Paper to be presented at RC19 conference in Montreal August 20-22 2009. Please do not quote.

Earner-Carer Model at the Crossroads
Reforms and Outcomes of Sweden's Family Policy in Comparative Perspective

Ann-Zofie Duvander
Department of Sociology
Stockholm University

Tommy Ferrarini
Swedish Institute for Social Research
Stockholm University

Abstract

After the 2006 election the Swedish earner-carer model appears to have come to an important cross-road, and questions have been raised about the future course of policies. Will the prototypical earner-carer in Sweden model persist? The separate reforms of cash transfers, services and tax systems in several respects appear to point in contradictory directions, simultaneously introducing new principles of social care. In this paper reforms and potential outcomes are discussed in an institutional and comparative perspective. Reviewing research on outcomes of earner-carer policies the paper contributes to the discussion about future challenges for family policy institutions in Sweden and other advanced welfare states.

For long Sweden's family policy has been one of the most clear-cut examples of an earner-carer model, where both parents are encouraged to participate in paid work and to share unpaid care work. Since the 1960s this policy orientation has gradually been strengthened through expansions of public day-care, extensions of earnings-related parental leave for both parents and individualized income taxation. Scholarly debates about gender egalitarian policies have often come to centre on the Swedish case (see Hernes 1987; Lewis 1992; Sainsbury 1996; Gornick and Meyers 2008). Swedish family policy legislation has also become a point of reference for policy makers in other welfare democracies, where reforms sometimes have been made with Swedish policies more or less as a blueprint. The implementation of the German parental insurance law in 2007 is one of the most recent examples.

A main reason for the interest among scholars and policy makers in earner-carer policies is their links to a large number of outcomes related to behaviour, attitudes and well-being of parents and children. On the positive side, earner-carer policies have been related to increased gender equality and greater possibilities of parents to reconcile work and family life, facilitating the combination of extensive female labour force participation and relatively high fertility (Sundström and Stafford 1992; Ferrarini 2006; Neyer and Andersson 2008, Joshi 1998, McDonald 2000, Olah and Bernhardt 2008), as well as shaping child well-being, including poverty risks (Kangas and Palme 2000; Misra et al. 2007; Huber et al. 2009) and health (Tanaka 2005; Lundberg et al. 2008). It has however increasingly been pointed out that the present variants of earner-carer policies may have unintended negative consequences in that work-family conflicts and stress are augmented (Lewis 1992, Strand and Nordenmark 2006) and that such gender egalitarian policies may restrict the career chances of many women (Datta Gupta and Smith 2001, Mandel and Semyonov 2005).

After the Swedish national election in 2006 the winning centre-right coalition proposed and launched several new reforms in family policy legislation with a pronounced purpose to enhance individual choice. The separate reforms however appear to point in partly contradictory directions, simultaneously introducing new principles of marketization, familization and socialization of care. For example, a gender equality tax bonus for more

equal sharing of care work has been introduced alongside a flat-rate home care allowance supportive of more traditional gender divisions of labour; and improvements of the pedagogical quality in public day care are planned at the same time as a child-care voucher opens up for alternative care solutions carried out in the homes of non-professional care workers. The Swedish earner-carer model appears to have come to an important cross-road, where the question arises in which way family policies are moving.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss Swedish family policies, their outcomes and their new directions. We want to initiate a discussion about whether the most recent family policy reforms will fundamentally alter Sweden's prototypical earner-carer model or whether it will persists in a somewhat new shape. As a basis for such a discussion the developments of Swedish family policies are outlined and a broad number of outcomes of earner-carer policies are discussed. The mapping of past and present gender policy reform and their outcomes provides an important point of reference for the discussion about potential consequences of different policies on individual behaviour and well-being in Sweden and other welfare states.

The paper begins by giving an overview of gender policy models in Sweden and other longstanding welfare democracies. The two subsequent sections describe the development of the Swedish family policies since the 1970s and presents an overview of research on links between aspects of the earner-carer model and different potential outcomes, including female labour force participation and career chances, male care work, fertility, child well-being and work-family conflict. Finally, the new directions in Swedish family policy and future challenges for the earner-carer model are discussed.

Models of family policy in comparative perspective

In the growing body of comparative research aiming to categorize welfare states along the lines of gender family policy is a key variable (Lewis 1992; Orloff 1993; Sainsbury 1996; O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999; Korpi 2000) . Different approaches here exist on how to conceptualize and measure the content of welfare states. One broad approach views gender structures of welfare states in terms of their degree of 'family-friendliness' (or 'woman-friendliness'). With such a one-dimensional perspective, countries are ordered on a

continuum as having more or less developed policies, in particular regarding the extent of family policy transfers and services (e.g. Lewis 1992; Gornick et al. 1997; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Mandel and Semyonov 2005; 2006). Since different aspects of policies have been structured by conflicting goals and values around gender divisions of paid and unpaid work, viewing welfare states as more or less family-friendly may not suffice to capture the variations in policies (Sainsbury 1996). To analyze such variations in gender orientations of policies it has been proposed that welfare states should be analyzed multi-dimensionally and institutionally (Sainsbury 1996; Korpi 2000). The central question with the latter perspective thus becomes: more or less of which policies?

In the following we use a multidimensional and institutional typology developed by Korpi (2000), later elaborated by Ferrarini (2006) and Korpi et al. (2009), to describe cross-national differences in family policy structures and their developments. Figure 1 shows Korpi's (2000) classification of family policy models based on institutional indicators: various cash transfers, income tax structures and public services. The basic idea with this typology is that all such policy measures can be separated along two dimensions depending on whether public policies for families support male breadwinners and women's unpaid work at home (traditional family support) or women's full-time participation in paid work (dual-earner support). A third policy dimension has also been discussed (dual-carer support) where policies directly support male care work, for example through earnings-related paid parental leave to fathers (Korpi et al 2009). Dual-earner and dual-carer dimensions are strongly positively correlated, and are by 2005 highly developed mainly in the Nordic countries.

An advantage with this typology is that it does not view a country's social policy as something fixed but is sensitive to socio-political change, which is crucial in a field of social policy that has been subject to substantial restructuring during recent decades. The cross-national differences in family policies were relatively small in the 1960s.[1] No country had programs of paid parental leave that recognized fathers as potential carer and public day care was less developed. Since then welfare states have moved in different directions

[1] Typologies based on a mix of causal factors, outcomes and aspects of social policy institutions (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1990; Lewis 1992), are useful for descriptive purposes but less so for describing change in policy structures and their causal links to outomes as well as driving forces (Korpi et al).

and three distinct models of family policies have been formed among the longstanding welfare states: an earner-carer model, a traditional-family model and a market-oriented model (Korpi et al. 2009).

By the expansion of dual-earner and dual-carer support and decreasing the generosity of support to highly gendered divisions of labour, Sweden's family policy orientation has since the early 1970s been towards an almost continuous reinforcement of an earner-carer model. Important driving forces behind this model have been the long term Social democratic incumbency in combination with organized women's interests in Sweden, both within and outside political parties (Ohlander 1988, Huber and Stephens 2000). The Swedish Liberal party was also early supportive of an earner-carer orientation (Hobson and Lindholm 1997). The provision of individual social rights do not only support cohabiting parents but also assists the work-family reconciliation of single parent households.

(Figure 1 about here)

Other welfare states, of which many Continental European, have during the same period introduced traditional family models that are supportive of male-breadwinning and female home-making, for example through reinforced tax benefits for a dependent spouse and flat-rate homecare allowances. The traditional family policy model is also characterised by a lack of affordable and full-time day care services for the youngest children. Coverage of childcare for the older pre-school children is often high but is primarily provided on a part-time basis. A main political driving force behind traditional family policies has been strong Christian Democratic parties (Montanari 2000; Ferrarini 2006).

In another group of welfare states, of which several are Anglophone, market-oriented family policy models have been sustained and public support systems for either earner-carer and traditional families are less developed. Instead, income taxes are lower and families have to rely on market and family for care. Political proponents of such policies have been centre-right governments, with little influence from confessional parties (Korpi 2000). Women's movements in market-oriented welfare states have with varying success furthered women's rights not through claim rights but instead through legislation that in

different areas remove obstacles for women's career chances (Orloff, O'Connor and Shaver 1999).

The existence of a fourth potential type of broader policy orientation has been discussed, labelled a mixed, or contradictory, family policy model. Here, the goals of supporting earner-carer families and more traditional family patterns are both highly pronounced. During the most recent decades, several countries have gradually developed, or drifted towards, such a model (Ferrarini 2006). The most recent example is Germany, where earnings-related parental insurance was introduced into a model otherwise dominated by traditional family support, with a joint taxation system and less developed full time day-care for the youngest children. The mixed model implies a goal conflict between the actors and motives underlying different policies, something that also may be reflected in a certain path dependency as a new layer of reforms are introduced without removing old institutional structures.

The expansionary phase of Swedish earner-carer policies: 1970-2005

The Swedish earner-carer model is commonly viewed as resting on three central pillars: earnings-related parental insurance with long duration; affordable, full day publicly subsidised day-care from the child's first birthday; and individual income taxation. A fourth pillar, paid less attention in the comparative welfare state literature is that of divorce and joint custody legislation, where custodial rights and responsibilities of fathers also have been strengthened during the same period.

