

# **The future of the welfare state: paths of social policy innovation between constraints and opportunities**

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## **Varieties of Maternalism? The Relationship between Family Policy Regimes and Maternal Role Attitudes in Germany, Spain and Hungary.**

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### Content:

1. Introduction
2. Varieties of Maternalism – Theoretical Approach
3. Institutionalised Maternalism: Childcare Policy Regimes in Germany, Hungary and Spain
4. Maternalism in Mind: Role Attitudes Towards Mothers
5. Maternalism in Practice: Working or Caring Mothers?
6. Varieties of Maternalism in Institutions, Attitudes and Labour Market Participation

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## 1. Introduction

Mothers are high on the political and public agenda for several reasons, mainly due to divergent opinions on their right or rather duty to engage in employment despite their family obligations. Thus, the assessment of ‘appropriate’ motherhood varies according to two dimensions: the ascription of caring as well as working responsibilities (Leira 1994: 160; Ostner, 2009: 331). Koven and Michel (1993: 4) define maternalism as “*ideologies and discourses which exalted women’s capacity to mother and applied to society as a whole the values they attached to that role: care, nurturance and morality*”. That is, the understanding of mothers is based on a conservatively gendered division of labour in which women with children are mainly mothers, wives, caregivers, and domestic workers whereas men are breadwinners, supporting their families financially through paid work (Orloff 2006: 236). However, increasing female labour market participation accompanied by altering gender role expectations as well as other economic and social changes has caused a re-definition of motherhood in terms of cash and care. According to Orloff the development can best be described as “*employment for all*” (ibid.: 230) strategy which causes the “*farewell to maternalism*” (ibid.: 232). Women’s full-time caring for children loses increasingly support on different levels. For various reasons, based on education expansion and a change in gender specific role expectations, women themselves want to be employed. Simultaneously, even within maternalistic shaped welfare states they are recently expected to augment their labour market participation. Due to social and economic changes causing insecurity and flexibility within labour markets as well as within family relations, mothers as (additional) breadwinners gain importance. At the same time, a traditional understanding of maternalism is still institutionalised. This leads to a specific inconsistency. The development described leads to the question: how maternalism is shaped on various social levels? Are there differences between maternalism found within policy regimes, gender role attitudes and employment participation?

Addressing this question, we start with presenting our theoretical understanding of maternalism. In the following chapters, the theoretical approach will be confronted with empirical findings on three different levels over time. First, on the institutional level varieties of maternalism represented in German, Hungarian and Spanish family policies will be analysed. In a second step, we will focus on the development of attitudes towards mothers as workers and carers in the three countries. The third level covers the actual behaviour of the individuals. Finally, we will sum up in evaluating whether the prevailing maternalisms on these three levels follow the same timing and direction.

## 2. Varieties of Maternalism – Theoretical Approach

Taking the concept of maternalism as starting point and considering more or less recent developments in mothers’ labour market participation, we distinguish three forms of maternalism arranged along a continuum. The original understanding of mothers as exclusive carers serves as one extreme called *maternalism*. Here, mothers are encouraged and expected to stay at home with their children on a full-time basis. At the other end, mothers are mainly conceptualized as workers. Within this form of *post-maternalism*, they are supported to engage in full-time employment despite their family obligations. Simultaneously, caring responsibilities are socialised either to the wider society or to the father. In between these two ends, we locate a form of maternalism which can be described as “in between”, briefly *modernized maternalism*. Here, maternalist premises are modified, yet, not fully rejected. The three stages of maternalism can be found on the institutional, attitudinal and behavioural level.

**Tab. 1: Varieties of Maternalism – Theoretical Approach.**

	Maternalism -----	Modernized Maternalism -----	Post-Maternalism
<b>Mothers mainly as</b>	Carers	Carers working to a limited extent	Workers
<b>Institutions</b>	no parental leave, universal caring benefits for long duration, poor provision of institutional childcare	Medium duration of parental leave with some compensation, poor provision of institutional childcare for the youngest	Short parental leave, high replacement rate, high provision of childcare for all age groups
<b>Attitudes</b>	Mothers are expected to stay at home while children in household, no employment	Mothers are expected to stay at home or to work part time until child reaches school age, after youngest child at school part-time or full-time work	Mothers are expected to work full-time at an early stage of the child's life
<b>Behaviour</b>	Stay at home while children in household, no employment	Stay at home or part-time work, until child reaches school age, after youngest child at school part-time or full-time work	Stay at home for a very short period, working full-time

Source: own illustration.

On an *institutional level*, the concept of motherhood is reflected mainly within the prevailing social and family policies (Leira, 1994: 171). Welfare states differ in terms of supporting mothers as the main source of care provision on the one hand (Leitner, 2003: 357) – maternalism - and assisting mothers to be economically active to some or full extent on the other –modernized maternalism or post-maternalism. While offering incentives and barriers respectively, social policies influence mothers' choice between paid and unpaid work (Ostner, 2009: 327; Lewis, 2001: 166). There are national variations in expectations towards mothers, whether they are expected to work at all or to what extent and when they are expected to take up employment after giving birth.

In our analysis, we will focus on two major childcare policy institutions, the provision of parental leave schemes (incl. maternity leave) and institutional childcare facilities; both perceived as important measures to influence gender relations and mothers' economic autonomy (Szelewa and Polakowski, 2008: 115). Parental leave entails the right of employees to withdraw from the labour force in order to care for children. Simultaneously, the return to the same or a similar working position is guaranteed. Mainly depending on the duration and the replacement rate of income losses, leave schemes combine the specific understanding of parents as workers and carers (Leira 1994: 168). The meaning of generous leave entitlements in terms of high replacement rates and a long duration is, however, discussed controversially. On the one hand, it is argued that these leaves are associated with a continuous attachment to the labour market. Even after a long break, parents have the right to return to their previous job position. On the other hand, longer discontinuations endanger the labour force re-integration (Kangas and Rostgaard, 2007: 245). Parents taking long leaves participate less in the labour market, are confronted with barriers for re-integration into a highly competitive employment market and are forced into lower-paying sectors of economy. This represents an economic risk and undermines labour market opportunities, mainly for women (Glass and Fodor, 2007: 341 et sqq.). Empirical findings show: the longer the withdrawal of paid work, the more difficult the re-entering (Wendt and Maucher, 2000: 6). Further, the right to time off

is only a realistic option when there is an appropriate compensation for income loss (Kangas and Rostgaard, 2007: 245).

Maternalism on an institutional level is further reflected within the provision of institutional childcare (Leira, 1994: 171). A high coverage rate allows mothers to be employed (Lewis, 2001: 167) – an expression of post-maternalism -, whereas a poor development of childcare facilities may be based on the idea of mothers as carers which refers to maternalism. Yet, the age of the child has to be considered. The provision of institutional childcare for the youngest represents a different understanding of motherhood than of care facilities for pre-school children.

The combination of the parental leave scheme with a specific provision of institutional childcare refers to different forms of maternalism. That is, universal caring benefits which allow mothers to care for their children on a long full-time basis support the traditional maternalism. The absence of parental leave suggests either that mothers as employers are not considered or that they do not need a guarantee to return to their previous working position since they will withdraw for long period of time. Simultaneously childcare facilities for all age groups are rare. The understanding of mothers as main carers with limited employment is represented in modernized maternalism. Here, parental leave covers the first years of the child's life. Some reimbursement may be paid. During this time mothers are expected to stay at home or to work part-time. After the child starts school, mothers' employment participation should be (at least) part-time, therefore, part-time sometimes also full-time childcare facilities are available. Within post-maternal regimes parental leave is awarded shortly with a high replacement level. Childcare institutions are available widely for all age groups in order to encourage maternal employment even if the child is still young.

Institutionalised maternalism reflects different understandings of mothers as carers or as workers. Similar considerations apply for the attitudinal and behavioural level. Attitudes refer to gender specific role expectations towards mothers. Within traditional maternalism mothers are supposed to stay at home with their children until the latter leave the household. Mothers do not need to contribute financially to the household income which is mainly gained by male employment. In modernized maternalism, within the maternal role the carer is emphasised while employment is expected to a limited extend. Especially during the first years after the child's birth the mothers should stay at home or work part-time. Afterwards, mothers are expected to work either part- or full-time whereas within post-maternalism mothers should return to paid work as soon as possible. On the behavioural level we find maternalism in practice. That is, to what extent – part-time vs. full-time – and with which timing (age of the child) mothers actually work.

In the early 1990s, Germany<sup>1</sup>, Hungary<sup>2</sup> and Spain resemble in their childcare institutions analysed within this paper. All have parental leave schemes with rather long withdrawals from the labour market, as well as a poor developed childcare provision for younger children.

