

# Determinants of procreative attitudes of Polish women over the years

## *Determinanty postaw prokreacyjnych Polek na przestrzeni lat*

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**Słowa kluczowe:** polityka ludnościowa, polityka rodzinna, przyrost naturalny, umieralność, demografia.

### Abstract

In 1999, for the first time in Poland, negative natural population growth was recorded, which caused media-political discussions on the development of the population of Poland. The phenomenon of population decline was a surprise, because the Central Statistical Office forecasts were too optimistic and in 1998 they predicted an increase in the population of Poland to 40 million in 2010. In discussions, apart from the debates on the catastrophic demographic situation in Poland and calls for an immediate increase in fertility, there are arguments about maintaining appropriate proportions between groups of people of working, pre-productive and post-working age, as well as appropriate protection of living conditions, education, work and health protection for new generations. The subject of the analysis is shaping the population policy after World War II, its impact on the population size and also the impact of the country's economic situation and socio-ethical changes on demographic changes.

### Streszczenie

W 1999 r. po raz pierwszy w Polsce odnotowano ujemny przyrost naturalny, co spowodowało dyskusje medialno-polityczne na temat rozwoju populacji Polski. Zjawisko ubytku ludności było zaskoczeniem, ponieważ prognozy Głównego Urzędu Statystycznego były zbyt optymistyczne i jeszcze w 1998 r. przewidywały wzrost ludności Polski do 40 mln w 2010 r. W dyskusjach, oprócz ostrzeżeń dotyczących katastroficznej sytuacji demograficznej i nawoływania do natychmiastowego zwiększenia dzietności, pojawiają się głosy o zachowaniu właściwych proporcji między grupami osób w wieku produkcyjnym, przedprodukcyjnym i poprodukcyjnym, a także właściwego zabezpieczenia warunków życia, edukacji, pracy i ochrony zdrowia dla nowych pokoleń. Przedmiotem analizy jest kształtowanie się polityki ludnościowej po II wojnie światowej, jej wpływ na stan liczebny społeczeństwa, a także wpływ sytuacji gospodarczej kraju i przemian społeczno-obyczajowych na procesy demograficzne. Decyzje prokreacyjne są decyzjami osobistymi każdej jednostki, jednak wpływ na nie mają rząd, społeczeństwo, religia, ekonomia oraz przemiany obyczajowe.

### Introduction

In 1999, for the first time in Poland, negative natural population growth was recorded, which caused media-political discussions on the development of the population of Poland. The phenomenon of population decline was a surprise, because the CSO forecasts were too optimistic and in 1998 they predicted an increase in the population of Poland to 40 million in 2010. In discussions, apart from the debates on the catastrophic demographic situation in Poland and calls for an immediate increase in fertility, there are arguments about maintaining appropriate proportions between groups of people of working, pre-productive and post-working age, as well as appropriate protection of living conditions, education, work and health protection for new generations. The subject

of the analysis is shaping the population policy after World War II, its impact on the population size and also the impact of the country's economic situation and socio-ethical changes on demographic changes. The procreative decisions of Poles are internal decisions, independent of each individual. However, the government, society, religion, economy and moral changes influence them [1, 2].

### Demographic situation in Poland before World War II

In the first period of existence of Poland, the population of the country increased from 0.6 million in the year 1000 to 9 million in 1800, whereas in the nineteenth century, the population increased three-fold to 25.6 million people in 1900 [3].

The first Polish demographic explosion began around 1870. At the outbreak of the First World War (1914), approximately 30.9 million people lived in Polish lands, and the loss from war was estimated at about 4 million people.

During the Second World War, the German occupant applied the policy of extermination of the Polish nation through the following means: mass arrests and executions, concentration camps and forced labour, starvation rations, reduction of sickness benefits from social insurance, restriction of hospital treatment, suspension of family benefits and maternity benefits, banning marriages by Poles under 28 years of age and Polish women under 24 years of age, in areas incorporated into the German Reich, a total ban on marriages for people sent to work in Germany, promotion of contraception, and exportation of “racially valuable” Polish children to German families [4]. It can be said that Germany’s policy towards the Polish nation was anti-social and its aim was the total extermination of Polish citizens. As a result of the war losses of World War II in 1946, only 54% (21 million Poles out of 35 million before war) of pre-war citizens were alive [3].