In 1974 Sweden was the first welfare state to introduce an earnings-related parental leave benefit. The benefit was at the time paid during 6 months after childbirth, entitling parents to share leave as they preferred. In the 1980s leave rights were extended in steps to a full year, and in addition a further 3 months were replaced at a low flat rate level. Cutbacks in the rate of earnings-related benefits were made during the crisis in the 1990s from 90 to 75 percent, later raised to the current level of 80 percent.

After long and intense debates within the centre-right coalition, the Liberal social minister in 1994 introduced one reserved month for each parent, which means that one parent

(mostly mothers) could no longer use the whole leave, unless being single. At the same time a flat-rate home care allowance was legislated, paid when children did not use public childcare. The latter benefit was favoured by the Christian Democrats in the coalition government. These two reforms reflects a conflict of interests within the centre-right government, in particular between the Liberal Party, favouring a strengthening of the earner-carer model, and the Christian Democrats which opt for increased support for more traditional family patterns. The home care allowance was only in operation for a few months and was abolished after the Social Democratic return to power in 1994.

The months reserved for each parent in earnings-related parental leave were in 2002 extended to two months for each parent by a Social Democratic government. Since then the total leave period has been 16 months, out of which 13 with earnings-related benefit, paid at 80 percent of previous earnings. A large majority of parents meet the requirement of having worked for 240 days before using leave and claim earnings-related benefits.[2] Parental leave is used by practically all mothers and by around nine out of ten fathers (for details see Duvander 2008). Moreover, for many parents state-legislated benefits are complemented by extra benefits from the employer on the basis of collective agreements.

The leave period is commonly extended by parents accepting a somewhat lower replacement rate and children often start day-care when they are around one and a half years old (Duvander, 2005). This is made possible by legislated rights to flexibility in absence from work due to parenting. It is for example possible to save parts of leave to extend summer vacations or reduce work hours during the child's preschool years. In addition, the temporary parental benefit for the care of sick children, paid at the same level as parental leave, further aims to facilitate the combination of work and children.[3]

In the 1960s only a few percent of Swedish children were participating in public childcare. From the early 1970s to the 1980s, the share of preschool children in public childcare tripled, from around 10 to over 30 percent, and a decade later three out of four children

[2] The ceiling of benefits is relatively high, but was in the 1990s lagging behind real wage increases and in reality many parents (mostly men) recieved a lower benefit than the statuated 80 percent. Parents who do not qualify for earnings-related components receive a low flat rate benefit that today is SEK 180 but remained at SEK 60 during the whole 1990s.

[3] Parents are entitled to up to 120 days per year and child until the child's 12th birthday.

between the ages one and school-age used public childcare (Bergqvist and Nyberg 2002). The last group to get wide access to public day-care were children of working-class and immigrant parents, in part because childcare first was granted to families where all adults members were participating in paid work. Today, 77 percent of all children in ages one to three participate in publicly financed day-care as do 97 percent of all children aged four to five (Swedish National Agency for Education 2007a). Reforms have also been implemented in order to raise pedagogical quality in public day-care and introduce guaranteed rights to participation in programs for all children (also those with unemployed parents).

Even if the last decade has seen increased variety in the forms of childcare (such as parents' cooperations or privately run day-care) the absolute majority of childcare is financed through public spending and follows centrally set curricula and other regulations. In 2002, a low fixed maximum user fees for public childcare were introduced abolishing most of the regional differences in fees and availability that previously had existed.[4] Almost 99 percent of staff working in Swedish day care centres is trained to work with children. Pre-school teachers with a three year tertiary degree make up around 60 percent of staff in centres, the rest of the educated personnel have a secondary vocational training of between two and three years for care and pedagogical work with children (Swedish National Agency for Education 2006). During the economic crisis of the mid 1990s cutbacks were made in many municipalities and the average number of children per full-time employee increased from 4.4 to over 5 children (Swedish National Agency for Education 2007b).

In the income tax system a series of reforms has gradually removed disincentives for earner-carer families. The first and largest reform, implemented in 1971, introduced the principle of individual income taxation. What is less known, however, is that a tax deduction for an economically dependent spouse at that time also was introduced which was in force in the individual tax system for several decades, even if the real value of this tax benefit to some extent was depreciated by inflation. The income tax system was fully individualised in this respect as late as in the 1990s, when the comprehensive tax reform removed tax rebates for economically dependent spouses (Ferrarini 2009). Individual

[4] User fees are set at a maximum 3 percent of net household income for one child, 2 percent for the second child and 1 percent for the third child.

taxation combined with a progressive tax system entails an economic advantage for households with two low or medium earnings compared to households having one single high earning.

Above mentioned developments were primarily aimed at facilitating women's combination of work and children while joint custody is enhancing men's rights to their carer capacities. In the early 1970s, joint custody was not the default option in case of separation and divorce. In case of conflict the courts had to settle the disputes and grant one parent sole custody of the child. Rights to joint custody for unmarried or divorced couples were enabled in 1977, but even after this reform the room to question joint custody and gain sole custody of the child was relatively large which mostly led to children being under maternal custody. The possibilities of one parent to become sole custodian of a child were radically decreased through the new custodial legislation of 1998. Courts were now given the power to issue a joint custody order against the objections of one parent. These new powers of the courts also comprised the right to decide on the child's place of residence and parents' terms of access to the child. Today, the authority to accept the parents' agreement on custody, residence and terms of access to the child is the prime responsibility of the Social Welfare Boards which aims to reach a voluntary settlement between parents, and courts deal with joint custody issues only on rare occasions (see Schiratzki 1999). This reflects an increased emphasis on the shared responsibility for parents to agree on the care of children. The developments have also contributed to a larger share of children living in joint custody after separation, increasingly meaning that children with separated parents live half their time with their mother and half the time with their father (Statistics Sweden 2007). The share of children living with both parents after separation has increased dramatically in the last 20 years. In 2006 28 percent of all children with parents living apart lived half the time with the father and half the time with the mother, and a further 10 percent lived mainly or only with their father.

A combined effect of reforms to tax, transfer, service and custodial systems has been an increased supply and demand for female labour and increasing shares of men taking active part in care work. Before discussing recent years' family policy reforms in Sweden in terms of the model developed and its potential effects it is helpful to set the background and

review the social policy literature that has attributed a number of outcomes to earner-carer policies.

Earner-carer policies and their consequences: previous findings

Earner-carer models are often commended for their ability to improve work-family reconciliation, but a simultaneous treatment of the links between policies and their multiple effects for behaviour, attitudes and well-being of men, women, and children has been lacking.[5] Diverse methodological approaches have been used to evaluate policy outcomes and at times causal conclusions have been drawn without firm support. Below is an attempt to create a systematic but by no means exhaustive overview of the ways in which such outcomes have been related to aspects of earner-carer policies in Sweden and other countries, which serves as a useful background when assessing the most recent developments in this policy area. The review consists of comparative studies as well studies as case studies of Sweden.

Women's labour force participation and career chances

Earner-carer models have often been linked to higher levels of female labour force participation than countries with other types of family policies. From the mid 1960s to the early 1990s, the female labour force in Sweden increased from around 50 percent to over 80 percent (Figure 2), when it nearly paralleled that of men. During the economic crises of the 1990s female labour force participation fell a few percentage points. Despite an increasing trend in female labour force participation among the longstanding OECD countries substantial cross-country differences are evident by 2005. Among those in the labour force almost 60 percent of Swedish women are involved in full-time or longer part-time work (over 30 hours per week). In the OECD countries the average share of women working 30 hours or more is little more that 30 percent.[6]

The cross-national differences in labour force participation are most pronounced among women with children and low education – groups whose labour force participation is particularly favoured by gender egalitarian family policies (Montanari 2009, Mandel and

[5] Datta Gupta et al. (2008) provides an extensive review of mainly economic research on the linkeages between 'family-friendly' policies, fertility, women's paid work and wages.

[6] It should be noted that Sweden due to the legal rights to reduced hours when children are under 8 years old have many women with work working weeks around 30 hours.

Semyonov 2005, Korpi et al. 2009). The earner-carer model is also related to high labour force participation of single mothers compared to countries with other family policy models (see Huber et al. 2009), among other things resulting in that Swedish single mother households have larger earnings components in their income packages than their counterparts in other types of welfare states (Hobson and Takahashi 1997).

(Figure 2 about here)

Several macro-comparative and longitudinal studies have also shown positive links between total duration of parental leave and female labour force participation (e.g., Ruhm and Teague 1995; Winegarden and Bracy 1995; Ruhm 1996). In Sweden, Finland and Norway, first-time mothers entitled to parental insurance benefits (re)enter employment considerably faster than do non-eligible mothers (Rönsen and Sundström 1996; 2002; Rönsen 1999). Both individual-level and institutional-level studies indicate that earnings-related benefits supportive of earner-carer families are positively correlated with female economic activity, while flat-rate benefits supportive of traditional divisions of labour appear to prolong career interruptions (Ferrarini, 2006). Affordable public childcare with high availability for the youngest children has in a number of studies in the Nordic countries also been shown to increase mother's employment (Gustafsson and Stafford 1992; Pylkänen and Smith 2004; Kangas and Rostgard 2007). Early evaluations of the introduction of the maximum user fee in Sweden did, however, not indicate any large short-term effects on female labour force participation (Lundin, Mörk and Öckert 2007).

