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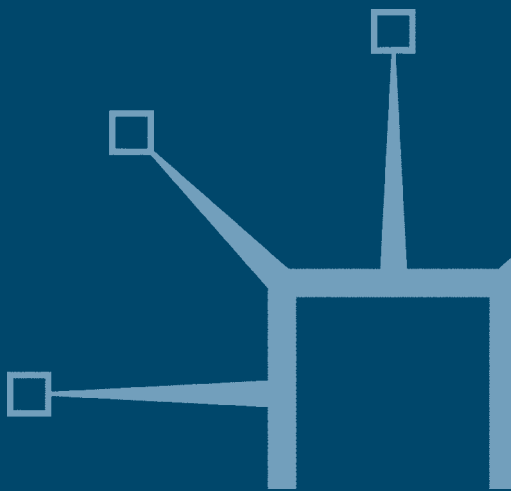
Families in Converging Europe

A Comparison of Forms, Structures and Ideals

Eriikka Oinonen



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To present and future families of all kinds

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Series Editors' Preface

The remit of the *Palgrave Macmillan Studies in Family and Intimate Life* series is to publish work focusing broadly on the sociological exploration of intimate relationships and family organization. As editors we think such a series is timely. Expectations, commitments and practices have changed significantly in intimate relationship and family life in recent decades. This is very apparent in patterns of family formation and dissolution, demonstrated by trends in parenting, cohabitation, marriage and divorce. Changes in household living patterns over the last twenty years have also been marked, with more people living alone, adult children living longer in the parental home, and more 'non-family' households being formed.

There have also been important shifts in the ways people construct intimate relationships. There are few comfortable certainties about the best ways of being a family man or woman, with once conventional gender roles no longer being widely accepted. The normative connection between sexual relationships and marriage or marriage-like relationships is also less powerful than it once was. Not only is greater sexual experimentation accepted, but it is now accepted at an earlier age. Moreover heterosexuality is no longer the only mode of sexual relationship given legitimacy. Gay male and lesbian partnerships are now socially and legally endorsed to a degree hardly imaginable in the mid-twentieth century. Increases in lone-parent families, the rapid growth of different types of stepfamily, the de-stigmatization of births outside marriage, and the rise in couples 'living-apart-together' (LATs) all provide further examples of the ways that 'being a couple', 'being a parent' and 'being a family' have diversified in recent years.

The fact that change in family life and intimate relationships has been so pervasive has resulted in renewed research interest from sociologists and other scholars. Increasing amounts of public funding have been directed to family research in recent years, in terms of both individual projects and the creation of family research centres of different hues. This research activity has been accompanied by the publication of some very important and influential books exploring different aspects of shifting family experience. The *Palgrave Macmillan Studies in Family and Intimate Life* series hopes to add to this list of influential research-based texts published in English (both new texts and new translations), thereby contributing to existing knowledge and

informing current debates. Our main audience consists of academics and advanced students, though we intend that the books in the series will be accessible to a more general readership who wish to understand better the changing nature of contemporary family life and personal relationships.

We are delighted that Erikka Oinonen's book, *Families in Converging Europe*, is the first to be published in the series. The importance of comparative analysis in social science is frequently asserted but less frequently practiced. In family sociology, there are still relatively few comparative studies that can be recommended and most of these, such as those by Goode and, more recently, Therborn, operate on a grand, global scale. More systematic comparative analyses, dealing with two or three societies in considerable historical detail, are still quite rare.

Families in Converging Europe operates on two levels. At one level there is the analysis of developments within Europe as a whole, exploring points of difference as well as convergences. This level of analysis deals with demographic and socio-economic trends as well as comparative analyses of different welfare regimes and cultural experiences. With the aid of this form of analysis, readers can begin to appreciate what is distinct or special about their own societies as well as what their family practices have in common with other European states.

But this volume also operates at a more systematic comparative level, looking specifically at family practices and family ideologies in Finland and Spain. Dr Oinonen brings an impressive range of different sources to bear upon this analysis including demographic and historical data, opinion surveys, and examination of legal changes and policy debates. This part of the study reminds the reader that comparative analysis requires a strong sense of historical change and an awareness of the particularities of cultural developments, including religion and political regimes.

In the course of this analysis, Dr Oinonen uncovers complexities and paradoxes which call into question some of the simpler assertions about North/South differences or differences according to type of welfare regime. Having conducted this more focussed comparative analysis, she is then able to return to the wider European context. Throughout the analysis she is aware of the methodological complexities involved in conducting comparative studies of this kind. Nevertheless, her book provides a clear demonstration of the strengths and potentialities of this approach, one which inevitably highlights yet further problems for comparative analysis. This is a study which can be recommended for its methodology as well as for the substantive issues

which are tackled in a way that combines analytical rigour with clarity of expression. It also makes a persuasive case for the continuing relevance of Emile Durkheim in the analysis of changing families.

Graham Allan, Lynn Jamieson and David Morgan
Series Editors

Preface

The importance of comparative analysis in social science is frequently asserted but less frequently practiced. In Family Sociology, there are still relatively few comparative studies that can be recommended, and most of these, such as those by Goode and, more recently, Therborn, operate on a grand, global scale. The more systematic comparative analysis dealing with two or three societies in considerable historical detail is still quite rare.

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Abbreviations

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe The former socialist countries that joined the EU in 2004 (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia)
CIS	Centro de Investigaciones Sosiológicas (Centre of Sociological Investigation)
DEELSA	Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
EU15	European Union member states by the end of 1995 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom)
EU25	European Union member states by the end of 2004 (Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom)
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISSP	International Social Survey Programme
NMS10	New member states The ten countries that joined the EU in 2004 (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
WVS	World Values Survey

Introduction: Families in Converging Europe

> When I am grown-up, I will be an engineer working in some big company. I'll live in a big house in a quiet place by the lake where schools and jobs are near. I have three children and a wife. Family life is nice (Author's translation).
>
> (A boy in the sixth grade)

A Finnish newspaper, *Aamulehti* (13th April 2007), asked sixth graders (twelve-year-olds) to picture their lives as adults. According to the children who responded, family is an integral part of adult life.

> I would like to have a family because I wouldn't like to be alone. My husband is pretty much the same age as I am and he has to be trustworthy [...] I am a reporter, an author, an actress, a volleyball player or whatever else that catches my interest. Hopefully I have two children, a girl and a boy. [...] We will have our honeymoon somewhere in the South and my dress would be white and beautiful. I would like to have a house and a garden with apple trees, berry bushes and vegetables and a lot of space for kids to play. I hope that my children do not have to experience their parents' divorce. I know it is painful (Author's translation).
>
> (A girl in the sixth grade)

A happy family based on romantic love with a white wedding and a honeymoon is at the top of the wish list, but children are also aware of the realities of contemporary families and the hardships of life. Although the majority of the sixth graders picture themselves married

with two or three children, there are also those who plan to opt for an alternative lifestyle:

> Ten years from now I am a professor or on my way to becoming one. Hopefully I have a beautiful common-law wife but no kids (they are annoying). Family life could be happy if work wouldn't take up all the time [...] I hope that the tax system will be changed by then so that something is left in my pocket (Author's translation).
>
> (A boy in the sixth grade)

These children expect to have a good education, a good job, a big house and a nice livelihood. Nobody plans for a single life. Family is a focal value. In most cases it is conceptualized as composed of a married couple and their children, but it is also recognized that there is more than one way to arrange one's private life. Children also acknowledge that there are outside factors, such as work and money issues, that influence family life.

This book explores the family in Europe. What are the patterns of family formation in Europe? How have patterns of family formation and family forms changed in recent decades? And, under what conditions do people in Europe make their family-related choices and decisions? The family is examined at two levels: first, by analysing demographic, socio-economic and cultural differences and similarities at the European Union (EU) level, and second, by comparing Finland and Spain as representatives of different European societies.

Family is the central value in life not only for the children quoted above but for Europeans in general. Yet we may frequently hear concerned voices asking what has happened to the European family or claims about a family crisis, and that family as a social institution has lost its meaning and importance both for individuals and for the society. Most of what we hear about a family crisis comes from the top down, from the viewpoint of politicians, states, the church, 'experts' and the media.

The concern about the European family or families arises from the changes in familial behaviour and familiar ways that have occurred in advanced societies over the past decades. Those who, a few decades ago, would have been parents themselves act like 'children', being single, without commitments to and responsibilities for anyone, other than themselves. Many of those who are in the age of potential grandparenthood have adult children at home who appear never to be leaving and standing on their own two feet. Marriage is no longer a precondition for having an

intimate relationship or being a parent, and many of those who are married have no children. Those who have children inside or outside marriage have too few of them. In many European societies, there tends to be only one child in the family. In some societies there are two, but in all European societies too-few children are born to meet the replacement level. The religious idea of marriage as a union between a man and a woman, and the idea of the family as composed of a married couple and their mutual children, is fading both in Protestant and Catholic Europe. Rather, marriage, family and parenthood have become questions of human rights and equality as same-sex couples can formalize their relationship, even marry (in some countries) and adopt children. Furthermore, married couples are allowed to end their marriage, try again and form families with 'yours, mine and mutual children'.

There is abundant demographic evidence of parallel changes in family forms and patterns of family formation and family life in Europe. Europeans tend to marry and have children at an increasingly older age. European families are considerably smaller in size, as compared to only a few decades ago. Furthermore, even though a family based on a couple is the focal value, it is no longer morally or legally required to marry in order to have an intimate relationship or children, nor is it required to stay in an unhappy marriage.

But in contemporary Europe, changing patterns of family formation and structure as well as fertility that is extremely low or, at least, under the replacement level do not necessarily bring about the downfall of the family or decimate the family's importance to individuals or to the society. The majority of Europeans hope to be and actually end up being married with children (or a child) at some point in their lives, and some more than once. Besides, couples with one child or no child; lone parents with a child or children; couples with his, her and mutual children; or same-sex couples with biological or adopted children do not necessarily feel that their families are in any kind of crisis or suffer from living in a 'non-traditional' family.

The concerned voices usually coming from the top down tend to look for a prospective suspect responsible for family change. Are women to blame for not having enough children? Are young adults to blame for postponing family formation? Or should the blame be put on society, the economic system, the political context or the cultural milieu? The concern over the state and future of the family in Europe in general and in individual European societies in particular appears to include the idea that the change is negative and somehow damaging. But, is it not to be expected that when the society changes, its institutions would also

change? So what is the family that is claimed to be in a pinch? Is it perhaps so that it is not the actual families which are in crisis, but rather the socially held idea of the family? Thus, in this book, we are particularly interested in the idea or conceptualization of the family as a social institution; how the idea of the family has changed over time in different European societies and what societal factors shape the socially shared understanding of what the family is or ought to be.

Furthermore, although parallel changes in Europeans' familial behaviour are observable and may indicate convergence, we may assume that neither the changes nor the familial ways are identical in European societies. Therefore, we examine whether, to what degree and why familial behaviour is different or similar in different European societies. The underlying idea is that an individual's choices concerning family formation and childbearing are to a large extent influenced by the societal circumstances within which the individual lives. Thus decisions like whether to marry or not and when to marry, and particularly whether to have children or not and when and how many of them to have are affected by structural factors such as the labour market, the welfare state, legislation and so forth. Yet, in a contemporary globalizing world, it is not only the national and local structures, frameworks and processes that influence people's private lives but also the international ones like European integration, the EU and other international organizations such as the OECD. These supranational organizations have a major impact on societal frameworks and ideology formation. However, individuals and families are not only adjusting to the circumstances, be they local, national or supranational, but they are also influencing them through their choices.

Although Europe is not coterminous with the EU, in this book, Europe is limited to include those countries that were EU member states by the end of 2004. These EU25 countries are Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Europe is usually divided into several categories based on geographical regions or on shared social, cultural, economic and political characteristics. For analytic purposes, here, the EU25 countries are divided into Scandinavia, Western Europe, Southern Europe and Eastern Europe.

Scandinavia comprises Denmark, Finland and Sweden. Western Europe includes the UK, Ireland and those continental European societies that during the Cold War era belonged to the Western block. In the case

of Germany, no distinction is made between West and former-East Germany, and thus Germany is always counted as belonging to Western Europe. Southern Europe refers to the Mediterranean countries, namely, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Malta and Cyprus belong to this category too but they have been left out of the analysis due to their small populations. Same is the case with Luxemburg within the Western Europe category. Eastern Europe comprises the former socialist countries that joined the EU in 2004. They are frequently referred to as the Central-Eastern European (CEE) countries because they share the same Central European historical and cultural heritage as, for example, Austria and Germany, and geographically they belong to Central Europe. When the term Northern Europe is used, besides the Scandinavian countries, it refers also to Germany, the Netherlands and the UK.

The book is divided into four parts, which move from a wide European context to a detailed examination of the two European cases – Finland and Spain – and back to a more general European-level discussion. Part I examines the family at the European level by analysing basic demographic indicators on marriage, fertility and divorce in the EU25 member states from 1960 to 2004. Chapter 1 maps similarities and differences in the familial behaviour of Europeans and examines whether and to what extent family patterns in Europe are similar or different. The examination of demographic statistics reveals that regardless of a converging general trend, marked differences between European societies and between groups or clusters of societies persist. What then might be the factors that maintain differences on the one hand and explain commonalities on the other? Thus, Chapter 2 highlights macro-level explanations for cross-country differences and similarities and depicts the frameworks within which Europeans live and make their family-related choices and decisions. It provides an overview of the socio-economic circumstances, development of welfare states and changes in culture and ideology in Europe from the early 1990s onwards. The two chapters in Part I provide the reader with a broader framework to place the comparative case study, and justify the choice of the cases.

Part II prepares the ground for the in-depth comparative analysis of the Finnish and Spanish cases. Chapter 3 presents the premises of a comparative case study on Finnish and Spanish families and outlines the theoretical and methodological roots of the study deriving from Emile Durkeheim's views on the family and methods for studying the family. Furthermore, the chapter reviews comparative research methods and identifies the type of comparison and data used in the case study. Chapter 4 provides a socio-historical background for the study of

Finnish and Spanish families by describing the modernization processes of the two societies.

Part III concentrates on a comparative analysis of Finnish and Spanish family institutions. Chapter 5 focuses on family ideology – the culturally and socially shared conception of what The Family is or ought to be. First, Finnish and Spanish family ideologies are viewed by studying the laws on marriage and the main reforms within the period from the early 20th century to the present. Then the analysis moves to public policies targeting families in order to illustrate how public policies define the family and how these definitions relate to the definitions found in the civil legislation. The exploration of the elements of family ideologies ends with a discussion of gender relations and how they have evolved during the 20th century in Finland and Spain. Chapter 6 reviews the values and attitudes that not only Finns and Spaniards but Europeans in general hold regarding the family, and assesses whether the values and attitudes are congruent with prevailing family ideology. Chapter 7 focuses on family practices in Finland and Spain. First, Finnish and Spanish demographic statistics are analysed within the Western European context from 1960 to the early 2000s, and within the framework of the three-phased model of the second demographic transition. Second, demographic statistics are reviewed in connection with theories of demographic transition. After a more general theoretical discussion, the Finnish and Spanish cases are discussed in more detail, assessing the explanatory power of the theories and looking for the case-specific explanations for changes in patterns of family formation. Chapter 8 summarizes the findings concerning the comparative analysis of Finnish and Spanish families.

Part IV brings the discussion back to the European level by deliberating on the convergence of European societies and the family. Chapter 9 starts with a discussion of the main findings of the European-level analysis and of the comparison of the two cases. It continues the discussion by considering whether the process of European integration and the enlargement of the EU has had a converging impact on European welfare states and on the family. Another focal line of discussion is how European Union-level policies and norms affect European families and the shared conceptions of the family. Thus, Chapter 9 poses the question: what is the family that the EU upholds and promotes through its policies, strategies, directives and resolutions? The last chapter, Chapter 10, discusses the role of the OECD in determining the European Family model. The OECD's recommendations for policy practices have a great influence on the policymaking of the EU and its member states.

Therefore, the last chapter examines what kind of a framework for family formation and familial practices the OECD outlines for Europeans and what sort of a family model it recommends. Furthermore, the chapter opens up a discussion about the possible implications for European families if European welfare states reform their policies in line with the evaluation and recommendations provided by the OECD.

This book is a synthesis of three comparative-research projects. The first one on Finnish and Spanish family institutions culminated in a doctoral dissertation at the University of Tampere (Finland) in October 2004, after several years of extensive comparative research conducted both in Finland and Spain. Since August 2005, I have worked on a new comparative research project, *Families in Europe: Ideology and Realities*, funded by the Academy of Finland, which focuses on the comparison of Western and Eastern European societies and on the EU's impact on the socio-economic framework for family life and on determining the idea of the European family. Furthermore, the book is a part of the work done in a comparative research project, which I have led, *Twenty-five and Something. Transition to Adulthood in Europe*, which is funded by the Emil Aaltonen Foundation.

There are a number of people who have offered their insightful comments and invaluable assistance and support during the process of writing this book. My warmest thanks go to Emeritus Professor David H.J. Morgan, Professor Graham Allan, Professor Matti Alestalo, Professor Pertti Alasuutari, Joan Lofgren, Jukka Partanen and Kauri Lindström. I extend my gratitude to the research group of the project *Twenty-five and Something* and to my colleagues at the Department of Sociology and Social Psychology at the University of Tampere who have read and commented on the manuscript.

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Part I The Changing European Family

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1
Family Patterns – Convergence or Divergence

Patterns of partnership formation and dissolution and of childbearing in Europe[1] during the past few decades, and particularly during the past 15 years or so, indicate convergence. The postponement of family formation – marriage or another type of long-term partnership and parenthood – and the increasing de-standardization of life courses are the most marked factors indicating convergence in family structures and family lives. Yet a closer look into basic demographic data alone reveals that along with parallel developments, Europe is quite heterogeneous. Underneath general trends, patterns of family formation, the meaning and particularly the role of the family in people's everyday lives and in the society vary between European societies.

The analysis of basic demographic indicators on marriage, divorce and fertility is a good starting point for investigating the European family and family patterns. This section discusses demographic indicators of the EU member states (EU25) from 1960 to 2004. The aim is to map similarities and differences between European societies and to see whether country clusters can be detected among Europeans based on familial behaviour. The chapter also assesses the extent to which country clusters have developed in Europe.

Demographic trends in Europe from 1960 to 2004

In European social history a difference has been observed between Eastern and Western European marriage patterns. According to Hajnal (1965), until the early 20th century, the Western pattern was characterized by late marriage and a high proportion of the population who remained single and childless. Furthermore, pre-nuptial conception, non-marital births and informal cohabitation were relatively common,

except in the Mediterranean. The Eastern European marriage pattern was characterized by nearly universal marriage; early entrance into marriage and parenthood; and very low proportions of single and childless people, pre-nuptial conception, non-marital births and informal cohabitation.

The Western European countries experienced a great demographic transformation starting from the early 1960s, although at varying paces. The Scandinavian countries were the forerunners, followed by Western and Southern countries in the course of the 1970s and 1980s. Generally speaking, patterns of family formation and family practices have, almost without exception, followed a similar trend: marriage and fertility rates have declined, while cohabitation, divorce, extramarital births and mean ages at first marriage and first birth have increased (see, for example, Billari, 2005; Lesthaeghe, 1995). In ex-socialist Europe the demographic tendencies differed from the Western European trends during the prevalence of socialist regimes, conforming to the Eastern marriage pattern. However, since the transition at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, the demographic changes took a direction similar to that in the rest of Europe (Philipov and Dorbritz, 2003).

Marriage and childbearing

In historical terms, marriage rates were extraordinarily high in so-called Western Europe (Scandinavia, Western and Southern European societies) in the 1960s and early 1970s. At that time, Western Europeans came to marry more and earlier. In ex-socialist CEE early and nearly universal marriage prevailed and the east–west distinction continued regardless of the Western Europeans' marriage boom (see Table 1.1; also Therborn, 2004).

The frequency of marriage decreased during the 1970s in all European societies with the exception of a few countries. In Ireland in the west and in Poland and Slovakia in the east, the marriage rates did increase slightly by 1980, as Table 1.1 shows. During the 1990s and early 2000s, marriage rates declined further, with the exception of Scandinavia, where marriage rates increased, particularly in Denmark. The most notable decline in marriages has, however, occurred in the CEE countries since 1990 (see Table 1.1). Consequently, contemporary Europeans increasingly opt for other types of lifestyles and partnerships than marriage.

Nowadays, those Europeans who do marry tend to do so later in life than was customary a few decades ago. Generally speaking, a Western European bride in 1960 was four years younger than a bride in 2003

Table 1.1 Marriage indicators in the EU countries,* 1960–2004

Country	Crude marriage rate			Mean age at first marriage (women)		
	1960	1980	2004	1960	1980	2003
Scandinavia						
Denmark	7.8	5.2	7.0	23	25	30
Finland	7.4	6.2	5.6	24	24	29
Sweden	6.7	4.5	4.8	24	26	31
Central-Western Europe						
Austria	8.3	6.2	4.7	24	23	28
Belgium	7.1	6.7	4.1	23	22	27
France[a]	7.0	6.2	4.3	23	23	28[2]
Germany[b]	9.5	6.3	4.8	23	23	28
Ireland	5.5	6.4	5.1[1]	28	25	28[4]
Netherlands	7.8	6.4	4.7	24	23	28
United Kingdom	7.5	7.4	5.1[1]	—	25[7]	27[3]
Southern Europe						
Greece	7.0	6.5	4.2	25	24[6]	27[2]
Italy	7.7	5.7	4.3	25	24	27[3]
Portugal	7.8	7.4	4.7	25	23	26
Spain	7.8	5.9	5.0	26	23	28[2]
Central-Eastern Europe						
Czech Rep.	7.7	7.6	5.0	22[9]	22	26
Estonia	10.0	8.8	4.5	24[9]	23	26[2]
Hungary	8.9	7.5	4.3	22	21	26
Latvia	11.0	9.8	4.5	23[9]	23	25
Lithuania	10.1	9.2	5.6	—	23[5]	24
Poland	8.2	8.6	5.0	22[9]	23	25
Slovakia	7.9	8.0	5.2	22	22	25
Slovenia	8.8	6.5	3.3	23[9]	23	28
EU25	7.9	6.7	4.9	24	23	27
EU15	7.7	6.0	4.9	24	23	28
NMS10	8.8	7.2	4.9	24	23	25

Source: Eurostat 2006.
Note: Figures are rounded up.
* Excluding member states with less than one million inhabitants, namely, Cyprus, Malta and Luxemburg; [a]France métropolitaine (excluding French Antilles); [b]Including ex-GDR from 1991; — No available data; [1]2003; [2]2002; [3]2000; [4]1996; [5]1988; [6]1986; [7]1982; [8]1975; [9]1970.

when marrying for the first time. Nowadays, the mean age of women marrying for the first time in Scandinavia, Western Europe and in Southern Europe is close to 30, and the mean age of Swedish women is even higher. Conforming to the historical divide between Western and

Eastern Europe, women in the ex-socialist CEE countries are approximately 3–4 years younger than their Western counterparts when marrying for the first time (see Table 1.1). With respect to age at first marriage, the Portuguese and Slovenians differ from their Western and Eastern counterparts. As Table 1.1 indicates, Portuguese brides tend to be as young as brides in Eastern Europe on average, whereas Slovenian women appear to postpone marriage as late as do most of the women in Western Europe.

The marriage indicators presented in Table 1.1 show that although the pattern of nearly universal marriage has vanished in Eastern Europe, the trend of early marriage still persists.

Conforming to the Eastern marriage pattern, Eastern Europeans also become parents earlier than Western Europeans (see Table 1.2). Eastern European women have their first child 2–3 years earlier than women in Western Europe on average (see Table 1.2). In 2003, the mean age in the EU15 countries of women giving birth for the first time was around 28, whereas the mean age in the NMS10[2] countries was around 26. The trend of postponed childbearing started in Scandinavia already in the course of the 1970s, and in the rest of Western Europe in the 1980s. In CEE the mean age of women giving birth for the first time was quite stable until the beginning of the 1990s, but since then, the trend has been paralleled by the overall European trend of postponed parenthood (Social Situation Observatory – Demography Monitor, 2005).

