 54% in comparison to the average), it is completely insignificant for the preferences for the modernised male breadwinner vs. the dual earner-dual carer. On the other hand, however, while age does not affect the odds of preferring the sequential male breadwinner vs. dual earner-dual carer, the younger respondents are more likely to prefer the modernised male breadwinner vs. dual earner – dual carer than the older ones. This conclusion is quite surprising particularly if we take into account that the results do not change even after controlling for the fact of being in education.

Secondly, the education level of a respondent has a significant influence on a choice between the sequential male breadwinner and the dual earner-dual carer. The higher educated are then more likely to prefer a relationship with both partners sharing household and professional duties equally than the one implying breaks in female career. What is interesting, the preferences for the modernised male breadwinner vs. dual earner-dual carer do not depend on education level.

Finally, rural respondents are slightly more likely than the urban ones (by about 24%) to prefer the sequential male breadwinner vs. dual earner-dual carer model. The place of residence does not significantly influence the odds of preferring modernised male breadwinner model vs. dual earner-dual carer.

Summing up, the respondents' preferences with respect to the family model are strongly affected by the family life cycle a respondent is at. Although the dual earner – dual carer model is most often preferred, having a young child significantly increases the support for the sequential male breadwinner for both, women and men. What is interesting, it does not

affect the preferences for the modernised male breadwinner, which means that part-time employment is not perceived as a means for combining work with care duties. A question arises what family models are practised by the Poles and how these practices depend on the family situation. This issue will be addressed in the next section.

2.3. Achieved family models

After having analysed preferences for family models it is interesting to get some more knowledge on the practices of the Poles in this respect.

If we apply the variable ‘Achieved family models’ for the investigation of the life choices of the Poles, as described in section 2.1, it occurs that the models which are chosen most often are the male breadwinner and dual earner-female double burden. Each of them is practised by every fourth respondent which altogether accounts for about 80% of those whose choices were classified into one of the four distinguished models. The other two models that could be distinguished are chosen very rarely – the dual earner-dual carer model by only 7.8% of all respondents living in marriage or cohabitation and the modernised male breadwinner model by only about 4%.

In order to compare the practices of the Poles with their preferences the frequencies of the variable ‘Achieved family models’ were calculated on the population whose preferences were classified into one of the distinguished family models (see columns (5) and (6) in Table 3). The conclusions are very surprising – the models that are most preferred, i.e. dual earner-dual carer and modernised male breadwinner, are at the same time least often practised. On the contrary, the most often achieved are the least supported, i.e. the male breadwinner and dual earner-female double burden.

Table 3 Achieved family models

Achieved family models	N	% out of the married or cohabiting	% out of those whose life choices were classified into one of the distinguished models	% out of those whose preferences were classified into one of the distinguished models (N=2068)	% out of those whose preferences and practices were classified into one of the distinguished models (N=1011)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
male breadwinner	684	26.1	40.7	23.6	40.5
modernised male breadwinner	108	4.1	6.4	3.3	5.7
dual earner-female double burden	682	26.0	40.6	23.9	41.0
dual earner-dual carer	205	7.8	12.2	7.5	12.8
other	940	35.9	-	41.7	-
Total	2620	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: author's calculations

The low incidence of the modernised male breadwinner model results from a relatively low popularity of part-time employment in Poland. While in some Western European countries the share of female part-timers exceeds 35%, since the beginning of the 1990s it has been fluctuating in Poland around 12% - 14%, which is only slightly higher than in the case of men (Matysiak, 2005b). Moreover, those who work reduced working-hours are to a relatively high degree involuntary part-timers, who choose this employment form because they cannot find a full-time job. From this point of view the high preference for the modernised male breadwinner is quite surprising and difficult to explain.

On the other hand, high incidence of the male breadwinner model may to some degree be a consequence of high unemployment prevailing in Poland since the beginning of the 1990s (in 2001 the unemployment rate was 20.0% for women and 17.3% for men).

The relatively high percentage of involuntary part-timers and a very high unemployment rate are a consequence of a very difficult situation in the labour market, that has been observed in Poland since the beginning of the 1990s and got even more serious after 1998. Therefore removing the employment difficulties effect may significantly change the decisions of the Poles regarding the share of professional and household duties. It was done by excluding the unemployed and involuntary part-timers from the population under research. As a result, the percentage of those who practise the modernised male breadwinner model declined nearly twice and those who choose the male breadwinner model by about 8 percentage points (Table 4). The latter is, however, still much higher than the share of those who would like to practise the male breadwinner.

Table 4 Achieved family models after removing the employment difficulties effect

Achieved family models	N	% out of the married or cohabiting	% out of those whose practices were classified into one of the distinguished models	% out of those whose preferences were classified into one of the distinguished family models (N=2068)	% out of those whose preferences and practices were classified into one of the distinguished family models (N=1011)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
male breadwinner	468	17.9	33.0	15.6	32.0
modernised male breadwinner	62	2.4	4.4	1.8	3.7
dual earner-female double burden	682	26.0	48.1	23.9	50.0
dual earner-dual carer	205	7.8	14.5	7.5	15.3
model with at least one unemployed partner	480	18.3	-	17.3	-
other	723	27.6	-	33.9	-
Total	2620	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: author's calculations

In the further analyses, for investigating the determinants of respondents' life choices with respect to the family models and presenting the discrepancies between the preferences and practices of the Poles on the micro level, the variable 'Achieved family model' after removal of the employment difficulties effect will be used.

