

Akdeniz University
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**‘FAMILY POLICIES IN DIFFERENT WELFARE STATE MODELS:
SPAIN AND SWEDEN EXAMPLES’**

Joint Master’s Programme European Studies Master Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

The family policies, which are focused on family and society, based on an integrated understanding, which grounds on the quality of both genders and their social responsibility in the family and in the society. Particularly the social policies of European Union countries adopt the equality principle, which is put forwarded by feminist movement, in general framework and argues that measurements should be taken against gender discrimination.

Recently, as IPFE (Institute for family policies) Report on the Evolution of family in Europe 2008 also acknowledged, interest has begun to be shown to problems that families faced with in both the European states and organizations. When combined with increasing social awareness, this concern has made family policy a priority. The family unit has such a role as reducing the effect of problems like social exclusion, illness, and unemployment and drug addiction. The social, economic and demographic crises have emphasized the importance of the role of the family unit. Nowadays the family is considered as the main supporting element within society. The family is not only a legal, social and economic entity, but also an institution built on love and support. In order the European families to continue to fulfill this unique, various social bodies, institutions and organizations should give support to them, and also Member States should comprise the family unit in their economic and social policies.

With the industrial revolution started during the second half of 18th century in Western Europe and gradually spread over the world, a development and change process has started in technological and economic area in an extraordinarily quick way. This great change has also affected the social and cultural life seriously. Such institutions and bodies that could not keep pace with that quick change had to vanish. One of the social institutions, which were caught unprepared, was family institution. Thus some arrangements were made concerning family policies.

The gender equality is a part of human rights and is necessary for the sustainability of family policies. This issue particularly includes such subjects as supporting women, especially the ones with children, in their participation in business life, accepting the precautions, which aim to prevent them to be exposed to discrimination in labor market, creating opportunities as for appropriate and quality pre-school education and nursing

services, the necessity of developing family-friendly business culture and policies, which provide women and men with the possibility of harmonizing business and family life.

Today, we observe many different family structures. The family policies differ according to the traditions, historical events experienced in a country and according to the development level of that country. We still witness that in many traditional and patriarchal societies, the women are given only “mother” role even if we say that the living conditions have been changed. During the first a few years of Industrial Revolution, only the “mother” role was attributed to women. It is certain that this understanding makes it difficult for women to have equal conditions in the society and causes them to remain in background in labor market.

Despite the fact that family policies essentially argue for the same things, those policies include some differences concerning the development level of the countries and their traditions. In this thesis, it is planned to present the differences between the family policies of Sweden, which is a Nordic country and Spain, which is a Mediterranean country and also underline the fact that how the family policies may differ according to the country. The development level of a country can only be increased through policies aiming and providing equal rights and opportunities for women and men. As Prof.Dr Randzio Plath also emphasized, women are solution oriented and men are technical oriented, by nature. In this sense, a Welfare State is the one, which has regulations promoting the statuses of both women and men in both family policies and social life understanding.

As the time passes, concerning family policies we see that it is not inevitable fate anymore for women to become a housewife or care taker of family. In this study, the family policies of two different welfare states, a Mediterranean country, Spain and a Nordic country, Sweden, will be analyzed. In the first part of the research, a short analysis of the concepts of gender and welfare state from past to present will be made and then, in the second part, the family policies of these countries will be examined under the titles of child care, parental leave, child/family allowances and taxation. Finally, the family policies of these two countries will be briefly compared to each other.

I hope, this research could be considered as contribution to the growing literature, which aims to understand family policies and the design of welfare state could ameliorate the women's situation in modern society.

1. General Overview of Family Policy, Welfare State and Gender

1.1. General Overview of Family Policy

Following the Myrdals' report, family policy reforms were made in the 1930s and those reforms included free maternity care in public clinics, special public housing schemes for large families, rent reduction according to the family size, child tax allowances, marriage loans, guaranteed maintenance for single mothers and employment protection for mothers. In 1948, the inegalitarian child tax allowances were replaced with universal child benefit. Child benefit is not legally indexed to inflation, but it has largely depended on the retail prices. This added about 5 per cent per child to the gross earnings of an industrial worker. In the 1950s, some legal provisions were taken and advices were given concerning birth control and family planning by the health services. We realize that this list doesn't include liberal abortion reform, and daycare/nursery education for the under-sevens (the school-starting age). Those issues create too much challenge for traditional ideology. The effects of the reform on the birth rate are debatable but it stabilized during mid 1930s, but this probably linked with the economic recovery and the fall in unemployment (Cochrane and Clarke, 2001:190).

As Cochrane and Clarke underlined, another argument concerning family policy reform was made in the mid 1960s. Pro-natalism¹ remained on the agenda particularly amongst conservatives; because they were worried about that most parents have only one child. Family poverty particularly amongst lone mothers gained importance. The emergence of the women's movement and the new feminism had much greater importance and the effects of the growth of women's paid employment and the needs, which came out after that, created worry and both issue were presented on the political agenda. These two pressures are closely linked and contributed to the 'sex-role equality' movement. The 'sex-role equality' movement

¹ **Pro-natalism**: reinforcement of traditional family structures where the man is the income generator and the women is economically dependent (www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov) (12.03.2010)

is a part of the wider movement for social equality of outcome in the welfare state that radicalized the Social Democrats in the 1960s.

Then, family policy research has been combined with welfare state concept. In this area, especially Esping-Anderson and Hantrais made great contribution to welfare research with gender approach. Nowadays, family issue has become main factor among concepts of European Welfare regimes and variations in family policies appear to be among their prominent features. The growing recognition of family policy is related to comprehensive changes in family structures and institutions, experienced since the mid-1960s (Pfennig and Bahle, 2000:1-5) and to the growth of European welfare states, the social division of labor, gender roles, and family-related services have become main issues in social sciences. (Lewis, 1999 : 9).

Then, a large female group of sociologists, economists and psychologists manifested the effect of women's paid employment on the family and on children at the beginning of 1960s and they claimed that patriarchy in the home and in paid employment affected women's job opportunities. They advocated that the sexual division of labor in the home should be stopped and equal opportunities and positive action policies outside the home should be provided in the welfare state and in employment. The Social Democrats' women's organization began to adopt these ideas in 1964, and they were eventually incorporated into the party's 'Programme for Equality', adopted in 1969. The document was by no means a feminist manifesto, however, Scott explains:

'Just as Sweden's early social measures were accepted because they were presented as the solution to a 'population crisis'... so the sex-role equality program was assimilated because it was part of an 'equality program' that had something for everybody ... Thus some of the more fiercely debated measures relating to the status of women (or the status of men) were packaged so that the inclusion of women was only implicit.'(Ginsburg Norman, Sweden: Social Democratic case, 'Scott, 1982,7 in Cochrane,192).

When we observe most European countries, we discover that family policy is not a well-defined concept. There is no explicit family policy, but a mix of arrangements and benefits, implicitly taking family into account (Hantrais, 1999: p.95-113). Even if elaborate concepts of family policy exist, their profiles are different from country to country; there is

not a common family policy. Therefore, different variations of family policies of countries need further researches.

Therefore, comparative family policy studies have followed two main theoretical perspectives: first, the concept of welfare regimes and the second idea is 'families of nations' (Castles 1993:13-17). According to Esping-Anderson's welfare state approach, there is a difference between Social, Democratic, Liberal and Conservative regime types (Esping-Anderson, 1990: 57). The family was not considered within this approach, but over the years, several authors have added gender and family perspectives.

According to Kaufmann, Western European Countries can be divided into five groups with similar features; the Scandinavian countries with heavily child-oriented policies and emphasis on gender equality (based on social citizenship rights combined with highly developed social services and high compatibility of family and work); Britain and Ireland with a liberal, non interventionist family policy, addressing poor families and children at risk (based on the idea of private autonomy with limited public services and low family benefits); the Southern European Countries with weak welfare states and strong kinship ties (based on high family solidarity combined with inadequate public services and low family benefits); France and Belgium as the European pioneers of family policy with a combination of traditional and progressive policy elements (based on recognition of the family as an important social institution, supported by both generous family allowances and social services); Germany and Austria with less developed and more conservative family policies (with institutional recognition of the family, based on financial support, limited services, and less compatibility of family and work.) (Kamerman and Kahn: 1997, 5-26).

In addition to this, unemployment benefit was extended to some non-contributory women. But possibly the most significant event was the introduction of independent taxation rules for men and women in 1971 and this made it 'more profitable for a wife to work even at a part-time job than for her husband to take on a few extra hours (Scott, 1982, 72 in Cochrane).

As an alternative, Castles presents a different approach of 'families of nations', which emphasizes the significance of common cultural traditions and this may help to explain similar family policies in the same cultural traditions. Besides, the families of nations'

concept points to the significance of an historical approach to understanding present family policy patterns.