In addition to the postponement of childbearing, the mean number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her lifetime (total fertility rate) has declined in Europe in the past few decades. In 1960, the average number of children per woman in the EU25 countries was 2.6, and nowadays it is around 1.5. Consequently, none of the EU member states has replacement-level fertility (2.1 children per woman). The decline in most Western European societies started in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, with the exception of the Mediterranean countries, where the decline took off expeditiously in the 1980s. In the CEE countries, the decline in fertility happened in the 1990s when fertility rates fell to the same extremely low levels as in the Southern countries and even lower (see Table 1.2).

In terms of fertility rates, Europe appears to be divided into two clusters: Scandinavia and Western Europe with relatively high fertility and the two-child family model still in existence (except in Austria and Germany) and Southern and CEE countries with their lowest-of-low fertility rates and one-child family model (see Table 1.2; European Commission 2004, p. 24).

At the same time as the drop in fertility has occurred, the proportion of women who remain childless has increased. In general, the percentages are higher in later birth cohorts. For example, in the 1945 birth cohort, childlessness stood between 10 and 14 per cent in Finland, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden, whereas the corresponding percentage in Denmark, Ireland and Spain was between six and eight. In the 1965 birth cohort, the proportion of childless women in the first group of countries, now including also Ireland, is up to 20 per cent and in Denmark and Spain around 13 per cent (Social Situation Observatory 2005, p. 40). In Eastern Europe, only 5–10 per cent of women born in 1955 remained childless, and although childlessness has increased among later birth cohorts, the proportion of childless women, for example, in the 1965 birth cohort is lower than in Western Europe (Sobotka, 2003, p. 458). However, women from the more recent cohorts may still have children, and therefore it remains to be seen where the childlessness of women born in the 1960s, 1970s or later will level off.

Europeans have fewer children than before, and a growing share of those few are born to unmarried parents. Almost a third of all children born alive in the EU15 countries and a fourth in the NMS10 countries were born to unmarried parents in 2004 (see Table 1.2). Yet there are huge differences between countries. Well over half of the children in Sweden (55 per cent) and nearly half of those in Denmark (45 per cent), Finland (41 per cent), France (45 per cent) and the UK (42 per cent) are born outside wedlock, whereas the corresponding proportion in Greece is only 5 per cent, in Italy 15 per cent and in Poland 17 per cent (see Table 1.2).

In most of Western Europe the increase started in the course of the 1970s and accelerated in the 1980s, although in Southern Europe the most notable increase took place in the 1980s and 1990s. In some of the CEE countries the proportion of extramarital births has traditionally been quite high. As Table 1.2 indicates, in Hungary, Latvia and Slovenia, for example, the proportion of extramarital births in 1960 was higher than the average Western European (EU15) figure. However, a rapid increase in the share of extramarital births in Eastern Europe started in the early 1990s. Nowadays, the proportion of extramarital births in Estonia (58 per cent), Latvia (45 per cent) and Slovenia (44 per cent) is as high as in Scandinavia, France and the UK (and even higher in Estonia). In the Czech Republic and Hungary, the proportion of births outside marriage has reached values congruent with the Western European average, whereas in Poland and Lithuania the increase in the share of extramarital births has been more modest, resembling Southern European countries (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Fertility indicators in the EU countries,* 1960–2004

Country	Total fertility rate			Mean age of women at first childbirth			Proportion of live births outside marriage (%)		
	1960	1980	2004	1960	1980	2003	1960	1980	2004
Scandinavia									
Denmark	2.3	1.5	1.8	23	24	28[3]	8	33	45
Finland	2.7	1.6	1.8	24	26	28	4	13	41
Sweden	2.2	1.7	1.8	26	25	29	11	40	55
Central-Western Europe									
Austria	2.7	1.7	1.4	—	24[6]	27	13	18	36
Belgium	2.6	1.7	1.6	25	25	28[4]	2	4	31[1]
France[a]	2.7	2.0	1.9	25	25	28[3]	6	11	45[1]
Germany[b]	2.4	1.6	1.4	25	25	29	8	12	28
Ireland	3.8	3.2	2.0	26[9]	25	28	2	5	31
Netherlands	3.1	1.6	1.7	26	26	29	1	4	33
United Kingdom	2.7	1.9	1.7	25	25	29[2]	5	12	42
Southern Europe									
Greece	2.3	2.2	1.3	—	24	28[2]	1	1	5[1]
Italy	2.4	1.6	1.3	26	25	28[5]	2	4	15
Portugal	3.1	2.2	1.4	—	24	27	9	9	29
Spain	2.9	2.2	1.3	25[8]	25	29[2]	2	4	23[1]

Central-Eastern Europe									
Czech Rep.	2.1	2.1	1.2	23	22	26	5	6	31
Estonia	—	2.0	1.4	24[10]	23	25[2]	—	18	58[1]
Hungary	2.0	1.9	1.3	23	22	26	5	7	34
Latvia	—	1.9	1.2	23[2]	23	25	12	12	45
Lithuania	2.6	2.0	1.3	—	24	25	—	6	29
Poland	3.0	2.3	1.2	25	23	25	—	5	17
Slovakia	3.1	2.3	1.3	23	23	25	5	6	25
Slovenia	2.2	2.1	1.2	25	23	27	9	13	44
EU25[e]	2.6	1.9	1.5	25	23	27	5	9	32
EU15[e]	2.6	1.8	1.6	25	25	28	5[11]	10	32
NMS10[e]	2.2	2.1	1.3	24	23	26	7	8	25

Source: Eurostat 2006.
Note: Figures are rounded up.
*Excluding member states with less than one million inhabitants, namely, Cyprus, Malta and Luxemburg; [a]France métropolitaine (excluding French Antilles); [b]Including ex-GDR from 1991; [e]Estimate; — No available data; [1]2003; [2]2002; [3]2001; [4]1997; [5]1996; [6]1984; [8]1975; [9]1972; [10]1970; [11]1962.

The increase in non-marital births is closely linked with changes in partnership. Non-marital births include both births to unmarried couples and births to unmarried women who are not living with their child's father. In most European countries, regardless of the commonality or rarity of non-marital childbearing, the majority of children born outside wedlock are born to cohabiting couples, whereas in the US, for example, a large proportion of births outside marriage occur to women living without partners (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2004, p. 1223; Thomson, 2005, pp. 129–44).

It appears that cultural and religious differences influence the strength of the linkage between marriage and parenthood. The proportion of children born to unmarried parents is the highest in countries with a strong Protestant tradition and the lowest in Catholic and Greek Orthodox countries. Yet among historically Catholic countries there are notable differences between more secularized societies, such as France, the Czech Republic and Hungary, and more traditional and religious societies, such as the Mediterranean countries, Lithuania and Poland. The same distinction applies also to the frequency of extramarital cohabitation (see Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Sobotka, 2003).

Cohabitation

Unlike a few decades ago, marriage is not the only way to establish a co-residential and long-term relationship, and in some societies marriage is no longer regarded as a precondition for parenthood either. Although data on extramarital cohabitation are scarce, more couples seem to live together as unmarried cohabitees throughout Europe. Yet it is distinctively young people who choose to live in consensual unions. In 1998, around 9 per cent of all couples and around 33 per cent of couples belonging to the age group 16–29 lived in cohabiting unions in the EU15 countries (Eurostat, 2006). The huge differences in the frequency of cohabitation between the population in general and younger age groups point to the fact that the vast majority of Europeans experience marriage at some point in their lives. According to the Social Situation Observatory (2005, p. 71), around 79 per cent of women born in 1965 in the EU15 countries and around 87 per cent of women belonging to the same cohort in the NMS10 countries marry at some point in their lives.

The frequency of cohabitation as well as the role it plays varies considerably between countries. Cohabitation is most common in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and the UK, where well over

half of couples under 30 are cohabitees, and the proportion of cohabitees among all couples is relatively high, ranging from 13 to 23 per cent. Although cohabitation has become more common in Southern European societies also in recent years, the proportion of cohabiting couples even among young people is still very low, ranging from 8 per cent in Greece to 15 per cent in Portugal (Eurostat, 2006).

As for the CEE societies, cohabitation has been relatively uncommon. At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, on average, less than 5 per cent of women aged 25–29 in former socialist countries lived in consensual unions, and in highly traditional Poland, the percentage was less than one. Nevertheless, regional differences have always existed. Particularly in Estonia and Slovenia, cohabitation had been largely accepted already during the Communist era. However, since the early 1990s, there has been a spectacular increase in the popularity of cohabitation. According to Tomás Sobotka (2003, p. 467), in ex-socialist Europe, with the exception of Poland, Slovakia and Lithuania, cohabitation has become a common living arrangement among young adults aged 20–29.

The role of cohabitation varies between societies. According to Heuveline and Timberlake (2004), there are four distinguishable ideal types of cohabitation in Europe.[3] In some societies, such as in Italy, Poland and Spain, cohabitation is a marginal phenomenon. In these societies cohabitation is not prevalent even among young adults and it tends to be discouraged by public attitudes and policies. Cohabitation may also be a prelude to marriage as, according to Heuveline and Timberlake's classification, is the case in Belgium, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Unions tend to be brief, childless and end in marriage. In other words, in these cases cohabitation may be considered analogous to traditional engagement. In other societies such as in Austria, Finland, Latvia and Slovakia, cohabiting unions are a prelude to family formation rather than marriage per se. In these cases unions tend to be longer than in the previous group and they are likely to end in marriage, often shortly after the birth of the first child. Cohabitation may also be an alternative to marriage, meaning that adult cohabitation is prevalent and unions are longer lasting than in the previous type but a low proportion of them lead to marriage. In France, in particular, people tend to choose cohabitation instead of marriage as the permanent basis of the family. As an example, in France only around 46 per cent of cohabiting unions are expected to end in marriage, whereas the corresponding percentage in Finland is around 80 (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2004, p. 1223). In addition, there are societies where little social or legal distinction is made between cohabitation and marriage. In Sweden, in

particular, cohabitation has become the principal path to union and family formation. If a couple gets married, marriage is likely to follow parenthood and not vice versa (see also Billari, 2005; Coontz, 2005; Kiernan, 1999).

As the data presented in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 indicate, in the Scandinavian countries in particular and also in most of the Western and CEE countries, women tend to become mothers younger or at the same age as they become wives. Thus it appears that starting a family while still cohabiting is increasingly socially accepted and a common practice. On the other hand, the data also indicate that pregnancy has remained the pivotal factor affecting the decision to get married. In Southern Europe, however, marriage still precedes childbearing.

It is a common understanding that most of the decline in marriage rates and the postponement of parenthood is due to increased premarital cohabitation (see, for example, Ermisch and Francesconi, 2000). However, a review of the demographic statistics shows that at least in Southern Europe and in most of the CEE countries, cohabitation does not explain declining marriage rates or the tendency to delay marriage and parenthood. In these societies cohabitation is marginal, and people tend to start their lives as couples through formal marriage. In most other European societies women tend to both marry and have their first child within a short period of time (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2). In Scandinavia, in particular, but also in the Netherlands and the UK where cohabitation especially among those under 30 is common, cohabitation has replaced marriage as a route to first partnership and is, therefore, a major reason for delayed marriage. Yet the prevalence of cohabitation does not necessarily explain the declining marriage rate, for in these societies cohabitation has not actually replaced marriage. Instead, most of the cohabiters in Europe contract marriage sooner or later, quite often shortly before or after becoming a parent (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2004). Furthermore, the relatively high extramarital birth rate, for example, in Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Austria, and the fact that women in these countries tend to become mothers before becoming wives indicate that cohabitation does not necessarily delay parenthood (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2).

Divorce

With the decline in marriage rates, divorce rates have increased simultaneously in almost every European society during the period of examination, although at different paces and to different degrees. Regardless

of the common upward trend, a closer look reveals some regional patterns. With some exceptions, it is possible to distinguish a north–south divide. In Scandinavia and in the UK a rapid increase in the divorce rate began in the late 1960s and 1970s. Denmark, Sweden and the UK were the forerunners. In Finland, the clear rise took place later, in the second half of the 1980s, owing largely to the new divorce law (1985) that eased the procedure considerably (see Chapter 5). In the forerunner countries, divorce rates have reached a plateau, albeit at a high level. In Western Europe, the increase has been constant, but slower than in Scandinavia and the UK (Philipov and Dorbritz, 2003). Ireland, however, bears more resemblance to Southern European countries, where the divorce rates have remained low. Nowadays though, Portugal serves as an exception in the Southern European cluster with its divorce rate that equals Sweden's (see Table 1.3).

The ex-socialist CEE societies form a diverse group in terms of divorce. Some of them, such as Estonia, Hungary and Latvia, resemble Scandinavia and the UK in the sense that divorce rates were high early on and seem to have settled at a high level. By the early 2000s, divorce rates in the Czech Republic and Lithuania also had reached very high rates by European standards. The Slovakian divorce rate corresponds to the European average, whereas Poland and Slovenia have low divorce rates similar to those in Southern European countries (see Table 1.3).

Variations in the development and levels of divorce rates have largely to do with differences in legislation. The incidence of divorce and legal frameworks vary between countries, with a marked difference occurring between Catholic and Protestant ones. In most Protestant countries divorce was legalized at the beginning of the 20th century and since then the tendency has been towards more relaxed divorce legislation (Pryor and Trinder, 2004). In general terms, it appears that divorce rates rose relatively early and have remained at a high level in countries with Protestant culture and the early legalization of divorce, such as Scandinavia and the UK. In contrast, the countries in Southern and Western Europe with the lowest divorce rates are Catholic countries that have legalized divorce relatively recently. For example, in Italy divorce was legalized in 1970; in Portugal in 1975; in Spain in 1981; and in Ireland, as late as in 1995 (Eurostat, 2006).

The Protestant–Catholic distinction is not as clear in former socialist Europe as it is in Western Europe (EU15) owing to the communist legal tradition, which attempted to secularize marriage and simplify divorce. As Table 1.3 shows, in 2004, not only the lowest but also one of the highest rates of divorce in former socialist Europe are found among the Catholic

Table 1.3 Crude divorce rates in the EU countries,* 1960–2004

Country	1960	1980	2004
Scandinavia			
Denmark	1.5	2.7	2.9
Finland	0.8	2.0	2.5
Sweden	1.2	2.4	2.2
Central-Western Europe			
Austria	1.1	1.8	2.3
Belgium	0.5	1.5	3.0
France[a]	0.7	1.5	2.1
Germany[b]	1.0	1.8	2.6[1]
Ireland	0.0	—	0.7[1]
Netherlands	0.5	1.8	1.9
United Kingdom	0.5	2.8	2.8[1]
Southern Europe			
Greece	0.3	0.7	1.1
Italy	0.0	0.2	0.8[1]
Portugal	0.1	0.6	2.2
Spain	0.0	0.0	1.2
Central-Eastern Europe			
Czech Rep.	1.4	2.6	3.2
Estonia	2.1	4.1	3.1
Hungary	1.7	2.6	2.4
Latvia	2.4	5.0	2.3
Lithuania	0.9	3.2	3.2
Poland	0.5	1.1	1.5
Slovakia	0.6	1.3	2.0
Slovenia	1.0	1.2	1.2
EU25	—	1.5	2.0[1]
EU15	0.5	1.4	2.0[1]
NMS10	1.6[2]	1.9	2.0

Source: Eurostat 2006.

* Excluding member states with less than one million inhabitants, namely, Cyprus, Malta and Luxemburg; [a]France métropolitaine (excluding French Antilles); [b]Including ex-GDR from 1991; — No available data; [1]2003; [2]1970.

countries, namely, Poland and Lithuania. Generally speaking, in the former socialist societies, marriage and divorce law appeared liberal by Western standards during the socialist era (Pascall and Manning, 2000). Since the transition, divorce law has remained unchanged in most countries, but where amendments were adopted, they differed fundamentally. In some countries, divorce law became more conservative, such as in the Czech Republic, whereas in Estonia, the liberal law has become even more

relaxed. For example, according to the new Estonian family law (1995), a 'quickie' divorce is possible if both partners agree and no under-aged children are involved (Philpov and Dorbritz, 2004). Although legal changes such as the liberalization of divorce law often show as peaks in the divorce rate, the long-term effects appear to be minimal. There are several other factors that affect peoples' decision to end their marriage.

An increase in divorce is expected to be reflected in the incidence of remarriage. There are studies indicating that, congruent with the general decline in marriage, remarriages have also declined since the 1950s and 1960s (Coontz, 2005; Lewis, 2001). Comparable data on second- and third-order marriages are scarce. However, the available data from the early 1980s and late 1990s indicate that at least during that time period the proportion of remarriages of all marriages increased both among women and men in practically all European societies. The only exceptions are Denmark and Hungary, where the proportion of remarriages declined slightly between 1980 and 1998 (United Nations, 2000, p. 102).

Trends and variations in family patterns

Demographic statistics is one starting point in studying families and patterns of family formation in different societies at different times. Statistics reveal not only general trends but also some characteristics of different societies or groups of societies.

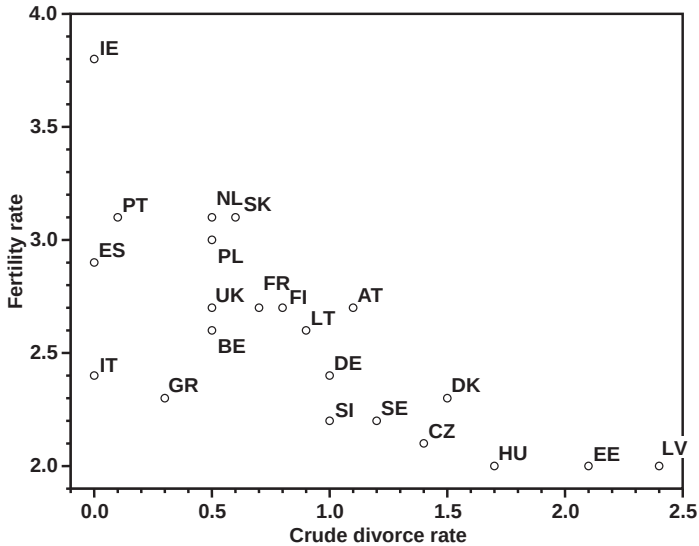
Examination of the demographic statistics suggests that during the past few decades Europeans have shown dwindling interest in marriage and increasing interest in alternative forms of long-term relationships. Marriage and also marriage-like relationships have become less stable, leading to different kinds of family types and living arrangements. Europeans also have fewer children than they used to, and families have become smaller in size. Declining fertility, together with the ageing of the population, is the demographic trend that has raised most political discussion and concern all over Europe. Fears of population loss have often become metaphors of national decline. In today's Europe, population loss and the ageing of the population are not only national metaphors but also metaphors for the decline of Europe as an economic, political and cultural power and actor in the world (see Douglass, 2005, pp. 6–7). Perhaps, however, the most notable and consistent Europe-wide trend that cuts across north–south, east–west and Protestant–Catholic divisions is the phenomenon of postponed family formation.

Despite a convergence of most of the family-related characteristics and behaviour, European demography in itself is not homogeneous. Averages such as fertility rates mask diversity. Although in this book we are operating on national and supra-national levels, it is important to keep in mind that within countries family-related behaviour varies along the urban–rural axis. In addition, in some countries, such as Spain and Italy, peoples' behaviour as well as the social settings vary a great deal between north and south, or, as in Hungary, between eastern and western parts of the country. Furthermore, demographic behaviour varies also by the level of education, religious beliefs and social and economic class, as well as by generations and ethnicity (see, for example, Douglass, 2005; Kolosi et al., 2004).

Closer examination of the statistics indicates that regardless of common or parallel trends, there are marked differences between societies. The historical east–west distinction still exists as far as the timing of marriage and childbearing is concerned. Eastern Europeans are younger than Western Europeans when starting their first family. In Eastern Europe, more so than in Western Europe, on average, people tend to start their family life in marriage rather than in a cohabiting relationship. In this regard, however, Europe is not only divided along east–west lines but also between north and south. The traditional way of starting a family with marriage is characteristic of Southern European societies, whereas cohabiting partnerships have replaced marriage as the basis for family formation in Northern Europe, particularly in Scandinavia. The division of countries is different in light of fertility rates. Instead of the east–west divide, Europe appears to be divided between Northern and Western Europe, where fertility is relatively high and a two-child family model is prevalent, and Southern and Central-Eastern Europe, where the fertility rate is extremely low and a one-child family model persists.

Figures 1.1 and 1.2 depict European family patterns in 1960 and 2004 with two indicators, one illustrating family formation (total fertility rate) and the other illustrating family dissolution (crude divorce rate). Examination of the two figures demonstrates convergence in family patterns in Europe during the time period in question. Diminished fertility indicates changing family structures and smaller families and the higher incidence of divorce denotes increased instability of the family.

Despite the overall converging trend in the familial behaviour of Europeans, on the basis of Figure 1.2, we may distinguish four country groups or clusters related to family patterns in contemporary Europe. The four clusters presented in Figure 1.3 are (a) a high fertility/high



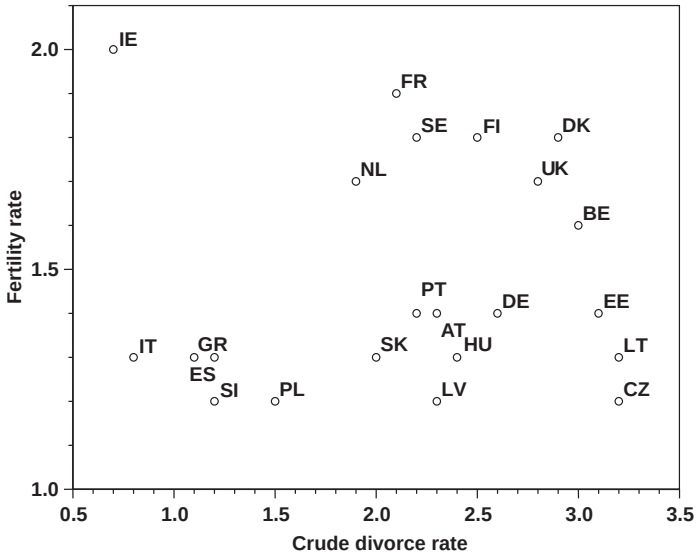
AT – Austria; BE – Belgium; CZ – Czech Rep; DE – Germany; DK – Denmark; EE – Estonia; ES – Spain; FI – Finland; FR – France; GR – Greece; HU – Hungary; IE – Ireland; IT – Italy; LT – Lithuania; LV – Latvia; NL – Netherlands; PL – Poland; PT – Portugal; SE – Sweden; SI – Slovenia; SK – Slovak Rep; UK – United Kingdom.

Figure 1.1 Divorce and fertility in Europe in 1960

divorce cluster composed of Scandinavian countries, France and the UK; (b) a low fertility/high divorce cluster comprising most former socialist CEE countries; (c) a high fertility/low divorce cluster represented by Ireland; and (d) a low fertility/low divorce cluster composed of Southern European countries and Slovenia.

As is usual with classifications, not all cases fit neatly into the created groups or clusters. In this case the borderline cases are Belgium and the Netherlands, which hover around the high fertility/high divorce group, and Austria, Estonia, Germany, Portugal and Slovakia, which are closer to the low fertility/high divorce group. Poland is also in between, having a low fertility rate equal to that of Greece, Spain and Italy, but a clearly higher divorce rate, although not as high as in Latvia, Hungary or Estonia (see Figure 1.2).

What this classification clearly demonstrates is that the extreme opposites in terms of family patterns in Europe are found in the Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries in particular. To generalize,



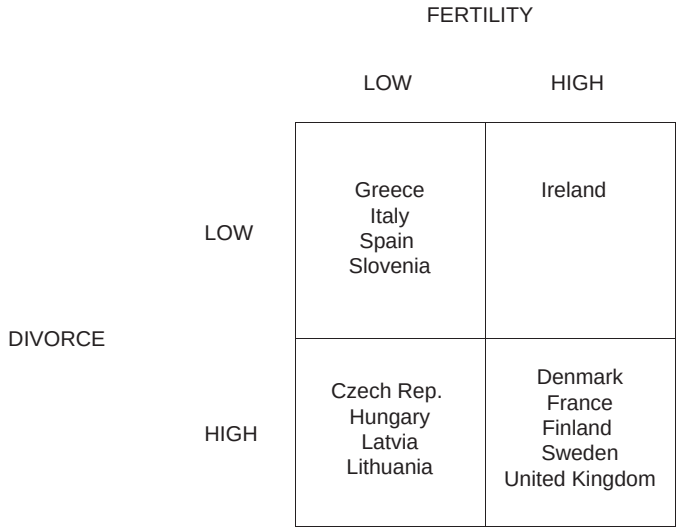
AT – Austria; BE – Belgium; CZ – Czech Rep; DE – Germany; DK – Denmark; EE – Estonia; ES – Spain; FI – Finland; FR – France; GR – Greece; HU – Hungary; IE – Ireland; IT – Italy; LT – Lithuania; LV – Latvia; NL – Netherlands; PL – Poland; PT – Portugal; SE – Sweden; SI – Slovenia; SK – Slovak Rep; UK – United Kingdom.

