



The Determinant of a Silent (R)evolution

ISEO Summer School 22 June 2015

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Agenda

Who am I?

Family, State & Market

What An Adult Worker Model?

The Determinants of a Silent (R)evolution



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Academic Profile: Past & Present

Comparative Social Policy

Welfare Regimes

- Ideal Types (2011)
- Typologies & Outcome (2015)

Labour Market and Family Policy

- MCA to Detect Transformation (2013)
- **Silent Revolution (2015)**

Critique to Social Innovation (2015)

Social Participation & SC

Theory

- Tocqueville & Social Capital (2009)

The Amoral Familism Paradox

- Revisiting the Debate (2009/2010)
- Empirical Test (2011)

Determinants in Europe

- Merging Quantitative and Comparative Historical Analysis (2012/2013)



Academic Profile: The Future

Short Term

Youth Labour Market Outisiderness

- Paper + STYLE Project

Poverty and Social Participation: Bringing Townsend back to life

The effect of WS on SC

The *Requiem* of Social Capital Theory

Long Term

Family Policy:

- The ‘Third Age’ of Family Policy (With M. Daly)
- Family policy change & Outcomes (With T. Sprecklesen)

Social Capital and Health in Southern Italy (with F. Grisolia)

Asset Security Approach to Labour Market (with A. Arrigoni)

A European/Mediterranean invisible majority (with A. Arrigoni & T. Sprecklesen)

- Linking Critical Theory & Empirics



Beside Academia

Books General Public

- *Chi Troppo, Chi Niente* (Who Gets too Much, who Gets Nothing)
- *La Maggioranza Invisibile* (The Invisible Majority)

National Newspapers & TV

- Equality
- Welfare State & Work
- Politics
- Lower League Football

Fonderia Oxford & Key Note Public Events

- Confindustria, ISEO Summer School, Major Political Parties

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Family, State & Market

Background and Aim

Family Vs. the State and the Market

Historical Models of Family-State-Market
Relations



The Background

- Family structures have dramatically changed across OECD countries
- The traditional male breadwinner model is no longer dominant and mothers are increasingly employed outside home
- These changes are heavily contributing to the appearance of new family models based on a variety of ‘adult worker models’
- This also generates major pressures in terms of caring needs of children, older people and people with disabilities, but also on fertility rates



Aims of the Lecture

- This lecture illustrates how family policy has evolved in order to respond to changing family structures
- In a context of austerity, family policy is the only segment of the welfare state in which public investment has expanded



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Family, State & Market

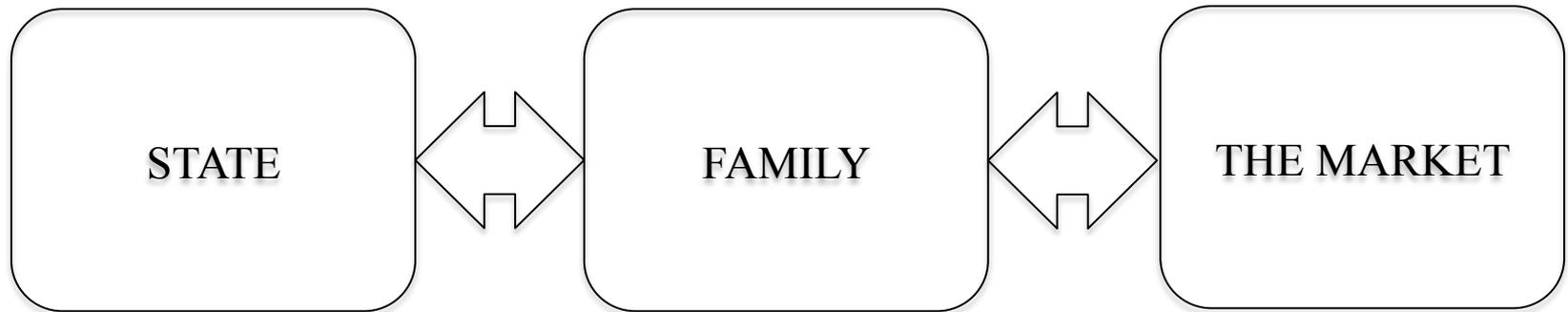
Background and Aim

Family Vs. the State and the Market

Historical Models of Family-State Market
Relations



Family Vs. State and Market (1/8)



