

CONDITIONS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL POLICY ON DEMOGRAPHIC BEHAVIORS (EXPERIENCE OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE)

*Paper to be presented at the XXIV IUSSP General Population Conference
Salvador, Bahia, Brazil (18-24 August 2001)*

Janusz Balicki

The Chair of Demography and Social Policy
Institute of Politology
The Card.S.Wyszynski University in Warsaw
ul. Dewajtis 5; 01-815 Warszawa, Poland
E-mail: jbali@gsd.gda.pl
Tel. ++48-501-103-292

First Draft (15 June 2001)

Introduction

May public policy and social policy influence on demographic behaviors on having children?

One way of the answers to this question is to trace back demographic processes and their relation to social policy (family policy). It seems that post-communistic nations from Central and Eastern Europe are adequate for such analysis as social policy was used there consciously as an instrument to control demographic processes in 1945-1989. Departing from the model of protective social policy and socio-economic difficulties in the period of system transformation after 1989 caused an explicit change in procreative attitudes. There was a sharp decline in fertility in all the countries of this region.

In my presentation I would like to show demographic trends existing in the second half of the 20th century in Central and Eastern Europe in selected countries, possible changes which have been influenced by conscious use of social policy instruments (family benefits, maternity leaves etc.) in population policy of communistic governments. I will also deal with the relation between the change in the model of social policy and birth rate decline in different system conditions of the 90-ties.

Despite the dependence of socialistic countries on the Soviet Union one may notice the variety of their population policy. Polish demographers K. Dzienio and M. Latuch divide socialistic countries into these that have pro-natal policy (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and German Democratic Republic) and countries running a variable population policy (Poland, The Soviet Union, Jugoslavia and Albany). The work of these authors will constitute grounds for analysis of experience of USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Poland in the communist period.

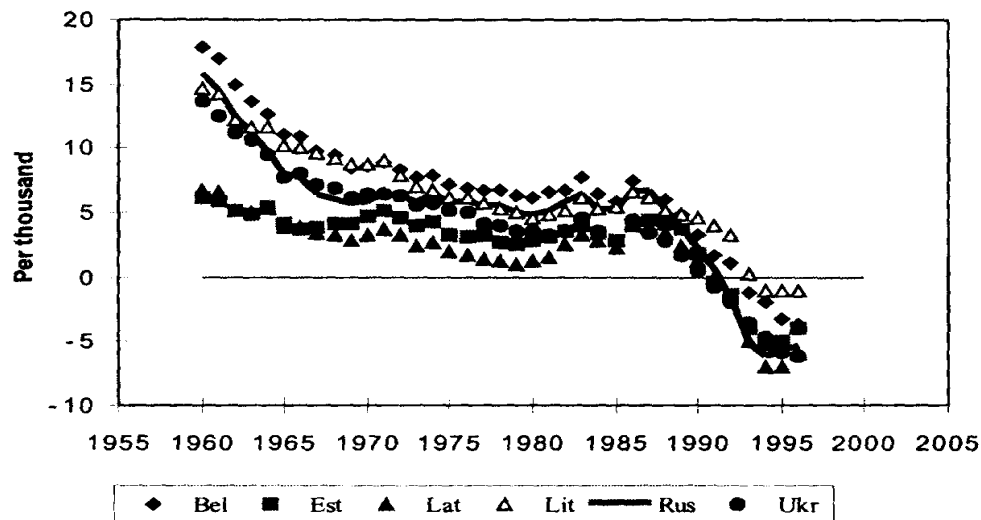
1. USSR

The Soviet Union was the country that used variable social policy as an instrument of population policy. However, it is difficult to trace complicated demographic processes in this huge and socially complicated multinational country. I will limit myself to most evident examples of pro-population policy. One of them was an appreciation towards women who gave birth to many children. Mothers who bore and brought up six or five children were given

“Motherhood Medal” correspondingly of the 1st and the 2nd level. An order “Praise to Motherhood” of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd level was decorated to mothers who gave birth and brought up ten, eight or seven children. Mothers who bore ten children were honorary awarded with the dignity of “Mother – the Heroine” together with an order “Mother – the Heroine”. The order “Praise to Motherhood” and “Motherhood Medal” are given if all children are alive and the youngest is over a year¹.

They did not limit only to propaganda activities. In 1941 it was introduced that single people and people without children had to pay higher tax rate, which aimed at collecting additional means for the help to single mothers and families with many children. Since 1981 women over 55 who hadn't had an adequate length of service had been paid an old-age pension on condition that they had born five or more children and brought them up until the age of eight or more. Another incentive to giving birth to more children was granting a loan to one of the spouses who was not over 30 and had worked in a given company not less than two years. The loan was interest-free, it amounted to 1500 rubles, and its period of redemption was up to 8 years. The purpose of the loan was to improve life conditions or to set up a household. The loan may have been granted only to families with at least one child. With the moment of the birth of the second child 200 rubles were redeemed and of the third child – 300 rubles. In 1980 – 1985 young married couples without children in the period of their first year in marriage didn't have to pay taxes. Tax rates were differentiated depending on the number of children in a family. Workers who had to provide for four or more children paid a lowered tax on wages, amounting to 30% of a normal rate². (In that time average income was about 120-150 rubles).

Figure 1. Rate of natural increase: Russia and European newly independent States, 1960-1995



Source: (1997) The Demographic Yearbook of Russia 1997. Moscow: Goskomstat of Russia, p. 51; (1998) Naselenie SSSR 1987. Moscow: Goskomstat of the USSR, pp. 127-143; (1990) Demographicheskii Ezhegodnik SSR 1990. Moscow: Goskomstat of the USSR, pp. 99-106; Recent Demographic Developments in Europe. Council of Europe. Strasbourg, 1995, Quoted from: Zakharov S.V., *Fertility Trends in Russia and the European Newly Independent States: Crisis or Turning Point?*, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, Special Issues, 1999, no 40/41, p. 294.

¹ Dzieńko K., Latuch M., *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983, p. 323; Zakharov S.V., *Fertility Trends in Russia and the European Newly Independent States: Crisis or Turning Point?*, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, Special Issues, 1999, no 40/41, pp. 292-317.

² K.Dzieńko, M.Latuch, op.cit., p.322.

