1. Introduction to the *Handbook of Family Policy*

Guðný Björk Eydal and Tine Rostgaard

DEFINITION OF FAMILY AND FAMILY POLICY

The aim of this *Handbook* is to provide an account of contemporary research on family policies, aimed at families with dependent children around the globe. The study of family policy is a relatively young field of research, often said to date back to Alva Myrdal's work on 'programme for family security' in Sweden in 1939. Her work is regarded as the first study that paid special attention to family policy (Gauthier, 1996). Until the 1960s, studies on family policy were few but have been growing since the 1970s (Gauthier, 1996; Gauthier and Koops in this volume; Kamerman and Kahn, 1978), as both national and comparative studies (see an account of the development of comparative studies in Chapter 2 in this volume by Gauthier and Koops).

The root of the term 'family policy' is also of relatively recent origin and can be traced back to a 1958 article published in Germany with the title 'Familien-politik' (Wuermeling et al., 1958, in Gauthier, 1996). In 1978, Kamerman and Kahn (p. 3) defined family policy as 'everything that government does to and for the family'. Following this line, family policy can be defined as including all social and economic policies that affect families as such. Such a wide definition has nevertheless been criticised for being rather elastic since it encompasses almost anything policy related (Bogensneider, 2000), and usually researchers construct a more narrow definition for their research purposes. In its most narrow scope, only the cash benefit of family allowances is examined (Barbier, 1995). The obvious problem with such a narrow definition is that it leaves out important policies, such as other cash benefits like childcare leave allowances, not to mention the many services provided to families with children. Furthermore, there is a family dimension in many other policies, such as policies of gender equality, housing, labour market, child health and education (to name a few). The solution to this problem is to construct a 'middle range' definition in order to avoid the shortcomings of both the wide and narrow definitions. Such a definition takes the family as the starting point and examines policies that are aimed at families, hence emphasising how the policy defines the nexus between state and family and between family members. Another way of narrowing down the concept of family policy is to define which families the policies are aimed at, but, as pointed out by Lohmann and Zagel in this volume, the concepts of family vary widely across national contexts and cultures.

Scholars therefore generally agree to disagree on whether to apply a wide, middle range or narrow definition of family policy. The definition of family policy applied in constructing the framework for this book is more middle range. We emphasise the cash and service benefits for dependent children as well as for their parents in order to provide financial as well as care support. This includes policies of direct and indirect financial support (fiscal and cash benefits), support in the combination of work and family life (e.g., leave schemes) as well as policies that support children in their development (childcare)

or support parents in the raising of their children (guidance and interventions). Hence, family law and child protection policies are usually left outside the scope of the studies presented in the volume. Furthermore, the book does not address family policies for children with special needs, for example, due to long-term illnesses or disability. Definitions of other key concepts are made by the individual author(s), for example, while some authors refer to early childhood education of care (ECEC), others may refer to childcare.

The family definition applied in the book focuses on families with dependent children, typically under the age of 18 years, and thus leaves out policies involving frail older people and persons with disabilities, who have received growing attention in the field of family policy, in particular in the literature on social care services (e.g., Daly, 2002; León, 2014; Pfau-Effinger and Rostgaard, 2011). Thus, the focus of the book is family policies and how these support parents with dependent children, even though other family members may be mentioned, such as the important role of grandparents (e.g., Millar in this volume).

FAMILY POLICY RESEARCH

There exists a wide body of literature on the development of family policies, the categorisation of such policies as well as their outcomes (e.g., Bradshaw, 2006; Ellingsæter and Leira, 2006; Esping-Andersen, 2009; Gauthier, 2002, 2007; Kamerman and Kahn, 1978, 1997; Kaufmann, 2002; Knijn et al., 2007; O'Connor et al., 1999; Pfau-Effinger, 2005; Saraceno, 1997; Saraceno et al., 2012). However, recent changes in family policies imply a re-drawing of family boundaries, with governments having a new interest in socially investing in families with children, facilitating female as well as family-friendly employment (Morel et al., 2012), in defining family obligations (see Millar in this volume) and at times re-positioning families and parenting as a public concern (see Knijn, Martin and Ostner as well as Daly in this volume). Facilitating and governing parenting is thus gaining a new significance, as is also the developmental potential and well-being of the child (see Rostgaard as well as Moss in this volume). As a consequence, there is great interest in how child and family policies structure and intervene in what families do (Gillies, 2011; Morgan, 2011). Likewise, there is interest in the evidence of whether family policies meet their stated outcomes for families, for example, the outcomes for child and parental well-being (see Engster and Stensöta as well as Collins and Glass in this volume). While family policies are usually initiated by the state there is also increasing interest in how family policies are part of the policies of individual companies as well as collective bargaining and collective agreements (see also den Dulk, Yerkes and Peper in this volume).