Figure 1.2 Divorce and fertility in Europe in 2004

in the Mediterranean countries (except in Portugal) there are stable families with few children, whereas in the Scandinavian countries there are fragile families with (more) children.

Changes in the family have raised concerns and discussion about their possible effects. Much of the argumentation concerns the effects of changes in the family as harmful to individuals be they children, women or men. Individuals are often seen as being rudderless without the traditional family anchor composed of a mother, a father and their children. Singleness, childlessness, postponed childbearing, partnership and family break-ups and complex or untraditional family patterns such as reconstituted families, lone-parent families and families based on same-sex partnerships are considered to create emotional, social, health-related and financial risks to individuals (Coontz, 2005; Lewis, 2001).

More optimistic views exist as well. According to Anthony Giddens (1992), individuals' increased freedom of choice and ability to make autonomous decisions concerning their intimate lives have not necessarily



Source: Modified from Inglehart and Baker, 2000, p. 29 (Figure 1).

Figure 1.3 Clusters of family patterns in Europe

made the family weak, but rather more democratic. This is undeniably true. There are indications of the democratization of the family, such as the inclination to divide up domestic tasks and the equalizing of the relative economic strength between adult family members owing to the shift from one- to two-earner families. Furthermore, the relationship between parents and children has become less hierarchical and authoritarian. Nevertheless, regardless of the increased freedom to choose how to live our lives, individual choices are, to a great extent, determined by the social context within which individuals live. The structural frameworks of the society define the boundaries of individual choice, making freedom of choice relative, as will be discussed later on.

Changes in patterns of partnership and of family formation and dissolution have also aroused discussion on whether the family as the focal social institution has lost its importance both to individuals and to the society. Declining interest in marriage, the emergence of new partnership and family forms, the avoidance or postponement of childbearing and the increasing tendency to walk away from marriage and other long-term relationships are interpreted as signs of the dwindling importance of the

family to contemporary people. Modern states are often seen as partly culpable for the allegedly abating importance of the family as a social institution. Increasing legal recognition of 'untraditional' living arrangements and the relaxation of divorce laws as well as the development of the welfare state are sometimes claimed to undermine, or even crumble away, the family's role as the bedrock of society.

Another line of deliberation and debate evoked by family-change moves on a more macro-level trying to understand what it is in a society that might cause change in the family. Individuals and families do not live in a vacuum. Economic, political, legal and cultural contexts and circumstances and their shifts and changes influence both individuals' familial behaviour and the societal conception of the family and what it ought to be. Furthermore, it is not only national economy, politics and laws that lay down the terms of social circumstances. The processes of globalization and European integration set economic, political and legal conditions that are reflected in the societal reality of the member states.

The demographic statistics presented above depict individuals' family-related choices and decisions in European societies, on average. In order to find possible explanations for the common trends and characteristics of different societies or clusters of societies, we need to consider the average behaviour of people within a wider context (Lewis, 2001; Oinonen and Alestalo, 2006).

2
Explaining Family Changes

What are the factors that maintain the patterns of early marriage and childbearing in the CEE countries compared to the rest of Europe? Do Eastern and Southern European societies share some characteristics that support marriage as the basis of family formation and cause their lowest-of-low birth rates? And, what societal factors might explain the commonality of non-marital cohabitation and relatively high birth rates in northern and western parts of Europe? Are the reasons for the parallel demographic trend common in different countries or have similar outcomes resulted from different causes? Or do similar macro-level developments create different outcomes in different societies or clusters of societies with different historical backgrounds?

Whether the aim is to explain cross-country differences or trends over time, we may distinguish macro-level explanations and explanations that focus on the importance of the interaction between macro- and micro-level factors (Billari, 2005). In general terms, macro-level explanations such as those based on economic trends and socio-economic changes, institutional factors (welfare state, the labour market, legislation), long-term cultural differences and ideational changes are useful when examining common cross-national trends. Macro-level explanations also facilitate distinguishing different groups of countries like welfare state types (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999) or characteristics of groups of countries such as Eastern and Western marriage patterns (Hajnal, 1965) and the Southern 'strong family' and Northern 'weak family' (Reher, 1998; see also Figure 1.3).

Micro–macro interactions are more useful for explaining national differences. Factors such as gender culture, the equality of the labour markets in terms of gender and age, income level, housing situation and educational system differ more or less between societies. They all also

affect individuals' decisions concerning family and the family institution's role both in the lives of its members and in society at large. Changes on the macro-level, whether economic, political, cultural or ideological, affect life-course trajectories and families in multiple ways, but micro-level actors are not only on the receiving side and the ones who only have to adapt (Billari, 2005). Micro-level changes have an influence on the macro-level. Having fewer children may cause a reallocation of services and benefits from families with children to other groups, or an increase in mothers' wage work may force the welfare state to invest in childcare services. Or, peoples' increased tendency to opt for cohabitation may eventually lead to legislative changes, as has happened in varying degrees in many European societies.

In discussing the current familial situation in Europe and the changes and variations that have occurred in European societies and between different country clusters, we concentrate on macro-level factors, looking for possible answers to the questions of what social factors may explain such universal trends as the postponement of family formation and parenthood on the one hand and differences in patterns of family formation on the other (see, for example, Holdsworth and Morgan, 2005).

This chapter provides an overview of the socio-economic circumstances, development of welfare states as well as changes in culture and ideology in Europe (EU25) from the early 1990s onwards. The aim is to evaluate the impact of macro-level factors on familial practices in different parts of Europe and on the prevailing conception of the family. It is equally important to consider whether and how different societies have responded to changes in family life and whether these changes have created distinct or similar reactions in different European societies.

Economic trends and socio-economic changes in Europe

On the European scale, the 1990s were characterized by major societal changes. The socialist state structures in Europe collapsed, which led to ideological, political, economic and social transitions in post-socialist Europe. Furthermore, Europeans experienced an economic recession, an expansion of the role and enlargement of the European Union and profound changes in their labour markets, among other things. These changes have affected all European societies, but it is apparent that the changes have been more intense in post-socialist Europe because the changes took place at the same time both on macro- and micro-levels (Crouch, 1999; Fodor et al., 2002; Philipov and Dorbritz, 2003; Wallace

and Kovacheva, 1998). In general terms, however, the recent social and economic upheavals have had parallel consequences both in Eastern and Western Europe: persistent unemployment, increased social polarization and changes in welfare systems, to mention a few examples (ILO, 2005; Taylor-Gooby, 2004).

Changing production structure

The shift from industry to services has been a change common to all European societies. The development of a production structure has evolved more gradually in some societies than in others. According to Labour Force Statistics, in 1981 around half of the civilian labour force worked in the service sector in the OECD countries and in the EU15 countries. By 2004, the proportion employed by services had risen to nearly 70 per cent. In the CEE countries, the development has been extremely rapid since the transition began. For example, in the Czech Republic, the percentage of civilian employment in services increased from 42 to 56 per cent between 1990 and 2004 (OECD, 2005c, pp. 34–5).

In addition to this structural shift and partly because of it, the composition of the active population has changed. The development in most EU25 member states has been that the number of those counted as in the economically active population has been reduced at both ends. In most EU member states, smaller proportions of young people aged 15–24 are available for work than was the case in the mid-1980s. In the same vein, smaller proportions of the working population are economically active after the age of 55 and after the legal retirement age. Owing to the rapid structural shift from industry to services, many older people in industries lost their jobs before they reached retirement age and were unable to find new employment. Some of them were offered an early retirement package and others were classified as 'unfit to work' rather than being categorized as unemployed. Although during the past ten years or so the activity rate of those aged 55 and over has somewhat increased, the economically active population is clearly concentrated within the 25–55 age group. Thus for women and men alike, the most active period of professional life coincides with the phase of life when they are most likely to be engaged in family life and childbearing and rearing (Eurostat, 2007a; Hantrais, 2004, pp. 85–6).

Flexible labour markets

One of the major socio-economic changes in Europe in recent decades has occurred in the labour market structure and has been facilitated by the process of European integration, globalization, the emergence of the

new economic order and changes in demand structures. Persistently high unemployment and economic fluctuations have led to demand for higher labour-market flexibility. One way to increase flexibility is to facilitate employers' opportunities to make 'atypical' contracts of employment. By establishing temporary jobs, employers are able to avoid costly overcapacities of personnel and to bypass dismissal restrictions. Through atypical employment arrangements, employers are able to hire and fire employees according to economic trends. When the economy is doing well, additional employees are hired for the time their work contribution is expected to be needed. When the economy slows down, employers can easily get rid of excess employees by not renewing temporary contracts and thereby avoid firing costs (Giesecke and Groß, 2004, pp. 347–8).

The principle of flexibility has gained a solid foothold in the European labour markets particularly since the early 1990s. Flexibility is expected to diminish unemployment, and in some countries like the Netherlands and the UK, the easing of unemployment since the mid-1990s is connected to an increase in 'atypical jobs', part-time jobs in particular (ILO, 2005). However, in general, it appears that the increased flexibility of the labour markets has not been able to cure persistent structural unemployment in Europe.

Compared to the early 1980s, unemployment rates are now higher in almost all developed countries. Development in Europe has been especially grim since the early 1990s. In 1990, the unemployment rate in the EU15 countries was 8.7 per cent of the civilian labour force and the peak was reached in 1996–7 when the rate was 11.7 per cent (OECD, 2005c, pp. 40–1). Since then, overall unemployment has declined (8.3 per cent in 2004). Although unemployment has been a common problem across Europe, generally speaking the situation has been worse in the CEE countries than in most of the EU15 countries. However, both in Western and Eastern Europe some countries are doing better than others. During the 2000s, unemployment has eased in Ireland, the UK and in the Netherlands, where the rate was around 4.6 per cent in 2004. The highest rates among the EU15 countries are found in France, Finland, Greece and Spain, ranging from 8.8 per cent in Finland to 10.6 per cent in Spain (in 2004). As for the CEE countries, the lowest unemployment rates are in Hungary (6.1 per cent in 2004) and Slovenia (6.3 per cent in 2004), whereas the situation is the worst in Poland and Slovakia, where nearly 20 per cent of the labour force were unemployed in 2004 (Eurostat 2006).

Unemployment tends to be higher among women than among men, and among young people than among middle-aged people. In the EU25 countries the average female-unemployment rate was 10.3 per cent in 2004, whereas the men's average rate was 8.1 per cent. There are some exceptions, though. In Estonia, Sweden and the UK, men's unemployment is clearly higher than women's and in Finland, Hungary and Ireland, there are practically no differences between the sexes (Eurostat, 2006; ILO, 2005). Although youth unemployment has fallen in line with overall unemployment, the average unemployment rate of under-25-year-olds in the EU25 member states is twice as high (19 per cent) as the overall rate (9 per cent) (Eurostat, 2006).

Although the employment situation of young adults has deteriorated everywhere in Europe since the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, the youth in ex-socialist Europe live in a worse employment situation than the youth elsewhere in Europe (Müller and Gangl, 2003; Wallace and Kovacheva, 1998). As a case in point, the average unemployment rate of those under age 25 in the ex-socialist EU member states is around 24 per cent, whereas the corresponding percentage in the EU15 countries is around 17 per cent. Yet considerable differences exist. Among the CEE countries, youth unemployment rates vary from nearly 40 per cent in Poland to 16 per cent in Hungary (in 2004). In the EU15 countries, youth unemployment rates are highest in Greece, Spain, Italy, France and Finland, ranging from 27 per cent in Greece to 21 per cent in Finland. The lowest percentages are in Denmark, the Netherlands, Ireland and Austria, where the youth unemployment rate is under 10 per cent (in 2004) (Eurostat, 2006).

Unemployment is not the only ongoing change in the European labour markets. Owing to the increased flexibility of the labour markets, the forms of work have multiplied. In developed countries, the number and proportion of full-time employees with contracts of undetermined duration has decreased constantly since the mid-1980s (ILO, 2005). The labour market situation has become unstable as fixed-term contracts and part-time employment have increased. The proportion of part-time work varies greatly from one country to another. The highest proportions in the EU25 in 2004 were found in the Netherlands (nearly 46 per cent), the UK (nearly 26 per cent) and Sweden (nearly 24 per cent). Working part time is least common in the Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary and Slovakia, where the proportion of part-time workers of total employment was less than 5 per cent in 2004 (Eurostat, 2007c, 2007e).

Common to all countries is that part-time workers are mainly women. In 2004, around 31 per cent of females in employment worked part-time in the EU25 countries, whereas the corresponding percentage of males was around 7. Yet the commonality of female part-time work varies greatly between countries, from nearly 75 per cent in the Netherlands to 4 per cent in Slovakia (Eurostat, 2007e).

Part-time work is particularly common among young employees under age 25. Nearly a quarter of employed young people work part-time in the EU25 countries. Young people's part-time work is particularly common in the Scandinavian countries, and also in the UK, the Netherlands, Ireland, Slovenia, Poland and France (Eurostat, 2007a). In many cases, the commonality of part-time work among young people is explained by the tendency to have part-time jobs while still studying. This is the case at least in Finland and other Scandinavian countries, where working while studying is common practice.

The commonality of part-time work, particularly among women, in different European countries varies, as do attitudes towards part-time work. In countries where women's part-time work is very common, such as the Netherlands and the UK, working part-time appears to be a desired choice as only 3–5 per cent of women working part-time declare to be doing so involuntarily. In countries where women's part-time employment is less common or rare, such as in France, Finland, Hungary, Lithuania and Spain, women who work part-time tend to do so because they have been unable to find a full-time job. Furthermore, among young employees more so than among employees in general, part-time work appears to be the undesired form of employment both for women and men (see Eurostat, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). The willingness to work part-time depends largely on the quality of the part-time jobs available. In countries where most of the women opt for part-time work voluntarily, part-time is not necessarily precarious and non-profitable, whereas the opposite tends to be true in countries where women work part-time for lack of anything better (Esping-Andersen, 2002, p. 79).

In 2004, nearly 14 per cent of employees in the EU25 countries had temporary contracts. This ranged from under 3 per cent in Estonia to nearly 33 per cent in Spain. Fixed-term contracts are only slightly more common among women than men but they are typical of young people. In 2004, nearly 40 per cent of under-25-year-old employees had fixed-term contracts in the EU25 countries. Yet again there are great differences between countries. Among the EU15 countries, fixed-term contracts among young adults are particularly common in France, Finland, Germany, Spain and Sweden, where around 50 per cent or

more of young employees have temporary contracts. The lowest proportions are found in Ireland and the UK (11 per cent). In the CEE countries, over 60 per cent of Polish and Slovenian young employees have fixed-term contracts, whereas only around 10 per cent of Slovakian and 15 per cent of Hungarian employees under age 25 have temporary contracts (see Eurostat, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).

Although flexibility may be favourable to employers, its impact on many of the employees is less positive. Recent studies indicate that temporary employment in particular increases the risk of unstable working careers and lower income prospects (see, for example, Giesecke and Groß, 2004). These in turn affect peoples' decisions and choices concerning family formation and family life. Employment situations largely determine the material conditions that facilitate or inhibit family formation, childbearing, the timing of family formation and family size. The flexibility of the labour markets and insecure work and income prospects affect particularly young adults in the prime of their reproductive years, as they are the ones who find it most difficult to establish themselves in the labour markets.

Ex-socialist CEE countries provide a good example of the interrelatedness of familial trends and economic circumstances. During the socialist era, employment was virtually guaranteed and systemic; long-term unemployment was non-existent, although structural changes in the economy did create short-term unemployment. However, most of those who lost their jobs were retrained for new positions. The state played an important role in placing people in particular posts both after finishing their education and in case of job loss. Guaranteed jobs both for men and women together with developed childcare services, among other things, were factors that favoured (early) family formation (Agocs and Agocs, 1994; Holmes, 1998). This system disappeared along with the transition and left people in a new situation in which their destiny was in their own hands. Several studies indicate that the profound change from state-driven to open and flexible labour markets in the 1990s is one of the major reasons for the rapid fertility decline and the trend of postponed family formation in the CEE countries (see, for example, Fodor et al., 2002; Kamarás, 2006; Philipov and Dorbritz, 2003; Spéder, 2004). In Western Europe too, the trend of postponed marriage and childbearing accelerated in the course of the 1990s at the same time as the changes in the labour market were occurring.

The increased flexibility of working life and difficulties in establishing oneself in the labour market are factors causing changes in patterns of family formation and young adults' tendency to postpone settling down

and having children. Also, the fact that the solidification of one's professional life or career and the optimal time to have children fall within the same period in life most likely affect people's, and especially women's, decisions concerning family and children.

Escalation of the education race

One important factor that affects first family formation, in particular, is that across the EU young women and men remain longer in education and training. Therefore, they are available neither for employment nor for parenthood; nor are they capable of leading independent adult lives (Hantrais, 2004, p. 86; also Oinonen, 2003).

The educational attainment levels have increased remarkably even in the space of one generation. In the OECD countries, close to 75 per cent of people aged 20–24 have attained at least upper secondary education, whereas in the 55 to 64-year-old cohort, the figure is around 50 per cent (OECD, 2005d). In the EU25 countries, 77 per cent of people aged 20–24 had attained at least upper secondary education in 2004. Furthermore, young European women are better educated than young men, as more women than men have attained at least upper secondary education, and over half of university students in the EU25 countries are women, with the exception of Germany and Cyprus (Eurostat, 2005a, 2005b).

Even though young people in Europe are now more educated than ever, their skills acquired in education and training no longer guarantee a solid foothold in the flexible labour markets. This 'mismatch' between education and employment is a common European trend, although the situation in post-socialist societies reflects this trend in a more extreme form. In the socialist era, people were trained for a specific profession in accordance with centrally determined needs, and now there are no guaranteed jobs after training and many of the links between education and enterprises have vanished. In the Western European countries, the 'mismatch' is nothing new and it is considered as one of the caprices of a capitalist market economy (see, for example, Agocs and Agocs, 1994; Wallace and Kovacheva, 1998; Müller and Gangl, 2003).

Although a high level of education no longer guarantees a firm position in the labour market, people acquire higher qualifications. Across Europe, the expansion of education has been accompanied by rising aspirations. Young people aspire to better positions and higher salaries, and employers expect higher qualifications and diverse skills from employees. Simultaneously with the educational expansion, the supply of posts and vacancies has decreased, particularly the permanent ones. This fuels further the expansion of education, the inflation of qualifications and the

mismatch between education and employment, as people continue to acquire higher qualifications to win out in the hardened competition for jobs (Laaksonen, 2000; Wallace and Kovacheva, 1998). Even though high qualifications no longer guarantee a good job, education is the most effective remedy against prolonged social exclusion (Esping-Andersen, 2002, pp. 44–5). Under these circumstances, the time spent in education increases and the transition from education to work and from dependence to independence is extended.

Living with contradicting pressures

The contemporary economic system has twofold and contradictory outcomes. The rewards may be greater than under the former type of market economy and system economy, but so are the risks. The underlying idea behind the new economic regime is that profitable business improves employment and wages and, hence, economic well-being. The characteristics of the regime are small government, low taxation, the free flow of capital, free trade, the flexibility of work and employees and cutting back government-funded social welfare. Consequently, the welfare state's ability to decrease people's dependence on markets (and on family) has diminished. Under these circumstances, people need to focus on maximizing their utility on the market in order to succeed in life. They need to acquire saleable skills and work experience and accumulate savings or wealth as a personal safety net. They also need to be flexible and mobile in terms of time and space, so that they can react to opportunities as they arise (McDonald, 2000).

The demands that the market places on people are in contradiction with family life. Those who want to have a family ought to be highly competitive, individualistic and risk-averse, on the one hand, and self-sacrificing, altruistic and risk accepting, on the other. This dualism supports the traditional division of labour between genders: a worker with a family can be flexible if the partner (typically the wife) stays at home taking care of reproduction. However, few young women today, and almost as few young men, hope for a relationship and family life based on this traditional division of labour. Young women are well equipped for working life, and financial independence is the best insurance against the unexpected. Furthermore, two earners in the family provide protection against job loss for either one of the partners and facilitate attainment and maintenance of desired living standards (Bien, 2000; McDonald, 2000).

European women are now more educated than ever before and they increasingly participate in the labour market, not only to have a job but

to carve out a career. However, not all women, even the younger ones, would put work first if given a choice. In fact, if one income was enough to make ends meet, there are women who would prefer to stay at home with their children. For example, in her study describing post-modern aspects of women's decision-making on childbearing in the changed climate of the Celtic Tiger economy, Jo Murphy-Lawless (2005) demonstrates how some young Irish women question the 'freedom of choice' in contemporary society when it comes to choices concerning family and childbearing in particular.

> [...] the whole Celtic Tiger and the opportunities it has opened up. [...] I was just thinking about it and realized that compared with my mother, I have so far fewer options. Okay, she had to give up work when she married [because of the marriage bar]. [...] But in the present climate, it would mean that I would have to work to have the kids and to have the background I would want and the situation I would want around that. [...]The scary thing about all this is that I would feel very much that if I were to go down the road [to have children] in the next five years, there are so few options, unless we moved down the country and lived in a shed, there would have to be two people in the house working. Okay, I might be able to negotiate and do job-sharing and part-time [...]. But the fact is that the option isn't there to do what my mother did, to give us a good quality of life on one salary.
>
> (Quotation from Murphy-Lawless 2005, pp. 237–8)

In the 1990s, the economic context of Ireland changed radically. Structural funds from the EU, the calming down of religious–political confrontations and various partnership agreements between government, employers, trade unions and the voluntary and community sectors created the basis for an economic boom. Foreign investments started to flow in; jobs were created; women's labour force participation grew; prices started to increase, housing costs especially, but no family-friendly state policies accompanied these radical and expeditious changes. Under these socio-economic circumstances two earners are necessary for making ends meet. Along with children comes the need for a bigger apartment or a house. To have a bigger house, two incomes are needed. If both parents work, day care for the children is needed, which in the Irish case is scarce and expensive. The combined costs of childcare and housing put pressures on women when they are deciding whether or not to have children and when to have them (see Murphy-Lawless, 2005, pp. 233–4).

Marietta Pongrácz's (2006) comparative-survey study on gender roles and expectations concerning paid work and family responsibilities

indicates that in Hungary (as in many other CEE societies) the concept of or desire for the male breadwinner/female homemaker family is popular even, and especially, among young adults under age 30 with higher-than-average education. According to Pongrácz (2006, p. 75), this, by Western standards, 'traditional' family form and allocation of gender roles is considered ideal partly because hardly anybody has experienced it in everyday life. Unlike in Western Europe, where female employment rates have increased gradually and steadily, in Eastern Europe women's mass employment was enforced by socialist regimes. Another reason is that Hungarians have a family-oriented value system, and the society exhibits especially traditional and conservative attitudes that the period of socialism and principles of egalitarianism could not uproot. But today as well as in socialist times, values, attitudes and desires do not fit reality. In the socialist era, a two-earner family was a norm assigned from above and endorsed by state policies facilitating women's full-time labour force participation. Today, flexible labour markets, changes in the welfare system, privatization, rising living costs, unemployment and precarious employment make two incomes a necessity and limit individuals' and couples' family-related choices.

The socio-economic situation and the labour markets in particular influence family matters. Precarious and highly competitive labour markets combined with rising living costs tend to create unfavourable conditions for family formation and childbearing. The contemporary flexible, competitive and fluctuating economic system applies to all European societies, affecting peoples' family-related plans, decisions and realities. However, as the demographic data presented in Chapter 1 suggests, some European societies appear to be more family-friendly than others. The welfare state and family-related laws and policies provide another perspective on macro-level factors affecting familial behaviour and the role of the family institution in European societies.