Table 1.Total period fertility rate in Central and Eastern Europe

Country	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	1995	1999
Russia	2.79	2.52	1.99	1.89	2.05	1.89	1.34	1.17
Belarus	2.97	2.67	2.31	2.03	2.09	1.91	1.39	1.29
Bulgaria	2.94	2.32	2.17	2.05	1.95	1.73	1.24	1.23
Czech Republic	2.83	2.09	1.93	2.07	1.95	1.89	1.28	1.13
Estonia	2.41	1.96	2.16	2.02	2.11	2.04	1.32	1.24
Hungary	2.60	2.02	1.98	1.92	1.83	1.84	1.57	1.29
Latvia	2.27	1.94	1.96	1.86	2.08	2.02	1.25	1.16
Lithuania	3.23	2.56	2.37	1.99	2.11	2.03	1.49	1.35
Poland	3.71	2.98	2.23	2.28	2.33	2.04	1.61	1.37
Ukraine	2.53	2.23	2.07	1.95	2.06	1.85	1.38	---

Source: Database of Centre for Demography and Human Ecology, Moscow (CDHE) (updated in 1997). Zakharov S.V., *Fertility Trends in Russia and the European Newly Independent States: Crisis or Turning Point?*, *Below Replacement Fertility*, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, Special Issues, 1999, no 40/41, p. 298. *Recent Demographic Development in Europe 2000*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg 2000,p.74.

2. Czechoslovakia

Since the mid-fifties Czechoslovakia has experienced the birth rate decline. In 1968 the birth number reached its minimum which was estimated by Czechoslovakian demographers as alarming and it was believed that maintaining such trend of human reproduction would bring about 1980 a complete decline of population number in the country. With regard to this the powers in the scope of material aid rendered by authorities to families with many children were extended. Then the following things were introduced: higher monthly family allowances, higher single allowances for children, the prolonged period of maternity leaves, two-year child-care leaves for mothers (those employed and unemployed as well), amended rules on a limited availability of abortion (more severe criteria allowing for abortion were introduced). Simultaneously, young married couples were provided with more material help. Undoubtedly all these facts contributed to strengthening pro-natal atmosphere and in effect to dynamic increase in birth rates and at the same time to prolonging the period of extended human reproduction.

As K. Dzienio and M. Latuch argue methods of solutions used by Czechoslovakian authorities for stimulation the reproduction process turned out to be efficient and in the eighties Czechoslovakia was among European leaders in the high level of human reproduction. The increase of birth rate for the last seven years was so big that it exceeded the bravest expectations and even optimistic demographic prognosis. Firstly, it was predicted that the fifteenth million citizen of Czechoslovakia will be born not earlier than 1984 and in the meantime it happened in March 1977. In 1968 this country as regards the number of live

births per 1000 citizens had one of the last places among 25 European countries, in 1970 it was fifteenth, and in 1975 it was the third one in Europe³.

Table 2. Selected demographic indicators describing reproductive behaviors of Czechoslovakia's population, years: 1968—1978

Years	Births			Total fertility rate		Number of women aged		Net reproduction rate
	In thous.	per 1000 inhabitants	1968 = 100%		1968 = 100%	15—49 years	20—29 years	
						in thous.		
1968	213.8	14.9	100.0	2.01	100.0	3585	1111	0.947
1969	222.8	15.5	104.2	2.04	101.8	3623	1113	0.960
1970	223.3	15.9	104.4	2.07	103.3	3609	1128	0.979
1971	237.1	16.5	110.8	2.14	106.4	3604	1151	1.020
1972	251.2	17.3	117.4	2.22	110.4	3636	1193	1.060
1973	274.4	18.8	128.3	2.37	118.1	3643	1198	1.120
1974	291.3	19.8	136.1	2.51	125.0	3643	1206	1.190
1975	289.3	19.5	135.2	2.47	122.9	3642	1232	1.180
1976	287.1	19.2	134.3	2.43	121.0	3629	1245	1.149
1977	281.7	18.7	125.5	2.38	118.6	3629	1245	1.123
1978	277.0	18.4	129.5	2.36	117.5	3646	1238	1.118

Source: K.Dzienie, M.Latuch, *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983, p. 342.

Table 3. Fertility changes in Czechoslovakia, years: 1968—1976

Years	Live births per 1000 women, aged							
	15—49 years	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34	35—39	40—44	45—49 years
1968	60.3	42.9	173.5	109.7	50.3	20.0	4.8	0.3
1969	61.9	45.3	176.7	111.6	50.7	19.7	4.6	0.3
1970	63.5	45.5	180.5	113.9	51.5	18.6	4.5	0.3
1971	65.8	47.0	184.0	119.0	54.0	19.0	4.3	0.2
1972	69.4	49.0	194.0	124.0	54.0	18.0	4.2	0.2
1973	75.8	50.2	211.2	133.9	57.1	19.1	4.5	0.1
1974	80.5	45.9	212.1	147.9	67.5	24.3	4.0	0.2
1975	79.8	44.8	210.4	145.8	65.7	23.2	3.3	0.1
1976	79.2	43.2	208.6	143.6	64.8	22.4	3.3	0.1

Source: K.Dzienie, M.Latuch, *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983, p.343.

Results achieved in Czechoslovakia in the 70-ties and 80-ties in the scope of stimulating reproduction are evidence for the fact that it is possible to influence on reproduction development and at the same time on demographic development of a country. According to Czechoslovakian demographers the most efficient instrument stimulating the increase in birth rate turned out to be high monthly family allowances and the introduction for all mothers (employed and unemployed) child care leaves to take care of their children up to the age of two. In that period they receive an allowance⁴.

In Czechoslovakia the increase of the second and third births influenced most the increase of total reproduction. It is worth paying attention to the changes in the birth structure

³ Ibidem, p.341-342.

⁴ Ibidem, p.342.

according to the order of bearing a child. In the analyzed period there is an explicit increase in bearing the second child in a family and simultaneously after 1970 the third birth in a family ceased to decline. After 1971 the participation of these children in a general birth structure began to increase. This issue is characterized closely in the table 4.

Table 4. Live birth by birth order in Czechoslovakia, years 1968—1977
(structure in percentage).