As Cochrane and Clark mentioned (2001) ‘family’ policies have both a pragmatic and a more basic justification. Pragmatically, it makes it possible to be a little more consistent about the examples developed and explored in the different countries considered in the research. But the choice of family policies in particular also reflects our understanding that a central feature of social policy in developed capitalist countries is to be found in the way it defines and constructs families as sources of informal welfare supply and –when families ‘fail’- as causes of social problems. This focus makes it easier for us to consider the extent to which changes in ‘mixed economies’ of welfare way be encouraging ‘disentitlement’ for some families, and shifts towards placing of new (or additional) responsibilities on some families. Looking more closely at these policies helps to confirm the significance of gender-based differences in the operation of the welfare system, and to call into question the gender-neutral language of benefits, entitlement and citizenship.

Women still undertake most of the domestic work and care of the children and they are not paid for this, therefore they are much more dependent on the welfare state for paid employment than men, and also their daily lives depend much more directly on the services and benefits of the welfare state than do men's lives. Men have power in the higher levels of welfare administration and also the corporate institutions of the private sector are mostly under their control. Thus, Hernes (1987, 76) suggests that ‘the Scandinavian state form can be described as a protector for women, because they have had a minimal role in the actual decision-making process concerning distribution.

All in all, family policies have been embedded in historically grown, pre-existing institutional structures. The historical background of the countries sometimes reveals the differences between countries in order to understand their origins and developments concerning both institutional similarities and differences. When we consider the “families of nations” concept, we see a structure, which covers both the historical backgrounds and welfare regimes of the countries

1.2. Welfare State and Gender

When 'welfare state' determined as a termination, we shall principally (although not solely) be concerned with the involvement of the state in social security and social services. So, while acknowledging the potential importance of labor-market policies, we plan to start by looking, more modestly, at areas which are more widely understood as being to do with social welfare, that is those in which states take a responsibility for providing a range of welfare services and/or benefits to their citizens rather than those connected with the development of macro-economic policy and the maintenance of full employment. We accept that it is dangerous to draw a sharp line between public and private, thus we shall focus particularly on how different welfare states have developed (implicit or explicit) family policies. Focusing on ways of development should make it easier to explore the complex relations between social policy and ordinary life, acknowledging that the states themselves help to define the domestic sphere (Cochrane and Clarke, 2001, 4).

In this part of the research, welfare concept will be analyzed within gender perspectives. Recently, Feminist literature on gender and welfare states has focused on gender logics in redistributive systems. Jane Lewis and Ilona Ostner (1997) have developed male breadwinner wage typology, in which they consider the organization of paid and unpaid work and the extent to which social policies weaken or sustain the male breadwinner wage.

We can extend the debate on 'what is a welfare state' to include discussion concerning validity of welfare state typologies such as Esping Anderson's (1999). Many recent studies of comparative social policy in Europe have been inspired by this model. Whilst in this text we have adopted his model, which is composed of three parts and two more groups- named as Central and Eastern European and Southern welfare states- our comparative analysis has been based on his theoretical framework, as it has been basis for Scharpf (1999) and others. However, the issues brought about in the country-specific studies of globalization and welfare state change resulted in some significant questions about permanent utility from this model (Sykes et al, 2001: 208).

Welfare regimes are built upon different basic principles and those principles differentiate them from one another. Thus, one could suggest that the market is apparently

preferred as a superior method of distribution by liberal welfare states vis-à-vis the state. With welfare regimes, it is also aimed at enhancing or securing freedom of choice for individuals, who are regarded as possible to face risks. On the contrary, Conservative/Corporatist regimes are built upon the breadwinner/care taker model. Finally, Social Democratic regimes are based on individual public entitlements as citizenship rights (Ussel and Iglesias 1991,84–86).

Authors found it difficult to apply in relation to individual nations, because it either over-simplified or excluded some of the characteristics that they deemed of particular relevance to their specific welfare systems. Concerning the nature of socio-economic change and its significance for welfare states and social policy, Esping-Andersen (1999) has brought about general questions. One of his main arguments is about the fact that, while the social and economic foundations of contemporary post-industrial societies are rapidly changing, their welfare systems are remaining very much as they were in the industrial past of these countries. He argues that change is urgently needed in the welfare systems of such societies; however various institutional and political pressures have combined to slow down such change to a snail's pace, or prevent it from occurring altogether. Esping-Andersen stated that his tripartite model can be utilized and applicable for the study of comparative social policy, even in these circumstances of rapid social and economic change. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that the role of the family may be used in further differentiating welfare states and he does incorporate some of the criticisms of his original work. His original model has significantly developed thanks to his notion of 'familialism'. In addition, he acknowledges that differences in the dominant approach to the family, offers an alternative way of classifying welfare states. Therefore, in the light of the socio-economic changes noted by Esping-Andersen, the question come into our minds if other models will offer a more useful framework for the study of welfare state development and change.

Undoubtedly, after Esping Anderson's welfare state analysis, with his feminist criticisms concerning women's wages in different welfare states, gave a rise to other typologies about welfare. Before discussing the Spanish and Sweden cases, it would be useful for reader to become familiar with the major feminist scholars in order to examine different views on welfare states.

According to Esping Anderson's welfare state analysis, welfare state concept covers 'decommodified social rights'.² There is a discussion on this term between feminist scholars on the termination of decommodified social rights'. According to his definition, 'decommodified social rights' appear, when welfare service is rendered as a matter of right and when a person can maintain his life without reliance on the market.

Some authors criticize Esping Anderson as saying his termination is more about market and state. However, according to the welfare termination of Esping Anderson, welfare state is composed of three interdependent cornerstones, which are family, market ve state (Lewis, 1999:1-14). However, Esping Anderson's welfare termination takes into account interdependent relationship of state, family and market. According to him, welfare state is composed of three interdependent cornerstones: state, market and family, which have complex relationships. 'The family', just like state, may in theory be affected from market failures; similarly the market (or state) may be affected from the family.' Also each of them can compensate each other.

Additionally, some scholars point out the current difficulties of the decommodification, Connor underlined that not all the demographic groups, especially women, were commodified the limited access to the labor market. (1996, p.9) Supporting to Connor; Orloff presents his proposal to supplementing the concept of decommodification in order to analyze two other dimensions of welfare state. First dimension was to promote women's paid employment with giving right to be commodified and the second dimension was to extent which welfare states enable those who do most of the domestic and caring work to from without having to marry to gain access to a bread winner's income or benefits (Orloff 2001: 303-328).

² **De-commodification** is a concept comes from the idea that in a market economy, citizens (and their labor) are commodified. Given that labor is a citizen's primary commodity in the market, de-commodification refers to activities and efforts (generally by the government) that reduce citizen's reliance on the market (and their labor) for their well-being. In general, unemployment, sickness insurance and pensions are used to measure de-commodification for comparisons of the welfare state.' *Source*; Gosta Esping-Andersen, **'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'**, Cambridge, Polity Press p.21

Another alternative for decommodification concept presents by Lewis (1999) in order to extent comparison researches of different welfare state models. Lewis underlines that married women are excluded from the labor market, firmly subordinated to their husband's for purposes of social security and tax and expected to come for dependents at home without public support. The strength or weakness of the patriarchy shows the way how women treated in order to use social service provisions and women's employment position on the labor market.

According to Diane Sainsbury's model of the individual versus male breadwinner forms of social policy locates the dimension of individual versus male breadwinner forms of social policy, family ideologies, employment and wage policies and care work. (Sainsbury,1996: 150-152).

According to another scholar, Helga Hernes (1987) in coining the phrase 'women friendly welfare state' on how gendered identities and interests have been shaped by Scandinavian welfare states. She argues that the potential for women's influence on the welfare states has been linked to ways in which policies have facilitated participatory citizenship through incentives to enter the labor market, which in turn led to the active recruitment of women in unions and politics. This laid the ground for mobilizing women's constituencies to make claims on the state for more power in the shaping gendered forms of claim making and collective agency of social groups. However, she did not provide historical analyses of identities/interest and welfare institutions, and thus did not recognize the path dependencies in women's mobilization and collective agency.



Graph 1. Esping Anderson's welfare state model

As we underlined in the previous paragraphs, Esping Anderson, welfare state is composed of three interdependent cornerstones: state, market and family which has complex relationship. 'The family' is just like state may in theory be affected from market failures; similarly the market (or state) may compensate the family. The study of family policy is most relevant here because, far from only concerning the area of 'family policy', it has a much wider scope. The 'family' question is not a sectoral, but central in so far as the allocation of responsibilities between the state, the market, and the family constitutes one of the critical features for characterizing various welfare-state models.

Borchorst and Siim (1987) also suggest that substantial gains has been achieved as for women thanks to the development of the welfare state, therefore patriarchal power is now maintained by the institutionalization of women's dual roles as mothers and workers', as a result of this men are free to consolidate their power in public and private corporate institutions. Women continue to be in a secondary capacity - disproportionately employed in the public sector -while men dominate in the private sector as well as in senior positions in the public sector. In other words there is a segmented (dual) labor market and men and women have different access opportunities concerning this. According to this argument, the Scandinavian welfare state has had a contradictory impact for women and destroyed some of the traditional patriarchal assumptions about women's being primarily an unpaid domestic worker, a new form of patriarchal citizenship for women was developed in partnership with the welfare state as both employer and provider .

