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국제학석사 학위논문

Decline of Universalistic Welfare States?

: A Study of Swedish Family Policy

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2017년 2월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과 국제협력전공

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이 논문을 국제학석사 학위논문으로 제출함

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Abstract

The disputes whether the universalistic welfare states have declined or prospered have been around for many years. As advanced countries facing common socio-economic challenges, many expectations that the universalistic welfare states would encounter difficulties have arisen. Main purposes of this thesis are three; to contribute to the contentions over the prosperity and decline of the universalistic welfare states, to provide the specific country case regarding the debates, and to explain the continuity of the universalism with the path dependence theory. The thesis argues that the principle of the universalism has not retrenched at least in the area of the Swedish family policy. This means that the universalism in the Swedish family policies has not declined in any terms of generosity, comprehensiveness or universality. Also, the path dependence process, with the robust social consensus and strong bureaucracy in Sweden, enabled the continuity of the universalism.

Keyword: Social-Democratic, Sweden, Welfare State, Challenges, Esping-Anderson, Family Policy

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I . Introduction

The debates over the prosperity and decline of the universalistic welfare states have been around for many decades until now. As developed countries facing common socio-economic challenges, many expectations that the universalistic welfare states would also encounter difficulties have arisen. There are a number of socio-economic concerns that many advanced countries have been facing, but several challenges could be emphasized in relation to the welfare states. That is to say, there are specific socio-economic challenges that influenced the welfare states either in a direct or indirect way. The internationalization and multi-nationalization of capital could be the first one. This challenge would be the factor that has weakened the autonomous power of the states in economic policies and eventually led to the welfare reduction (Swank, 2001). The second one would be the industrial shift to a post-industrial economy, which meant the decline of the manufacturing sector employment and the expansion of service sector employment. It eventually led to the welfare budgetary restraints due to the economic recession in the post-industrial era. Thirdly, the female labor force participation has increased significantly. This has produced some clashes between the roles of mothers and workers, since women still have been playing a significant role in child-caring. Therefore, many requests for the

resolution of the clashes through the welfare states incremented rapidly.

In regards to these challenges, the universalism in the welfare states seemed to be threatened. In effect, Stephens (1996) and Swank (2001) insist that there has been retrenchment and reforms in the universalism even in Scandinavian welfare states. Nonetheless, Esping Andersen (1996) and Gauthier (2002) conclude that distinct features of social-democratic welfare state, which include the universalism, have been sustained. Pierson (2001) and Beland et al. (2014) also insist that the universalism have not declined. Especially, Earles (2011) delved into the Swedish welfare states, and asserts that the universalism has been maintained in the Swedish case.

Although each previous research provides a profound analysis regarding the universalism, there are few researches done for the specific country case studies. Even though Earles (2011) tried to do the case study of Swedish family policies, the level of the research was shallow in terms that it did not provide concrete statistics. Therefore, the purposes of this thesis, investigating on the Swedish family policies, are three; to contribute to the contentions over the prosperity and decline of the universalism in the welfare states, to provide the specific country case regarding the debate, and to complement the concrete statistics of Swedish family policy case.

This thesis argues that the principle of the universalism has not

retrenched at least in Sweden. This meant that the universalism in the Swedish family policies has not declined in any terms of generosity, comprehensiveness or universality. It is true that there have been some major reforms in the Swedish family policies after 1990s. In regard to the childcare policies, the private childcare institutions have been permitted and several new cash allowances were introduced. In terms of the parental leave system, the parental leaves period only reserved for the fathers was newly adopted. Nonetheless, these reforms do not mean the faintness of the universalism which has been the social-democratic welfare state's distinctive characteristic. The theory that might explain the continuity of the universalism over time would be path dependence of the policies due to the high reversal costs coming from the firm social consensus on the necessity of the universalistic welfare policy and strong bureaucracy in Sweden.

This thesis is structured as follows. The following chapter provides the overall review on the previous researches, including the background information necessary for this research. The detailed researches about the contemporary challenges are reviewed. The previous studies dealing with the universalism in welfare states are reviewed as well. Also, the review on the universalism in the social-democratic welfare regime is dealt. Then, the previous studies about the concept of path dependence are organized. The

prospect contribution of the thesis and the research questions of this thesis with the propositions are suggested. Chapter three elaborates on the research design of the thesis. It includes the definitions of key terminologies frequently used in the thesis, analytical framework that the thesis bases on, and the explanations regarding the case selection. The fourth chapter is the key part that analyzes the main findings from the case study of the Swedish family policies, followed by the fifth chapter that interprets the findings. The last chapter is the conclusion part that summarizes the whole thesis, finds some implications to other countries, and predicts the future scenarios of the universalism in the welfare states,

II. Review on Previous Studies

2.1. Contemporary Challenges

In the contemporary era¹, many countries (both developed and developing countries) have faced socio-economic changes, and these changes have challenged the welfare states either directly or indirectly. Namely, in accordance with socio-economic challenges, the welfare states also have faced some problems. Many scholars have analyzed researches regarding the socio-economic challenges having occurred in this recent era. Nonetheless, three challenges that are highly intertwined with the welfare states of many advanced countries could be highlighted; internationalization and multi-nationalization of capital, the change of the industrial structure, and the expansion of female labor participation. Each challenge respectively influenced the modality of the welfare states.

First, internationalization and multi-nationalization of capital has led to the weakening of the autonomous state power over the social policies, including the welfare policies. For reference, the internationalization of capital is quite different concept from the trade liberalization. Hymer (1972: 91) defined it as “the associated flows of short-term, long-term, and equity

¹ The contemporary era, or the recent era, in this paper refers to the era after 1990s until 2010s.

capital stimulated by the multinational corporation, which in turn stimulate the growth of international finance”. Meanwhile, the trade liberalization is often used similarly with the trade openness, which consists of opening up the domestic market to other countries (Edwards and Van Wijnbergen, 1986). When it comes to the contemporary challenge, it might be misunderstood that the trade liberalization have become the major challenge to the developed countries. However, it was not the expansion of trade liberalization, but the internationalization and multi-nationalization of capital that challenged social-democratic countries. Even though many Nordic countries have had concerns regarding the contemporary economic challenges after 1990s, trade liberalization could not be their concerns. It is because they already had an active trade with other countries, since export-oriented industries were their primary industries long before 1990s. Internationalization of capital, indicating that capital became movable to other countries, made the respective states lose the control over the investment and capital. It led to the ascendance of the capital power over labor, breaking the power balance of capital and labor.

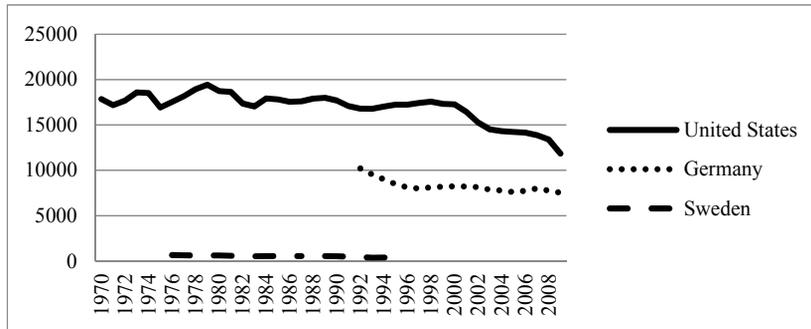
The consequence majorly coming from the internationalization of capital to the welfare state is the reduction of the welfare states. Simmons (1999) and Swank (2001) find the reason for this from the weakened power

of the state over the social and economic policy. This circumstance is extraordinarily dominant in the social-democratic countries, where the states interfered often in social and economic development of the country. The Scandinavian countries are well known for their states' interference in the social and economic affairs. Huber and Stephens (1998) refer that a major aspect of the social-democratic countries is cheap credit for industry, which accompanied the national control over international capital flows and domestic financial markets. They insist that such state power may control national interest rates and transmit credit to the production more than other actors, such as speculators. Therefore, the reduction of the authoritative state power meant losing powers to allocate capital to wherever the state prefers. Many scholars, in turn, expected the reduction of the welfare states, because often times the capital would not move to the social protection sector without state's enforcement. Thus, the necessity and the validity of studying the specific case to investigate whether these contemporary welfare challenges did lead to the retrenchment of the universalism in the welfare states increase.

Second, the industrial structure has transformed with the advent of the post-industrial society. The transformation of the industrial structure is highly related with the productivity growth, especially the decline of the

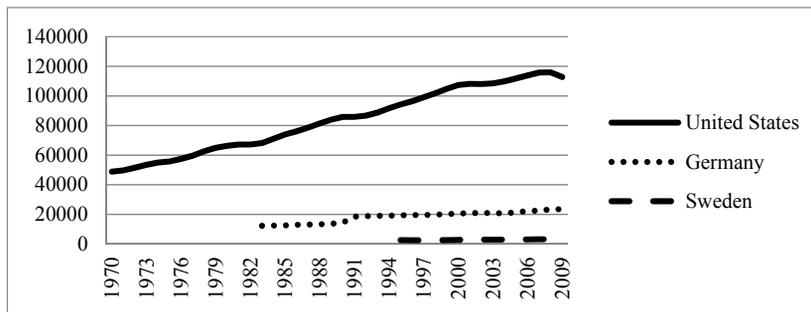
productivity growth that these days many countries face. Figure 1 and 2 show the decline of manufacturing sector and the incline of service sector of the United States, Germany and Sweden which are three countries that respectively represent three distinct welfare state regimes. Referring to Pierson (2001), the huge shift in employment from manufacturing sector, which is generally dynamic, to relatively less dynamic service sector has been the critical factor for slowing down the productivity growth worldwide. The service industries have been considered to be unable to correspond to the productivity growth similarly with that of manufacturing, and it may stand out when it comes to the labor-intensive services types (Baumol, 1967). This leads to the decrease in the relative price of the manufacturing sector. As the demands for the service sector have been increasing and the service sector wage seems to be inelastic to the price, many workers would want to work in the service sector, which makes the value of manufacturing industries decrease. The result would be the overall downturn of the productivity growth and slow economic growth.