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<sup>1</sup> Yet, this holds only true for the Western part, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) since reunification merged two rather contrasting (family) policy regimes (Leitner et al., 2008: 175). The following analysis is restricted to West Germany. Although family policies are valid for both parts since the 1990s, especially within the attitudes and employment rates there are still rather different patterns prevailing due to historically varying family policy traditions.

<sup>2</sup> For quite a while, post-communist countries have been neglected in (Western) welfare state comparison research due to their perceived instability of the political system shortly after transition (Szelewa and Polakowski 2008: 117). Further, social policies were supposed not to have the same historical tradition as known in Western Europe. However, even during state socialism and the transitional phase of severe political, social and economic change afterwards different relatively clear trajectories of institutional settings can be identified which determine recent developments (Fodor et al., 2002: 476). This holds especially true for Hungarian family policies since it

Further, these countries are faced with similar social and economic changes expressed for instance in increasing female labour market participation, decreasing birth rates or modified gender role expectations. Among others, this has caused an increasing problem of reconciling family and work obligations mainly for women. As our following analysis will show, political reactions to this change vary among these countries.

### **3. Institutionalised Maternalism: Childcare Policy Regimes in Germany, Hungary and Spain**

As mentioned above, our analysis of family policy regimes focuses on measures, which allow (or not) mothers to reconcile childcare and employment participation. In the following, we will provide information on national maternity and parental leave schemes. Further, we take the provision of institutional childcare into consideration.

#### ***German Family Policies***

*German* family policy can be described as conservative for several reasons. State intervention is based on the principles of ‘subsidiary’ and ‘relational responsibility’. That is, by promoting the male breadwinner model, marriage-based entitlements are predominantly attached to status and relationships rather than to individual rights (among others Scheiwe, 1999: 378; Ostner et al., 2003: 5). Especially the care of children is interpreted as a ‘natural right’ and the ‘highest duty’ of the family (Gottschall and Bird, 2003: 118 et seq.) mainly assumed by women.

In Germany, maternity leave was first introduced in the 1920s as a right of female workers and a societal obligation to protect unborn as well as newborn life (Leitner et al., 2008: 194). In 1994, it entailed a 14-week release from employment duties, six weeks prior and eight weeks after giving birth (Wendt and Maucher, 2000: 10). The right to care immediately after the child’s birth was accompanied with prevailing social security entitlements and a full wage replacement (Erler, 2006: 123).

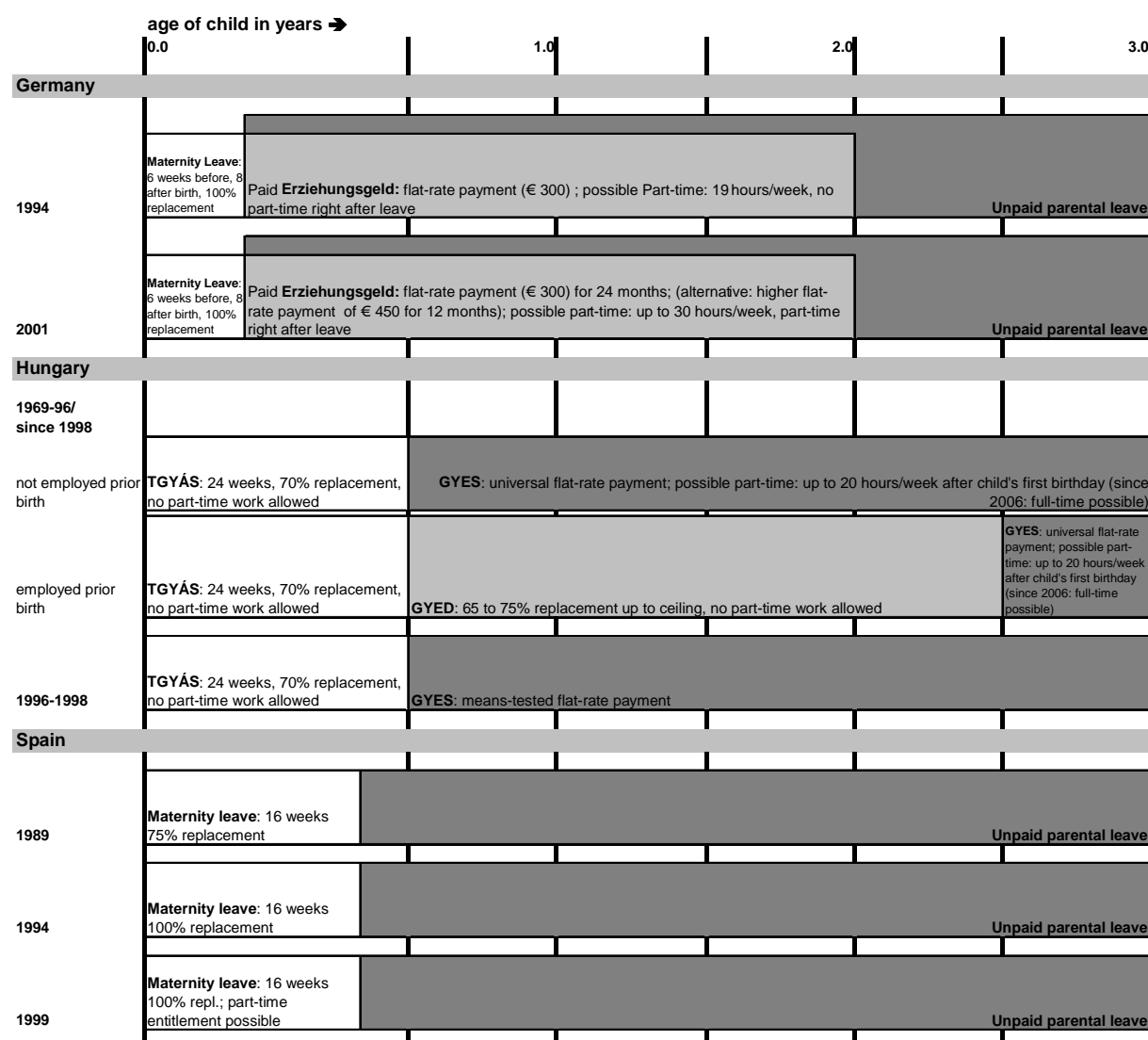
Prominent conservative politicians considered maternity leave reserved for employed mothers only as discriminatory against non-employed women. As a result, first *parental* leave regulations – called *Erziehungsurlaub* – were implemented in 1986 in order to acknowledge the status of non-working mothers in the same way as of working mothers. In 1994, leave was also available to men. A flat-rate payment (600 DM equals around € 300 monthly) for all home caring parents irrespective their employment status prior birth – the so called *Erziehungsgeld*, was granted for a period of two years (Bothfeld, 2006: 102; Wendt and Maucher, 2000: 25; Leitner et al., 2008: 194 et sqq.). Parents who earned incomes above certain thresholds received a reduced amount. Those on leave were allowed to work up to 19 hours a week (Leitner et al., 2008: 196; Kolbe, 2001: 193). While the old legislation was conceptualized rather inflexible, the new scheme, introduced in 2001, offered parents some options. Paid leave could be concentrated on a shorter one-year period with a higher compensation level (up to a maximum of € 450 per month) (Erler, 2006: 124). The maximum of allowed part-time work was increased up to 30 hours per week. As an important innovation, a right to request flexible part-time *after* parental leave was introduced (Ostner, 2002: 159; Bothfeld, 2006: 102; Gottschall and Bird, 2003: 130). The reform was mainly

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was the first country to introduce family allowance for civil servants in 1912 (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 97) or the first state-run kindergarten (1879) in Eastern Europe (Avdeyeva, 2009: 2). Until 1985, Hungarian family policies show some parallels to their Western European counterparts like e.g. West Germany. As in communist Hungary, the German welfare state has maternalist origins (Haney, 2002: 102).

based on the rationale of adapting existing rules to the needs of *employed* parents, fathers and mothers and to facilitate flexible working (Ostner, 2002: 159). Simultaneously, this served employers’ interests by providing incentives for parents to stay in (reduced full-time) employment while on parental leave. The threshold for income-testing was significantly raised, although in 2004, seriously reduced again. Further, unemployment and sickness benefits started to be accounted as income. That reform aimed at giving incentives for shorter leave periods, for part-time leave and employment for both parents (Leitner et al., 2008: 196; Erler, 2006: 125). Besides the paid period, German parents own an extended right to an unpaid leave period of three years until the child’s third birthday (Scheiwe, 1999: 305; Gottschall and Bird, 2003: 121). Since 2001, the third year of unpaid leave could be taken any time up to the child’s eighth birthday.