#### 1945–1955 post-war “baby boom”

The demographic picture of Poland after World War II was influenced by the following processes: the loss of men (which in the first phase led to a decrease in births), population movements (natural movement and migration movements), territorial changes and related national issues, repatriation and re-emigration processes [5]. The population policy of this period was conducted in the following spheres: overcoming war effects, biological extermination of the population, repatriation and re-emigration policy, and natalist policy [3]. A high birth rate could quickly compensate for the war losses of the population. However, the increase in the number of children in society resulted in increased care and material resources from the state. Nurseries, preschools and schools were needed, and there was a growing demand for consumer goods, which was an undesirable phenomenon in the rebuilding country. Therefore, the state’s policy towards issues of natural growth did not have a precise direction; on the one hand, the slogans of equality of women’s empowerment, inclusion of women in professional work and reconstruction of the country led to a reduction in the number of children, and on the other hand, a number of actions were taken to facilitate procreation decisions [5].

Legal regulations conducive to the development of the population:

1. The ban on abortion was upheld (until 1956, the penal code of 1932 was in force, which allowed the termination of pregnancy only in two cases: when the pregnancy was the result of a crime, and in the case of a threat to the woman’s health and life [6].
2. Maternity leave of 12 weeks, enacted in 1924, was maintained, which corresponded to the standards accepted in 1919 by the International Labour Organisations [6].
3. The costs of medical treatment and maternity care were taken over by social insurance companies – 1945. In 1950, the Minister of Health and Social Welfare issued a decree which introduced reductions for maternity support for women employed in individual farms.
4. In 1946, the maternity allowance was granted to women with a full salary for that part of the maternity leave which the worker spent outside the medical facility [6].
5. The benefit period was extended from 8 to 12 weeks, aligning the duration of the benefit payment with the duration of maternity leave [6].
6. The statutory age of majority was lowered and marriage law was reformed – 1947.
7. The pro-natalist reform of family benefits – 1948 (ILO Convention 102 of 1952) recommends that child benefits paid out of insurance employee benefit funds should amount to at least 3% of the salary of an unskilled worker multiplied by the number of children in the family [7].
8. The laws of 1948 and 1951 introduced the obligation to transfer pregnant worker employed in arduous work and the prohibition of employing pregnant women and women bringing up children at night and overtime and without their consent outside the permanent place of employment [6].
9. The pro-family tax system (1949), co-financing of nurseries and preschools (1951), and sickness benefits due to the child’s illness and care breaks (1954) were also introduced.

The years 1945–1949 were the time of the demographic explosion, called the “baby boom” or “children’s boom”. In the first five years from the Summary Population Census in 1946 to the 1950 National Census, the population grew by approximately 3.4 million. Natural growth was 1.9 million (56%) and migration growth was 1.5 million (44%) [6].

An interesting phenomenon was the “demographic apogee” on western and northern lands. The birth rate in Szczecin province in 1950 reached 48.9%, significantly higher than the national average. In that period, the largest numbers of children were born in the provinces of Wrocław and Szczecin, which was connected with internal migration (settlement of Western lands), the favourable housing situation and living conditions [6].

The birth rate increased, while the mortality rate decreased. The mortality rate (the number of deaths per 1000 inhabitants) decreased due to improved socio-economic conditions and the development of medicine. In 1938 the mortality rate was 13.9%, and

in 1946 it was 3.7% lower. Between 1947 and 1954, it ranged from 10.2% to 12.4%. Since 1952 there has been a downward trend [6].

Among the factors shaping the demographic picture of the society of this decade, we should mention the processes of industrialization and urbanization. In the years 1945–1950, the urbanization rate (i.e. the proportion of the urban population calculated as a percentage of the total population of the country) increased from 31.8% to 39% [6]. Industrialization of the country entailed greater professional activity of women, which contributed to reducing the birth rate. These processes influenced the development of the new family model; the large family model widespread in post-war Poland began to disappear. It can be stated that the main objective of the population policy of the first post-war years – the enlargement of the population – was achieved. Apart from the stabilization of living conditions, this was due to the active state policy in the field of legal regulations concerning medical care, family and sickness benefits as well as the development of nurseries, preschools and schools, and the development of housing construction.

