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Gender equality and preference theories in fertility intentions' explanation – the case of Poland.

Structure of the paper:

1. Introduction
2. National context
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5. Social capital and gender equality theory - model estimation and results
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Abstract

The discussion on the main causes of the recent fertility decline in Europe, most detailed in the Central and Eastern Europe and in Poland in the context of the emergence of the low fertility emphasis of the influence the two groups of factors: economic and cultural . Within demographic research, this situation is primarily expressed in terms of monetary income and wealth, welfare regime and labour market changes. However, beside economic capital also social capital, gender equality both at the household and institutional level and variety of social settings based on the lifestyle preferences may be an important factor for fertility intentions and fertility-related decision making and behavior, especially in societies that face economic uncertainty like Poland.

In the study of fertility intentions in Poland, our analysis has been divided into two parts according to a theoretical framework based on social theories: part I. Preference Theory (Hakim 2000, 2003; Witali, Billari, Praskawtz, Testa 2009) and Part II. Gender Equality Theory (McDonald 2000, 2006; Bernhardt 2008; Mills, Mencarini, Tanturri, Bergall 2009) and Social Capital Theory (Bühler Frątczak, 2007 Kohler, Behrman, Jere, Watkins, 2001; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Quesnel-Vallée, Morgan , 2003; Philipov, Spéder, Billari. 2006; Lin, 2001; Schoen, Astone, Kim, Nathanson, Fields , 1999; Wellman, 1992).

Preference Theory explains changes that women have experienced in society according to fertility and employment. This social theory regards lifestyle preferences and values as principal determinants of fertility (cultural factors). Shaping public policies the heterogeneity of women's behaviours as main factor must be considered. According to this theory there are three main groups of women: home oriented adaptive and career oriented. Size of those groups vary in different countries depending of which group is favored by public policies. Different groups react in different way on policies. Career oriented women do not react on social family policies and family oriented women do not react on employment policies. Adaptive group react on both types of policies.

According to **Gender Equality Theory** higher educational level, higher opportunities on the labour market for working women should result in higher equality in a household. Higher equality in a household duties division should result in higher fertility. Gender equity is not only relevant within the household, but also at the institutional and national level. The level of gender development and institutional support differ between countries. The more traditional a society is with regard to the family system the greater is the level of incoherence between social institutions and fertility is lower. Even if opportunities for women (education, work) are equal to men, women will restrict the number of children because they have to include childbearing to their plans and time resources

Social Capital Theory Social capital is measured with the help of individual embeddings in networks of giving and receiving support. This influence is on the hand caused by the number of parents and relatives in these networks, but on the other hand also by the number of supportive friends and colleagues. The paper explores the impact of the availability of social capital on individual fertility intentions in Poland. In the context of the social capital theory paper wants to explore how much the availability of social capital, measured by the number of supportive relationships in an individual's personal network, has an influence on the individual's fertility intentions. This is done on the background of the significant social, economic, and demographic changes in Poland. Poland is of interest due to several reasons. Similar to other Central and Eastern Europe countries, it faced a serious decline of fertility after the breakdown of Communism.

The empirical analyses rest on data from the first wave of the panel survey "Late fertility diagnosis" survey conducted in 2007 on sample of 1200 women from two big cities in Poland. (women aged 19, 23, 27 and 31 years). In our analysis we focused on answering following questions:

1. What are fertility intentions in the city environment in Poland among the young women (coming from the selected cohorts)?
2. What are main determinants that influence fertility intentions in the city environment in Poland among young women and how the impact of the determinants may be explained in the context of the selected theories applied to the factors conditioning procreative intentions – in the context of low fertility?

Selected results:

According to *preference theory* three lifestyle preferences were measured by questions included: (i) If you could have satisfactory income without having to take paid-work, then would you still like to have a paid job or not? (ii) Who is main breadwinner/provider in your household? (iii) There is a common opinion concerning reversing of roles of a husband and wife in family. Below we present three types of family. In the ideal world where money would not pose a problem, which of the following solutions would you choose for yourself? (iv) Do you think that you have already had realized/probably will realize in the future your preferred model? Women who preferred families where only a husband has paid work were classified as home centered (12,8%). Women who wouldn't give up their paid work even without economic necessity and who are main earnings provider in the household (or both with husband) were classified as work centered (31,8%) (different to Hakim proposal). All other women were classified to Adaptive group (55,4%).