Fig. 1: Maternity and Parental Leave Schemes in Germany, Hungary and Spain.



Source: OECD, 2006: 344, own supplementing of German and Spanish regulations.

Generally in Germany, there are three forms of institutional childcare differentiated by the children’s age. *Krippen* are the crèche service for children younger than three years. Children between three and six years are cared for in *Kindergarten*, while children in early school age

can attend *Hort* services which are provided for out-of-school hours mainly in the afternoon. Drawing a picture of German institutional childcare is rather difficult due to its federal structure. The duty to finance childcare facilities lies on the level of the municipalities which are supported by the federal *Laender*. This leads to a distinctive diversity of institutions, rules and procedures of public funded childcare concerning opening-hours, group-size, the ratio of children and childminder or attending fees (OECD, 2006: 334 et sq.) Yet, overall trends within the West German provision can be identified. For children under the age of three there was and still is barely formal childcare available. The provision rate in 1994 lied around 1.7% (Wendt and Maucher, 2000: 23). In 2002, only 2.8% places for children under three were provided. Almost all children in this age group were cared for at home, mainly by their mothers (OECD, 2006: 336). A different situation prevails for children in kindergarten. Since 1992, German children at the age of three have a legal right to be cared for on at least a half-day basis in kindergarten until they reach school age (between six or seven) (Wendt and Maucher, 2000: 17). Thus, kindergarten facilities expanded severely (Gottschall and Bird, 2003: 119). The provision rate rose to 90% in 2002 (see also Table 2). However, only 24% of these childcare centres provided services on a full-time basis (OECD, 2006: 336).

**Table 2: Children in Institutional Childcare Facilities by Age Groups**

Institutions	Germany			Hungary			Spain			
		Krippe	Kindergarten		Bolcsode <sup>a</sup>	Ovoda <sup>b</sup>		Educación sino preescolar	education infantil (pre-school), with primary school	
Age	< 3 yrs*	3 - 6.5 yrs		< 3 yrs	4 - 6 yrs		< 3 yrs <sup>c</sup>	3 yrs <sup>c</sup>	4 - 5 yrs <sup>**d</sup>	
Years	1994	1.7	74.4	1990	13.7	87.1	1992/93	4.0	45.9	96.6
	1998	2.2	87.9	1995	9.0	90.9	1997/98	6.6	72.6	99.8
	2002	2.8	90.2	2000	8.7	92.0	2001/02	10.1	92.8	100.0
	*age groups differ according to various compulsory schooling ages, groups of children in nurseries and pre-school institutions are compared						** Information for 1991-92, 1996-97 and 2000-01			
source	DJI, 2005			Hungarian Background Report, 2002. <sup>b</sup> OM Statisztika (Pethó 2002).						
cited by	Leitner et al., 2008: 193			OECD 2004: 13			González and Vidal, 2005: 5 <sup>c</sup> CIDE 2002:101			

The gender arrangement in Germany is conceptualized as shifting from a male-breadwinner/female-carer model, with the expansion of female part-time work, to a so called one-and-a-half earner model. Yet, incentives for mothers to stay at home especially with their young children persist until recently. Since the Social Democratic-Green coalition government came into power 1998, however, there have been major shifts within German family policies. These were continued by the following conservative minister of family affairs (Leitner et al., 2008: 189).<sup>3</sup> The early Federal Republic of Germany started out to represent a traditional model of maternalism. Over a period of modernization, recent German family policies aim at work-family reconciliation for both parents, mothers and fathers. However, in 2004, taking parental leave and institutional childcare together Germany has to be characterised as modernized-maternalist, taking careful steps towards post-maternalism.

<sup>3</sup> With the latest reform of the leave scheme in 2007, steps to facilitate the reconciliation of family and employment obligations were severely taken further. New regulations – called *Elterngeld* - substituted the old parental leave benefit (*Erziehungsgeld*). Within the new scheme the duration was reduced to 12 months for one parent, two additional months reserved for the other on a use-or-lose basis. The reimbursement became earnings-related, that is 67% of the average income are compensated with a lower limit of € 300 and a maximum ceiling of € 1800 per month (Leitner et al., 2008: 196 et sq.).

### ***Hungarian Family Policies***

Post-socialist countries during communism, like Hungary, were known for state paternalism and gender ideologies on first glance characterized by gender equality. Thus, based on a growing industrialized economy and an ideology of full employment communist governments stressed the importance of women as well as mothers within the paid labour force. In order to raise birth rates and female labour market participation generous maternity and parental leaves as well as subsidized public childcare institutions were introduced early (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 93). However, women's labour market participation was not expected to have the same intensity as of men and fathers (Fodor et al., 2002: 480; Glass and Fodor, 2007: 333).<sup>4</sup> This is emphasised by the fact, that in the 1980s, working women were referred back to the family sphere in order to uphold the image of full employment. An extended parental leave period served as an incentive for mothers to stay home with their young children and concealed the labour force excess (Szelewa, 2007: 16; Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 98). Thus, in contrast to “Western expectations”, Hungary did not experience a “gender revolution” in 1989, rather a “*silent revolution*” as Goven (2000: 287) describes it.<sup>5</sup> After transition this trend of familialisation was pushed further. Within literature the Central Eastern countries are assumed to develop towards the male breadwinner model via “*re-familialisation*” or “*re-traditionalisation*” (Szelewa, 2006: 23). The development was based on the ideal of the “*good wife-mother-caregiver*” (Goven, 2000: 287). Immediately after transition, Hungary suffered serious political, economic and social changes such as entering market economy with newly discovered open unemployment and severe financial deficits. These lead to cuts in social spending including a withdrawal of state provision for families in terms of financial support as well as of institutional childcare (Goven, 2000: 290).

Hungary's maternity leave system<sup>6</sup> consists of three tiers.<sup>7</sup> First, maternity leave (abbreviated: TGYÁS, *Terhességi gyermekágyi segély*, that is *pregnancy and confinement benefit*) implied a 70% replacement of their precedent wage for a period of half a year (Hemmings 2007: 9). The second layer of the maternity leave system was introduced in 1969, the so called GYES (*Gyermekgondozási segély*, that is *child care allowance*) (Haney, 2002: 99). Since 1969, the benefit has been guaranteed universally after maternity leave up to the child's third birthday combined with a flat-rate reimbursement (Fodor et al., 2002: 483; Hemmings, 2007: 9;

<sup>4</sup> In sum, socialist governments did not attempt to transform the domestic division of labour in general. The overall aim was to encourage women to integrate in the paid labour market and to reconcile employment and family responsibilities (Fodor et al., 2002: 480; Glass and Fodor 2007: 333). No incentives were set for men and fathers to share household and family burdens equally. This led to a double burden for mothers in communism (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 93).

<sup>5</sup> In Western perception, as mentioned above, East European countries are associated with high “gender equality” due to high female labour market participation and rhetorically strong gender ideologies. This equity between men and women, however, did not result in a similar gender equality within peoples minds. The emancipation of women was State engineered and imposed, rather than individual convictions. Women were forced to work, they remained the main carers for their families, thus, they were confronted with a double burden. Saxonberg and Szelewa (2007: 354) state correctly: “*Since communist regimes officially supported gender equality, they gave gender equality a bad name*”. After transition, policy makers preferred to distance themselves from this official ideology of state-socialism (Goven, 2000: 295).

<sup>6</sup> As mentioned above, the domestic division of labour among men and women was not targeted by socialist family policy. This is once more underlined by the fact, that fathers were not entitled to take “maternity leave”. In 1985 they were rewarded the right to take “maternity leave” (rather than parental leave), yet, took little advantage of this right (so far). Thus, parental leave schemes in Hungary mainly regulate mothers' integration into the labour market (Fodor et al., 2002: 480 et sqq., Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 110).

<sup>7</sup> In 1993, a fourth parental leave scheme was implemented aiming at the distinctive group of families with more than three children (abbreviated: GYET, in Hungarian: *Gyermeknevelési támogatás*, that is *child raising support*). Mothers can stay at home up to the eighth birthday of the youngest child. The benefit equals the GYES (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 101; Avdeyeva, 2009: 11).