Welfare states and the family

Different types of welfare states, the availability and levels of benefits, and services or lack of them shape the framework within which individuals live and make their life choices. The aim of this section is to review the surroundings that different types of welfare states create for family formation, childbearing and familial life.

Regimes and role of the family

Although it is quite common to refer to the European welfare state as distinct from the welfare states in non-European developed societies,

the welfare states in Europe differ from each other. The most commonly employed categorization of welfare states was first proposed by Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990). He divides Western welfare states into three regimes based on the division of responsibilities of welfare production and provision between the state, markets and families.

In Social Democratic welfare regimes, synonymous with Scandinavian societies, the state plays a focal role in welfare production. Basically, the aim is to enhance an individual's independence and to ensure her welfare irrespective of her family and market position. In Liberal welfare regimes, such as the UK and Ireland, welfare is expected to be produced in and by markets. Most of the benefits are means tested, and services are produced by the private sector. Public provision of welfare is the last resort if one cannot 'pocket' welfare from the markets. The third regime is the Conservative Continental regime prevailing in somewhat varying forms in continental Western Europe. Conservative Continental welfare states are characterized by their sustained adherence to familial welfare responsibilities. Yet the degree of familialism differs between continental European societies. The family's responsibility for welfare production is most accentuated in Southern Europe and least in Belgium and France (see Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999, 2002). The characteristics of Esping-Andersen's typology and its critique are discussed in more detail in Part II, Chapter 3.

In this connection, however, we may consider the adequacy of the three-way categorization. Viewed from the perspective of family patterns in Europe depicted in Figure 1.2, it appears that European societies do not fit neatly into the three-way categorization. First of all, Mediterranean countries, with the exception of Portugal, do stick out from the rest of continental Europe. This observation is in line with the critique directed towards Esping-Andersen's typology demanding the addition of the fourth distinct Mediterranean welfare state regime (see, for example, Ferrera, 1996; for further discussion, see Chapter 3). Second, from the family pattern perspective, Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland and Sweden) do not seem to form a clearly distinguishable group of their own. This observation leads us to ask whether Scandinavian and Continental welfare states are converging. We will return to this question in Part IV. The third observation to be made on the basis of Figure 1.2 is that most of the CEE countries appear to be forming a group of their own.

Yet most of the works on welfare regimes or types ignore the former socialist CEE societies, although in contemporary Europe we may conceive of the CEE countries as forming their own cluster. Even though

the development of the welfare state was not uniform in so-called Eastern Europe, welfarism was a high priority in all communist states. In general, the state provided free health care, free education, inexpensive housing, state retirement pensions, cheap childcare facilities and so forth. Since the transition at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, the development of welfare states in the former socialist CEE countries has diverged. Owing to political and economic changes and pressures to meet the eligibility criteria for EU membership, the development of welfare provision has not been at the top of the agenda of most of the governments of the CEE countries. Furthermore, in many cases, the strong desire of the new governments to disassociate themselves from socialism has also pushed welfare state issues to the bottom of the agenda (Fodor et al., 2002; Holmes, 1998). The welfare states in Central and Eastern Europe are in a state of flux, and it remains to be seen into which European welfare state type each CEE country will evolve or will they perhaps form new types of European welfare states (Billari, 2005; Fodor et al., 2002).

In all societies regardless of their welfare state type, markets are the main source of welfare for most people during most of their adult lives. For the majority of people, income and wealth comes from employment and much of their welfare services are purchased in the market. The family also plays an important role both in care provision and income pooling as well as in the distribution of financial resources. The family's role as a provider of financial security is clearly more pronounced, and even enacted into law in family-centred welfare states, such as Italy and Spain, in contrast to more individualistic welfare states, such as the Scandinavian countries or the UK (Esping-Andersen, 2002). Even in Scandinavia, however, the family's role as a provider of financial security is not insignificant. The welfare-providing roles and maintenance liabilities of the family in different types of welfare states are discussed in more detail in Part III, which concentrates on the Finnish and Spanish cases.

Under the present circumstances, where the flexible markets do not guarantee stable and adequate incomes and the states have been under pressure to cut back public expenditure, the family's role as welfare provider has become emphasized. To begin with, according to Esping-Andersen (2002, pp. 19–20, 26–7), the requisites for a person's life chances stem from the (childhood) family, meaning that in the new economy life chances depend increasingly on the possession of cultural, social and cognitive capital. Thus, whether we want to admit it or not, opportunities still seem to be rooted in social heritance, although more

so in some societies than in others. Furthermore, as the transition of young adults from dependence to independence is prolonged due to the extended time spent in education, precarious labour markets, low or sporadic incomes and increased living costs, they increasingly rely on their families of origin for support. In many cases, the family's role as a provider of care services has become accentuated. For example, grandparents tend to be the primary childcare providers in societies where mothers' labour force participation increases, while public provision of affordable and quality childcare services does not. Paradoxically, at the same time as families are becoming increasingly de-standardized, fragile and vulnerable, they are also becoming ever more important for our well-being. Furthermore, following Esping-Andersen's arguments, we may also think that family and, more precisely, the ability to form families in the first place is the bottom-line measure of any society's welfare performance (Esping-Andersen, 2002, p. 63).

State – family relationship

Changes in patterns of family formation, the increasing commonality of de-institutionalized family forms, fertility decline and the ageing of the population, as well as changes in gender relations and in working life, have fuelled debates about the role of the state in family life. Based on international conventions such as the European Convention on Human Rights (1950), the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) and the drafted Constitution of the European Union (2003), the common European stand is that the family has a right to legal, economic and social protection (Hantrais, 2004, pp. 134–6). How the relationship between the family and the state is determined and enforced in different European societies is another matter. Views on the legitimacy of the state's intervention into the private sphere are very much influenced by cultural, political, economic and historical factors.

Normative frameworks for the relationship between the state and the family vary between societies. In some countries, constitutions acknowledge the family as a social institution founded on marriage and entitled to state protection, for example, in France, Germany, Italy and Spain. In other countries such as Denmark, Finland, Sweden and the UK, constitutions make no direct reference to the family or to family structure. In contrast, in Scandinavian constitutions, the emphases are put on the equal rights of women and men and on children's right to be treated as individuals (see Hantrais, 2004, pp. 141–3). How legislation defines family, how this definition changes over time and what kinds of values are inbuilt in family-related laws are analysed and discussed in

more detail in the case study comparing Finland and Spain in Part III, Chapter 5.

'Family policy' is the concept used to describe what the government does to and for families. Family policy, though, is a problematic concept. According to one definition, family policy refers to those public policies that are explicitly designed to affect families with children or individuals in their family roles. The term also refers to those policies that have consequences for children and their families even though their impacts may not be intended. Thus, family may be the object and the vehicle of social policy, as policies may be designed to compensate families for the cost of children or to encourage bearing more children (Kontula and Miettinen, 2005, p. 27). This kind of family policy definition comprises almost everything, from legal regulations on marriage and divorce to tax benefits and all the family-related subsidized benefits and services. According to Linda Hantrais, family policy or rather family policies in plural can be characterized as policies that deliberately target specific actions to families and are designed to have an impact on family resources and on family structure. In turn, the European Commission's report published in 1994 considered family policy to encompass all policies as far as they have an impact on the family as a unit (Hantrais, 2004, p. 132).

Governments do not, however, regularly use the term family policy nor explicitly identify the family unit as a target of policy actions. Neither do they explicitly admit that policies should be designed so that they have an impact on family structure. Family policy is often associated with population politics and pro-natalist policies, which have a negative connotation in many European societies. Particularly in countries with Fascist, authoritarian or totalitarian histories, such as Germany, Italy and Spain and in many of the former socialist CEE countries, 'family policy' tends to be a taboo. It is connected to repressive pro-natalist population policies that were at the core of the political agenda of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Consequently, democratic governments have wanted to disassociate themselves from this historical burden as the Spanish case analysed in Chapter 5 in Part III of this book shows.

Nowadays, most of the European countries do not have a coherent family policy agenda or a special government department responsible for 'family policy' nor are the national policies that are usually analysed as national family policies targeted especially to families. The Scandinavian countries exemplify states where policies protect and promote individuals in and out of their family roles, not the family as a unit (Hantrais, 2004). In France, however, family policy with openly

pro-natalist goals is given high priority by the government. According to Anna Lim (2005, pp. 213–14), the goal of French policy is to save the family by providing generous benefits and services for families with children and facilitating the reconciliation of work and family life of two-earner families, thereby encouraging childbearing. French family policy protects and promotes family units rather than individuals. The family is expected to come to the aid of its members, and the state should make sure that the family has the resources to do so (see also Kaufmann, 2002, pp. 459–63).

Southern European welfare states are also family oriented but unlike in France, where public policies are designed to bolster the family from the start, in Mediterranean countries the state offers minimal support to the family, only when the family fails to fulfil its duty as a welfare provider to its members. The analysis of the Spanish case in Chapter 5 discusses characteristics of the relationship between the state and the family in Southern Europe.

Attitudes towards the state's role in family matters tend to be somewhat vague in contemporary CEE societies. Most of them have not developed coherent policies to support families after the transition. As mentioned earlier, welfare states in the CEE societies are in a state of flux and consequently, welfare policies have been fluctuating between targeting families as a unit and supporting individuals in need. In general terms, families are not at the pivot of policies. Instead, they are expected to be the main welfare providers (Hantrais, 2004, p. 139; see also Billari, 2005; Fodor et al., 2002; Makkai, 1994).

'Family Friendliness' of European states

For our purposes it is sufficient to take a very limited look at 'family policy' and assess the degree of 'family friendliness' of European societies on the basis of Esping-Andersen's yardstick for society's welfare performance, namely, people's ability to form families according to their true aspirations (Esping-Andersen, 2002). The discussion focuses particularly on families and states' role in the care of children, not in the care of the elderly or other dependents.

Regardless of the rise in one-person households, voluntary childlessness and marital instability, people's desire for family formation and children has not waned. In fact, there is a striking consensus concerning the desired number of children among Europeans under age 35. Practically everywhere in Europe the average ideal number of children in the family is 2.4 (see, for example, Douglass, 2005; Esping-Andersen, 2002; Paajanen, 2002). However, when we compare the desire with the

reality (see Table 1.2) and apply Esping-Andersens' yardstick, it appears that European societies fall short in their welfare performance, albeit to varying degrees. The gap between the desire and reality is the widest in Southern European and most of the CEE societies and the narrowest in France and Scandinavian societies.

This alludes to differences in degree of the 'family friendliness' of societies. To assess 'family friendliness' we need to consider what might be the factors that impede people from having the kind of family they want with the desired number of children. First of all, children are costly. Prospective parents with low and/or sporadic incomes may find having children unaffordable (Esping-Andersen, 2002, p. 63). As discussed earlier in this chapter, in practically all European societies many prospective parents find it difficult to establish themselves in the labour market and earn enough to make ends meet. But as the demographic data indicate, in some societies insecurity in the markets plays a less decisive role in the process of family formation than in others.

One aspect of the 'family friendliness' of the society is the level of the state's participation in the costs caused by children. Where generous family allowances exist, the net cost of children is lower. The most generous family allowances in Europe are found in France and in Scandinavian societies, where also the fertility rates are among the highest in Europe (EU25). Correspondingly, lowest-of-low fertility rates are prevalent in Southern European and in many of the CEE countries, where the state's contribution to share the costs caused by children tend to be minimal and family allowances are scant (Esping-Andersen, 2002; Hantrais, 2004).

Although, generally speaking, there is no systematic evidence that either family benefits or paid parental leave influence fertility itself, there are indications that the level of family benefits may influence the number of children (Forssén and Ritakallio, 2005; Gauthier, 2000). For example, in Sweden, birth rates rose in the 1980s in response to improved financial incentives and fell in the 1990s along with cutbacks. However, the number of women with no children did not increase. Instead, the fertility decline derived from the decrease in second and third births (Hoem and Hoem, 1997).[1] The fact that the one-child family model prevails mainly in societies with underdeveloped policies targeted to families also indicates that the existence and level of family allowances may have something to do with people's ability to have the family of their choosing. Differences in 'family-friendly' policies between different welfare states and their possible impact on patterns of family formation and childbearing are discussed in more

detail in connection with the Finnish and Spanish cases in Chapter 5 in Part III.

A more weighty factor influencing family formation and childbearing has to do with increased difficulties in 'getting started' in the first place (Esping-Andersen, 2002, pp. 64–5). Owing to extended education, difficulties in gaining a foothold in the labour market and, thus, in gaining adequate financial means to have a household and/or a family of one's own, the transition to independent adulthood is prolonged. An ever-increasing number of young and youngish adults aged between 18 and 34 are single and childless and still live with their parents. According to the European Quality of Life Survey (2003) as reported by Newman and Aptekar (2006), 33 per cent of men and 25 per cent of women aged 18–34 in the EU15 countries live with their parents. Even though the prolonged transition to independence is a common trend, there are marked differences. In Finland and Sweden, for instance, only around 10 per cent of women and men aged 18–34 live at home whereas around 60 per cent of Italians and around 40 per cent of Spaniards do so (see, for example, Holdsworth and Morgan, 2005; Moreno Mínguez, 2003).

Generally speaking, in Northern Europe, it has been customary for young people to leave home at a relatively young age and before getting married. In the rest of Europe, the traditional norm has been to leave home when marrying. In Southern, Central and Eastern countries, it has been relatively common for people to live in the parental home even after marriage (Juardo Guerrero, 1997; Wallace and Kovacheva, 1998; for a more detailed discussion of different transitional patterns in Europe, see also Oinonen, 2003 and 2004b).

Adult children stay with their parents longer either because they cannot afford to move out or they find it convenient (Salonen, 2005). Almost 70 per cent of young adults in the EU25 countries declared that the prime reason for remaining in the parental home is a lack of money, and the second most important reason is a lack of suitable housing. In much of Europe, young people's position in the housing market has deteriorated since the 1980s. Due to increasing emphasis on owner occupation, the de-regulation of rented housing, rising rents and the decline of state or council housing, young adults are increasingly priced out of the housing market (Candidate Countries Eurobarometer, 2003; Newman and Aptekar, 2006; Wallace and Kovacheva, 1998).

The level of benefits available to young people who have never worked, are out of work or have low income have a bearing on the timing and process of establishing a household and a family of one's own. In countries

where substantial benefits are available, gaining independence is easier than in countries where these benefits are minimal or even closed to young people (Newman and Aptekar, 2006).

In northern parts of Europe (Scandinavia, Germany, Ireland, the UK), youths establish independent living during the transition with the help of transitional jobs and low incomes. Furthermore, in Scandinavia, the availability of student allowances and loans and relatively generous welfare provisions help youths to live on their own. However, in most European societies, welfare provisions for young people are minimal, which leads to a severe 'postponement syndrome', that is, the postponement of the transition from dependence to independence and from a child's role to the role of a parent (Reiter and Craig, 2005).

Having a good job, money and one's own home is not necessarily enough to convince prospective parents to go ahead with childbearing if work and family life (or more precisely children) are seen as incompatible. Consequently, the third factor in assessing the 'family friendliness' of societies is how easy or difficult it is to combine work and family life (Esping-Andersen, 2002, p. 65; see also Bagavos and Martin, 2001; Bien, 2000; Therborn, 2004). Applying Esping-Andersen's yardstick, the basic women-friendly package includes two main components: public childcare for children aged 0–3 and paid childcare leave.

The economic advantages of dual-earner families are widely promoted in the literature and in the EU and OECD rhetoric. Accordingly, when family income increases so does general well-being; women are less dependent on male breadwinners; the risk of unemployment and job insecurity is lower; children are protected against poverty and social exclusion; qualifications are not wasted and future welfare state finances are better sustained (see, for example, Esping-Andersen, 2004; OECD, 2003, 2004, 2005b). On the EU level, issues concerning family–work balance and gender equality moved onto the agenda in the 1990s. In fact, EU membership requires governments to commit to introducing national legislation on equal pay and treatment, provisions for maternity and paternity leave and improvements in childcare (Hantrais, 2004, p. 101).

The EU has laid down the minimum requirements for the 'family friendliness' of the member states. According to Council Directive 92/85/EEC (19.10.1992), women are entitled to at least 14-week-continuous maternity leave. Furthermore, employers cannot dismiss women on grounds of pregnancy during the period between the beginning of the pregnancy and the end of maternity leave. Women on

maternity leave are not necessarily entitled to full pay and, thus, the amount of possible payment varies according to national legislation. Most EU member states also offer paid paternity leave of varying length from two days in Spain to two weeks in France (OECD Family Database 2007, Table PF7.2 and Table PF7.4) According to Council Directive 96/34/EC (3.6.1996), working parents of small children are entitled to at least three months' parental leave following the birth or adoption of a child. Both parents have an individual right to parental leave. The Directive does not, however, necessitate parental leave payments.

When it comes to parental leave and childcare provision for small children, there are marked differences between countries. To start with the parental leave, the arrangements differ remarkably, as do the length and levels of payments. There are countries with long leaves but low or no pay and countries with short leaves but high financial coverage. In some countries such as Portugal and Sweden, parental leave also includes a paid father quota. In most EU countries parental leaves are paid, although the levels of payments vary enormously. For example, the parental allowance is 100 per cent of a person's previous salary in Slovenia, 80 per cent in Sweden, 65 per cent, on average, in Finland, but 30 per cent in Italy and only around 38 euros per month in Estonia. The prevailing practices vary also in terms of the length of parental leave, ranging from three years, for example, in the Czech Republic, France and Poland to around three months (14 weeks) in Ireland and the UK. In addition to parental leave, some countries such as Austria and Finland have additional child benefits for families with very young children or 'home-care payments' for families with children (up to age three) who do not use public childcare facilities (Kontula and Miettinen, 2005, pp. 33–5; OECD Family Database, 2007, Table PF7.5).

Due to this variety of arrangements, assessing the work–family balancing effect of parental leave is difficult. We may assume, however, that in countries where parental leaves are not paid, such as in Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and the UK, the significance of the leave is most marginal for reconciling family and work. If a parent is entitled to stay home with a child up to age three, for example in Spain, but receives no compensation for the loss of wages, it is likely that many find it financially infeasible to take the leave.

Another important factor that facilitates a work-life balance is the availability of affordable, that is, publicly funded day-care services especially for children under age three. Publicly funded day-care services for small children are most developed in the Scandinavian countries and in France and least developed in Southern European societies, Ireland,

Austria and in most of the CEE countries. As an example, in Denmark, public expenditure on childcare was around 1.5 per cent of GDP in 2003, whereas the corresponding percentage in Poland was practically zero (OECD Family Database, 2007, Chart PF10.1). The highest enrolment rate of under-three-year-olds in day-care is in Denmark (around 62 per cent) followed by Sweden (around 40 per cent), Belgium (around 39 per cent) and Finland (35 per cent). The lowest enrolment rates, in turn, are in Poland (2 per cent), the Czech Republic (3 per cent), Austria (4 per cent) and Greece (7 per cent). Yet in many of those countries where expenditure on and provision of public childcare for children aged 0–3 is scant, early education services are often extensive. In countries such as Italy and Spain (and also in Belgium and France) where preschool starts at age three or four, nearly all children in that age group are covered.

There are problems also in assessing the real impact of childcare (and preschool) services in reconciling work and family. In many European countries, the opening hours of kindergartens are not compatible with adults' working hours. When kindergartens are only open for half a day, full-time working parents need to find some other form of care for the afternoon. In some cases it is grandparents or an employed childminder or other type of privately organized care. The opening hours of kindergartens do not serve those whose working hours are atypical. Care services during nights and weekends, for example, are rare.

The EU is not homogeneous in matters concerning the reconciliation of work and family. While the EU15 member states have aimed at amending equal opportunities for women and men, equal treatment in the labour market and the reconciliation of family life with employment, the discussion in the CEE countries has taken another turn. After the transition from socialism, women were no longer forced by state policy to have a full-time job and avail themselves of publicly provided childcare services. In the early years of the transition women were, at least in principle, given the choice to stay at home or to go to work. However, difficulties in finding jobs with adequate salaries and the introduction of charges for childcare and other services made the choice only nominal for many couples. Thus, in the CEE countries the issue is not how to help dual-earner families to organize childcare, but rather how to create jobs that pay a living wage (Bukodi, 2005; Hantrais, 2004, p. 102; Pongrácz, 2005).

The reality in all European societies is that even the most elaborate and extensive work–family policies can be effective only if there is work available (Esping-Andersen, 2002, p. 65). Due to flexible and unstable labour markets, contemporary young women face incompatibilities

between motherhood and work, regardless of the welfare state type and level of its 'family friendliness'. One clear indicator of this is the general trend of postponed childbearing. There are women who postpone family formation and motherhood because they have difficulties in finding a job in the first place or a job that pays enough to provide for a child. On the other side are women who have jobs that pay well but are very demanding and time consuming. Under these circumstances, we may ask whether policies for targeting families have an impact on patterns of family formation. In this connection we also have to remember that women's preferences are different, and not all women have a need for or benefit from family-friendly policies (see Hakim, 2000). Yet it is safe to assume that a great majority of women have no desire to opt only for homemaking or only for a career, and for them benefits and services aimed at facilitating working while mothering or mothering while working are of importance in making family-related decisions.

Although subsidized benefits and services are hardly decisive when women and couples decide whether and how many children to have, there are indications that the more the state is committed to supporting families, the higher the fertility and the larger the families (large in the European context) (Esping-Andersen, 2002; Hantrais, 2004). The traditional negative correlation between female labour-force participation and fertility has turned positive particularly in Scandinavian societies, where public policies have actively facilitated women's (and men's) ability to combine family and work. On the other hand, in large parts of Europe women postpone having children as long as affordable day-care is unavailable or the costs caused by children are considered too high due to a lack of quality jobs and/or a lack of subsidies (see, for example, Esping-Andersen, 2002, p. 71). In addition to the Scandinavian countries, France is another model example of how family-friendly policies have succeeded in reconciling the pressures of modern life and aspirations for family formation and childbearing (see Kaufmann, 2002; Lim, 2005).

Yet causal linkages between family-friendly policies and family formation and fertility are ambiguous, contradictory and inconclusive. As Linda Hantrais (2004, p. 165) points out, a high level of family allowance and a high completed fertility rate do not necessarily demonstrate a direct causal relationship between policy and outcomes. The highest completed fertility rates in the EU15 countries are in France and Ireland. France, as we have seen, offers high levels of policy provision for families, whereas Ireland does not.

One common understanding is that care provision for children (and other dependants) enables parents and especially women to better reconcile work and family and thus encourages women's full-time work,

family formation and childbearing. In this regard, Scandinavian countries are considered as exemplars. However, provision of childcare is less extensive, for example, in France than in Sweden and yet a larger proportion of French than Swedish women work full-time. In addition, both the total and completed fertility rates of French women are higher than those of Swedish women. Then again, the high part-time work rates of women are usually associated with the poor provision of public childcare for very young children, such as in the Netherlands and the UK. But, for example, in post-transition Poland, or in Greece or Spain, the scantiness of public childcare does not prevent women from working full-time (see Hantrais, 2004, p. 165; see also Eurostat, 2007c, 2007d).

One problem in assessing the adequacy and effectiveness of public policies for families is that they usually comprise a bundle of factors that affect people's family-related choices and decisions. As equally important as the existence and level of benefits and services specifically targeted to families with children are policies concerning, for instance, education, the labour market, housing and taxation. Furthermore, policy outcomes may not always be what were intended. For example, in Poland, means-tested family and parental benefits are considered stigmatizing and therefore, many of those in greatest need may not even apply for them (see Fodor et al., 2002).

Moreover, the availability and level of family-friendly services and benefits may have little to do with people's satisfaction. As an example, a Finnish survey reveals that state support for families is considered inadequate and one of the main reasons for postponed childbearing even though Finland is considered to be one of the most 'family-friendly' societies in the European context (Paajanen, 2002). Likewise, in France, women find childcare services inadequate even though the childcare requirements of French parents are more adequately met than in most other European countries (Hantrais, 2004, p. 166). That is to say, the adequacy and quality of family-friendly policies may be judged differently in different societies. Cultural and ideological characteristics and changes play an important role in shaping welfare states, 'family policies' and patterns of family formation and family structures in European societies (see Douglass, 2005).