Years	Total	Birth order					
		1	2	3	4	5	6 and over
		in percentage					
1968	100,0	46,5	31,6	11,6	4,6	2,3	3,4
1969	100,0	46,7	32,0	11,5	4,5	2,1	3,1
1970	100,0	46,7	33,4	11,3	4,1	1,8	2,7
1971	100,0	45,8	34,9	11,2	4,0	1,7	2,4
1972	100,0	44,1	36,5	11,8	3,9	1,6	2,3
1973	100,0	41,1	39,1	12,6	3,8	1,5	2,1
1974	100,0	40,5	39,4	13,3	3,8	1,4	1,7
1975	100,0	40,8	39,3	13,7	3,7	1,4	1,6
1976	100,0	40,3	39,7	13,9	3,5	1,3	1,3
1977	100,0	40,6	39,8	13,8	3,4	1,3	1,1

Source: K.Dzienio, M.Latuch, *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983,p.343.

Thanks to active social policy for the family with children in the 1970's the number of abortions declined. Not less important was the amendment of the abortion law in 1973. It was an introduction of more severe criteria while giving permission to have an abortion, especially for women without children. Such decisions in 1973 and 1974 contributed to the increase of the female fertility rate in the age of 25-29, 30-34 and 35-39⁵. According to L.Rabusic, the abortion rate always depends on legislation. Liberal abortion laws, leaving it to women's free discretion whether to have an abortion or not, was enacted in 1986 in the Czech Republic⁶, the result you can see on the Figure 3.

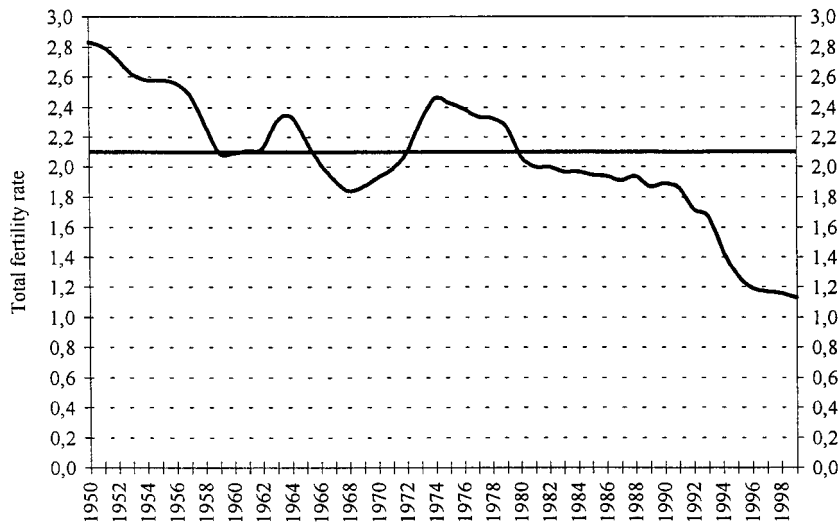
After 1989 the total fertility rate have been declined, there have been on average 1.2 children born per woman in the recent four years (figure 2) so that in this respect Czechia presently belongs among the countries with the lowest number of children in the world⁷.

⁵ Ibidem,pp.344-345.

⁶ Ibidem.

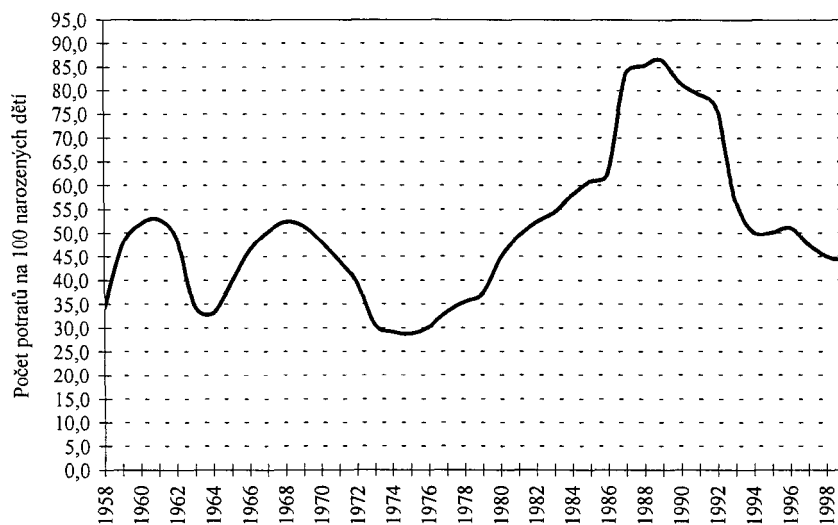
⁷ L. Rabusic, *Value Change and Demographic Behaviour in the Czech Republic*, European Population Conference 2001, Helsinki 7-9 June 2001.

Figure 2. Total fertility rate in the CR 1950-1999 (average number of live births per woman)



Source: [Kucera 1994, Kucera and Simek 2000], L. Rabusic, *Value Change and Demographic Behaviour in the Czech Republic*, European Population Conference 2001, Helsinki 7-9 June 2001.

Figure 3. Abortion rate in the Czech Republic, 1958-1999
(number of abortions per 100 live births)



Source: [Kucera 1994, Kucera and Simek 2000], L. Rabusic, *Value Change and Demographic Behaviour in the Czech Republic*, European Population Conference 2001, Helsinki 7-9 June 2001.

3. Hungary

Hungary was omitted by a post-war demographic recompense. This was seriously influenced by agricultural reform, collectivization and industrialization, which caused rapid increase in women's employment, general attempts to rise the standard of family life by limiting the number of its members, violating traditional marital relationships and many other factors. Not less important was a revolution in 1956. But only in the mid-sixties – facing

explicit disturbances in the country's demographic development – the authorities began to shape an active pro-natal policy.

The implementation of the pro-natal policy program was begun from improving material situation of families with children by increasing the amount of monthly family allowances for children. They created relatively beneficial conditions for women who wanted to give up work for some time to take care of a small child. Hungarian pro-natal policy accepted an assumption that employment of women – and at the same time the lack of possibilities to provide a care for a child – was the main obstacle to motherhood.

According to the regulation of the Council of Ministers dated on 29th January 1967 employers were obliged to enable a mother to give up her professional work for a period not exceeding 30 months (including maternity leave). The condition was that after the period of maternity leave she would move for granting her an unpaid leave for taking care of her child. Authorities undertook such decision assuming that it is more beneficial to ensure children with care by unpaid leaves rather than by quick development of nurseries.

