



FAMILY POLICY: THE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES AND FAMILY REGIMES IN EUROPE

PUPN4419 CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN
EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

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CLASS OUTLINE

- Basic terms
- Family policy regimes – their objectives and instruments used.
- The problem of work-family combination and effective solutions.
- Impacts on the fertility and wellbeing
- The changes during two demographic transitions and the causes
- Contemporary trends and changes of family policy

BASIC TERMS TO START WITH...

- Family policy (Daly, 2020)
- Commodification/decommodification (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999)
- Familialism/defamilialisation (Leitner 2003; Saraceno and Keck 2011)

FAMILY POLICY

- *The definition and scope of family policy is not clear-cut and there is no consensus about either. Gauthier (1999, p. 32) terms family policy a “wide umbrella of policies.” ...where to draw the boundary around family policy in the policy universe overall: which areas and measures should be included or excluded? **The most widespread consensus in scholarship is to define family policy as policies associated with families with children (27)***
- Source: Daly, M. (2020). Conceptualizing and Analyzing Family Policy and How It Is Changing. In: Nieuwenhuis, R., Van Lancker, W. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of Family Policy. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

FAMILY POLICY MEASURES

- **Cash benefits** or tax allowances for families with children (most widely to help them with the costs of rearing children).
 - **Services** oriented to early childhood care and education (committed to a variety of goals, including children's development and education and also support of parental employment).
 - **Leaves from employment** for child-related reasons (also intended to be multifunctional but especially oriented to the organization of employment and family life of parents).
- Source: Daly, M. (2020). Conceptualizing and Analyzing Family Policy and How It Is Changing. In: Nieuwenhuis, R., Van Lancker, W. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of Family Policy. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

MATERNITY LEAVE

- Aim: Protecting mothers in the labour market before childbirth and during the period of physical recovery after childbirth.
 - A period to ensure care and mutual adaptation of parent and child.
 - According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention, MD should be compulsory for at least 14 weeks.
 - Most OECD countries provide special financial support during maternity leave to compensate for lost wages (usually a pro rata share of previous earnings).
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- Source: OECD (2007) BABIES AND BOSSES: RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE – ISBN 978-92-64-03244-6

PATERNITY LEAVE

- Aim: Protecting fathers in the labour market after childbirth.
 - EU Directive on Work-life balance for parents and carers of 13 June 2019
 - For fathers only
 - Often short in the order of weeks
 - Maternity and paternity pay linked to entitlement to compensation for loss of earnings - individual design of entitlement, benefit compensates for loss of earnings up to 100% of the amount.
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- Source: OECD (2007) BABIES AND BOSSES: RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE – ISBN 978-92-64-03244-6

PARENTAL LEAVE

- Employment-protected leave of absence for employed parents
 - Often supplementary to specific maternity- and paternity leave periods (as above), and usually, but not in all countries, follows the period of maternity leave.
 - Entitlement to the parental leave period is individual, while entitlement to public income support is often family-based, so that only one parent claims such support at any one time.
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- Source: OECD (2007) BABIES AND BOSSES: RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE – ISBN 978-92-64-03244-6

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION AND CARE

- Nurseries (until 2) and kindergartens (from 3 to schooling)
- Care versus education
- Paid/subsidized
- Public/Private
- Accessibility

DECOMMODIFICATION

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- Comes from the verb “to commodify” or the noun “commodity”
 - When workers are commodified, they must sell their labor-power on the market to survive - they become a commodity
 - Decommodification implies that they do not have to sell their labor to survive
 - = independence from the market for the satisfaction of one’s own needs—may in fact occur through access to either publicly or family provided resources.
 - Source: Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999).

DEFAMILIALISATION I

- A **familialistic system**, [...], is one in which public policy assumes – indeed insists – that households must carry the principal responsibility for their members' welfare.
 - A **de-familializing regime** is one which seeks to unburden the household and diminish individuals' welfare dependence on kinship.
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- **De-familialization means** independence from family support for the satisfaction of one's own needs.
 - Gosta Esping-Andersen (1999: 51)

DEFAMILIALISATION 2

- To access to decommodification via the welfare state, **women need** to be able to enter and remain in the labour market; i.e., to **be commodified**. This, in turn, requires that the goods (care, housework) they provide within the family and for family members—i.e., in a **familialised framework**—are not only shared with other family members, but are **partly outsourced, either to the market or to the welfare state**.