The economic crisis in 2008 was felt in some countries more than others. Like previous global economic downturns, it put welfare systems to the test, and welfare research is generally addressing both the policy measures taken as well as the consequences (e.g., Schubert et al., 2016; Starke et al., 2013). For families with children in particular, the obvious threat of the crisis is the declining income from employment, thus the level of social protection becomes a vital issue (Cantillon et al., 2017; see also Chapter 7 by Bradshaw and Chapter 23 by Gornick and Nell in this volume on the effects of family policy for alleviating child poverty). In a more long-term perspective, austerity measures targeting cash and service benefits for families may lead to less protection and worse outcomes for

children. Increasing inequality among families with children is also a concern in many countries, including the risk of living in long-term poverty.

In the last decades the threat from natural and man-made disasters has also been on the rise. Global warming and wars have led to an increase in involuntary mass migration. In 2016 there were 22.5 millions refugees, with over half under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2017). All these factors contribute to insecurity among families with children and their vulnerability is on the rise with even middle class families in rich countries unable to ensure their security (Cooper, 2014). The increased numbers of transnational families, migration and asylum seekers calls for new perspectives and research methods to address how family policies provide protection and support to families on the move (Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Björnberg, 2016; Williams, 2010; Williams and Graham, 2014; see also Chapter 28 by Björnberg and Chapter 27 by Dominelli in this volume).

Historically, the child and family policy literature has mainly addressed the countries in Western advanced economies (albeit with exceptions, e.g., Robila, 2013; Shehan, 2016) but political changes in recent decades, for example, in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa, have resulted in new family policies creating a new interest and need for a wider geographical focus of the investigation of family policies. Even though most of the chapters addresses the development and status of family policies in the advanced economies, the aim of the book is to also give new insights to the changes in these regions (see, e.g., Chapter 19 by Knijn and Patel on South Africa; Chapter 20 by Blofield and Martínez Franzoni on Latin America; and Chapter 21 by Palriwala and Neetha on India).

THEMES (PARTS) AND CHAPTERS IN THE BOOK

The book is divided into five main thematic parts: Part II on the history, concepts, theory and methods of family policy research; Part III on family policies; Part IV on family policy models; Part V on outcomes of family policies; and Part VI on the future challenges for family policy making and research.

In Part II, the authors address overall how family policy is conceptualised, defined, researched and developed in different parts of the world. In Chapter 2, on the history of family policy research, Anne H. Gauthier and Judith C. Koops address the major developments in cross-national comparative family policy in the last century. They distinguish between four main bodies of studies: (1) the early comparative and mostly descriptive work dating from the early twentieth century which pioneered cross-national family policy research; (2) the studies on family policy regimes which aimed at developing typologies; (3) the research on the determinants of family policies from a quantitative perspective; and (4) the rapidly expanding research on the outcomes of family policies. In Chapter 3, Peter Moss discusses childcare services and asks how to bridge structures and culture. According to Moss, structures such as how childcare is organised, funded and provided have received far more attention in research than have cultural dimensions such as traditions, social constructions and images of the child, the worker, the parent and so on. As he argues, this limits our understanding of cross-country differences. In Chapter 4, Jane Millar presents the contribution of research on family obligations to family policy studies. As Millar points out, 'the balance between the obligations of individuals to provide for themselves, family members to provide for each other, and governments

to replace, supplement or enforce family support is central to family policy'. Henning Lohmann and Hannah Zagel in Chapter 5 focus on variable-oriented approaches and provide a methodological discussion of central issues and recent developments in an indicator-based comparison of family policy across a number of countries. Lohmann and Zagel point out the importance of rigorous understanding of measurement, data and methodological perspectives for evaluation of family policy outcomes. The final chapter in this part, Chapter 6 by Ji Young Kang and Marcia K. Meyers, examines change in family policies over a 20-year period in 14 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries by focusing on policies that support parents in their dual responsibilities as earners and caregivers. Kang and Meyers argue that nearly all countries have over time expanded policies that support work/life balance as well as degendering caregiving.