OECD, 2004: 10). The amount equals the state's minimum wage (Avdeyeva, 2009: 11). Only while GYES – not on TGYÁS or GYED - mothers are allowed to work up to 20 hours a week after the child's first birthday.<sup>8</sup> This allows mothers to stay in contact with the labour market and facilitates their potential re-integration (Fodor et al., 2002: 485). However, introducing this right symbolized a regime's shift in focussing on women as mothers rather than workers (Haney, 2002: 106). Maternalism was further intensified with the introduction of the third tier of parental leave in 1985, the so called GYED (*Gyermekgondozási díj*, that is *child care benefit*). This benefit is based on mothers' employment and income status respectively. It is an two-year extension of the TGYÁS for working mothers (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 100; Hemmings, 2007: 9) complemented by flat-rate payments for additional six months in terms of GYES (Haney, 2002: 178). The GYED grant covers up to 75% of the former income (Szelewa, 2006: 15). Whereas the GYES was aiming especially at mothers with lower incomes, the GYED was intended to give well-educated mothers incentives to opt out of employment (Goven, 2000: 290). Both instruments, GYED and GYES, show that Hungarian policy makers loosened the forced commodification of all women practiced in socialism. Mothers of children aged younger than six years were given the option to care for their children at home (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 98). Although the scheme was formulated gender neutral, it was discussed in terms of “maternity leave”. Measures were not aiming at facilitating reconciliation but rather giving mothers the choice to stay at home with their children and to receive appropriate social recognition for their care (Goven, 2000: 295).

The development of Hungarian childcare policy is characterised by a severe discontinuity concerning the years 1996 to 1998 (Szikra and Szelewa, 2009: 101). Due to the budget constraints mentioned above, the Hungarian parental leave scheme faced major cut backs in 1996. The GYED benefit was phased out (Avdeyeva, 2009: 5 et sqq.), whereas the formerly universal GYES was subjected to means-testing. Recognizing an increasing occurrence of involuntary unemployment eligibility was not linked to previous employment any longer (Goven, 2000: 294). Thus, the parental leave scheme became a provision for full-time, paid motherhood (Goven, 2000: 294). Yet, only those women receiving an income below certain thresholds were eligible to GYES (Haney, 2002: 188). Thus, childrearing was no longer associated with social approval; maternal labour was not sufficient any more to claim state benefits, rather, these were linked to material neediness during this period (Haney, 2002: 189).

Institutional childcare in Hungary consists of two major forms: nurseries (Hungarian: *bölcsde*) for children under the age of three and kindergartens for children aged three to six years (Hungarian: *óvoda*) (Szelewa, 2006: 16). Legally, children have to attend kindergarten for at least one year before entering school (Hemmings, 2007: 10). Childcare programmes are mainly operated on the local government level (OECD, 2004: 13). There is a legal entitlement to free services six months after the child's birth. Access in practice is, however, limited. Working parents are treated priorly in allocation of constrained child care places (Hemmings, 2007: 22).

During communism institutional childcare for under 3-year-olds was mainly unavailable in Hungary (Fodor et al., 2002: 480). The situation worsened since transformation. Until 2000, only half as many childcare centres existed as in 1980. In 2000, 8.7 places per 100 children were available. For children from the age of three Hungarian care provision is comprehensive. Most children attend kindergarten for the full three years prior to primary school (Hemmings 2007: 10). In contrast to nursery provision, places available in kindergartens stayed on a similar level (over 90%) since the 1980s (OECD, 2004: 13) (see also Table 2).

<sup>8</sup> Since 2006 mothers are entitled to work full-time after the child turned one year (Hemmings, 2007: 9).

Summing up, due to generous maternal leave schemes Hungarian mothers can retreat from the labour market in order to care for their children for nearly three years, when, in general kindergarten becomes available (OECD, 2006: 344). Simultaneously, institutional childcare under the age of three is barely available. Provision has even more declined since transition. Both – long leaves and little public care facilities – encourage mothers to a long separation from the labour market (Hemmings, 2007: 2). According to our understanding of varieties of maternalism, Hungary represents the “modernized maternalism”.

### *Spanish Family Policies*

Similar to other South European countries, Spanish family policy is based on the assumption of family self-sufficiency. In reaction to the conservative family policy during the Franco regime, Spanish policy makers almost ignored the family during the 1980s.<sup>9</sup> Thus, neither care services nor financial benefits were provided. State intervention in this model can be characterized as passive (Flaquer, 2000). Family work was primarily ascribed to women.<sup>10</sup> Only when the conservative *Partido Popular* came in power between 1996 and 2004 family policy gained importance. The Law of Conciliation (1999) represented the main instrument in family policy introduced by this party. Its new regulations were based on the European directives on maternity and parental leave as well as part-time work (Fernández Cordón and Tobío Soler, 2005: 19). They are focused on adapt paid work for parents and give them the possibility to take leaves in order to care for their children. Although the measures are for mothers and fathers, they will primarily reach mothers, since there is no replacement for income loss, with the exception of maternity leave (Salido and Moreno, 2009: 293 et sq.). Thus, only a minority of the Spanish families make use of these unpaid measures (Fernández Cordón and Tobío Soler, 2005: 20).

Since 1989, the duration of maternity leave was 16 weeks. The replacement rate of 75% of the previous wage was awarded to parents who had been employed for at least 180 days in the last year prior to the child’s birth. If both parents were working, the father could take four of the last weeks. In this case the mother had to return to her job (Guillén, 1997: 52). At the end of 1994, regulations of the maternity leave changed sincerely. The payment increased to a reimbursement of 100% for parents who were affiliated to the social security and had paid contributions 180 days in the last five years prior to the child’s birth (Salido, 2002: 5, Guillén, 1997: 52, Valiente, 1997a: 237). In 1999, as part of the Law of Conciliation, new regulations were introduced in the maternity leave. Only the first six weeks after birth were exclusively reserved for mothers. Fathers were able to take ten rather than previously four weeks of the maternity leave (Salido, 2002: 6, Salido Cortés, 2006: 18). Similar to the reforms of 1989, these weeks are not conceptualized as a individual right for fathers but rather mothers have to renounce parts of their entitlement for fathers being able to stay at home for this period (Moreno and Salido, 2009: 294). Hence, it is little surprising, that in 2001, for example, only 1.3% of the beneficiaries of the parental leave were fathers (Salido 2002: 5). The Law of Conciliation also gave parents the possibility to take the maternal leave in part-time linked with a proportional increase of the total duration. Employees with children under the age of six were enabled to reduce their working hours accompanied by a proportional reduction of their salary (Salido 2002: 5). Further, the measures of flexibility at the employment market which has been introduced since the 1980s did not ease the burden of work-family

<sup>9</sup> Among others, this is reflected by the development of total economical expenditure towards families: in 1975, 17% of the total economical expenditures were awarded towards families in 1975, whereas only 1.17% in 1990 (Velarde, 1990: 164).

<sup>10</sup> In this context, some authors refer to ‘exploitation’ of women and family resources (Salido and Moreno 2009) and describe Spanish women as ‘superwomen’ (Moreno, 2004).

reconciliation but rather aimed to decrease unemployment rates. In Spain, part-time work was rather low developed in comparison to other European countries, although it increased during the 1990s due to the integration of women into the labour market. However, part-time working conditions were associated with a loss of social rights as well as with short-run contracts. This could be one explanation for the refusal to work part-time among Spanish employees, also parents (Salido, 2006: 16).

Parental leave was introduced in Spain in 1989 (Salido 2002:6). The maximum duration covers three years without payment and can be taken by mothers or by fathers. In contrast to Germany and Hungary, the parental leave in Spain was only designed for working parents, to facilitate the reconciliation of work and care activities. Initially, parents were guaranteed the return to the exact same position only when their withdrawal from the labour market did not exceed one year. In 1995, parents are awarded the right to return to a similar working position when they have taken parental leave for two or three years (Guillén, 1997: 52). With the introduction of the Law of Conciliation parental leave can be taken until the child turns eight (Fernández Cordón and Tobío Soler, 2005: 20).

The provision of institutional services for children under the age of six has increased significantly between the early 1990s and middle 2000s. With the introduction of the Law for the General Regulation of the Education System or LOGSE in 1990, the state assumed the regulation of care provision within the education system for children under six. The education system for young children had a voluntary character and is organized in two cycles: the first cycle for children under three and the second cycle for children between three and six years of age. Compulsory education starts with the child's sixth birthday. The first cycle was not free of payments except for families with very low-incomes. It was organized by the regional administration mainly by autonomous communities, but also by local corporations and non-profit organisations. Due to this structure important inequalities in the provision and costs occur across regions and municipalities. In sum, the provision of childcare for the very young was poorly developed, similar to Germany (Gonzalez and Vidal, 2005: 6; Valiente, 1997b: 109). Since the late 1990s, however, pre-school institutions for children under three have gained importance. In 2001, 10% of children younger than three years were enrolled in institutional childcare compared to 4% in 1992.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, the second cycle of education for children aged between three and six years was free of charge. The coverage of the public centres – organised by the central State (Ministry of Education, MEC) - has been quite widespread. Institutional childcare for pre-school children aged three has increased severely since the early 1990s. In 2002, three year-olds had a similar provision rate as the four- to five-year olds, high up in the ninety percent (see also Table 2).