Table 5. Selected demographic indicators describing reproductive behaviors of Hungarian's population, years: 1966—1978

Years	Live births			Total fertility rate		Number of women in age		Net reproduction rate
	In thous.	per 1000 inhabitants	1965=100%	1966 = 100%	15—49	20—29		
					years	years		
					in thous.			
1966	138.5	13.6	100.0	1.87	100.0	2516	721	0.863
1967	148.9	14.6	107.5	2.00	106.8	2558	722	0.923
1968	154.4	15.1	111.4	2.05	109.6	2600	733	0.952
1969	154.3	15.0	111.4	2.04	108.6	2652	744	0.939
1970	151.8	14.7	109.6	1.96	104.4	2680	758	0.912
1971	150.6	14.5	108.7	1.91	101.7	2694	769	0.890
1972	153.3	14.7	110.6	1.91	102.1	2700	783	0.894
1973	156.2	15.0	112.7	1.94	103.7	2686	787	0.905
1974	186.3	17.8	134.5	2.30	122.6	2672	828	1.070
1975	194.2	18.4	140.0	2.36	126.1	2659	854	1.107
1976	185.4	17.5	133.9	2.24	119.5	2645	871	1.049
1977	177.5	16.7	122.8	2.15	114.9	2630	869	1.011
1978	168.1	15.7	121.4	2.07	110.5	2613	859	0.973

Source: K.Dzienio, M.Latuch, *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983,p.349.

Hungarian pro-natal policy at the end of 70-ties particularly concentrates on instruments of economic impact directed to young married couples by granting credits for buying a flat or paying a flat deposit. If a young married couple had signed an obligation that within 3 years of their conjugal life they would have had one child the price for the flat would have been decreased by 30 thousand forints. If they had obliged themselves to have two children within 6 years the price for the flat would have been decreased by 60 thousand forints. If the above mentioned obligation had not been fulfilled within the period specified in the agreement the credit must have been returned regardless of the reasons of not fulfilling it⁸.

The control of abortions by authorities after 1973 brought about significant decrease in abortion numbers. This fact contributed to a great extent to the reproduction increase and at the same time to the increase of birth numbers.

After seventeen years of the narrowed human reproduction in the seventh year of Hungarian implementation of the active pro-natal policy, the process of reproduction of

⁸ K.Dzienio, M.Latuch, *op.cit.*, pp.190-196.

Hungarian population in 1974 entered again the area of extended reproduction. For the first time in 1974 net reproduction number exceeded the value of 1.0 and it reached the level of 1.070. The aims of the active pro-natal policy put by Hungarian authorities were achieved and according to Hungarian demographers even exceeded (see table 5)⁹.

4. Romania

The first stage, after the II world war, which lasted up to the mid-fifties was characterized by strong demographic development. It was the consequence of the rapid mortality decline and relatively high birth rate. In the second stage including years 1956 – 1966 there was a decline in number of birth. It resulted from rapid industrialization and urbanization of the country and what follows the increase of women's professional involvement. Certain activities were undertaken which aimed at limiting or delaying disadvantageous trends in the process of demographic development of Romania. On the other hand, they introduced liberal rules on abortion which contributed to having abortions on a massive scale. The bill from the 30 September 1957 limited abortions to the ones resulting from health or life complications, however with the course of time abortions were carried out on demand. It caused rapid increase of abortion numbers and related rapid decline of birth rate. In that period the birth rate in Romania was one of the lowest in Europe.

Table 6. Fertility changes in Romania, years 1965—1978.

Years	Live births per 1000 women, by age groups.							
	15—49	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34	35—39	40—44	45—49
1965	57.3	52.4	140.7	99.8	53.5	25.1	8.9	0.8
1966	55.4	50.3	138.6	98.3	54.1	25.0	8.6	0.9
1967	105.5	79.8	251.8	198.2	124.1	59.7	16.6	1.2
1968	102.9	82.4	241.4	193.9	125.5	63.9	17.3	1.2
1969	89.6	72.6	215.8	171.7	108.0	54.7	15.0	1.0
1970	81.2	65.7	201.4	151.6	94.9	48.8	13.8	0.9
1971	75.3	62.1	190.9	138.1	82.7	44.3	13.1	0.8
1972	72.7	61.3	185.9	131.6	76.9	40.7	12.0	0.8
1973	70.4	60.6	182.4	124.2	71.6	37.6	10.3	0.6
1974	79.3	69.3	202.3	142.9	78.3	40.2	10.7	0.7
1975	77.5	69.2	197.8	138.5	71.4	36.7	10.0	0.7
1976	77.3	70.0	196.9	136.7	69.4	33.4	9.0	0.7
1977	78.8.	71.2	200.9	138.1	67.6	32.3	8.6	0.7
1978	77.7	72.8	198.5	132.7	64.4	30.3	8.2	0.7

Source: K.Dzienio, M.Latuch, *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983,p.366.

The third stage of demographic development and population policy started in Romania after 1966. At this stage we can observe a wide range of authorities interference in population processes, mainly with the use of legal and administrative means. As a result of radical legal regulations on abortion, the use of contraceptives, giving divorces and further as a result of using in population policy certain economic instruments, they managed to change radically the trend of development of demographic processes in the preliminary period. Romanian authorities at the end of 1966 undertook numerous means stimulating the increase in reproduction. In the pro-natal policy the emphasis was put on instruments of legal and administrative impact. These instruments concern radical restrictions in the scope of abortion and divorces. In 1966-1967 a fertility rate, counted for 1000 women in the age of 15-49

⁹ Ibidem, p.349.