- Source: Saraceno and Keck (2011)

FAMILY POLICY REGIMES – WHAT TO LOOK AT?

- The degree to which policies:
- A) allow **women to remain in the labour market, thus being independent of another person's income, regardless of their care responsibilities**; that is, the degree to which they allow women to be both “commodified” and “defamilialised” in their ability to provide for themselves, through, for example, the provision of services (defamilialised decommodification of care work) and paid leave entitlements (decommodified supported familialism).
- b) **acknowledge caring for dependent family members** (children, dependent adults, frail elderly relatives) as an activity giving entitlement to financial support in its own right (decommodified supported familialism), through, for example, care leaves and allowances, and care-linked contributions towards old-age pensions.
- c) **support men's uptake of care responsibilities**; for example, whether fathers are entitled to parental leave and whether there is a served quota for them (decommodified supported familialism for men).

- Source: Saraceno and Keck (2011)

VARIETIES OF FAMILIALISM

	De-familialization	
Familialization	Strong	Weak
Strong	Optional Familizmus	Explicit familialism
Weak	De-familialism	Implicit familialism

Source: Leitner, S. (2003) 'Varieties of Familialism. The caring function of the family in comparative perspective,' European Societies 5 (4): 353-375.

...

- **Optional familialism** is typical for countries that offer both services for carers and a network of caring institutions, thus allowing a choice between personal care, associated with leaving the labour market, and remaining in the labour market, combined with the transfer of the care obligation to the state.
- **A de-familialization** welfare state regime offers a wide range of childcare and elderly care services, but no financial support schemes for caregivers. The absence of material support for carers significantly shapes the choice of members of the family.

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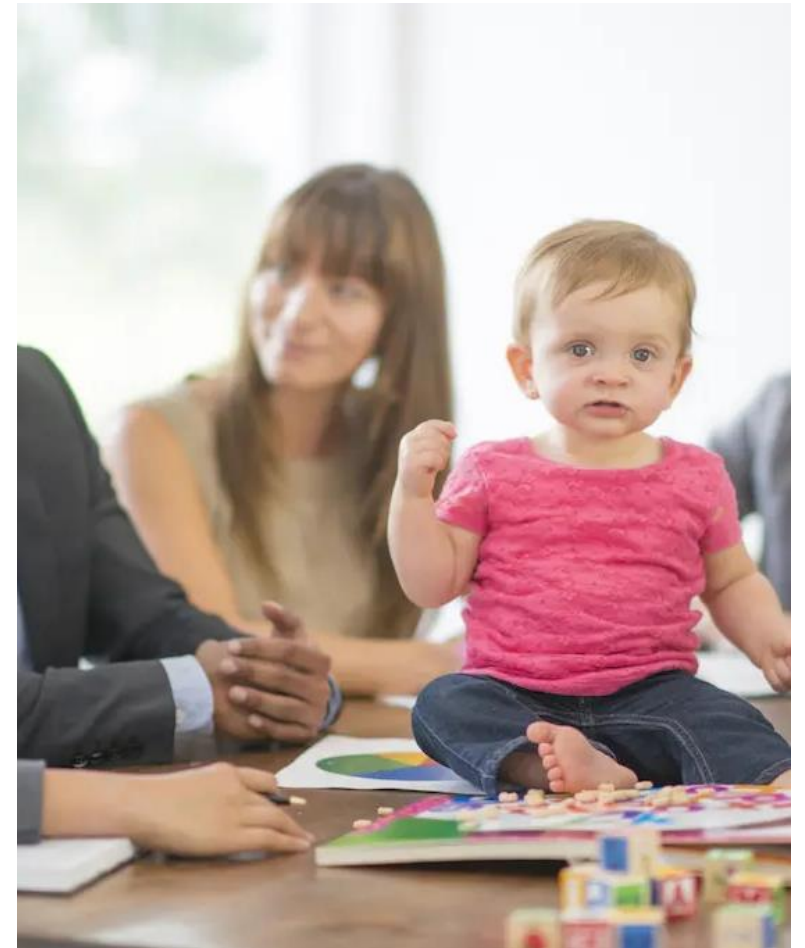
- **Explicit familialism** offers financial benefits and support programs for caregivers, but does not establish or support the establishment of childcare and eldercare institutions.
- **Implicit familialism** is found in countries where no institutional care programs or caregiver schemes are offered. Care is provided within the family or under market conditions, and the carer is not the recipient of any social transfers.