In sum, at the end of the eighties measures for work-family reconciliation were rather underdeveloped. Yet, during the nineties this situation changed to some extent. With the introduction of new regulations the provision of childcare institutions and also the replacement rate of maternal leave increased. Further, in the parental leave the right to return to a working position was enlarged to three years but continued to provide no cash compensation. During the early 1990s and at the beginning of 2000 educational services for children aged four and five years were very extensive and childcare provision for three-year olds increased notably in the 1990s. Nevertheless, educational services for children under

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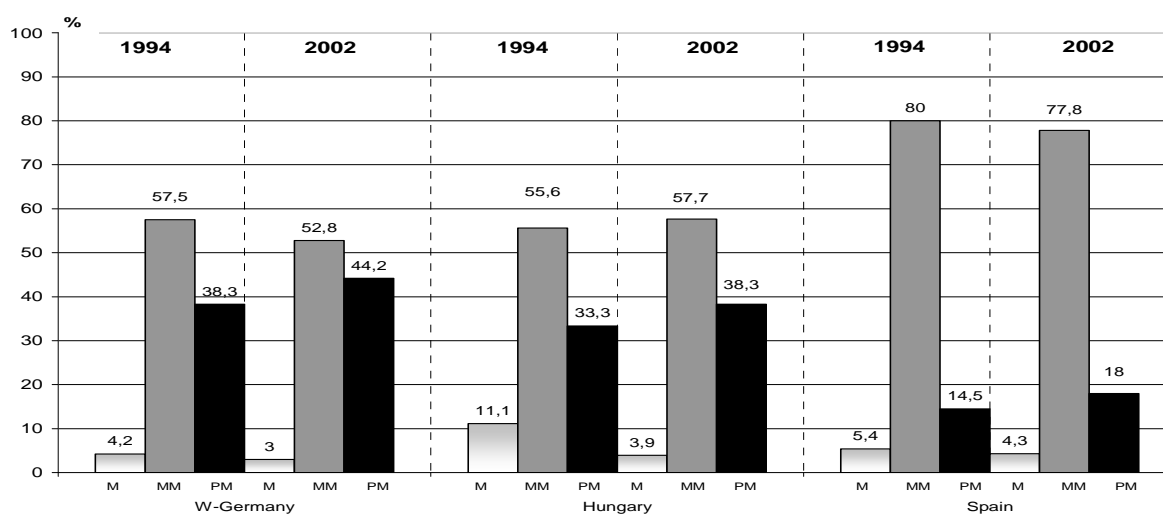
<sup>11</sup> It is important to point out that not only public but also private centres played an important role in the provision of educational institutions for children under the age of six, and these private services were more widespread for children under three years of age. However, these private institutions do not primarily represent the state's understanding of maternalism and are therefore neglected in our analysis. To give a full picture, they hint at the existence of a demand on early childhood education on the level of parents which is not met by state provision (Fernández Cordón and Tobío, 2005: 21; Valiente, 1997: 109).

three are insufficient. Spanish family policy, thus, according to our understanding of varieties of maternalism represented at the end of the eighties a modernized maternalist model, given that parental leave was particularly for working mothers and the service provision of children under three was very poor. In spite of changes during the 1990s, Spanish parental leave is still for working mothers and the provision for children continues to be very low. In sum, Spain can be characterized as a model of modernized maternalism.

#### **4. Maternalism in Mind: Role Attitudes towards Mothers**

The trend analysis of attitudes on the micro level is based on the ISSP Data “*Family and Gender roles*” covering the years 1994 and 2002. Normative expectations towards mothers will be assigned to the three forms of maternalism as described above; that is maternalism, modernized maternalism and post-maternalism. The following findings show the opinions on mothers’ employment integrating the view of both women and men. This reflects the attitudes of the society as a whole.<sup>12</sup> First, we will focus on the expected positive or negative effects of maternal employment on the relationship between working mothers and their children. A strong disagreement to the indicator that a working mother can establish a just as warm and secure relationship with her children as a non-working mother will refer to a maternal attitude whereas a strong agreement represents post-maternal ideas. The modernized maternalism is emphasized through answers positioned in between, that is weaker (dis)agreements or neutral opinions. Figure 2 shows the different views in Germany, Hungary and Spain over the years.

**Fig. 2: Agreement with Indicator “A working mother can establish just as warm and secure relationship with her children as a mother who does not work” over years.**



Indicator: “Do you agree or disagree...? A working mother can establish just as warm and secure relationship with her children as a mother who does not work”.

(strongly disagree= Maternalism; agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree= Modernized Maternalism; strongly agree= Post-Maternalism)

N: 1994=6141; 2002=4646

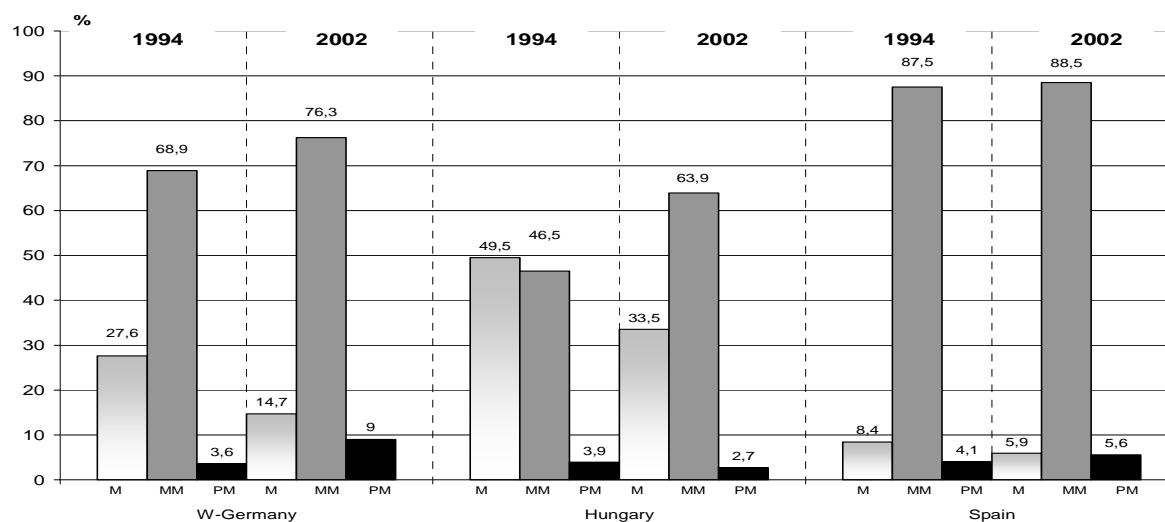
Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

In all three countries modernized maternalism has the highest acceptance, with Spain holding the most elevated quota in both years. Further, maternal positions descend in all three

<sup>12</sup> ISSP-Data does not distinguish between children under three years and between three and six years. For this reason we cannot differentiate between the attitudes towards the employment of mothers of children under three and children between four and six at the micro level.

countries. In Germany and Hungary, we find widespread ascending post-maternal opinions while in Spain the share is also increasing, yet on a lower level. In sum, between 1994 and 2002 the negative evaluation of maternal employment for the mother-child relationship has lost importance in all three countries.

**Fig. 3: Agreement with Indicator “A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works” over years.**



Indicator: “Do you agree or disagree...? A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works”. (strongly agree= Maternalism; agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree= Modernized Maternalism; strongly disagree= Post-Maternalism)

M: Maternalism; MM: Modernized Maternalism; PM: Post-Maternalism.

N: 1994=6092; 2002=4296

Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

Figure 3 indicates the opinions on whether a preschool child is likely to suffer, if his/her mother is working.<sup>13</sup> Similar to Figure 2, we find the highest acceptance of a modernized maternal position in all three countries (except for Hungary in 1994) with an increase in 2002. Maternal attitudes diminish over the years, also in all three countries. In Germany and Spain, post-maternal positions rise, whereas in Hungary they even lose importance. Germany shows a higher share of maternal rather than of post-maternal opinions in both years; although, the latter gain influence. Hungary supports maternalism pronouncedly in both years, but both maternal and post-maternal positions decrease. The developments in Spain are less severe. Modernized maternal convictions are already in 1994 widespread. In 2002, maternal ideas lose while post-maternal views gain some importance.