Part III of the book contains chapters on distinct fields and scopes of family policies, including cash transfers such as paid parental leave and child benefits, services such as childcare, and overall policies on parenting support and social investment, as well as work-family policies in the workplace. In the first chapter in this part, Chapter 7, Jonathan Bradshaw explores the function of the classical policy instrument of child benefits. Despite the clear evidence of its effectiveness in reducing child poverty, only few countries have in fact introduced such benefits. Bradshaw investigates the pros and cons of child benefits, applying his well-known family model method in European Union (EU) and OECD countries. He finds that the case for child benefit is overwhelming. While not quite as old as child benefits, childcare services are nevertheless considered a central policy means to facilitate female employment as well as strengthening children's cognitive and social capacities. In Chapter 8, Tine Rostgaard addresses the idea of childcare as a global policy agenda, advocated by supranational organisations such as the EU and the OECD and very often with reference to social investment. She investigates the foundation for this idea and whether it is visible in the development of domestic policy, arguing that we still have some way to go. Chapter 9 by Sophia Seung-yoon Lee and Seung-ho Baek further investigates the policy trend of social investment, this time from a particular Asian perspective. In a comparison of family policy trends in South Korea and Japan from 1990 onwards, they argue that these countries have adopted a liberal social investment perspective, which emphasises the role of the market and individual responsibility rather than the state, as otherwise seen in Northern Europe. In Chapter 10, Olivier Thévenon presents the development of maternity, paternity and parental leave policies for parents from a cross-national perspective among the OECD countries from 1970 and onwards. Over time, the length of leave has been extended, flexibility has increased and in most cases the policies enhance rights for fathers to leave but the cross-national variation in leave entitlements is still considerable. Parents in work rely on work-family policies and in Chapter 11, Laura den Dulk, Mara A. Yerkes and Bram Peper provide a state-of-the-art review on the role of work-family policies across different European countries. As they argue, while there is some data on work-family policies at the national level, little is known about how these interact with collective agreements and company practices. In Chapter 12, Trudie Knijn, Claude Martin and Ilona Ostner explore a specific branch of family policy, namely, the growth of parenting policies intended to not only support but also discipline families and their children. They argue that such policies reinforce and prolong parental responsibilities well into adolescence. In contrast to gender-neutral

ECEC policies, however, these new policies target the mother and thus support a more traditional division of work among parents.

In Part IV, the chapters address family models – or families of nations to borrow the formulation of Castles (1993) – referring to nations that are neighbours and/or share cultural ties. Grouping countries together according to welfare models has been an important component of comparative research, the most influential that of Esping-Andersen (1991) when he distinguished three models of welfare capitalism, conservative, liberal and social democratic. The first chapter in this part, Chapter 13 by Birgit Pfau-Effinger, draws upon the work of Esping-Andersen and examines how the family policies in the conservative model of Austria, Germany and Switzerland have changed considerably since the model was first identified. Her results show changes from a housewife model to a more gender-egalitarian family policy model, apart from Switzerland where family policy has remained conservative. Dorian R. Woods is the author of Chapter 14 on the liberal models in the UK and US, and she asks to what extent the developments in family policy have followed a liberal agenda and whether policies in the two countries differ by examining historical legacies, policy instruments and power dynamics. In Chapter 15, the social democratic model – or the Nordic Model – is examined by Guðný Björk Eydal, Tine Rostgaard and Heikki Hiilamo who discuss the main characteristics of contemporary family policies in the Nordic countries, asking if family policies have reached their twofold aim here, namely, to work for equality between children and to enhance gender equality. Many scholars have pointed out the need for more than three worlds of welfare capitalism and particularly the need for Southern and Eastern Europe models (e.g., Arts and Gelissen, 2002). In Chapter 16, the Southern Europe model is visited by Teresa Jurardo-Guerrero and Manuela Naldini who provide a historical and a comparative account of family policy in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The chapter addresses the policies in three main areas – family benefits, childcare, parental leave and reconciliation policies – and they find overall a weak development of family policies in a context of continued ‘unsupported familialism’. In Chapter 17, Cristina Raţ and Dorottya Szikra present a comparative analysis of the family policies in the Eastern European model by looking at Hungary, Poland and Romania. A common feature is an upgrading of the state provisions but there are still differences between the countries and among families depending on their income level. In Chapter 18, Ito Peng and Yi-Chun Chien challenge the belief that East Asian countries have similar family policy models by comparing Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, China, Hong Kong and Singapore. Their results show a spectrum of family policy approaches, ranging from a liberal market approach to ones that align more closely to a regulated institutional approach. Hence, Peng and Chien point out the importance of investigating the within-regime cultural and institutional variations. In the following chapters, the book looks into regions which are not usually part of the ‘modelling business’ (Abrahamson, 1999). In Chapter 19, Trudie Knijn and Leila Patel provide an analysis of the South African family policy that they call ‘Family life and family policy in South Africa’, responding to past legacies, new opportunities and challenges. The chapter provides valuable insights into the development of family policies for countries that are dealing with the consequences of the AIDS epidemic and poverty. Here, South Africa has successfully enacted a child benefit scheme. In Chapter 20, Merike Blofield and Juliana Martínez Franzoni ask if Latin America has moved towards more gender and social equity, focusing on employment-based leaves following the birth of a child and