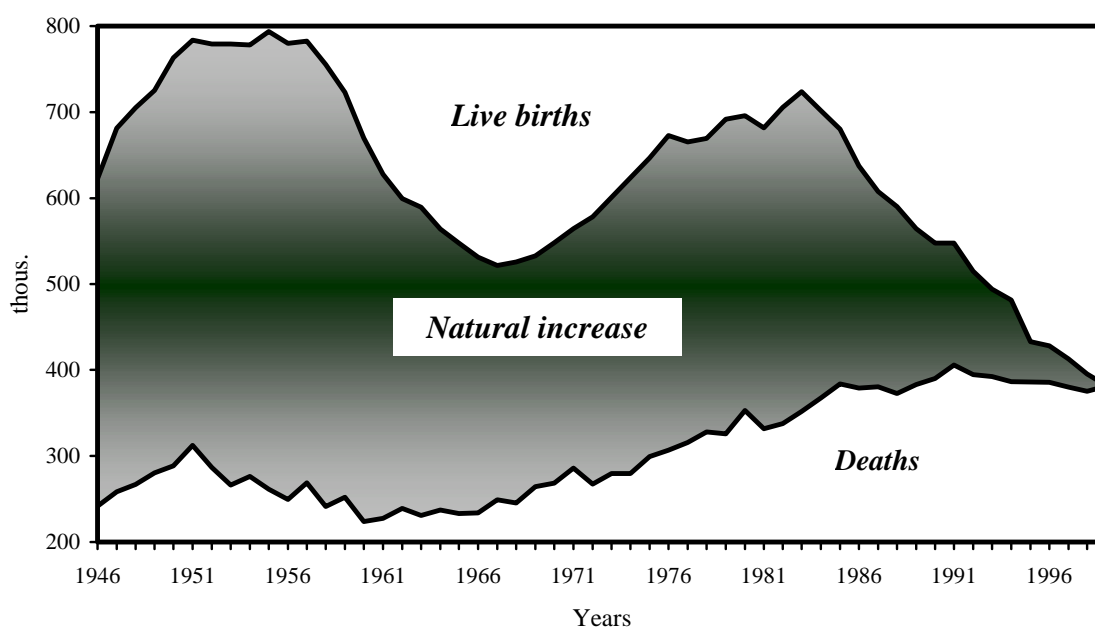
increased from 55.4 to 105.5 and increased almost by 95%. However, in the next years there was again a decline of these rates¹⁰.

5. Social policy as an instrument of population policy in Poland

5.1. Period 1945-1989 (the communist's system)

At the beginning of the XX century, fertility in Eastern Europe was high; women living in the areas inhabited by Poles had 6.2 children on average. Subsequent decline brought the total fertility rate (TFR) down to 3.5 children per woman by 1931-32 (2.2 in urban and 4.1 in rural areas). At the beginning of 1950s it was about the same: 3.7 for the whole country, 3.2 in urban areas and 4.0 in rural areas¹¹.

Figure 4. Vital statistic of population in Poland 1946-1999.



Source: *Demographic Yearbook 2000*, Warsaw 2000, p.238.

The first period – after the war – is characterized by the growth of births and in the consequence by the natural increase. The year 1955 was record-breaking, it had 793.8 thousand births. In 1946-1955 live births amounted to 26.2-30.2 children per 1000 of population¹². After the war the natural increase per 1000 of population fluctuated between 16 and 19.5. Apart from the Soviet Union no other country in Europe had such a high natural increase¹³. Besides factors typically occurring after the war, it was also very important that all the countries created conditions which favored and supported propaganda-like motherhood.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p.363.

¹¹ J.Z.Holzer, I.Kowalska, *Fertility and Family Surveys in Countries of the ECE Region*. Standard Country Report. Poland New York, Geneva 1997, UN, p.11.

¹² Rocznik Demograficzny GUS 2000 – Demographic Yearbook 2000, Warsaw 2000, pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

¹³ E. Rosset, *Oblicze demograficzne Polski Ludowej*, Warszawa 1965, p. 353.

Although the recompense process lasted until about 1950 and later disappeared, female fertility and reproduction of population stayed at a high level (higher than before) until 1955 (in cities) and until 1957 (in the country). This fact should be explained by socio-economic situation, occurring in the first decade after the war, which favored reproduction model typical of inter-war period.

Years of rebuilding of the country (1945-1955) plan did not favor the development of individual consumption, which could satisfy some extra needs because of the lack of superior goods. In this period there was no competitiveness between reproduction and satisfying the superior goods. However, certain elements of population policy lessened not only burden related to providing for children (allowances were relatively high in comparison to wages) but also made life easier for other members of the family (priority in receiving a flat, not burdening the family budget).

After 1955 these elements of population policy began to lose its stimulating character. Simultaneously the age of reproduction activity was entered on a mass scale by people of higher level of education, higher cultural needs, wider aspirations and different life goals in comparison to the previous generation. This brought about the growth of contradictions between the level of reproduction and possibility to satisfy growing needs of the superior level – as for individuals and for society¹⁴.

The population policy in the first period after the war was of a pro-natal character. It was dictated by the need to make for the losses experienced during the war and to populate lands regained in the west of the country¹⁵. In the second half of the fifties the authorities withdrew from supporting families and promoted the model of the family with not many children. The authorities expressed views that the condition for better standard of life is to limit the natural increase¹⁶. In 1956 liberal abortion law was introduced. General speaking, it seems that the authorities achieved the intended goal as in the sixties there was a significant decline of birth rates.

Population policy in 1971-1980 in Poland changed after the power was taken over by a new group of the communist's party. Pursuant to the law from 1972 employed women were given prolonged maternity leaves up to 16 weeks with the first baby and 18 weeks with every next child. Simultaneously the amount of an allowance was risen to 100% of a wage¹⁷.

In 1976 a new type of allowance was introduced which was called childbirth allowance. It was vested in every employed woman or unemployed wife of an employed man if they were married. It was paid once in the amount of the three family allowances for a born child.

Difficulties with ensuring services for taking care of a small child rendered by national institutions (unsatisfactory number of places in nurseries or kindergartens) caused in 1972 prolonging of child care leaves from 12 months to 3 years. It was also possible for women to use this leave up to the time when a child is four. Other additional warranties were related to unpaid leaves. During their duration women were given a right to receive a family allowance and a right to unpaid medical service for themselves and members of families. An unpaid leave did not cause a break in the duration of their professional work. This period was included to the number of years necessary to acquire retirement rights. After the leave a woman had right to continue her employment on unchanged conditions¹⁸.

In 1972 a special credits for setting up for young married couples were introduced. These credits could have been used by these couples whose one of the spouses was not more

¹⁴ Perspektywy rozrodczosci na podstawie Ankiety Rodzinnej 1970, Warszawa 1971, GUS, p.15.

¹⁵ K.Dzienio, M.Latuch, *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983, p.256.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 258-259.

¹⁷ Dziennik Ustaw Nr 27. z dnia 6.07.1972 r. o przedłużeniu urlopów macierzyńskich, poz. 190.

