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Concepts of Family Policy in Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice's] Election Programmes in the Years 2007–2014**

For a long time, the relations and connections between the family, the society and the state have been in the centre of scholars' interests and a field explored by various social sciences¹. Nowadays, as the perception of the family in the contemporary world (changes in the family, a family crisis) favours a thorough theoretical reflection and empirical-oriented study of mutual entanglement of the family and politics, in particular, of problems, obstacles, dangers which the family faces in the changing world and Poland's specific

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¹ These may be exemplified by concepts of the family formulated by Polish educators of the interwar period. See Janina Kostkiewicz, Milan Krankus, Ivan Podmanický, Mária Potočárová, *Wychowanie – rodzina – społeczny rozwój osoby* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2015). Besides, reflection upon the family and its changes can be found in early years psychology, social studies, pedagogy, political science, and economy, including their various sub-fields, and continue to be present in these areas of study.

social, political, and economic circumstances². Family policy, understood as all legal standards, actions, and means, undertaken by adequate state bodies, whose aim is to create optimum conditions for formation of a family and its further functioning³, is, from the perspective of the entire society, one the most important platforms on which the family and the state meet, one that attracts attention of numerous academicians representing various sciences, but also politicians, journalists, professionals who work with children, the elderly, families, and all people who are interested in their own fate, in the fate of their dear ones, and in the general well-being of people.

Within the context of an increased interest in family and family policy, as well as political and social changes that have been occurring in Poland lately (parliamentary election, gaining power by the Law and Justice party, introduction of new instruments of family policy), it is worth having a look at both projects and changes in family social policy over the course of time and proposals of optimum solutions for families put forward by the ruling political party. Thus, politicians are the ones, who, through their visions and projects, affect directly the creation of formal, legal framework of the family's functioning, determine the direction and forms of legislative initiatives undertaken within the scope of family policy, while their ideas and notions are verified by the society expressed in the results of parliamentary elections. Therefore, in this article, I shall analyse the proposed solutions for family-related problems expressed over the years 2007–2014 in the election programmes of politicians of Law and Justice – a political party, whose goals in and plans expressed in their election programme, considering the results

² The issue of challenges faced by the modern family in relations to contemporary social changes is discussed, among others, in the following works: *Kryzys w rodzinie czy rodzina w kryzysie? Społeczno-moralne problemy współczesnej rodziny*, ed. Michał Kapias, Rafał Śpiewak (Pszów: Fidelis, 2014); Beata Maria Nowak, *Rodzina w kryzysie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2012); *Rodzina w nurcie współczesnych przemian*, ed. Dariusz Krok, Paweł Langwójtowicz (Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski, 2010); Zbigniew Tyszka, *Rodzina we współczesnym świecie* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2003); Anna Kwak, *Rodzina w dobie przemian. Małżeństwo i kohabitacja* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, 2005); *Rodzina i szkoła wobec szans i zagrożeń społeczno-cywilizacyjnych*, ed. Klaudia Pujer (Wrocław: Exante, 2016); *Rodzina: zadania, wyzwania*, ed. Magdalena Ewa Ruszel (Stalowa Wola, Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia, 2011). *Rodzina: jej terażniejszość i przeszłość*, ed. Helena Marzec, Katarzyna Szymczyk (Piotrków Trybunalski: Naukowe Wydawnictwo Piotrkowskie przy Filii Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego, 2014).

³ Bożenna Balcerzak-Paradowska, *Rodzina i polityka rodzinna na przełomie wieków: przemiany, zagrożenia, potrzeba działań* (Warszawa: Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych 2004), 139–140.

of parliamentary elections and public support poles in present time Poland, are, and will be, shaping family policy in Poland over the next several years.

