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Eastern European Faces of
Familialism: Hungarian and Polish
family policies in a historical
perspective

Post-communist welfare?

- State socialist past: „post-communist welfare regimes”?
- Yes, to some extent:
 - Economic restructuring
 - High unemployment rates/ high inactivity rates
 - No settled welfare „regime”
 - „Emergency welfare states”? (T. Inglot 2008)

Table 1: Attitudes towards family and professional roles of women in Hungary and in Poland

% of agreeing Questions	Poland		Hungary	
	1994	2002	1994	2002
A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works	69.7	56.8	73.7	66.1
All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job	54.8	42.2	63.7	53.9
A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children	65.2	51	70.5	61.7
Most women have to work to support their families*	92.3	74.1	92.1	80.4
A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family	67	45.7	56.3	39.2

*in 2002 this question was reformulated as: 'Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income'
Source: ISSP 1994 and 2002

Post-communist welfare?

- NO because different patterns of welfare can be grasped

QUESTIONS:

1. What are the similarities and the differences?
2. Why do we have those similarities and differences?
3. What are the effects of differing patterns of family policies?

Frameworks

- Historical analysis of welfare state development
 - Classical: P. Flora – J. Alber; power resources analysts
 - Gendered: S. Michel, L. Haney et al.
 - Maternalism
 - Familialism

1. Different faces of familialism

- Poland: „Implicit familialism” + neo-conservative agenda
- Hungary: Limited „optional familialism” + changing agenda
 - Limitations:
 - Labour market position
 - Ethnicity (Roma)
 - Two tracks of welfare

2. Why such differences?

- Historical development
- Pre WWI
- Post WWI
- Building of nation states
- Building on mothers - but differently
- Post WWII: State-socialist development
- Transition to capitalist democracy

Categorization of Care Policies (Leitner 2003)

Familialisation of care (State pays for care provided by the family)	De-familialisation of care (State pays for care provided outside the home: Child care services)	
	Strong	Weak
Strong	<i>optional familialism (HUNGARY)</i>	<i>explicit familialism</i>
Weak	<i>de-familialisation</i>	<i>implicit familialism (POLAND)</i>

Before WWI

- HUNGARY
 - Austro-Hungarian Monarchy
 - Prussian and Austrian influence
 - Social insurance
 - 1891, 1884
 - Services
 - 1891 Public Kindergarten
- POLAND
 - Divided:
 - Austro-Hungarian Monarchy
 - Germany
 - Russia
- Periphery

Between the two WWs

- HUNGARY
- 1918/1919
Revolutions
- 1920 Trianon treaty
- Nation-state created with huge **losses** of territories
- Nationalist-conservative politics and discourse
- POLAND
- 1918: Created as a nation-state
- Socialist gnt
- Starts to build up **independent bureaucracy**

1930s/1940s

- HUNGARY
 - Fear from the „disappearance of the nation”
 - Maternatist family policy arrangements
 - 1938: Family allowance for factory workers
 - 1940: Program for agrarian poor families
 - Acts against the Jewish minority
 - „Education” of the poor to Christian values
- POLAND
 - Discourse on the „Matka Polka”
 - No substantial family policy arrangements
 - „Saviours of the nation” are left with their duties
 - Catholic church leading the discourse: „sacred” family life
 - State concentrates on social insurance for industrial workers

- K. Morgan: „Fight” over education and child care between the Church and the state
- Poland:
 - Catholic church is winner
 - No state intervention into family life
- Hungary:
 - „Activating state”; „social state”
 - Intervention into family life of workers
 - In alliance with the Catholic and Protestant church
 - Against the Izraelite church/ Jewish citizens + working class movements + feminist movements

State-socialism

- 1945 – 1948: Short democratic period
- I. 1950s: Forceful industrialization; Complete suppression of rights; Very small efforts in welfare!
 - Extension of family allowance in HU but not „universal”
 - Introduction of family allowance in PL
 - Kindergarten and crèches built: NOT by the central state but by factories and localities
 - Discrimination of agricultural workers in HU
- 1956 Revolution in HU and uprisings in PL
- „Hidden contract” HU ; „Emergency actions” PL

Maternalist policies 1960s – 1980s

- 1967: 2.5 year long PAID maternity leave, flat rate
- 1968: Long maternity leave introduced with NO payment
- 1981: Payment introduced but MEANS TESTED
- Solidarity movement
- Strikes by female workers
- 1985: 2 year long earnings-related maternity leave introduced
 - Pushing women back home?
 - Providing choice?
 - Demography!