Gosta Esping Anderson (2002) argues that, Welfare policy can not be reduced questions of employment and unemployment, but employment is nonetheless the key issue in welfare reform. Full employment as it was conceived in the past in most European countries, was only employment for men. By the time being, the nature of the employment objective has changed. The social challenge today is employment for men and women (p.4-6). However, today thanks to the social change, employment for both men and women is understood, when mentioned about employment. This is linked to the transformation of family structures.

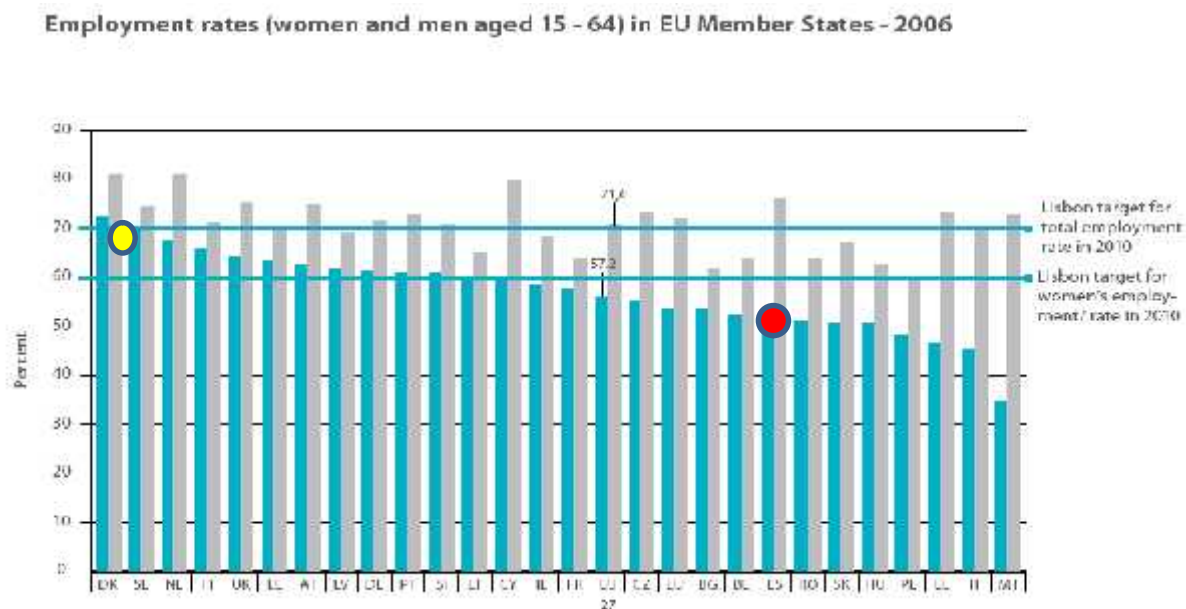
1.3. Lisbon Strategy

One of the characteristic elements, which complete the welfare state concept, is full employment and it should be considered as a main component of mid twentieth-century welfare state. However, there is also a more fundamental problem concerning full employment, because it has an inherent gender bias. In most definitions of ‘full employment’ women have generally been left in low-paid and part time work and it is assumed that on the the most of them will be married and that ‘their breadwinner husbands’ will meet the welfare needs of married women (Chamberlayne, 1991 :7).

In this section, firstly, general framework of the Lisbon Strategy will be analyzed. Then employment ratios between Spain and Sweden will be compared through the Lisbon goals.

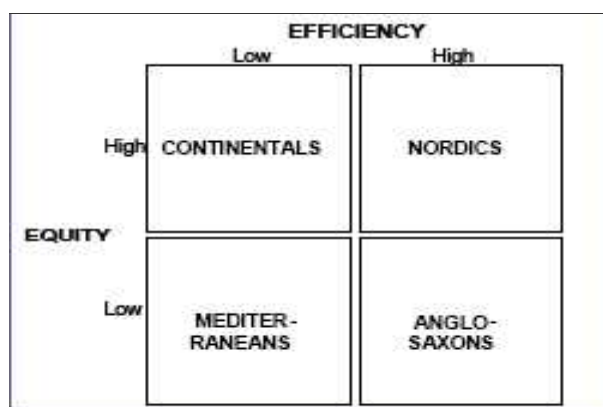
The European Council held a special meeting in March 2000 in Lisbon, at which a new and ambitious strategic goal was assigned to the European Union for the next decade. In other words; Investing in people and developing an active and dynamic welfare state will be crucial both to Europe’s place in the knowledge economy and for ensuring that the emergence of this new economy does not compound the existing social problems of unemployment, social exclusion and poverty.

According to Gosta Esping-Andersen (2002), The Lisbon Summit nor only promoted social policy as a distinct focus of attention for European co-operation; at the same time it laid the methodological foundations for a new Europe-wide approach to social policy, called ‘open-coordination’. The Lisbon Strategy refer to ‘an active and dynamic welfare state’ which aims to make enable all citizens to participate in the mainstream of social and economic life , second; the traditional ambition of providing adequate social protection for those who cannot participate actively.

Table 1. Employment rates 2006 (women and men) according to Lisbon goals

Higher employment rates are positive functions of welfare states. When we analyze and compare the employment rates of Spain and Sweden, we observe that male employment rates in Sweden are currently over the 2010 objectives of Lisbon Strategy and female employment rates are at the threshold, contrary to what is expected. When we examine Spain, we observe that male employment rates accomplished the Lisbon 2010 objectives and female employment rates are highly behind these objectives. Accordingly, we can conclude that in Spain female unemployment rates are more than male unemployment rates. Employment rates are also closely related with the family policies in that country. It will be analyzed in detail in following parts, but here we can state that in Spain, family policy honor women more with mother role, while in Sweden policies, which will facilitate their participation in labor market, are developed. Above table also manifests these results.

1.4. European Social Model



Source: Sapir (2005)

Graph 2.European Social Model

European Social Models have been divided into four categories. Each of these models has some characteristics. Esping Anderson (2002:176-178) summarizes these characteristics as follows: He identifies Nordic countries as welfare states that are facing with ‘flexibility problem’ of creating appropriate conditions for an expansion of private services and Anglo Saxon countries as facing increasing social exclusion of both ‘working’ and ‘non-working’ poor people, even in an environment of booming labor market. He describes Continental countries as they suffer from low employment rates, especially among women and elderly males and Mediterranean welfare states as they face with the difficult task of weakening their traditional ‘familialism’. In this research, Spain case from Mediterranean model and Sweden from Nordic model will be analyzed.

2. Family Policies of Two Different Welfare States

2.1. Spain as a Mediterranean (Southern) Model

Southern welfare regime, presents characteristics that allow us to speak about a ‘family of nations’ and/or a ‘welfare regime’. Southern European countries have either been considered as examples of the conservative, Bismarckian model of welfare state, or as constituting a distinctive Southern model, a welfare system distinct from the liberal, conservative, and social-democratic systems. Esping-Andersen (1990) considers that the

Italian and Spanish welfare states show the same characteristics as the Conservative systems such as Germany, because their origin and development are essentially based on the Bismarckian tradition. In this sense southern welfare states show a stronger commitment even more than that of their Conservative northern European counterparts, so that pensions substitute for the family wage in an even more intense way.

In these sense, Esping-Andersen's interpretation is also in line with that of Castles and Kersbergen. They emphasize the importance of cultural and religious traditions in the development of welfare states in connection with how family and gender roles are assigned. Southern welfare states are regarded as a less developed version of Conservative model by Katrougalos (1996). According to the Leibfried's approach (1993), Southern welfare states are considered as belonging to a distinct 'rudimentary' model, consisting of little more than an institutional promise of welfare. This approach is now largely discarded, because it considers only social assistance (Sykes et al, 2001: 104).

Secondly, Ferrera (1996: p,17-19) argues that labor market insiders are over-privileged in Southern welfare states in an even more intense way than Conservative welfare states. In addition, the elderly are over privileged against people of working age in Southern welfare states. In these countries, the biggest share of social expenditure is allocated for pensions and this rate is much more than unemployment subsidies, activation policies, family allowances, tax exemptions and minimum wages and salaries. Lower levels of development has been achieved in public social and caring services show than in other welfare states, either in terms of expenditure or in the number of services provided.

We can describe the Southern welfare states as a *via media* with respect to other systems of social protection, because the elements of both Bismarckian and Beveridgian traditions are included in those states. In terms of social protection expenditure as per cent of GDP, all Southern European countries are well below the EU average¹. While in 1996 the EU average was 28.7%, the figures for Greece, Spain, Italy, and Portugal were 23.3%, 22.4%, 24.8%, and 21.6%, respectively. In the same year, social protection expenditure per capita for these four countries was also below the average. On the other hand, when we analyze the structure of expenditure on social protection benefits by function, we observe significant contrasts not only between Southern countries and the EU average but also among them. Thus, whereas in 1995 the average for expenditure on family and children was 8%, Spain

only spent 1%, Italy 4%, and Portugal 6%². It was clear that there were other peculiarities for Southern countries concerning further areas of social protection. Both Spain and Portugal spent more on sickness and health care, Italy and Greece spent a lot on old age and survivors' pensions, and Spain's expenditure on unemployment benefits was exceptionally high, as much as two times the average (Flaquer, 2000: 3).