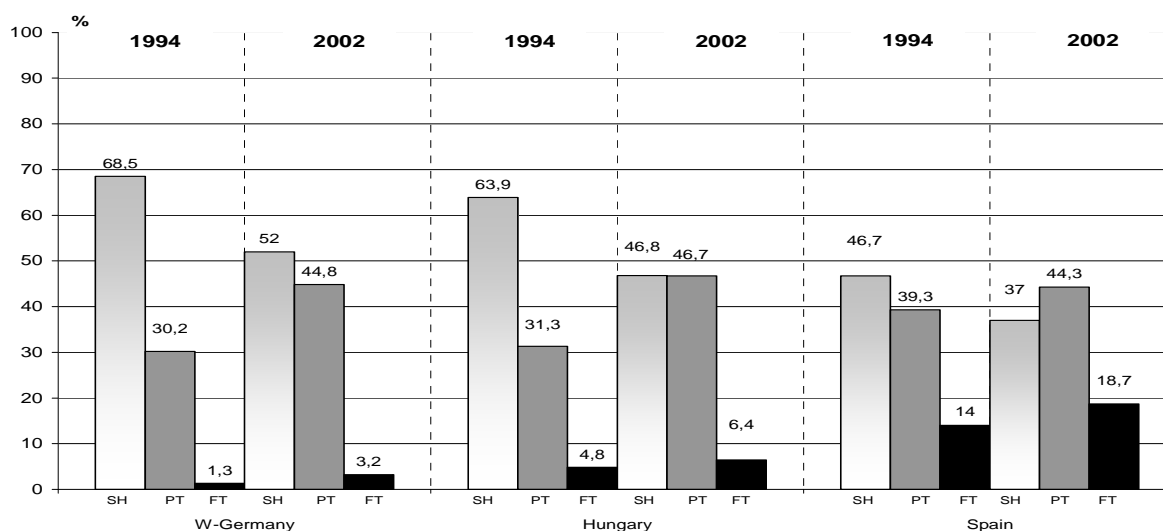
Comparing Figure 2 and 3, we find different degrees of support for our indicators. It is important to stress that they represent two distinct aspects for children of different ages. While the first indicator displays the possibility of working mothers to have a warm relation with children at any age, the second indicator reflects opinions towards the possibility of pre-school children to suffer, if their mother works. In the first indicator we find a higher support of post-maternalism than of maternalism, while in the second indicator maternal positions are more distinct over time. This difference suggests that respondents in general consider a mother-child relationship to be possibly intact although the mother is employed; simultaneously, they expect pre-school children to suffer. This finding supports our

<sup>13</sup> ISSP-Data does not distinguish between children under three years and between three and six years. For this reason we cannot differentiate between the attitudes towards the employment of mothers of children under three and children between four and six at the micro level.

understanding of modernized maternalism: mothers should stay at home (or work part-time) with their young children and participate in the labour market when the children are older.

We will follow this hypothesis further by analysing the perspective on the appropriate timing of mothers (re)entering labour force. In Figure 4, the agreement and disagreement respectively towards mothers working with children under school age is displayed. In all three countries, a majority supports the idea that women with young children should stay at home. The only exception is Spain in 2002; here, the support for part-time working mothers is the strongest, although the possibility to stay at home is similarly endorsed. Within the Spanish data, we also find the highest support for full-time employment of mothers with young children in both years. In Germany, the preference for mothers to stay at home decreases while the support of part-time and full-time work rises. Staying at home, however, is still the most preferred option. A similar development can be found in Hungary. The idea that mothers with pre-school children should withdraw from the labour market is similarly expressed – yet, decreasing – than the conviction that these mothers should work on a part-time basis. The latter gains importance over the years.

**Fig. 4: Agreement with Indicator “Women should work outside: with preschool child” over years.**



Indicator: “Women should work outside: with preschool child” (work full time, work part-time, stay at home)

SH: Stay at Home; PT: Work part-time; FT: Work full-time.

N: 1994=5846; 2002=4133.

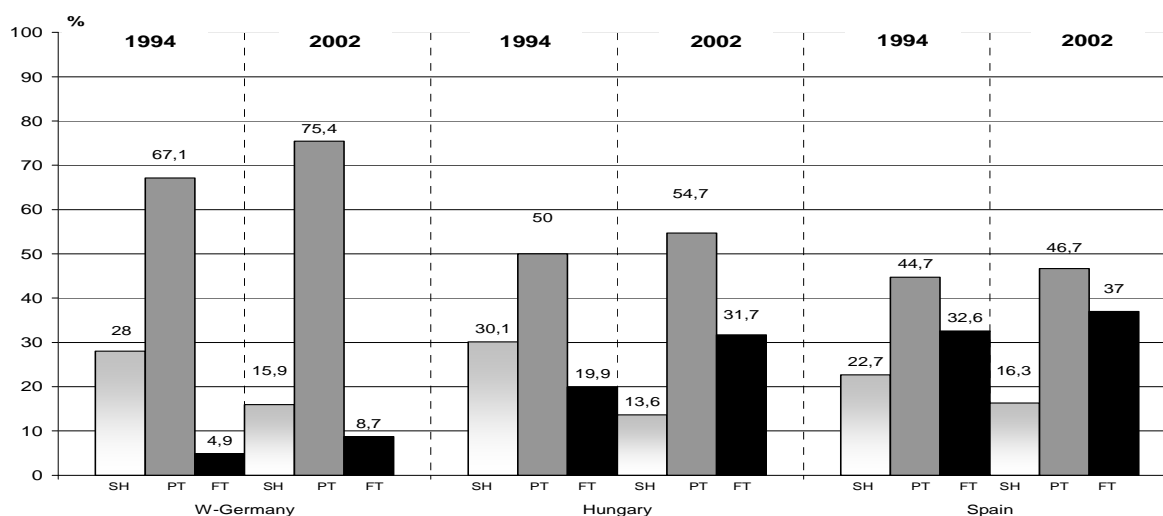
Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

Comparing Figure 3 and 4, findings show severe differences between both variables. Although attitudes towards the sufferance of pre-school children with working mothers are only expressed moderately and thus, refer to a modernized maternal position, the majority of the respondents prefer that these mothers stay at home. This discrepancy can be found in all three countries over time, with a more pronounced level in Germany and Spain.

Work requirements are based on different assumptions when the child attends school (Figure 5). Mothers’ employment status after the youngest child reaches school age is judged quite differently compared to mothers’ with children under this age. Part-time work is supported most in all three countries over the years, with the highest level of agreement in Germany. Simultaneously, we find the lowest persuasion that these mothers should get involved in full-time employment (similar to Figure 4). In Hungary, the support of full-time work increases severely, however, part-time work continues being preferred by the majority. Full-time work

is expected most in Spain, with a higher enlargement than in part-time work. Nevertheless, the latter still gains most of the support in 2002.

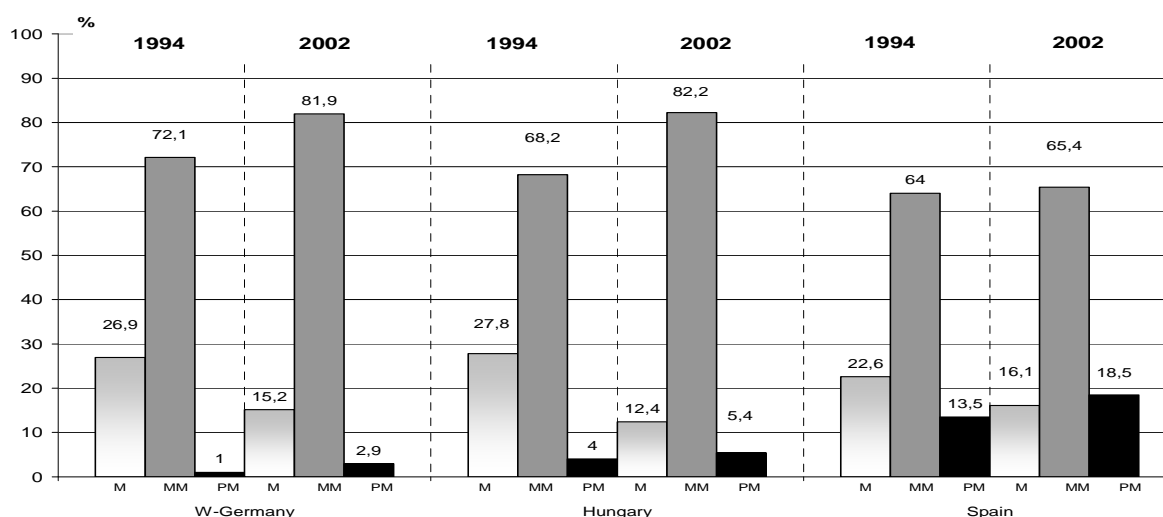
**Fig. 5: Agreement with Indicator “Women should work outside: after youngest kid at school” over years.**



Indicator: “Women should work outside: after youngest kid at school” (work full time, work part-time, stay at home), Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data.  
 SH: Stay at Home; PT: Work part-time; FT: Work full-time.  
 N: 1994=5804; 2002=4127.  
 Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

Contrasting Figures 4 and 5 shows that in all three countries mothers with children under the age of school entrance are mainly *not* expected to work full-time. Nonetheless, when children are at school, mothers’ part-time employment is supported. In Spain and Hungary, this also accounts in parts for full-time working mothers. In Germany, the staying at home is based on higher acceptance than full-time employment.