For the above purposes a logit model with a dependant variable male breadwinner vs. dual earner model was estimated. Any other construction of the dependant variable was not possible due to a low number of cells. As the predictors of the dependant variable following characteristics were used: preferences toward a given family model, education level, age of the youngest child, age of the respondent and place of residence. For the estimation purposes two categories of the variable 'Preferred family model', dual earner-female double burden and dual earner-dual carer, were combined into one – dual earner. The reason for it was a low number of persons preferring the dual earner-female double burden model. Although it was also the case with the male breadwinner category it was recognized to be completely different from the modernised or sequential male breadwinner and treated as a separate one.

In this section only the results concerning the influence of the respondents' socio-economic characteristics on the choice of a family model will be discussed. The next section covers more deeply the relations between preferences and practices.

First of all, what plays a role in the process of family model selection is the respondent's education level (see Table A2 in the appendix). The higher the education level the lower the odds of choosing male breadwinner vs. dual earner. They are particularly low in the case of persons with tertiary education i.e. nearly twice if compared to the situation there were no association between achieved family models and education level. This observation may result not only from different ways of gender roles perception among the higher and lower educated, but also from different labour market opportunities.

Secondly, those who are more likely to practise the male breadwinner vs. dual earner are the persons in pre-retirement age if compared to the younger cohorts. It is not only a result of a legal lower retirement age for women (which is 60 while for men 65), but also of some early retirement privileges that women inhere, i.e. the right to retire after reaching the age of 55 conditioned that the work record exceeds 30 years. As a result each year about 60% of women out of those who are granted an old age pension in a given year retire at the age of 55, while men, who do not inhere such privileges, do it less often before the legal retirement age.

The necessity to take care of small children influences also the choices of parents with respect to the share of professional and household duties. Those who have a child aged 0-4 are nearly three times more likely to choose the male breadwinner vs. dual earner than they would

be were there no association between their choice and the age of the youngest child. On the other hand, those who have older children or no children at all choose definitely more often the dual earner than the male breadwinner. It means that the choice of a family model is strongly dependant on the point in the family life cycle the respondent is at.

Finally, those who live in rural areas are nearly two times more likely to choose the dual earner vs. male breadwinner than those who live in urban areas. The reason is probably that urban areas are much more seriously hit by employment difficulties, while the rural residents very often have a status of helping family members³.

Summing up, the respondents' practices differ strongly from their preferences. Although the dual earner – dual carer model is most often preferred, it is at the same time least often achieved. Instead, the Poles practise mainly the dual earner – female double burden and in the second place the male breadwinner. High selection of the dual earner – female double burden model instead of the dual carer means that the share of household duties is still very traditional in Poland. What is, however, very interesting is that it prevails although both, women and men, prefer mostly a relationship with an equal share of professional and household duties. The high incidence of the male breadwinner may be to some extent explained by a lack of employment opportunities. Nevertheless, although the employment difficulties effect could not be fully removed, it is clear that having a small child significantly increases the odds of practising the male breadwinner vs. dual earner. It means that in reality the sequential male breadwinner is practised on a large scale.

2.4. Discrepancies between preferences and life choices

In the previous two sections the preferences and the life choices of the Poles with respect to the family models were examined. In section 2.3. some general discrepancies between the preferences and practices were shown. Nevertheless, in order to get more precise picture on this topic, some more detailed analysis is needed. It was done basing on a cross tabulation between the variables 'Preferred family model' and 'Achieved family model' (Table 5) and the estimation results of the logit model presented in section 2.3.

³ Although the unemployed were excluded from the analyses it was not possible to remove completely the employment difficulties effect on the choice of family model. The reason is that some job seekers flowed either into employment in agriculture or out of the labour market (discouraged job seekers, early pensioners, etc.).

Table 5 Preferred and achieved family models

	ACHIEVED FAMILY MODEL				
	male breadwinner	modernised male breadwinner	dual earner-female double burden	dual earner-dual carer	Total
PREFERRED FAMILY MODEL					
male breadwinner	31		14	1	46
sequential male breadwinner	89	9	74	21	193
modernised male breadwinner	71	14	121	30	236
dual earner-female double burden	28	3	28	8	67
dual earner-dual carer	105	12	257	95	469
Total	324	38	494	155	1011
male breadwinner	67.4		30.4	2.2	100.0
sequential male breadwinner	46.1	4.7	38.3	10.9	100.0
modernised male breadwinner	30.1	5.9	51.3	12.7	100.0
dual earner-female double burden	41.8	4.5	41.8	11.9	100.0
dual earner-dual carer	22.4	2.6	54.8	20.3	100.0
Total	32,0	3.8	48.9	15.3	100.0
male breadwinner	9.6		2.8	0.6	4.5
sequential male breadwinner	27.5	23.7	15,0	13.5	19.1
modernised male breadwinner	21.9	36.8	24.5	19.4	23.3
dual earner-female double burden	8.6	7.9	5.7	5.2	6.6
dual earner-dual carer	32.4	31.6	52,0	61.3	46.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: author's calculations

Due to the relatively low number of observations and high number of categories of the analysed variables one should be very cautious while interpreting the results contained in Table 5. For this reason the conclusions were drawn only there where it was possible and are treated as auxiliary to those drawn basing on the model estimation.

The estimation results clearly indicate that the preferences for a given family model play a significant role for its choice. Nevertheless, although some compatibility between these two variables may be observed, there are also some serious discrepancies.

First of all, it should be noticed that the dual earner-dual carer model is most preferred by all groups of respondents, choosing in practice various family models. Although those who prefer it, practise mostly the dual earner, it is over two times more often the female double burden than the dual carer. This observation is an obvious evidence of an unequal share of household duties between partners.

Secondly, the estimation results point out that the dual earner model, and particularly dual earner-female double burden, is also much more often chosen than the male breadwinner by those who would like to practise the modernised male breadwinner. It may mean that there is a serious lack of part-time jobs. As there are neither incentives nor disincentives to part-

time employment built into the tax or social benefit system, one needs to look for other explanations. One may be that some people would like to work part-time but in reality they choose full-time employment due to the possibility of earning higher wage.