As stated by Ferrera, Southern European countries still show a lower level of development than in other European welfare states even though they have undergone clear expansion for the last twenty years.

Mediterranean welfare regimes, as it mentioned above, generally known as having widely common family oriented values and low rate of female employment, when compared with other European countries. In this part of the research, Spain will be taken as an example in order to explain Mediterranean family model. First of all, developments concerning family policies will be analyzed as for gender. Following a general overview, 'Spanish case' will be examined within family characteristics under the topics such as; family and child allowances, parental leave, childcare, and taxation policies.

Before 1990, Spain and other South European Countries were not included in Esping Anderson's typology of welfare regimes, because of finding them conservative-corporatist when compared to other social, democratic, conservative and liberal types of regimes. In recent years, Esping Anderson extended his welfare state model to include the fourth group, including Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece and called them as 'Latin-Rim' or 'rudimentary' welfare state (Ferge and Kolberg 1992: 245-279).

In each of these Mediterranean states, which are underlined in the last paragraph by Esping-Anderson, public provisions of welfare state were initiated or extended in the absence of democracy and under authoritarian role. Esping Anderson (1990) explained that welfare rights in these states were used as a means of extending citizenship rights, or principle and social policy granted social rights; but these were conditional upon appropriate loyalty and morality of the new fascist man.

One of the main differences between Southern European countries and other nations of the conservative regime type is the extent to which they have explicit family policies. Esping-Andersen (1999) labeled both of them as 'familialistic'. In Southern Europe it is considered as normal that it is up to households to provide for the welfare of their members and therefore the importance of family policy is not emphasized. Therefore, citizens in these countries give the family the top priority on their value scale. Their levels of well-being depend more on family arrangements and connections than on the provisions of welfare-state institutions. The deficit in Southern welfare systems is not so much the result of a low decommodification level but of a low defamiliarization level. This is in accordance with the logic of the system because placing the burden of welfare responsibility on the household is only possible if one section of the population, i.e. married women, does not have access to cash benefits. This creates a situation of mutual dependency of men and women in which the former provide income and the latter provide care services. This symbiotic relationship explains why family ties are so strong in Southern European countries (Flaquer, 2000: 15).

In Spain, men considered as strong breadwinners and they were the only recipients of social security; therefore beneficiaries of the family benefits were men, who were considered as the head of the family. Women were treated primarily as wives or mothers and especially married women were strongly discouraged from participating in paid employment. But during the last decades, there has been a catching-up process in order to reach other developed welfare state standards by strengthening the dual system of social protection with some new gender implications (Threlfall and Valiente : 2005 ,p73-74). In the following parts of the research, these recent challenges and the family policy of Spain will be analyzed in detail.

Before presenting the family policy in Spain, it would be useful for reader to become acquainted with major developments in Spain. In this part, the family policies will be analyzed in two parts as, family policies under Franco dictatorship and family policies after the democracy transition period.

In Spain, the family issue has been thought as having a special prestige and was always been under the control of the church. Then, during the Second Republic, Church started to loose its control over the main areas of social life. Second Republic brought major challenges concerning legal treatment of women and family. After Church and State were separated; some progressive laws such as regulation of abortion and divorce (De Ussel: 1991,

p 279). Before transition to democracy, in Spain, both public laws and regulations of church enforced the preservation of traditional family model. Owing to this fact, code of all moral values was based on women's identity, not the men.

Therefore, all of these laws and regulations restricted women's opportunities related to make a professional carrier. On the other side, women were honored with the roles of being wife and mother. During the years, when Franco was in power, Spanish laws strongly discriminated against married women. They were prohibited from all economic activities, including employment, ownership of property, or even traveling without their husband's permission (Pfenning and Bahle: 2000, p 58).

Some studies show that size of family correlates with levels of economic development. Despite the fall in fertility rates, the largest families in Europe are probably still found in southern countries. In fact, the average size families was 3,3 persons in Spain, 3,1 persons in Portugal, 3,0 in Greece and 2,8 in Italy in 1991, while the average for the EU 15 was 2,6 for the same year. This may constitute an argument for familialism as a constraint, rather than a choice, because people had to share households as they cannot afford to become established independently (Durán, 1999: 19 in Sykes: 2001, 108).

A crucial variable is the high proportion of young people in their twenties living with their parents, which in Southern nations is much higher than in other parts of Europe. Thus, for example, in 1996 65% of men and 44% of women in the 25–29 age group were still living with their parents in Spain, Greece, and Italy; in 1986 the proportions for the same age group were 52% for men and 29% for women. This shows the extent to which the situation of young people in Greece, Italy, and Spain has deteriorated in recent years in so far as most of them fail to achieve full social integration as responsible and independent adults (Fernández: 1997 in Flaquer: 2000,p.7). However, this complex issue cannot be simply dismissed -as many writers have done- by saying that it is the result of high unemployment rates for young people. It is also related to the peculiar structure of the labour market, to the lack of social provisions for young people, and to a number of family values.

As it is already underlined, a strong model of male breadwinner family existed under Franco dictatorship. Then in 1938, family allowances were introduced and paid directly to the

head of the family and regarded as supplementary to his income. Also family benefits were only available for the legal marriages and legitimate children and large families were supported with larger amounts (Nash, 1991:160-167). Therefore, during that period, male authority within the family was reinforced in Spain and registered marriages were supported through social policies. Non-registered couples were not able to get any benefit.

Nash (1991) underlines that the Francoist thoughts, which consider women basically as potential mothers and explain that *'female sexuality, work and education were regulated in accordance with this social function, whilst motherhood was idealized and considered as a duty to fatherland'*.

Finally, we may argue that southern European welfare states have some characteristics in common and those characteristic differentiate them from other European welfare states, but we can not mention about a Southern welfare regime, which is built upon a basic guiding principle (Ana M. Guillen, Santiago Alvarez 'Globalization and Southern Welfare States' in Sykes et al: 2001,p. 110). Therefore, it is in this rather restricted sense that the term Southern welfare states are henceforward used in this chapter. Let us now turn to the analysis of policy reform in Spain in the past years, and the consideration of emerging patterns of decision-making and new developments in the construction of their political discourses around welfare.

Here are the important dates concerning women and family policy in Spain in order to understand past and recent improvements better.

Table 2-The development of social policy for women and family in Spain- some key dates

The Second Republic	
1931-1936	Female Suffrage Divorce by consent Abortion Law Reform
The Franco Law regime	
1937	Family allowances for workers
1938	Married women had to obtain permission from their husbands to work outside the home
1938	Marriage loans (paid to male, head of family)
1942	Family bonuses for workers (Paid to men, as supplementary to salary)
1975	Abolition of the necessity of taking permission from husband for working outside the home

The period of transition and consolidation of democracy, 1975 to the present
Equal rights for men and women, written in the constitution

1980	Legislation on equal payment
1981	Divorce by consent
1981	Equal rights for husbands and wives
1981	Rights of children, born outside and during marriage, equalized
1983	Institute of Women was established
1985	Abortion Law Reform
	Parental Leave was introduced and maternity leave extended
1989	Tax reform- wives and husbands are now taxed separately
1990	Right to family entitlement sex to families previously outside the scope of social security (including self-employed people)
1991	Family allowances means tested to those families earning under 1 million Pesetas per year (approx. £5000). Level of benefits increased 12 fold.
1999	Law on parental leave

Source: Monica Threlfall, Christina Cousins and Celia Valiente, '**Gendering Spanish Democracy**', Routledge pb, Newyork, 2005 ,pg .61.

After re-introduction of democracy in the mid 1970's, the country has lacked a visible family policy agenda until recently. The period of transition to democracy in the late 1970's removed most of the patriarchal laws and the legal, political, civil, personal and employment rights of women have been transformed. As in other southern European countries, the first set of reforms related to establishment of equal rights was introduced in the Constitution of 1978. The second set of major reforms was achieved with the pressure from the women's movement and professional advocates and transformed the family code and family law (Threlfall, 2005: 60-61).

In 1990's, after Popular Party came to the power; better family policies have been introduced. New measures concerning maternity, parental leave, child benefit system, and taxation policy were implemented. (Reform Monitor. 2003).

In 2004, Socialist Party came to the power and drafted a new compromise in order to obtain better family policies. These were the main goals of the Socialist Party:

- to extend the existing network of public services for children and the elder people and to implement a new law for dependent people;
- to develop measures for providing financial support for families and increasing birth rates;

-to develop flexible working times and parental leave policies in order to improve the situation of employed men and women; and to fully recognize the civil rights of different types of families, including homosexual couples and their family members, while paying special attention to the legal rights of abused women (Katrin and Salido, 2008: p.11).

Then 2001 National Plan was brought to the agenda by different government ministries and regional administrations in order to coordinate family policy measures and to improve their level of coherence (Reform Monitor 2004). This plan covered a wide variety of issues, ranging from tax policy to child benefits, housing policy, as well as supporting large families, also families with disabilities. In this research, family policies, which have more impact on gender equality in earning more and taking care, will be mostly analyzed.