**Fig. 6: Varieties of maternalism in attitudes over years.**



Indicator: “Women should work outside: after youngest kid at school” and “Women should work outside: with preschool child”, Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data.  
 M: Maternalism (both of the indicators stay at Home); MM: Modernized Maternalism (stay at home or Part Time Work in one of the indicators); PM: Post-Maternalism (both of them work full-time).  
 N: 1994=5566; 2002=4000.  
 Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

In order to get an overall impression of attitudes towards mothers' employment, we integrated the last two variables into one indicator. According to our understanding of maternalism, the traditional form entails the support of staying at home for mothers with children under school age and with the youngest child at school. The idea of post-maternalism is followed when mothers are expected to work on a full-time basis regardless of the child's age. The position in between is called modernized maternalism. Here, mothers with younger children are expected to stay at home or work part-time, while mothers with the youngest child in school are considered to be part- or full-time employed. The findings are shown in Figure 6.

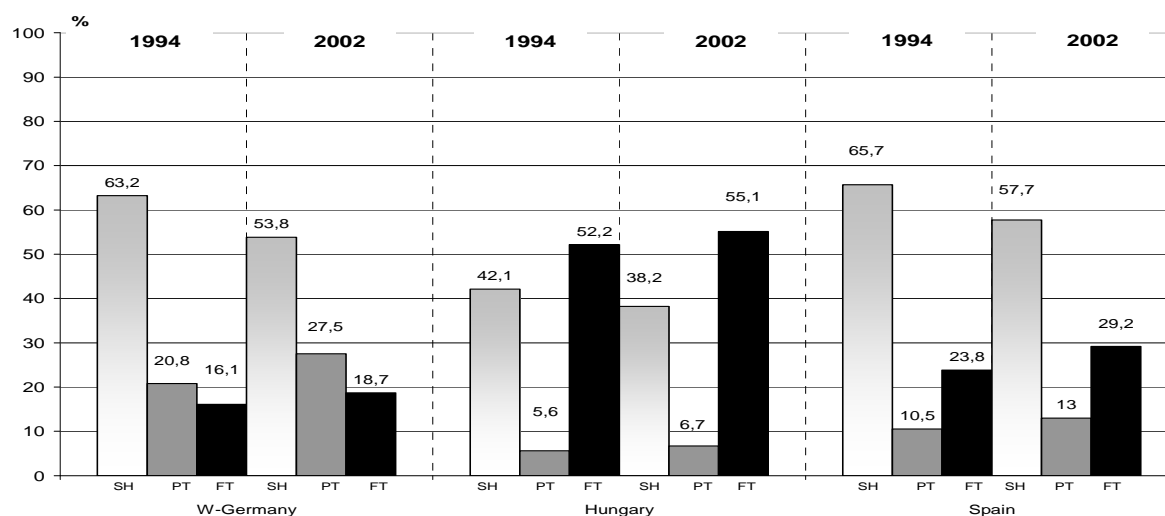
The empirical findings refer to a very high acceptance of modernized maternalism in all three countries in both years. The support clearly increased in Germany and Hungary, while in Spain the upward trend is not very pronounced. Post-maternal positions gained also importance in all three countries and maternal positions decreased. Among the countries, Spain holds the highest share of post-maternalism and also the highest increase over the years.

Altogether, we find a clear support of modernized maternalism. That is, if mothers have a pre-school child they are expected to work part-time in Spain, to stay at home in Germany and both either to work part-time or stay at home in Hungary. Yet, when the child attends school, the support of maternal full-time employment is rising in all three countries, especially in Spain, although part-time work is preferred most. Modernized maternalism has spread in Germany, Hungary and Spain. In the latter the idea of post-maternalism is mostly pronounced.

## 5. Maternalism in Practice: Working or Caring Mothers?

Similar to the analysis of attitudes towards mothering as combination of paid employment and care for children, the examination of the maternal behaviour is based on the ISSP Data. The information about the employment activity is either gained through the interviewed mother herself or is reported by her spouse; that is fathers transfer the information. The structure of the behavioural indicators is analogue to the attitudinal indicators above; there is one variable for the employment of mothers when the child is under school age and one indicator for school age of the youngest child.

In Figure 7, we see notable differences between the countries concerning the employment of mothers with children under school age. In Germany and Spain, the majority of mothers with younger children stay at home, while in Hungary the extremes are most pronounced: a majority works full-time and a vast portion stays at home. Only a little group of Hungarian mothers work part-time. Yet, in all three countries the support of staying at home decreases over the years. In contrast Hungary has the highest share of full-time work among mothers with young children. In Spain, we find similar shares of mothers with children under school age who do not work, like in Germany. However, if Spanish mothers do work, they are employed on a full- rather than a part-time basis, similar to Hungary. Here, full-time employment increases to a greater extent than part-time. The portion of Spanish mothers who stay at home decreases.

**Fig. 7: Mothers' employment status when child under school age**

Indicator: “Did you work outside the home full-time, part-time or not at all with a preschool child” (work full time, work part-time, stay at home).

SH: Stay at Home; PT: Work part-time; FT: Work full-time.

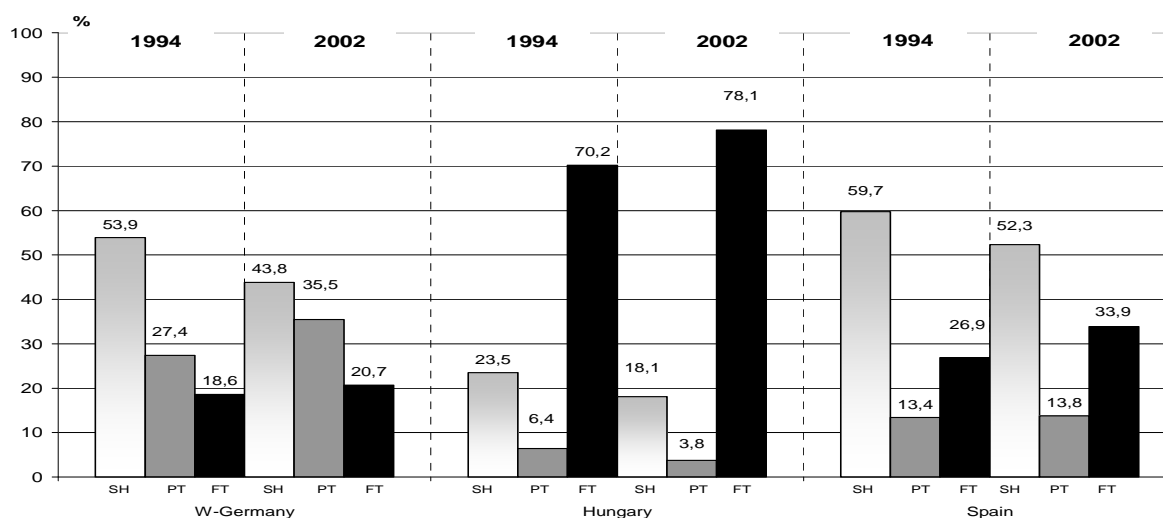
N: All mothers (1994=4177; 2002=2824).

Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

Mothers' labour force activities after the youngest child attends school are represented in Figure 8. Similar to Figure 7, Germany and Spain have the highest shares of mothers staying at home, while Hungary has a majority of full-time working mothers. In Germany, the second largest group consists of mothers working part-time whereas the minority are full-time working. Spanish mothers in contrast work full-time, secondly, and only a minority holds part-time employment. In Hungary, part-time-working mothers are outnumbered. Between 1994 and 2002, all three countries have a decrease of women staying at home and an ascent of full-time-working mothers in common. Part-time work increases in Germany, decreases in Hungary and it is quite similarly in Spain.

Figures 7 and 8 reveal differences in the employment behaviour between mothers with children under school age and mothers with youngest children at school. In Germany and Spain, mothers with pre-school children stay at home to a greater extent, and a majority of women with the youngest child at school continue staying at home. If they work, German mothers are engaged in part-time employment whereas Spanish women work rather full-time. In Hungary, full-time working mothers with pre-school children are less often than among mothers with the youngest child at school. The former stay more frequently at home.