A growing literature points to potential negative effects of earner-carer policies on women's career chances. By drawing large proportions of women with low education and lower career attainments into public sector employment labour markets are held to have become increasingly segregated and employer statistical discrimination is thought to increase, both lowering and widening the gender wage gaps in these countries (Mandel and Semyonov 2005; 2006). Employer statistical discrimination is also enforced by extensive parental leave programs where women use the majority of leave. A number of Swedish studies have analysed the potential effect of parental leave length on women's continued careers, but have found no clear effects (Albrecht et al 1999, Jonsson and Mills 2001,

Granqvist and Persson 2004). This is often explained by statistical discrimination of the whole group of women.[7] Such potential effects have led some researchers talk about 'welfare state based glass-ceilings' (Datta Gupta et al 2008). It has, however, also been argued that some of the previous analyses of welfare state based glass-ceilings have come to premature conclusions about the consequences of gender egalitarian policies on women's career chances mainly by restricting the analysis only to working women. Bringing women that are outside the labour force into the analysis obliterates cross-national differences in women's representation in the top wage quintile as well as regarding labour market segregation. The likelihood that any woman of working age has top earnings is around ten percent in all rich countries (Korpi et al 2009). The latter results suggest that gender gaps and inequality in higher positions is determined mainly by other factors than gender egalitarian policies and levels of female labour force participation.

Male care work

A central feature of the earner-carer model is that it encourages the participation of men in care work. When parental leave is used predominantly by women, it is not only more difficult for women to compete on equal terms with men in the labour market, but it also gives men a poorer starting point in taking equal share in parenting. Increasing the incentives for men to use parental leave has been seen as a main way to change the inbalances between men and women in the distribution of work. The Swedish reforms of parental leave have raised men's shares of total parental leave days from below one percent in the mid 1970s to around 21,5 percent in 2008.[8]

(Figure 3 about here)

Parental leave can be used up to the child's 8th birthday and the flexibility makes it possible to measure the development in various ways. In 2008 the average number of used days by fathers to three year old children is 64 days of leave, which can be compared with 42 days five years earlier. Also, an increasing number of fathers share leave equally with the

[7] Above studies concern the period up to the beginning of the 1990s. A study including also the 1990s find individual effects of leave length on chances of changing to a job of higher prestige (Evertsson and Duvander 2009).

[8] Compared to other Nordic countries Sweden has for long had the highest paternal use of parental leave. One recent exeption is that of Iceland, which increased the proportion of paternity leave by introducing three ear-marked months for fathers in 2005 (Morgan 2008).

mother. When investigating parents with three year old children, 6,9 percent of the parents of children born in 2003 had shared leave equally (defined as somewhere in the range 40-60 percent division). This number had risen to 8,7 percent among parents to children born in 2005 (National Social Insurance Agency 2008).[9]

While parental leave legislation encourages fathers to use leave, it is also important to know whether fathers' leave period has positive consequences for the future father-child contact. It may be that the period at home is too short to have any lasting effects. This is indicated by a study showing that increased parental leave as an effect of the first daddy month did not result in fathers using a larger share of the temporary parental benefit to take care of sick children once the parental leave was ended (Ekberg et al. 2005). Temporary parental leave is , however, more equally shared than parental leave (see Figure 3). Many parents do not use any temporary parental leave but among parents who do, fathers use on average 2,5 days and mothers 4,5 days, figures that have been stable the last decade (Eriksson, 2009).

Fathers' leave use during early years has been associated with a closer parent-child relationship later on (Haas and Hwang 2008) and with continued contact in case of separation, as well as with reduced work hours when the child is older (Duvander and Jans 2009). It is thus plausible that fathers' parental leave will affect other aspects of male care work both directly and indirectly through changes norms of fathers' obligations and rights.

Childbearing

While fertility has declined dramatically in many European countries, fertility rates have been maintained at relatively high levels in Sweden despite high female labour force participation rates. Earner-carer policies enabling work-family reconciliation are often held to be a main explanation for the observed fertility patterns (Olah and Bernhardt 2008, Neyer and Andersson 2007). Figure 4 shows the development of the total fertility rate for Sweden and an average of 18 OECD countries between 1965 and 2005. Sweden's fertility decline occurred from a lower level than the OECD average and has been at a higher level since the mid 1980s with a notable exception, during the economic crisis of the mid 1990s when female labour force participation and fertility fell. It is likely that the earnings-related

[9] Fathers normally use the parental leave later on in the child's life and by the time the child turns 8 and the right to leave is forfeited, 88 percent had used any leave.

component of parental leave contributes to this pattern of pro-cyclical fertility, which closely follows the business cycle increasing during economic upturns and decreasing during downturns (Andersson 2000).

(Figure 4 about here)

Comparative studies of links between parental leave and childbearing support the idea that paid parental leave may affect fertility rates. In more institutionally oriented and longitudinal studies of longstanding OECD countries, fertility and parental leave are positively correlated, particularly regarding earnings-related leave for both parents (see Ferrarini 2003; Rönsen 1999). An indication at the micro level of the importance of parental leave insurance for the fertility decision is that the individual income level is positively associated with the propensity to have a child. This applies to men and women and to first, second, third and higher order births (Duvander and Olsson 2001; Duvander and Andersson 2003). The strongest correlation is found between women's income level and first birth, and it may be assumed that a strong contributing factor to this pattern is that women postpone childbearing until they have a sufficiently high income on which to base their parental leave benefit. Having children while studying or while being unemployed is relatively rare and an important contributing factor is that these groups would receive very low benefits during the period of parental leave (Thalberg 2009).

A frequently used example of a policy reform that generated a changed pattern of childbearing in Sweden is the introduction of the so-called 'speed premium' in 1986. This legislative detail implied that parents could retain the same level of parental leave benefit over two consecutive births, if the children arrived within 30 months. Parents who reduced their work hours upon returning to work after a parental leave period could thus obtain a higher benefit for subsequent children than they could before this reform. This applies to a substantial proportion of Swedish mothers, as it is common to reduce work hours after birth. A consequence of this policy was that the birth intervals were shortened (Hoem 1993). The changed pattern occurred simultaneously for all educational groups of Swedish-born men and women but affected immigrant men and women to a lesser extent (Andersson et al. 2006), possibly as their labour market status often gives them less to gain from the

reform. Compared with the development in Norway, it is also possible to conclude that the shortened birth intervals constituted one factor contributing to the rise in fertility observed around 1990 (Andersson 2002).

Associations have also been found between the degree of gender equality in the household and fertility. Fathers' leave use affect the propensity to have another child especially regarding second births (Oláh 2001; Duvander and Andersson 2006). Explanations to such findings have been sought in the shared parental responsibilities that facilitate a higher number of children as well as in fathers' increased child-orientation, even if a selection effect into parental leave among fathers are probably at play as well.

The increasing delay of first births, partly driven by the extended length of education in combination by work-requirements for parental insurance recipiency, is of great concern with reference to future fertility as it shortens the length of the reproductive period and thereby reduces the number of children born. While first-time parenthood at higher ages may be considered positive from an economic point of view, because the couple is more likely to be able to support the child, it is definitely a high-risk alternative from a demographic and medical perspective. Given that fecundity declines with age, the need for assisted reproduction increases. This is costly and associated with health risks for the mother and the child. Delayed childbearing is likely to lead to a higher level of childlessness in society, given the biological and social age thresholds of motherhood, but also due the fact that individuals may become accustomed to a childless lifestyle and be increasingly unwilling to give up careers, hobbies, etc., for the sake of parenting (Morgan 2003). Nevertheless, it seems that the highest shares of childless through the reproductive years are not found in countries with typical earner-carer models but in countries with other types of family policy models, in particular those with traditional family policy orientations (Frejka 2008).

Child well-being

A fundamental aim of Swedish family policies has been to increase gender equality without hazarding the well-being of children, and fathers' participation in care of children has been seen as important factor for child development and well-being. One important and

relatively easily captured aspect of such well-being is the economic situation of households with children. Earner-carer policies are likely to affect income of families in two ways; directly through highly redistributive earnings-related transfers, and through the increase in earnings that occurs by the family policy model's support of both parents' paid work. It has been shown that Sweden and other countries with highly developed earner-carer policies also have the lowest relative poverty rates of households with children (e.g. Rainwater and Smeeding 1995; Kangas and Palme 2000). Earner-carer policies lower poverty risks also among single parent households, mainly by increasing their earnings-potential but also through generous transfers (Hobson and Takahashi 1997; Ferrarini 2006; Misra et al 2007).

Figure 5 shows the development of child poverty for Sweden and an average of 16 OECD countries between 1980 and 2000. From the early 1980s to the mid 1990s poverty rates in Sweden declined from around 5 to 3 percent, as a consequence of the economic crisis in 1990s poverty rates increased slightly by the end of the observation period. During the observation period the average child poverty rate has been more than twice as high in the OECD-countries.

In comparative studies of macro links between family policy and poverty among families with children a close relationship has been found; welfare states with earner-carer models have the lowest child poverty, while market-oriented countries have the highest rates, and traditional family policies are related to medium high poverty (Ferrarini 2006). High poverty risks among families with young children do not only deprive family members of potential choices and restrict opportunities when exposed to poverty, but may also have substantial long-term life-course effects, affecting future life chances of children (see Duncan et al 1998). Moreover, it has been argued that the choice capacity of parents-to-be may also be affected by high risks of becoming poor as a result of childbirth (Ferrarini 2003).