Family is in the middle between the state and the market



Family Vs. State and Market (2/8)

- (1) Economically the family relates to income redistribution, labour supply and consumption
- (2) Sociologically the family is a form of social organization that provides care for needs, arrange intergenerational and gender relations and plays a role in the social organization of life
- (3) Ideologically the family affects continuity and change in value systems
- (4) Politically the family is a site of social control and a source of social order



Family Vs. State and Market (3/8)

- Until recently, governments took for granted the existence of the traditional family
 - In terms of its form and the gendered contributions of earnings and care made by the husband/father and the wife/mother
- However, during the last 30 years family change has become a major factor driving policy



Family Vs. State and Market (4/8)

- According to Bahle one can identify two contexts in the history of engagement between states, markets, and families:
 - (1) After WWII: Industrialisation & Nation building
 - (2) After 1970: Expansion of service economy and growing role of women in the labour market



Family Vs. State and Market (5/8)

- (1) Industrialisation & nation building wherein the political interest was to respond to the needs thrown up by the shift from agricultural to industrial production and the expansion of the state in society
- Settlement between capital and labour, and underpinned settlement within the household between men as earners and women as carers
 - In this context progressive raising of the male breadwinner model



Family Vs. State and Market (6/8)

(2) During the 1970s we see the expansion of the service economy and associated with this the large-scale movement of women into the labour market

- This change turned the focus on the nature of family related roles and functions and the interface between family and market
- ‘Gender politics’ sat alongside ‘class politics’ when services substituting for maternal care-giving and financial support for families grew rapidly
- The same applies for the interest of the state in the care of children



Family Vs. State and Market (7/8)

- In the post-war literature the family's intersection with the state and the market has tended to be conceptualised in rather static functionalist and economic terms
- According to Daly the interrelations between the family, state and market can be more broadly conceived



Family Vs. State and Market (8/8)

- Despite a large development of literature on family issues, there was a certain ‘taken for granted’ about the family in welfare state scholarship as evidenced in the *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*
- Family was little more than the context in which state-market relations played out
- It was feminist scholarship that brought the family into the comparative welfare state fold (i.e. Lewis, O’Connor, Daly, Orloff)



The Engagement of the State

- What factors motivate state engagement with the family?
 - (1) Demographic change
 - (2) Horizontal redistribution between those with children and those without
 - (3) Poverty alleviation
 - (4) Gender Equality
 - (5) Female employment



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Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (1/9)

The strength of particular underlying motivations and the diversity of national philosophical orientations towards the family led to a number of distinct models of family-state-market relations in Europe



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (2/9)

(1) The 'pro-family' & 'pro-natalist' approach, i.e. France

- The family had a value as a moral entity and so there was legitimacy for state policy to secure the material and moral functioning of the home
- The links between fertility, family, and national interest have been of concern across the political spectrum ever since France first experienced a transition from high to low fertility in the late 19th century



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (3/9)

- The future of the nation became interlinked with the vibrancy of the family
- This resulted in a generous support for the family, and the dominant depiction of women was as mothers rather than workers (change over time)



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (4/9)

(2) The 'selective approach', i.e. (West) Germany

- Despite attributing a high value to family, the kind of support provided was more selective
- Family was included within the general framework of subsidiarity
- Internal family relations were viewed as differentiated, with strong preference for the male breadwinner/female homemaker family model



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (5/9)

- The mother at home symbolized the appropriate moral order. This together with the widespread belief that young children should be cared for at home made for a robust gender division of labour
- It was a widely held belief, and one slow to recede, that families should be compensated for childrearing
- Hence, the (West) German welfare state tended to organize its support for families in the form of income supplements rather than services



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (6/9)