Preferring the sequential male breadwinner model does not influence the odds of choosing the male breadwinner vs. dual – earner. The data in Table 5 confirms that this group of people chooses either the male breadwinner or the dual earner. It may result to some degree from the fact that it was not possible to distinguish the sequential male breadwinner on the side of practices. It is very likely then that some of these persons in a given moment of time practise the male breadwinner, but in the future they will switch into dual earner and vice versa. If it is the case, these respondents live in accordance with their preferences.

Respondents who prefer the male breadwinner are most likely to achieve this model in reality. Nevertheless, there is also a group who practise the dual earner. The reason for entering employment by a second earner may be the need to maintain the family or achieve higher living standards. This group is, however, relatively small if compared to the others practising a family model against their preferences.

The inability to observe the respondents' choices over their whole family life cycle entails that we are not really sure if those who were practising the dual earner or the male breadwinner at the time of the survey are not in fact practising the sequential male breadwinner. This observation seems to be quite reasonable if we take into account that not only the practices but also the preferences for the family model change if a young child is present. This may imply that parents of small children are eager to accept the situation in which they switch temporarily into the male breadwinner. The question is only if they would change their preferences after the childbirth if they had any other childcare alternatives than the maternal care.

3. Cultural and structural determinants of model selection

In the previous section the preferences and life choices of the Poles with respect to the family models were presented. The analyses revealed that the share of professional and household duties is far from the preferred one. It occurred as well that the care duties measured by the age of the youngest child affect not only the practices but also the preferences of the Poles, increasing respectively the incidence of and support for the sequential male breadwinner model. In this section two factors that may influence the selection of the family model, particularly if a young child is present in a family, are

described. These are cultural factors, defined as values and norm prevailing in the society, and institutional factors which are the family policy regulations.

3.1.Cultural factors

The preferences and life choices of the Poles with respect to the family models may, apart from the socio-economic characteristics of respondents, also be determined by the values and norms that preserve in the society. The traditional perception of the gender roles that define women as the only carers and men as the only economic providers may contribute to the adoption of the male breadwinner or eventually the modernised male breadwinner model on a larger scale. On the other hand, the so called modern perception of the gender roles giving both partners the right to and responsibility of earning the income, taking care of family members and fulfilling the household duties may result in a more equal share of time between women and men (dual earner – dual carer model). The dual earner – female double burden model seems to be a stage in the transition process from the male breadwinner to the dual earner – dual carer model, when the female labour force participation is already fully accepted but there is still no agreement on the role of men.

According to Muszyńska (2004) the Central and Eastern European countries (CEE)⁴, including Poland, indicate the highest conflict between paid employment and family roles. Following Liefbroer and Corijn (1999) she calls it cultural conflict and measures it on a scale of attitudes toward female employment in comparison to the household duties and female employment when having children at a given age. Her analyses revealed that the CEE countries are much more family-oriented than the other European countries and their citizens are to a higher degree convinced that women should work for economic rather than non-economic reasons. Marriage is more often perceived to be a barrier to female full-time employment in this part of Europe. The vast majority of the CEE citizens is against the involvement of mothers of small children in the labour market. The other European countries under research have more modern attitudes toward the gender roles, with Sweden taking the first place in this respect and the Southern European countries the one before the CEE countries.

⁴ She performed the analyses for 5 groups of countries basing on the typology of European families proposed by Roussel (1992):

1 – Sweden

2 – Norway, Netherlands, UK

3 – Austria and former West Germany

4 – Spain and Italy

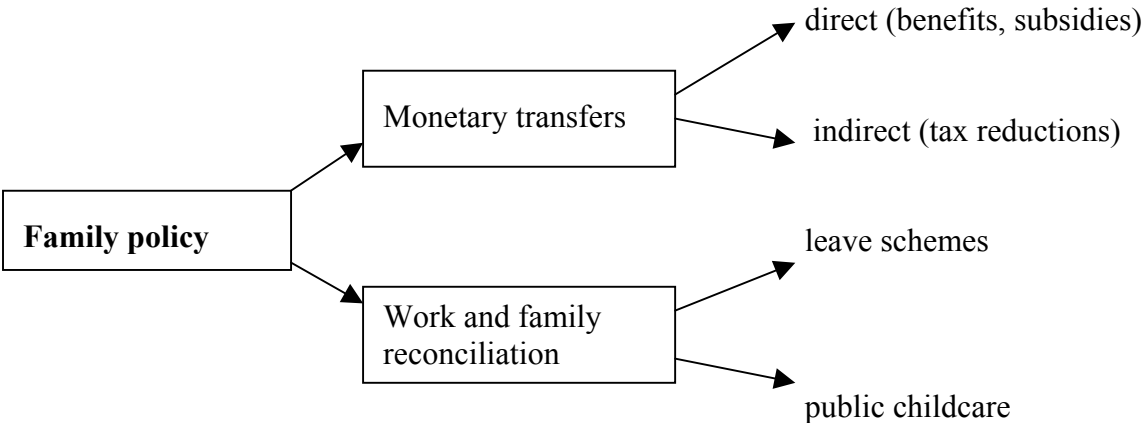
5 – Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland

The results presented above are fully coherent with the already mentioned Siemieńska’s theory saying that the high female labour force participation during the communist regime was a result of an outward pressure but not an inward change (Siemieńska, 1997). This may explain the high incidence of the dual earner – female double burden model and partly the male breadwinner model in spite of a low support for them. The traditional opinions on female role in the society, particularly with respect to female employment if children are young may also determine the shift in preferences from the dual earner to the sequential male breadwinner after childbirth.