¹⁸ Monitor Polski Nr 5, z 28.01.1972 r., poz. 26.

than 30 years old and the duration of their marriage did not exceed 5 years. Since 1975 there had been a possibility to pay up a part of the credit from the means of plant employee welfare fund¹⁹.

An implemented program of welfare benefits for people was a serious burden for the national budget but it favored further demographic development in the country. After the decline of natural increase in 1966-1970, in the next decade we observe its systematic increase. In 1975 643.8 thousand births were reported with the rate of natural increase amounting to 8,5 promilles. Five years later the number of births increased to 692.8 thousand and the rate of natural increase 10.2 promilles. On average there was a rate of 2.2 children per woman in a reproductive age, so it was on the border of the replacement level²⁰.

As a result of agreements signed with the trade union "Solidarity" on the 1 January 1981 there started a reform of family allowances which were to be risen. Families having five or more children were given a right to family allowances of a certain amount per each child (before such allowance was paid only to families who had seven or more children)²¹.

Another allowance introduced at that time was an allowance for women during child care leave. These leaves, which ensured that children had a good care, were very popular and the number of mothers at these leaves was growing. In 1980 it amounted to 487.2 thousand. However, these were unpaid leaves, whether mother could go on such a leave depended on family material situation. As a consequence of social pressure and predicted difficulties at the employment market in 1981 there was an introduction of so-called a child care allowance²². It was a new type of insurance benefit, vested during 18 months counting from the day when a maternity leave ended. Longer benefit period lasting 36 months was vested in women who were single mothers or women whose children demanded permanent care because of sickness or cripplehood²³.

The amount of child care allowance depended on an income per one person in the family and amounted respectively to 100%, 75% or 50% of the lowest basic salary²⁴. Later rights related to child care leave and an allowance were expanded. A father was given a right to such leave as well and the duration of the child care leave was prolonged to 24 months²⁵.

In 1983 there was a peak of baby boom, the birth number was exceptionally high and amounted to 720.8 thousand and the birth rate was 19.7 promilles. It happened despite the fact that it was another year of economic crisis lasting from the late seventies. However, since 1984 there has been another systematic and rapid decline of births.

5.2. Period 1990-2000 (Poland in the economic transition)

Poland is one of a group of countries in the process of transition from planned to free market economies and, as in other places undergoing rapid socio-economic change, support for families has been reduced. In many cases, parents are unemployed, and economic conditions are very difficult for them.

Its intensification was observed from the beginning of system changes in the nineties. The decline of births in 1990-2000, the same as before, was caused by the decrease in female fertility, especially women at the best reproductive age (20-29 years). It happened despite the

¹⁹ Uchwała Rady Ministrów nr 14 z 14.01.1972 r. (Monitor Polski Nr 5, poz. 27.)

²⁰ Rocznik demograficzny 1981, GUS, Warszawa 1982, pp. 84-85.

²¹ Demografia 1992, GUS, Warszawa 1992, pp. XXIV-XXV.

²² Dziennik Ustaw nr 32 z 31.12.1981 r., poz. 191.

²³ W. Muszalski, *Swiadczenia rodzinne*, [in:] *Rozwój ubezpieczen Spoecznych w Polsce*, Warszawa 1991, p. 426.

²⁴ Dziennik Ustaw nr 19 z dna 17.07.1981 r., poz. 97.

²⁵ W. Muszalski, *Swiadczenia rodzinne*, op.cit., p. 428.

slight growth of the number of women in reproductive age. Fertility rate decreased from 2,04 children per a woman in the reproductive age in 1990 to 1,36 in 2000.

Table 7. Total fertility rates in 1990-2000

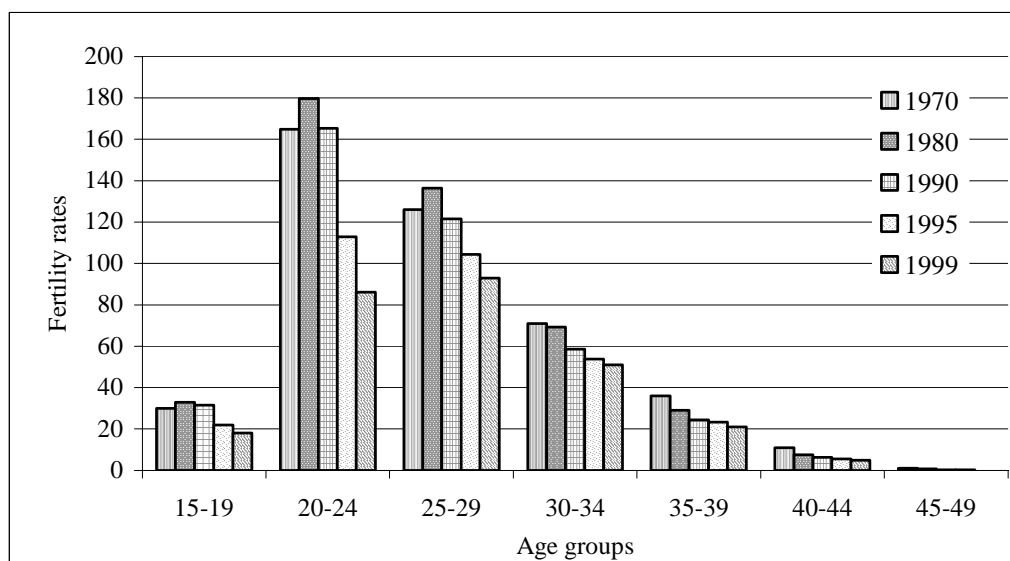
Years	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
TFR	2,04	1,62	1,59	1,52	1,44	1,37	1,36

Source: *Demographic Yearbook 2000*, Warsaw 2000.

The level of female fertility in cities is much lower than fertility of women living in the country. In cities one woman in the reproductive age gave birth to 1,25 child and in the country to 1,73. In 1998 comparing to the previous year there was an increase of first births and a decline of the second and other births. In 1999 fertility rate amounted to 1,36 (in cities 1,20 and in the country 1,64)²⁶.

The reasons for such situation are very complex. As a result of property transformation and restructuring social activity of national plants was narrowed or completely liquidated. They resigned from maintaining plant's social infrastructure, including such family centers as resorts, cultural centers, nurseries, kindergartens, schools, sport facilities. Privatized plants most often did not continue this type of activity. Many allowances were liquidated or reduced. In practice they lost their character of an instrument of population policy.