(3) The 'Egalitarian approach', i.e. Scandinavian countries

- The objective was to support employment on the part of both female and male parents and to give families access to high quality childcare and other services
- It tended to airbrush away the family in seeking to foreground conditions for the well-being and gainful activity of all



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (7/9)

- Women's roles and identity was written into the institutions of state and market
- General principle of individual independence and autonomy
- Family membership might be a source of emotional stability and identity, but family as an economic and social unit was much less prominent than in other parts of Europe



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (8/9)

(4) “Anti-poverty and economic functioning orientation”, i.e. UK, US & Australia

- Rather than generic family support, policy draws mainly from an anti-poverty and economic functioning orientation
- State intervention in family lacked strong legitimacy in these countries, apart from in preventing or managing social ills



Historical Models of Family-State-Market Relations (9/9)

- The value placed on independence and self-sufficiency, on the part of both individuals and families tended to downgrade state intervention for the purposes of generic family support
- This rendered family policy relatively underdeveloped; where it existed it was oriented mainly to the prevention of poverty and 'crises' occasioned by familial dysfunction
- Policy stayed well away from the social recognition of the family as practised by French and German policy



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A Rapidly Changing Context (1/6)

- Family Policy has come to the fore, gender has been cast in the shade for long time
- Today social policy reform looks over (or over-looks) gender equality, being oriented to objectives around children, family functioning, and family life along with participation in the labour market and in education or training
- Yet there is a gender subtext to much policy reform



A Rapidly Changing Context (2/6)

- Individualization is a direction of welfare state reform in Europe
- ‘*Scandinisation*’ of social policy?
 - Advent of notions of self-sufficiency, autonomy, and independence
 - Heavy promotion of labour market participation for women, increasing recognition for childcare



A Rapidly Changing Context (3/6)

- Others (Knijn & Ostner) speak about a ‘partial individualisation’
 - (1) Individualisation is mono-dimensional & too simplistic
 - (2) Reforms are not unequivocally geared toward individualisation
 - (3) The gender & family underpinning of the reforms are complex and often contradictory



A Rapidly Changing Context (4/6)

- Many policies do have an impact on family
 - Explicit: parental leaves, cash benefits, tax allowances (especially those related to childcare), and service provision for families with children
 - Implicit: housing, income maintenance, unemployment benefits (household size might have an impact on generosity)



A Rapidly Changing Context (5/6)

- The new social policy consensus in Europe legitimates state activity and social and economic reorganization along the following lines:
 - (1) Encouraging employment, for benefit claimants, “workless households” and mothers at home
 - (2) Expanding services for the education and/or care of young children
 - (3) Balancing work & family life
 - (4) Targeting men’s behaviour as fathers
 - (5) Providing financial assistance for families with care tasks and obligations



A Rapidly Changing Context (6/6)

- Three Ways of understanding these changes:

(1) Social Investment Approach, Third Way, i.e. Jenson/Palier

- Focus on children and child-rearing as centripetal to a new welfare paradigm in Europe

(2) New Social Risk Approach, i.e. Bonoli/Taylor-Gooby

- Social policy reform should be understood as a response to the new social risks that people face as a result of the economic and social changes associated with the transition to a post-industrial society



What an Adult Worker Model? (1/3)

(3) Move toward an Adult Worker Model Approach, i.e. Daly/Lewis

- The adult worker model thesis holds that social policy is increasingly treating women and men as individual (actual or potential) workers
- Individual agency is both valued and assumed and labour market participation is promoted as an expression of this choice
- The underlying argument is about the erosion of tradition, long-standing practices, and venerated institutions



What an Adult Worker Model? (2/3)

“Theorists see the structure, role, and content of family changing as part of a general movement from constraint to choice in the age of ‘do-it-yourself biographies,’ the rise of reflexive modernization, and the growing significance of individualized identities. Individualisation is cast especially in terms of independence of agency and is closely related to commodification of personal relations” (Daly)



What an Adult Worker Model? (3/3)

To sum up:

- Choice, although biased toward employment
- Adult move to gender neutrality, however silence about the division of unpaid labour
- Family and other institutions are treated as a backdrop to individual functioning



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The Literature Review

Data & Methods

Results



The Context (1/2)

- We entered an “era of permanent austerity” (Pierson)
- The economic crisis has exacerbated pressures on social policies
- The expansion and maintenance of many programs have been made more difficult
- However, family policies (mainly) oriented to promoting maternal employment significantly expanded in OECD countries



The Context (2/2)

“Despite cross-country variation in the degree of “generosity” and duration of parental leaves and childcare services, women’s increased labour force participation has been facilitated by improved public support even in those countries that have previously been identified as featuring a ‘strong male breadwinner model’ ”



Same Basic Notion

- Notion of “quiet revolution” (Goldin)
- Transformation of women’s employment, education & family
- Notion of “incomplete revolution” (EA 2009)



The Puzzle

- No Systematic empirical studies !

(1) What are the direction and degree of family policy changes in 18 rich OECD countries over three decades (1980-2008)?

- MCA

(2) What are the main factors associated with family policy expansion?

- Simple Correlations



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The Functions of Family Policy

The functions of family policy:

- (1) From a societal perspective: horizontal redistribution, favour individual choices
- (2) From an economic perspective: employment & active citizenship
- (3) From many feminists' perspective: equalising opportunities, encourage men's involvement in care work, and facilitate employment opportunities for women



Theories of Expansion (1/2)

- General theories of Welfare State Expansion
 - (a) Functional approaches, i.e. the logic of industrialism, modernisation, neo-Marxist approaches
 - (b) Politics Matter approaches, i.e. via democracy, popular protest, the social democratic model, influence of other parties, power resources
 - (c) The evolution of the transnational context, i.e. international trade, international competition, international cultural modelling
 - (d) State-centred arguments, i.e. state as an independent actor, path dependence
 - (e) Ideational approaches



Theories of Expansion (2/2)

- These theories have also been reflected in family policy research, differentiating between:
 - socio-economic, political, ideational, and international factors as potential drivers for policy change
- Furthermore, the emergence of NSR, low fertility rates, changing skill requirements, and the demand for gender equality seem to underpin the political necessity to adapt welfare state arrangements in de-industrializing economies



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Measuring Expansion and Drivers of Change: Indicators

Variables	Source
MCA and Dependent Variables	
1. Duration Leave (Weeks)	1. Gauthier (2011)
2. Replacement Rate Leave (as a percentage of the average production worker salary)	2. Gauthier (2011)
3. Child Allowance (Cash Dollars PPP)	3. Gauthier (2011)
4. Family Services Expenditure (as a percentage of the GDP per capita)	4. OECD (2010)
5. Public Expenditure as a percentage of the GDP	5. OECD (2010)
Independent Variables	
6. Left Vote (as a percentage of the total vote)	6. Huber et al. (Forth.)
7. Center Vote (as a percentage of the total vote)	7. Huber et al. (Forth.)
8. Christian Democratic vote (as a percentage of the total vote)	8. Huber et al. (Forth.)
9. Right Vote (as a percentage of the total vote)	9. Huber et al. (Forth.)
10. Women's organizational membership (estimate by women's seats in parliament and the representational system)	10. Huber et al. (Forth.)
11. Employed agriculture and manufacturing (as percentage of employed)	11. Huber et al. (Forth.)
12. Female Activity Rates	12. Huber et al. (Forth.)
13. Dependency Ratio	13. Huber et al. (Forth.)
14. Total Fertility Rate	14. Huber et al. (Forth.)
15. Opinion on working women and maternity (percentage of people who answered 'stay at home' to the question 'when there is a child under school a age a women should...')	15. ISSP (1994; 2002)

Only explicit family policy:
Cash, leaves & Services



MCA

- Adaptation of the traditional MCA model (Bourdieu 1979) to family policy regimes:

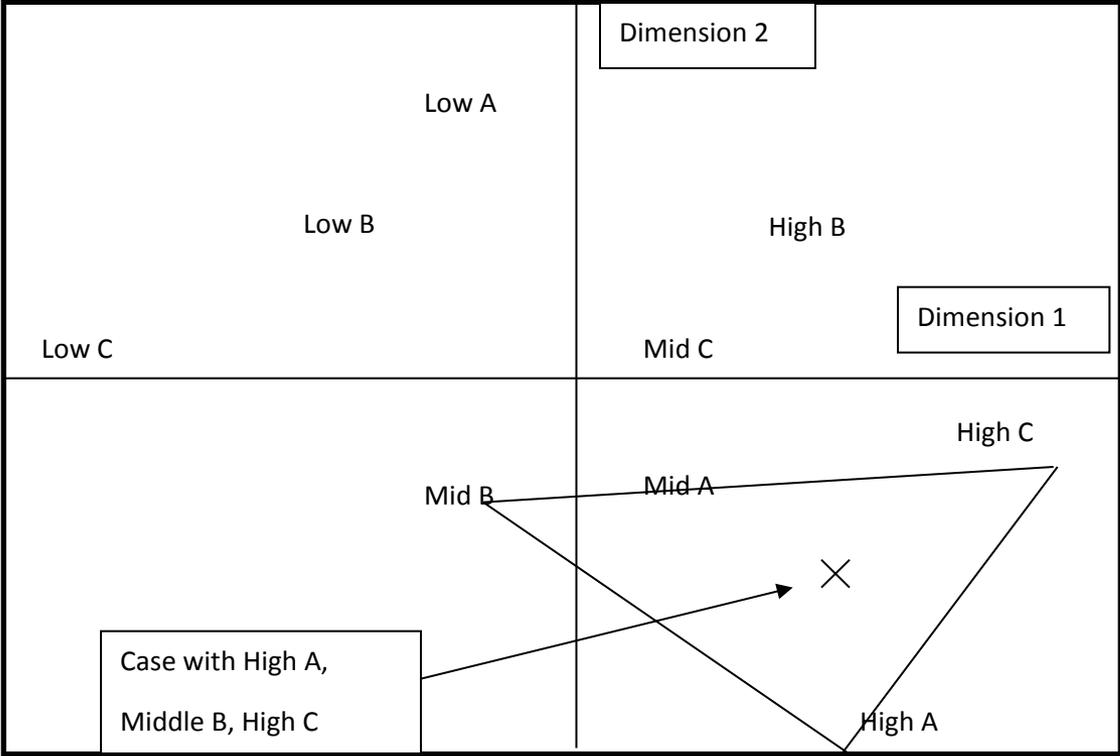
(1) Recoded all continuous, count and ordinal variables in the models into quartiles in order to avoid the problems associated with poorly distributed variables

(2) Interpreted the ‘geographical’ spaces emerging from the cloud of indicators and the position of each country

(3) Analysed family policy expansion over three decades (using 10-year averages)