I am interested, first and foremost, in elements that compose the so called direct family policy, that is policy addressed directly at families; to a smaller degree, I search for traces of indirect family policy, that is one directed at other spheres of social life that affects the way the family functions⁴. My analyses covers four PiS's election programmes for the years 2007–2015:

- *Program wyborczy PiS. Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków*⁵ (2007);
- *Nowoczesna solidarna bezpieczna Polska. Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości*⁶ (2009);
- *Nowoczesna solidarna bezpieczna Polska. Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości*⁷ (2011);
- *Zdrowie praca rodzina. Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości*⁸ (2014).

Some of the analyses of 2007 and 2009 party programmes constitutes a portion of yet unpublished results of a doctoral research, while the chapters on 2011 and 2014 election programmes result from an analysis of these programmes for elements of family policy concept undertaken anew.

Having a closer look on solutions and proposals addressed at the family put forward by PiS [abbreviation for Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – Law and Justice] in their election programmes over the course of time may help us to answer the questions of the present political decision-makers perceive the family, what development directions of family policy are present in the analysed documents, whether ideological contents are present in the way they think of the family. This may, in turn, enable us to comprehend the proposed changes and their potential consequences better and thus give us a better understanding of the surrounding social reality.

⁴ Compare: *ibidem*, 140.

⁵ *Program wyborczy PiS. Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków* [PiS' Election Programme. We Care for Poland. We Care for the Poles], <http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php> (accessed on: 01.10.2016).

⁶ *Nowoczesna solidarna bezpieczna Polska. Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości* [Modern Solidary Safe Poland. Programme of Law and Justice], 2009, <http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php> (accessed on: 01.10.2016).

⁷ *Nowoczesna solidarna bezpieczna Polska. Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości* [Modern Solidary Safe Poland. Programme of Law and Justice], Warszawa 2011, <http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php> (accessed on: 01.10.2016).

⁸ *Zdrowie praca rodzina. Program Prawa i Sprawiedliwości 2014* [Health, Employment, Family. 2014 Law and Justice's programme], <http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php> (accessed on: 01.10.2016).

1. Care for Polish family – elements of family policy concept in PiS' 2007 election programme

Beginning with PiS' 2007 election programme, we must note that such elements of family policy as: “reduction on taxes for parents”⁹ and “extension of maternity leave”¹⁰, as well as “an increase in family benefits”¹¹ and “an increase of benefits guaranteed after a childbirth”¹² appear there. An issue considered important by representatives of this political party in 2007 was also reinstatement of the “Alimony Fund, whose aim is to aid single parents”¹³. Other postulates apply to enterprises and business entities, for whom the PiS' MPs want to create opportunities that would encourage employees to make decisions on having, bringing up, and educating children. Other proposals of the party's politicians with regard to business include: “encouraging companies to establish day care centres and kindergartens”¹⁴ and “a temporary exemption from labour fund premiums for companies who employ people returning from their parental leave”¹⁵. A specific problem addressed in the analysed election programme consists in supporting enterprises related to establishment and operation of care institutions. Implementation of the following postulates will, according to PiS's politicians, have positive significance: “facilitation of procedures for launching mini-kindergartens”¹⁶, as well as “helping people who launch kindergartens with on basis of merit and counselling”¹⁷. With regard to kindergartens, but not necessarily in the context of business operation, there is a proposal “to make working hours of kindergartens more flexible”¹⁸. Whereas within the scope of providing care for children at school and helping students with various abilities, PiS's 2007

⁹ *Program wyborczy*, 42.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 43.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, 43.

¹² *Ibidem*, 43.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 43.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 44.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 44.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 44.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 44.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 44.

programme includes postulates on support “of all form of after school activities”¹⁹ and helping the most talented students²⁰.