Figure 5. Live births per 1000 of women at age specified



Source: *Demographic Yearbook 2000*, p. 206.

As a consequence of decentralization and decrease of national financial abilities we could observe the beginning of the process of dividing responsibility for maintaining such institutions as nurseries, kindergartens, schools, cultural centers etc. with local authorities. Nevertheless, duties burdening local authorities were often beyond their real financial and organizational abilities. Many times it led to closing up these institutions or higher charges.

²⁶ Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 1998-1999*, Warszawa 1999, pp.21-22.

Such situation was accompanied by other unfavorable phenomena such as severe housing crisis, high unemployment, especially among young people, intensification of poverty²⁷.

The FFS in Poland (1991) provided an opportunity to examine how people evaluate current family policy. Participants were asked whether, in their opinion, "It would be a good thing if in the future more emphasis was placed on family life". A large majority agreed with the statement, and support was more widespread among women than among men; 77.6 per cent of women gave positive answers compared to 67.5 per cent of men. Few respondents saw no need to improve family policy, but the proportions who said they did not know are substantially higher than in the case of the two other items. The level of support was considerably lower and the level of uncertainty much higher among the youngest respondents (ages 20-24), most of whom would not as yet have had children²⁸.

Output of the survey questionnaire entitled „Family Questionnaire”, carried out by CSO (GUS) in 1995, points out to the following structure of satisfying parental needs:

- 48.7% of females has as many children as they had planned while entering their marriage,
- 22.4 had less children than they had planned,
- 22.3% had more children than they had planned at the beginning of their marriage,
- 3.4% had no children at all due to infertility or unsuccessful pregnancy,
- 2.2% had had no maternity plans while entering their marriage.

Almost 50% of females managed to attain they procreative plans. Almost every fourth woman had more children than she had ever planned. Every fifth surveyed female failed to perform her maternal plans and definitely does not want to increase her family. Major reasons behind such behavior of females include: poor material conditions (35% of cases) and poor health condition (25% of cases). Other quoted factors included: threat of unemployment, commitment to professional career, material consequences of having a child as well as dissolution of the marriage itself. Procreative decisions of females were also influenced by increased costs of living related to socio-economic transformation in Poland.

The treat of unemployment and problems with finding a job were important for women with lower education, whereas problems with reconciling professional career with household duties were mainly quoted by females with a higher education. Ten years after marriage constitution over 84% of females planned no further births. Output of the survey generated several guidelines for future demographic forecasts. Undoubtedly, social and economic transformation had encouraged changes in the system of values of both young and older generations. The nineties revolutionized the model of women fertility²⁹.

The period of socio-economic transformation, which has been experienced by Poland since 1989, has brought many positive changes. However, it has also brought many “negative” phenomena. The latter may include high level of unemployment, which affects especially young people and people in reproductive age, the increase of homeless and poor people, the increase of population income differentiation (stratification), etc.

In explaining the changes in the level of fertility and TFR in Poland in the period of the transformation many hypotheses and related theories are used. One of the views says that the role of economic factors in this period was significant. These factors include among others income situation of people, families and households. Table 8 shows in a synthetic way information about distribution of households according to four criteria of poverty line. These are: social minimum, biological minimum, relative poverty line and legal poverty line. From the data in the table 8, based on research of the Central Statistical Office, it results that the risk of poverty increases, independently of a criterion, together with the increase of the

²⁷ Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 1999-2000*, Warszawa 2000, p.11

²⁸ J.Z.Holzer, I.Kowalska, op.cit., p.39-40.

²⁹ Basic Information on Demographic Development of Poland 1990-1998, Warszawa 1999, pp.50-51.

number of children in households. Even higher risk of poverty refers to families with single parents.

Table 8. Percent of persons in households exposed to poverty line by biological type of the household (couples with maintained children).

Items	Percent of persons in households below:			
	Social minimum	Biological minimum	Relative poverty line	Legal poverty line
Total	52,2	6,9	16,5	14,4
without children	23,4	1,3	4,3	3,6
With one child	36,5	2,6	6,6	5,7
With two children	51,9	4,3	12,0	10,1
With 3 children	69,4	11,1	25,2	21,3
with 4 children and more	84,7	22,3	44,1	39,4
mother or father with children	57,4	9,8	19,2	17,2

Source: Warunki życia ludności w 1999 r., GUS, Warszawa 2000,p.108, 117.

Since 1997 right-wing coalition (especially Election Action Solidarity) has aimed at the goal of pro-family policy:

- From the 1 January 2000 lengthening of maternity leaves from 16 to 20 weeks in case of bearing one child and from 20 to 30 weeks in case of bearing more than one child; from 1 January 2001 continuation of lengthening of maternity leaves correspondingly to 26 and 39 weeks.
- From 1 January 2000 raising the amount of child care leave for mothers bringing up third and every another child (up to the amount of the sum received by single mothers) which makes it easier for mothers to stay at the child care leave and is good for a child;
- Accepting a solution according to which the national budget pays total insurance premium for women staying at maternity and child care leaves;
- Amendment of the bill on social aid which introduced a permanent allowance for people who give up work because of the necessity to take care of a child and which raised supplement for family allowance for a fully orphaned child³⁰. There are also other projects which implementation is impossible due to gaps in the budget and difficulties at the employment market. This leads to the fact that women do not want to resign from working to give birth to a child.

Conclusions

The presented above experience of chosen countries of Eastern and Central Europe from the second half of the 20th century constitute grounds for the following conclusions:

1. Communistic authorities used instruments of social policy in order to cause fertility increase or decrease. Some of these countries (these which experienced a significant birth rate decrease) used permanent pro-natal policy (e.g. Czechoslovakia, Hungary), some of them only periodically, dependently on their needs (e.g. USSR, Romania, Poland).
2. The instruments of the policy included:
 - a) propaganda-like activity e.g. social appreciation of mothers with many children (e.g. USSR)
 - b) instruments of social policy of various kinds
 - high allowances for children in comparison to wages

³⁰ A.Szymanski, *Działania Sejmu III kadencji na rzecz dzieci*, mp.