- HUNGARY: Optional family policies crystallize
- Widespread access to:
 - crèches,
 - Kindergarten,
 - afternoon care at schools

- POLAND: Implicit family policies crystallize
- Limited access to all child-related services

BOTH countries:

- ❖ No feminism;
- ❖ Patriarchal relations within families
- ❖ Female employment

1990-2007

- POLAND:
 - Shock therapy
 - High unemployment
 - High female poverty
 - Effects of EU: gender has to be on the agenda
 - 2006 First agenda for family policies
 - New type of birth grant
 - No substantial changes in payments or services
 - State still refrains from intervention

1990-2007

- HUNGARY

- Slower transition
- No high unemployment after 1997
- Very high inactivity rate
- Family policies remain in place despite WB suggestions
- Complex system of payments and services
- Discrimination of the Roma and the poor

Family allowance in Poland and Hungary in 2007 (in % of average income)

HUNGARY					
Mother or father	0-18/25 years	6% / child Progressively increasing with number of children.	All families. For handicapped children and for lone parents slightly increased.		
POLAND					
Mother or father	0-18/24 years	1.9% per child, increasing with age and number of children	Income test: not exceeding 20.2 % of average gross wage		

Poland

Maternity leave	Mother and father. 14 weeks compulsory father can take the rest	18 – 28 weeks according to nr of children	100% of previous salary	180 days of previous employment	No.
Extended parental leave	Mother or father	2 years	16.15%	180 days of previous employment + means test	No.