PiS’ election programme of 2007 is the shortest of the analysed programmes, however, it points, in a concise form, to elements of family policy that is preferred by the party’s politicians. The postulates presented in the document seem to be related to a neoconservative²¹ vision of the society, which is in line with the declared identity of PiS as a political party. It is evident mostly in the drafts of changes to social policy which emphasise the role of the family as the most important educational environment and are supposed to expand means of providing care for small children. On the other hand, the proposed solutions seem to refer partly to the neoliberal ideology (in particular, the emphasis placed on facilitations addressed at businesses), which may suggest that PiS has absorbed some postulates characteristic for this social ideology²². Generally speaking, a majority of the elements of family policy presented in this programme seem to belong to the conservative-corporate and motivational model²³ – changes that form PiS’ concept of family policy constitute an important addition to market economy, yet, only an addition nevertheless, which seem to maintain the differences in social status of various social layers, because the proposed actions apply to all families, while a considerable emphasis on the development of private care services is noticeable.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 70.

²⁰ Ibidem, 70.

²¹ I adopt the definition and criteria of educational ideologies from Mirosław J. Szymański’s work. See Mirosław J. Szymański, *Studia i szkice z socjologii edukacji* (Warszawa: IBE, 2000).

²² Which should not be surprising due to a huge success enjoyed by (neo)liberalism nowadays – most highly developed countries base their political systems on its premises and try to execute its related concept of rule of law, while the remaining ideologies have incorporated some elements that originated in liberalism into their perspective on interpretation of reality. See: Jerzy Szacki, *Liberalizm po komunizmie* (Kraków: Znak, Fundacja im. St. Batorego, 1994), 9–20; Francis Fukuyama, *Koniec historii* (Poznań: Zysk i S-ka, 1996), 79–82.

²³ I define and characterise the models after Titmuss’ and Esping and Andres’s descriptions of social policy models as discussed by, among others, Bożenna Balcerzak-Paradowska and Mirosław Księżopolski. Compare: Balcerzak-Paradowska, *Rodzina*, 169–172; Mirosław Księżopolski, „Modele polityki społecznej”, in: *Polityka społeczna. Materiały do studiowania*, ed. Antoni Rajkiewicz, Jolanta Supińska, Mirosław Księżopolski (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk, 1998), 73–83; Mirosław Księżopolski, *Modele polityki społecznej* (Warszawa: IPiSS, 1999); Mirosław Księżopolski, *Wspólnie czy osobno? Rozważania o polityce społecznej* (Warszawa: IPS UW, 2013).

2. Modern and solidary – elements of family policy concept in PiS' election programme of 2009

More references to the family and family policy may be found in PiS' election programme of 2009 (the programme itself is longer, extended and better developed). Postulates connected to “increased financing of retirement and disability insurance premiums for parents on unpaid parental leave”²⁴, introduction of marriage pension²⁵, recognition of the capital saved in ZUS (Social Insurance Institution) as the spouses' shared assets to secure home-staying spouses, who bring up children and thus enable the other spouse's professional development²⁶.

Besides issues regarding parents' pensions, PiS' 2009 election programme also includes such elements of the concept of family policy as: “automatic extension of parental leave for parents, whose child must be hospitalised immediately after birth”²⁷, as well as guarantees for women with small children: that “a mother who does not take an unpaid parental leave, but wishes to work part time because of care for a small child is protected by law”²⁸ and that “breastfeeding mothers should be enabled to work flexible hours”²⁹. Additionally, in their 2009 programme, PiS's politicians emphasise that “parents who give up their professional life to take care of their severely impaired children should be treated in a special way”³⁰, that is their pension and disability insurance premiums should be paid by the treasury.

Other proposals of changes to family policy presented in this PiS' election programme are also supposed to aid parents, for example “a state and self-government programme of creating social-therapeutic centres”³¹, as well as introduction of a „large family card», deployed by self-governments in a close cooperation with the government”³², while within the scope of everyday conveniences: “public services shall be equipped in changing stations

²⁴ *Nowoczesna*, 2009, 127.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 137.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, 136.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 131.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, 127.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, 129.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 130.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 129.

³² *Ibidem*, 128.

and feeding corners; parking lots shall have special parking spaces for people with small children; institutions and retail shall honour priority queue for people with small children and pregnant women”³³.