Figure 1. Employment of Manufacturing Sector (# of employees)



***Source: ILO database, data extracted on 30 Oct 2016**

Figure 2. Employment of Service Sector (# of employees)



***Source: ILO database, data extracted on 30 Oct 2016**

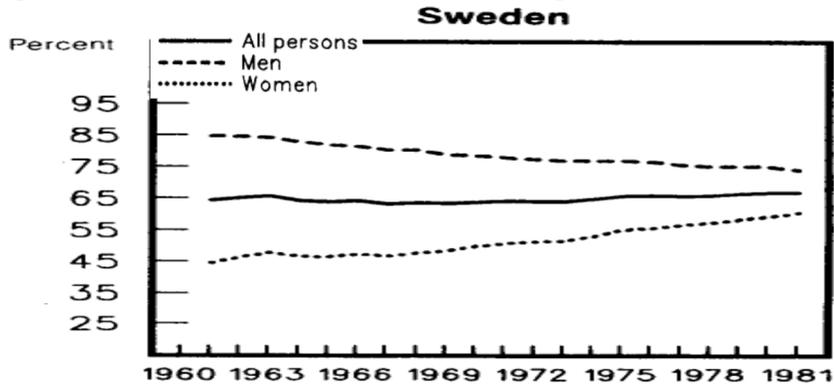
The change of the industrial structure from manufacturing to the service sector caused welfare budgetary restraints. Iversen and Wren (1998) have stressed that the increment of the service employment influenced generally to the post-industrial political economies and particularly to the welfare states. They elaborate that this shift makes governments to confront with a ‘trilemma of the service economy’. The trilemma here refers to the

conflict among the three objectives; employment growth, wage equality, and budgetary constraint. The way the service employment puts pressure to the welfare budget is through the establishment of public sector employment with artificially adjusted high wage. Meanwhile, if the job creation of the service sector employment happens in the private sector, the wage inequality arises and must be aggravated. Then, the governments would like to manage the wage inequality and decrease the unlimited expansion of public service sector, which would lead to the low service sector employment and eventually to the unemployment problem (Huber and Stephens, 1998: 353-397). Then, the government would need to resolve this unemployment problem, but confronts again with the national welfare budget constraints. This is why it is called 'dilemma', and it is certainly the problem that the advanced countries need to solve.

Third, the female labor participation has expanded over time, which led to the increase of the requests for more social protection. As referred, the female labor participation has grown. Figure 3 shows this trend in Sweden where the case study of this thesis focuses on. It is due to the expansion of the service sector employment and also the increase of the single-mothers. In line with the expansion of the service sector, the female workers have participated more in the labor market. Since 1960s, women started to be

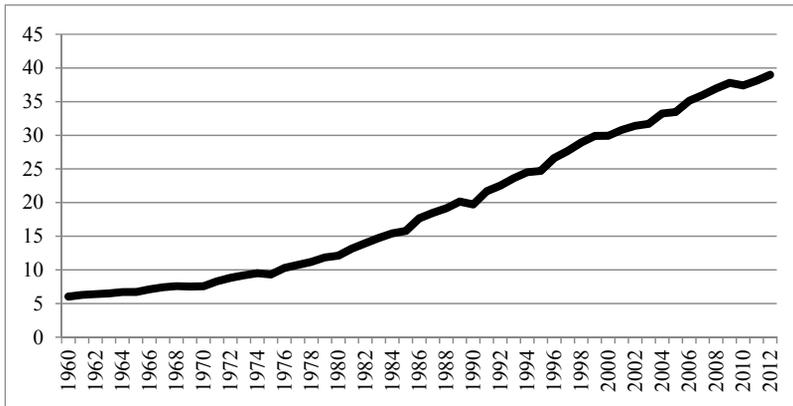
integrated into the labor market in order to fill labor shortage occurring due to many reasons (Earles, 2011). This trend was especially noticeable in Sweden, since Sweden used active labor market policy to foster female labor participation through the expansion of public service sector. The rise of single-parent households is also another factor that explains the expansion of the female labor participation (Pierson, 2001). The divorce rate has increased over the recent decades. The OECD average divorce rate of 2012 was 2.0 divorces per 1,000 people, while it was 1.0 divorce per 1,000 people in 1960. Along with the divorce rate increase, the out of wedlock births rapidly rose as well. Figure 4 shows the sharp increase of the out of wedlock births over time. Single-parent households, mostly mothers, now need to jump into the labor market to become the breadwinners. This led to the increase of the female labor participation as well. Female-breadwinners have had high possibility to earn low incomes and undergo poverty, being interrelated both with the low female earning capacity and the difficulties in balancing work and family. Thus, it resulted in the growth of the demands that ask for more social protections. In terms of welfare states, the expansion of female labor participation meant the necessity of the increase in the welfare budgets.

Figure 3. Sweden Female Labor Force Participation (% , 1960-1981)



*Source: Sorrentino, 1983

Figure 4. Share of Births outside of marriage (% of all births, OECD Average)



*Source: OECD database, extracted on 30 Oct 2016

2.2. Prosperity and Decline of Universalism in Welfare States

The contemporary challenges and their impacts on the welfare states, where the retrenchment of the welfare states seemed inevitable, sparked the debates on the prosperity and decline of the universalism in the welfare states. In regard to the universalism in the welfare states and its rise and fall,

many researches have been done. Some argue that the universalism has been declining after 1990s because the necessity of the welfare restructuring has increased. Stephens (1996) and Swank (2001) argue the retrenchment and reforms of the universalism in the welfare states are needed commonly in many countries. Adelantado and Calderon (2006) also conclude that the contemporary challenges coming from the influx of neo-liberalism and globalization led to the reduction in the government social expenditures. They say that the retrenchment of the universalistic welfare states and the reduction in the social protection are the common features across the countries.

However, other researchers contend that the universalism has been maintained despite several common challenges. Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999 and 2000) and Pierson (2001) generally claim the maintenance of the characteristics of each type of welfare states, which can be translated that the countries with the universalistic welfare policies maintained their universalistic policies until these days. In a more direct way, Beland et al. (2014) assert that there is no such thing as a universal decline of the universalism in the welfare states. Referring to them, whether the universalism declines or maintains depends both on the policy areas and countries. More researchers argue the continuity of the universalism more

than the retrenchment, which are dealt in detail in the following section.

2.3. Universalism in Social-Democratic Welfare States

Regarding the universalism in the social-democratic welfare states, almost all researchers argue the continuity of the universalism. Some claim the retrenchment of the universalism in other welfare state regimes, but they also admit that social-democratic welfare states maintained the universalism. Esping-Andersen (1990 and 1999) insists that the universalism in the social-democratic welfare regime has been sustained. Similarly, Pierson (2001) suggests the continuity of the distinct characteristics in the social-democratic welfare states, which is the universality of the social policies. Kildal and Kuhnle (2005) insist the status quo of the principle of the universalism in the Norwegian family policy and pension policy. They admit that the discussion was active in 1990s about the necessity of the restructuring and the retrenchment in the universalistic welfare policies. Nonetheless, they find out that the discussion could not be translated into the implementation. Bergh and Erlingsson (2009) claim that there is some retrenchment in the universalism but Sweden is the outlier case that shows the continuity of the universalism in their welfare policies. Earles (2011) argues that despite given recent challenges, the inflow of neo-liberalism into

welfare states and family policies, Swedish family policy has remained its universalistic welfare state. Beland et al. (2014) conclude that the universalism has been maintained in the countries that belong to the social-democratic welfare states cluster, while it has been retrenched in the countries that belong to the liberal welfare states regime. Also, they suggest that the universalism has been strengthened especially in the area of Swedish family policy.

2.4. Path Dependence of Social Policy

To look into the reasons why the universalism has been maintained in social-democratic welfare states, many scholars utilized path dependence theory to explain it. Tracing back to 1980s, David (1985) firstly explained the path dependence of the technology saying that people may stick to the already existing technology, since it has a comparative advantage over the new technology. It is because it has been maintained for a longer time and the transfer costs are high. By contracting the neo-classical economists, he argued that maintaining the original one also could be the rational choice. Afterwards, North (1990) stretched this concept to the social institutions that it is hard to adopt new social institutions unless there are very critical events that provoke the fundamental change. Pierson (2000) followed Douglas

North and argued the elaborated concept of the path dependence in the study of politics. He puts an emphasis on ‘increasing returns’ that makes the costs of changing the institutions high as time passes. Thus, he explained that when institutions are set up initially the high reversal costs make the policy makers to stick to the previous policies or institutions. Then, the self-reinforcement of the policy continuity happens, which makes the existing policy or institutions difficult to be reversed. In the meantime, Korpi (2001) analyzed the path dependence of the welfare policies across the countries. He suggested the typology of the insurance system consisting of five types of the system. He analyzed the path of three different welfare state regimes with this typology. Along with Korpi, Pfau-Effinger (2011) applied the path dependence theory into the family policy of Finland and Germany, and concluded that there was the path dependence in Finnish family policy and the path departure in German family policy.

2.5. Prospect Contribution & Research Questions

The contemporary challenges faced by many advanced countries, and the concerns of the retrenchment in the universalism stemming from the challenges led to an active discussion regarding the prosperity and the decline of the universalism in welfare states. The debates are still ongoing

and this thesis would contribute to those debates by case studying the Swedish family policy. Meanwhile, this thesis would contribute to the welfare policy studies since there are few studies done for the specific one country's one policy case in a detailed way. Although a few researchers, such as Hiilamo (2004) and Earles (2011) tried to analyze the Swedish family policy case, they lacked the concrete data or detailed overview of the Swedish family policy change. In addition, the researches about the recent Swedish family policy are rarely done. Thus, this thesis would like to fill the gap of the previous researches with three goals; the first aim would be to add an argument to the discourse on the direction of the principle of universality, the second one would be to fill the gap of literatures dealing the Swedish family policy since there are few literatures done to investigate on the Swedish family policy of the recent era, and the last aim would be to find reasons that explain the prosperity or decline of the universalism.

To translate these goals into more detailed research questions, the questions would be two in general.

[Question 1]: Has the universalism in Swedish family policy been declined?

[Question 2]: What are the factors that may have contributed to this?

Regarding these questions, the preliminary propositions based on the previous researches are suggested as follows.

[Proposition 1]: The universalism in the Swedish family policy has not been weakened.

[Proposition 2]: Path dependence of the policy due to the robust social consensus and strong bureaucracy in Sweden would explain the continuity of the universalism.

The propositions are suggested based on the previous researches that many Nordic countries have maintained their universalistic welfare policies even though there were many contemporary challenges. Also, the second proposition follows the previous researches that point out the path dependence of the policy as the major reason for the continuity of the universalism in the Nordic countries. To verify these two propositions, this thesis suggests three criteria for the universalism, generosity, universality, and comprehensiveness, and establishes the analytical framework. It would be elaborated more in the next chapter.