### **1956–1970 – time of reduction in the number of births**

From 1956, changes in political, social and economic relations were taking place in the country. After 1951, the process of compensating for the war losses began to wind down, but the fertility of women and the reproduction of the population remained at a high level until 1955 in cities, and until 1957 in the countryside [8].

In view of the economic difficulties, and the inability of the state to provide adequate conditions for an increasing number of people, there was a change in population policy. Population growth was reduced. The Act of 27 April 1956 allowed for the admissibility of abortion due to a serious material situation or a difficult life situation of a woman [6]. The enactment of the law provoked a wave of criticism from the Catholic Church and the PAX association. In 1956, an executive decree was issued on the implementation of the Act “On the admissibility of abortions” – social commissions stating difficult living conditions were abolished, granting the woman an almost exclusive right to decide on the fate of pregnancy [5].

In 1965 the matrimonial age limit for men was raised. As a result of these actions, the population growth dynamics changed from high to moderate. According to researchers, the civil policy of that period “slowly took on features of an anti-natalist policy” [3].

In addition to what has been described as anti-natalist actions, the state’s family care continued to grow. The Regulation of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare of 1962 granted all infants up to 1 year of age free treatment in clinics and hospitals. Chil-

dren under 14 years of age were granted free of charge outpatient clinic D and D1 services, and for children attending preschools and students under 18 years of age, free dental surgery services were granted [3]. The Resolution of the Council of Ministers of 1968 made it obligatory for companies to provide unpaid leave of up to 12 months to employees raising children under the age of 2 years. During the period of unpaid leave, an employee was entitled to family benefits and free medical assistance for her and her family. Unpaid leave did not interrupt the continuity of work, and after its termination the employee was entitled to further employment under unchanged conditions [9].

Although the population policy of that period was not an anti-natalist policy with restrictive features, when analysing demographic data we can observe a slowdown in population growth and a significant decrease in the birth rate. The processes of compensating for the war years disappeared and the population growth began to have the characteristics of moderate growth, which is illustrated by the following indicators: population in 1957 – 28.5 million; live births – 782.3 thousand; population in 1970 – 32.6 million; live births – 547.8 thousand (data from Demographic Yearbook 1975 Central Statistical Office).

### **1971–1980 – period of pro-natalist policy**

From 1971, the state’s population policy was characterised by an intensification of activities aimed at providing the family with conditions favouring its development, strengthening its care and educational functions.

Social and legal protection of motherhood and family developed. About 65% of women at that time were economically active, which is why the reforms carried out were aimed at making it easier for women to reconcile their domestic and professional responsibilities. At the same time, the number of childcare and educational institutions was increased, the scholarship system was changed and the system of providing pensions for families was reformed.

The most important elements of population policy in this period:

1. The possibility of employing women on a part-time basis for childcare needs was created.
2. Individual farmers and members of their families were provided with free medical care.
3. Benefits for families where the minimum income did not exceed PLN 1,400 were increased.
4. The number of places in nurseries and preschools increased, but the payment for the child’s stay in a nursery or preschool was very low. In 1973, half of all 3–6 year olds in the city received pre-school care, while in rural areas only 15.9% of children attended preschool.
5. The Maintenance Fund was established. The Act provided that the Social Insurance Institution

(ZUS) would take over the obligation to pay part of the maintenance payments awarded by the court, if the execution encountered serious obstacles and the entitled person was in difficult conditions.

6. Regulations regarding the so-called *adoptio plena* (art. 121, Family and Guardianship Code) of anonymous consent to adoption (Article 118, RCE) were introduced, in order to provide more children with an optimal standard of living in the family.
7. Maternity leave was extended from 12 to 16 weeks at the first birth and to 18 weeks at the next birth and multiple births.
8. The right to leave 'on maternity leave' to women who took the child for upbringing and applied to the custody court to initiate adoption proceedings was granted.
9. Puerperal benefit for the full salary was granted; due to the extension of maternity leave, the Act also extended the benefit period to 16 or 18 weeks.
10. There was an equalisation of the entitlement of mental and physical workers in the granting of social benefits for dismissal and an extension of the childcare allowance from 30 to 60 days per year.
11. Unpaid leave, along with social benefits during its duration, was extended up to 3 years.
12. Child care benefit for children and youth raised in foster families was increased.
13. Not only mothers but also fathers could take advantage of work breaks to care for a sick child or to take care of a child in the event of a temporary lack of other care.
14. In 1975, loans for young married couples were introduced with the possibility of obtaining material support from the Company Social Fund.
15. The years 1973–1974 brought a number of changes in the provisioning of pensions for families; the circle of persons entitled to family pensions was significantly extended, the minimum size of family pensions was increased and an annual increase in the number of these pensions was introduced [3].