Other postulates refer to entrepreneurs and businesses, whom PiS’s politicians want to encourage to and provide with opportunities in order to enable their employees to make decisions on having, bringing up, and educating their children. Within that scope, proposals of changes to family policy include such issues as: “encouraging companies to establish day care centres”³⁴ and a change that, in PiS’ politicians’ opinion, will be beneficial: “day care centres will become institutions of care and education”³⁵, which will simplify the procedure of establishing them. Further postulates include: introduction of a “special educational and qualification programme for people who will run other forms of pre-school education”³⁶, as well as “simpler procedures for launching mini kindergartens”³⁷. With regard to the latter ones, there is a proposal to make “working time of kindergartens flexible”³⁸, which is supposed to help parents to provide care for their children for the duration of their working hours.

The issue of school care and helping students with varied abilities also comes up as a postulate in PiS’s 2009 programme: “pedagogical care in primary schools from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m. at least for children in grades 1–3”³⁹ and “supporting all forms of after-school activities”⁴⁰. According to PiS’ politicians, other important issues include “an increased availability of psychological and pedagogical support for teachers and students”⁴¹, introduction of two types of support systems for students: “a mechanism of special aid for students with learning disabilities”⁴² and “a system of educational care for talented students”⁴³. In addition, representatives of this political option believe that “a student must be able to find help with their homework at

³³ Ibidem, 129.

³⁴ Ibidem, 127.

³⁵ Ibidem, 131.

³⁶ Ibidem, 132.

³⁷ Ibidem, 132.

³⁸ Ibidem, 131.

³⁹ Ibidem, 132.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 97, 132.

⁴¹ Ibidem, 97.

⁴² Ibidem, 99.

⁴³ Ibidem, 99.

school”⁴⁴. Therefore, postulates related to both aiding the students and helping their parents in providing care for the children, which – as it seems – in the long run might be combined with extending working hours for schools. The latter elements belong more to the sphere of concepts of indirect family policy, nevertheless, I include them here because of their significance for logistics of everyday life.

As we can see, the postulates refer mostly to issues of related mostly to helping parents with bringing up their children, especially the youngest ones. All proposals are considered by the authors of PiS’ election programme as both proper and efficient and defined as crucial to our society. Again, two ideologies seem to be combined here – neoconservative and neoliberal: the declared activities are to strengthen the family perceived form rather a traditional perspective (parents and children), but the role of market economy, the development of services for parents, and the importance of development of businesses in this sector are also emphasised. The programme also includes concepts, which may result from a pro-elite approach or an increasingly popular trend to emphasise a necessity to go further than compensation and correction activities – concepts of dedicated help for talented students. It seems that the elements of family policy concept presented in PiS’ election programme in 2009 are contained within the social policy model defined as conservative-corporate and motivational. This is most clearly visible in postulates for development of enterprises and services within the care sector or emphasis on issues related to the parents return to work after having a child – which points to the perception of family policy as a kind of addition to a developing market economy. However, we may identify certain elements which seem to belong to a liberal regime of the proposed social policy: preference for aid to families with the most severe problems, for example large families.

3. Modern and solidary once again – elements of concept of family policy in PiS’ election programme of 2011

The election programme of the Law and Justice party of 2011 also brings up family-related issues and builds a certain concept of policy addressed at the social group most important from the society’s perspective. Many of the proposals included in this document that may be considered to be a part of

⁴⁴ Ibidem, 132.