- (1) **optional familialism** - both widespread formal child care and payments for child care within the family,
- (2) **explicit familialism** - little formal child care but payments for child care within the family,
- (3) **implicit familialism** - poor rates of formal child care as well as a lack of cash support for child care within the family, and
- (4) defamilialism with widespread formal child care but a lack of payments for formal child care.

APPLICATION ON CARE POLICIES (ECEC)

DE-FAMILIALIZING CARE POLICIES

- Both, de-familialism and the optional familialism provide de-familializing care policies.
- Optional familialism provides a better opportunity to choose between family care and formal care than de-familialism which does not actively enable family care.
- Defamilialism provides family carers with the option of labour market participation.
- Optional familialism additionally supports family care directly as an alternative to formal care arrangements.



GENDER, FAMILIALISM AND LEAVE POLICIES

gendered familialism shows familialistic policies that assign family care to women (or men), devalue family care in relation to employment, do not provide choices to (re-)move from family care to employment, and focus on (married) heterosexual couple families.

de-gendered familialism shows familialistic policies that do not refer to biological sex differences, validate family care, enable financial independence of the carer, provide choices to move between family care and employment, and provide comparable benefits for different family care arrangement

RE-FAMILIZATION OF FAMILY POLICIES

Reason?

- The Ideological Legacy and Reforms
- The Economic Legacy of the Communist Past
- The Institutional Legacy



“Exit” and the Failure of Post-Communist Family Policies

- Source: Saxonber and Sirovátka (2006)



FAMILIALISM IN CONTEXT OF POST-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

- **Explicit familialism** is particularly strong in Hungary, the Czech Republic and Estonia. States rely on and support family care. A key family policy measure is access to longer paid parental leave, while public childcare services are limited, especially for children aged 0-3 years.
- **Implicit familialism is** in Poland, Slovakia and Latvia, where parents have virtually no public support. While these public policies do not explicitly promote traditional gender roles, the lack of public support implicitly places the responsibility for childcare primarily on the parents who care for the children in the family.
- Source: Javorník, J (2014) Measuring state de-familialism: Contesting post-socialist exceptionalism. Journal of European Social Policy, 24 (3). 240 - 257 (17).

GENDER SENSITIVE FAMILY POLICY THEORIES

- **The Breadwinner models**

- Lewis, J. 1992. Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 2 no.3, pp. 159–73.
- Sainsbury, D. 1996. *Gender, Equality, and Welfare States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- **Familialism/Familization/Defamilization**

- Leitner, S. 2003. Varieties of Familialism. The Caring Function of the Family in Comparative Perspective. *European Societies*. vol. 5, no.4, pp. 353-375.
- Sirovátka T. - Saxonberg, S. Refamilization of the Czech Family Policy and Its Causes. In Saxonberg, Steven. *Conflict, Citizenship and Civil Society*. Glasgow : Glasgow University, 2007. pp. 198-18.

- **Cultural theories of family policy**

- Pfau-Effinger, B. 2004. *Development of Culture, Welfare States and Women's Employment in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kremer, M. 2007. *How Welfare States Care: Culture, Gender and Citizenship in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

CAN BOTH PARTNERS BE BREADWINNER?

- Dual earner/dual carer model (Gornick and Meyers 2009)
- In such system policies:
 - a) support women's labour force participation by partly relieving them of family-linked care responsibilities,
 - b) acknowledge the value of care work by providing both time and financial compensation for care giving,
 - c) support and incentivise men to share care responsibilities.

Source: Gornick, J.C. and Meyers, M.K. (2009). Institutions that support gender equality in parenthood and employment. In: Gornick, J.C. and Meyers, M.K. (eds.). Gender equality. London:Verso: 3-66.