3.2. Institutional factors

There is a wide agreement among the researchers that the institutional factors, defined as family policy regulations, to a high degree determine the female employment patterns (i.e. Palomba, 2003; Hofaecker, 2003; Leira, 2002; OECD, 2001; Eichhorst, Thode, 2002; Meulders, Gustaffson, 2003; Jaumotte, 2003; Stier, Lewin-Epstein, 2001). Therefore in this section the Polish family policy regulations are described from the point of view of their influence on the family model selection. For this purpose a family policy model proposed by Hofaecker (2003) was used. Hofaecker distinguishes two modes of family policy: monetary transfers that make it easier for the families to cover higher expenditures that arise with children and measures directed at work and family reconciliation that enable families to make a sustainable living by employment of both spouses.

Diagram 1 Dimensional Scheme of Family Policy



Source: Hofaecker, 2003

Both family policy modes can be further divided into two groups. Concerning the first mode, one distinguishes between direct (family and childcare benefits) and indirect monetary transfers (tax reductions). The work and family reconciliation measures can be divided into leaves schemes and public childcare. Depending on the eligibility criteria, coverage rates and timing of these measures they may support either dual earner or the male breadwinner, eventually modernised male breadwinner model. Below the possible effects of family policy measures on the family model selection are discussed. It is followed by a short description of the family policy regulations in Poland and their evaluation from the point of view of the supported family model.

3.3.1. Family benefits and childcare subsidies

Among the direct monetary transfers one can distinguish between family benefits and childcare subsidies. Family benefits are generally granted to parents to compensate for their lost earnings in the situation if one withdraws from employment or reduces the working hours to take care. On the other hand, childcare subsidies are intended for financing childcare costs if a person enters employment. While there is a strong evidence in the literature that childcare subsidies exert a positive influence on female employment through lowering the childcare costs that constitute a tax levied on women's wages (Anderson, Levine, 1999; Conelly, 1992; Powell, 1998; Kimmel, 1995; Hofferth, Wissoker, 1992), family benefits are rather considered to have an opposite effect. Nevertheless, the latter depends strongly on the benefit system construction and benefit level. While there is a strong agreement that too high benefits lower the work incentives, the influence of the benefit scheme construction on the motivation to work seems to be often neglected. Therefore, a short description of the benefit schemes and their effects on work incentives is presented below.

Generally, one can distinguish between insurance and non-insurance based social benefits. Insurance benefits are granted only to the persons insured against a social risk after they face this risk. They are paid from the insurance fund that is supplied from the insurance contributions. Among the family benefits the insurance benefits are often the maternity benefits that are paid to the employed mothers for the time of a maternity leave. The non-insurance benefits are paid to those who fulfil certain eligibility criteria and are financed mainly from the taxes. These are often various social assistance benefits and some family benefits, like family allowances, parental benefits, maternity grants, etc.

The non-insurance benefits can be further divided into universal vs. selective benefits. While universal benefits are granted to the whole population or the large majority of it, i.e. all

families with children, selective benefits are targeted only to its specific sub-groups that are particularly in need (i.e. families with children living under the poverty threshold). The sub-groups may be appointed basing on the income criteria (income-tested benefits) or some other characteristics that make people be at a disadvantage in comparison to the rest of the society i.e. disability, long-term unemployment, living in a multi-children family (benefits targeted at disadvantaged groups).

Since the end of the twentieth century there has been a clear tendency in moving from universal to selective family benefits in the whole Europe. Rising unemployment, population ageing and difficulties with financing social security systems have forced the policy makers to cut social expenditures and target the family benefits to the most vulnerable groups. Nevertheless, although the selective family benefit system means lower public expenditures and supports those who are particularly in need, it is much more likely to create work disincentives (Golinowska, 2002; OECD, 1996, 2002, 2003, 2004). It is particularly the case for the income-tested benefits that are phased out after reaching the certain income threshold. It concerns mainly persons with low earnings opportunities. Moreover, work disincentives caused by the income-tested benefit system are higher among those who have to pay childcare costs when entering employment. They are also higher for the second earner in the family-based benefit systems in comparison to the individual-based ones. The reason is that in the family-based benefit systems the income threshold is calculated basing on the family income. In such a situation taking up a low paid job by the second earner makes the family income per capita exceed the income threshold much earlier than in the case of the individual-based schemes. For the reasons described above it is clear that the income-tested family-based benefits have a particularly strong negative influence on the selection of the dual earner model. This negative influence can be moderated through employment-conditional benefits. These are also income-tested benefits but they are granted only to those at work and are phased out as their earnings rise. Implementing employment-conditional benefits raises simply the income gained after taking up a job or lengthening the working hours more strongly than in the case of no employment-conditional benefits. Another solution to moderate the negative influence of the selective benefits on the labour force participation of the secondary earner is to replace the income-tested benefits with the benefits targeted at some disadvantaged groups without setting income thresholds.

Summing up, while childcare subsidies should exert a positive effect on the dual earner model selection, the influence of family benefits is rather negative. The latter can be, however, moderated or even reversed dependant on the benefit level and eligibility criteria. It

is strongest in the case of the income-tested benefits than in the case of the universal benefit schemes or benefit schemes that are targeted to some disadvantaged groups without defining income thresholds. The negative influence of the income-tested benefits on labour force participation of the secondary earner may also be moderated by individualizing the right to social benefits and supplementing them with the employment conditional benefits.

3.3.2. Tax system

The decision on the family model selection may also be dependant on the way the wages of spouses are taxed. The mechanism is very similar to that of social benefits. Granting tax reductions for the dependant spouse in to the one-earner couples increases work disincentives for the secondary earner. Work disincentives are also stronger in the joint taxation systems, where the effective tax rate on the earnings of the secondary earner is higher than in the separate taxation systems (OECD, 2001; Dingeldey, 2002; Eichhorst, Thode, 2002; Althammer, 2002). On the other hand, work disincentives can be moderated or even work incentives can be created if the so called in-work tax credits are granted. Similarly to the employment conditional benefits in-work tax credits are granted to those who move into employment or increase their working hours and face high marginal effective tax rates as a result of a rise in earnings and consequently loss of rights to social benefits and increase in social security contributions and income tax rates (OECD, 1996; Brewer, 2003).