childcare. Blofield and Martínez Franzoni conclude that while the policy changes lie far behind the major structural changes in the region, there is increasing political recognition of the need for public attention and state intervention to ensure reconciliation of work and family. In Chapter 21 Rajni Paliwala and Neetha N. address family policy in India, its contradictions, continuities and change. They point out that there are two competing ideals of families in India: while a modern and planned family is present in population and wage policies, the competing idea of the traditional Indian family continues to underscore how the family is expected to take care of children, dependent older people and other vulnerable members of the family. The last chapter in this part, Chapter 22 by Dorian R. Woods and Rolf Frankenberger, addresses a topic that has often been left out from the field of family policy research, namely, family policies in autocratic countries. The chapter examines three types of family leave policy: maternity, paternity and parental leave in 50 out of 51 country that are defined as autocratic countries. Four groups of autocracies emerge and autocratic regime types are found to have some explanatory power for the overall and paid duration of maternity leave and the duration of paternity leave, but the results show that region is also important.

Part V of the book is devoted to research on outcomes of family policies. Here, Janet C. Gornick and Emily Nell in Chapter 23 look at the child poverty reducing effects of total transfers and taxes. Using register and survey data from the Luxembourg Income Study, and also expanding their analysis to include high- as well as middle-income countries, they find substantial country variation in child poverty, often depending on parents' employment situation. It is the combination of government tax, cash benefits as well as more generalised income support that can alleviate poverty among children, but many countries fail to combat child poverty. Family policies may also affect another outcome, child well-being. In Chapter 24, Daniel Engster and Helena Olofsdotter Stensöta investigate the conceptualisation of child well-being and how both subjective and objective indicators are used to measure this. While they find that the research generally supports the relationship between family policy and child well-being, the mechanisms are less well understood. In addition, research has mainly concentrated on advanced economies. Parents' well-being and how family policy may affect this is the focus of Chapter 25 by Caitlyn Collins and Jennifer Glass. They suggest that in addition to a number of subjective indicators of well-being, a number of objective and structural indicators present themselves as innovative ways to conceptualise and measure parents' well-being. They also suggest that family policy is not a zero-sum game which only improves parental happiness; family policies also seem to improve the happiness of non-parents.

With Chapter 26 by Mary Daly, we move to the final part, Part VI on future challenges for policy making and research. Daly takes a global perspective and identifies what are the evolving family policies and to what extent concerns about the family and the role and practices of parents have been the mobilising policy agency in different parts of the world. Based on case studies of family policy development in countries from different regions of the world, amongst others, Belarus, Jamaica, Sweden and Chile, she finds a growth in traditional measures that seek to provide a range of resources to improve familial functioning but also the introduction of new measures aimed at modifying how parents rear their children, often part of a conservative reaction to what is perceived as a crisis of the family. Lena Dominelli takes us to a relatively new but (unfortunately) important new chapter in family policy research: how family policy supports families during natural

and human-made disasters. She argues that disaster discourses often assume availability of family resources for filling gaps left by formal providers from evacuation onwards, but with the 'one size fits all' approach family-supportive policies often ignore individual family members' differentiated resources and experiences of disasters. In the final chapter of the book, Chapter 28, Ulla Björnberg provides a perspective on sustainable family lives, focusing on women's rights within family contexts and from a global perspective. Inspired by the capability approach, she argues for a feminist family policy and illustrates how this may change subsistence for women in a global economy, migration and social mobility.

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