In 1978, the Family Affairs Council was established as a governmental consultative and advisory body in the field of social policy, which inspired many activities for the family. The Government Population Commission created in 1974 was of great importance. Its aim was to coordinate inter-ministerial activities in the field of population policy and to undertake family research in the context of demographic development [3].

In the years 1971–1981 civil policy of the state was characterized by the development of legal and social protection for the family. This was linked to the general tendency to create a social welfare country. Practically the whole society acquired the right to health care, science and culture benefits. Benefit systems for employees and their families were developed. Social benefits ranked second among the population's income; in 1973 they accounted for 20.4% of the in-

come. The division of benefits was according to needs [9]. This provided security and protection for vulnerable families (particularly single-parent families, pathological families, large families, single mothers, and families with disabled children). These changes are reflected in demographic indicators: population in 1972 – 33.202 million; and in 1980 – 35.735 million; births live in 1972 – 577.9 thousand; in 1980 – 342.6 thousand (Demographic Yearbook 2001, GUS).

### The 1980s – time of birth stabilization

The 1980s were a time of economic crisis; national income fell in 1981 compared to 1980 by 13%, industrial production by over 12%, investments by 25% [10]. As a result of a bad economic situation, increasing inflation, narrowing social activity of workplaces and the emergence of a new phenomenon in Polish reality – unemployment – benefits for families so extensive in the previous period began to lose their pro-natalist functions. Only preferences for families raising children with so-called special needs were of great importance. In 1984, a nursing allowance was introduced – granted to children with disabilities, chronically ill or other family members affected by illness or disability [11].

Under the 1981 strikes agreements, the system of family benefits, which were dependent on family income, was reformed. The child-care leave and parental benefits were introduced – the Act of 1981, amended in 1988 [12]. Loans for young married couples, modified twice in 1980 and 1982, lost their natalist character and only allowed young married couples to acquire common use goods [3].

The 1980s were a time of deepening crisis, and the economic situation had a negative impact on the condition of Polish families. Many of them were on the verge of poverty and social services provided by the state were not adequate for the needs. Population policy was not of a specific nature, no substantial changes were made to the population policy instruments.

Despite the time of crisis, the population of Poland grew moderately from 36.3 million in 1982 to 38.1 million in 1990. However, natural population growth decreased from 367.5 in 1982 to 157.4 thousand in 1990 [13].

### The new pro-natalist policy of the 1990s

Since 1989, Poland has been undergoing a period of political transformation, a transition from a centrally controlled economy to a market economy. Changes also occurred in the social and family policies of the state. Social policy of the socialist era was judged to be overdeveloped, "overprotective" towards society. The aim was to eliminate excessive social protection.

Unfavourable economic phenomena – unemployment, more difficult access to social infrastructure, limited social benefits system – have been reflected in

the progressing process of poverty, increasing homelessness and other negative phenomena, e.g. the number of children in emergency care increased significantly, from 6.7 thousand to 13 thousand in the years 1980–1995 [12].

The new social policy, inspired by the education of the Catholic Church, headed towards providing legal and economic protection for the family and its members.

Since 1990, a number of changes in family benefits have been introduced. These benefits are an important part of the state's policy and their purpose is to support maternity, upbringing and education of children, securing a minimum income for subsistence and social orphan benefits.