- relatively long maternity and child care leaves
 - material incentives (interest-free loans for young married couples, attractive housing credits, dependence of tax rate on the number of children USSR),
 - profitable conditions for working mothers (possibility of periodic break in professional career for the time of bringing up children, developed net of nurseries and kindergartens, etc.)
- c) legal regulation of abortion
3. It may be said that there is the dependence between procreative attitudes and behaviors oriented to the fertility and social policy in the analyzed countries in the period of 1945-1989. For example, in Czechoslovakia, activities in the scope of social policy not only stopped a fertility decrease but brought about its increase and placed the country from one of the last places in Europe in 1970 to the third place in 1975, as far as fertility rate was concerned. Similar results were observed in Hungary. After seven years of narrowed reproduction, they again entered the area of extended reproduction. Also in Poland one may notice an influence of social policy instruments in the late fifties and sixties which caused an explicit fertility decrease. In 1983 there was an unusual increase of births during the period of economic depression. It seems that except for the impact of favorable population structure, favorable system of child care leaves played also a significant role.
 4. It may be said that there is the dependence between legislation on abortion and number of births. It is particularly noticeable in Romania. It was the case also in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and slightly less noticeable in Poland.
 5. Experiences of system transformation of the nineties seem to confirm the dependence between social policy and births. The change of a protective model of social policy into a liberal one, with additional economic problems of society, lack of flats for young married couples and high level of unemployment brought about a significant decrease of fertility which is continued.
 6. It is likely however, that the above mentioned dependence, occurring before the system transformation, was possible due to:
 - more traditional fertility model
 - limited access to contraception
 - lack of material goods which would compete with having children
 - low wages which contributed to the fact that allowances, loans for young married couples and other benefits could be incentives for having children.
 7. It should be noticed that, the selected instruments of social policy were of a short-term character. This was caused by the decrease of real value of material incentives for example in relation to growing wages or lower profitability of using child care leaves.
 8. In the nineties and now the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are not able to carry out similar social (family) policy. If they were able, would it be efficient? Probably it would, at least with regard to poor social groups³¹. However, it has to be taken into account that existing for ten years a free-market system has brought serious changes in relation to values, norms, procreative attitudes and behaviors.

³¹ According to what R. Andorka writes: among families of the similar socio-economic status and education, in similar housing conditions, similar life history, living in the same cultural conditions, and thus having similar aspirations and goals, those who have higher income are more likely to have more children (R.Andorka, *Determinants of Fertility in Advanced Societies*, London 1982,s.378, Quoted from: H.Wasilewska-Trenker, F.Stokowski, B.Nadolna-Jakobiak, B.Skretowicz, *Studia nad dzietoscia i reprodukcja ludnosci w Polsce*, Warszawa 1985, SGPiS, p.28), but a higher economical wellbeing can lead to the increased demand for children or increased demand for child "quality"(M.Ainsaar, K.Oras, *Family policy as a determinant of fertility*, Abstracts, European Population Conference 2001, Helsinki (EAPS), p.207).

9. Some papers presented at the European Population Conference 2001, Helsinki (EAPS) point to a new dimension of studies and analyses concerning social policy and population processes. Characteristic feature of these studies includes an integration of researches on social policy, demographic processes and phenomena and changes in the value system, in behaviors, in the role of genders and in economic situation. The need of such researches concerns countries of the Eastern Europe which are experiencing permanent changes in demographic processes³². In a new trend of researches integrating scientific disciplines there are researches carried out in Poland and especially a project implemented in 2001 "On the evaluation of changes in attitudes and reproductive behaviours of young and middle generations female and male poles and their influence on the process family and household formation and dissolution".

References

- Ainsaar M., Oras K., *Family policy as a determinant of fertility*, Abstracts, European Population Conference 2001, Helsinki (EAPS), p.207.
- Andorka R., *Determinants of Fertility in Advanced Societies*, London 1982.
- *Badania dzietności kobiet w Polsce - Ankieta macierzyństwa 1984*, ed. J.Z.Holzer, K.Link, Warszawa 1988.
- *Basic Information on Demographic Development of Poland 1990-1998*, Warszawa 1999.
- Dzieńko K., Latuch M., *Polityka ludnościowa europejskich krajów socjalistycznych*, Warszawa 1983.
- *Fertility and Family Surveys in Countries of the ECE Region*. Standard Country Report. Poland New York, Geneva 1997, UN.
- Kedelski M., Szuman A., *Studia nad pracą zawodową kobiet w okresie macierzyństwa*, Warszawa 1995, SGPiS.
- Kuciarska-Ciesielska M., Nowak L., Smolinski Z., *Postawy prokreacyjne młodych małżeństw*, „Ankieta Nowozenców 1985”, Warszawa SGPiS 1990.
- Kędelki M., *Koniunktura demograficzna w Polsce w latach 1948-1994. Część II, Szacunki statystyczne. Malzenskosc i plodnosc*, Poznań 1995.
- Muszalski W., *Swiadczenia rodzinne*, [in:] *Rozwój ubezpieczeń Społecznych w Polsce*, Warszawa 1991.
- *Perspektywy rozrodczości na podstawie Ankiety Rodzinnej 1970*, Warszawa 1971, GUS.
- *Rocznik Demograficzny GUS 2000 – Demographic Yearbook 2000*, Warsaw 2000.
- Rosset E., *Oblicze demograficzne Polski Ludowej*, Warszawa 1965.
- Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 1998-1999*, Warszawa 1999.
- Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 1999-200*, Warszawa 2000.
- Wasilewska-Trenker H., Stokowski F., Nadolna-Jakobiak B., Skretowicz B., *Studia nad dzietnoscia i reprodukcja ludności w Polsce*, Warszawa 1985, SGPiS.
- Zakharov S.V., *Fertility Trends in Russia and the European Newly Independent States: Crisis or Turning Point?, Below Replacement Fertility*, Population Bulletin of the United Nations, Special Issues, 1999, no 40/41, p. 292-317.

³² For example according to M.Ainsaar's and K.Oras's the survey conducted in Estonia in 1999 a correlation between a readiness to have a child and economical wellbeing was found. Lack of economical measures from government acts as fertility barrier. This barrier influences more less wealthy persons. However, the most important determinants of fertility are personal values. They argue that most of studies conclude that there is an impact (Gauthier & Hatzius 1997, Hantrais 1999) but only in limited extent. The influence is more visible in case of cash benefits but it "works" in different countries and on different sub-groups differently (Gauthier & Hatzius 1997). The role of social policy is often seen as a measure to diminish the cost of a child to the parents, to rise the wellbeing of families and to encourage families to have wished children.