CRITICISM OF THE DUAL EARNER DUAL CARER MODEL

Faulty assumptions

1. there are good jobs for all, so that working for pay is worthwhile in practice.
2. dual responsibilities of earning and caring are always shared by a couple. BUT Many individuals with earning and caring duties actually shoulder them alone, or at least not within a couple relationship.

- Source: Saraceno and Keck (2011)

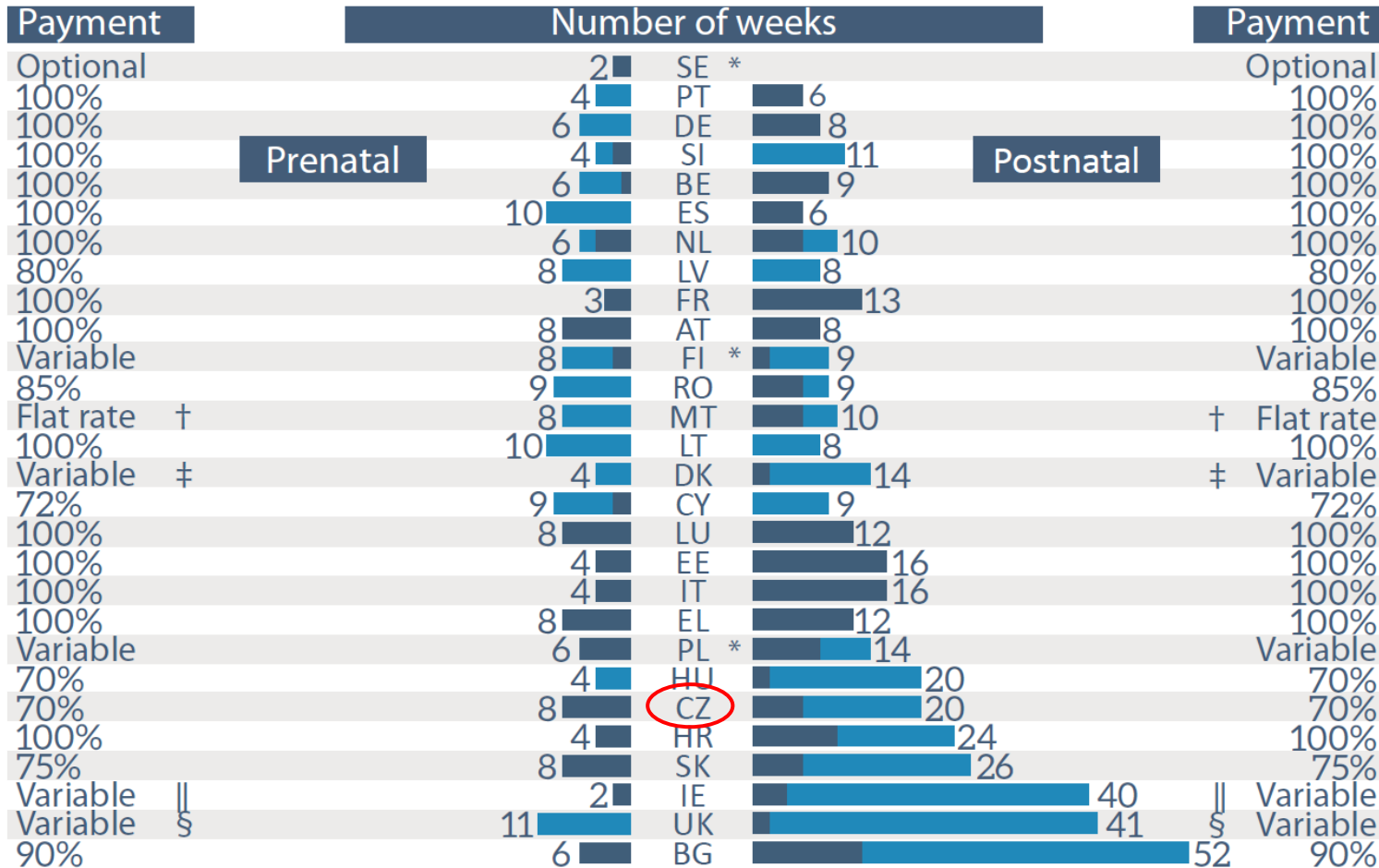
GENDER-EQUITY PERSPECTIVE

- Policies should be evaluated not only on the basis of whether and to what degree they encourage sharing within a couple; but also on whether they allow individuals, and particularly women, to set up their own households without being dependent on a partner.
- Bäckman and Ferrarini (2010) found that dual earner policies indirectly support lone parents/mothers, protecting them and their children from poverty more efficiently than policies that support a traditional gender division of labour.
- Source: Saraceno and Keck (2011)