(Figure 5 about here)

Another important aspect of child well-being is parental time with children, which sometimes is considered preferable to time in public day-care. Whether time with parents is

beneficial for child well-being is of course dependent both on the quality of parents' care and the quality of other forms of childcare. It seems that children of highly educated mothers benefit in school performance if they spend longer time at home before starting daycare, but that the general pattern is that parental leave length of parents does not matter for school performance in Sweden (Liu and Nordström Skans 2009). What signifies a system of universal public child care is a more homogenized time use among parents with different social backgrounds. Swedish studies of long term effects of public childcare indicate better cognitive outcomes for teenage children that had participated in day care programs during their first or second year and remained throughout their pre-school years as compared to other children (Andersson 1992; 1994).[10] Results indicating positive effect of day-care have also been found in the United States and the United Kingdom (for an overview of such studies see Brooks-Gunn 2003, Gregg et al. 2005,). Studies on parental choices between work and family in Sweden do not provide support for the idea that parents chose out-of-home child care as a substitute for their own time with the children, since no significant difference can be found in time allocation between families with and without public child care (Hallberg and Klevmarken 2003).

More drastic indicators of child well-being are infant and child mortality, where several broadly comparative and longitudinal studies have linked higher generosity of parental leave to lower infant mortality (Ruhm 1998, Tanaka 2005). Lundberg et al (2008) specify such findings by showing that infant mortality has the strongest relationship with earnings-related parental insurance generosity. Explanations for such results have been sought in the fact that social benefits structure the time parents can spend with their infant children, for example increasing the possibilities to breastfeed and monitor the child; furthermore generous cash transfers affect the household income available for household commodities and the advancement of living conditions that improve child health.[11]

[10] These studies canot account for selectivity into various forms of child care. Today day care is universal in Sweden but it was not the case during the 1970s and 1980s.

[11] It here likely that infant mortality in developed countries today also is dependent on other factors such as post and prenatal health care which may be correlated to family policy structures.

Work family conflict and stress

It is sometimes argued that earner-carer policies contribute to a stressful life situation at home and at work where parents (and mostly so women), end up with double duties: long work hours in combination with extensive reproductive work (Lewis 1992, Strand and Nordenmark 2006). On the other hand earner-carer policies have frequently been viewed as supportive of work-family reconciliation through extensive transfers and services (Gornick and Meyers 2003, 2008; Ferrarini 2006) thereby potentially alleviating work-family conflicts. Comparative studies analysing the perceived stress and work-family conflict of parents have so far mainly produced little evidence for the idea that countries with earner-carer models have higher work-family stress than other types of welfare states.

In a study of Britain, France, Finland, Norway and Portugal using data from the International Social Survey program (ISSP) Crompton and Lyonette (2006) find a 'societal level effect' in the earner-carer model countries of Finland and Norway, which have lower levels of work–family conflict. Lower levels of perceived stress in the home and at work (as a consequence of family obligations) in Sweden and other earner-carer model countries are also found by Esser and Ferrarini (2007). Edlund (2007) finds somewhat mixed results regarding the "the work-family time squeeze" in 2002; countries with earner-carer models of family policy report low levels of work-family conflict, even though such low levels are also paralleled by some continental European countries with more traditionalist policies. Strandh and Nordenmark (2006) is one of few studies that conclude differently discerning higher levels of work-family conflict among Swedish women than women in Eastern European countries. Although when controlling for the presence of a housewife in the household, no statistical difference is found between countries regarding such conflict.

The results from comparative studies should not be interpreted as if Swedish families have been freed from work-family conflicts and inequalities. To the contrary, recent studies on Sweden show that such conflict indeed may be substantial and that there for some families, and in particular women, may be a price for 'gender egalitarianism' (Halleröd et al. 2008). However, the enduring class and gender inequalities in Sweden do not seem to be explained by too much equality around paid and unpaid work but to great extent rather have to do with the persistence of traditional gender roles. A combined evaluation of various outcomes

of Swedish policies through both case-oriented and macro-comparative lenses here appears fruitful.

Earner-carer model at the cross-roads: gender policy reforms after 2006

After twelve years of consecutive Social Democratic rule, a centre-right coalition won the election in September 2006. During the election campaign the coalition advocated a number of reforms to gender policy, including the implementation of a gender equality bonus in the earnings related part of the parental insurance; a flat-rate home care allowance; a voucher system in day-care; improved pedagogical quality in public day care centres and tax deductions for household services. While some of these reforms may strengthen the earner-carer dimension of policy others leave much larger room for market solutions as well as more pronounced familism.

The tax deduction for household services was in 2007 the first to be introduced of the proposed reforms. It provides a tax deduction of 50 percent of the cost of services up to a deductible amount of 50000 SEK per household member. This is a substantial subsidy; for a family of four the maximum deduction amounts to an average production worker's net wage. Services covers activities carried out in connection to the residence: gardening, cleaning, cooking, childcare, help with children's homework etc. The political motives behind the tax benefit is to assist families where both parents are career oriented and work full-time as well as to create a private market for care services. The main beneficiaries are those in higher income brackets. The few early indications on the utilisation of the tax deduction point to moderate use even if the frequency is increasing. While less than half a percent of middle income earners use the deduction it is almost ten times as common among those in the highest income decile (Sköld 2009).

In parental leave legislation the gender equality bonus was implemented in July 2008; together with the introduction of a municipal home care leave allowance. When it comes to gender roles these particular benefits have opposing effects. This is not surprising given that they are the result of a political compromise emanating from deep-rooted conflicting interests within the centre-right government, in particular between the Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Party. The Christian Democrats have, in analogy with their sister

parties on the European continent, for decades favoured the introduction of a home-care allowance that supports parents (mothers) who prefer to stay at home instead of utilising public day-care, while the Liberal Party has been a long-standing supporter of gender equality and the earner-carer model.

The gender equality tax bonus for couples who share earnings-related parental leave more equally is perhaps the recent family policy reform that is most in line with previous earner carer orientations in Sweden. The bonus entitles parents who share leave more equally to a tax reduction of up to SEK 3 000 per month (around a fifth of an average net wage). In practice this means that for every month that the parent with the lowest wage shortens leave (mostly the mother) and the parent with the highest wage (mainly men) extends leave, the former will be entitled to SEK 3000 exempt from taxes. All dual-earner families may use the benefit but the ones with relatively equal incomes may even increase net household income as compared to when both are working. In particular for families with low and medium wages, it will be more advantageous to share leave more equally than to share it unequally (Duvander, 2008a). It has, however, been pointed out that the bonus is technically complicated and that it may lead to lower take-up than cash benefits, not least since it may take over a year before the benefit is paid.

The government also gave municipalities the right to introduce a home care allowance which is an untaxed benefit of SEK 3 000 per month for parents on leave with children aged one to three when the child does not utilise public childcare. It is to be used after the parental leave period and the although formulated in gender neutral terms allowing both parents to use leave it is clearly supportive of more traditional family patterns and female part-time or full-time home-making. No previous work requirements are needed to qualify for the home care allowance but there is a requirement that the other adult in the household (parent or new partner) need to be in employment or in education. The conclusions from other countries with home care allowances are that similar allowances are mainly utilized by women with low education, which in consequence leads to larger risks for marginalization in relation to the labour market (Gottschall and Bird 2002; Morgan and Zippel 2003). Such outcomes have also been found in the other Nordic countries where home care leave was introduced in models otherwise oriented to sustain earner-carer

families (Rönsen 2000, 2004; Rönsen and Sundström 2002). Lone parents may use the home care allowance but the benefit is too low to alone guarantee sufficient income and lift such households out of poverty.

The two reforms in the area of public day-care, improved pedagogical quality in childcare and a childcare voucher, also contribute to increased mixed features of family policies. Improvements of pedagogical quality in childcare, with extended rights to guaranteed free pre-school from three instead of four years is in line with previous ambitions to improve children's life chances and support earner-carer families. The pronounced purpose with the childcare voucher is to give Swedish parents a wider range of childcare choices by enabling parents wishing to do so to take care both of their own and of other children in their home, while receiving economic compensation from the municipality. A large group of expected users of the policy are women with poor alternative employment options, in particular immigrants and lowly educated women in regions with high unemployment. The childcare voucher system thereby simultaneously opens up for increased familization and marketization.

The effects of these reforms are not easy to foresee, not only because of their contradictory character when it comes to consequences for gender equality, but also because of their different potential impacts along the lines of class and ethnicity. We would expect the short term effects of the reforms to be relatively modest, not least since the main characteristics of the earner-carer model will persist without major cutbacks. In the long run fears must be raised that the proposed reforms will have more profound effects. In comparative perspective a main feature of the Swedish earner-carer model is the high integration of lowly educated and working class women in the labour market. It is likely that the proposed changes in particular will lower employment of women with the lowest education and with the weakest labour force participation, with possible effects on child well-being, in terms of higher poverty of children growing up in such households and the risk that these children will not benefit from improvements in the pedagogical quality of primary education but instead are confined to in-home care. This risk is likely to be particularly serious for immigrant children with lowly educated parents, which already have the largest risks for social exclusion.