III. Research Design

3.1. Definition of Concepts

In this dissertation, three main concepts need to be defined and narrowed down. The first concept is *universalism* in the welfare states. The origin of the universalism traces back to the Beveridge Report (1942). Since then, many scholars tried to apply the concept to various research areas. It has been defined in many different ways depending on the area of studies it is applied, such as in politics, in economics, in social policy, in religion, in sociology and etcetera. However, it seemed difficult for many scholars to define the universalism in welfare policy in a clear way, since it is very complex and polysemic concept. Esping-Andersen (1996) also referred the universalism in the welfare states with three components; comprehensiveness, universalism and generosity. Kildal and Kuhnle (2002) explained the concept of universalism with the membership and the principles of allocation. Similarly, Anttonen et al. (2012) described the principle of universality with the universal inclusion of people and the universal allocation of the public goods. Beland et al. (2014) analyzed their article with three questions regarding the universality. They focused on the benefits, checking if the benefits are universal, centrally administered, or

flat-rate. In line with these previous researches, this thesis limits the 'universalism' with three criteria in verifying the proposition 1; comprehensiveness which entails the coverages of issues and risks, universality which indicates whether entitlements are given in nondiscriminatory manner, and generosity that means the level of benefit amount. That is to say, social-democratic welfare states cover many types of risks that the nations can face, provide entitlements on non-discriminatory basis, and give high level of benefit amount.

The second concept that needs to be narrowed down is the *family policy*. Gauthier (1999: 456) defined the family policy as "an amalgam of policies directed at families with children and aimed at increasing their level of well-being". Leitner (2003: 358) also referred that the aims of the familialistic policies are "not only oblige (and at the same time: enable) the family to meet the care needs of its members, they also enforce the dependence of people in need of care on their family". Hiilamo (2004) researched the changing family policy in Sweden and Finland with cash child benefits, parental benefits, housing allowances for families with children benefits for single parents, public provision for day care, and cash for childcare. Earles (2011) analyzed the Swedish family policy with childcare and parental leave. Taking these previous researches into

consideration, the thesis inclines to opt for a narrower aspect and to limit family policies to its key elements: financial support childcare and parental leave system for working parents.

Lastly, the concept of the *path dependence* needs to be defined. The terminology of the path dependence is utilized in various meanings. In a broader concept, it means that the previous events influence the follow-up events (Sewell, 1996). In a narrower definition, Mahoney (2000) and Howlett and Rayner (2006) refer to the maintenance of the institution with the self-reinforcing sequence after the accidental initial set-up. Pierson (2000) also defined the concept that political institutions are maintained due to the principle of ‘increasing returns’. Following the previous literatures, the path dependence is defined in this thesis as *the initially set social institutions are maintained due to the high reversal costs coming from the embedded interests*. As the thesis adopts the path dependence theory as the analytical framework, the details about the path dependence theory is more elaborated in the following section.

3.2. Analytical Framework

As proposing the continuity of the universalism in the welfare states, this thesis aims to find reasons from the path dependence theory why the

universalism has been maintained even though there were contemporary challenges that ask for the welfare states to be retrenched. Referring to the previous studies that have been organized in the previous section, many scholars have utilized the path dependence framework to explain the continuity of certain institutions, such as social policies. However, the thesis adopts the Pierson's (2000) literature mainly for the analytical framework. He explains the path dependence of the institutions differently from the scholars who insisted the path dependence with the history factors. That is to say, scholars, such as Sewell (1996), argued that the history matters and the previous accident influenced the following sequence. However, Pierson's idea of the path dependence was quite different from this broad and naïve explanation of the path dependence. The key factor to understand his path dependence is the concept of increasing returns. He applies the concept to the economics and the politics.

To make the complex things simple, his argument is saying that once a certain institution is settled initially, the increasing returns process, in other words, self-reinforcing process, starts and this process makes the institution to be maintained. He suggests four key characteristics of events where the path dependence, increasing returns process, can be applicable to at the initial step. The first one is the *multiple equilibria*, which hypnotizes that

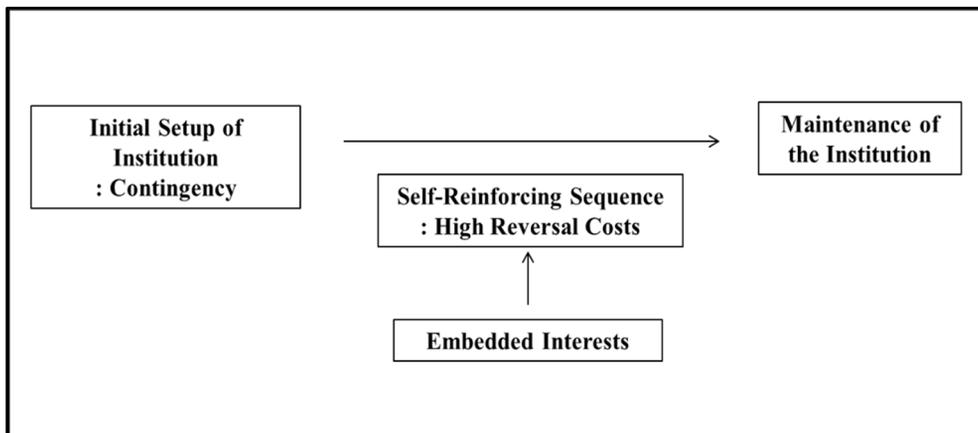
there can be multiple choices at the initial point. The second one is *contingency* characteristics of the events. The third one is the *critical role of timing* that enables the increasing returns to be set. The last one is *inertia* that brings the positive feedback of a certain institution from the public and enables that institution to be maintained. Now, it is better just to quote directly from Pierson's (2000: 3) paper to understand the process of the increasing returns in the path dependence of the institutions:

This conception of path dependence, in which preceding steps in a particular direction induce further movement in the same direction, is well captured by the idea of increasing returns. In an increasing returns process, the probability of further steps along the same path increases with each move down that path. This is because the relative benefits of the current activity compared with other possible options increase over time. To put it a different way, the costs of exit- of switching to some previously plausible alternative- rise. Increasing returns processes can also be described as self-reinforcing or positive feedback processes.

Borrowing the concept of Pierson (2000) about the path dependence in the study of politics, this thesis analyzes the research based on the path dependence framework. Firstly, the contingent event needs to be adopted in the critical juncture. The critical juncture means the time when one event is selected among many counterfactual alternatives. Once a certain institution is adopted, maintaining process begins with the logic of the increasing returns, which means that the same institution is maintained or reproduced.

The established path of the institution lock-in the patterns, making it difficult to abolish the institution, and eventually self-reinforcing the existing pattern. That is to say, the reversal costs, in other words, the transfer costs get higher and higher, so that it would be rational to maintain the existing institution unless there is another critical juncture. Through the reproducing sequences, several factors get involved, which enables the self-reinforcement stronger, and these factors are called embedded interests. The summarized figure of the analytical framework is shown in the Figure 5.

Figure 5. Analytical Framework of Path Dependence



***Source: Author's own analysis**

3.3. Case Selection

This thesis is basically a qualitative research based on the case study of Swedish family policy, supported by some quantitative data and analysis.

The selection of Sweden as a case is based on Esping-Andersen (1990)'s argument that Sweden is one of countries that carry out the most universalistic welfare policies. Esping-Andersen suggests three different types of the welfare regime where the countries in the same regime show the similar characteristics. He provides *rights* and *decommodification* as the criteria to divide the types of regimes. According to his extensive research, liberal regime shows the lowest decommodification level and narrow scope of the coverage of the rights by the states. In contrary, social democratic regime shows the highest decommodification level and wide scope of the coverage of the rights by the states, while the corporatist regime shows the modest level of the two criteria. He explains that the countries that fall into the social-democratic welfare state regime base their policies on the universalism, and Sweden is an exemplar country among social-democratic countries. By looking at the Swedish welfare policy, this thesis strives to check if the countries where they have adhered to the universalism changed their direction as facing the contemporary challenges.

The reason for the selection of family policy among many other welfare policies is as follows. Even though there are various welfare policies, such as pensions, health care, and etcetera, the family policy is highly important when considering the recent socio-economic challenges faced by

welfare states. This sector is deeply correlated with the expansion of the female labor participation. The time span of the family policy that the case study roots on is quite broad; from 1960s to 2010s. However, the primary interest of the case study is the Swedish family policy of the recent era, filling the gap that the previous researches have done; from 1990s to 2010s.

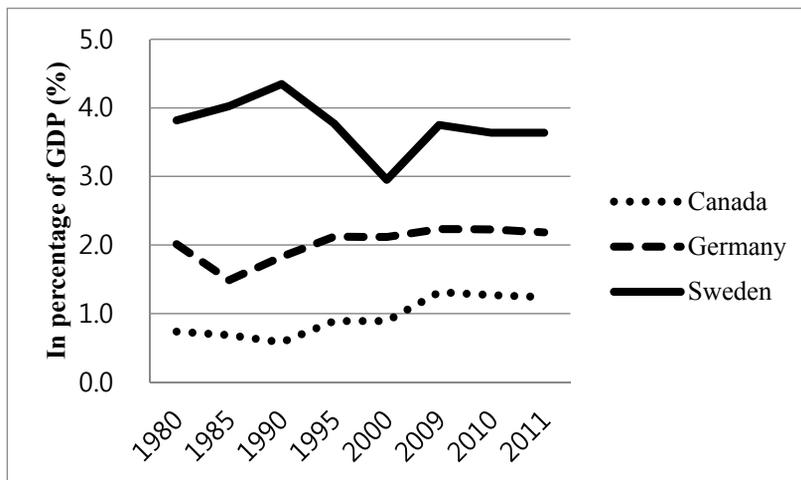
VI. Case Study of Swedish Family Policy

4.1. Features of Swedish Family Policy

Sweden, as one of the paradigmatic countries of the social-democratic welfare regime type, basically shares the characteristics that the social-democratic welfare states regime shows. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), social democratic welfare states base their policies on the principle of universalism. This implies that social democratic countries implement the most universalistic welfare policies compared to other two welfare regimes; liberal and conservative welfare state regimes. That is to say, the social-democratic welfare states cover many risks that the nation can face, provide entitlements on non-discriminatory basis, and give high level of benefit amount, referring to the definition of the universalism suggested in the previous section. According to Gauthier (2002), the social-democratic welfare states implement universalistic support especially for families and put an emphasis on the gender equality. In other words, the family policy of the social-democratic welfare states deals with many distinct types of risks that might be faced by contemporary families, does not require means-tests for the entitlements, and provides bigger amount of benefits compared to other regime types. Sweden clearly shows this feature as referred in Figure 6.

Swedish total public expenditure on family has been the highest since 1980s over other two countries which respectively represent liberal and conservative welfare state regime. Total public expenditure on family shows the total volume of welfare states on family, which means that we can see high ‘generosity’ among three criteria of universalism.