How MCA Works



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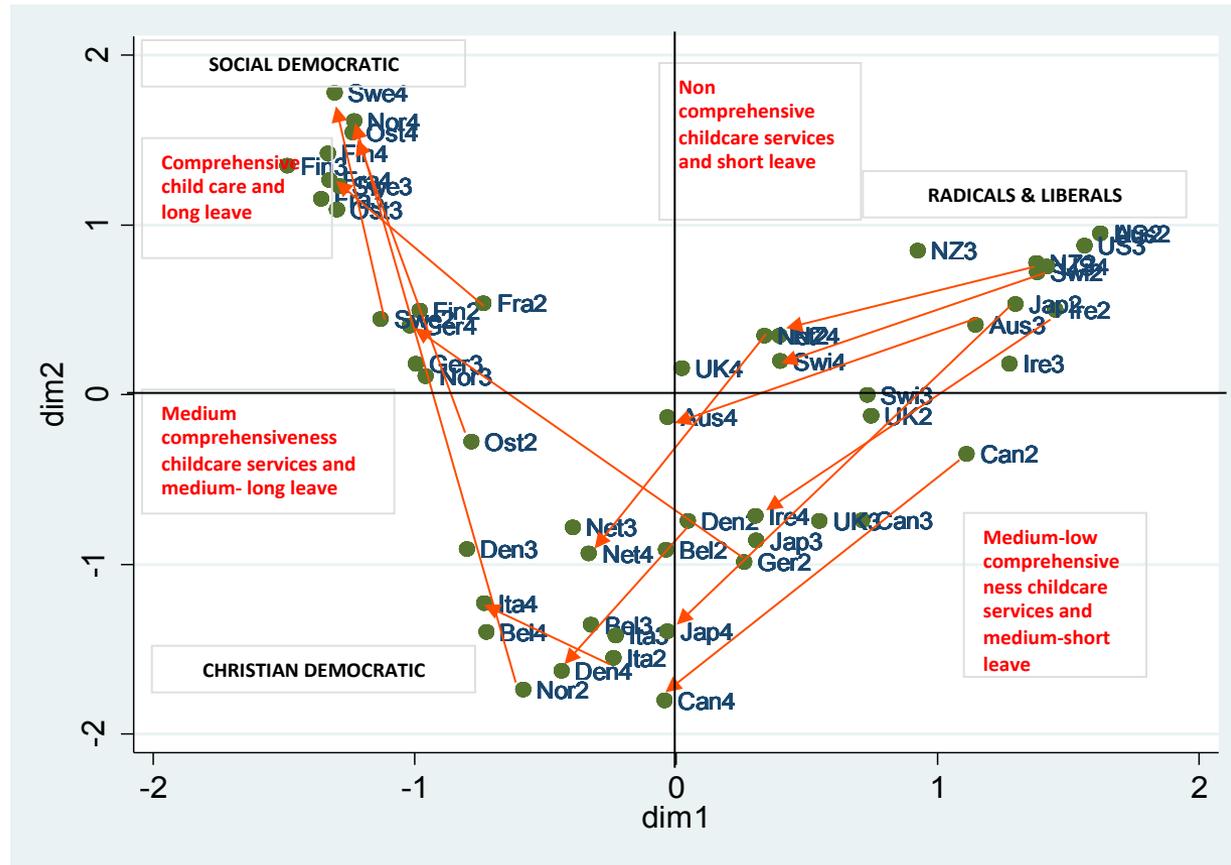
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A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (1/8)



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (2/8)

- The MCA allows the definition of the characteristics of each “geographical space” presented in the previous slide
- When I talk about liberal, Christian-democratic and social democratic spaces I refer to spaces in which the 18 countries move over the period
 - i.e. if Germany moves to the “social-democratic” space, it does not mean that G has become a social-democratic country from an outcome perspective
 - It means that public provision of childcare as well as the generosity of parental leave have increased over time to a similar level found in countries that originally occupied the “social democratic” space



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (3/8)

- The dynamic use of the MCA unveils significant policy changes, with countries moving from one quadrant to another over time
- The data suggest we are indeed witness of a (r)evolution, although perhaps incomplete (EA 2009)
- This whole process of transformation can be characterised as a “socialisation” of family policy, featuring an expansion of childcare services and leave entitlements
- However, the degree of change is rather different across countries



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (4/8)

- We can classify the shift according to Hall's first-, second-, and third-order change
- A 1st order change implies that the country did not substantially change the family policy package, remaining in the same space over time
- A 2nd order change implies a stronger movement from one quadrant close to another or from the border of a quadrant to another quadrant, largely indicating a change of various instruments within the policy package
- A 3rd order change implies the movement from one space to another, suggesting not only a change of a policy instrument, but a change of the paradigm underlying the policy package



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (5/8)

- The only country that has not undergone a significant change in “explicit” family policy is the US
- New Zealand, Switzerland, and the UK are characterised by a 1st order change in their employment-oriented family policy and have remained within the liberal space over the past three decades
- These countries are still characterised by relatively short leaves and low public investment in childcare



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (6/8)