Cultural heritage and ideological changes

Socio-economic factors and welfare states and their 'family policies' may provide explanations for short-term changes in families and in patterns of family formation in a country or set of countries, but they are

unlikely to explain long-term stable differences between societies or long-term trends within the same society (Billari, 2005).

The discussion in this section is based on two common assumptions. First, the parallel changes in the family and in patterns of family formation in Europe (such as the increasing incidence of cohabitation, non-marital childbearing and divorce) are caused by ideational change that is commonly understood to be set off by modernization (see, for example, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, 2002; Giddens, 1992; Lesthaege, 1995; Therborn, 2004).

Second, long-term cultural differences form the basis of current differences in Europeans' familial behaviour. Thus, cultural factors such as religious–cultural heritage may provide the key in understanding persistent differences and help to explain, for example, why the linkage between marriage and parenthood remains stronger in some societies than in others. Or, why people in one society are more prone to opt for alternative lifestyles than people in another society (see Billari, 2005; Reher, 1998).

Modernization and convergence

The most common reference points for explaining changes in the family are modernization and individualization. The central claim of modernization theory is that economic development is linked with coherent and even predictable changes in all spheres of societal life whether they are cultural, social or political. Industrialization, for example, tends to bring along increasing urbanization, occupational specialization, rising educational levels, rising income and so forth. Eventually, modernization leads to changes in gender roles, attitudes towards authority and sexual norms, declining fertility rates and increasing individualization (see, for example, Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Therborn, 1995).

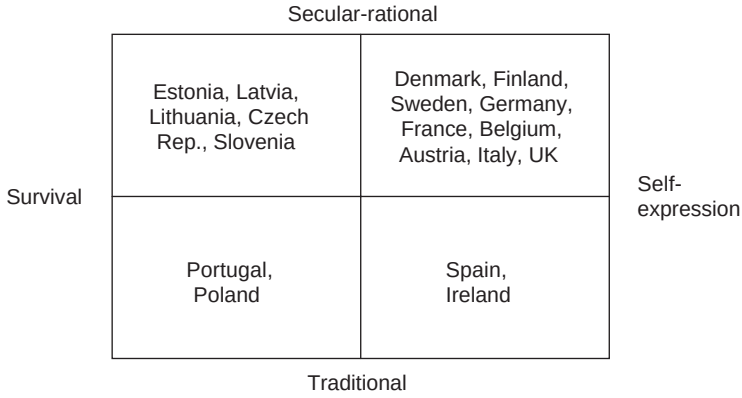
Along with individualization, the traditional social ties, relations and belief systems that used to shape and guide people's lives are losing their significance and, as a consequence, people must choose how to live their lives. In addition, the educational system, the legal system, the labour market and the social security system are increasingly directed to the individual, elevating the individual over the family or household as the basic unit of social reproduction and, thus, exhorting people to reflexively produce and reproduce their own biographies. As people's freedom of choice increases and the society increasingly allows it, ways to organize one's private life multiply. Consequently, patterns of family formation and family forms are bound to diversify (see, for example, Bauman, 1996; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, 2002; Brining, 2000; Coontz, 2005; Stacey, 1996; Therborn, 2004).

Explanations for demographic changes, particularly fertility decline has for long been looked at from the viewpoint of modernization theory. Even though contemporary social scientists have cast the modernization theory aside, low birth rates and modernity continue to be linked in popular discussion. Yet, already in the 1960s, research demonstrated that in many parts of Western Europe, the historical drop in fertility began before urbanization, industrialization or the expansion of education. The research found that cultural factors seemed to influence the decline more than modernization (see Douglass, 2005, p. 11).

However, according to Inglehart and Baker (2000), economic development is associated with pervasive cultural changes because industrialization (or modernization) promotes a shift from traditional to secular-rational values. Second, the move to post-industrial society brings along with it a shift towards more tolerance, well-being and post-materialist values. Yet even though economic developments tend to propel societies into a common direction, they are not necessarily converging. Instead, they appear to be moving on parallel trajectories shaped by their cultural heritages.

Based on an analysis of aggregated national-level data from 43–65 societies included in the World Values Survey (WVS) carried out between 1981 and 1998, Ronald Inglehart (1997, 2000) distinguishes two dimensions that reflect cross-cultural variation. The traditional/secular-rational dimension reflects the contrast between societies in which authorities like religion and the family are very important and those in which they are not. The survival/self-expression dimension expresses the level of trust, tolerance, subjective well-being and self-expression that emerges in post-industrial societies. The underlying idea is that in societies shaped by insecurity and low levels of well-being, people tend to emphasize economic and physical security (survival or materialist values). In these societies, people also tend to cling to traditional gender roles and sexual norms, and emphasize strict rules and familiar norms in attempting to maximize predictability in an uncertain world. Correspondingly, the higher the level of experienced well-being and security, the more people emphasize non-materialist self-expression values and the more tolerant they are, for example, towards equal rights for women, gays, lesbians and foreigners and towards issues like abortion, divorce, sex and non-traditional forms of familial life (Inglehart and Baker, 2000, pp. 25–8).

Figure 2.1 presents a simplified application of Inglehart's dimensions of cross-cultural variation concerning those European societies that are included in the WVS 1990–1 data.



Source: Inglehart and Baker, 2000, p. 29.

Figure 2.1 Cross-cultural variation of European societies

It appears that on the survival/self-expression dimension there is a clear distinction between Eastern and Western Europe. In all the Eastern European societies materialist values are emphasized. This is hardly surprising, given that the data are from the early stages of the transition (1990–1). The former socialist societies also rank high on the secular-rational dimension, with the exception of Poland, suggesting that socialist regimes' active efforts to root out traditional religious values have left an imprint on the value system of those who lived under socialism.

However, if the survey would be done today, the results in some ex-socialist countries might show a shift towards traditional values, on the one hand, and towards self-expression values, on the other. As discussed earlier, in Hungary traditional gender roles seem to appeal to younger generations, and in the Czech Republic divorce legislation has taken a more conservative turn after the transition. It might also be expected that self-expression or post-materialist values are more pronounced in those countries whose transition to a market economy was successful. Therefore, it is likely that today the Eastern European societies might be more scattered in the chart.

As for Western Europe, in all the societies self-expression values are emphasized (except Portugal) but the Southern societies (Spain and Portugal) and Ireland are more inclined towards traditional than secular-rational values than the rest of Western societies. The more elaborate

figure presented in Inglehart and Baker's article (2000, p. 29) reveals a gradation between Western European societies. The Scandinavian countries, Germany and the Netherlands rank the highest, particularly on the secular-rational dimension. Self-expression values are also dominant in these countries and, particularly so, in Sweden and the Netherlands.

Although abundant evidence shows that modernization tends to direct societal and ideational developments into similar directions, modernization does not follow a linear path. Paradoxically, it may actually strengthen traditional values especially when the changes generated by modernization are extremely fast, as has recently been the case in most of the CEE societies.

Cultural zones and divergence

According to Inglehart and Baker (2000), the cultural locations of the given societies are not random or determined solely by the level of affluence of the societies, but reflect long-established cultural zones largely determined by religious–cultural heritage. The traditional/secular-rational dimension in particular coincides with religious–cultural zones. In Europe, Protestant and Catholic societies continue to display distinctive values but not because of churches' contemporary influence. Rather, religion is a deeply rooted part of a national culture that continues to be transmitted by societal institutions such as educational institutions even though secularization is a universal phenomenon. Religion's role in explaining and understanding differences and similarities between societies is discussed further in Part II, Chapter 4, in connection with state- and nation-building processes and socio-economic developments in Finland and Spain.

In general terms, a Protestant cultural heritage is associated with higher levels of trust, tolerance, well-being and post-materialism, which constitutes self-expression values more so than does a Catholic cultural heritance. According to Inglehart's (1997, 2000) analysis, even the rich, modern and most secularized predominantly Catholic societies like Austria, Belgium and France rank lower on the secular-rational dimension and are more inclined towards the traditional values than Protestant societies on average.

Arising out of the religious–cultural heritage, the common conception is that Catholicism encourages traditional family forms, large families, communality and thus the stability of the family, whereas Protestantism encourages stronger individualism and therefore more fragile, smaller and less traditional families. In this connection, let's turn back to Figure 1.2 in Chapter 1 representing family type clusters in contemporary Europe.

Looking at these clusters in relation to cultural zones, it appears that nowadays, 'the feature' shared by Catholic countries and particularly those considered deeply Catholic like Poland, Lithuania, Spain and Italy is an extremely low fertility rate. As for family stability, the highest divorce rates are also found in predominantly Catholic countries, namely, the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Belgium. Ireland is the only one of the Catholic countries that best conforms to the common conception of this type, with its high fertility and very low divorce rate by contemporary European standards. As for Protestant countries, we may say that the stress on individuality does not have an adverse effect on childbearing as fertility rates tend to be relatively high among the countries considered to be the most Protestant, namely, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and the UK. Divorces tend to be common in these countries but not more than in predominantly Catholic Austria and Portugal.

Categorizing is always extreme simplification, and reality is much more complex. Nevertheless, there is hardly any doubt that deep-rooted religious–cultural heritage influences peoples' behaviour whether they are aware of it or not. Furthermore, it is more than likely that the inbuilt emphasis on communality associated with Catholicism and the stress on individuality associated with Protestantism affects the relationship between the state, the family and individuals. Thus, the underlying cultural heritage provides a partial explanation for persistent differences in family forms and patterns of familial behaviour between countries and may help us to understand the premises of different welfare-state arrangements and of the contemporary division of labour between public and private spheres in different societies.

In general terms, people's actual behaviour is less traditional in Protestant countries than in Catholic ones. For instance, as we have seen, cohabitation, having children outside marriage and divorce tend to be more common practices in predominantly Protestant countries than in Catholic ones. Yet, as the case studies on Finland and Spain, in Part III, demonstrate, people's attitudes may be more tolerant and open-minded in a Catholic country than in a Protestant one even though their actual behaviour is more on the traditional side. In addition, historical analysis of Finnish and Spanish family-related legislation and discussion of the most recent developments in Spanish laws on marriage and divorce (Part III, Chapter 5) demonstrate that a Catholic society can be far more tolerant and less traditional than a Protestant one also at the institutional level.

These observations do not underestimate the influence that religious–cultural traditions have on family patterns and people's familial behaviour.

They merely suggest that religious–cultural background does not in itself provide a plausible explanation for differences in family patterns in Europe. In fact, neither socio-economic trends and changes nor welfare state types or cultural and ideological factors alone explain differences and/or similarities between patterns of family formation or family forms in different societies. Rather, it is a combination of these and many other factors that needs to be considered. Detailed and multifaceted analysis is possible only when the number of cases is limited.

In this and previous chapters we have examined Europe (EU25) and European family forms and patterns of family formation from different perspectives. In order to control such a vast entity, categorization is necessary for analytical purposes even though it leads to (over)simplification. In addition, the categorization and clustering of European societies in terms of family patterns and familial behaviour, welfare state regimes, levels of 'family friendliness' and cultural heritage have been an expedient in justifying the choice of countries for the more in-depth case analysis. In the European context, Finland and Spain represent opposite poles, for example, in terms of patterns of family formation and fertility, welfare state regimes and policies for families. Furthermore, Finnish society is influenced by the Protestant cultural heritage whereas in Spain, Catholicism has left a lasting imprint on the society.

Next we will move to detailed and more in-depth analyses of Finland and Spain. In Part II we will discuss further the grounds for selecting cases and some of the methodological questions concerning the comparison of few cases and the particular challenges in comparing Finland and Spain. Part II ends with a description of the socio-historical backgrounds of the two case countries. In Part III we go into the comparative analysis of Finnish and Spanish family institutions and family practices.

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Part II Towards the Case Studies

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3
Premises for Studying Finnish and Spanish Families

This second part of the book presents the premises of the comparative case study of Finnish and Spanish families by explaining the basis for choosing the countries and by outlining the starting points. The discussion starts with a review of welfare state typologies and the family types, and ideologies that different types of welfare states maintain and on which they are premised. Furthermore, the demographic trends and the focal research question that arise from the variation of the welfare states and demographic trends are presented. Third, Chapter 3 brings forward the theoretical and methodological roots of the study deriving from Emile Durkheim's views on the family and methods for studying the family. The chapter continues with a review of comparative research methods and describes the type of comparison and data used in the study. Finally, Chapter 4 describes the modernization processes of Finland and Spain, providing a socio-historical background for the study of Finnish and Spanish families.

The choice of countries

The choice of countries derives from two widely discussed topics. One is the classification of welfare states and the status of the family in different welfare state types. The other is the debate over the decline of the family largely arising from the demographic trends, already discussed in Part I, Chapter 1.

Welfare state types and the status of the family

The choice of countries derives from the widely discussed classification of welfare states (Castles, 1993, 1998; Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999, 2002) based on the analysis of the relations between the state, the market and

the family. As already mentioned in Part I, Chapter 2, the best-known classification is Gøsta Esping-Andersen's (1990) three-way categorization that divides Western welfare states into liberal, conservative and social democratic welfare regimes.

The core elements of liberal regimes comprise the political commitment to minimize the state, to individualize risk and to promote market solutions. In other words, social guarantees are for those in dire need, such as the poor, aged, single mothers and low-income families with children. Others are personally responsible for protecting themselves from risks such as old age and sickness and for providing themselves the services they need by buying them from the market.

The principal characteristics of the social democratic regime are universalism and the marginalization of private welfare. Rights are attached to individuals and they are based on citizenship rather than attested need or employment. In addition, risk coverage is comprehensive and levels of benefits are generous compared to liberal and conservative regimes.

The core elements of conservative regimes are subsidiarity, status segmentation and familialism. First, the state promotes only those tasks that cannot be performed effectively at a more immediate level, like the family. Second, the best protected are those who are in 'normal' employment, generally and traditionally male breadwinners. Third, the family has the ultimate responsibility for its members' welfare. The more familialistic the welfare state is, the less generous are the family benefits it provides. Furthermore, as the model assumes a male breadwinner family as the standard, provision for 'atypical' families tends to be residual. Due to the accent on compulsory social insurance and on the centrality of the family as a protector and provider of services, the role of the market has remained marginal (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

According to the typology, Anglo-Saxon countries belong to the category of liberal regimes, Continental European countries to the conservative regimes category and the social democratic regime is synonymous with the Scandinavian countries. However, it is important to keep in mind that countries in these clusters are not identical nor are their welfare systems (see Chapter 2).

Esping-Andersen's typology is widely used, but also criticized. Some critics question the adequacy of the three-way categorization, as pointed out in Chapter 2. It has been argued that the Mediterranean countries, in particular, should be considered distinct from Continental Europe (for example, Ferrera, 1996).

Esping-Andersen agrees to an extent; in Mediterranean countries the reluctance to upgrade social assistance is based on two assumptions: first,

it is both assumed and legally prescribed that families are the locus of social aid and, second, it is also assumed that families normally do not fail to provide, aid and protect. A strong emphasis on familialism exists in Mediterranean countries, but it is not stronger than in Continental Europe in every respect. In Southern Europe, it is more typical that elderly people live with their children and mature children live longer with their parents and women do longer hours of domestic work than in Continental countries. But, Continental countries like Austria, Germany and the Netherlands are actively discouraging wives' employment by reducing benefits and increasing taxes if a wife is employed, whereas the Southern European countries, like the Scandinavian countries, are virtually neutral in this respect (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

Esping-Andersen's typology has been criticized particularly by feminist scholars, because it leaves the family and gender perspective aside and focuses mainly on the relationship between the welfare state and the market, and on the degree to which people can live independently of market forces (de-commodification) (see, for example, Leira, 1999; Lewis, 1993; Sainsbury, 1996). However, it is not just the degree to which people can live independently of market forces that is relevant, but also the degree to which it is possible for people to live independently from their families (Den Dulk, 2001, p. 29). Thus feminists distinguish the gendered models of welfare states: the male breadwinner model and the individual model. Different welfare states maintain and are premised on different family ideologies. Therefore, the relationship between the state, the family and the individual varies across societies (den Dulk, 2001; Sainsbury, 1996).

Acknowledging the critique, Esping-Andersen introduced the concept of de-familialization, referring to the degree to which the welfare state eases the burden of caring responsibilities placed on families. 'De-familialised' welfare states are characterized by an active public policy, including provisions such as childcare and services for the elderly. In a 'familistic' welfare state regime, caring responsibilities are primarily seen as the responsibility of private households. According to Esping-Andersen, Scandinavian countries are the most 'de-familialised' and Southern European countries are the most 'familistic' with respect to the caring burden of families (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

Regarding the relationship between the state and the family and prevailing family ideology, the differences appear to be the greatest between Scandinavian and Southern European nations. Finland as a Scandinavian nation belongs to the social-democratic, 'de-familialised' and individual model welfare states, whereas Spain as a Southern European nation

belongs to conservative, 'familistic' and male breadwinner model welfare states.

Therefore, following the lines of comparative studies on welfare states and public policies, the Finnish family appears modern, loose and marginal because of the individualistic, strong and developed welfare state that has taken over most of the tasks that traditionally belonged to the family. The Spanish family, in contrast, appears traditional, firm and strong because the family has maintained its central role as welfare and care provider, and the welfare state is weak, its level of services is low and benefits are family centred (Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999; Iglesias de Ussel, 1998; Kosonen, 1995).

Although the focus of this study is not the welfare state but the family institution and its changes within a Western European context, the classification of countries provided by welfare state studies has served as the criterion for selecting the country cases, particularly since the family is seen as a social institution. Regarding the relationship between the state and the family and the prevailing family ideologies, Finland and Spain offer interesting perspectives for analysing the family institution and changes in it. They serve as extreme cases of (Western) European societies and families.

However, notions of 'similar' and 'different' are relative. Two cases that from one perspective contrast sharply, may from another perspective seem alike. Comparing the 'most different' cases or as diverse cases as possible is justified because it enables us to trace similar processes of change but keeps us sensitive to the fact that similar processes do not always lead to similar outcomes nor do they always originate from the same reasons (see Collier, 1991).

Demographic trends: Convergence of the different families?

As discussed in Chapter 1, in recent decades, family formation has been postponed, the linkage between marriage and childbearing has weakened, marriages are increasingly fragile, de-institutionalized forms of partnerships and families have emerged, gender roles have changed and a growing number people choose to live single lives with or without children.

The main concerns arising out of these socio-demographic trends are twofold: the formation of new families is delayed or even rejected and existing families are increasingly dissolving. Consequently, it appears that the family institution itself is in a state of decline in Europe (for example, Becker, 1981; Popenoe, 1988). The current socio-demographic trends are also regarded as signs of cultural convergence, which is believed to lead

to similitude in lifestyles, cultural symbols, individual attitudes, beliefs and ways of acting in areas such as family formation, intimate relationships and gender relations (Beck, 1999a; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Bittman and Pixley, 1997).

Although European societies have undergone parallel demographic and even cultural changes, the changes are not identical. A closer look at demographic statistics reveals surprising similarities and differences especially between societies that are considered to be different in several respects. To mention one example, nowadays, the marriage rate is equally low in Finland and Spain, but the fertility rate is considerably lower in Spain than in Finland, and Spaniards delay family formation further than Finns even though Spanish society and culture is considered familistic and Finnish society and culture are seen as individualistic (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Taking the variation in the welfare state and socio-demographic trends as the starting points, the following questions arise: what is the family that is claimed to be declining? Is it actual families or an idea of the family? How is the family defined in different social and cultural contexts and how have these definitions changed? Why is the formation of the first family delayed further in Spain than in Finland and why is fertility substantially lower in Spain than in Finland?

Theoretical and methodological roots

In this study, family is examined as a social institution. The view of the family as a social and cultural institution has its origins in classical sociology. The societal changes entailed by industrialization and urbanization raised questions about the permanence of marriage, the status of women and the future of personal and family relations in a society where old bonds were vanishing. In the second half of the 19th century, fertility declined; divorce increased, as did non-marital births; and the age-old roles of men and women were about to change. Scholars and policymakers tried to understand these changes by applying the new scientific theory of evolution to social institutions. The basic idea of the evolutionary theory was that the family structure had gone through several stages of development until it reached the cultivated stage of monogamous marriage and the nuclear family (Lamanna, 2002; Marin, 1994).

Durkheim's writings on the family are not very well known, but the family was one of his primary interests and his ideas on the family have had a significant, although often implicit, influence on present-day family studies (Lamanna, 2002).[1] Similar to his contemporaries,

Durkheim's theory of the family is evolutionary, but it also reflects the controversy over the family theories at the time.[2] Durkheim agreed that the conjugal family is qualitatively different from the earlier family types because it is the first to be based on personal attachment rather than on family property or interests. Structurally speaking, the conjugal family is reduced to its foundation, the married couple, for 'the only permanent elements are the husband and wife, united to one another by a free and individual choice, forming an autonomous family with the minor and unmarried children' (Durkheim, 1921, p. 24 cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 51).[3] Like Durkheim, present-day scholars emphasize the centrality of the couple relationship. Given the long childfree period that is common among couples today, marriage is defined less as a parenting union and more as a personal relationship between two individuals (see, for example, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Coontz, 2005; Jallinoja, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Therborn, 2004).

The other new and most distinctive characteristic of the conjugal family is the ever-growing intervention of the state in the domestic life of the family. 'When formerly it [the state] was a stranger to domestic life, more and more it regulates it and supervises its functioning' (Durkheim, 1909, p. 2625 cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 93).[4] Durkheim anticipated the social division of labour in modern societies where the family collaborates with other specialized institutions such as the church, the school system, the labour market and the welfare state.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Durkheim rejected the biological and psychological explanations of the family and pointed out that the family is first and foremost a social association. Furthermore, although he placed the conjugal family at the end of evolution, he did not conclude that the evolution was completed. He argued strongly against Edward Westermarck's assumption of the conjugal family's constancy and accentuated change. He stated, 'If the family has varied up to this point, there is no reason to believe these variations must heretofore cease [...]' (Durkheim, 1895, p. 622 cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 57)[5] and 'Since progress is a consequence of changes that occur in the social milieu, there is no reason to suppose that it will ever be finished [...]' (Durkheim [1893], 1978, p. 332 cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 57).[6]

Durkheim conceptualized the family as a changing social institution and emphasized the connection between social organizations and family structures. He was interested in the formalized and stable aspects of family and kinship and, thus, placed particular weight on norms institutionalized in juridical code. He treated legal codes as a major source of data for the study of modern societies. For Durkheim, the law represented established

customs that are indicators of family forms and practices (Lamanna, 2002, p. 75). However, defining the family only in terms of the legal model excludes atypical families and de facto families. Durkheim realized that and emphasized the other source of data – demographic statistics – in studying the family because they can grasp the empirical diversity of family life better than legal codes.[7]

In Durkheim's study of the family, statistical analysis is used to implement the comparative method by examining variations in social phenomena by time and place (Lamanna, 2002, p. 77). Thus, in methodological terms, Durkheim advocated the comparative method to analyse the family as an institution in historical and cross-national perspectives. He argued that deductions about the relationship between social organizations and the family could be made on the basis of 'a number of well-observed and well-studied cases that indicate covariance' (Durkheim, 1908, pp. 236–7 cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 70).[8]

Although Durkheim's theory has its faults and it appears archaic, he touched on issues that are still under vivid discussion and his theory gives us important principles that are still valid today. First, agreement that the family can be studied scientifically regardless of the 'natural attitude' we hold towards it may be counted as Durkheim's legacy. Second, Durkheim's methodological stance, the use of the comparative method in analysing statistical, ethnographic and historical data, accentuates the close connection between the family and society. Third, Durkheim's study of the family emphasized macro-social analysis and social change (Lamanna, 2002).

These principles have become topical in studies of contemporary family and society after being in the background in the field of family-related research. Structural-functionalists, such as Parsons (Parsons and Bales, 1955), located the family in a larger social context, but much of the sociology of the latter part of the 20th century treated the family as a thing apart, concentrating on family interaction and the family life cycle. Now the newly ensued 'institutional approach' analysing the family, for example, in relation to law, the economy, the labour market and the welfare state (see, for example, Brining, 2000; Esping-Andersen, 2002; Gauthier, 1996; Hakim, 2000; Hantrais, 2004; McIntyre and Sussman, 1995; Moss, 1980) shares Durkheim's interest in macro-level social change and the connections of the family to other social institutions.