Figure 6. Total Public Expenditure on Family



***Source: OECD database, data extracted on 10 Oct 2016**

The Scandinavian welfare states also show the distinguishing feature in terms of the expansion of public social service (Esping-Anderson, 1996). According to Cusack and Rein (1991), 15.4 per cent of the labor population in social democratic Scandinavian countries comprises of the welfare state

employment. Compared to the continental European countries (5.1 per cent) and liberal Anglo-American countries (6.1 per cent), it is comparatively high share.

Beside this feature, the concentration of social policy to the youth and the working age is another aspect the social democratic countries have. For example, the education, child day care, labor retraining system and etcetera are the public social services that pay much attention to the youth and working age population.

The last attribute of social democratic welfare state is statism. The statism means here that the most of the social services are provided by the states, not private organizations. This aspect stands out especially in Sweden and Norway, so that the state is mainly in charge of the social welfare that makes the private welfare less powerful.

Turning to the distinctive features of Swedish welfare states and family policy, Sweden has early based its family policy on earner-carer model. Gornick and Meyers (2003) explained that earner-carer model is a gender equal welfare state approach, which assumes that men and women equally engage in both unpaid caring works and paid employment. Earner-carer model has the same assumption with dual-earner family, which means the equal rights and obligations in the paid and unpaid works both for men and

women. This model is contrary to the breadwinner model that many other developed countries have opted for a long period of time. That is to say, the Swedish family policy has decided to aim the reconciliation of work and childcare both for men and women earlier than other countries. This earner-carer approach has been expanded since 1970s until the recent era, even though this trend has been retrenched a bit by the change of political party that seize the power, which tried to adopt several reforms.

Another distinctive feature that Swedish family policy has is that Swedish family policies have been applied upon residential rights, rather than citizenship rights. It means that family benefits can be reached to the family and children who are living in Sweden. In turn, children who were born elsewhere but living in Sweden now could receive the benefits (Duvander, 2008). This dissertation would like to delve into basically two major family policies; childcare policy and parental leave policy and their changes.

In the meantime, the most important feature is considered the universalism, and the case study would focus on whether the universalism in the Swedish family policy has been changed in the recent era (1990s-2010s) compared to the past era (1960s-1980s). The following section firstly deal with the past era in childcare policy.

4.2. Childcare

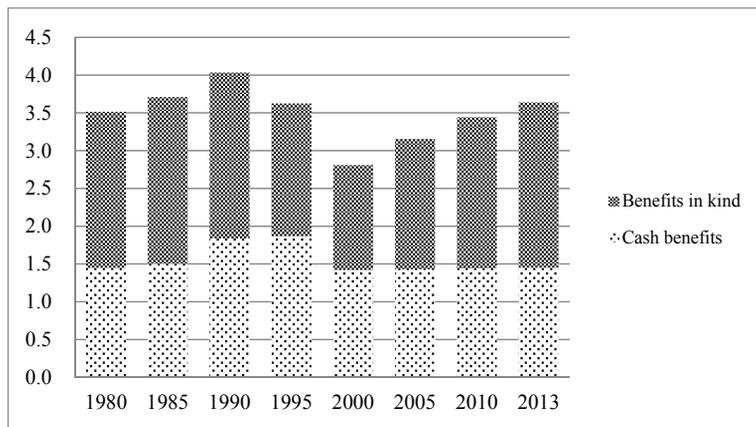
4.2.1. 1960s-1980s

Before tracing the childcare policy, the childcare policy here in the thesis encompasses the benefits in cash, in kind and through tax system. In the era of 1960s until 1980s, Swedish family policy achieved their goal of gender equality and full employment with three major measures, which has been maintained until the recent era. Those three measures were the provision of the day care centers and after-school services, child allowances and other benefits, and parental insurance. Among three, the first two measures are dealt in this section.

The time period from 1960s to 1980s is considered the timeline for Swedish family policies to mature and grow. It would be better to look first at the basic statistics regarding public provisions related to the child care, shown in Figure 7, in order to give an overall understanding of Swedish family policy. In Sweden, the public expenditure on family has been around 3 % of GDP from 1980s until now. The distinctive feature from this statistics is that Swedish family policy has focused on the provision of the family benefits in kind more than cash benefits, as referred above section explaining the features of the social-democratic welfare states. Comparing the statistics with Germany and the United States in Figure 8, which

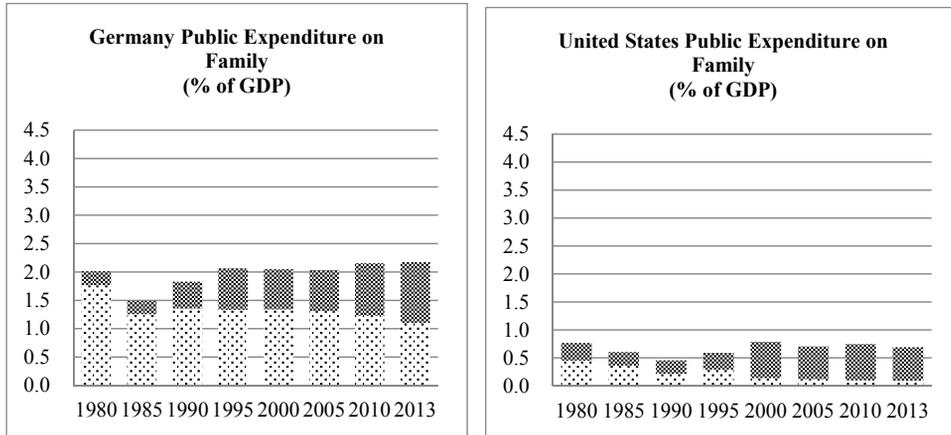
respectively represent European continental welfare state and liberal welfare state, Sweden has spent public budget pretty much already from 1980s. Also, it is clearly different from Germany's case that it has tended to grant more benefits in cash than benefits in kind. The United States, on the other hand, has shown the similar trend with Sweden in terms that it spent more on family benefits in kind than in cash benefits; however, the absolute percentage of the expenditure has been very low.

Figure 7. Sweden Public Expenditure on Family (% of GDP)



***Source: OECD database, extracted on 01 Nov 2016**

Figure 8. Germany and the United States Public Expenditure on Family (% of GDP)

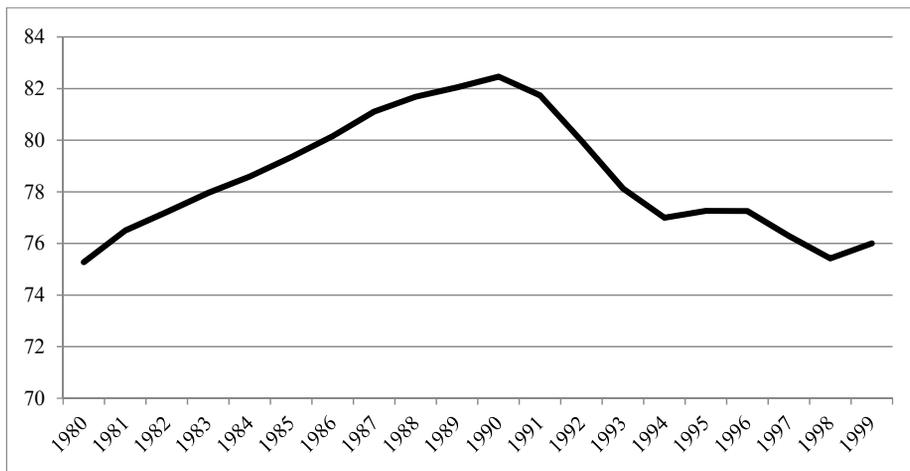


***Source: OECD database, extracted on 01 Nov 2016**

Now deeper investigation on the trace of the Swedish family policy would be necessary to find out the details of the family policy. In early 1960s, the political parties in Sweden were majorly divided into two in terms of childcare issues. One was the centre-right parties which advocated care allowance, while the other one was the Social Democrats which promoted public childcare (Bergqvist et al. 1999). However, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) became the major supporter for the publicly provided childcare in the mid-1960s, as female workers continuously demanded the expansion of the childcare services. LO had strong relationship with the Social Democratic Party (SAP), so that the public child care got prioritized and municipalities increased the volume of

childcare spaces. In specific, the childcare spaces increased from less than 12,000 in 1965 to more than 136,000 by 1980, and also to almost 730,000 in 2002 (Curtin 1999; Daune-Richard and Mahon 2001; Mahon 1999; Swedish National Agency for Education 2003). In turn, the female participation of Sweden reached almost 80% by 1985. Figure 9 nicely shows the trend of the female participation of 1980s

Figure 9. Sweden Female Labor Participation,

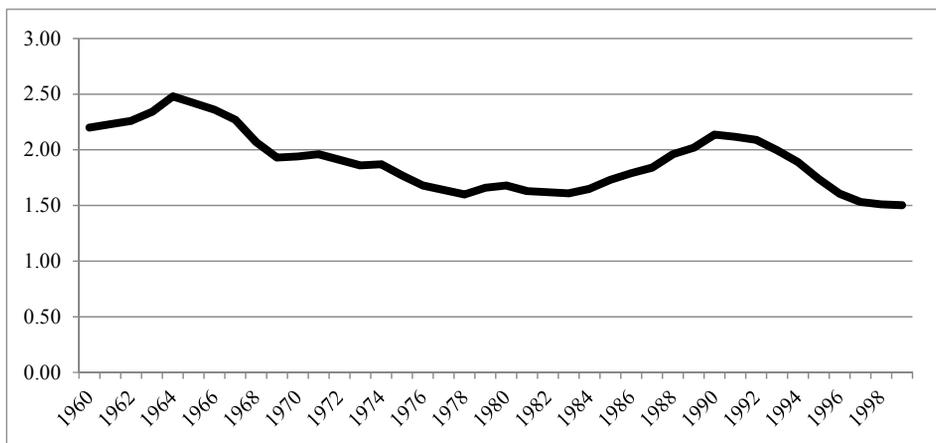


***Source: OECD database, data extracted on 03 May 2016**

While in the circumstance that the female labor participation has been very important in other European countries as well since the 1970s, the other two welfare state regimes (the liberal and conservative-corporatist welfare states) have not adopted universal publicly provision of childcare to

foster the growth of female labor participation. Instead, families were in general left to protect by themselves regarding childcare, often depending much on informal networks or on the private market (Earles, 2011). Meanwhile, Sweden showed relatively high fertility rate compared to other countries. The high female labor participation with universalistic family policy is considered to be the key factor for this high fertility rate that Sweden has shown (Earles, 2011). The concrete data in Figure 10 shows the overall fertility rate of Sweden from 1960 to 1999. From 1980 to 1999, the female labor participation and the fertility rate shows surprisingly similar trend, which would support Earles' earlier point.