family policy concept were repeated after their election programme of 2009 (the entire 2011 programme seems to be an extended and slightly amended version of the 2009 programme). The party's politicians themselves define their proposals regarding the family and thus define the basis of their family policy: "Law and Justice proposes a modern family policy focused on improving the quality of life and economic security of families, creating favourable conditions for parentage, building the culture of life"⁴⁵. Its basic determinants in this programme include such postulates as: "increasing the state's expenditures on the family (...) to average European Union levels"⁴⁶, increasing treasury-financed premiums for "retirement and disability insurance of parents on unpaid parental leave"⁴⁷, legal protection of mothers who work part-time instead of taking an unpaid parental leave⁴⁸, "automatic extension of maternity leaves for parents, whose children must be hospitalised immediately after birth"⁴⁹, obligatory status of maternity and parental leave⁵⁰, as well as special treatment of parents who give up their professional life to provide care for their disabled children⁵¹. According to PiS' politician, also "nursing mothers shall be able to work flexi-time"⁵², while everyday life of pregnant women and mothers of small children shall be facilitated by: "in public buildings – changing stations and feeding corners; on parking lots – special parking spaces for people with small children; in offices and retail services – priority queue for people with small children and pregnant women"⁵³.

Moreover, in the 2011 programme, we may find such postulates within the scope of family policy as: "developing a mechanism of efficient valorisation of income thresholds for family benefits"⁵⁴, enabling "combining temporarily work income with social benefits for lowest-income families"⁵⁵, as well as introducing a „«large family card», deployed by self-governments

⁴⁵ *Nowoczesna*, 2011, 135, 166.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 166.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 166.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 166.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 171.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 167.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 170.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 168.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, 168.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 167.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 168.

in a close cooperation with the government”⁵⁶. Additionally, PiS’s politicians point that they shall amend “the act on domestic violence prevention, increases drastically the interference of the state in family life and children’s upbringing”⁵⁷. What is more, the issue of providing state “financing of an extra meals programme, especially for children”⁵⁸, is brought up.

Just like the 2009 programme, the election programme of 2011 also tackles issues of concepts for facilitating the development of businesses related to care for small children. PiS’s politicians propose “a possibility to make use of company social benefits fund to create in-house day care centres and kindergartens, as well as to finance childcare provided by kindergartens and day care centres”⁵⁹, as well as “a three-years exemption for the employees from paying premiums to Labour Fund and Guaranteed Employee Benefits Fund for employees returning to work from maternity and parental leaves”⁶⁰. Within the scope of operation of childcare institutions, they point to such proposals as reduction “of statutory limitations for alternative forms of pre-school education”⁶¹ and full-time kindergarten care free of charge⁶². Helping to provide care for the elderly is also emphasised here: “supporting (...) various forms of care for the elderly, out of which home care provided in family environment shall be prioritized”⁶³.

As we may see, PiS’s 2011 election programme includes some additional elements of family policy, while the entire concept it presents becomes more extended and interconnected. It may be noted that the assumed definition of the family remains within the sphere of (neo)conservative ideology (strengthening the family, especially families with children understood in a traditional manner, as the most important social environment, the basis of the state’s functioning), as well as some of the postulates related to emphasizing the role of the family as a major decision centre for issues regarding it. However, once again, we may see that several elements of the liberal ideology, related to declaration on the importance of development of busi-

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 168.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 169.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 168.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 166–167.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 167.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 171.

⁶² *Ibidem*, 171.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, 175.

nesses, facilitation of women's return to the labour market, etc., were also incorporated here.

With regard to social policy model, the concept of family policy that seems to be dominating still belongs to the conservative-corporate and motivational model – the issues of aiding families are perceived mostly as an important addition to its functioning sphere, while the state's role remains subordinate or secondary in comparison to the family's importance and its own activity. It is worth noting that PiS' 2011 election programme presents a more comprehensive concept of family policy: the scope of entities at which the proposed supportive activities of the state are addressed expands, references to families bringing up children with disabilities and issues of care for the elderly are brought up.

On the other hand, the proposed solutions addressed at Polish families expose elements which increase the role of the state – despite a declared dislike for too much intervention of the state into the upbringing of children. Issues of additional meals for children, special help offered to large families, free kindergartens, and issues related to the improvement of the family benefit system – all of these factors may, on one hand, suggest presence of elements of liberal social regime – that is one focused on the ones in greatest need. On the other hand, a wish to increase the role of the state in matters of family policy may be identified, which may be, in turn, related to an institutional-redistribution model and a more comprehensive outlook on social policy.