- Also Belgium and Italy, while undergoing a 1st order change over the last three decades, remained within the Christian-democratic space
 - They are characterised by a medium level of childcare service provision and a short to medium length of family-related leaves.
- Also France, Finland and Sweden are characterised by a 1st order change
 - These countries occupy the social-democratic space based on their generous leave (long leave with high replacement rates) and comprehensive childcare arrangements



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (7/8)

- Australia, Canada, and Austria are characterised by a second-order change
 - Australia moved from the liberal space closer to the Christian-democratic space due to more generous leaves and a higher investment in childcare (Canada is a similar case)
 - Austria moved into the social democratic space, especially because of a higher investment in children



A Family Policy (R)evolution (1980-2008)? (8/8)

- The four countries that have undergone third-order changes are Germany, Norway, Ireland, and Japan
 - All cases are rather surprising (traditional family models)
 - However the increase in generosity does not translate automatically in outcomes (more detail in the paper)
 - Further research required on this aspect (WP) !



Explaining Expansion: 1980s & 1990s

	Duration Leave	Replacement Rate Leave	Child Allowance	Family Services Expenditure	Public Expenditure
Political Variables					
Union density	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	0.675*** (0.002)	0.621*** (0.006)
Left Vote	0.537** (0.022)	0.562** (0.015)	0.418* (0.085)	0.449* (0.061)	0.591*** (0.010)
Center Vote	Non significant	Non significant	-0.436* (0.070)	Non significant	Non significant
Christian Democratic Vote	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Right Vote	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Females MPs	0.533** (0.023)	0.518** (0.028)	Non significant	0.789*** (0.000)	0.602*** (0.008)
Economic Variables					
Employed Agriculture and Manufacturing	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Female Activity Rates	0.564** (0.015)	0.547** (0.019)	Non significant	0.595*** (0.009)	0.467* (0.050)
Dependency Ratio	0.476** (0.046)	0.412* (0.089)	0.475** (0.046)	0.575** (0.012)	0.697*** (0.001)
Total Fertility Rate	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Societal Modernisation Factor					
Opinion on working women and maternity	Missing	Missing	Missing	Missing	Missing

Note: ***p< 0.01; **p< 0.05; * p< 0.1
Source: authors' elaboration.

- Association with Left Vote, Female MPs, Activity Rates and Dependency Ratio
- Similar associations in 1990s



Explaining Expansion: 2000s

	Duration Leave	Replacement Rate Leave	Child Allowance	Family Services Expenditure	Public Expenditure
Political Variables					
Union density	0.409* (0.092)	0.447* (0.063)	Non significant	0.641*** (0.004)	0.562** (0.015)
Left Vote	0.497** (0.036)	Non significant	Non significant	0.492** (0.038)	0.735*** (0.001)
Center Vote	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	-0.465* (0.052)
Christian Democratic Vote	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Right Vote	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Females MPs	0.402* (0.098)	Non significant	Non significant	0.547** (0.019)	0.571** (0.013)
Socio-Economic Variables					
Employed Agriculture and Manufacturing	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Female Activity Rates	0.476** (0.046)	0.401* (0.099)	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Dependency Ratio	0.461* (0.054)	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Total Fertility Rate	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant	Non significant
Societal Modernisation Factor					
Opinion on working women and maternity	-0.555** (0.026)	-0.615** (0.011)	Non significant	-0.712*** (0.002)	Non significant

- Association with public opinion and declining importance of the left and organised women

Recap (1/2)

- Evolution over time of the relation between the family, state & market
- Growing engagement of the state: (1) demography, (2) horizontal redistribution, (3) poverty alleviation, (4) gender equality & (5) female employment
- Within national differences, historical predominance of the ‘male breadwinner model’
- Changing context and variety of adult worker models



Recap (2/2)

- Expansion of family policy despite overall retrenchment
- Silent (R)evolution: is it a the late victory of ‘political feminism’ (especially in Norway, Germany, Japan, Ireland)?
- 1980s and 1990s: important role played by partisanship and organized women
- In 2000s policy preferences of voters increasingly seem to matter





Thanks for Your Attention

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