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS AND CHANGES OF FAMILY POLICY

- In 2013, the European Commission Recommendation ‘Investing in children: breaking the cycle of disadvantage’ set out key recommendations for Member States with regard to supporting positive well-being and outcomes for children and families. This was followed in 2017 with the introduction of the European Pillar of Social Rights, which set out 20 key principles against which Member States can benchmark their social policies.
- Principle 11 - Childcare and support to children – emphasises particular measures for children. This includes acknowledgement of the growing awareness of the importance of early childhood education and care with better child outcomes in later life, by outlining a right to affordable education and care ‘of good quality’. Rights of a child to protection from poverty, including the right of children from disadvantaged backgrounds to ‘specific measures to enhance equal opportunities’ in order to ensure their access to adequate social support and life opportunities.
- Principle 9 stresses the right to a positive work-life balance for parents and people with caring responsibilities, including suitable leave arrangements, flexible working arrangements and access to care services.
- Source: <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/99fcd15b-73ec-11ea-a07e-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>

MATERNITY LEAVES IN EU



Prenatal

Postnatal

■ Mandatory
■ Non-mandatory

Current EU legislation
14
Weeks minimum of which 2 mandatory

MT - Malta, EL - Greece, IT - Italy, RO - Romania, HU - Hungary, CZ - Czech Republic, PL - Poland, SK - Slovakia, IE - Ireland, ES - Spain, EU - European Union, CY - Cyprus, HR - Croatia, NL - Netherlands, UK - United Kingdom, AT - Austria, BE - Belgium, BG - Bulgaria, DE - Germany, LU - Luxembourg, EE - Estonia, FR - France, SI - Slovenia, PT - Portugal, DK - Denmark, SE - Sweden, LV - Latvia, FI - Finland, LT - Lithuania.