Table 1. Preferences in family model (*preference model*) all women

	Home-centered*	Adaptive	Work-centered*
% employed	59,70%	56,00%	91,90%
% married/cohabiting	65,60%	53,01%	51,60%
single person household	7,79%	6,48%	32,46%
% 19 years old (31 year old)	20,8% (26,6%)	34,8% (19,3%)	9,16% (35,06%)
average number of children	0,57	0,38	0,31
%childless	59,74%	71,08%	76,18%
%with higher educational level	13,64%	20,48%	48,43%
intensions to have a child base=100%	56,49%	67,02%	71,73%
proportion of the three groups	12,83%	55,33%	31,84%

Results for logistic regression models are presented in following tables with two estimations: for intensions to have a first child and for intensions to have a subsequent child.

Table 3. Maximum likelihood estimates for intensions to have a first child and for intensions to have a subsequent child (*preference model*) *significant at the level <0.1

variable	Intensions to have:	
	first child	subsequent child
Intercept	0.8212*	0.7149
Work oriented	0.4560*	
Orientation	'adoptive'	-0.2476
Orientation	'home centered'	-0.8096*
Religiosity	'non-religious'	-0.7616*
Religiosity	'neutral'	0.00960
Age	19 (1988)	0.0681
Age	23 (1984)	0.5703*
Age	27 (1980)	0.0702
Work oriented*Social policy evaluation	'good'	-0.6356*
Work oriented*Social policy evaluation	'satisfactory'	0.1662
Activity	'unemployed'	1.6207*
Activity	'bierna zawodowo'	0.2560
Marital Status	'married'	1.1594*
Marital status	'cohabiting'	0.6584
Number of Children*		-1.3548*

Gender equality was measured by questions defining household division between woman and man. Actual division of duties in household was presented in the question: How do you evaluate yours and your husband's/partner's time commitment in household duties?

In logistic regression models for intentions to have a first child and for intentions to have a subsequent child two variables dedicated *gender equality theory* were included:

Gender ideals (1 means that preferred family model is a model where both partners work and take care of home and children together)

Gender reality (1 means that preparing meals is mostly done by partner or at least both partners at the same level). Preparing meals was selected as the most "kitchen" oriented household duty.

As controlling variables were additionally included: *partners educational level* and *partners activity status*.

Table 7. Maximum likelihood estimates for intentions to have a first child and for intentions to have a subsequent child (*gender equality model*)

variable		Intentions to have:	
		first child	subsequent child
Intercept		0.3886	-0.4393*
Religiosity	'non-religious'		-1.2397
Religiosity	'neutral'		-0.6351*
Age	19 (1988)	0.2017	1.0327
Age	23 (1984)	1.2977*	0.8525*
Age	27 (1980)	-0.0732	0.9522*
Activity	'unemployed'	0.3453	
Activity	'not-active'	-1.0326*	
Gender reality		0.5944*	0.5106*

For *social capital theory* two types of models were estimated. Division on intentions to have a first child and intentions to have a subsequent child was sustained.

Table 8. Maximum likelihood estimates for intentions to have a first child and for intentions to have a subsequent child (*social capital model*)

Parameter		Intentions to have:	
		First child	Subsequent child
Intercept		0.5570	-1.4822*
Dwelling	'other'	-1.4291*	
Dwelling	'rent'	0.1957	
Dwelling	'comune'	0.2172	
Activity	'unemploed'	0.1740	
Activity	'not-active'	-0.3988*	
Religiosity	'non-religious'	-0.9565*	-0.5294
Religiosity	'neutral'	-0.0468	-0.5804*
Non-material help	'no, I didn't need'	0.2904	
Non-material help	'no, I didn't know'	-0.3494	
Size of a network of talk about the advantages and disadvantages of having children		0.2144*	
... of talk about the advantages and disadvantages of living independently from other people		-0.2336*	
... of talk about using contraceptives		0.3445*	
... of support receiving dwelling (ownership)		0.5191*	
... of support receiving dwelling (without owner rights)		-0.7570*	0.6170*
... of availing of dwelling		-0.3081*	-0.9769*
... of monetary support		0.8278*	
... of non-monetary support			0.3986*
Age	19 (1988)		1.2205*
Age	23 (1984)		1.0175*
Age	27 (1980)		0.7475*
Marital status	Marrriage/partners		0.8865*
Material help	'no, I didn't need'		0.5261*
Material help	'no, I didn't know'		-0.3375

Finally one model was estimated covering both types of theories gender equality and social capital.