#### Changes in benefits for the family [11]

1. Family allowance: entitlement to family allowance and its amount in the years 1990–1996 were severely limited by: shortening the time of payment of child benefit for a child continuing education, lack of adjustment of benefits in the years 1992–1994, introduction of income criterion, low level of benefit, valorisation of benefit with the index of increase in prices of goods and services.
2. Nursing benefit – the Act of 1997 introduced changes in the way of determining the health status and entitlement to nursing benefit; the payment of the benefit was extended up to 24 years of age if the child continued education.
3. Childbirth benefit – child benefit paid on account of childbirth, shall be paid to each working mother.
4. Maternity allowance and maternity leave – it was also granted to working women; the allowance was 100% of the average monthly salary for the 3 months before the time of leave. Maternity leave was extended in 1999 from 16 to 26 weeks at the birth of the first child and from 20 to 39 weeks in the case of multiple pregnancy. As a result of budgetary savings, leave was reduced in 2001 to 16 weeks for the first child, 18 at the second, and 26 weeks for multiple pregnancies.
5. Childcare benefit – for the care of a sick child under 14 years of age, paid for up to 60 days a year, while for other family members for 14 days, since 1995 the care benefit has been reduced similarly to sickness benefit from 100% to 80% of the salary.
6. Child-raising benefit – the 1996 Council of Ministers Decree equalized mother and father's parental leave rights; the benefit is granted to families with the lowest income, not exceeding 25% of the average monthly salary.
7. Family pension – granted in case of loss of the family provider for all entitled persons.
8. Early retirement pension for the care of a disabled child – granted to a mother whose period of employment is at least 20 years.
9. Social welfare benefits i.e.: permanent benefit, permanent compensation benefit, periodic benefit, purpose-specific benefit, cash benefit or material benefit.
10. Financial support for pregnant women and raising children – monthly or single payment benefits for women who did not have any means of subsistence or if their family income did not exceed the lowest pension.
11. Maintenance Fund – the entitled person receives a benefit in the amount of maintenance payments awarded by the court, but not more than 30% of the average monthly salary of social economy employees.
12. Financial support for university students; social grants, scholarships for study results, ministerial scholarships for excellent achievements, subsidies for accommodation and meals, grants for financial support.
13. Financial support for schoolchildren – as well as assistance for university students, scholarships, grants, and subsidies.
14. Material support for children from educational care centres – Decree of the Minister of National Education of 1994: children are entitled to equipment of personal belongings, covering the costs of education and travel.
15. Material support for children raised in foster families – permanent benefits and material support.

The crisis in public finances and the devolution of powers to municipalities in terms of organising, managing and financing social services, the freedom to use subsidies and the non-compulsory nature of many tasks resulted in making not always favourable decisions in the area of social services.

#### New legal regulations concerning family policy

- In 1993, the Act “On Family Planning, Protection of the Human Fetus and Conditions of Permissibility to Abortion” was introduced; after 37 years, a statutory ban on abortion for social or material reasons was introduced. The provisions of the Civil Code and the Criminal Code were also amended – the provision on the conditional legal capacity of a conceived child and the penalty for the death of a conceived child [14]. At the same time, the Act imposed an obligation on government administration and local governments to make contraception available and to introduce sexual education in schools.
- By virtue of the concordat signed between Poland and the Holy See (July 1998) there was a possibility of entering into marriage, which was recognized by law in front of the clergy, provided that he made a relevant declaration to the Registry Office. The same Act defines the minimum age for marriage of 18 years. A woman with the consent of a custodial

court may, for important reasons, marry at the age of 16 [15].

- In order to prevent the constant increase in the number of divorces and to help families reach an agreement, in 1999, the institution of marriage separation was introduced. Separation does not replace or precede divorce; it is a legal form of the actual separation of spouses, but it does not eliminate the possibility of reconciliation and the restoration of marriage [16].
- On the basis of the "Report on the Situation of Polish Families", the "Programme of pro-family policy of the state" in 1998 was prepared. The main objectives of the programme are: shaping demographic processes, improving the financial condition of families, improving housing conditions and raising the young generation. These objectives would be achieved, inter alia, by: changing procreation attitudes towards increasing fertility, suppression of the decline in the number of marriages, supporting housing construction, introducing joint tax settlements for spouses, improving living and working conditions in rural areas [16].

### Socio-cultural changes

Analysing the development and influence of state policy on the number of births, one cannot ignore social changes and the influence of the Catholic Church.

In the encyclical "Humanum vitae" of Pope Paul VI (1968), procreation was recognized as the main purpose of marriage and the use of contraceptives was banned. Pope John Paul II, in apostolic exhortation, maintained this position of the church and believed that the intervention of the state should apply only to situations where the family cannot cope at all [17]. The Protestant Churches maintain that the use of contraceptives does not undermine the integrity of the marriage or the proper function of the family.