2.2. Child Care

Concerning child-care facilities in Southern European countries, public day-care provision institutions for children under four years old have generally rather low success. On the other hand, the levels of provision for 3–6-yearolds are comparable with those achieved by the Nordic states. In Spain and Italy, provision of day care for children between 3–6 year-olds is a part of the educational system and this service is also free (Flaquer, 2000, p 7).

In Spain, there is a lack of welfare services concerning care of sick, disabled or elder people or children under 3 years old. As Gonzales Lopez (2004) mentions, families play a decisive role in women's intergenerational solidarity networks in the absence of extended child or elderly care provisions. In her interviews with working mothers, she found out that one third receive help from grandmothers and this rate increases to two-thirds, in unusual circumstances such as when a child falls or during school vacations. Normally, Spain's autonomous communities are responsible for providing education for children, younger than three years. But, there is no equal provision across the territories.

Working women are also trying to find different solutions concerning child care methods, like paying another woman, who may help on an irregular basis with child care and domestic responsibilities, or working as self-employed in family business or working at home, which enables women to have flexible working times and to combine work and care of small

children. But these methods are especially available for couples, who are paid higher wages (Lopez: p, 179).

2.3. Parental Leave

After transition of democracy period in Spain, some important policies appeared for promoting equal opportunities both for women and men. In this part, parental leave, which is one of the key measures of the family, will be analyzed.

In Spain, there are some provisions in order to use parental leave. Working mothers, who have made at least 180 days of social contributions, were able to entitle 16 uninterrupted weeks of paid maternity within the five years preceding childbirth. When working mothers decide to take this leave, 6 weeks have to be taken delivery. During the maternity leave, salary is received 100 percent of the regulatory base. Since 1989, new law has been introduced, in a case that both parents work; the father may take paid parental leave up to four of the full weeks (Threlfall and Valiente, 2005 : 197-198).

In Spain, there is also unpaid parental leave to take care of small children, which lasts maximum three years beginning from the moment of child birth. This beneficiary is guaranteed to return his/her job any time during the first year in the same professional category, but not necessarily the same job is guaranteed for the remaining two years. Having same job after parental leave is more relevant with the promotion and professional seniority (Katrin and Salido, 2008 :14).

With 1999 Reconciliation Act, fathers' parental leave increased from 4 weeks to ten in order to promote early participation of fathers in children's care. In fact, when the statistics analyzed, it is observed that only %1.8 of the fathers benefit from their right to leave.

Then, the Equality Act has been introduced in order to alter ineffectiveness of the previous laws in terms of promoting father to take parental leave. Especially, paid paternity sent strong signal to fathers in order to take care of their children. After this measure, introduced in March 2007, almost half of the eligible fathers have applied for the benefit. However, parental leave remains unpaid reduces the incentive for higher earners in family, which is more likely to be men than women (Katrin and Salido, 2008 :14).

2.4. Family and Child Allowances

When we compare with the other developed countries (EU-15), we see that the percentage of social expenditure, dedicated to child benefits, remains as the lowest rate: 0,49 of GDP compared to 2.2 % mean of the other EU 15 Countries. When the statistics are analyzed, this amount is still remains minimal as for encouraging female employment in dual earner households (Eurostat, 2005).

Despite the importance of the general commitment of the authorities to ensure the social, economic and legal protection of the family written in the 1987 constitution, state financial protection of the family has been almost entirely nothing. Before 1991 family allowances were the least generous in Europe. In Spain, a monthly allowance of 375 pesetas (£1.88 then) and 250 pesetas (about £1.25) for children under 18 years. Since 1990, it was decided to pay family allowances to the lowest income group, and although the value of the child benefits has increased, it still remains as one of the lowest levels of family benefits, as a proportion in GDP in Europe. In 2000, child benefit was 24 euros per month, for those, who receive income less than 7703 euros per year (Threlfall, 2005 : 72).

Following the new challenges in family policies, child allowance, which amounts to €291 annually per child under 18, is for parents with an income below 11,000.00 euros plus %15 for each dependent child or less in fostering care after the second child per year and for *large families*, the limit will be 16,555.70 euros, when there are 3 dependent children, increasing by 2,681.56 euros for each dependent child after and including the fourth child. This amount increases to 1000.00 euros a year per child, if the child has a disability level above %33 (250.00 euros a quarter). In those cases, there are no limits on economic resources, due to being disabled (www.segsocial.es). Recently, the new government has introduced a new annual means- tested allowance of € 500.00 for children under three years old. (Katrin and Salido, 2008 : 17)

2.5. Taxation Policy in Spain

Popular Party, who came to the power, underlined the importance of the family issues and introduced new measures concerning parental leave, maternity and new tax policies in

order to modify child benefit system. With respect to tax benefits, the PP government introduced a tax reform in order to develop a more family-friendly fiscal policy and encourage women to enter official labor market. The low rates of female employment moderate the impact of this measure in Spain. New fiscal measure, which is called 'minimum amount to live', estimated minimum income necessary to meet basic needs. This measure aimed to compensate families for expenses, associated with dependent family members, through the personal income tax declaration (Reform Monitor, 2003).

A new tax relief plan was introduced concerning working mothers in Spain, which offers € 100 a month per child in order to prevent a further fall in the country's birth rate. This reduction can be taken as a tax deduction of up to € 1,200 in the income tax declaration; or as payment of up to € 100 a month for each biological or adopted child under three years old. But there are some requirements in order to have this reduction. Beneficiaries, who will get this reduction, are obliged to have a full-time job or to be self-employed and registered within the social security system for at least 15 days a month; or have a part-time job with a working day of at least 50 percent of the ordinary working day in the company and registered within the social security system for the entire month. There is also criticism about this taxation policy that it excludes women, who work in unregistered economy or lost their jobs, or who have unstable employment situation or confined to the home because of cultural reasons (Reform Monitor, 2004).

3. Sweden, as a Nordic Model

Swedish social policy has a relative 'liberal' (as opposed to conservatism) structure when compared with some of the key aspects of family policy, reflecting widely adopted, long-established values amongst the population. For example, the legal status of illegitimacy was abolished in 1917, liberal divorce reform was introduced in 1920, homosexuality was decriminalized in 1944 and compulsory sex and birth control education was introduced in schools in 1956. Historically, community has become relatively generous about supporting single mothers and their children, and also living together with them has been regarded relatively tolerantly. The states, which have a traditional patriarchal view of marriage and the family as an almost holy private institution, when compared to most other western states. By the 1980s, the rate of children born to unmarried parents was over 35 per cent, 30 per cent of

families with children under eighteen were lone-parent families (90 per cent being lone-mother families) and over one of two couples divorced, twice the rate in Britain (Cochrane and Clarke, 2001, p: 190).

Sweden has almost invariably been described as having the most developed and most extensive form of the welfare state under capitalism. It is mostly shown as the clearest example for the social-democratic model or welfare regime. During the beginning of 1990s Sweden spent a greater proportion of its national income on welfare benefits and services than almost any other nation-state and gave great importance to direct public provision of benefits and services that were universally accessible to all citizens. The welfare state in Sweden was explicitly committed to alleviating class and gender inequalities as a result of these efforts, inequalities of income and living conditions were significantly less than in most other western countries. Sweden focused on maintaining 'full employment, through labor-market, industrial and economic policies, therefore it has maintained exceptionally low levels of official unemployment rates even during the economic recessions of the past two decades.

Before handling Sweden model, it is necessary to analyze what exactly the Nordic model includes. Within Scandinavian model, the cornerstone in social policy was stated to be universalism. 'The goal [of Scandinavian welfare states] is a set of egalitarian institutions which not only provide the poor with access to a minimum standard of income and social services, but also bring those who would otherwise have been poor closer to the general standard of their society, decrease the need of the well-to-do develop exclusive services, and make some overall redistribution of income and other resources' (Erikson et al. 1987: 7 in (Kautto, Heikkila and Hvindan: 1999 : 11).

We also observe the distinctiveness of Nordic welfare policies in the supply of public services. The state has undertaken financing and often also providing (via local bodies, municipalities) education, health care and social care services. Therefore, the role of private organizations has remained small. The idea that public responsibility is required for universalism and equality, both regionally and between various social groups has justified this. A very extensive public service network has been developed particularly in Denmark and Sweden and these countries make services available to all citizens. As the public sector

mostly employs women, female employment rates increase (Pekka Kosunen 'Welfare state in Nordic Countries' in Sykes et al : 2001, 153).

Gosta Esping Anderson defines Swedish welfare state as a 'social democratic model' and Korpi defines it as encompassing dual-earner model (Björnberg: 2008, p.1). Sweden has been considered as the most women friendly society and has attained the highest score in the UN study, as the most gender equal society, based on two general measures. In the GDI (Gender Development Index) and GEM (Gender empowerment measure), Sweden was the winner in both categories (Le Grand, 2003: 46-53).

Recently, the Swedish labor force has become the most sex-segregated one in the world. Swedish women in paid employment work mostly in the occupations such as teaching, personal social services, health care and other care services, welfare system expanded those occupations. In traditionally 'male' occupations such as management in private sector industry, construction or engineering are significantly underrepresented, despite the attempt made by the recent Swedish legislation on equal opportunities concerning reducing these divisions (Blakemore and Greggs, 2007 :15).