4. “Good Change” – elements of concepts of family policy in PiS's election programme of 2014

In their election programme of 2014, PiS repeat some of the conceptual solutions on family policy presented earlier, but they also include new motions, which may be believed to be key to changes in the direct family policy of the Polish state nowadays. The document includes several terms, which are to describe the concept of family policy holistically. According to the party's representatives, “all reforms deploying political, economic, and social changes must take the welfare and rights of the family”⁶⁴ into consideration and, due to disadvantageous demographic processes, it is necessary to “create a system encouraging citizens to have children and to exercise the

⁶⁴ Ibidem, 107–108.

state's special care over mothers and parents"⁶⁵. The necessity for direct and indirect actions addressed at families is also emphasized in this programme along with a comprehensive character of family policy: "the basic and necessary prerequisite of proper functioning of the family is employment and one's own housing, easy access to healthcare and education, and, in the case of hard times in one's life, a certainty that the state will offer adequate help"⁶⁶.

Some of the solutions proposed by PiS' politicians that form the party's concept of family policy refer to institutional and financial issues. They shall include willingness to launch a Ministry of Family Policy, whose competences, "apart from family support programmes, shall include, among others, implementation of activities aimed at creating new workplaces and meeting housing needs"⁶⁷, as well as "a monthly family benefit in the amount of 500 PLN for the second, the third, and all subsequent children in the family"⁶⁸, which "will be of a general character, excluding high-income families"⁶⁹, while "low income families will receive the benefit for their first child as well"⁷⁰. Besides, PiS' politicians address the issues of financing of family friendly policy. They point that "the investment in family must become a fact. (...) Poland should spend on it [family policy – D.J.] circa 4% GDP"⁷¹. They additionally propose redirecting a portion of European Social Fund's means to support families⁷², as well as "a new mechanism of increasing income limits entitling to family benefits"⁷³ and "lower VAT for baby products"⁷⁴.

What is more, the 2014 PiS' programme includes such proposals as combining and extending maternity leave, parental leave, and unpaid parental leave, which might be used until the child's 6th birthday⁷⁵ and will be finance from public sources for all women regardless of their previous situation on labour market⁷⁶, while the "period of care over a small child will

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 108.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 108.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, 108.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, 108.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, 108.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 108.

⁷¹ *Zdrowie*, 107.

⁷² Ibidem, 109.

⁷³ Ibidem, 109.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, 109–110.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, 110.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 110.

be included in the retirement insurance period”⁷⁷. The party’s representatives also propose introduction of a Family Card, which would entitle its holders to all sorts of discounts and reductions for public transportation services and educational, cultural, and sports institutions⁷⁸, while regarding foster care issues, they declare that “the practice of removing children from their homes due to their parents’ poverty will be put to an end”⁷⁹, because “social care will be obliged to support poor families with children efficiently”⁸⁰.

Some of the proposals characteristic to this concept of family policy apply to institutional care for small children and school children. PiS’ politicians point to the fact that “pre-school education will become commonly available and free of charge”⁸¹, while state-run schools – “apart from education (...) – must provide care, conditions for development of abilities, quality meals, and medical care”⁸². They intend to achieve this goal by creating “opportunities for children to be helped with their homework at their schools”⁸³, “ensuring each (...) child will be able to have a healthy and nutritious meal at every school”⁸⁴, as well as “reopening school dental surgeries for children and teenagers”⁸⁵. Apart from that, a way to aid the care and educational function of the family, according to PiS’ politicians, is to support the operation of social-and-therapeutic centres and offer various forms of organized leisure activities for children and summer camps⁸⁶.

Another group of proposals within the scope of family policy in PiS’ 2014 election programme refers to families facing special circumstances – bringing up children with disabilities or providing care of the elderly. With regard to these issues, the party’s politicians propose: re-enacting and increasing carer’s allowance for carer’s of people with disabilities⁸⁷, “improving the quality and availability of care and specialist services, which will enable the elderly to remain in their homes with proper care provided for

⁷⁷ Ibidem, 110.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, 111.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, 111.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, 111.