Figure 10. Sweden Fertility Rate

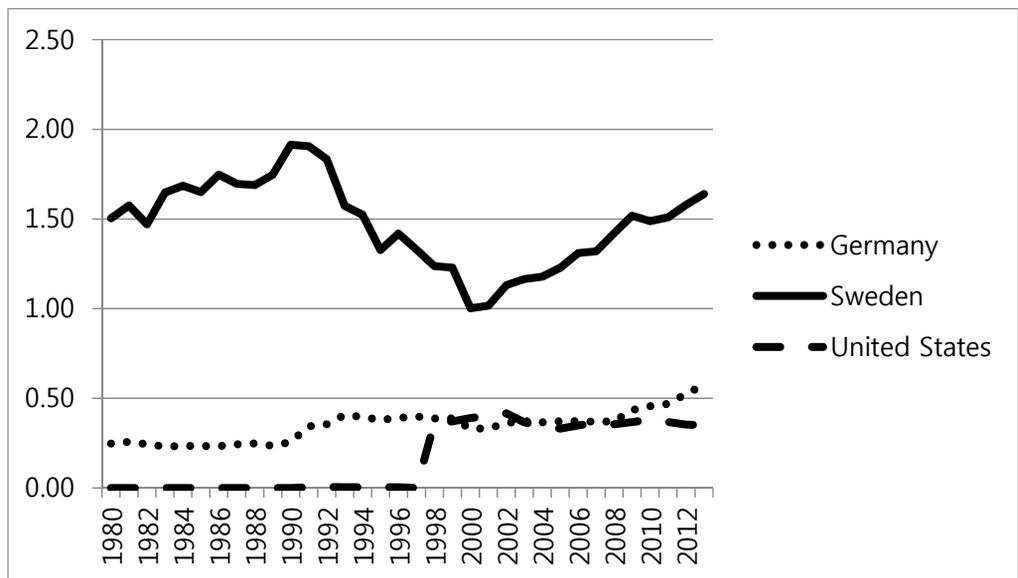


***Source: OECD database, data extracted on 30 Sep 2016**

The first family policy to delve into in detail is the public childcare services. The enrollment rate in the publicly provided childcare in 1963 was only 3 per cent of all pre-school aged children. Nonetheless, 35 per cent of the mothers with pre-school aged children were working in the labor market (Nyberg 2004). This circumstance naturally led female to demand the expansion of public childcare, which made more female to participate in the labor market. This established the virtuous cycle. Thus, the government started to exercise a huge deal of power to female laborers' quests and established a national childcare model with minimum standards (Alvestad and Samuelsson 1999). For instance, the government provided full-time childcare centers doubled with the purpose of fostering and enhancing the quality of childcare in 1966, and two years later, the state demonstrated the National Commission on Childcare, which became the basic foundation for the pre-school model that remains in Sweden today (Nyberg 2004). This measure could be considered very universalistic. In terms of the comprehensiveness, it satisfied the requests to encompass the risks coming from the female laborers. This public childcare service is granted to all children and parents if they live in Sweden, and it meets the second criteria of the universalism, the universality. For the last criteria of the universalism, the generosity, this measure also can be said very universalistic. Referring to

Figure 11, Sweden showed relatively high public spending on early childhood education and care, compared to Germany and the United States.

Figure 11. Public Spending on Early Childhood Education and Care



***Source: OECD Social Expenditure Database, extracted on 27 Dec 2016**

The other family policy measure, more than day care centers and after-school services, is child allowances and other benefits. Every child who is living in Sweden is entitled to the benefits which are based on a flat-rate. Parents are granted approximately 100 euros per a child, and there would be a supplement for families where they have children more than one (Duvander, 2008). The supplement increases proportionally with the number

of children. This system is also considered one of the first measures that laid the foundations of social-democratic welfare state. Moreover, parents would receive a care allowance when having sick or disabled children. This measure aims at achieving two goals at the same time; dealing with the costs that are caused by children's disability and also covering the loss of earning when leaving the work in order to care those children. Meanwhile, there is housing allowance as well, in which not actually is directly related to child caring, but indirectly supporting single parents most of whom are women. Unlike other benefits, this measure is based on means-tests in terms of household income, the number of family member, and the cost and size of housing. Similarly, maintenance support is provided to the family, suffering from divorce. It covers the costs occurring related to child rearing, which puts an emphasis on the sharing of responsibility even though parents get divorced (Duvander, 2008). Basically, in Sweden the costs that one of the parents who happened not to rear children after the separation pays to the other one who is in charge of caring children are covered by the welfare state, while the many other countries depend on civil contractions. Of course the liable parents for the payment also have to pay, yet it is noticeable that the state also supports the children with divorced parents. Nonetheless, Sweden is especially cautious that the maintenance support would not be

used in favor a former spouse's interests. It is managed to be paid via social insurance to be sure if the pay would be used to support the children. The maximum maintenance support is limited to 125 euros per a child and a month (Duvander, 2008).

Finally, the last child related benefit that Sweden government provides is through tax system. In 1971, the first and biggest reform regarding this income taxation was suggested. It basically meant the deduction of tax to lower income parents. This was not directly related to the child caring activities, yet had an implication that it became economically advantageous to the lower income parents relatively compared to one single (usually male) higher income (Duvander, 2008).

4.2.2. 1990s-2010s

The case study of Swedish past family policies was relatively long, but it has dealt the total framework of Swedish family policy and their importance, which are highly related when explaining the family policy of recent era. As the demand for the privatization of the welfare states increased along with the economic crisis in 1990s, Sweden also had to deal with the welfare reforms. In the era of 2010s many countries including Sweden suffer the economic crisis again and the demand for the neo-

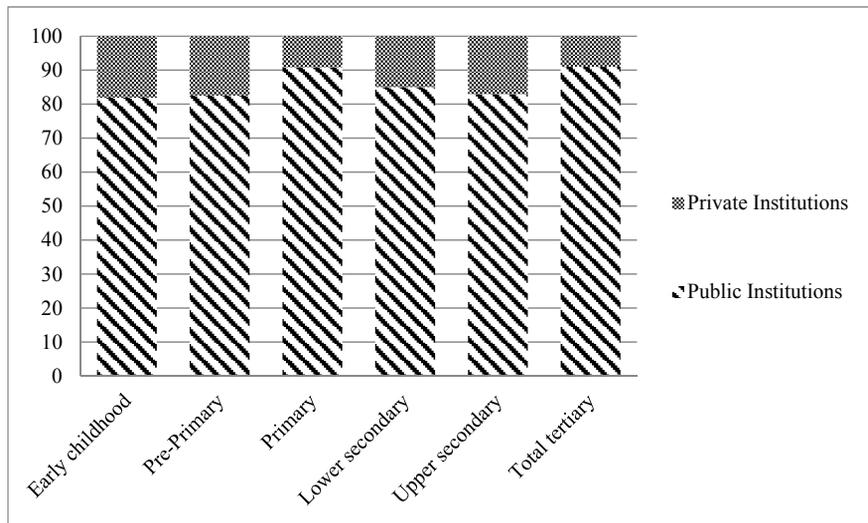
liberalistic approach in terms of the family policy has been expanded as well. In addition, after a long ruling of social-democratic parties, in 2006, the centre-right party has won the election, and the welfare state was expected to be restructured.

In fact, the childcare policy from the late 1990s until now underwent several reforms. Swedish Employer's Association's (SAF) and the Swedish Federation of Industries were two organizations eager for the introduction of a private day-care. Before 1991 election when the centre-right party became the ruling party, the private for-profit childcare was not allowed at all. The provision of for-profit child care was banned with Lex Pysslingen² legislation. The social-democratic ruling government worried about the inequality problem that would occur when allowing the private child care and the weakening of the universalism. Nonetheless, when the centre-right party became the ruling party, the government abolished the legislation and allowed the private child care. Even after the social-democratic party regained the government private child care was not banned again, because it was not the primary concern of the state in the circumstance that the economic situation was worsening. This might be said to be the starting

² Law prohibiting commercial day care in 1982, revoked in 1986 (Pestoff and Strandbrink, 2002)

point that the private child care could prosper as time goes by. In reality, the private child care has been popular only in few counties in Sweden. According to many researches, there were 27 Pyssslingen childcare centers, which are the representative private for-profit child care centers, near Stockholm, 40 centers by 1999, and 70 centers in 2009 (Strandbrink and Pestoff 2006). Nevertheless, the publicly provided child care has remained the majority in the most of Swedish counties. In 2008, the percentage of the enrollment in the private child care centers was five per cent in other counties, making the average of 18 per cent in national level, even though children in Stockholm who were enrolled in any form of private pre-school reached 34 per cent (Statistics Sweden, 2010). In 2013, as well as in 2008, the majority of the children are enrolled in the publicly provided institutions (see Figure 12). Thus, this thesis reiterates that the principle of universalism and the fundamental framework of Swedish family policy have not been weakened over time.

Figure 12. Sweden Enrolment Rate by Types of Institutions (2013, %)



***Source: OECD database, extracted on 02 Nov 2016**

Adding to this reform, the Act on Child Care was passed in 1995. Turning to 1990s, the female labor participation declined as showed in Figure 9 along with the decline of fertility rate as well. In this era, the contraction of the welfare state and the economic downturn occurred, which are considered to be the possible factor for the rapid shift of the trends in the female labor participation as well as the fertility rate. After long quests for public child care for more than two decades due to demand outrunning the supply, the Social Democratic state established the Act on Child Care in 1995. This Act obliged the municipalities to grant public child care without

‘undue delay’ (Bergqvist and Nyberg, 2002), which meant that the inquiry time for a childcare space should be within three months. The introduction of the act resulted in not only a high education quality, but also affordable and accessible public child care.