Discussion: Sweden towards a new family policy model?

To what extent will the recent reforms in family policies change the Swedish model of family policy? There are at least two answers to this question. The simplest answer would be that the earner-carer model persists, at least in the shorter perspective. The reason for this is that few cutbacks have been made to the existing earner-carer policies and that some of the new reforms, such as the gender equality bonus, even seem to reinforce the model, although the bonus primarily affects earner-carer families with two stable jobs where a solid basis for gender equality already prevails. Another, more complex answer is that central aspects of the new reform agenda changes the underlying policy logic, functioning and outcomes of family policies in the longer perspective.

Our review of previous research shows that earner-carer policies in Sweden and other countries has been related to several central desirable outcomes: higher female labour force participation, in particular among working class women; relatively high fertility; increased male participation in care of young children; and low child poverty among children living in two-parent as well as single parent households. Fears have been raised of major perverse effects of egalitarian policies; including increased work family conflict and stress, the creation of glass-ceilings preventing women to reach top positions, and high occupational segregation. Reviewing research in these areas shows that work-family conflicts do not seem to be larger in countries with earner-carer policies; if anything previous studies indicate lower levels of perceived conflicts and stress. Women's chances to reach top positions is lower and occupational segregation higher in gender egalitarian welfare states if women in employment are considered, but not when all women are included in the analysis. The latter analysis is necessary to fully understand policy-outcome links since female home-making is much more common in countries without gender egalitarian models of family policy, often directly sustained by extensive support for traditional families.

What long-run effects may then be expected from the new reforms to Swedish family policies? First, the new reforms can be expected to increase between-group differences. The logic is here not only operating in terms of gender, but also concerns class and ethnicity, and intersections between these aspects. The flat-rate home care allowance constitutes an

alternative to labour market participation for some groups of women, especially the ones who already today have a tendency towards a more traditional division of labour and large earnings differentials in the household, and those with limited career prospects and low education of which many belong to ethnic minorities. Women with high earnings, high education and promising career prospects are unlikely to be influenced by the home care allowance to the same extent. The voucher system in childcare creates incentives for a similar polarisation between women who are likely to choose a child-orientation and women who have stronger incentives to participate on the regular labour market, utilize public childcare with higher pedagogical ambitions and share the child responsibilities equally in the household. The new tax reduction for household services also foments polarisation since it is used primarily by households with higher earnings, and opens up a new market for low-cost household services.

An central part of the gender equality equation is male care work. Swedish family policies have actively sustained men's responsibilities and rights to actively care for their children. During the last decades a radical increase in male care work has occurred in terms of parental leave use and joint custody after separation. Nevertheless, if women's home orientations are facilitated through the new policies, men's involvement in care is likely to be reduced. The extent of care work performed need not always constitute a zero-sum game. For example, because of flexibility in the parental leave system, men's increased leave may be accompanied by women's decreased leave, or the home orientation may be strengthened for both parents if the couple accepts a lower earnings replacement. Although, the most probable scenario from the reforms is that of polarisation: gender equality can be expected to increase in families with advantageous socioeconomic positions while other families will lag behind, primarily those with working class background, low education and belonging to ethnic minorities. Furthermore, a group of households that overall have lower access to several of the new reforms are single parent households, which still mostly are female, who are not able to use the gender equality bonus or the home care allowance.

Changing fertility patterns may also follow from changing policy structures. If various policy measures transform home orientation to a more attractive alternative at the same time as the labour market becomes more restricted this may result in an increasing number

of children in more traditional families. Also, if work incentives of highly educated women are strengthened but not for their partners this group of women may postpone children even longer and possibly even refrain from having children. However, fertility patterns are not likely to change quickly and a more polarized fertility in Sweden, in lines what can be observed in other European countries, must at this stage be seen as a highly tentative idea.

The discussion carried out here raises a number of hypotheses of more differentiated behavioural patterns as an outcome of recent family policy reform, where class and ethnicity become more salient dividing lines for Swedish women, men and children. Even if the full effects of policies often are difficult to evaluate, in this particular case such difficulties are accentuated by the fact that the multiple reforms to family policies, which in several respects have contradictory elements, are introduced almost simultaneously. A central question here therefore concerns the most appropriate way to evaluate policy outcomes. Two broad strategies can be discerned: individual-level analyses of short term policy change and analyses of broader long term institutional level effects of policies. The first approach is often held to be most appropriate to establish direct causal links, but often fails to capture long-term system level effects. Welfare state reform does not always operate directly on behaviour but is filtered through systems of norms and beliefs among central actors in society. The delayed effects of policies may with this approach be underestimated. The parental leave legislation of 1974 in Sweden is one example where less than one percent of leave was used by men during the years following the reform, despite fathers having the legal right to use half of the paid leave period. The second approach frequently requires cross-national system level analyses of long term change, but is obviously less sensitive to more detailed effects of policy on individual level behaviour.

We would argue that both approaches complement each other when untangling links between policy design and outcomes. In both cases, however, to evaluate potential causal effects, policy analysts require detailed knowledge about the institutions they study and the contexts in which they operate. Multidimensional approaches to the study of family policy institutions are useful not least since policies have been developed with diverging underlying motives and are related to divergent intended and unintended outcomes regarding the gender division of paid and unpaid work. It also appears important to

concentrate on the effects of policies on the totality of work in society (paid and unpaid) and not only on paid work, since policies do not only actively shape labour market entry of women and men but also labour market exit and intensity.

Even if basic features of Swedish family policy remain, the almost four decades long strengthening of an earner-carer model has come to a halt at an important cross-road. Political goal conflicts within the centre-right government simultaneously introduce new principles of marketization, socialisation and familization of care. With these reforms a new logic is established between gender, class and ethnicity. A more mixed family policy model is emerging. The main tendency of the new reforms is not to provide men with increased rights and responsibilities to participate in the care of their children, instead greater room is left for intra-household bargaining. History has shown us that such developments are likely to cement larger gender divisions of labour in paid and unpaid work for many households. Whether these new directions of polices are strong enough to challenge the fundamental orientations of the earner-carer model and its outcomes must be paid close attention by welfare state researchers and policy makers alike. The possible policy options are several, the most concrete alternative path being a continued strengthening of the earner-carer model through further individualized parental leave that intensifies paternal participation in care. A trade-off is evident between the potential choices of women, men and children of different backgrounds and gender equality. Class is here likely to be as salient as gender. The balance between different goals in family policy is thus likely to be a battleground for fierce political debate also in the decades to come.

References (incomplete)

Albrecht, J. W., Edin, P-A., Sundström, M. and Vroman, S. B. (1999). Career Interruptions and Subsequent Earnings: A Rexamination Using Swedish Data. *Journal of Human Resources,* 34, 294-311

Andersson, Bengt-Erik. 1992. Effects of Day-Care on Cognitive and Socioemotional Competence of Thirteen-Year-Old Swedish Schoolchildren. *Child Development*, 63(1): 20-36.

Andersson, Bengt-Erik. 1994. Public Policies and Early Childhood Education. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 2(2):19-32.

Andersson, Gunnar, Jan Hoem, Ann-Zofie Duvander. 2006. Social differentials in speed-premium effects in childbearing in Sweden. *Demographic Research* 14:51-70.

Andersson, Gunnar. 2000. The impact of labour-force participation on childbearing behaviour: Pro-cyclical fertility in Sweden during the 1980s and 1990s. *European Journal of Population* 16:293-333.

Andersson, Gunnar. 2007. A review of policies and practices related to the ”highest-low” fertility of Sweden. *Stockholm Research Reports in Demography* 2007:1, Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Apps, P. and R. Rees. 2004. ‘Fertility, taxation and family policy’, *Scandinavian Journal of Economics, 106 (4), 745-763.*

Bergqvist, Christina, and Anita Nyberg. 2002. Welfare state restructuring and child care in Sweden. In Michel, Sonya, and Rianne Mahon (Eds.) *Child Care policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring.* 287-307. Routledge.

Brooks-Gunn, Jeanne. 2003. Do you believe in magic? What we can expect from early childhood intervention programs. *Social Policy Report*, 17(1), 1-14. Washington: Society for Research in Child Development.

Crompton, Rosemary, and Clare Lyonette. 2006. Work–Life ‘Balance’ in Europe. *Acta Sociologica*, Vol 49(4): 379–393.

Datta Gupta, Nabanita., Smith, Nina. 2001.

Datta Gupta, Nabanita., Nina Smith, and Mette Verner. 2008. The Impact of Nordic Countries’ Family Friendly Policies on Employment, Wages, and Children. *Review of the Economics of the Household*, 6, 65-89.

Duncan, Greg J., Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Wei-Jun J. Yeung, and Judith Smith. 1998. How much does childhood poverty affect the life chances of children? *American Sociological Review*, 63 (3), 406-423.

Duvander, Ann-Zofie.. 2006. När är det dags för dagis? En studie om vid vilken ålder barn börjar förskola och föräldrars åsikt om detta. *Institute for Future Studies Working Paper 2006:2.*

Duvander, Ann-Zofie. 2008a. *Hur påverkar jämställdhetsbonus och vårdnadsbidrag barnfamiljernas ekonomi?* PM Försäkringskassan, Stockholm: Swedish Social Insurance Agency.