⁸¹ Ibidem, 110.

⁸² Ibidem, 110.

⁸³ Ibidem, 111.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, 111, 122.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, 111.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, 111.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, 111.

them”⁸⁸, creating conditions for in-home care for the elderly in connection with day care centres⁸⁹, as well as creating “social services centres providing comprehensive care services and new, alternative forms of care for the elderly”⁹⁰.

As we can see, the concept of family policy presented in PiS’ 2014 election programme is more extensive and includes – apart from the elements existing and proposed previously – new ideas and solutions that are to serve the family and aid its existence in the Polish society. The way the family and the function of family policy, underlying the above-discussed concept, are understood seems to be connected to a conservative educational ideology – since the family is perceived as the most important social link and socialisation environment, which is visible in the fact that its role and the conditions it requires for proper functioning are emphasised strongly. However, liberal elements, that had been visible in previous PiS’ election programmes, do not occur here, while some of the constituents of family policy presented above may be interpreted as tinted by social-democratic ideologies (for example school lunches, 500+ benefit programme, free day care centres).

An attempt to attribute the above-discussed elements of family policy concept prepared by PiS’ politicians in 2014 to models of social policy bring even more interesting results. It is noticeable that, in this election programme, the state is assigned a significant role in organization of family policy – to a much larger extent than in the previous documents analysed here. Still, the dominating elements seem to belong to a conservative-corporate and motivational model. The role of an individual and the family as autonomous self-determining entities is emphasised, while social policy is supposed to only complement the market. However, some of the elements of family policy proposed by PiS’ politicians that have been presented above may suggest that they belong to an institutional and redistribution model. Perhaps, adoption of complete responsibility for meeting the society’s/family’s needs by the state, so characteristic for this model, does not appear here, but the state plays a significantly larger role. For example, the proposal to provide meals for school children, free and generally accessible pre-school day care, providing a variety of after school activities, creating centres providing care for the elderly – all these may be perceived as a part of the institutional and redistribution model. The 500+ benefit for each second and subsequent child,

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 111.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 119.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 121–122.

with the exclusion of the richest, and for the first child in the case of the poor, also poses interpretation problems. If the wording of the programme is perceived as a proposal, it may be treated as a part of the motivational model (horizontal exchange of goods, limitations with regard to the beneficiaries' situation), its execution (without limitations with regard to income), one may wonder whether this programme leans towards the institutional and redistribution model or not.

5. Direction of change in concepts of family policy expressed in election programmes of the PiS party over the years 2007–2014 – summary

Motions of changes in family policies proposed by PiS politicians in their election programmes evolved over the years 2007–2014. With each subsequent programme, an increasing interest in family and emergence of new tools comprising their strategy of forming family policy were visible. Over time, the number and diversity of its elements in PiS' subsequent programmes increases. However, in all the analysed documents, the core of the proposed vision of family-targeted activities remains the same: the baseline is recognition of family and Christian values as well as neo-conservative or traditional perspective on the family.

It may be difficult to assign family-targeted solutions proposed in PiS' election programmes in the years 2007–2014 to a particular model of social policy. It seems that, throughout the researched period of time, the dominating elements may point to their participation in the conservative-corporate model. The first two programmes include few elements which could belong to the marginal model, while the last two ones bring up issues that may suggest they belong to the institutional-redistribution model. It thus seems that the analysed election programmes are moving away from family policy solutions that could be related to liberalism, while the redistribution character of solutions proposed as means of aid to Polish families is being emphasized along with increased scope of aid to persons and families facing special life circumstances and the role of the state as the actor who fulfils an increasing number of the family's needs. What is more important, the perspective on family policy is becoming more and more contemporary with each subsequent programme – traditionally, it refers to families with children⁹¹ – and

⁹¹ Compare: Balcerzak-Paradowska, *Rodzina*, 139–140.

the analysed PiS' election programmes do emphasize this, however, the later of the documents under analysis contain references to care for the elderly and, thus, reflect an extended vision of family policy. Such an approach is a broad one, because PiS' politicians, through their declared ideas, wish to create conditions for execution of each individual functions of the family: the economic, related to the need to support the family and housing conditions, reproductive, care and educational, emotional (reinforcing family bonds)⁹², which suggests a broader understanding of the state's tasks concerning the family.