Family Policy is one of the major cornerstones of Swedish welfare system. If modernity is defined with an individual formation of family, family traditions and patterns of the Sweden can be described as modern. The basic idea behind the Swedish social policy is, to ensure decent living for everyone, instead of letting the market forces to provide wide range of choices only to those, who can effort (Blossfeld, 1995 :35).

Family policy has three major purposes in Sweden: to promote equal opportunities both for men and women, to reduce costs of raising children for parents and to provide affordable and high quality child care for all children. Therefore, since 1960's an adult worker model has been introduced within the Swedish society. For achieving this goal, a wide range of de-familization³ policies has been introduced (Björnberg, 2008 :1).

³ **Defamilization** is defined as the reduction of a person's dependence on the family, **Welfare States, Labour Market Institutions and the Working Poor**
http://www.sociol.unimi.it/papers/2008-12-11_Henning%20Lohmann.pdf (27.03.2010)

Ulla Björnberg (2008) writes about the dramatic post-war changes that has taken place in Swedish family life. The main characteristic features are as follows: first, married women have given up their lives and have entered labor market. Second, the cohabitation has grown in numbers and has now become the basis of one family form. When there is an implication of decrease in the importance of the marriage, both as a life-long commitment and as an institution providing social protection, both of these two major changes related to marriage plays important role in term of economic support and individualization. Björnberg also points out that there is very little discussion about the way the institutionalization of welfare has promoted the economic autonomy of women and made them independent of marriage. Legal provisions are also likely to protect the weaker parties within the family.

SAP party published a report in 1971, when they came into power. In this report, wage and salary differentials, poverty, unemployment and gender inequalities were emphasized as the issues, which should be handled with energy and it is argued in the report that the welfare states should depend on universalism thanks to "targeted" reforms for groups with special difficulties' (Hecló and Madsen, 1987, p. 178). Those groups are composed of people, who had been left behind in the post-war economic boom. This 'equality movement' had great effect impact on SAP ideology and policy-making during 1970s. It happened, perhaps, with the introduction of sharply progressive income tax in 1971. This income tax brought about the great expansion of services and employed them within the welfare states with some modest success in improving equality of outcome (Cochrane and Clarke, 2001, p.175).

Swedish family policy is connected with the role of universal and individualized welfare economic development and modernization of society. The introduction of the 'adult worker' family model was closely relevant with the equal rights, obligations and opportunities both for women and men (Farley, 1985 :142). Thanks to this development, both women and men started to have equal rights concerning taking care of children and have equal opportunities like participation in political activities, labor unions and other associations.

With the 1980' Equal Opportunities Act, a law for promoting equal rights in working conditions, and opportunities for self-fulfillment in employment was developed. After this challenge, both employers and employees see the act as a useful tool in order to combat discrimination against the women Notwithstanding that, at the beginning of the 1960's, only

40 percent of the women were gainfully employed; in 1980's 80 percent of women between the ages of 20-64 were in the labor force, which is a very high standard. The most surprising fact was that women with young children had the highest participation rate. The labor force included 81 percent of all women with children under the age of 7 and no less than 87 percent of women with children between 7 and 16 years of age. These high amounts were resulted from the narrow gap between women's and men's wages. This is one important reason for encouraging women to fight for their job, instead of just 'going back to kitchen' (Farley, 1985:142).

On the other hand, it is apparent that liberating family and childcare policies in Sweden has tenderly confirmed traditional family roles. Many Swedish women continue to work 'long' part-time (over 20 hours per week) precisely because the generosity of the welfare system doesn't give much incentive to work full-time and possibly pursue a career to higher positions.

Sweden is also a good example among the other countries, with the high percentage of women's participation in trade unions and decision-making bodies. Approximately %80-90 percentage of women is a member of trade union. Also for some years there have been comities and special opportunity officers to monitor the status of women at work places all over the county. Women have been represented in decision-making bodies and political parties. Those women are also effective as for putting further pressure on equality between sexes (Farley, 1985:142).

Arguably, then, the Swedish approach by protecting women and providing a generous system of state support, has reinforced at least some important gender divisions. This does not mean that the Swedish example proves that support for parents at work should be reduced or that social policies which aim to assist women will inevitably reinforce traditional gender roles. Swedish policies provide many positive outcomes for women. There are opportunities to enjoy a protected standard of living while being involved with child-rearing and paid work.

Table 3 -The development of social policy for women and family in Sweden- some key dates

1845	Equal inheritance rights for women and men go into effect.
1901	Women are granted four weeks of unpaid maternity leave.
1917	A new law prescribes the right of all children to a father. The state will attempt to determine paternity as for illegitimate children in order to hold fathers financially accountable
1939	Gainfully employed women may not be dismissed on the grounds of pregnancy or marriage Universal child benefit is introduced.
1955	A law granting three months' paid maternity leave to all gainfully employed women is enacted.
1971	Individual taxation of wages replaces joint taxation of spouses
1974	Parental insurance, giving parents the right to share leave after the birth of a child, is introduced
1979	The right to a six-hour work day for parents of small children is enacted into law.
1980	A law against gender discrimination in the workplace is passed.
1995	Change is introduced in parental insurance to allocate one non-transferable month to each parent.
2002	Parental insurance is increased to 480 days, with each parent entitled to two months of non-transferable parental benefits

Source:<http://www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Work-Live/Equality/Equal-Opportunities/Some-important-dates/>
(11.01.2009)

3.1. Childcare

The growth of women's paid employment from the 1960s onwards and the concomitant rise of the sex-role equality and women's movements have made a striking

impact on social policy concerning the parenting and care of children, particularly pre-school children, that is those under seven years old. By 1983 the great majority (82 per cent) of mothers of pre-school children had paid employment. Policy has developed in two directions: with greatly increased public investment in daycare and by giving parents very substantial statutory rights to paid parental leave to care for children. These two obviously complement each other, the one supporting out-of-home care particularly for parents in paid employment, while the other supports parental care in the home. It is noticeable that both policies are designed primarily to benefit parents in paid employment and their children, rather than being universally of benefit to all, whether the parents are in paid employment or not. This no doubt reflects the very high proportion of women in paid employment in Sweden, though it is perhaps surprising that the childcare debate has not been more child-centered.

In Sweden, local municipal authorities are responsible for organizing pre and after school childcare. Day by day, the number of the children in private care is growing, but the amount still remains negligible. Since the beginning of the 1990's, local municipal authorities are legally obliged to provide day-care for all children over two years old. Local authority's day-care provision has expanded greatly, since the 1960's; while in 1970's, only %10 of the children between 1-6 years of age attended such day care-centers, this figure reached to 36% in 1980 and %73 in 2002 (Le Grand, 2003:69).

According to Educational Act, if parents are working or studying, municipalities are obliged to provide childcare to families, for children under 12. After this provision has introduced, nearly all children aged 6 are in pre-school for at least a few hours a day. In Sweden 77 municipalities are providing childcare, outside the ordinary working hours, including at night, which is a good opportunity for the lonely parents (Ostner 2008). It is important that therefore equal opportunities were created for ensuring lonely parents, who have to work outside of ordinary working hours, to enter labor market. When it comes to two-parent households, parents can make deals according to their working hours and produce solutions concerning childcare; but lonely parents do not have such an opportunity.

Additionally, in 1998, nearly all municipalities started to have special funding, set aside for children, who are in need of special support and they are entitled to three hours a day in pre-school, free of charge, no matter what their age or their parents occupational status. The need of special support can be because of physical or psychological reasons (OECD 1999 report in Björnberg :47).

After a while, unemployed parents demanded childcare for their children. But in most of the municipalities, childcare were limited for the children, whose parents are unemployed or on a parental leave. Today, those families are generally offered childcare for 15 hours a week, which was introduced for children with unemployed parents in 2001 and for children with parents on parental leave in January 2002 (OECD, 1999). When the fact that many children of immigrant parents, whose unemployment rates are higher, is considered, by this provision, immigrant children had the opportunity to access pre-school world, and obtain a better chance to integrating into Swedish society.

There are also after-school childcare services, which are offered to children between aged 6 and 12. Those childcare services are offered in the following forms (Skolverket, 2000 :47) :

Leisure-time centers: Educational group activities for after-school hours, often integrated with school.

Family day-care home: Child minders, taking care of children in their homes also include school children before and after-school hours.

Open leisure-time centers: No enrolment, for older children between 10 and 12 years old.

In Sweden, childcare services are developed in order to provide equal opportunities for both men and women. With this kind of policies, women's participation in labor market is ensured and women become an active participant in labor market, who contributes to the development of the country beyond undertaking mother role. Family policies in Sweden do not only have objectives concerning issues as childcare, parental leave or family allowances, but even sociological problems are handled by taking consideration the sociological problems such as integration of the immigrant people into the society.

3.2. Parental Leave

The parental leave reform was brought to the agenda in 1974 in Sweden. After a parental leave reform, Sweden was the first country in the world to give employed parents the right to have six month parental leave with reimbursement of %90 of salary, up to an income limit. After 1975, parental insurance was extended on several occasions. During 1990s, parental insurance was given for 12 months with %90 wage replacement, followed by three months with a reimbursement of about € 6 a day, called the ‘guaranteed days’ (Skolverket,2000 :47).