Table 9. Maximum likelihood estimates for intentions to have a first child and for intentions to have a subsequent child (*social capital and gender equality model*)

Parameter	Intentions to have:		
		First child	Subsequent child
Intercept		0.0727	-0.6048*
Dwelling	‘other’	-1.5892*	
Dwelling	‘rent’	0.2382	
Dwelling	‘Spółdzielcze’	0.4126	
Activity	‘unemployed’	0.0708	
Activity	‘bierna zawodowo’	-1.8917*	
Religiosity	‘non-religious’		-0.8662
Religiosity	‘neutral’		-0.9080*
Size of a network of talk about the advantages and disadvantages of having children			0.2054*
... of talk about using contraceptives		0.2847*	
... of support receiving dwelling (without owner rights)		-0.8075*	
... of availing of dwelling			-0.7466*
... of monetary support		1.2474*	
Age	19 (1988)	0.2014	1.0864*
Age	23 (1984)	1.0759*	1.0449*
Age	27 (1980)	-0.4237	0.7475*
Gender reality			0.6345*

Conclusions:

1. Quite significant group of work-oriented women in big cities in Poland
2. Much of them still plans to have a child, however not in the nearest future
3. Women receiving support from social network are more prone to have a child (the first, the second and next child)
4. Women who plan to have a child (the first, the second and next child) have also wider social network size
5. Gender equality influence in positive way fertility intentions

Generally: preference theory aims to explain and predict women’s choices regarding family and paid work. Lifestyle choice mainly concerns: employment, family models and sex-role preferences. The division of labour in the family and the associated value system shape men and women’s life course.

We focused on two types of models: for all women and for only married or cohabiting women:

In work oriented group much higher percentage of women are employed and much less are married/cohabiting. In 1/3 of cases those women were in single person household while this percentage for other groups was at the similar level 6-7%. On average work oriented women have much less children than home centered women. In this group percentage of women with higher educational level is significantly higher than in other groups. What is surprising in this group intentions to have a child is also higher. Situation in group of married or cohabiting women is similar.

We estimated logistic regression model where *intentions* to have a child was a dependent variable and *orientation* as explanatory one.

Orientation was significant and confirmed descriptive findings. From other controlling variables *economic activity*, *religiosity*, *age* and *child* were significant. Having a child make a woman less prone to have a subsequent child.

In social capital model for fertility intentions we were testing (hypothesis 1) that: **Social capital is a factor which influences the fertility intention in a positive way and partly reduces uncertainty and tension resulting from reconciliation of work and family life.** We estimated two models: one for intentions to have a first child and the second for intentions to have a subsequent child.

In the first model following variables were significant: size of a network of talk about advantages and disadvantages of having a child (positive effect), size of a network of talk about advantages and disadvantages of staying in relationship with another person (negative effect), size of a network of talk about

using contraceptives (positive effect), size of a network of talk about monetary support (positive effect), and controlling variables: activity, dwelling conditions, religiosity.

In the second model following variables were significant: size of a network of talk about availing of dwelling (positive effect), size of a network of talk about non-monetary support (positive effect), regular material support (positive effect), and controlling variables: age, religiosity, marital status.

The role of gender equality can be operated on both micro and macro levels. Macro level is connected with (in)adequate development of institutions. Micro level is connected with the division of household and family tasks between men and women.

In gender equality model for fertility intentions we were testing hypothesis (hypothesis H.2) that: **Higher gender equality, the stronger positive influence on the fertility intentions** We estimated two models: one for intentions to have a first child and the second for intentions to have a subsequent child. Following variables supported intentions to have a child in first model: gender reality, age, economic activity; and following supported intentions to have the second and subsequent child: gender reality, religiosity, age.

Generally all hypotheses concerning the three groups of theories related to the fertility intentions in Poland (divided to the fertility intentions to have a first child and to have a second child) have been verified in positive way.

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