While having a closer look at the proposals within family policy discussed above, we need to note that election programmes contain only certain declarations, plans, and wishes. The way each proposal is actually executed may differ, to some extent, from the declarations (example of 500+ without the limitation for the wealthiest included in the 2014 programme) and even the declarations themselves, as election promises – although included on the programme – may not be executed. And, although conclusions on election programmes may be interesting – by pointing to directions of family policies preferred by individual political parties, the actual social life verifies these declarations and creates facts. The model of actual family policy in Poland is now under reconstruction – the future will show where it will lead us.

Concepts of Family Policy in Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice's] Election Programmes in the Years 2007–2014 (Summary)

Within the context of an increased interest in family and family policy, as well as political and social changes that have been occurring in Poland lately (parliamentary election, gaining power by the Law and Justice party, introduction of new instruments of family policy), it is worth having a look at both projects and changes in family social policy over the course of time and proposals of optimum solutions for families put forward by the ruling political party. Thus, politicians are the ones, who, through their visions and projects, affect directly the creation of formal, legal framework of the family's functioning, determine the direction and forms of legislative initiatives undertaken within the scope of family policy, while their ideas and notions are verified by the society expressed in the results of parliamentary elections.

⁹² Ibidem, 140–141.

Therefore, in this article, I shall analyse the proposed solutions for family-related problems expressed over the years 2007–2014 in the election programmes of politicians of Law and Justice – a political party, whose goals in and plans expressed in their election programme, considering the results of parliamentary elections and public support poles in present time Poland, are, and will be, shaping family policy in Poland over the next several years.

Keywords: family policy; ideology of education; family; electoral programs of Law and Justice; policy towards the family.

Koncepcja polityki wobec rodziny w programach wyborczych Prawa i Sprawiedliwości z lat 2007–2014 (Streszczenie)

W kontekście zwiększonego zainteresowania rodziną i polityką wobec rodziny oraz zmianami polityczno-społecznymi zachodzącymi ostatnio w Polsce (wybory parlamentarne, zdobycie władzy przez Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, wprowadzenie w życie nowych instrumentów polityki rodzinnej), warto przyjrzeć się projektom, a także przemianom w czasie polityki społecznej skierowanej ku rodzinie, propozycjom rozwiązań optymalnych dla rodziny wysuwanych przez partię polityczną będącą obecnie u władzy. To politycy bowiem, poprzez swoje wizje i projekty, mają bezpośredni wpływ na tworzenie formalnych, prawnych ram funkcjonowania rodziny, stanowią o kierunkach i formie podejmowanych inicjatyw legislacyjnych z zakresu polityki wobec rodziny, ich pomysły i propozycje są poddawane weryfikacji społecznej w rezultacie wyników wyborów parlamentarnych. Dlatego w niniejszym artykule chciałabym poddać analizie propozycje rozwiązań problemów rodziny, jakie w swoich programach wyborczych na przestrzeni lat 2007–2016 wysuwali politycy PiS – ugrupowania politycznego, którego cele i plany zawarte w programie wyborczym, zważywszy na wyniki wyborów parlamentarnych oraz sondaże poparcia społecznego we współczesnej Polsce, kształtują i będą kształtować polską politykę wobec rodziny w ciągu najbliższych lat.

Słowa kluczowe: polityka prorodzinna; ideologia edukacji; rodzina; programy wyborcze Prawa i Sprawiedliwości; polityka wobec rodziny.

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