Duvander, Ann-Zofie.. 2008b. Family policy in Sweden 2008. *Social Insurance Report 2008:15,* Stockholm: Swedish Social Insurance Agency.

Duvander, Ann-Zofie, and Gunnar Andersson. 2003. När har vi råd med fler barn? En studie om hur inkomst påverkar fortsatt barnafödande. *RFV analyserar 2003:8*. National Social Insurance Board, Stockholm

Duvander, Ann-Zofie, and Gunnar Andersson. 2006. Gender equality and fertility in Sweden: A study on the impact of the father's uptake of parental leave on continued childbearing. *Marriage and Family Review,* 39,121-142.

Duvander, Ann-Zofie, Tommy Ferrarini, and Sara Thalberg. 2006. Swedish parental leave: achievements and reform challenges', in G. Rossi (Ed), *Reconciling family and work: new challenges for social policies in Europe*. 217-238. Franco Angelli.

Duvander, Ann-Zofie, and Sofi Olsson. 2001. *När har vi råd att skaffa barn?*. RFV analyserar, 2001:8. Stockholm: National Social Insurance Board.

Duvander, Ann-Zofie, and Anki Jans. 2009. "Consequences of fathers' parental leave use: Evidence from Sweden." Pp. 51-62 in *Finnish Yearbook of Population Research.* Special Issue of the 16th Nordic Demographic Symposium in Helsinki 5-7 June 2008.

Edlund, Jonas. 2007. "The Work-Family Time Squeeze: Conflicting Demands of Paid and Unpaid Work Among Working Couples in 29 countries". *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 48, No. 6, 451-480

Ekberg, John, Eriksson, Rickard, and Guido Friebel. 2005. *Parental Leave - A Policy Evaluation of the Swedish "Daddy-Month" Reform*. IZA Discussion Paper Series no. 1617.

Ferrarini, Tommy. 2003. *Parental Leave Institutions in Eighteen Post-War Welfare States.* Swedish Institute for Social Research Doctoral Dissertation Series No. 58.

Ferrarini, Tommy. 2006. *Families, States and Labour Markets: Institutions, Causes and Consequences of Family Policy in Post-War Welfare States*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ferrarini, Tommy. 2009. "Barnbidraget i internationellt perspektiv: De kontanta och skattebaserade barnbidragens utveckling och koppling till barnfattigdom i Sverige och andra välfärdsdemokratier 1930-2000." *Working Papers in Social Insurance* 2009:2. Stockholm: Swedish Social Insurance Agency.

Ferrarini, Tommy, and Ingrid Esser. 2007. ” Dubbla roller, dubbel stress? Familjepolitik, barn och stress i Sverige och andra välfärdsstater”, s 19-38 i Lindberg (red.). *Halvvägs eller vilse*. Stockholm: Atlas.

Frejka, Thomas. 2008. Overvire Chapter 2: Parity distribution and completed family size in Europe: Incipient decline of the two-child family model? Demographic Research vil 19 pp47-72.

Gornick, Janet C., and Marcia K. Meyers. 2003. Families that Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gornick, Janet C., and Marcia K. Meyers. 2008. Creating Gender Egalitarian Societies: An Agenda for Reform. *Politics & Society* 36:313

Gornick, Janet C., Marcia K. Meyers, and Katherin E. Ross. 1997. “Supporting the Employment of Mothers: Policy Variation Across Fourteen Welfare States.” Journal of European Social Policy 7 (1):45-70.

Gottscall, Karin, and Katherine Bird. 2003. “Family leave policies and labor market segregation in Germany: reinvention or reform of the male breadwinner model?”, The Review of Policy Research, 20 (1), 115-134.

Granqvist, L. and Persson, H. (2004). Kvinnor och mäns karriärvägar på den svenska arbetsmarknaden. In Löfström, Å. (Ed.), *Den Könsuppdelade*

Gustafsson, Siv, and Frank Stafford. 1992. Child care subsidies and labor supply. Sweden. *Journal of Human Resources*, 27(1), 204–230.

Haas, L. and P. Hwang. 2008. The impact of taking parental leave on fathers’ participation in childcare and relationships with children: Lessons from Sweden. *Community, Work and Family* Vol. 11, Nr.1, 85–104.

Hallberg, Daniel, Klevmarken, J. 2003. Time for children: A study of parent’s time allocation. *Journal of Population Economics,* 16:205–226

Grönlund, Anne, and Björn Halleröd. (2008). *Jämställdhetens pris*. Umeå: Borea bokförlag.

Hernes, Helga Maria. 1987. *Welfare State and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism.* Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Hobson, Barbara. and Marika. Lindholm .1997. ‘Collective identities, women's power resources, and the making of welfare states’, Theory and Society, 26 (4), 475-508.

Hobson, Barbara, and Mieko Takahashi. 1997. “The parent-worker model: lone mothers in Sweden”, in Lewis, Jane. *(*ed) *Lone mothers in European welfare regimes: Shifting policy logics*, London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Hoem, Britta, and Jan Hoem.1996. Sweden's family policies and roller-coaster fertility. *Jinko Mondai Kenkyu* 52:1-22.

Huber, Evelyn, and John D. Stephens .2000. "Partisan Governance, Women's Employment and the Social Democratic Service State". *American Sociological Review*, 65 (3), 323-342.

Kangas, Olli, and Joakim Palme .2000. "Does Social Policy Matter? Poverty Cycles in OECD Countries", *International Journal of Health Services*, 30 (2), 335-352.

Jonsson, J. O. and Mills, C. (2001). The Sooner the Better? Parental Leave Duration and Women's Occupational Career. In Jonsson, J. O. and Mills, C. (eds.) *Cradle to Grave. Life-course Change in Modern Sweden*. Durham: Sociologypress.

Kangas, Olli, and Tine Rostgaard. 2007. "Preferences or institutions? Work–family life opportunities in seven European countries". *Journal of European Social Policy* 2007 17 (3)

Korpi, Walter, Tommy Ferrarini, and Stefan Englund. 2009. *Egalitarian Gender Paradise Lost? Re-examining Gender Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States.* Paper presented at Equalsoc Conference, Berlin, May.

Lewis, Jane. 1992. "Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes." Journal of European Social Policy 2 (3):159-73.

Liu, Qian and Oskar Nordström Skans. 2009. The duration of paid parental leave and children's scholastic performance. Working Paper 2009:14. Institute for Labour Market Policy Evaluation.

Lundberg, Olle, Monica Å.Yngwe, Maria Kölegård Stjärne, Jon.I. Elstad, Tommy Ferrarini, Olli Kangas, Thor Norström, Joakim Palme, and Johan Fritzell. 2008. "The role of welfare state principles and generosity in social policy programmes for public health: an international comparative study." *The Lancet* 372,1633.

Lundin, Daniela. Eva Mörk, and Björn Öckert. 2007. *Maxtaxa inom barnomsorgen – påverkar den hur mycket föräldrar arbetar?* IFAU The Institute for Labor Market Policy Evaluation Working Paper 2007:2.

Mandel, Hadas, and Mandel Semyonov. 2005. "Family Policy, Wage Structures, and Gender Gaps: Sources of Earnings Inequality in 20 Countries." *American Sociological Review*, 70: 949-967.

Mandel, Hadas, and Mandel Semyonov. 2006. "A Welfare State Paradox: State Interventions and Women's Employment Opportunities in 22 Countries." *American Journal of Sociology*, 111 (6, May): 1910-49.

Mandel, Hadas and Michael Shalev. 2009. "How Welfare States Shape the Gender Pay Gap: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis". Forthcoming in *Social Forces*.

Misra, Joya, Michelle J. Budig, Stephanie Moller. 2007. 'Work-Family Policies and Poverty for Partnered and Single Women in Europe and North America'. Gender & Society 21(6):804-827.

Montanari, Ingalill. 2000. 'From family wage to marriage subsidy and child benefits: controversy and consensus in the development of family support', Journal of European Social Policy, 10 (4), 307-333.

Morgan, Kimberly, J., and Katherin Zippel. (2003), 'Paid to care: The origins and effects of care leave policies in western Europe', Social Politics, 10 (1), 49-85.

Morgan, Kimberly, J. 2008. "The Political Path to a Dual Earner/Dual Carer Society: Pitfalls and Possibilities". *Politics & Society*, Vol. 36 No. 3, September 2008 403-420.

National Social Insurance Agency. 2008. *Försäkringskassans årsredovisning 2008*. Stockholm: National Social Insurance Agency.

Neyer, Gerda, and Gunnar Andersson. 2008. Consequences of family policies in childbearing: Effects or artefacts? *Stockholm Research Reports in Demography* 2007:2. Stockholm University.

O'Connor, Julia S., Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver. 1999. *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ohlander, Ann-Sofie. (1988), "Det osynliga barnet? Kampen om den socialdemokratiska familjepolitiken", in Klaus Misgeld, Karl Molin and Klas Åmark (eds.) Socialdemokratins samhälle 1889-1989, Kristianstad: Tiden.

Oláh, Livia Sz. 2003. Gendering fertility: Second births in Sweden and Hungary. *Population Research and Policy Review, 22*, 171-200.

Oláh, Livia Sz. 2001. *Gendering family dynamics: The case of Sweden and Hungary.* Demography Unit Dissertation Series 3. Stockholm University.