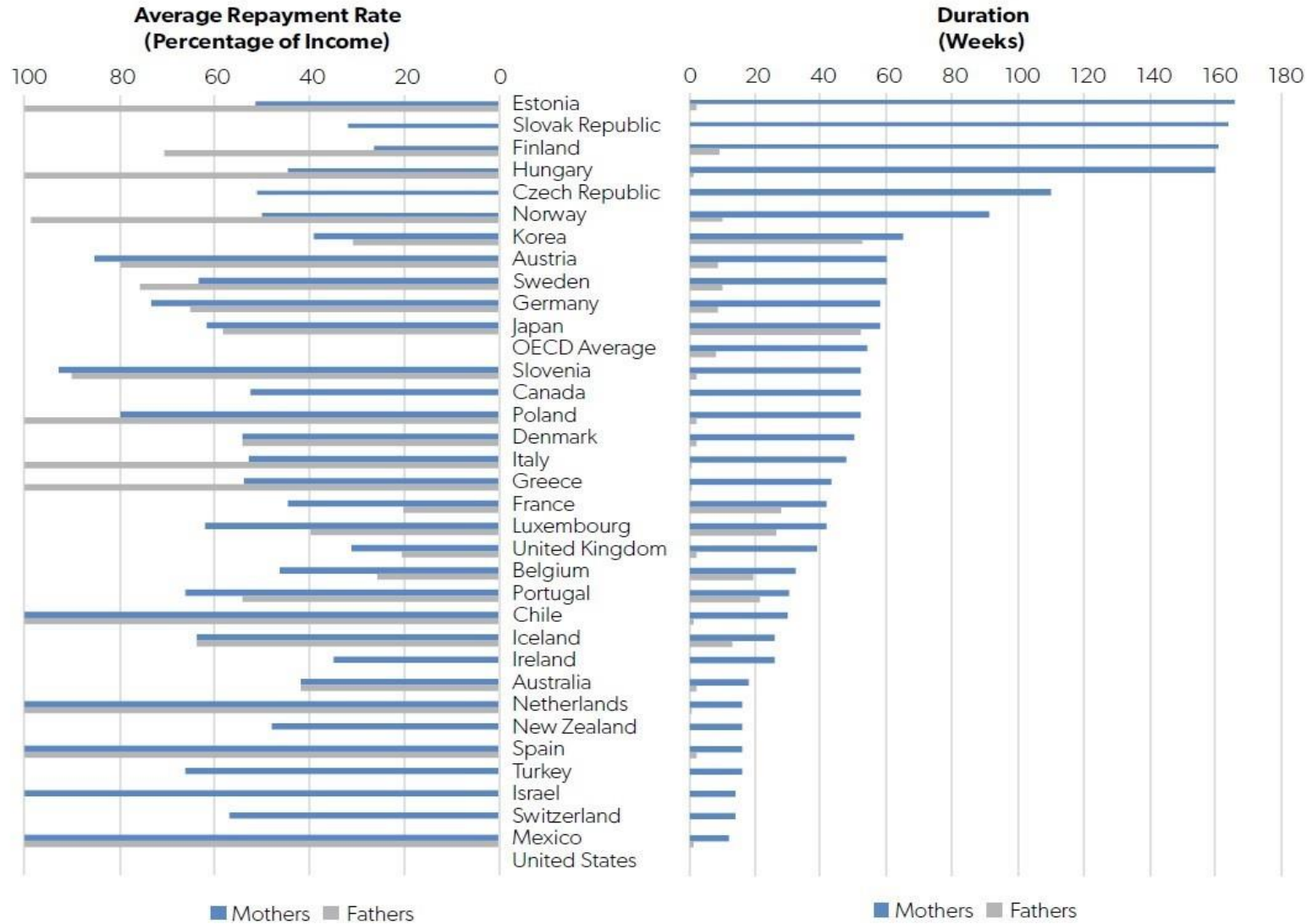
Source:
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2019/635586/EPRS_ATA\(2019\)635586_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2019/635586/EPRS_ATA(2019)635586_EN.pdf)

Number of weeks	Payment
SE * 2	80%
PT 5	100%
DE	
SI 4	90%
BE 2 (3 days mandatory) †	Variable
ES 4	100%
NL 1	100%
LV 1.4	80%
FR 2	100%
AT	
FI * 9	Variable
RO 1	100%
MT 1	100%
LT 4	100%
DK 2	100%
CY 2	72%
LU	
EE 2	100%
IT 1 (4 days mandatory)	100%
EL 1 (2 days)	100%
PL 2	100%
HU 1	100%
CZ 1	70%
HR	
SK	
IE 2	‡ Flat rate
UK 2	§ Variable
BG 2	90%

PATERNITY LEAVES IN EU (2019)

- The EU Work-life Balance Directive was adopted in June 2019.
- It provides for a minimum of 10 days' paternity leave to be introduced in all EU countries by August 2022.
- MT - Malta, EL - Greece, IT - Italy, RO - Romania, HU - Hungary, CZ - Czech Republic, PL - Poland, SK - Slovakia, IE - Ireland, ES - Spain, EU - European Union, CY - Cyprus, HR - Croatia, NL - Netherlands, UK - United Kingdom, AT - Austria, BE - Belgium, BG - Bulgaria, DE - Germany, LU - Luxembourg, EE - Estonia, FR - France, SI - Slovenia, PT - Portugal, DK - Denmark, SE - Sweden, LV - Latvia, FI - Finland, LT - Lithuania.
- Source: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2019/635586/EPRS_ATA\(2019\)635586_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2019/635586/EPRS_ATA(2019)635586_EN.pdf)
- <https://www.euronews.com/next/2022/02/18/where-in-europe-should-you-live-to-get-the-longest-paternity-leave>