Summing up, the tax system can either encourage or discourage the selection of the dual earner model. While the joint taxation systems and tax reductions for the dependant spouse create incentives for the male breadwinner or eventually modernised male breadwinner, the system of in-work tax credits and separate taxation enhance the secondary earner to enter the labour market or increase the working hours.

3.3.3. Leaves schemes

In the most European countries regulations on maternity, parental and childcare leaves have a long standing tradition. Their influence on female labour force participation is strongly dependant on their duration and financial compensation.

Generally leave schemes are considered to support female labour force participation by helping women to reconcile work and family duties. Job guarantee built into the most of leave schemes, although it may have negative effects on hiring, strengthens generally the female labour market attachment and facilitates their return into the labour market (Hofferth and Curtin, 2003; Ruhm, 1998; Joesch, 1995). Nevertheless, the return probability depends on

the leave duration. There is a strong evidence in the literature that taking a leave for an extended period may deteriorate labour market skills and has a negative effect on female earnings and labour supply (Beblo and Wolf, 2002; Jaumotte, 2003; Pylkkaenen and Smith, 2003; Ruhm, 1998).

There is relatively little evidence on the impact of the financial compensation during the leaves on the maternal return to the labour market. While a study by Pylkkaenen and Smith (2003) shows that lower compensation boosts the return, some researchers claim that higher compensation may enhance fathers to take up parental leaves, which consequently contributes to shortens the female career breaks (Wóycicka, 2003; Leira, 2002; OECD, 1995). This is due to the on average higher male earnings and consequently higher income losses while on leave.

Finally, what matters apart from the duration and financial coverage is also the flexibility of the leave schemes and transferability of the leave rights for the partner. Generally more flexible schemes, that allow for taking leaves in parts or combine them with part-time work, have stronger positive influence on female labour market attachment (OECD, 1995; Eichhorst, Thode, 2002). Similar advantages have the individualized rights to parental leaves that shorten the female career breaks (Leira, 2002; Pylkkaenen and Smith, 2003; OECD, 1995).

3.3.4. Public childcare

There is a strong evidence in the literature that public unpaid childcare services positively affect women's labour market attachment in terms of employment and number of working hours (Powell, 1998; Ribar, 1992; Jaumotte, 2003; Cleveland *et. al.*, 1996). The reason is that access to childcare reduces the value of mother's time spent at home in comparison to the value of her market time. Nevertheless, as it was already mentioned above, high childcare costs that may result from the lack of public childcare provision, increase mother's reservation wage and lower female labour supply (Powell, 1998; Kimmel, 1995; OECD, 2003; Anderson, Levine, 1999; Conelly, 1992; Hofferth, Wissoker, 1992).

3.3.5. Family-friendly work arrangements

The family-friendly work arrangements include part-time employment opportunities as well as all family-friendly arrangements offered at the work place: work place childcare facilities, flexible working hours, tele-work, extra-statutory arrangements for maternity, parental and childcare leaves. The development of family-friendly work arrangements can be

enhanced by the state through special policy regulations and financial incentives for enterprises.

The most popular work arrangement in Europe is nowadays part-time employment. Various regulations that exist in European countries facilitating part-time development vary from the right for parents to reduce their working hours through financial incentives for the enterprises to employ part-timers (tax or social contributions reductions) to the introduction of special benefit rules for part-timers. Although part-time work is considered to give women an opportunity to stay active in the labour market, it entails also many negative consequences for the career developments of those who would normally work full-time. Various studies have shown that part-timers tend to receive lower hourly wages, have less access to vocational training and are more likely to be in unstable jobs than their full-time counterparts (OECD, 1999; Gregory, Conolly, 2001; Ermisch/Wright, 1992). In addition, there seems to be no evidence for the stepping stone function of part-time employment - if those who worked full-time in the past before having a short part-time episode revert to full-time employment, those with a history of non-employment are much less likely to take up full-time work after working part-time (Connolly, Gregory, 2004; O'Reilly, Bothfeld, 2002).

Summing up, as the majority of the family-friendly work arrangements offered by enterprises should rather exert positive impact on the dual earner model selection, as they increase female labour market attachment, part-time employment opportunities facilitate rather the adoption of the modernised male breadwinner model. The question is however, if the modernised male breadwinner model is chosen by those preferring reduced working hours or even labour market withdrawal for the care period or by those who would like to work full-time. While in the first case, the part-time employment opportunities play a positive role, helping mothers to combine work and family duties, in the latter they are used involuntarily due to the lack of other reconciliation options.

3.3.6. Institutional factors and the choice of the family model in Poland

In this section the family policy regulations being in force in Poland will be described from the point of view of their influence on the family model selection. The effect of the policies will be assessed given the criteria presented above. The assessment will be performed in the wider context of European family policies.

The family policy in Poland was subjected to many changes in the 1990s. The overall changes that took place during the economic transition resulted in reducing the role of state and increasing the individual responsibility of the individuals. The necessity to cut public

expenditures contributed to the decrease in the expenditures on family. On the other hand, rising unemployment and number of people living under poverty thresholds increased the demand for social benefits. For these reasons the reforms of the family benefit scheme were conducted under the compulsion of current problems without taking into account the long-term perspective or the development of demographic trends. Generally, the changes in the family benefit scheme can be described as follows (Balcerzak-Paradowska *et.al.*, 2003):

- the right to the family benefits and leave schemes was extended on fathers, however, it have not been individualised,
- some of the insurance based benefits that were tied to employment were transformed into the non-insurance based,
- the majority of the family benefits (apart from the maternity and childcare benefits) were transformed from universal to the income-tested targeted only to those who are particularly in need, the income threshold has been gradually decreased and finally equalised with the social minimum threshold,
- the level of the majority of benefits has decreased in real terms,
- in 2003 the payment of family benefits was moved to the social assistance institutions.