Secondly, recent care allowances have undergone several reforms as well. Major reforms done were twofold; first, in 2006, the *child home care allowance* was adopted. It became available that municipalities grant a child home care allowance to any parents who wish to. It enabled one of parents to stay at home, caring children aged from one to three instead of leaving their children to the child care center with the state finance. The benefits would be provided in cash. The generosity of the benefit is not very low, since the maximum benefits that could be provided would be 300 euros per a month after tax. Of course, this amount is less than an average income, however, this would help and give more liberty to parents who want to rear their young infants by themselves. The primary expectation from this benefit was that women with low income or no income utilize this bonus. Nonetheless, there are some criticisms toward this purpose that this allowance has potential to exclude the women from the labor market by making them to choose to stay at home, rearing children and being provided with a child home care allowance (Duvander, 2008). This may be the critical

problem to the countries like Sweden, since Sweden base many institutions on the employment status. Nonetheless, the core argument of this research regarding this is that it is not certain to say this allowance will contract many women out of the labor market. This allowance would be given to parents whose children are aged only one to three. It means that the benefits are granted at most three years. It is not a long term to make parents lazy enough not to get jobs afterwards. Also, the allowance is not that big, which would not let people's will to work decrease. Rather, it would be better to evaluate this system in regards to the strengthening of the universalism, because it became more comprehensive by expanding the coverage of the risks.

The second reform of care allowances was done in 2008. A *gender equality bonus* was newly adopted which grants an extra economic benefits to parents who are willing to share more equal responsibilities. The effect of this bonus would be especially significant to the lower or middle income parents. The bonus is given to parents who use the parental leave system more equally. In turn, it aims to cover the income losses that come when fathers utilize the parental leave system. This assumes that men usually earn more than female workers; therefore there would be bigger losses when fathers use the parental leave (Duvander, 2008). The adoption of this bonus

is considered to contribute to strengthening the principle of universalism as well as gender equality which Swedish family policy based on. It is because this allowance was additional benefits provided, more than the existing care allowances.

In sum, these two reforms of care allowances would result in different consequences in detail, such as enhancing gender equality and giving more choice liberty to parents, while both can be said to open a new spectrum in terms of the Swedish universalism in the recent era. In terms of comprehensiveness, these reforms enlarged the coverage range of the family policy. Also, these reforms are additionally granted allowances more than the existing care allowances, which can be considered to increase the generosity level of the family policy. Following table (Table 1) summarizes all the findings of the case study in regards to the childcare policy including reforms in the childcare services and care allowance.

Table 1. Analysis of Findings regarding Childcare Reforms in Sweden.

1960s-1980s	1990s-2010s	Universalism		
		Comprehensiveness	Universality	Generosity
	Public childcare (benefits in service) maintained	-	-	-
	Child allowance (benefits in cash) maintained	-	-	-
Not existed in this era	1991: Allowance of private childcare	↑	↓/↑	-
	2006: Child home care allowance	↑	-	↑
	2008: Gender equality bonus	↑	-	↑

-: No change, ↑ : Enhanced, ↓ : Weakened

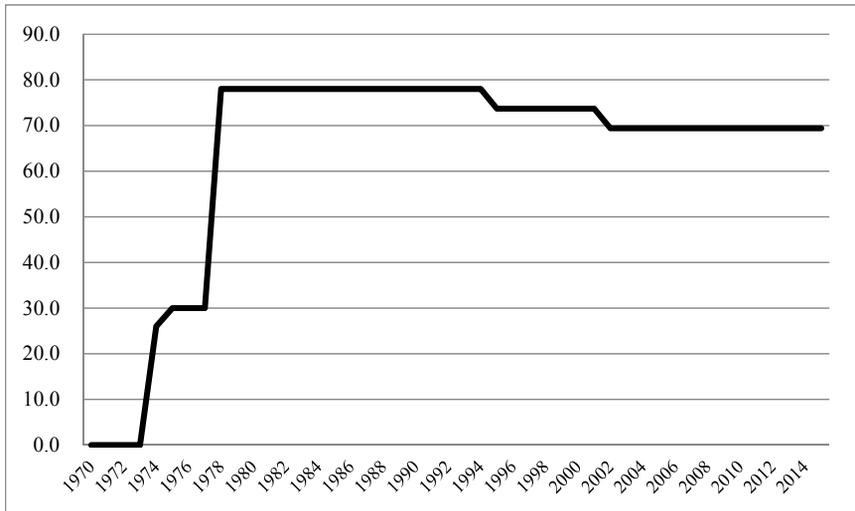
4.3. Parental Leave

4.3.1. 1960s-1980s

Parental insurance system, so-called parental leave system, includes mainly three benefits; pregnancy, parental and temporary parental benefit (Duvander, 2008). The main purposes behind the parental leave system are the well-being of the children, economic independence of women, and the integration of fathers in family life (Drew, 2005). It is especially the last purpose that has been put an emphasis on, since the shifts from maternal leave to the parental leave in 1974 signified the equal sharing of the responsibilities in the economic income and child rearing. Until 1974, Sweden had adopted only the maternal leave policy which only allowed

mothers to utilize the maternal leave system. Then, the fathers' participation in child birth and rearing became important. Political parties were divided into two regarding the parental leave system again as they did when establishing childcare policy; nonetheless, all parties easily made a consensus upon the necessity of the 'parental' leave. This robust agreement upon the necessity of the parental leave indicated that Sweden was well recognized that the breadwinner society had been shifted to dual earner model, even to the earner-carer society (Earles, 2011). The firstly introduced form of the parental leave in 1974 comprised six months of leave per a child. The utilization of this parental leave could be divided between mother and father, and it included the payment at the income replacement rate of a 90 per cent. This concept of allowing both mother and father for a leave was very original and new at that time in 1970s, so that Sweden has been spotlighted for a long time for establishing this new concept. Figure 13 shows that the parental leave period did not exist before 1974, since there was no 'parental leave' *per se*, but only maternity leave that allowed 25.7 weeks maximum to female workers. After 1974, the leave period had been expanded rapidly until 1980s.

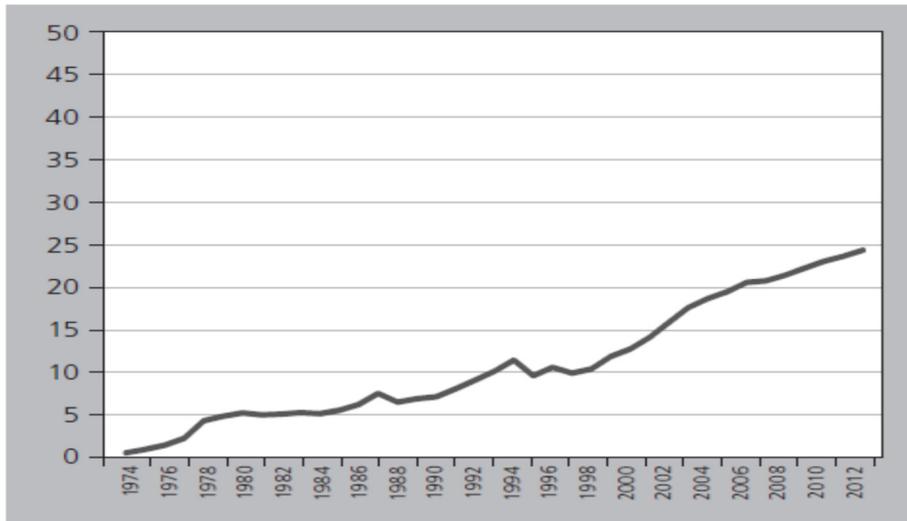
Figure 13. Sweden Length of Parental Leave with Job Protection,



***Source: OECD database, data extracted on 01 Nov 2016**

Meanwhile, the utilization rate of this institution by fathers was another indicator to look at, since the establishment of the system itself is not directly related to the real utilization of the system. The utilization rate of the parental leave system by fathers was not very high at the first time as the architects of the system had hoped. It was about three per cent of all fathers that accessed to the program right after the establishment of the system, but the figure increased, yet very slowly, to 48.3 per cent by 1992 (Nyberg, 2004; Daune-Richard and Mahon, 2001). Figure 14 clearly shows the increasing share of fathers who take advantage of the parental leave system.

Figure 14. Fathers' share of parental leave benefit days, 1974–2012



***Source: Swedish Social Insurance Agency (Duvander and Ferrarini, 2013)**

Another important aspect of the *parental leave system* that fosters the balance of work and family to the parents is temporary parental leave system, which allow parents to leave when children is sick or in the needs of caring. This system was also established in 1974 when the parental insurance system was established, and has encompassed the working parents with children of age 0 to 12 into the social protection (Duvander, 2008). The benefit grants 120 days off work to the maximum in order to care for sick children. It is earning-related benefit and grants 80 percent of the normal income per day. In terms that it can be utilized for a full day, and the frequency of utilizing the system is not limited, it is considered more

generous measure than the parental leave.

4.3.2. 1990s-2010s

As the Swedish government aimed to enhance fathers' roles in child bearing, the parental leave system was reformed in a way to increase men's responsibility in the child caring. According to Figure 13, the absolute length of the parental leave has not been changed much since mid-1970s. Recently, the system grants parents about 53 weeks leave per child and provides income replacement rate of 80 per cent. Additionally, about 16 weeks leave per child are provided at a flat-rate.

In the meantime, the details of the parental leave system have been changed over time. To emphasize more on the equal sharing of responsibility related to child caring, parental leave was developed to allocate the leave only for fathers. In 1995, the paternity leave only reserved of fathers was suggested for the first time, which enabled that one month of parental leave was allocated to each parent (Nyberg, 2004). This parental leave reserved respectively for mothers and fathers was extended to two months per each parent in 2002. Therefore, the total length of about 69 weeks could be divided into three part; 8-9 weeks for paternity leave, another 8-9 weeks for mothers' leave and the rest of weeks for parents' wish.

Parents could take advantage of the parental insurance system until the child becomes 8 years-old, and the ways that parents can utilize the system are various; full day-long leave or part-time leave. According to Swedish statistics, working fathers have increased their utilization of the leave system. Fathers had used 21 per cent of parental leave by 2008, which is 11 per cent point increase within just eleven years (Duvander and Ferrarini, 2013). Compared to female workers' utilization, twenty one per cent of usage is not very high figure, but it is affirmative to say that the trend is shifting for fathers to use parental leave system more.

Withal, there have been unintended side effects behind the expansion of the parental leave system in regards to the labor discrimination against female workers. As the parental leave system ensures and fosters the mothers to use more leaves, the employees started to prefer men over women when recruiting. This problem is highly intertwined with the unequal usage of the parental leave system. In turn, the necessity of fathers' active usage of the parental leave system as similar as women's increased. For the resolution of this problem, social-democratic parties suggested to increment the individual quotas in the short-term (Earles, 2011). The centre-right parties, however, implemented the equality bonus system, which this thesis already dealt in the child care section. By looking at the solutions that

both left and right parties in Sweden having suggested, it was definitely not the decline of the universalism in the recent era, rather higher efforts to protect the universalism when it comes to family policy. Table 2 shows well the summary of the findings from the case study of parental leave system in Sweden.