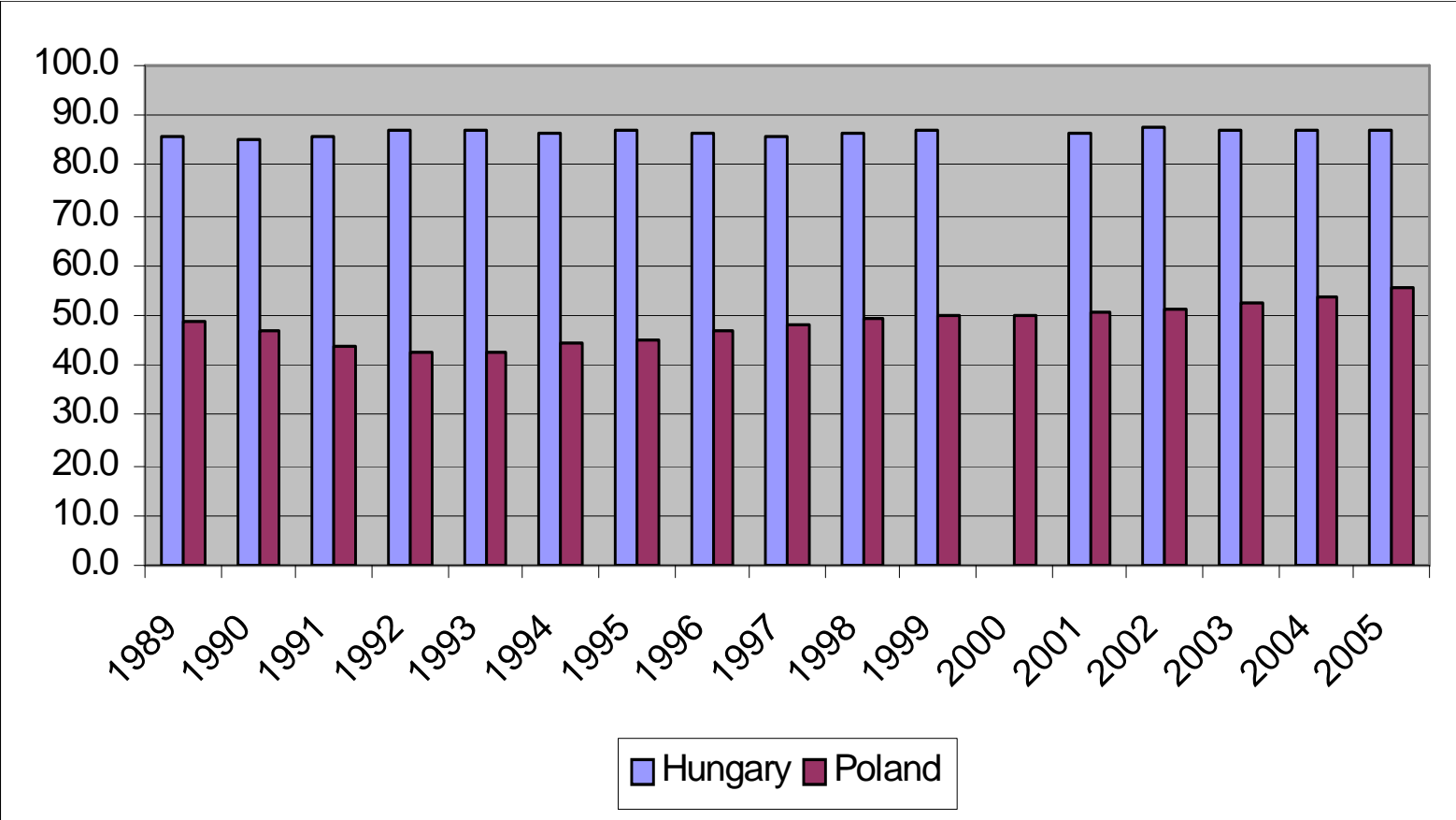
Hungary

Maternity leave	Mother	24 weeks	70% of previous income	180 days of employment	No
Extended employment based parental leave	Mother or father	2 years (after TGYÁS)	70% of previous income with ceiling of 50.85%	180 days of employment	No
Extended universal parental leave	Mother or father or grandparent	3 years	Minimum pension = 15.04%	None	Yes, after the first year of the child up to 8 hours/day.
Parental leave for large families	Mother or father	From the 3rd until the 8th birthday of the youngest child	Minimum pension = 15.04%	At least three children, youngest under 8.	Yes, up to 4 hours/day.

Recent changes in family policies in Hungary

- 2006: „Social democratic” family policies
- Anti-child poverty program inspired by UK
- Tax-allowances restricted
- Means-tested child-benefit stopped
- Family allowance extended
- 2008: „Sure start” pilot projects
- Structural Funds directed to tackle child poverty
- No more word about the government program

Figure 1: Net enrollment rates for children 3-6



ECEC in Hungary and Poland

- Responsibility: local governments
 - Central curriculum
 - State subsidy is provided
 - Compulsory by legislation:
 - Crèches in towns
 - Full-day kindergarten
 - Afternoon services at schools
- Responsibility: local governments
 - Central curriculum only for schools
 - Very little state subsidy provided
 - Compulsory by legislation:
 - Kindergarten for the needy
 - Half-day schools

Hungary

- Optional, but two-track familialism in Hungary:
 - Good labour market position: secure and relatively high payments + places in crèches
 - Bad labour market position: low payments but for 3 years still + discrimination in crèches (against legislation)
 - Non-flexible arrangements
 - Caring work with mothers

Poland

- Implicit familialism
 - Clear difficulties for all mothers
 - Means-tested payments and services for the very poor
 - Grandmothers: early retirement
 - Other relatives, like sisters
 - Dependency on partners is more severe
 - Little or no chance for „independent household” (A. S. Orloff)

3. Possible consequences

2006	Fertility rates (completed)	Female employment (part-time)	Employment of mothers with children aged 0- 16
Germany	1.34	61.5 (39.2)	54.9
France	1.94	63.7 (22.9)	59.9
Poland	1.24	46.2 (16.3)	46.4
Spain	1.34	54.0 (21.4)	52.0
UK	1.80	66.8 (38.8)	61.7
Norway	1.84	72.3 (32.9)	69.0
Hungary	1.32	51.2 (4.2)	45.7

Forthcoming:

*'Eastern European Faces of Familialism:
Hungarian and Polish family policies form
a historical perspective.'* In:

Auth/Buchholz/Jancyk (eds.), *Selective
Emancipation*. Barbara Budrich
Publishers, 2009.