Figure 6. Paid Parental Leave Entitlements in OECD Countries in 2015

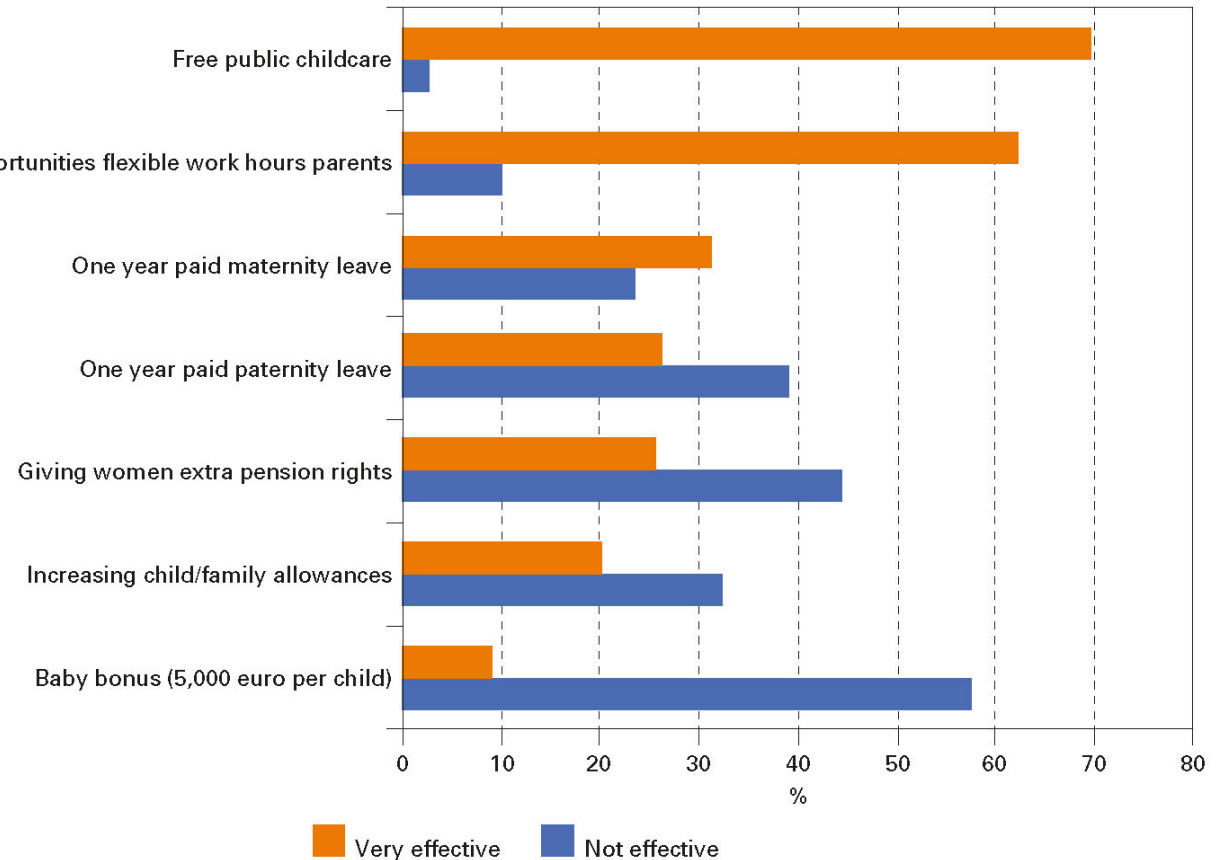


PARENTAL LEAVES IN EU

IMPACTS ON THE FERTILITY (CASTELS, 2003)

- Since 1960, period total fertility rates (PTFRs) in advanced industrialized societies have declined
- family-friendly public policy associated with fertility outcomes are formal child-care provision and the proportion of women reporting that they work flexitime.
- fertility outcomes are a function not only of policies directly aimed at permitting women to combine work and maternity, but also of education and labour market policies that enhance the probability of women finding employment and staying in employment irrespective of their fertility behaviour.

Ranking of perceived effectiveness of policy measures to increase birth rates, as stated by European demographers (percentages), 2020



Answers based on the question: "How effective do you expect the following policy measures to be in stimulating the number of births in your country?"

Source: NIDI survey among EAPS members February-April 2020, N = 205.

25.10.2023



THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ATTENTION!