Table 2. Analysis of Findings regarding Parental Leave Reforms in Sweden

1960s-1980s	1990s-2010s	Universalism		
		Comprehensiveness	Universality	Generosity
Maternal leave until 1974 From 1974: firstly introduced 'parental leave maintained		-	-	-
Temporary parental leave (leaves when children are sick) maintained		-	-	-
Not existed in this era	1995: parental leaves only reserved for 'fathers' and 'mothers' respectively	↑	-	↑
	Length of leave increased	-	-	↑

-: No change, ↑ : Enhanced, ↓ : Weakened

V. Case Study Interpretation

After the case study of the Swedish family policy, this section aims to interpret the findings from the case study in terms of two research questions referred at the second section. Following sub sections are to test if two propositions can be accepted after the case study has been done. For the reminder, two propositions were two; first, the universalism in the Swedish family policy has not been weakened and second, path dependence of the policy due to the robust social consensus and strong bureaucracy in Sweden would explain the continuity of the universalism.

5.1. Principle of Universalism

In the case study the family policy, mainly divided into childcare policy and parental leave system, several reforms are referred. It is necessary to interpret these reforms in terms of the universalism to find out whether the universalism has been declined. To say the conclusion first, the first proposition regarding the universalism in the Swedish family policy could be accepted. As shown in Table 3, the universalism has not been weakened at least in the area of the Swedish family policy. Rather, it could be said that the universalism has been strengthened, interpreting the reforms in terms of

three criteria of the universalism. When looking at “Total” part in Table 3, the universalism has been enhanced in some areas while it has remained without change in the universalism in other areas. It could be controversial that the allowance of private childcare institution in 1991 is considered as the enhancement of the universalism. Nonetheless, the comprehensiveness did increase, because the coverage range of the risks became diversified by allowing the new demands for the new type of social protection. In terms of universality criteria, the allowance of the private childcare institutions can be interpreted as the decline of the universalism. It is because the benefits coming from permitting the private institutions are not granted to everyone. The utilization of the benefits depends on many factors, such as the income level of the parents. Nevertheless, it also can be said that the universality was not weakened, because there is no hindrance in utilizing the benefits.

Table 3. Analysis of Findings regarding Family Policy in Sweden

		Childcare			
1960s-1980s	1990s-2010s	Comprehensiveness	Universality		Total
			Universality	Generosity	
Public childcare (benefits in service) maintained		-	-	-	-
Child allowance (benefits in cash) maintained		-	-	-	-
Not existed in this era	1991: Allowance of private childcare	↑	↓/↑	-	-
	2006: Child home care allowance	↑	-	↑	↑↑
	2008: Gender equality bonus	↑	-	↑	↑↑
Parental Leave System					
Maternal leave until 1974		-	-	-	-
From 1974: firstly introduced 'parental leave maintained					
Temporary parental leave (leaves when children are sick) maintained		-	-	-	-
Not existed in this era	1995: parental leaves only reserved for 'fathers' and 'mothers' respectively	↑	-	↑	↑↑
	Length of leave increased	-	-	↑	↑

-: No change, ↑: Enhanced, ↓: Weakened

5.2. Path Dependence

As the case study of Swedish family policy indicates, it can be said that there have been both continuity and changes in Swedish family policy. Nonetheless, this thesis argues that the reforms of the Swedish family policy have been done in the way of strengthening the universalism paradoxically. Namely, the principle of universalism in Swedish family policy has not been weakened, rather strengthened in general. Rationales behind the assertion that Swedish welfare state has remained its principle of universalism could be explained with the path dependence of the Swedish family policy. To say the conclusion first, the second proposition could be accepted. The analysis of the path dependence of the family policy bases on the analytical framework which was dealt in the previous section.

The Path dependence of social outcome, or here, family policy would be the critical reason that the principle of universalism has been sustained. Pierson (2000) in his article insists that the reason why the path dependence occurs needs to be elaborated more, and it is well captured in the idea of increasing returns. To put it easily, high exit costs makes it difficult to switch the previous path and self-reinforce as time goes by. If this analysis borrows this Pierson's concept to Swedish family policy case, the principle of universalism in the welfare state could have been sustained and even

strengthened even though there are many contemporary challenges. Long history of comprehensive, universalistic and generous welfare policy has reinforced itself as time goes by. Then the question would be twofold; what is the initial setup of the Swedish family policy and what kinds of reversal costs make Sweden stick to the universalistic social policies.

5.2.1. Initial Setups

To investigate on the initial setup of Swedish welfare state, it is necessary to look at how the universalistic Swedish welfare policy evolved at the beginning. Paradoxically, the universalistic welfare state evolved from the capitalistic growth approach that Sweden adopted for the solution of the economic recession in 1930s. In line with the Great Depression, Sweden economy also suffered tremendously. The inflation rate was high and the unemployment rate had been rising from 12% in 1930 to 34% in 1934 (Esping-Andersen, 1996). In this given situation, Sweden carried out the capitalistic way of growth strategy. The core point of this strategy was to support the major exporting companies. Before explaining more, it is necessary to have some information regarding the distinctiveness of the Swedish economic features. Sweden, as well as other social-democratic countries, has an economic model that is deeply intertwined with the

evolution and the growth of the welfare state. The first feature is that the economy has been developed mainly concentrating on the export-oriented industry (Esping-Andersen, 1996). The second feature is that Sweden implemented active labor market policy, such as job training, public employment services, provision of temporary public employment, granting subsidies to employments and etcetera. It explains why Sweden, as well as the Scandinavian countries, is considered as welfare-state/labor-market and growth/employment regime. Sweden is the country that has developed a model for other three countries (Esping-Andersen, 1996). The other distinctiveness of the Swedish economic model is that high labor union density. LO has been the national labor union which has had great power over many policies. Beside the highly centralized labor union, employers also have been highly organized, and this made wage restraint available in Sweden, since the labor-management negotiation was available. SAF is the national employers' confederation in Sweden. In addition, a long history of the seizure of the political power by Social Democratic party combined with highly centralized labor union and employers' union established the characteristics of the well-known concept of 'tripartism'. Lastly, with regard of fiscal policies, Sweden have long prioritized full employment and economic growth on both hands following the rapidly changing technology.

Thus, fiscal policies are counter-cyclical, austere, and base much on the supply side measures. That is, the interest rates are mostly remained low via credit policies, and the fiscal budgets have remained surplus for the most of the time both led by the Swedish state.

Returning to the story of the evolution of the universalistic welfare policy, the LO and SAF made a consensus on the wage restraint in 1930s. Namely, the wage of big companies and small companies had become equal under the banner of 'equal pay for equal work'. It is so-called solidaristic wage policy. With this great compromise, the major exporting companies grew fast and became competitive in the world. On the other hand, many small marginal firms (labor intensive and low productivity companies) which could not accommodate the relatively increase wage had to be liquidated. In this circumstance of sacrificing the workers and small firms and benefitting the major companies, the requests for the complete social protection increased dramatically. Trying to satisfy the request, the state carried out comprehensive, universalistic and generous welfare policy (Huber and Stephens, 1998). The high level of the welfare budget was required. Also, full employment became the goal of the state as well as

workers to lower the cost. Based on Rehn-Meidner model³ adopted by the trade union that workers prioritized all workers' employment over individual workers' benefits for achieving the full employment, the contours of Swedish welfare policy had been established. As part of this, the expanded welfare policy and the active labor policy were adopted.

5.2.2. Social Consensus

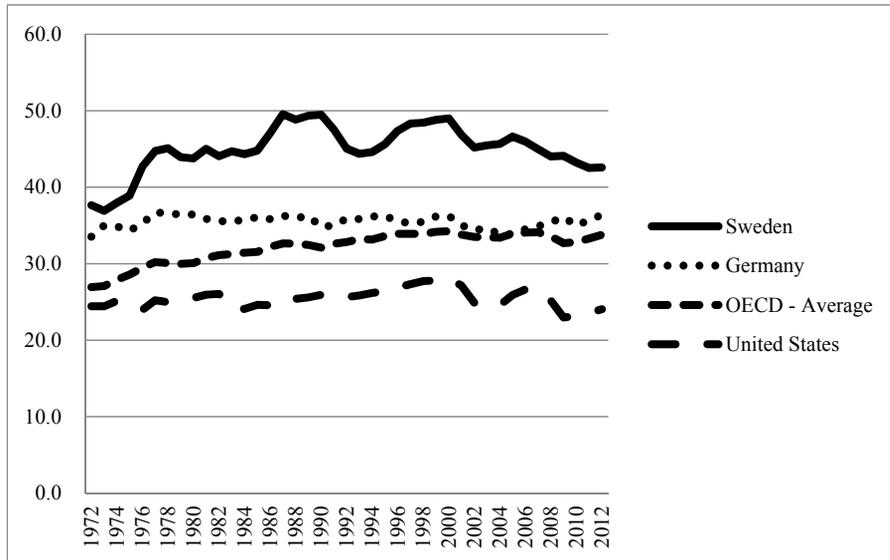
Given the evolution of the universalistic and egalitarian welfare state, the increasing returns process started, which meant that the reversal costs kept increasing. One of the reversal costs could be the firm social consensus on the egalitarian welfare policy and solidarity spirit in Sweden. The history of social consensus on the universalistic welfare state traces back to 1920s. Per Albin Hansson, the party leader of Social Democratic party at that time introduced the concept of *Folkhemmet* ("the People's Home"), and this concept became the fundamental basement of the Swedish welfare state.

³ The direct quotation of the explanation about Rehn-Meidner model is as follows:
The Rehn-Meidner model (R-M model) is a unique Swedish contribution to macroeconomics. Two trade union economists – Gösta Rehn and Rudolf Meidner – advocated an active labour market policy, a wages policy of solidarity and a restrictive macroeconomic policy – primarily indirect taxes – to combine full employment with fair wages, price stability and high economic growth. The programme was presented in a report to the 1951 congress of LO, the central organisation for blue-collar workers in Sweden (LO, 1953). Rudolf Meidner was the head of LO's research department 1946-1966 and Gösta Rehn the department's leading macroeconomist 1941-1952. (Erixon, 2008: 2)

Many people have believed in this concept that the state should intervene in order to function as a home to every worker and the socially weak, by assuring a certain level of life quality and protecting equal social rights (Kim, 2011). Anton (1969) also refers to *the spirit of consensus* that has mainly identified Swedish politics during the 20th century. Based on this spirit, the Swedish welfare state has been expanded until now, even though the degree of that expansion has varied depending on the time periods. Also, this spirit is widely accepted and long been the major ideology to the Swedish people, so that it would be hardly possible to reverse this spirit. Actually this popularity towards the universal welfare state in Sweden deters the initiatives to retrench the current welfare state even until these days (Bergh and Erlingsson, 2009). It does not mean that Sweden nations deterred the accommodation of neo-liberalism that penetrates the world these days. It meant that the liberalization and the retrenchment of welfare are not incompatible. That is to say, even though implementing the liberalized economic policies and other social policies, the welfare state does not have to be retrenched, rather could expand its scope to protect the people from newly appearing social risks. The tax increase was inevitable, but it was not backlashed seriously by the Swedish people who have agreed firmly with “the people’s home” spirit.