In the 1970s, the model of a family with two children became established, less frequently with 3 children. In the 1990s, a family with one child was an increasingly common model. There was a clear change in the procreation attitudes of young people, and decisions on marriage as well as decisions on the birth of a child were delayed. The birth age of the first child shifted from 20–24 to 25–29 years of age, and there was also an increase in fertility among those aged 30–34 years. The number of children born by Polish women since 1989 is not able to ensure simple replacement of generations. The basis for most families is still marriage, although the phenomenon of cohabitation is intensifying. The number of children born from informal relationships in the early 1980s was 5%, and at the end of the 1990s it was already 12% [18]. There is also a growing number of childless marriages due to infertility (every 6 pairs have problems with fertility).

### The pro-family policy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Despite changes in the population policy of the 1990s, unfavourable demographic trends continued to intensify. In 2003, the fewest children were born in the post-war period – 351 thousand [19]. The lack of simple generational replacement and an ageing society forced new governments to design new elements of population policy, an active family policy and an immigration policy aimed at filling labour shortages.

In 2013, a "Long-term strategy of the country's development" was adopted. The improvement of the demographic situation was one of the main development challenges of the country. Also in 2013, the first comprehensive document covering family policy in Poland was created – the programme of the President of the Republic of Poland "Good atmosphere for the family"; also the Government Population Council published the "Assumptions of the Population Policy of Poland" [20].

#### New elements of population policy [21]

1. Extending the paid parental leave from 26 to 52 weeks; a parent who decides to take 6 months of leave will receive a maternity allowance amounting to 100% of his or her salary, if he or she decides to extend his or her leave to 52 weeks, the allowance will be 60%, while a parent who benefits from the leave throughout the year will receive an allowance amounting to 80% of his or her salary. Leave is granted to all parents who pay insurance premiums.
2. The "Zloty for Zloty" principle – an increase in parents' income should not deprive financial aid, especially in families with the lowest income; when the family exceeds the income threshold, the benefit will not be cancelled but gradually decreased as income increases.
3. Parents who cannot take parental leave will receive 1,000 PLN of new parental benefit every month. If more than one child is born, the benefit will last longer, 65 weeks.
4. Fathers may take two-week paternity leave before the end of a child's first year of life, including adoptive fathers.
5. The "Toddler" Program is a subsidy for working nurseries and the creation of new facilities. In 2011, there were 571 nurseries and in 2015 there were already 2910 new places.
6. "Large Family Card" – a system of discounts for families with at least 3 children; families can buy food products, school textbooks, tickets to cinemas or museums at a cheaper price.
7. Unemployed parents and contract workers during parental leave have their social security contributions paid.
8. Financing the purchase of textbooks for primary school students. Schools receive specific grants for

the purchase or printing of additional educational items.

### The “Family 500 plus” programme

Since April 2016, the government’s “Family 500 plus” programme has been running. As part of the programme, natural families may benefit from parental benefit, foster families and family orphanages from the parental allowance, and care and educational institutions from the supplement to the flat-rate amount. The benefit of PLN 500 per month was granted to 3808 thousand children under 18 years of age [21].

### Changes in the image and functioning of the family

- The family has ceased to be a natural and necessary institution, and having children is not a natural matter of course but a matter of choice [22].
- “Homo Optionis “ – a postmodern man who wants to decide on all issues related to his life, death, religion and identity [22].
- The era of “singles” promoted by the media.
- Delaying the birth age of the first child, which correlates with the difficulty of getting pregnant.
- Changing children’s role and value in the family.
- The worldview and system of values, hedonistic attitudes and individualistic life orientations. People living together and without children are known as DINKS (double income no kids) – they prefer a lifestyle where there is no room for a child [22].
- Socialisation factors: own negative childhood experiences, current experience of women connected with pregnancy and childbirth.
- Attitudes towards faith and obeying the demands of the church.

### Summary

The influence of demographic changes on the development and quality of life of society is undeniable. Many researchers argue over what determines changes in the procreation attitudes of society: external factors – housing, work, social care; or internal factors – personal beliefs, lifestyle, system of values, worldview? In recent years, Polish population policy has undergone a major change, and the family and children have received significant material and institutional support from the state. Despite this, there was no significant increase in the birth rate; in 2016 there were 16 000 more children than in 2015, with a fertility rate of 1.29, which is still insufficient to achieve simple replacement of the generations. We are still waiting for the “500+” effect, if it happens at all.

### Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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