This study of Finnish and Spanish family institutions may be considered Durkheimian in the sense that the family is viewed as a social institution. In other words, the interest does not lie in the internal life of the family or family interaction but in macro-level social changes and in the

interrelationship between the family and other social institutions such as the welfare state, the labour market, education, politics, legislation and religion. Secondly, the study is comparative, analysing the family institution in a cross-national, cross-cultural and historical perspective using legal, statistical and historical data.

Furthermore, Durkheim's views on the relevance of analysing legal codes in studying the family is shared. Legal codes represent established ideals of the given society and collectively accepted ways of acting. Examining family and social legislation from a historical perspective allows us to see how the family as a social institution is conceptualized and how these conceptualizations have altered over time. Because legislation is not updated at the same pace as people change their attitudes and practices, relying only on legal codes in studying the family would give a distorted, stagnant and unrealistic picture of the family and its significance. Therefore, using various materials like socio-demographic statistics and studies of people's attitudes and values helps us to draw a more comprehensive picture of the family. It is not only the use of different materials but also the different approaches to the subject that are important in analysing the family as a changing social institution.

Notes on the comparative method

Thinking in comparative terms is inherent in the social sciences because no social phenomenon can be studied in isolation from other social phenomena (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]; Øyen, 1990). Nevertheless, comparative research is its own genre within the social sciences. The most common and widely accepted definition of comparative social scientific research is that a study is comparative when it uses comparable data from at least two societies with the aim of investigating cross-societal or cross-cultural differences and similarities. Thus, comparative research may study global-, aggregate- or individual-level structure or processes provided that it involves more than one society (Bollen et al., 1993; Lee, 1987; Øyen, 1990; Ragin, 1987, 2000; Smelser, 2003; Tilly, 1984).

This study falls into the definition of comparative research, as the cases compared are countries, namely, Finland and Spain. In this case, macro-sociological comparison means the comparison of family institutions, or more specifically properties of social systems and patterns of family practices that describe the character of family institutions and their development over time.

Goals and types of comparative research

The most distinguishing feature that differentiates comparative research from other social research is its tendency to use macro-social attributes in explanatory statements. This tendency is closely linked to the goals of comparative research: to explain and interpret macro-level social variation (Ragin, 1987, pp. 5–6). According to Charles Ragin (1987, 2000) and Charles Tilly (1984), comparative research should not only be interested in cataloguing and explaining cross-national differences and similarities but should direct its interest also to interpreting country-specific experiences and trajectories.

Thus, comparative social research analyses variation in the properties of social systems. The social systems are not the objects of the comparison, but the focus of interest is instead on the properties of the system, with the primary objective being explanation: how and why the properties of social systems differ and how and why they affect human behaviour (Lee, 1987, p. 61). As an example, the observation that cohabitation is common in Finland but rare in Spain has some descriptive value but explains nothing. Therefore, our goal is to offer an explanation of why cohabitation is common in Finland but rare in Spain and in order to do so we need to study the properties of the societies in question.

Research objectives and goals are intertwined with the number of units of comparison. Accordingly, comparative social scientific research can be divided into two main methodological approaches: variable-oriented (quantitative) research operating with a large number of cases and case-oriented (qualitative) research operating with a few cases (Ragin, 1987; Goldthorpe, 1997; Kautto, 2001).

Variable-oriented researchers study one or a small number of variables across a large number of cases and seek generalized parsimonious explanations. They prioritize generality because they are interested in testing hypotheses derived from theory. Variable-oriented methods are used to identify broad, general patterns. Case-oriented comparative research focuses on several variables within a few cases. The aim of such research is to show how different aspects mutually constitute the whole case and then to compare and contrast the different cases. Case-oriented researchers give preference to complexity and usually do not test theories per se but apply them to cases in order to interpret them. Thus, case-oriented methods are best suited to the in-depth investigation of culturally or historically specific phenomena (Ragin, 1987, pp. 54–5; 1996, pp. 80–1; 2000, pp. 23, 27).

Case-oriented or qualitative comparative research can be divided further into two types according to the number of cases: qualitative case-oriented comparison with few cases and qualitative comparative analysis with a small number of cases (Ragin, 1987; see also Goldstone, 1997). The basic difference between these two types of qualitative comparisons is that case studies involving few cases consider the cases to be unique, whereas qualitative comparative analyses with a small number of cases emphasize similarities among types of cases and see the specification of types (for example, welfare state types) as a means of understanding and explaining differences (Ragin, 2000, pp. 37, 74).

In the end, there is no agreement on the 'correct' methods of doing comparative research. There are those who advocate variable-oriented methods because they produce generalized knowledge and there are those advocating case-oriented methods because they are better suited to producing in-depth knowledge. In reality, though, quantitative and qualitative approaches complement each other. Quantitative research is good for telling us what is happening and qualitative studies are better at determining why events occur (Collier, 1991; Ragin, 2000). If the goal of comparative research is to explain, we need to look for answers to both what and why questions. According to Smelser (2003, p. 648), comparativists ought to rely on multiple kinds of data and methods – quantitative and qualitative, hard and soft – and use and weight all of them in striving to improve our understanding and explanations.

This study comparing the family institution in Finland and Spain is a qualitative comparison with few cases, making use of case-oriented methods. Having identified the types of comparisons employed in the study presented here, it is worth considering qualitative case-oriented comparative research in greater detail.

Studying few cases

The qualitative case-oriented approach has consolidated its ground within comparative research along with a growing interest in comparative historical research, which studies countries over a long period of time, and in interpretive social science, which is concerned with decoding the meaning of institutions and behaviour (Collier, 1991; Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003). These influences have strengthened the justification for doing comparative research with only few cases, striving for 'in-depth knowledge' or 'thick description', that is, aiming to detect the underlying meaning of phenomena, structures or processes to see how they are rooted in a particular context (Geertz, 1973).

In the same spirit, Charles Tilly (1984, p. 77) demands that social scientists should be interested in identifying the historical and spatial

context of the structures and processes under investigation because they are usually shaped by a constellation of factors (see also Rueschemeyer and Stephens, 1997). Charles Ragin follows the same line of thinking, as he suggests that social scientists should endeavour to understand how different conditions combine in each case to produce the outcome in question and to take into account qualitative changes in specific contexts (Ragin, 2000, pp. 39–40). In order to meet these goals, it is best to concentrate on only few cases simply because managing diverse and in-depth knowledge of multiple cases is practically impossible for one researcher (Collier, 1991, Ragin, 1996; Tilly, 1984).

Although the strength of case studies is that they do justice to historical and contextual particularity, they may also raise problems of systematic comparison, causation and generalization (see Goldthorpe, 1997). These problems have been much discussed but no agreement has been reached on solutions. The problem of systematic comparison arises, at least, in two stages of the research process. First of all, one must decide the criteria for choosing cases. There are basically two standpoints on this issue. The one advocates choosing the 'most similar' cases in order to increase the capacity for generalization and to maximize comparability (see, for example, Stinchcombe, 1978). Comparing few 'most similar' cases may lead, however, to over-determination and the study may turn out to be a regional description of a certain area (for example, Scandinavia) rather than an in-depth comparative study (Collier, 1991).

The other standpoint prefers a comparison of the 'most different' cases that aims at tracing similar processes of change. The logic is that a researcher filters out of diversity a set of common elements with great explanatory value and thereby increases the value of the generalization from the research results. But if the cases are extremely different, there is a risk that one is unable to find any common denominator and, thus, loses all the capacity for generalization (see, for example, Keränen, 2001; Przeworski and Teune, 1970). However, we ought to recognize that notions of 'similar' and 'different' are relative. Two cases, which from one perspective are similar, may from another perspective be very different (Collier, 1991).

After we have chosen the cases, we must choose what aspects and features to study in order to describe and explain the phenomena of interest within a case. These choices are inevitably selective because it is practically impossible to take into account all the aspects of a whole case in all its complexity (Goldstone, 1997). This raises questions whether we have chosen correctly and whether we have left something paramount out and casts doubts on the quality of our conclusions.

Thomas Black (2002) states that even though a common desire of scientific investigation is to identify the causes of certain events or human conditions such as fertility decline or divorce, not all relationships are necessarily causal. This is the case particularly in the social sciences, where the events and conditions tend to be so complex that it is difficult and often even impossible to identify definite cause-and-effect relationships. Therefore, it is often the case that we cannot establish causation but rather establish associations; that is, we can identify several factors that most likely together bring about the event or condition of interest. As Bollen et al. (1993) remind us, no research design is perfect, and it is always possible to come up with alternative explanations for the results of an analysis.

One important issue in comparative research in general is the comparability and measurement of data. To find and collect comparable data from different countries often poses problems. Key definitions may vary across time and place, structural and cultural differences between countries result in variations in statistics, non-quantitative sources may be contradictory or incomplete and so forth. Furthermore, it is not always possible, or even desirable, to use the same variables or qualitative sources of information for different countries. One challenge of comparative research is finding or constructing measures equally valid in different countries. For example, a survey question in one society may not have the same meaning in another society. There are no ready-made solutions to these problems. One possible way is to use multiple indicators to ascertain that we are actually observing the same social structure or process in different countries. Another, and essential, strategy is to familiarize oneself with the different national contexts (Bollen et al., 1993; Hantrais and Mangen, 1996).

Finland and Spain as cases

The cases of Finland and Spain have been chosen following the idea of comparing 'most different' cases (see, for example, Przeworski and Teune, 1970). Choosing 'most different' cases within the European context is justified since the two cases are examined as examples of Western European societies with the aim of investigating in what way and to what degree families, their roles and their significance in different Western European societies are converging or diverging.

As discussed in Chapter 2 of Part I, Finland and Spain are culturally different; they represent different types of welfare states and their typical families are assumed to be very dissimilar, but as cases they are not overtly different. The common denominator, which makes the cases

comparable, is that they both belong to the same European context and, more precisely, to a common Western European context.

The goals of the study are to look for and explain differences and similarities between Finnish and Spanish family institutions and changes in them over a period of time. The analysis of the properties of the Finnish and Spanish social systems such as legislation, social policies, the labour market, housing policies, gender cultures and social and political histories form the context-specific framework that allows producing explanations for and interpretations of the discovered differences and similarities in family institutions and family practices. The Finnish and Spanish cases are not only compared to each other but also to the general Western European (EU15) situation in order to see to what degree Finland and Spain vary from the Western European average and whether the variation is parallel or not.

The study establishes associations by identifying several factors that most likely together cause the condition in the specific social, historical and cultural contexts. Nevertheless, the study has general value in offering examples of what kinds of factors might have an influence also in other cases and what kinds of factors ought to be taken into account if we want to go behind general trends. Furthermore, the case studies are valuable in pointing out the weaknesses of theories and models applied in family studies.

As is customary in macro-comparative research, the data comes from secondary sources. The data comprises both quantitative and qualitative data: statistics, legal codes, studies and reports. Codes of civil legislation and social policies targeting families from the early 20th century to the early 2000s are analysed to discover the formal and institutionalized idea of the family (family ideology) and changes in it. Value and attitude survey reports, barometers and studies are analysed first, in order to see whether and to what degree people's views and conceptions of the family and family life are in line with the institutionalized view of the family and, second, to see to what degree people's values and attitudes are congruent with their actual practices. Demographic statistics are an important source of data used to grasp the empirical diversity of family life. Demographic data collected from the 1960s to 2003 are analysed in order to detect change in family practices. As the institution of the family and changes in family ideology and practices are shaped by a constellation of factors and particular historical trajectories, studies and statistical accounts of socio-economic developments, political developments, the labour market, education, gender culture and religious culture are examined in order to create a contextual explanatory framework.

The statistical data comprise mostly international statistics compiled by organizations such as Eurostat, the OECD and the United Nations. These sources were chosen because they tend to be standardized and, thus, the degree of their comparability is usually higher than that of national statistics. The comparison of Finnish and Spanish national statistics has special problems. Due to the federal state system of Spain, versatile and detailed statistics are kept at the level of Autonomous Communities, but the national-level statistics are often more limited. To collect and modify statistics of Autonomous Communities from the past 40 years into national-level accounts comparable to Finnish national-level statistics was not feasible, given the limited resources available for this study. The time scale of the studies also posed problems concerning the data. National and community-level statistics would have contained data from farther back in history than international statistics but they were not comparable. The further back in time the study goes the more likely it is that either of the countries in question is not included in international statistics or that the data compiled in the statistics differ between the countries. Due to the abovementioned problems, a lot of relevant and interesting statistical data had to be left out.

Another difficulty connected with data collection, analysis and comparability is differences in conceptual definitions. As an example, the term family in Finnish statistics and surveys usually refers to a nuclear family – a couple living with minor children, whereas in Spain, the term family may refer to a larger group of people related to each other but not necessarily living in the same household. For instance, unlike in Finland, mature children who do not live with their parents are often counted in the family unit. Thus, in terms of comparability, one has to be perceptive and aware of such cultural differences when compiling and analysing data.

Nowadays, international and national surveys are numerous and valuable sources of data. By and large, international surveys are standardized and, thereby, more reliable in comparable terms than national surveys, which often differ in emphasis, in the framing of questions and in the time sequences of the survey. As an illustration, surveys on Finns' values and attitudes tend to stress issues related to work, education, politics and the environment over issues related to family, family life, kin and friends, whereas the emphasis of surveys on Spaniards' values and attitudes tends to be the reverse. Although these national differences complicate the comparative analysis, they are also an interesting source of knowledge. All in all, survey data ought to be analysed keeping in mind

the case-specific contextual framework. This applies also to international surveys. Even though they are standardized and designed to be as universally applicable as possible, there is always the possibility that survey questions are not understood in the same way in different countries.

To be able to gather and select relevant and useful data, and to analyse the data in as reliable a manner as possible, one should start the research process by acquiring versatile background information concerning the countries under investigation.

4
The Making of Modern Finland and Spain

In order to understand and explain the differences and similarities between contemporary Finland and Spain, we need to consider historical events and their long-term effects. As the core interests of this study lie in socially upheld conceptions of the family, its roles and duties, and in the relationship between the family and the state, it is pertinent to start with a historical overview of the state- and nation-building processes and socio-economic developments of Finland and Spain. These processes and developments compose a context for understanding the differences and similarities concerning family ideologies and family practices in the two countries.

Stein Rokkan's general model of European state- and nation-building helps us to discern the underlying differences between Finland and Spain. According to Rokkan, the 16th century was an epoch-making time in the process of state formation and nation building in Europe. The Reformation, the printing press, the development of national literature, expeditions, colonialism and emerging world capitalism, the gradual decline of feudalism and the gradual emergence of the school system reinforced the emergence of nation states (Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Flora et al., 1999).

Rokkan distinguishes four major preconditions that shaped the early processes of state formation and nation-building: (1) variation in the relationship between church and state, (2) variation in the relationship between the state and economic organizations, (3) variation in ethnic and linguistic homogeneity and heterogeneity and (4) variation in class structure with respect to the peasantry and the working class. These preconditions not only shaped the early nation-state building process but they also had effects on the structural variations of European welfare states and on the relationship between the state and

the family (or individual) in contemporary Western European societies (Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Flora et al., 1999).

From the Reformation to the mid-20th century

The Reformation in the first half of the 16th century split Western Europe into the Protestant north and the Catholic south. In the Protestant north and in Scandinavia, in particular, the relationship between the state and the church was reorganized by fusing ecclesiastical and secular bureaucracies. Furthermore, the Protestant view of the construction of society assumed a complementary division of labour between the state and the church: the state's duty was to maintain peace and order and the church's duty was to educate and socialize the masses into a unified culture (Thorkildsen, 1997, pp. 138–9). The Protestant nationalization of territorial culture favoured the mobilization of voice 'from below', which was made possible by the early development of literacy and the standardization of national languages. Thus, the rise of social awareness facilitated the public and societal involvement of the subject population (Flora et al., 1999).

Contrary to the Protestant north, the major European monarchies continued their alliances with the Roman Catholic Church, and orders such as the Jesuits played a central political and economic role especially in the Counter-Reformation territories like Spain. Due to the supra-territoriality of the Catholic Church, it did not become an agency for nation-building to the same extent as the Church in the Protestant territories. Furthermore, the mobilization of voice 'from above' was favoured in the domain of the Catholic Church, which kept literacy low, preserved great class differences, averted the development of popular movements and retarded the societal participation of the masses and the emergence of suffrage (Flora et al., 1999; Romero Salvadó, 1999).

The early histories of Finland and Spain are very different. Spain was a seaward-crusading empire with a network of old, strong and rich cities. The cities as well as the great landowners prospered due to the exploitation of the colonies and due to Spain's major role in the emerging world capitalism (Romero Salvadó, 1999). In contrast, Finland was a landward buffer, a province of Sweden until 1809 and a Grand Duchy of Russia until independence in 1917, with a predominantly small-farm agricultural economy. Finland was a peripheral region of the Swedish kingdom, of the Russian empire and of the merchant city-belt centre of Central Europe (Alestalo and Kuhnle, 1987).

The state of Spain was built up through a slow process of military–administrative unification. In the 15th century, the Spanish state grew out of a coalition of a number of Christian kingdoms fighting the same enemy, the Moors. However, the state-building process did not produce cultural integration on a mass level, first, because throughout Spanish history, the state-building process has taken place at the elite level and, second, Spain was and still is a state formed by different nations with diverse cultures, traditions and languages (Romero Salvadó, 1999).

Until the early 19th century, Spain was one of the world's largest colonial empires, but its focal role in the world economy started to decline already in the 16th and 17th centuries when the core of the world's economy shifted from southwest to northwest Europe (Wallerstein, 1980). In 1898, the United States declared war on Spain following the sinking of the Battleship *Maine* in the Havana harbour. As a result of the Spanish-American War, Spain lost its last colonies and became a peripheral or a semi-peripheral region of Europe. The image of a colonial empire and its power role had been the glue that held the nation together, but along with The Disaster (Spanish-American War in 1898), a growing demand for regional autonomy emerged especially in Catalonia and the Basque Country, the most prosperous and advanced regions of Spain. Furthermore, The Disaster led to economic decline, the growth of general popular discontent, aggravated regional and class-based inequalities, and, like elsewhere in Europe, the labour movement emerged. After 1898, Spain lived through monarchy, dictatorship, short democracy, bitter civil war (1936–9) and another long dictatorship (1939–75) (Romero Salvadó, 1999).

Finland first emerged as an autonomous territory in 1809, when the Russian Tsar Alexander I established the Grand Duchy of Finland. The idea of a Finnish-speaking nation had grown during the 19th century and was finally crowned in 1906 with the introduction of universal suffrage. Only the peasantry had been Finnish speaking and all the other estates – the clergy, the petty bourgeoisie and the exiguous aristocracy – had been Swedish speaking, but now the new democratically elected parliament was Finnish speaking and the Swedish speakers were a minority. After the military defeat of Russia in World War I and the Bolshevik takeover, Finland declared itself independent in December 1917. Both the universal suffrage and independence resulted from the collapse of imperial authority, not from violent struggle. However, these changes led to a bitter civil war (1918) between leftist 'Reds' and rightist 'Whites'. The dramatic political and class confrontation ended with the victory of the 'Whites' (Alapuro, 1988; Østergård, 1997).

The Depression between 1929 and 1933 raised societal instability, popular discontent and the rivalry between capitalism and socialism, which led to the emergence of right-wing extremism in Europe and fascist polities in several countries (Hobsbawm, 1999). Right-wing extremism emerged also in Finland at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, but it did not lead to a fascist polity. The focal reason for that was the fact that instead of large estates, small farms dominated agriculture. Although the peasants first supported the right-wing extremist movement, they soon dissociated themselves from it. As small farmers were politically organized into the Agrarian League (Maalalisliitto, founded in 1908), they benefited more from parliamentary democracy than corporatism and thus right-wing radicalism lost influence and cooperation between social democrats and the bourgeoisie started. Since the 1930s, the political and social consensus has been remarkable in Finland compared to many other Western European societies (Alapuro, 1988).

In Spain, however, the social and economic disturbances led to a bitter civil war (1936–9), which ended in the victory of traditional Falangists and General Franco in 1939. Franco's authoritarian regime aimed to stop the revolt of the lower classes and reformist intelligentsia and to revive great Spain. The means employed to achieve these aims were cultural standardization, a policy of autarchy (economic self-sufficiency) and National Catholicism. Regional cultural differences were banned and ignored. The state declared the Catholic identity of Spain and the Church justified the existence of the authoritarian regime. Catholicism was declared as the official religion of the nation, and legislation, education and the media were determined and largely controlled by the Church and Catholic orthodoxy. However, both the agenda of cultural standardization and of self-sufficient economy failed; regional identities and cultures remained strong and the state was in bankruptcy by 1959 (Romero Salvadó, 1999; Shubert 1992).

Returning to Rokkan's model, there are several factors in the Finnish and Spanish histories that are reflected in the contemporary relationship between the state and the family (or individual) and in the prevailing types of welfare states. First of all, the early fusion of ecclesiastical and secular bureaucracies and of Protestant nationalization in Finland and the low degree of ethnic diversity explain the relatively high degree of cultural homogeneity. Furthermore, the fusion led to early 'stateness' in services such as education, childcare and health and welfare, which largely explains the universalism of the welfare state. The relative cultural and linguistic homogeneity also enforced the emergence of a unitary political system and social and political consensus (Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Flora et al., 1999).

In Catholic Spain the church played a central political and economic role for a long time (until the 1960s). The church belonged to the elite and remained the property of the wealthy and, therefore, did not act as an agent integrating the masses into a unified culture (Shubert, 1992). The church also retained its control over services in education, health and welfare and, thus, retarded the development of public services. The great linguistic, cultural and regional differences in Spain have always been strong and have survived even the forced attempts at standardization. This heterogeneity has led to a federal political system, which has contributed to the fragmented structure of the welfare state (Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Flora et al., 1999).

In Finland, the unitary state structure, religious and linguistic homogeneity, low concentration of landholdings, the absence of feudalistic structures and the early emergence of the societal involvement of the masses were factors that helped equalize class differences. In Spain, however, the federal state structure, linguistic, cultural, economic and social regional heterogeneity, the high concentration of landholdings and the late emergence of the societal involvement of the masses have upheld both class and regional differences (see Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Shubert, 1992).

In Spain, the tempestuous political and social history, the 36 years of continuous conservative and pervasive authoritarianism and the tradition of elitism and oligarchy resulted in deep distrust towards the state. The state has been conceived as an apparatus of the elite to control the people, and, therefore, neither the relation between the state and the people nor the welfare state has developed in the same manner as in independent Finland, where the state has been conceived as the people's ally, not its enemy.

At a gallop to modernization: From the 1960s to 2000

While the 'early' histories of Finland and Spain have been very different, their more recent histories show some similarities; since the 1960s, processes of social change and modernization have been remarkably fast in both countries. The development of their industrial structure has been almost identical. Until the 1960s, the majority of Finns and Spaniards earned their living in the agricultural sector but, as Table 4.1 indicates, agriculture was quickly replaced by industry and the service sector in particular. Characteristic of both Finland and Spain was that jobs in industry and services increased simultaneously and the shift to a service society was swift (Niemelä et al., 1998; Therborn, 1995). The

non-agricultural population grew fast, and by 1970 in Finland and by 1980 in Spain, the majority of all employees worked in the service sector (see Table 4.1).

Rapid changes in the industrial structure of Finland after the Second World War, and particularly in the 1960s, had partly to do with changes in agricultural policy; support for small farms ceased as the aim was to decrease their number and limit agricultural overproduction (Luokkaprojekti, 1984). Second, the post-war reconstruction and war indemnities to the Soviet Union after the war boosted heavy industry and foreign trade, which fuelled economic growth and the development of public and private services in the 1960s. As a consequence, the countryside emptied as people moved to urban centres (see Table 4.1). However, industry and services could not take in all the new labour force, which is why Finns emigrated to Sweden. Stemming from the rapid structural change, the new working class and the new highly educated urban middle class, largely made up of those of rural origin, emerged (Luokkaprojekti, 1984; Melin, 1999).

In Spain, the state's bankruptcy and the end of the Church's alliance with the authoritarian regime at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s started the liberalization process that led to an extremely rapid but regionally unequal economic growth based on foreign investments, tourism and emigration. Until the 1960s, government had supported the rural way of life but now urbanization and industrialization were encouraged. Simultaneously, agriculture was modernized and the need for the rural labour force in the latifundios declined, as did the number of small farms. This led to massive internal migration from the countryside to urban centres and to emigration to Central Europe (see Table 4.1). A new urban middle class emerged, as did the new working class made up of the excess rural population (Lannon, 1995; Shubert, 1992).