Oláh, Livia Sz, and Eva Bernhardt. 2008. Sweden: Combining childbearing and gender equality. *Demographic Research* 19:1105-1144.

Pylkkänen, Elina, and Nina Smith. 2004. *The impact of family-friendly policies in Denmark and Sweden on mothers' career interruptions due to childbirth*. IZA Discussion Paper no. 1050, Bonn: IZA.

Rainwater, Lee, and Timothy M. Smeeding .1995. *Doing Poorly: The Real Income of American Children in a Comparative Perspective*. Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper 127, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University.

Rönsen, Marit.1999. “Assessing the impacts of parental leave: effects on fertility and female employment”, in Moss, Peter, and Fred Deven (eds), *Parental leave: progress or pitfall? Research and policy issues in Europe*, Brussels: Vlaamse Gemeenschap.

Rönsen, M (2000) Impacts on women’s work and child care choices of cash-for-care programs Statistics Norway, Documents 2000:13.

Rönsen, M (2005) Kontatnstöttens langsiktige effekter på mödres of fedres arbeidstilbud. Statistics Norway, Documents 2005: 23.

Rönsen, Marit. 2004. ‘Fertility and family policy in Norway- a reflection on trends and possible connections’. *Demographic Research*, 10 (10), 265-286.

Rönsen, Marit, and Marianne Sundström. 1996. “Maternal Employment in Scandinavia”. *Journal of Population Economics*, 9 (3), 267-285.

Rönsen, Marit. and Marianne Sundström. 2002. “Family Policy and After-Birth Employment Among New Mothers- A Comparison of Finland, Norway and Sweden”. *European Journal of Population*, 18 (2), 121-152.

Ruhm, Christopher.J. 1998. ‘The Economic Consequences of Parental Leave mandates: Lessons From Europe’, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 113 (1), 285-317.

Ruhm, Christopher.J., and Jackqueline.L.Teague. 1995. *Parental leave policies in Europe and North America*, National Bureau of Economic Research: Working paper 5065.

Sainsbury, Diane. (1996), *Gender Equality and Welfare States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schiratzki, Johanna. 1999. Custody of Children in Sweden: Recent Developments. *Scandinavian Studies in Law* 38: 255-262.

Sjögren Lindquist, Gabriella, and Eskil Wadensjö. 2006. *The Swedish Welfare State: The Role of Supplementary Compensations*. Swedish Institute for Social Research, *Working Paper 2006:1*.

Sköld, Lovisa. 2009. Hushållsnära tjänster – mest för höginkomsttagare.[Household services – mostly for high income earners] *Välfärd* nr 2. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.

Statistics Sweden (2007).”Barn och deras familjer 2006.”. *Demografiska rapporter 2007:4*. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.

Statistics Sweden (2009).”Hushållsnära tjänster – mest för höginkomsttagare.”. *Välfärd* nr 2. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden

Strandh, Mattias, and Michael Nordenmark. 2006. “The interference of paid work with household demands in different social policy contexts: perceived work-household conflict

in Sweden, the UK, the Netherlands, Hungary, and the Czech Republic." *British Journal of Sociology*, 57(4), 597-617.

Sundström, Marianne, and Frank Stafford. 1992. "Female labour force participation, fertility and public policy in Sweden", *European Journal of Population* 8:199-215.

Swedish National Agency for Education. 2007a. *Children, pupils and staff*. National level. Report 298. Stockholm: Swedish National Agency for Education.

Swedish National Agency for Education. 2007b. *Barn och personal i förskola 2006.* Enheten för utbildningsstatistik. Stockholm: Swedish National Agency for Education.

Swedish National Agency for Education. 2006. *Lärare inom förskola, skola och vuxenutbildning 2006 års prognos över behov av och tillgång på lärare perioden 2005-2019*. Stockholm: Swedish National Agency for Education.

Tanaka, Sakiko. 2005. "Parental leave and child health across OECD countries". *The Economic Journal*, 115, F7-F28.

Thalberg, Sara. 2009. Childbearing of students. The case of Sweden. Report no 2009:6. Institute for Future Studies.

Winegarden, C.R. and M. Bracy (1995), 'Demographic Consequences of Maternal-Leave Programs in Industrial Countries: Evidence from Fixed-Effect Models', *Southern Economic Journal*, 61 (4), 1020-35.

Figure 1 *Dimensions and models of family policy around 2005*

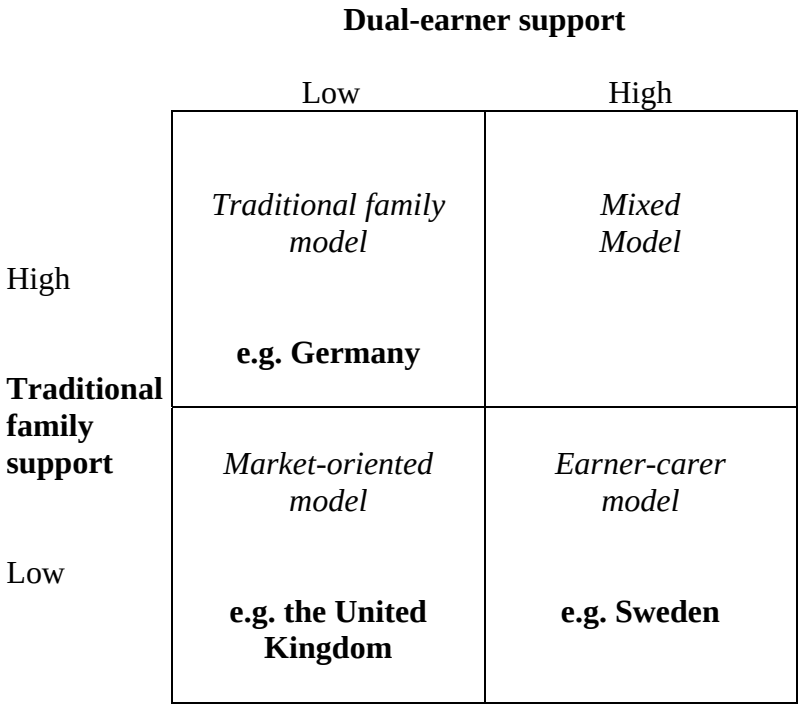
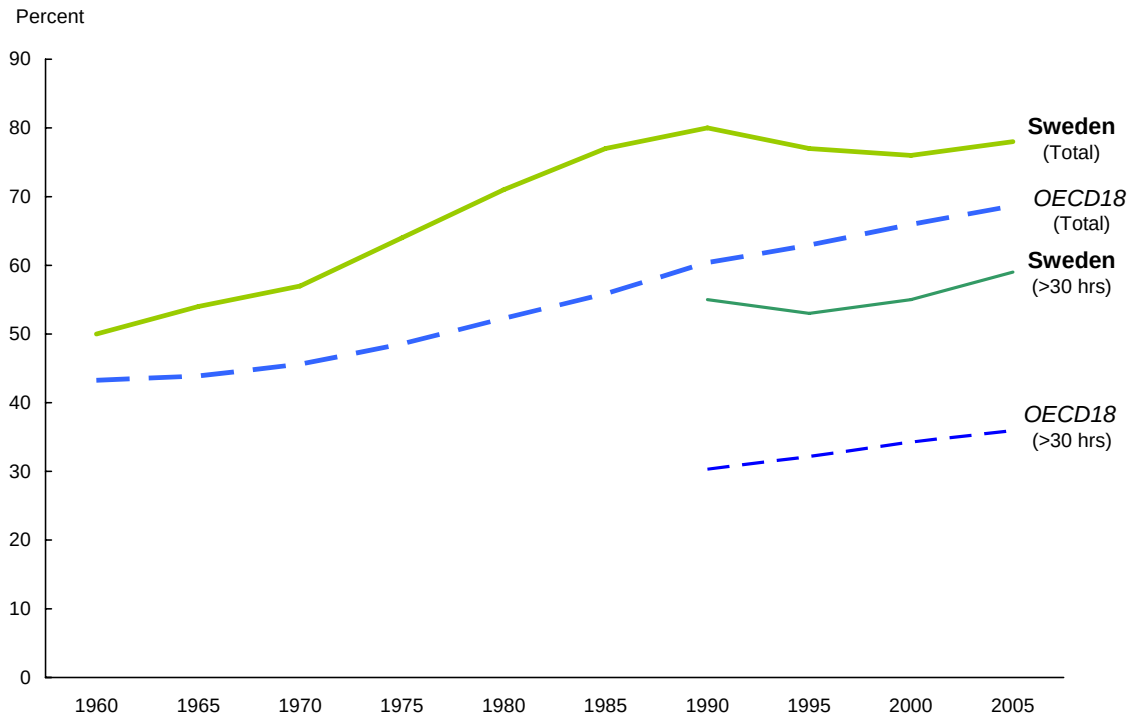