In overall, the above mentioned changes in the family benefit scheme, apart from the first one that equalises the opportunities of women and men, transformed it into the system supporting the low income families with children. All the benefits, apart from the insurance based ones (maternity and childcare benefit), are phased out after reaching the set income thresholds, the right to family benefits is family-based and no employment conditional or tax credits are granted. Given additionally the fact that the taxation system is optional (joint or separate), one can suspect that the system produces some inactivity traps. It is the case despite the fact that the level of family benefits is assessed to be relatively low in comparison to the average wage.

The tables below present the influence of the tax, employee's social security contribution and benefit system on work incentives of the secondary earner. As it can be seen in Table 6 the tax and employee's social contributions systems do not create particularly severe work disincentives for the secondary earner. While in the case of a single person earning the wage of an average production worker (APW) 31.5% of the gross earnings is taxed away, this percentage lowers by only 2 percentage points if this person has a dependant spouse. It is an effect of a joint taxation system. The negative influence of the tax and employee's social security contribution system is much stronger in the majority of the European countries, particularly in Germany.

Table 6 Income taxes and employee social security contributions as a % of the total gross earnings of an APW, 2004

	single household, no children	family household (2 children, single earner)	difference (single - family)
Germany	40,5%	18,1%	22,4%
Belgium	40,5%	25,7%	14,9%
Slovak Republic	21,3%	8,1%	13,3%
Luxembourg	22,7%	13,8%	8,9%
Spain	19,0%	10,6%	8,4%
Ireland	15,7%	7,3%	8,4%
United Kingdom	24,4%	16,6%	7,8%
Hungary	25,9%	18,2%	7,6%
Italy	27,8%	21,1%	6,7%
Czech Republic	23,9%	17,8%	6,0%
France	26,7%	20,7%	6,0%
Netherlands	34,4%	28,9%	5,5%
Portugal	16,6%	11,4%	5,3%
Denmark	41,2%	36,0%	5,2%
Switzerland	20,9%	16,2%	4,7%
Norway	28,7%	25,8%	2,9%
Austria	28,8%	26,1%	2,7%
Poland	31,5%	29,5%	2,0%
Finland	30,3%	30,3%	0,0%
Greece	16,6%	16,6%	0,0%
Sweden	31,0%	31,0%	0,0%

Source: OECD Tax Database

Nevertheless, the things go worse, if we introduce the social benefit scheme. The Table below includes the marginal effective tax rates for an inactive person whose spouse is earning 67% of the wage of an APW. The marginal effective tax rate (METR) is defined as a rate at which benefits are withdrawn and taxes and social security contributions increase as a person takes up a job. For calculating the METRs housing benefits, social assistance benefits and, in the case of families with children, family benefits were taken into account. The results reveal that the second earner in Poland faces medium to low marginal effective tax rates if there are no children at home. They increase however for the families with children, i.e. after introduction of family benefits. In the latter case nearly one half of the earnings of the second earner is taxed away if he/she takes up a job at 50% APW, which corresponds to a wage slightly higher than the statutory minimum wage. The METRs are somewhat lower for the higher earnings, but nevertheless they remain at the level above 40%. Higher METRs are faced by workers in Portugal, Denmark, Slovak Republic and United Kingdom, similar in France, Germany and Belgium. The lowest METRs for the second earner with 2 children

moving from inactivity into employment are reported in Spain, Greece and Luxembourg (below 20%).

Table 7 Marginal Effective Tax Rates for an inactive spouse, 2001

% of APW	2 earners couple*					2 earners couple with 2 children*				
	33%	50%	67%	100%	150%	33%	50%	67%	100%	150%
Portugal	42	33	30	28	27	87	73	57	46	39
Denmark	56	52	50	50	55	83	70	64	59	61
Slovak Republic	32	28	27	26	27	81	61	51	46	40
UK	7	15	19	24	26	63	49	44	40	38
France	21	23	27	30	31	56	43	41	37	34
Poland	31	32	33	33	33	54	47	44	41	41
Germany	42	45	47	48	49	52	51	51	51	51
Belgium	46	45	49	51	52	46	45	48	51	52
Finland	25	27	30	35	40	42	38	38	40	43
Netherlands	35	33	36	39	38	38	35	38	40	39
Italy	28	33	32	35	37	37	44	43	44	43
Sweden	27	27	29	32	36	37	37	37	36	40
Ireland	12	15	18	22	24	34	29	29	29	29
Czech Republic	31	29	28	28	29	31	30	30	31	31
Norway	26	29	30	32	37	26	29	30	32	37
Austria	21	20	24	30	34	21	20	24	30	34
Hungary	21	23	27	32	40	21	23	27	32	40
Greece	16	16	16	18	22	16	16	16	16	20
Spain	18	16	19	23	25	15	12	15	20	23
Luxembourg	14	17	20	24	28	14	14	14	18	24

Notes: It was assumed that the wage of the first earner is 67% APW. The calculations were performed for 2001, hence they do not take into consideration the reform of the family benefit system that was conducted in Poland in 2003.