One important factor behind the changes in the class structure in both countries was the increased enrolment in education. Since the early 1960s, the number of students, particularly those studying in universities and colleges, has increased in both countries. However, at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, the relative number of students was considerably higher in Finland than in Spain. Nowadays the difference has virtually disappeared (see Table 4.1). In addition to the increased numbers of students, female labour-force participation has increased as well. In Spain, the increase has been considerable, as the female labour-force has almost doubled since 1960. Nevertheless, it has still not reached the level that Finland had already reached in the 1960s (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Indicators of socio-economic change in Finland and Spain, 1960–2000

Indicators	**Finland**					**Spain**				
	1960	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
Civilian employment by sector (%):										
Agriculture[a]	35[2]	23	13	8	6	40[2]	30	19	12	7
Industry	32[2]	35	35	31	28	33[2]	37	36	33	31
Services	33[2]	42	52	61	66	27[2]	33	45	55	62
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Wage earners and salaried employees as % of all activities:										
Total	66[2]	76	83	85	—	61[2]	64	69	73	—
Female labour force as % of total labour force	44	43[3]	47[6]	47	48	22	23[3]	27[6]	35	40
Unemployed as % of total labour force	1.4	3.8	5.0	3.4	9.7	2.4	2.9	21.1	16.9	13.8

Urban population as % of total population[b]	—	58[4]	60	61	67	—	69[4]	73	75	78
GDP per capita (1990 International Geary-Khamis dollars)[c]	6,230	9,578	12,948	16,868	18,324[10]	3,437	7,291	9,492	12,210	14,227[10]
Total expenditure on social protection as % of GDP[d]	—	—	—	30[8]	25	—	—	—	21[8]	20
Social security transfers as % of GDP[e]	5	8[3]	15[6]	16	24[9]	2	8[3]	16[6]	16	17[9]
Students per 100 000 habitants[f]	240[1]	326[3]	506[5]	2,577[7]	3,326[10]	144[1]	195[3]	238[5]	1,818[7]	3,137[10]

Sources: Demokratisoituminen ja valtaresurssit 1850–2000 [electronic data]; Eurostat, 2003; Maddison, 2001; OECD, 1974, 1997a, 1997b, 2002; United Nations, 1977, 1992, 2001a, 2001b.

[1]1958; [2]1961; [3]1968; [4]1975; [5]1978; [6]1985; [7]1988; [8]1991; [9]1995; [10]1998; [a]Includes forestry, hunting and fishing; [b]Each country sets its own definitions of 'urban agglomeration' usually varying from a few hundred to more than 10,000 inhabitants. A wide range of definitions makes data comparability difficult. However, this indicator evinces how the population has shifted to the urban way of life (see United Nations, 2001b); [c]The Geary Khamis method is the main methodology of purchasing power parity (PPP) calculations. It aims at securing transitivity in calculations of price ratios among countries. The PPP for each country is indicated as a ratio of the domestic price to the international price of the same product or service (see Maddison, 2001); [d]Social protection encompasses all action by public and private bodies to relieve households and individuals of the burden of risks and needs associated with old age, sickness, childbearing and family, disability, unemployment etc.; [e]Social security transfers consist of social security benefits for sickness, old age, family allowance, etc., social assistance grants and un-funded employee welfare benefits paid by the general government (see OECD, 1997a); [f]Students studying in universities and colleges; — No available data.

During the period reviewed, the standard of living rose fast in both countries, as the GDP per capita in Table 4.1 indicates. The Finnish and Spanish economies boomed until the oil crisis in 1973. In Finland, the rapid development from the 1950s to the early 1970s raised the economic level close to that of other Scandinavian countries. On average, however, the economic development in Finland has been more uneven than in most other Western countries (Alestalo and Kuhnle, 1987). In Spain, the latter part of the 1970s was a time of instability not only due to the effects of the oil crisis but also due to the transition from dictatorship to democracy. Economic growth stopped and unemployment rose to an unparalleled level (see Table 4.1), largely owing to the dissolution of the Francoist system of secured jobs for men and the marriage bar for women (Niemelä et al., 1998; Romero Salvadó, 1999).

In both countries, one of the main strategies for coping with the recession was to develop the public sector. The share of public expenditure of the GDP increased quickly in the latter part of the 1970s, as did social security transfers (Niemelä et al., 1998) (see Table 4.1). The growing public sector employed especially women, which increased women's employment in the service sector. By the year 2000, around 80 per cent of employed women both in Finland and Spain worked in services (OECD, 2002b).

In the 1980s the Finnish economy grew steadily; the public sector grew further and the level of social security and services was intensely developed. However, in the early 1990s, Finnish society faced an unequalled economic recession. The decade was characterized by a banking crisis, the collapse of Soviet trade and mass unemployment (Melin, 1998). As Table 4.1 shows, the unemployment rate in Finland was 3.4 per cent in 1990 but within three years it grew to almost 22 per cent, which was very close to the unemployment rate of Spain. Even though Finland came through the recession in the mid-1990s, unemployment remained high and kept the public economy imbalanced and public expenditures growing. This and joining the EU in 1995 caused pressures to cut back public expenditure. As a consequence, Finnish social security system became somewhat more earnings-related and means-tested than before. However, the cutbacks did not change the foundation of the Finnish welfare state, based on the principle of universality (Niemelä et al., 1998).

Although liberalization and modernization in Spain started before Franco's death in 1975, the explosion of societal changes there happened along with democratization. The basis of the change was the new constitution of 1978 that was based on egalitarian principles and granted

universal suffrage, freedom of ideology and religion and abolished the Church's formal role in state affairs (Romero Salvadó, 1999). The late 1970s and 1980s were first and foremost a time of institutional reformation and, thus, social and economic modernization was left in the background. Unemployment remained high, which even the so-called second economic miracle of the 1980s could not ease. Moreover, the social security system and social services were not renewed, with the exception of the health care system. Spain was also not saved from the recession of the 1990s either. Therefore, the focus in the 1990s was the reformation of the economy, and the development of the welfare state lagged behind. In the second half of the 1990s, the aim of the economic modernization was to modernize the industrial sector and to create a close linkage with the EU (Spain joined the EU in 1986). The aim of the social modernization was to reach the Western European level of social security and to move towards a universal system. However, like in Finland, the recession left behind high unemployment, an imbalanced public economy and a retrenchment policy (Niemelä et al., 1998).

The recession of the early 1990s caused growth in the total expenditure on social protection as a percentage of GDP, both in Finland and Spain. The peak in both countries and in the EU region in general took place in 1993, when the total expenditure on social protection was around 35 per cent of GDP in Finland, 24 percent in Spain and around 29 per cent in the EU countries on average. The rise was exceptionally large in Finland due to a slowdown in GDP growth and due to a voluminous increase in unemployment benefits, in particular. Similarly, the decline in the total expenditure on social protection since 1996 has been most marked in Finland (see Table 4.1) (Eurostat, 2003). With regard to the allocation of social protection in Finland and Spain, the largest proportion is linked to old age and survivor functions and to sickness and health care due to the ageing of the population. However, there is a clear difference concerning the social protection of families and children. Expenditure targeting families and children was approximately 13 per cent of total social benefits in Finland in 2000, whereas the corresponding share in Spain was less than 3 per cent (around 8 per cent in the EU15) (Eurostat, 2003). Furthermore, the level of social services such as childcare services is considerably higher in Finland than in Spain.

Regardless of the existing differences, the resemblance between European countries in general and between Finland and Spain in particular is much greater today than a century ago. Although the modernization process started later in the peripheries like Finland and Spain, they caught up to the core countries remarkably fast. During the decades following the

Second World War, differences in the economic and political structure, standard of living and educational level have declined between Western European countries (Alestalo and Flora, 1994). Furthermore, parallel, although not identical, development has occurred also in the fields of civil legislation, social policy, gender roles, demographic transformation and values and attitudes towards gender roles, intimate relationships and the family, as will be seen in the following chapters.

Part III Family in Finland and Spain

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5
On Family Ideology

One dimension of the family institution is that it is an ideological construct. Here family ideology is understood to be created and upheld by societal institutions such as legislation, public policies, religion and so on. In other words, family ideology does not necessarily correspond to the reality of family formation, family structure and family life but, rather, it represents the culturally and socially shared conception of what The Family is or ought to be.

First, Finnish and Spanish family ideologies are viewed in this chapter by analysing each country's laws on marriage and their main reforms within the period from the early 20th century to the present. Second, public policies targeting families have been reviewed in order to see how public policy defines the family and how these definitions are related to the definitions found in the civil legislation. The exploration of the elements of family ideologies ends with a discussion of gender relations and how they have evolved during the 20th century in Finland and Spain. The role and status of women, in particular, have affected especially the development of public policies targeting families and, thus, conceptions of the family.

Legal codes are an important source of data for the study of modern societies because the development of legal codes reflects the development of societies and social institutions: the relationship between church and state, the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical bureaucracies, the emergence of political rights, the development of women's rights, the progression of secularization and individualism and changes in family practices (see Durkheim, 1888[1] cited in Lamanna 2002, p. 75). Emile Durkheim also pointed out that the analysis of law is an important method of studying the family because the law represents or comprises the established customs that are indicators of family

forms and practices. Durkheim valued the objectivity of legal codes and, therefore, regarded them as valuable documents in studying the family and family practices (Lamanna, 2002, p. 75).

Following Durkheim, the analysis of legal codes is seen as an important method of studying the family as an institution. The legislation on marriage and family reflects the idea of the family and intimate relations that prevail in a given society at a given time, but it does not depict the real complexity of family forms and practices. Thus, it is important to recognize that legalistic definitions of the family have limitations. For example, everyday relationships between spouses or between parents and children may be very different than what is expected in stipulated codes. Furthermore, defining the family in terms of legal codes excludes all those family forms and living arrangements that do not exist in coded law.

The realm of the personal is also an arena of public policy. The state has impinged on the personal both intentionally and unintentionally (Castles, 1998, pp. 248–9). Thus, public policies affect families both in ideological and practical terms. Finnish and Spanish 'family policies' are studied here from the viewpoint of what kinds of conceptions of the family they reflected during the 20th century and how they have boosted these conceptions. However, as discussed in Part I, Chapter 2, neither in the past nor today does an explicit family policy exist in Finland or Spain. The measures that affect families are not exclusively dedicated to families but to social provision in general: taxation, health care, housing, childcare and so forth. Thus, it is not a question of controlling the family per se but rather intervening in people's everyday lives through the family. The critics of state interventionism claim that the welfare state and government have undermined the role and functioning of the family as the basic economic and social unit (Castles, 1998). Although such critiques are deeply morally charged, undoubtedly, public policy has affected the family as an institution and moulded the ideology of the family both explicitly and implicitly.

Civil legislation on marriage and the family

Until the 1920s and early 1930s, marriage and family were founded on Christian values and patriarchal principles in both countries. Religious marriage was the only legitimate form of a relationship between a man and a woman and the basis of the family. Marriage was a sacrament, practically indissoluble, and its prime purpose was procreation. The husband was the guardian of the children, the wife, other members of

the household and the property (see, for example, Coontz, 2005; Goody, 2000). These principles remained the doctrines of Protestant churches up until the 1920s and of the Roman Catholic Church until the 1960s. The Protestant churches loosened their principles in the 1920s when the Conference of Protestant Churches declared contraception as a legitimate option for married couples, and acknowledged and accepted divorce and women's right to work outside the home. The response of the Catholic Church to the secularized principles of Protestants was the Casti Connubii (on Christian marriage), which consolidated the traditional Christian doctrines concerning marriage and the family (D´Antonio and Aldous, 1983).

The secularization and modernization process of legislative principles concerning marriage and the family started gradually in the 1920s and 1930s both in Finland and Spain. The patriarchal tradition was disrupted by the idea of love marriage as the basis of the family and by the liberal voices demanding equality. Consequently, by the early 1930s, the legislation in Finland and Spain made spouses equal and granted juridical independence to married women. Civil marriage had become an option and divorce was legally possible, although rare (Alberdi, 1995; Mahkonen, 1978).

In Finland, the Marriage Act in 1929 made spouses equal and gave married women juridical independence. Thus husbands' legal dominance over mutual and wives' property and within the marital relationship was abolished. However, the law was based on the idea of a breadwinner husband and homemaker housewife; they were expected to live together and be sexually faithful to each other. The 1929 Marriage Act loosened the grounds for divorce. Previously, proven adultery was practically the only basis for divorce but now separation of at least one year became an acceptable reason for divorce in addition to fault grounds (Aarnio et al., 1985; Gottberg, 1996; Mahkonen, 1978).[2]

In Spain, family legislation during the short-lived Second Republic (1931–6) was the most liberal and egalitarian in Europe (see Synopsis 5.1). According to the 1931 Constitution (Constitución), church and state were separate and women were legal equals with men and gained juridical independence. Furthermore, women could not be dismissed from paid work because they had married (1932). The constitution also produced the most innovative and liberal laws of the time, such as divorce by consent, the regulation of abortion and equality between legitimate and illegitimate children. The marriage institution was secularized and civil marriage became an option also for Catholics (see Alberdi, 1995; Cousins, 1995; Graham, 1995).

However, when General Franco came into power in 1939, the legislation on marriage and the family became subjected to the Catholic Church and reverted to Christian and patriarchal principles (see Synopsis 5.1). Civil marriage for baptized Catholics became illegal as did divorce, abortion and the sale and use of contraception. Married women lost their juridical independence and custody of their children. This remained the state of affairs until the dawn of democracy in the mid-1970s. The reform of the Civil Code of 1975 established the equal rights of both husband and wife and eliminated references to the authority of the husband with regard to the wife and to the necessity for licences or authorizations held by the husband concerning the wife for almost anything from a personal bank account to wage work (Picontó-Novales, 1997). The 1978 Constitution, which was based on equality and religious liberty, brought along several reforms on civil legislation during the late 1970s and 1980s, such as civil marriage also for Catholics in 1979 and the (re)legalization of divorce in 1981 (see Synopsis 5.1). In Finland, the legislation has not undergone such dramatic changes as in Spain. The main change since the end of the 1920s has been the liberalization of the law on divorce (see Synopsis 5.1).

The principles of the contemporary legislation on marriage are similar in both countries. Both Finnish and Spanish laws state that the spouses are equal, they should show mutual trust and act together for the best of the family. Unlike the Spanish law, which states that the spouses are obliged to live together (Código Civil 1889: Libro I: Título IV, Capítulo V, Artículo 68), the Finnish law does not regulate the living arrangements of a married couple. However, the Finnish law distinctly states the individual right of spouses to make decisions concerning wage work and other activities outside the family (Avioliittolaki 1929/234, I osa, 1.luku, 2§). The general statutes on the absence of grounds for disqualification and the contract of marriage are also the same in the two countries, but since the Spanish marriage law reform in 2005, the statutes on who may marry whom are different. Unlike in Finland, where only a man and a woman can contract a marriage, the reformed Spanish marriage law states that a marriage can be contracted by two people of different sexes or of the same sex (Ley 13/2005).

One of the main differences between contemporary legislation in Finland and Spain concerns divorce. Until recently, Finnish divorce law has been among the most liberal in Europe: marriage can be dissolved without the other party's consent and without an announced reason after a six-month reconsideration period (Avioliittolaki 1929/234, I osa, 6. luku, 25–32§). Spanish divorce law, in contrast, was among the strictest

in Europe from the late 1930s to 2005. Divorce could not be requested directly neither in the case of mutual agreement nor due to the fault of one of the spouses. Before the divorce was granted, the spouses needed to be officially separated for one to five years (Código Civil 1889: Libro I: Título IV, Capítulos VI–VIII, Artículos 73–89). Besides the actual divorce, the legislation also includes the juridical systems of separation and nullity (Picontó-Novales, 1997; see, also Ley 15/2005).

In 2005, the Spanish parliament accepted reforms of family law that liberalized divorce by facilitating direct access to divorce and accelerating the process. According to the new law, both spouses or only one of them may file for divorce after three months of marriage. Fault grounds have been abolished and separation is no longer a precondition for applying for divorce. In case of mutual agreement, divorce ought to be granted within a maximum period of two months, and if divorce is filed without the other party's consent, the divorce should be final within six months. In addition, the new law encourages the shared custody of children. Before, the custody of children was almost always automatically given to the mother (Ley 15/2005).

As equality, individuality and individual freedom have gained more attention, modern European societies have become more permissive towards different lifestyles. Even though traditional marriage has retained its dominance as a form of relationship, living together in a marriage-like relationship has increased in popularity and become more and more accepted. Similarly, same-sex couples have become more visible. Accordingly, the European parliament accepted a resolution on the equal rights of homosexual and lesbian couples in the EU in 1994. According to the European parliament, the EU member countries should abolish the legal obstacles to same-sex marriages or marriage-like legal measures (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laiksi virallistetusta parisuhteesta 15.12.2000). Consequently, since then, government bills for regulating same-sex unions have been made and laws have been enacted in several European states. In Finland, a proposal for registered partnership legislation for same-sex couples was first introduced in 1993. Different versions were reintroduced until the Finnish government approved the proposal in 2000. In Spain, in 1994, the Spanish Lower House voted for a proposal asking the federal government to produce legislation for both heterosexual and homosexual unmarried couples. Since then, a few versions for national law have been reintroduced but not adopted. Nevertheless, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, progressive partnership legislation was enacted in some autonomous communities (Merin, 2002).

As Synopsis 5.1 shows, three autonomous communities of Spain were ahead of Finland in the matter of formalizing same-sex relationships. The law on the union of stable and unmarried couples was enacted in the Autonomous Communities of Catalonia in 1998, Aragon in 1999 and Navarra in 2000. The corresponding law was enacted in Finland in 2001. The difference is that in Spain the autonomous laws apply to same-sex couples and to heterosexual couples, whereas in Finland, the law applies only to same-sex couples. In fact, no specific law in Finnish legislation regulates heterosexual cohabitation.

In both countries, the laws on registered couples grant rights and obligations equal to married heterosexual couples concerning, for example, maintenance, inheritance, the widow's/widower's pension and the break-up of the union. However, in both countries, same-sex cohabiting couples were denied the right to adopt children (Laki virallistetusta parisuhteesta 2001/950; Merin, 2002; Roca, 2001). In this regard, however, the Spanish renewed marriage law (2005) grants same-sex married couples the right to adopt. In fact, the new law makes Spain the first European country that allows homosexual and lesbian couples to marry and file for joint adoption. Belgium (2003) and the Netherlands (2001) also allow same-sex marriages but not unrestricted joint adoption (Sánchez Lorenzo, 2006).[3] Regardless of the, perhaps, most progressive law on marriage in Europe, Spanish national law on cohabiting couples, be they heterosexual or homosexual, is still being debated.

Synopsis 5.1 Main developments in legislation on marriage in Finland and Spain during the 20th and early 21st centuries

Finland	**Spain**
The early 20th century • Religious marriage • Husband's dominance • Wife, a juridical minor • Separation, annulment and divorce (rare) on Church's decision	The early 20th century • Religious marriage • Husband's dominance • Wife, a juridical minor • Separation and annulment on Church's decision
1917 Marriage Act • Civil marriage	1931–6 The Second Republic 1931 Constitution • Equality of spouses • Wife's juridical independence • Civil marriage • Divorce by consent
1929 Marriage Act • Equality of spouses • Wife's juridical independence • Divorce: separation of min. one year, fault grounds • Joint parental custody	

(*Continued*)

Synopsis 5.1 (*Continued*)

Finland	Spain
1987 Marriage Act • Divorce without announced reason and consent after six- month reconsideration period 2001 Law on registered couples • Same-sex couples • Right to register the relationship • Rights and obligations equal to married couples concerning maintenance, inheritance, widow's pension and break-up of the union • No right for adoption	1939–75 Franco's period 1889 Civil Code • Only religious marriage for Catholics • Husband's dominance • Wife, a juridical minor • Divorce illegal Democracy 1975 – 1978 Constitution, Civil Code reforms 1975 – • Equality of spouses • Wife's juridical independence • Civil marriage • Joint parental custody 1981 Divorce law • Divorce by mutual agreement or by fault grounds after a period of legal separation 1998 (Catalonia), 1999 (Aragon), 2000 (Navarra) Law on unions of stable, unmarried couples • Heterosexual and same-sex couples • Right to register the relationship • Rights and obligations equal to married couples concerning maintenance, inheritance, widow's pension and break-up of the union • No right for adoption (same-sex couples) 2005 Divorce law • Abolition of fault grounds • Direct access to divorce • Accelerated process from two to six months • Joint parental custody encouraged 2005 Marriage Law • Allows same-sex marriage • Adoption right granted to same-sex married couples

Sources: Alberdi, 1995; Avioliittolaki 1929/234; Código Civil 1889: Libro I; Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle virallistetusta parisuhteesta 15.12.2000; Laki virallistetusta parisuhteesta 2001/950; Ley 13/2005; Ley 15/2005; Mahkonen, 1978; Picontó-Novales, 1997; Roca, 2001.

The regulation of marriage changed in Finland and Spain during the 20th century. In legal terms, the exigency of life-long marriage has been abandoned as divorce has become possible and, later, easier to attain. Fundamental and individual rights have become the core of civil legislation, and thus the authority of the state and the society over private life has diminished remarkably. The articulated function of intimate relationships and the family has changed too. While the primary function and purpose of marriage was procreation in the early 20th century (and even later in Spain), now the articulated function of marriage or a marriage-like relationship is to produce security, affection and emotional satisfaction, and a common household and economic community. Both heterosexual and same-sex partnerships fulfil these functions and, therefore, the law has to guarantee equal rights regardless of sexual orientation (Sánchez Lorenzo, 2006; Lakivaliokunnan mietintö 15/2001 vp.).

In spite of the amendments concerning the function and purpose of intimate relationships and the principled increase in permissiveness towards different relationships, the definition of the family is still strongly based on the heterosexual married couple and their own or adopted children. The fact that in Finland and, until 2005, in Spain, same-sex couples were denied the right to adopt is one indication of this. Another is the absence of the legal recognition of heterosexual cohabitation. Neither in Finland nor in Spain does a national law ensure the same rights and obligations to heterosexual cohabiting couples as to married couples and registered same-sex cohabiting couples.

The public and parliamentary discussions around the law on registered couples in Finland, Spain and many other European societies demonstrate how sensitive issues marriage and the family are and how traditional our conceptions of the family are (see Merin, 2002). As an example, in Finland, those who opposed the law on registered couples, and many of those who were in favour of it, emphasized that heterosexual marriage is the cornerstone of the society and the foundation of the family, which is the basic unit of the society. Therefore, marriage between a man and a woman should be conceived as the fundamental form of living together (Avioliittolaki 1929/234, I osa, 6. luku, 25–32§).

The renewed Spanish marriage law has naturally aroused fierce debate. Prime Minister Zapatero, who has been one of the main advocates of the legislative reform, has stated in the media that the decency of Spain as a modern society has increased along with the new progressive law on marriage because a decent society does not humiliate any of its members and embraces liberty and equality (El Mundo, 1.7.2005). According to a survey carried out by the CIS – Centro de Investigaciones

Sociológicas (2004), around 68 per cent of respondents agreed that homosexual couples must have the same rights as heterosexual ones. Although Spaniards appear to be quite open-minded and permissive in their attitudes, the new marriage law and the new divorce law have encountered resistance and disapproval.

The Catholic Church condemned the Spanish law allowing marriage between homosexuals as iniquitous, and the Vatican advised every professional linked with implementing homosexual marriages to oppose it even if it meant losing their jobs (BBC News, 22.4.2005). Based on discussions in Spanish media, it appears that both ecclesiastic and other adversaries regard the new laws on marriage and divorce as destructive to the family, for allowing same-sex marriages blurs the core idea of the marriage institution – the reciprocal union of a man and a woman. Furthermore, granting the adoption right to same-sex couples is regarded as 'unnatural' and eliminating a child's right to both a mother and a father. As for the new divorce law, the opponents fear that the facilitation of divorce destroys already existing families by preventing reconciliation.