For reference, it would be helpful to be informed of the Swedish taxation system and the public opinion regarding the taxation system. Sweden collects relatively high tax as well as high coverage of the welfare state. The Figure 15 shows that Sweden is overwhelmingly the highest in total tax revenues among three countries, which respectively represent three welfare state regimes. Even though there have been some fluctuations Sweden has collected the tax revenues over 40 per cent of GDP since late 1970s until very recent year. The overall trend can be considered the downturn, but still the revenue volume is very high in Sweden. In detail, the income tax rates by earnings are shown in the Figure 16. It has totally progressive characteristics as the income level increases the income tax rate also increases.

Figure 15. Total Tax Revenues (% of GDP)



*Source: OECD database, extracted on 07 Nov 2016

Figure 16. Direct taxes as a percentage of assessed income for some income groups (2010)

Total assessed income (KSEK)	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
0 - 50	17.9	17.3	12.8	13.5	11.8	11.4
100 - 150	25.9	25.1	24.2	23.8	22.7	22.0
200 - 250	29.8	29.2	26.8	25.9	25.2	24.4
500 -	41.0	39.9	37.4	37.6	35.8	35.3
All age 18 or older	32.9	32.6	30.4	29.4	28.0	27.5
All 18-64 years	33.4	33.0	30.5	29.4	27.8	27.4
All 65- years	30.7	30.7	29.9	29.7	28.7	27.9

*Source: Swedish Tax Agency, 2012

5.2.3. Strong Bureaucracy

The other reversal cost that made the Swedish family policy to continue its universalism and follow the path would be Swedish strong administration and bureaucracy in policy making more than parliament. Depending on the structure of parliament, the degree of power that a government can implement on decision making varies. As Sweden has an unicameral parliament structure, where the approval of one chamber is only needed to pass the legislation, the government has strong power when it comes to policy making (Bonoli, 2001). According to Bergh and Erlingsson (2009), the share of voters who mostly depend their main sources of earning on the public sector, has been around 60 percent since 1980. The transformation of the welfare state contour would not be easy to come about easily in such political environments. Many bureaucrats who are majorly in charge of establishing the detailed policies would not want to lose their already vested rights and interests coming from the current welfare policies. Especially in Sweden, the governments and the bureaucrats are powerful in policy making and policy implementing respectively more than parliaments or other parties that ruling party. Even though there were some reforms public administration during 1980s and 1990s when the economic situation got worsened and people were demanding to overcome the inertia of

bureaucracy (Pierre, 1993), the power of bureaucrats and administration is still remained high.

In sum, the path dependence of the universalistic welfare policy could be on process, with the initial setup of the egalitarian social protection, and high reversal costs coming from the robust social consensus and strong bureaucracy in Sweden.

VI. Conclusion

6.1. Summary

Many advanced countries face the common demographical and socio-economic challenges, such as the internationalization of capital, the transformation of the industry, and the increase of female labor participation. With these challenges, the welfare state also got challenged hugely in two ways; budgetary deficiency and weakening of the autonomous power of the state in social policy. In regards to these shifts occurring in the society and challenges faced by the welfare state many scholars asserted the decline or the retrenchment of the welfare state. As the social-democratic countries are well-known for the universalistic and egalitarian welfare state, these arguments were tested by looking at the trace of the Nordic countries' welfare states. In line with this trend, this thesis tried to test whether the distinctiveness of the social-democratic welfare state characterized with the universalism got blurred.

Swedish family policies have done several reforms. The major reforms were three reforms in child care type and one reform in parental insurance system. Firstly, the private child care provision was permitted in 1991. From this measure, many expected the severe retrenchment of public welfare state

of Sweden. Nonetheless, many worries were over caring in terms that the utilization rate of private institutions did not proliferate. Still, the major child care institutions are publicly provided childcare service centers with over 80 percentages. Secondly, a child home care allowance was implemented in 2006 to support the parents who wish to rear their child aged from one to three by themselves, not leaving them to the public child care. This is considered as the expansion of the comprehensiveness. Next, a gender equality bonus was adopted in 2008. It is benefits in cash that are given to the parents who use the parental leave system more equally. Namely, if fathers use parental leave more, even though mothers are the major users in average, the benefits are provided to cover the costs coming from the usage of paternal leave. It may be considered as the widened coverage of the risks, which means the expansion of welfare state comprehensiveness, one of three components of the universalism. Lastly, the parental leave system has been reformed to secure the usage of the system by fathers. Among 16 months allocated for the parental leave per child, 2 months are only reserved for fathers, other 2 months only for mothers and rest 12 months depending on parents' will. This system reform aims to secure more gender equality in child care responsibilities. It can be translated as the expansion of universalism. In total, many reforms done in

recent era do not indicate the retrenchment of welfare state, rather means the strengthening of the welfare state.

The conclusion after the case study of the Swedish family policy, the principle of universalism embedded in the Swedish family policy did not change in fundamental and the welfare state also did not retrench in terms of the size, range, and the universality. It is true that Sweden also faced the societal challenges referred above, but the common problems that most of the welfare states have been suffering did not hit the Swedish welfare state seriously. Thus, the assertions saying the decline of the universalism in the welfare states would not fit, at least, to the Swedish family policy case.

6.2. Implications

This thesis only delves into the Swedish family policy, but it would be available to expand the scope of the research to the whole social-democratic countries. Other Nordic countries than Sweden, such as Norway, Finland and Denmark also have faced similar challenges referred previously (Stephens, 1996). Nevertheless, other Scandinavian countries are also evaluated to maintain their universalism in the welfare states. This thesis assumes that the path dependence framework would have worked similarly. The initial setup history would be different depending on the countries, but

the path dependence process would have been similar with several features that worked as high exit costs. First, a long history of the open trade economy would have prohibited the social-democratic countries to move from the existing welfare which primarily based on the export-oriented economy. Second, as Sweden case shows, other Scandinavian countries also show robust public support for the generous welfare state. If the public opinion is not in favor of the retrenchment, it is for sure that the governments cannot decrease their welfare budget. There are some people who are against maintaining the generous and universalistic welfare state, but they have only been few conservative parties which constitute little in the political parties. Although the Social-democratic parties lost their power for a few times, such as in the election of 2006, the ruling party was center-right party that does not possess the same stance with the extreme conservative parties in terms of the welfare retrenchment. Even if the conservative parties have got the power, it is unlikely that the welfare retrenchment would be supported by the public. It is different from the expansion of the welfare state with the retrenchment of the welfare state in terms of the policy reform, because there are more backlashes when the reform contains the rollbacks of the once instituted benefits. It is same logic when explaining the Swedish case that the reversal costs are very large

when the welfare state retrenchment means the infringement of the vested interests. Also, the Nordic countries implemented the universal and generous welfare state with a long history, which means that it is very hard for them to retrench the current level of social provision more than liberal welfare state regime, where the vested interests are small compared to the countries of the social-democratic welfare state regime.

6.3. Future Prospects

Then what would be the possible future scenarios of the universalism in Sweden, and moreover, in the social-democratic welfare state? There could be three possible scenarios: maintaining the status quo in preserving the principle of the universalism in their welfare policy, the retrenchment of the welfare states, or inversely the expansion of the universalism. In the author's own perspective, the expansion or even the preserve of the current level of the universalistic welfare state would be very difficult in the future. The core and primary rationale behind the maintenance of the universalistic welfare state is that the public support is still huge in maintaining the status quo. Nonetheless, as the socio-economic challenges become more serious problem, these supports would change a little by little. In addition, even though the export-oriented industries have borne the economy until now, it

would be hard from now on, since the service industry would be expanded. Also, it would be difficult to expect new job creations of the manufacturing industry. Following this, it would be hard to maintain high labor wage. The publicly supported high wage would be eventually burdensome to the countries with mature welfare state, including social-democratic countries. Also, people would demand the low wage that would lead to high competitiveness and high economic growth as the economic downturn aggravates. Namely, the employers will demand more flexible wage system. In reality, Nordic countries started to respond to these demands by passing the legislation to boost the small firms and allowing the employment of the youth labor with relatively low wage. Yet, it would be the gradual and slow change of the universalism that would occur in Nordic countries since the exit costs of the universalistic welfare policies are still very high.

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논문 초록

Decline of Universalistic Welfare States?

: A Study of Swedish Family Policy

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선진국들이 비슷한 사회 경제적 변화를 맞이하며 복지 국가에도 여러 변화가 생겼다. 자본의 국제화, 후기 산업 사회의 도래, 여성 노동 참여율의 향상 등이 그 변화들이다. 복지 국가는 이러한 상황에서 복지 재정의 부족 및 정책 결정에서 국가 주도권 약화 등의 상황에 처했다. 많은 학자들은 보편주의 복지 국가는 축소될 것이라고 예상했다. 본 연구는 보편주의의 대명사로 유명한 사회 민주주의 국가 중 하나인 스웨덴의 가족정책이 과연 보편주의의 측면에서 축소했는지를 아주 최근 자료까지 포함하여 분석하고자 했다. 사회 민주주의에서도 가장 보편적인 복지국가 양상을 보이는 스웨덴의 가족 정책에 대해 사례 연구를 하여 그 의미를 따져보고 사회 민주주의 국가 전반에까지 확장하여 의미를

도출해 보려 했다.

결론적으로 스웨덴의 가족 정책은 보편주의의 측면에서 축소하지 않았다고 판단했다. 오히려 그 보편성은 증가했다고 볼 수 있었다. 그 이유는 제도나 사회 정책의 경로 의존성에서 찾을 수 있었다. 스웨덴에 굳게 토착화 된 보편적 복지 국가에 대한 오랜 사회적 합의, 강한 행정부와 관료제의 특성 등이 경로 의존 경향을 강화했다고 판단했다. 한편, 앞으로 이러한 보편적 복지 국가가 그 보편성을 계속해서 유지 할 수 있을 지에 대해서는 회의적인 입장이다.

핵심 단어: 보편주의 복지 국가, 사회민주주의 복지 국가, 스웨덴, 가족 정책, 사회 경제적 변화

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