Source: Carone et.al., 2004

Hence, the data presented above suggests that the Polish family benefit system creates moderate inactivity traps if compared to other European countries. In this respect it supports the male breadwinner model in a moderate way. In the meantime it can be noticed that the disincentives for the modernised male breadwinner model are particularly high – the METR faced by the second earner taking a low-paid part-time job (33% APW) is the highest. The negative influence of the family benefit system on the choice of a dual earner is further strengthened by the fact that no childcare subsidies are offered to the families⁵. They could be of a particular importance taking into account rather poor public childcare provision that Poland indicates in comparison to other European countries. The percentage of children aged

⁵ Childcare subsidies were not taken into consideration in the calculations presented in Table 7.

0-2 attending crèches (2%) and children aged 3 up to the compulsory school age attending nursery schools (39%) in Poland is one of the lowest if compared to other EU countries. Such a poor childcare coverage is a consequence of cuts in public expenditures on childcare. As a result in the years 1989-2003 the number of places in crèches declined by 76% and in the nursery schools by 25%. Moreover, as a consequence of the cuts in expenditures, part of the costs of childcare institutions (about 20-40%) has been shifted on parents (Balcerzak-Paradowska *et.al.*, 2003). In 2000 this increase in childcare costs decreased the in-work income of a woman in low paid employment by over one third if she sent one child to a kindergarten and well over one half in the case of two children (Table 9). The loss in income is lower for children aged 0-2

Table 8 Child care coverage rates

country	year	Children aged 0-2	Children aged 3 up to the compulsory school age
Sweden	2002	73	77
Denmark	2002	68	94
Finland	2001	48	73
Slovakia	1999	46	90
Norway	1997	40	80
Ireland	1998	38	56
France	2002	30	99
Belgium	2002	28	100
Netherlands	2002	22	83
Portugal	2001	12	65
United Kingdom	2002	11	29
Germany	2000	10	78
Hungary	2000	10	87
Austria	2002	9	82
Italy	2002	7	98
Spain	2001	5	84
Greece	2000	3	46
Poland	2001	2	39
Czech Republic	2000	1	85

Source: European Commission, 2004; Hofaecker, 2003; OECD, 2001

Table 9 Average childcare costs as a percentage of the net in-work income, Poland 2000

	Kindergarten		Nursery school	
	One child	Two children*	One child	Two children*
Average childcare costs as a percent of a:				
minimum net wage	38%	76%	13%	25%
average female net wage	19%	37%	6%	12%

* - The calculations do not include the discounts on the second child that are offered by some childcare institutions.

Source: Balcerzak-Paradowska *et.al.*, 2003, p. 77

The negative effects of poor childcare provision on female labour force participation and moderate work disincentives created by the family benefit system are not recompensed by the leave scheme. Although the arrangements on maternity leave can be quite highly assessed from the point of view of their influence on the selection of the dual earner model (its duration is similar to the European average and the leave is fully compensated), it does not concern the parental leave. The latter is in Poland extremely long (similarly long parental leaves are entitled only in Slovakia, Hungary, France and Spain) and very low paid. The child raising allowance is paid only to the families living under the social minimum threshold and it is a flat rate payment amounting to about 20% of an average wage in the national economy. Such a long parental leave has a negative influence on the probability of returning to work. Although, the low and flat coverage rate, discouraging men from taking the leave, might also have a similar influence on women, it is very likely that the leave is taken due to no other childcare opportunities.

Table 10 Maternity and parental leave arrangements

country	year	Maternity leave		Parental leave	
		number of weeks	coverage rate	number of weeks	coverage rate
Austria	2001	16	100	104	FR
Belgium	2004	15	77	12	FR
Czech Republic	2004	28	69	126	0
Denmark	2004	18	90	10	60
Finland	2004	18	70	26	FR
France	2001	16	80	156	FR
Germany	2004	14	100	104	FR
Greece	2004	17	50	14	0
Hungary	2004	24	70	156	FR
Ireland	2004	18	70	14	0
Italy	2004	20	80	42	30
Netherlands	2001	16	100	24	0
Norway	2001	9	100	42	100
Poland	2004	16	100	156	FR*
Portugal	2002	16	100	24	0
Slovakia	2004	28	90	156	FR
Spain	2004	16	100	156	0
Sweden	2004	14	100	52	80
United Kingdom	2004	18	44	13	0

Notes: FR – flat rate

* Child raising allowance is paid for only 2 years.

Source: OECD, 2001; Hofaecker, 2003; www.childpolicyintl.org/

Moreover, parental leave scheme in Poland was also for a long time criticised for its inflexibility. The leave can be taken only until the child is 4 (while in Sweden up to 8), only in

4 parts and cannot be combined with work. In the last years the situation has slightly improved as a new law on parental leave was passed. It gives parents an opportunity to change the right to parental leave for the right for part-time work. Unfortunately, due to the short period after introduction of the new law for which data is available it is difficult to say if it contributed to a drop in parental leave take-ups in favour of a greater involvement in part-time labour force participation.

Apart from this only one regulation on part-time employment there have been no other that would facilitate its development or create any barriers to it. Nevertheless the analyses conducted by Matysiak (2005b) for the years 1993, 1997 and 2002 show very low interest in this form of employment. Nearly one third of part-timers is involuntarily part-time employed and less than 10% choose part-time work for family reasons. On the other hand, those who do it voluntarily (about 30%), are mainly the persons in pre-retirement age who use part-time employment for a smooth withdrawal from the labour market.

Summing up the information on the family policy in Poland it can be stated that it is strongly in favour of the male breadwinner or the sequential male breadwinner model. The poor childcare provision and lack of childcare subsidies make mothers withdraw from employment for the care period, while long and inflexible parental leaves and family benefit system creating work disincentives make the maternal return to the labour market more difficult. The latter concerns mainly women with low labour market opportunities who are most in danger of falling into inactivity traps and in this way stay in the male breadwinner model. It should be also mentioned that apart from the family policy the support for the sequential male breadwinner is also reflected in the retirement policy. It offers women special retirement privileges - lower retirement age (60) and possibility of early retirement after the age of 55 if the work record exceeds 30. Such generous retirement privileges are not available for men, whose retirement age is 65 and whose right to early retirement is tied to the performed occupation. The reason for such a policy, often expressed in the political debates, is the necessity for women to withdraw from employment to take care of grandchildren.