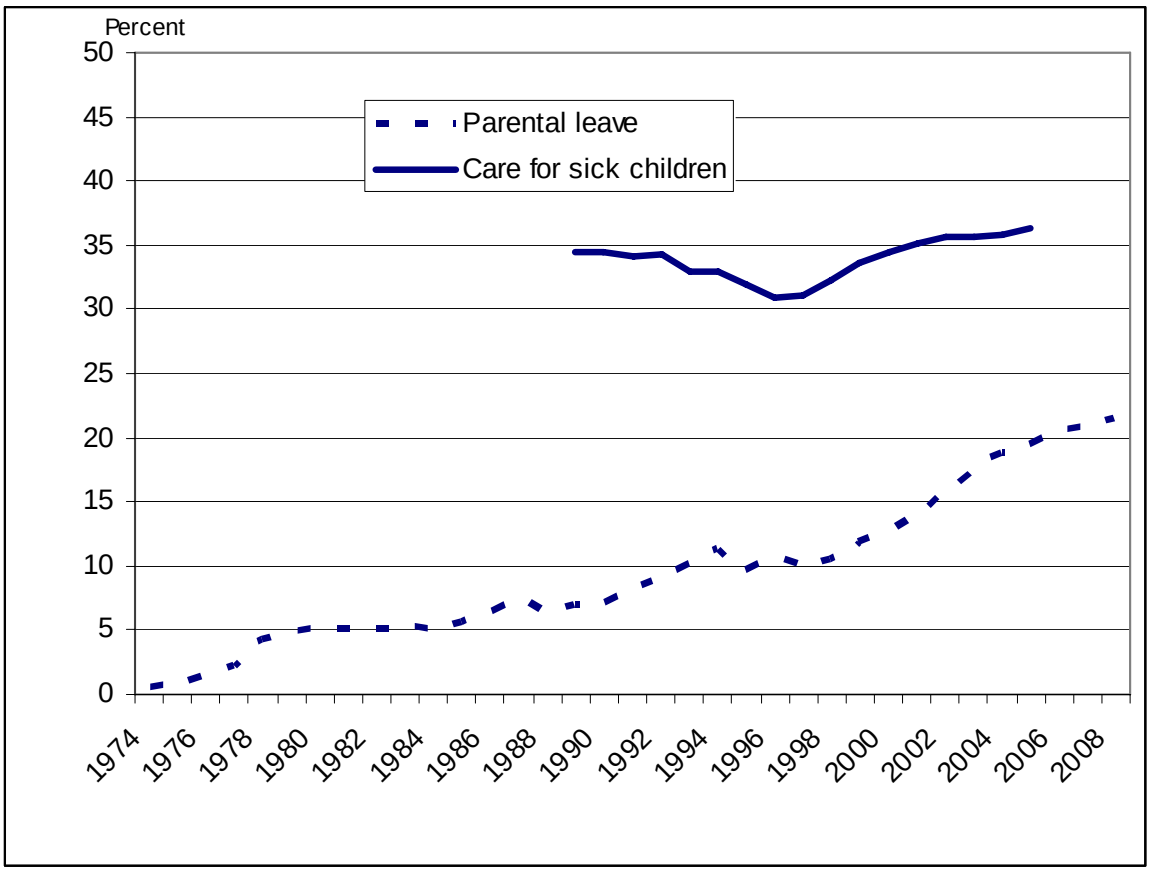
Figure 2. *Female labour force participation (total and over 30 hours a week) in Sweden and 18 OECD countries (average) 1960-2005, women aged 15 to 64, in percent.*[12]



Source: OECD 2009

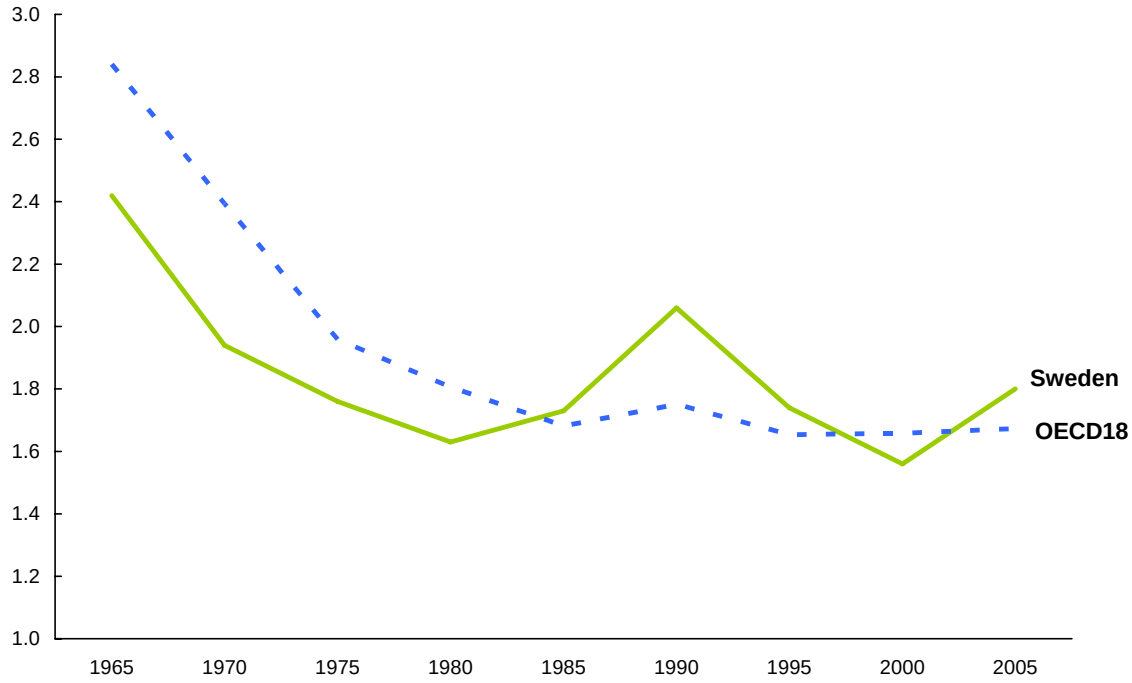
[12] The eighteen included longstanding OECD member countries are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Data that enables a distinction between full-time and part-time work only exists for most countries from the early 1990s.

Figure 3 *Fathers' share of all used days for parental leave and temporary parental leave for sick child*



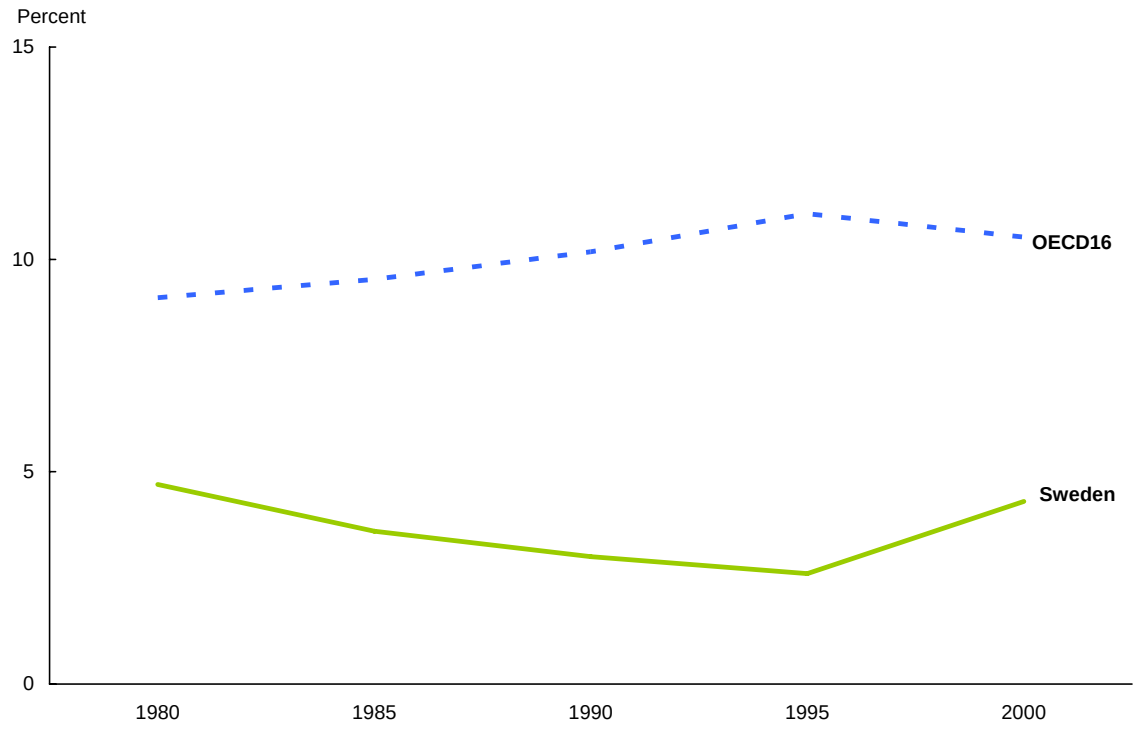
Source: National Social Insurance Agency. Data for temporary parental leave is presently not available before 1989.

Figure 4 *Total Fertility Rate in Sweden and 18 OECD-countries (average), 1965-2005*[13]



[13] The OECD-countries are the same as in figure 2. Total fertility rates for Sweden are five year averages.

Figure 5 *Poverty among households with dependent children in Sweden and 16 OECD-countries (average), 1980 to 2000 (poverty level: 50% of median equivalized income).*[14]



Source: LIS

[14] The OECD-countries are the same as in figure 2 excuding Japan and New Zealand for which comparative income data is lacking. The figures for the OECD around 1980 should be interpreted with care as they are only are based on 9 countries with data for this wave. The square-root equivalence scale has been used to correct for economies of scale in the houshold.