In Sweden, men are also sharing the responsibility for children and home care as well as mothers. Each parent is entitled to a fully paid leave of up to nine month after a child is born, the leave can be divided between mother and father. This legislation brings about equality in Swedish life (Farley, 1985 :139).

In 2003, one of the parents is able to stay at home for 480 days with income compensation at %80 of pre-tax earnings (maximum amount is €3,050 by 2006 for the parents who have higher income.) If parents do not have income, a reimbursement of € 19 a day is paid. Parents, who are employed, get %80 of their salary on parental leave. This amount is limited with €3,050 for the parents, who have higher income. In Sweden, parental leave may be utilized by either of the parents; there has been a strong tendency for the larger part of such leave to be used by the mother. Therefore, ‘daddy days’ was introduced in 1995. All fathers, who have newly born children, are entitled to ten days of temporary parental benefits, when the child is born (Björnberg: 2001 42-25).

The Swedish parental insurance system is constructed in such an elastic manner that parents may use their leave with flexibility, during the time up until their children reaches age of eight. For example, the parents may reduce their working hours by %25 and receive compensation for loss of income through parental insurance scheme (Le Grand: 2003, p.68).

3.3. Family and child allowances

The child-allowance is paid to all children in Sweden and is not mean-tested. Between 2001 and 2005 child allowance was € 113 a month. Since October 2005, additional child allowance is paid to those families with two or more children and to parents with handicapped or disabled children. In 2004, the government conducted an investigation concerning economically deprived children. Based on this report, it was decided that the financial support to families with children should be increased by € 103.7 million. It will be spent on housing allowance, child maintenance and financial support to parents in education (Björnberg : 45).

Mean-tested housing allowance is paid for the families with children in Sweden. Today the housing allowance is commonly paid to lone parents in rented apartments. Approximately %30 of families with children received housing allowance in 1999. The average housing allowance in 2002 was €182 for lone parent households and €187 for two-parent households, which is considered as adequate to cover the housing costs associated with having children. Sweden does not have tax allowances for families with children. Couples-married or cohabiting are all taxed individually, based on their incomes, irrespective of the number of children or income of the partners (Björnberg : 45).

3.4. Taxation Policy in Sweden

A system of taxation was introduced, which abolished the tradition recognizing man as for the principal provider and women as being guaranteed a life through the marriage. Legislation was passed in 1970, establishing separate taxation for husband and wife; each gainfully employed person is regarded as a separate individual with his or her own income. Additionally, the housewife deduction was gradually reduced making in worthwhile for a family having two sources of income. On the other hand, a fairly steep scale of progressive taxation served to encourage part-time employment and discourage over time work. (Farley: 139)

The Swedish welfare state has been financed by very high levels of personal and corporate taxation compared with most other western states. The proportion of income paid in tax rises sharply as incomes rise, but a skilled industrial worker on an average wage in the late

1970s incurred local and national income tax at about 50 per cent of gross income, although this has gradually come down to around 40 per cent in the late 1980s. Employers also pay a substantial payroll tax for social welfare contributions (over 40 per cent in the late 1980s). The welfare state in Sweden is thus financed largely from direct central government, local government and payroll taxes, although a shift towards indirect and wealth taxes began in the early 1990s. Social insurance contributions by employees are only significant in financing unemployment benefit. (Swedish Institute, 1988).

The Swedish tax reform of 1971 made a considerable effect on the rise of female participation in labor market. The reform implied the transformation of the joint taxation of a household to a system based on individuals. In other word, under the latter system, each individual is expected to pay tax, according to his or her individual earning, independently of the spouse's income, increase the labor force participation and an increase in labor participation, the average income of married women. The Economist 1995 concluded that as a considered national policy to encourage women to enter labor force, it worked. Thus, the individualistic perspective of Swedish society manifests itself in the income tax system, where there is no married couples allowance, no tax deduction for children, and no way to file jointly for income tax. Benefits are also assessed on an individual basis (Farley: 139).

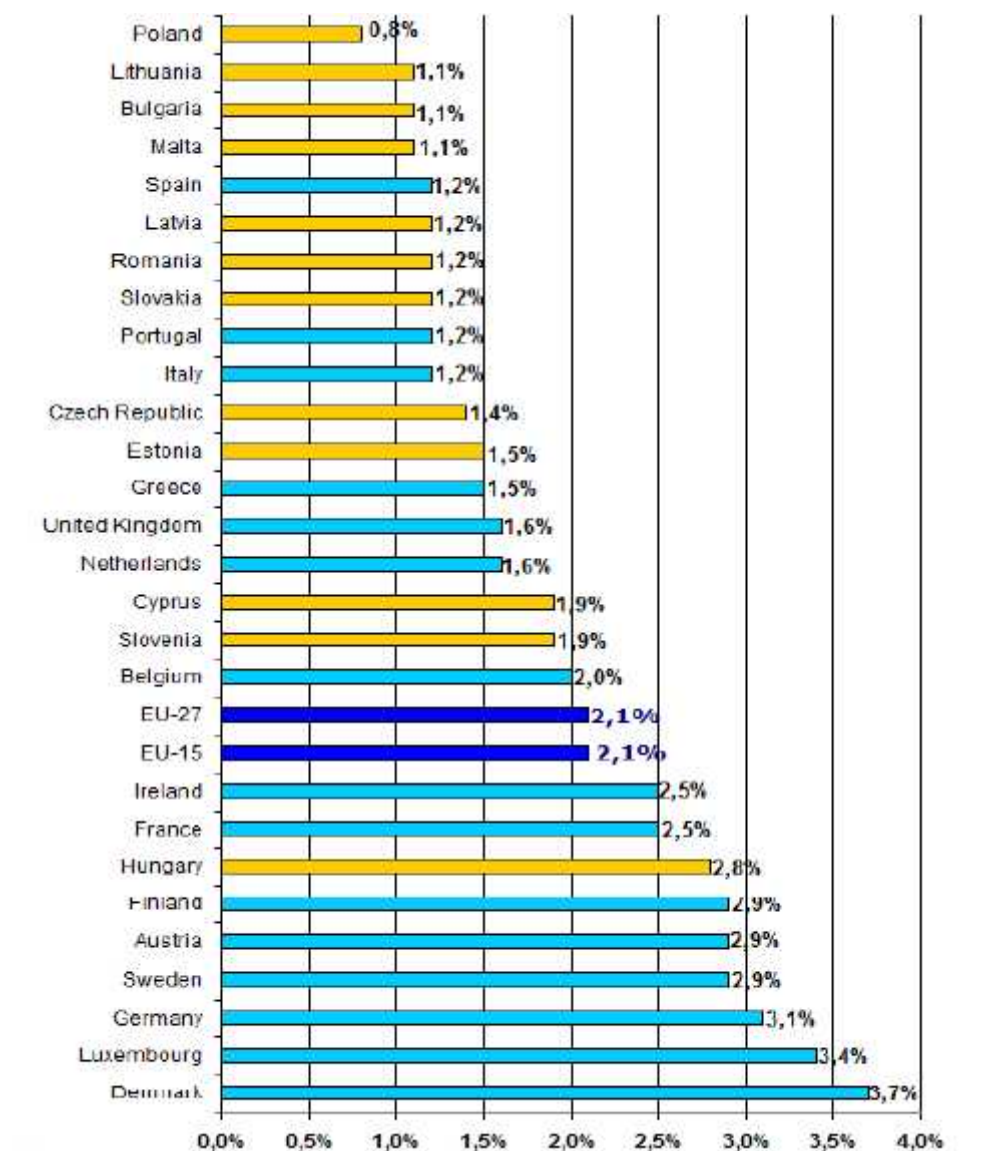
It is clear that these welfare states require a high level of social expenditure and high taxation. Indeed, the Nordic countries continue to be the countries of highest taxation, with taxes calculated as percentage of GDP and of incomes taxes on earnings. However, high taxation is not an end. Taxes are used for allocating again by means of income transfers and providing various public services. Finland and Sweden, in particular, have financed social security (e.g. earnings-related occupational pensions) by employers' social security contributions. (Ana M. Guillen, Santiago Alvarez 'Globalization and Southern Welfare States' in Sykes et al, 2001: 110)

4. Short Comparison of Family Policies in Spain and Sweden

In this part of the research, both countries Spain and Sweden will be compared as for their family policies. Taking into consideration the characteristic of these countries, we can state that Spain provides a traditional family model, which comprises very close family relations, while Sweden is known with equalitarian family policies, which include more individualistic family relations.