4. Conclusions

The objective of the paper was to answer the question what family model Poland is heading for. This issue is of crucial importance for two reasons. Firstly, serious changes that have occurred in the Polish labour market due to economic transition and further globalisation resulted in a severe rise in difficulties in work and family reconciliation and consequently a severe drop in employment. As a consequence, the dominance of the dual earner, that was

widely practised during the communist regime, was seriously undermined. Secondly, a severe conflict between family and work may result not only in an employment fall but also in postponement of fertility decisions and a drop in the number of births. It is particularly the case if a double burden of responsibilities is placed on one spouse or if having a child requires from one partner to withdraw from the labour market against his/her will. Hence, according to some researchers, the transition from the male breadwinner to the dual earner-dual carer family model and on the side of the welfare regimes from the domestic to public care is inevitable.

In order to answer the research question preferences and practices of the Poles with respect to the family models were analysed. In the second step these results were discussed in the cultural and institutional context.

The analyses revealed high discrepancies between the preferred and achieved family models.

First of all, although the most preferred family model is the dual earner-dual carer, the majority of the Poles practise dual earner – female double burden. This discrepancy proves that the share of household duties is still very traditional in Poland. This conclusion is fully coherent with that of Muszyńska (2004), who shows that women in Poland are still relatively often perceived as the main carers if compared to the Western European countries.

Secondly, although the modernised male breadwinner is after the dual earner-dual carer most often preferred, it plays a marginal role in terms of practices. Instead dual earner – female double burden or eventually the male breadwinner is practised. The high preference for the modernised male breadwinner is quite surprising if we take into account the fact that the percentage of involuntary female part-timers is relatively high in Poland. The only explanation for this phenomena seems to be the financial motivation that makes women choose the dual earner instead of the modernised male breadwinner.

On the contrary, most often achieved family models are the already mentioned dual earner – female double burden and in the second place the male breadwinner. Simultaneously, both are the least preferred ones. While the high incidence of the dual earner – female double burden model can be explained by the relatively traditional share of household duties in the Polish families, the male breadwinner may be often a result of the poor employment opportunities. Nevertheless, it is also clear that the incidence of the male breadwinner is much higher for the families with young children. It means that in fact the sequential male breadwinner is practised on a large scale. This model, although only slightly less preferred than the modernised male breadwinner, has higher support among parents with young

children. The question that remains unanswered is then if this rise in preferences for the sequential male breadwinner around childbirth is exogenous or it results from a lack of other childcare opportunities than the only maternal care. It may be the case if we take into account traditional opinions on female roles that prevail in the society (Muszyńska, 2004) and the fact that it is rather the sequential male breadwinner model that is supported by the state policy than the dual earner. The last conclusion was drawn on the basis of the family policy regulations that are in force in Poland. The poor childcare provision and lack of childcare subsidies make mothers withdraw from employment for the care period, while long and inflexible parental leaves and family benefit system create disincentives for maternal return into the labour market. The latter concerns mainly women with low labour market opportunities who are most in danger of falling into inactivity traps.

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Table A1 Results of the logit models estimation, dependant variable: preferences toward the sequential / modernised male breadwinner vs. dual earner – dual carer models

	1-sequential male breadwinner 0-dual earner – dual carer			1-modernised male breadwinner 0-dual earner – dual carer		
	exp (B)	z	p	exp (B)	z	p
Intercept	0,431	-9,786	0,000	0,512	-8,341	0,000
Place of residence			0,096			0,308
urban	0,898	-1,664		0,940	-1,020	
rural	1,114			1,064		
Gender			0,516			0,304
males	1,042	0,65		1,062	1,028	
females	0,960			0,941		
Education			0,065			0,592
tertiary	0,675	-2,443		0,864	-1,081	
secondary	1,029	0,276		0,975	-0,275	
vocational	1,228	1,945		1,105	1,023	
primary	1,172			1,075		
Age of the youngest child			0,001			0,324
no children aged 0-14	0,744	-2,993		0,881	-1,355	
0-4	1,541	3,635		1,050	0,414	
5-14	0,873			1,082		
Age			0,227			0,002
< 35	0,978	-0,182		1,322	2,441	
35 - 54	0,861	-1,637		0,780	-2,887	
55 - 64	1,188			0,970		
Chi-squared	123.37 (0.734)			98.89 (0.990)		
L-squared	133.86 (0.487)			111.69 (0.920)		
df	134			134		

Source: author's calculations

Table A2 Results of the logit models estimation, dependant variable: achieved male breadwinner vs. dual earner model

	1-male breadwinner, 0-dual earner		
	exp (B)	z	p
Intercept	0,869	-0,990	0,322
Preferences			0,000
male breadwinner	2,783	3,893	
sequential male breadwinner	1,189	1,101	
modernised male breadwinner	0,637	-2,894	
dual earner	0,475		
Place of residence			0,000
Urban	1,3667	3,7130	
Rural	0,7317		
Education			0,000
tertiary	0,430	-4,610	
secondary	0,896	-0,859	
vocational	2,012	5,423	
primary	1,290		
Age of the youngest child			0,000
no children aged 0-14	0,746	-2,430	
0-4	2,921	7,983	
5-14	0,459		
Age			0,003
< 35	0,651	-2,616	
35 - 54	0,722	-2,456	
55 - 64	2,129		
Chi-squared	188.37 (1.000)		
L-squared	196.339 (0.999)		
df	276		

Source: author's calculations