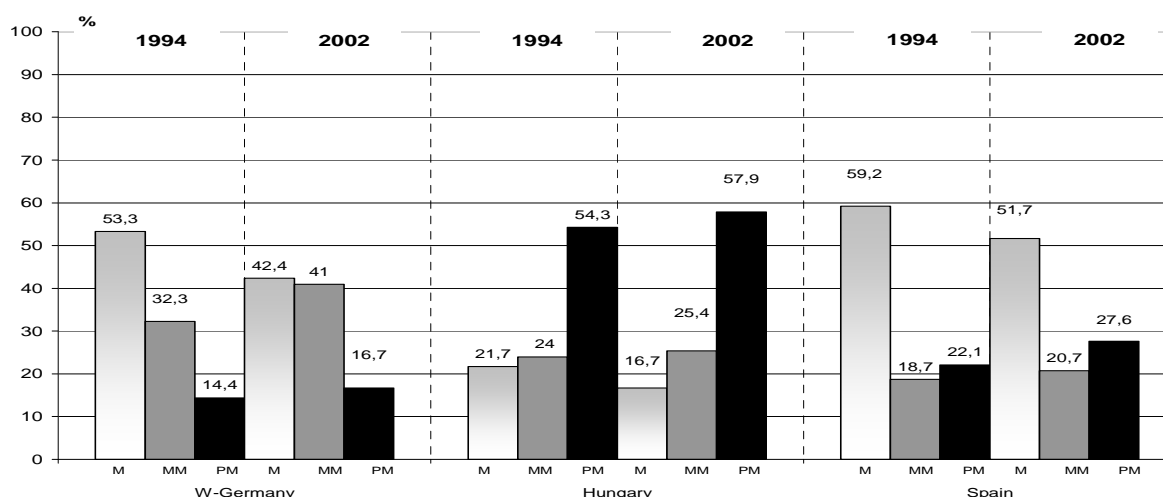
**Fig. 8: Mothers' employment status when youngest child at school**



Indicator: “Did you work outside the home full-time, part-time or not at all after the youngest child started school” (work full time, work part-time, stay at home),  
 SH: Stay at Home; PT: Work part-time; FT: Work full-time.  
 N: Mothers with youngest child at school (1994=3631; 2002=2600).  
 Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

Referring to an overall picture similar to maternal employment expectations we generate a new behavioural indicator by integrating the two preceding variables. The categories of maternalism remain the same. Maternal behaviour is described as mothers staying at home when their children are under school age and also after the youngest child starts school. Mothers working full-time regardless the age of their children behave in a post-maternal way, whereas mothers staying at home or working part-time when the child is in pre-school age and working part- or full-time when the youngest child is at school represent modernized maternalism.

**Fig. 9: Varieties of maternalism in behaviour**



Indicator: “Did you work outside the home full-time, part-time or not at all with children at preschool age and after the youngest child started school”  
 MM: Both of the indicators stay at Home; PT: Stay at home or Part Time Work in one of the indicators; FT: Both of them work full-time.  
 N: Mothers with youngest child at school (1994=3470; 2002=2494).  
 Source: ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, own calculations.

As Figure 9 shows, a decrease of maternal behaviour and an increase of modernized maternal and post-maternal behaviour can be observed in all three countries, although developments vary in terms of extensity. The modernized maternalism among German mothers increases over the years, although a majority of these mothers withdraw completely from the labour force, also in 2002. The increase of post-maternalism has to be characterized as moderate. In Hungary, a majority of mothers work according to post-maternal patterns, a quarter corresponds with modernized maternal employment, while mothers decreasingly stay at home representing a minority. Spain shows combined employment patterns among mothers: the majority refers to maternalism due to their employment status, however, if mothers do work, they have to be described as post-maternal since the majority of them works full-time in both years.

In summary, we find similar employment patterns in the three indicators for each country. In Germany, the majority of mothers with preschool and school children stay at home, even though there is a decrease over the years. Employment - part- as well as full-time - gains importance among German mothers, with part-time still being ahead. Thus, we can observe a development from maternalism towards modernized maternalism. However, the majority still follows maternalism. In Hungary, most mothers with pre-school and school children work full-time, although in the second category, after the youngest child starts school, full-time employment is more pronounced. Thus, Hungary reveals a post-maternal employment pattern among mothers, which is increasing over the years. A binary position is reflected in Spain. Here, most mothers stay at home, but when mothers work they are in full-time employment. Thus, there is a maternal pattern in Spain, yet, with increasing post-maternal tendencies.

## 6. Varieties of Maternalism in Institutions, Attitudes and Labour Market Participation?

The preceding findings show varieties of maternalism in Germany, Hungary and Spain on different levels. Referring to our research question, we will finally focus on similarities and differences in the development of childcare policy regimes, role attitudes towards mothers and mothers' employment status

As mentioned above, in the 1990s, all three countries have a similar starting point on the institutional level. All of them provided rather long parental leave entitlements and quantitatively poor developed childcare facilities for the youngest. This refers to our understanding of modernized maternalism. For the first couple of years after the child's birth, mothers are expected to stay at home on a full-time basis in Germany, Hungary and Spain. However, these three countries have taken different trajectories in the following years. In Hungary, little change has occurred over the period analysed. Institutional childcare for children under the age of three even decreased. In contrast to Germany, here modernization of maternalism was taken further. Flexible parental leave regulations aimed at facilitating the work-family reconciliation. The German childcare regime improved modernized maternalism. It heads towards post-maternalism, although this development has to be characterised as in its infancy in 2002, other measures implemented later went further.<sup>14</sup> Spain shows some changes between the early 1990s and 2000s, too. Whereas, the unpaid parental leave mainly improved the job guarantee for longer leaves and the replacement rate for short leaves was increased, institutions for pre-school children rose over these years. On the institutional level, this can be interpreted as a further modernization of maternalism – similar to Germany.

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<sup>14</sup> The development towards post-maternalism within institutions emphasized even more clearly by the reform of the parental leave scheme in 2007. Duration was severely cut and reimbursement rates linked to the average income prior birth. In a similar direction hints the recent expansion of institutional childcare for the under-threes especially since the mid 2000s.

Changed institutional settings correspond more or less with the prevailing attitudes over time. Germany and Hungary show similar patterns. In both countries, mothers are expected to care themselves on a full-time basis for the first couple of years after the child's birth and then return to the labour force. Thus, modernized maternalism has gained importance while maternalism has bisected. Ascents within post-maternalism are rather small. In Spain, however, the development within attitudes is one step ahead. Here, modernized maternalism stays on a similar high level, whereas post-maternalism increases noticeably.

A different situation prevails in mothers' employment rates. Although, similar developments towards modernized maternalism occur on the attitudinal and behavioural level in all three countries, the level of each category varies severely. The empirical findings show a severe discrepancy between wish and reality. In Germany, attitudes can be described as more modernized as mothers' actual employment. In 2002, for example, German mothers stay at home more often as they are expected to; the difference is even more distinct for modernized maternalism. On the other end, very few respondents (3%) support post-maternal attitudes, yet, almost 17% of the mothers live post-maternally. Thus, German mothers are considered to combine paid and unpaid work to a higher extent, as they can actually realize. The same discrepancy even more pronounced can be found in Hungary. Only 5% of Hungarian respondents represent post-maternal attitudes. In everyday-life, almost two thirds follow a post-maternal pattern, that is, they work full-time despite their caring responsibility for children under school-age. In Hungary, the increasing preference towards modernized maternalism cannot be put into practice. Barriers for living own standards are even higher than in Germany. However, while German mothers should work part-time according to social norms and actually stay at home, Hungarian mothers are expected to work less (mainly part-time) and do work full-time in practice. The latter might be explained by the socialist tradition of full-time employment. Further, economic circumstances, might force mothers to contribute to the family income. Similar to Hungary, Spanish mothers live post-maternally although modernized maternal living conditions are preferred. Here, differences are smaller than in Hungary since Spanish respondents tend to hold more post-maternal views in general. Discrepancies between wish and reality are more pronounced on the other end of maternalism. Similar to Germany, Spanish mothers stay at home more often as they are expected to. Two thirds live maternally although only 20% should. Again, the preferred modernized maternalism cannot be realized.

Altogether, our analysis shows similarities in supporting modernized maternalism between family policy institutions on the one hand and maternal role attitudes, on the other. On all levels, mothers' employment activity gains importance. However, the actual labour market participation of mothers varies to these norms. Similar preferences prevail in Germany, Hungary and Spain. Mothers are expected to combine their family responsibilities with part-time work. This represents our understanding of modernized maternalism. On the behavioural level, however, patterns do not match with these ideas of reconciliation. Either mothers stay at home (Germany, Spain) or they work full-time despite social expectations preferring part-time employment for these mothers (mainly Hungary, less Spain). Thus, we can identify a farewell to maternalism, yet, that does not correspond to "*employment for all*" within social norms.

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