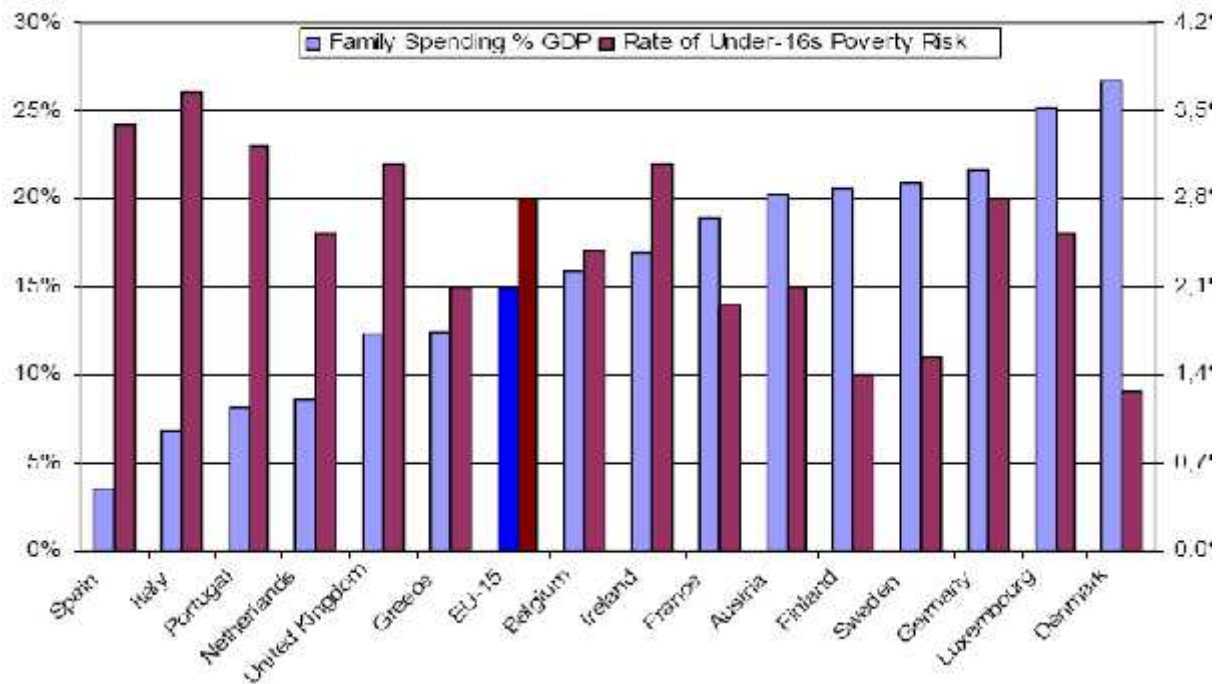
However, Spain's welfare system does not provide a good example of the effects of social security and other policies on gender roles because, by comparison with other European countries, provision in areas such as maternity benefit, child and family policy is limited. Sweden, though it is currently undergoing welfare reforms, is still one of the most generous and comprehensive examples of a welfare system which is supposed to help women, especially in policies which are meant to ease women's re-entry to work and support them in the task of balancing family and paid work responsibilities.

Doubtlessly, family policies show differences in all European countries. While some countries consider families as a priority for helping in increasing the levels far higher than the European average, other countries do not consider families as priority for assistance. When we compare the family expenditures Spain and Sweden provided for family policies in their GDPs, the difference between them can easily be observed. Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, Austria and Finland set aside above 3% of GDP for the family, and this rate is 40% more than the European average (2.1% of GDP). On the other hand, among the EU-15 countries, Spain, Portugal and Italy attribute least assistance to families and provide just 1.2% of the GDP, which is far below the European average (2.1% GDP) (www.ipfe.org, Report on the Evolution of the Family in Europe 2009, Institute for family policies',2009 (01.04.10).

Table 4. Family Spending 2009 GDP Rates (Eurostat datas) in IPFE 2009 evolution report

In fact, the greatest difference between social expenditures can be seen by comparing the rates of poverty risk of 16 year olds. We can observe better the difference between Sweden and Spain from the table below (IPFE Report 2008).

Table 5. Family Spending % GDP and Rate of poverty risk under age 16, source: IPFE 2008 Report



Sweden already established its 'adult model' during the 1960's, which has primarily increased women participation in labor market. Family Policies in Sweden promoted equal opportunities between men and women and it was assumed that men also should share domestic work and care in order to socialize and gain their personality. Contrary to Sweden, Spain is known with its traditional policies, particularly during Franco's dictatorship period. Before transition to democracy, in Spain, especially married women were prohibited from almost all economic activities, employment, having property, even travel away from home without their men's permission. Women were assumed as the main care takers for children and supporter for families. After 2001 National Plan, the number of regulations, aiming equality of women and men, has increased.

Concerning parental leave, Sweden is the first country in the world to give employed parents the right to have 6 months parental leave with reimbursement of %80 salary. There is also provision concerning unemployment parents for having 19 euro per day as child allowance. With the new reform, parental leave extended to 15 months and 5 month tied to each parents in order to support women in the labor market. However, all fathers can have 10

days holiday, when their child is born, which is called “daddy days”. In Spain, recently only one parent was able to take parental leave. In Spain, paid parental leave is only for 6 weeks and parents have right to use unpaid parental leave until the child is 3 years old. However, it is not possible to return to the same job in the second year of parental leave. In addition, as long as the parental leave remained unpaid, it does not encourage fathers to take parental leave.

Regarding child-care facilities in Southern European countries, the level of public day-care provision for under-fours is generally rather low. On the other hand, the institutions providing care for 3–6-year olds are comparable with those of Nordic states . Especially in Spain there is a lack of developed system of public services for the children under 3 years old. The government is compensating only %5 of the needs of childcare. On the contrary, in Sweden, childcare is considerably developed. Municipalities are offering childcare outside the ordinary hours, in order to give an opportunity to parents, who have job outside the ordinary hours. This situation especially provides important advantages for lonely parents. In Spain, children of unemployed mothers can not utilize childcare free of charge, while in Sweden, childcare services is provided for determined hours free of charge for ensuring the children of unemployed parent to adapt to the society better. Particularly, when it is taken into account that immigrants compose the most part of the unemployed, this will ensure that children of those immigrant will more easily adapt to Swedish society. (Flaquer: 2000, p. 6)

When we examine the child allowance rates, we see that child allowance is 291 euro annually in Spain; and with a regulation made in 2005, this amount increases due to second, third child or if child has a disability level more than 33%. With a new regulation, government introduced annual-tested allowance of 500 euro for children under three years old. (Björnberg 45). When we examine these payments in Sweden, we see that monthly 113 euro child allowance is paid for children under 16 years old. Since 2005, additional payment has been paid to families with two or more children. Additionally, since 2002, housing allowance of 182 euro has been paid to lonely parents (Threlfall, 2005, pg.172).

Finally, when we make comparison concerning taxation, we observe that Sweden has no tax allowances for families with children. Married or cohabiting couples are all taxed individually, based on their incomes, irrespective of the number of children or income of the partners. Even if new family-friendly taxation has been introduced in Spain, it is one of the countries that devote the fewest resources for helping families within the European Union;

secondly, this allowance is only for working women, who are complying basic requirements of social-security registration. That is, taxation policy excludes women, who work in unregistered economy or lost their jobs and who have unstable employment situation or who confined to home because of cultural reasons (Threlfall, 2005:172).

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, both Sweden and Spain have introduced significant family policy changes in order to promote women's participation into the labor market. However, methods and extend of changes concerning family policies are different from each other. This article also showed that Spain's historical and family policy legacy is connected to each other. In Spain, changes concerning family policy are realized during the period, when Socialist party was in power, however, they still could not accomplish effective progresses concerning gender equality. There still remain problems, such as unpaid parental leave program, lack of public services for the young children, the lack of strong supportive policies for women to enter labor market and for men to share caring responsibilities with women.

When we compare with the family policies, implemented in the past, women are still referred as the main providers of care in the house, even if more effective policies are developed. Thus, we can state that this issue can not be handled truly without incorporating the dimension of social gender equality in all precautions concerning family policies. It is necessary to provide appropriate social, legal and economic protection conditions, in order the family, the main unit of the community, to achieve its complete development.

However, Spain's welfare system does not provide a good example of the effects of social security and other policies on gender roles because, by comparison with other European countries, provision in areas such as maternity benefit, child and family policy is limited. Sweden, though it is currently undergoing welfare reforms, is still one of the most generous and comprehensive examples of a welfare system which is supposed to help women, especially in policies which are meant to ease women's re-entry to work and support them in the task of balancing family and paid work responsibilities.

We observe that in Sweden family policies have features like being more egalitarian and supporting women's participation in labor market, and support the dual-earner model. More specifically, developed public child care services, parental leave programmes, supportive policies for ensuring fathers to use parental leave, giving enough opportunities to women for participating in labor market instead of only undertaking the role of being mother.

Finally, thesis research shows; there have been different family policies: in this research formerly male breadwinner family model 'Spain' and adopting adult-worker model 'Sweden', promoting gender issue, supporting women's participation in labor market are observed. With this research, we also analyzed that development levels of countries are how closely related to the family policies. In this nexus, when Sweden and Spain are compared, we conclude that in order to attain a welfare state, first of all the regulations, which aim to develop policies based on gender equality and promoting equal conditions for women and men in both social life and labor market should be considered.

As it is included in IPFE 2009 report, "The future EU strategy must accept the important function of family as a key social element for the survival, protection and development of the child" and also it must take into consideration the proposal from the European Commission to "encourage member countries to incorporate the family dimension in their economic and social policies".

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

None of the parts of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution.

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