Even though, in general terms, Spaniards appear to be sympathetic to same-sex marriage, granting same-sex couples the right to adopt has divided opinions. According to the barometer survey by CIS (2004) referred to above, around half of the respondents agreed that homosexual couples should have the same rights to adopt as heterosexual ones and the other half disagreed. The barometer also indicates that over half of the respondents leaned towards the opinion that a heterosexual couple can guarantee the well-being of the child better than a homosexual couple.

It is clear that the value of equality and fundamental rights, also included in the European Charter, such as the right to marry and to found a family, non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and the right to a family life are increasingly acknowledged both in family legislation and in people's set of values. But, as Sánchez Lorenzo (2006) states, family law is deeply rooted in cultural tradition, and according to European cultural tradition, the understanding of marriage is anchored in the heterosexual condition (Coontz, 2005; Goody, 2000). The ongoing debate whether same-sex marriage should be referred to as marriage at all is one indication of this. Furthermore, our understanding of marriage continues to be associated with a married couple's biological capacity to procreate. Hesitating to grant same-sex couples the right to adopt and doubts concerning their capacity to guarantee the well-being of a child reflects the deeply rooted conception that marriage is a union between a man and a woman the prime purpose of which is

procreation even though the articulated function nowadays is to generate security, affection and emotional satisfaction.

Purely in terms of marriage legislation, the conception of the family in Finland is more conservative than in contemporary Spain. In Finnish law, marriage is an institution dedicated only to heterosexual couples. It is also expected that heterosexual couples enter into a marriage contract if they care about legal protection in case of a break up or death, for example. Same-sex couples may register their relationship and enjoy the same legally determined rights and obligations as married heterosexual couples but their right to form families with children is restricted as they do not have the right to joint adoption. In Spain, the legal conception of the family is clearly more progressive as both heterosexual and same-sex couples can marry and form families with children either through biological procreation or joint adoption. Besides, in some Autonomous Communities heterosexual couples have the possibility to choose a registered relationship instead of marriage and enjoy the same legal obligations and rights as do married couples.

Another fundamental difference between Finnish and Spanish legislation has to do with maintenance liability, with the legal definition of the family and the notion of who constitutes the family. According to the Finnish law on marriage, both spouses must participate to the best of their abilities in the family household and the maintenance of the spouse. The spousal maintenance includes meeting both the common and personal needs (Avioliittolaki 1929/234, II osa, 4. luku, 46§). Parents are accountable for their children's maintenance until the child is 18 years old. However, parents should also pay for the education of their major children, if considered reasonable (Laki lapsen elatuksesta 1975/704, 1. luku, 1–3§). According to the Spanish Civil Code, spouses are liable for the maintenance of each other and of their minor children. Parents are also accountable for paying for their major children's education. Furthermore, major children are accountable for the maintenance of their parents if the need arises. Reciprocity between spouses, parents and minor children and major children and their parents includes subsistence, housing, clothing and medical assistance (alimientos amplios, broad support). Siblings are also liable for providing the most basic necessities to each other (alimiento restrigido, restricted support) if there is temporary and exceptional need (Código Civil 1889: Libro I: Título VI, Artículos 142–3).

In terms of laws on maintenance liability, the family in Finland is clearly defined as a nuclear family, where the maintenance liability goes from one spouse to another and from parents to their (minor)

children. The Spanish definition of the family is broader, extending reciprocal legal responsibilities to siblings and to major children and their parents.

Public policy and definitions of the family

In pre-modern agrarian society, the family, kin and the house were the source of social security. As the incipient industrialization and urbanization changed the social and economic structure and the communal safety nets gradually broke down in the latter part of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries, public debate related to the family started. At the same time, liberalism and the accent on the individual responsibility for one's maintenance displaced the traditional idea of joint liability and charity (see, for example, Lamanna, 2002; Marin, 1994; Mitterauer and Sieder, 1982).

The social effects of the modernizing society raised concerns about morality and decency. As the family was seen as the bedrock of the society, the maintenance of morality and decency was entrusted to the family and to women especially. In Finland, as in many other European societies, these developments and circumstances made the private a realm of state intervention. However, public policies at the time were a last resort to keep alive the poor who were not able to provide for themselves and their families (Takala, 1992). In Spain, however, the social policy measures were directed at industrial workers with low incomes, and the Catholic Church and private organizations were mainly responsible for the general poor relief (Guillén, 1997).

In both countries, the focus of the social policy in the first half of the 20th century was rather on material relief for the underprivileged than on the well-being and functioning of the family. According to the liberalist principle of personal liability, a person ought not start a family unless he was able to provide for it (Takala, 1992). Thus, both men and women were relatively old when marrying for the first time (the European average for women was 23–24 years of age) and the number of bachelors and spinsters was high. This so-called Western European marriage model applied to Finland, Spain and to most of the Western European countries and had a negative effect on marital fertility in particular (Goody, 2000; Hajnal, 1965; Mitterauer and Sieder, 1982; see Part I, Chapter 1).

Accordingly, due to the decline of fertility, the family became the central topic of societal and political debate all over Western Europe in the first half of the 20th century. The so-called fertility transition is usually

located in the period from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries till the turn of the 1930s and 1940s. In Finland, the transition on the national level began in 1910 and in Spain in 1918. These were the years when marital fertility had decreased by 10 percent (Notkola, 1994).

This fertility decline was the impetus for public policies targeting families. In between the World Wars, public concern in Europe focused on the function and reproductive capacities of the family. Nevertheless, the policy measures targeting families in Finland had the character of poor relief until 1948, when the general child allowance was introduced, and when all mothers started to receive the maternity grant regardless of their socio-economic position in 1949 (Forssén, 1998; see Synopsis 5.2). In Spain, the family programme was developed during Franco's rule (1939–75). The family programme was wide-ranging, consisting of a large number of different family benefits, was gender-specific, promoting motherhood, and was aimed at reinforcing the traditional patriarchal family and strengthening the solidarity between kin members (Naldini, 2000). Most of the social policy programmes targeted at families were designed only for employees and civil servants, and most of the Spaniards had to rely on the charity of the Church and private organizations in times of need (Valiente, 1997).

During the 1930s and 1940s, 'family policy' reflected pro-natalist population politics both in Finland and Spain. People were encouraged to marry and have children. In Spain, the population politics also included a strong accent on antifeminism (see Synopsis 5.2). Francoist policies pressed women into motherhood and homemaking, accentuated the male breadwinner/female homemaker type of family and encouraged people to have large families (Meil, 1994; Naldini, 2000; Valiente, 1997).

A family allowance (Subsidio Familiar) was first introduced in Spain in 1938 and affected most employed people and civil servants. It was financed by the state, employers and workers and the amount was the same for all families (except large ones), varying according to the number of children. From 1941 onwards, married couples were rewarded with marriage loans. The amount of the loan was doubled if the working woman gave up her job after marriage and became a housewife, as long as her husband did not become unemployed or was unable to work due to disability. The repayment was also reduced when children were born. The loan was converted into a one-time marriage bonus in 1948. During the same period, Spanish families with the largest numbers of children were awarded annual prizes. Large families were defined as having four or more dependent children. Large families had other

remissions, too. Their family allowances were higher and taxation was lower. They also received preferential treatment, for example, on public transportation, loans, public housing, school fees and admissions (Valiente, 1997, pp. 366–7).

The 1945 Family Bonuses (Plus de Cargas Familiares), which were financed by employers, were paid to most employed people as a supplementary wage included in the paycheque. The amount of the bonus varied from 5 per cent to 25 per cent of the wage depending on the number of children. If beneficiaries also supported a dependent spouse, the bonus was higher. In 1954 another type of family allowance (Ayuda Familiar) replaced the existing family programmes for civil servants. It was a monthly payment that varied according to the number of dependent children and if the beneficiary had a dependent spouse. In 1968 the payment amount was standardized (Valiente, 1997, pp. 366–8).

An amendment to such Spanish 'family policies' adopted in 1966 combined the elements of previous family programmes into one package: monthly payments for each dependent child, for a dependent spouse and one-off payments for marriage and at the birth of each child (see Synopsis 5.2). The specific feature of Spanish family policy and the family allowance system, in particular, was the extension of benefits beyond the nuclear family to dependent grandchildren and siblings (Naldini, 2000).[4]

In Finland, the period of pro-natalist population politics was not as long as in Spain and it did not include such an imposition of the male breadwinner/female homemaker family model. However, similar to Spain, the public ambition was to boost the formation of new families by helping young and not yet self-sufficient people to settle down and produce new citizens and thus rebuild the nation battered by the War (see Synopsis 5.2).

In 1933 Rural Allotment Parcels were instituted in Finland to give social aid to poor rural families in order to increase their self-sufficiency. These agricultural parcels were expanded in 1937 to also allow child support. The National Pension Act came into force in the same year and in addition to old age and invalidity pensions (based on compulsory savings), it also included a pension for poor people with dependent children. The most important new laws launched in the 1930s were the Maternity Grant Act (1937) and the Law on Municipal Midwives (1937). The former was the first step towards equalizing family expenses even though it first targeted only poor mothers. However, from 1949 onwards all mothers received the grant regardless of their socio-economic position. The latter law was important for public health and was the predecessor of the public health programme as it gave poor mothers a right to free aid at childbirth (Forssén, 1998).

The Finnish family policy in the first half of the 20th century was clearly population politics. Apart from increasing population growth, the aim was to improve the health and educational level of the population. The Population and Family Welfare Federation, founded in 1941, underlined the family's and especially mothers' roles in creating socially acceptable new citizens, a healthy and decent home environment and preventing social ills such as divorce. Marital guidance centres and sex education campaigns were designed by the Federation to give support and guidance to mothers in meeting their duties. Also legislation was enacted to reduce child mortality and thus the Municipal Maternity and Child Care Guidance Centre Act was established in 1944. These Guidance Centres became part of the public health care centres' services in 1972 when the law was replaced by the Public Health Act. As mentioned above, the need assessment of the Maternity Grant was removed in 1949, and as it also required all pregnant women to undergo a physical examination, the reform was important particularly for public health (see Forssén, 1998; Gauthier, 1996; Karisto et al., 1985; Takala, 1992).

Perhaps the most important reform in the 1940s was the 1943 Family Benefit Act, granting benefits to indigent families with at least five children. This was an in-kind benefit including, for example, furniture, household articles, livestock and children's clothes. The benefit was abolished in 1974. The 1940s was also a time of promoting marriage and family formation; for example, in 1944 the Act on Home-Making Loans for Young Married Couples was introduced. The original grounds for eligibility were that the man served a minimum of one year in active military service and that both spouses were under 35 years of age. The conditions were changed already in 1945: the couple had to be under 30 years of age, without means, and their banns had to have been announced (see Forssén, 1998; Gauthier, 1996; Karisto et al., 1985; Takala, 1992).

At the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, the accent on population politics in public policies targeted at families started to cease in Finland, and universalism gradually gained ground. The policy measures endeavoured to equalize the costs of raising children for each family and, second, to ensure that the children would not lower the consumption ability of families. Furthermore, there was a move from income-bound benefits to universal benefits and the accent on poor relief was, once and for all, replaced by an emphasis on social rights based on citizenship. The child allowance (1948) was the first measure that followed the new principles.[5] However, from the early 1950s to the early 1970s the average child allowance declined both in real value and in relation to wages due to the

lack of index adjustment (Alestalo and Uusitalo, 1986). Unlike in Spain, and following the Scandinavian model, the child allowance in Finland rejected the familistic model in which the allowance is paid to the principal breadwinner along with his salary. Thus, the single (male) provider model was abandoned (Forssén, 1998; Takala, 1992).

In the course of the 1960s and, particularly, in the 1970s, the conception of the family that was characteristic of population politics gradually broke down in Western European societies. The two-earner family increasingly replaced the breadwinner husband/homemaker wife type of family as married women's labour-force participation increased. Families became smaller in size, and divorces, remarriages, premarital cohabitation and lone parenthood became more common. These changes affected public policies targeting families in varying ways and at a varying pace in different countries.

Since the 1970s, two salient changes in the emphasis of Finnish public policies have taken place: the activation of the role of the father and the reconciliation of wage work and the family (see Synopsis 5.2). Finnish public policy targeted at families has been characterized by strong efforts to secure women's opportunities to work outside the home. It has also enabled parents to choose the form of day care for their children and granted the right to public day care.

Consequently, fathers in Finland gained the right to stay home with a small child and receive paternity grants (Paternity Leave since 1978 and Parental Leave since 1985). The Children's Day-Care Act (1973) and Children's Home-Care Support Act (1980, 1985) also reflected the changes in society. According to the former, all children may receive day care. Since 1990 day care has been a subjective right for all children under three years of age, and since 1996 it has been a subjective right for all children under age seven. The latter law is intended to support children's home care after the parental allowance period; between 1985 and 1990 it extended to all children under three years of age. From the beginning of 1997, the home care support was replaced by a municipal care allowance system. The period from the mid-1970s to the present has thus been devoted to reconciling family and wage work. Besides these statutes, the Child Home Care Leave (1985) grants one parent the right to stay at home to take care of a child until the child is three years of age without losing her/his job. Parents are also entitled to Partial Child Care Leave (since 1988) which allows for a shorter workday for a parent of an at-home child under four years of age or when the child is just starting school. From 1991 onwards a parent has also had the right to a shorter workday during the child's first school year (see Forssén, 1998).

The child home care allowance introduced in Finland in 1985 was the measure that recognized women's roles both as wage workers and mothers and, at the same time, encouraged women to combine childbearing and a professional career. However, during the 1990s, the 'family-friendly' policies suffered serious setbacks: tax deductions related to 'family policy' were discontinued, day-care payments rose, the child home care allowance was reduced and the taxation on the allowance tightened in relation to income taxation. Even though the amount of the child allowance has since been raised significantly and a supplement for single parents has been established, the position of the family in public policies has deteriorated (see Hiilamo, 2000).

In Spain, the pro-natalist policies broke down only with the emergence of democracy in the mid-1970s. After the fall of the authoritarian regime, no forms of policies targeted at families were developed. Most programmes inherited from Franco's time remained unchanged until the mid-1980s. Their levels were seldom updated and therefore, due to inflation, by that time their economic importance had become irrelevant. In 1985, the most openly antifeminist and pro-natalist benefits were cancelled (see Synopsis 5.2).

In Spain, family issues had been treated solely as labour policy connected to 'worker status' but in the 1990s, the family became an issue of social policy debate. Some modifications of policy measures targeting families took place, but the reforms aimed at preventing poverty, not developing services for families or promoting the well-being of families in general. Contributory child allowances became means-tested and a non-contributory means-tested child allowance was established within the social security system. The latter is granted for dependent children under age 18 if they are economically dependent on their parents and live in the same household with them, and for disabled children. In addition, families became entitled to tax relief for each dependent child and for childcare expenses in certain circumstances (since 1992). Tax relief has also been granted since 1997 if there are dependent grandparents and/or legally incapacitated dependents over 18 years of age in the family unit (Cousins, 1995; Fernández Cordón, 1998; Guillén, 1997; Valiente, 1997; see Synopsis 5.2).

Since democratization, most political and social actors in Spain have strongly avoided being active in the area of policies targeted at families as a rejection of the authoritarian past. Feminists in Spain, more so than in other countries, have also identified 'family-friendly' policies as conservative and antifeminist, intended to uphold the traditional family model. Furthermore, the economic crisis affected welfare state reform

by increasing the need to cut the costs of social security and services (Naldini, 2000; Valiente, 1997). The societal changes, for example, the continually growing labour-force participation of women and the increase of two-earner families, have forced policymakers to pay attention especially to the reconciliation of family and work. Therefore, some reforms concerning leave arrangements in particular were adopted in the late 1980s and during the 1990s (see Synopsis 5.2).

The Spanish reforms of 1989 and 1999 extended maternity leave, established parental leave and developed publicly provided child care for children from three to six years of age. The mother or the father can take parental leave if they both work. The maximum duration is three years and the leave is unpaid. The unpaid parental leave is taken into account in the old-age pension of the person who took the leave. Furthermore, a short leave to take care of a small child at home, for example in case of illness, is possible but this child-care leave is also unpaid. Until 1989 the paid maternity leave was six weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth. Now maternity leave is 16 weeks, during which the mother is entitled to an allowance (Cousins, 1995; Fernández Cordón, 1998).

The Family and Professional Life Reconciliation Act of 1999, with the major objective of improving the reconciliation of work and family life in Spain, forbids dismissals related to use of family leave arrangements, pregnancy and maternity leave. Furthermore, fathers are encouraged to take part in child care as a mother can transfer ten weeks of her sixteen weeks of paid maternity leave to the father and the parents can use these weeks concurrently. Parental leave and the entitlement to reduce working time remain unpaid, although they have been extended to allow the person to take care not only of children but also a relative in need of care. The latter type of leave – family leave – is restricted to a maximum of one year, whereas the maximum for parental leave is three years (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2000, p. 23; Rodríguez-Cabrero et al., 2003, pp. 42–9).

The fact, however, that all the leaves (parental leave, family leave, reduced working time) except maternity leave are unpaid reduces the effectiveness of the Spanish leave schemes in reconciling family and work. This is not the only difficulty that working parents with small children have to face. The provision of public preschool/nursery services for children over three years of age is quite high, but the supply of childcare facilities for children under three years of age remains insufficient (Cousins, 1995).

In the early 2000s, some reforms of family-related policies have taken place in both countries. In Finland, the focus has been on preschool and childcare services for school-aged children. Since 2001, municipalities

have been obliged to provide free of charge half-day preschool education for six-year-old children before the start of compulsory education at age seven. Preschool education is not compulsory but around 95 per cent of six-year-olds attend preschool education. As most of the families with small school-aged children are two-earner families and school days during the first years are considerably shorter than parents' work days, there is a need for care services also for schoolchildren. Thus, since 2004, the law on primary school education also includes morning and afternoon activities for first and second graders (Sosiaali-ja terveysministeriö, 2006).

In Spain, the latest reforms have concentrated on low-income families. In 2000, two single-payment benefits for low-income families for childbirth and multiple births were established and the amounts of both means-tested contributory and non-contributory child allowances were slightly raised (Rodríguez-Cabrero et al., 2003).

Synopsis 5.2 Main developments in public policies targeted at families in Finland and Spain since the 1930s

Finland	**Spain**
1930s–1940s: Period of pro-natalist population politics • 1937 Maternity grant (for poor mothers) • 1943 In-kind benefit to large, indigent families (discontinued 1974) • 1944 Home-making loans to young married couples (no longer in force) • 1947 Family wage to employees with dependent children (in effect only one year)	1930s–1970s Period of pro-natalist population politics • 1938 Family allowance (Subsidio familiar, for employees and civil servants) • 1941 Loans to married couples • 1945 Bonus for dependent family members (Plus de cargas familiares, for employees) • 1948 One-off payment for marriage • 1954 Family allowance (Ayuda familiar, replaced family programmes for civil servants) • 1966 Unification of all past family programmes
Late 1940s–1960s: Shift to universal social rights • 1948 General child allowance (several later amendments) • 1949 Need assessment of maternity grant removed • 1964 Maternity allowance	1980s–1990s: Separation from authoritarian policies and trend towards reconciliation of work and family

(*Continued*)

Synopsis 5.2 (*Continued*)

Finland	Spain
1970s–1990s: Reconciliation of work and family • 1973 Public childcare • 1978 Paternity leave • 1980 Child home care support (1985 Child home care allowance – replaced by care allowance system 1997) • 1985 Child home care leave • 1985 Parental leave • 1988 Partial childcare leave • 1990 Day-care a subjective right for all children under age 3 • 1991 The right to shorter workday during a child's first school year • 1994 Tax deductions for children discontinued • 1996 Day-care a subjective right for all children under age 7 • 2001 Preschool for 6 year olds • 2004 Morning and afternoon activities for first and second grade school children	• 1985 Monthly payment for dependent spouse abolished • 1985 One-off payment for marriage and at the birth of the child abolished • 1989 Maternity leave extended • 1989 Parental leave • 1989 Public childcare (preschool) for children aged 3–6 • 1990 Means-tested contributory child allowance • 1990 Non-contributory means-tested child allowance • 1992 Tax relief for dependent children and for childcare expenses • 1999 Dismissals related to use of family leaves, pregnancy and maternity became illegal • 1999 The right of a mother to transfer 10 weeks out of the 16 weeks' maternity leave to the father • 2000 Single payment benefits for low income families for childbirth and multiple childbirth • 2000 Increase in means-tested contributory and non-contributory child allowances

Sources: Bertelsmann Foundation, 2000; Forssén, 1998; Rodríguez-Cabrero et al., 2003; Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, 2006; Valiente, 1997.

According to the definitions of pro-natalist policies, the family was composed of a breadwinner husband, a homemaker wife and their children, and the duty and function of the family was to produce and socialize new citizens and maintain morality and decency. In both countries, the aim of increasing population was connected to bolstering

the economy and, above all, to reviving the nation. In Finland, encouraging people to marry and have children through policy measures was related to the recuperation from the War, and in Spain, the Franco regime used public policies as one of the means to recreate Great Spain (see Chapter 4). Thus, in both countries, getting married, giving birth and rearing children were patriotic duties, especially for women. Besides the duration of the period of pro-natalist politics, the main difference between the pro-natalist population politics was that the emphasis on the strict sexual division of labour was stronger in Spain than in Finland.

Although men had the formal authority within the family, the conception of the family that prevailed during the period of pro-natalist policies both in Spain and Finland made the home women's domain and reduced men's role to that of provider. In Finland, the male provider model started to dissolve in the late 1940s when the principle of universal social rights was adopted as the basis of the welfare state. Following the Scandinavian model, since 1948, the child allowance was not paid along with the salary of the male provider and consequently, the new child allowance system weakened the familistic emphasis by rejecting the one-provider model. The weakening of the male breadwinner family model took place in Spain only in the 1990s along with the withdrawal of state support to fathers for the costs of raising children (Naldini, 2000, pp. 74–5). The more recent efforts to encourage men to take a more active role in childcare are an attempt to draw men back into the private realm and to consolidate the egalitarian family ideology and model.

Policymakers in Northern European countries as well as in Southern European ones consider the role of the family important. Even in the Scandinavian countries, where adults gain most of the entitlements on an individual basis, an explicit commitment to support the family exists. However, in Southern Europe, the role of the family is different, which affects policies targeted at families (Ferrera, 1997). For example, in Spain, families play a more critical role in both care and material provision than in Finland. Even though the family plays a central role in welfare provision in Spain and in other Southern European countries, policies and services designed to support families are poorly developed (see Chapter 2 in Part I). The boundaries between the public and private are clearer in Spain than in Finland largely owing to the memory of explicit pro-natalist and familistic policies that were dominant during the Franco regime. Thus, the family is primarily responsible for the well-being of its members and the state should intervene into private life

only when the family unit cannot fulfil its tasks (see Lewis, 1997). In Finland, the public impinges on the private more explicitly than in Spain with the intent to support the family in order to maintain its capacities to fulfil its tasks.

There is also a difference between Finland and Spain regarding the definition of the family in the social sector. A Spanish policy oriented to families defines the family in accordance with the civil legislation as a conjugal family (Picontó-Novales, 1997). Unlike the civil legislation, the social policy in Finland treats married and cohabiting couples in the same way. Social benefits and services are determined by the mutual income of cohabiting partners even though they are not obliged to support one another according to the civil legislation (Gottberg, 1996; Jaakkola, 2000). Consequently, the actual cohabitating has replaced the marriage-based definition of the family in the social sector in Finland.

Social status of women

Family ideology is closely connected to the understanding of what the proper place and role for women and men are. In the early 20th century, the dominant ideology of separate spheres upheld by religion, law, education and the state proposed complementary but hierarchically fashioned roles for men and women in the public and private spheres (Crompton, 1999).

The proper place and role for the sexes in both Finland and Spain was determined by the ideologies of separate spheres and maternalism. Nationalism, medical discourse, the decline in fertility and population politics, all consolidated the cult of motherhood by making mothering the social duty of women. Thus, women's societal role was defined through maternalism, which allowed childless women also to dedicate their 'natural' maternal resources and services to the best of the society and nation. A woman should take interest in public affairs in order to fulfil her duty as a mother of the people by acting in the fields 'intrinsic' to femininity, such as taking care of the poor and sick and educating children and young women. However, ideally, mothering should shift from the public to the private, home and family, after marriage. For many women, however, this was not a realistic option (Jallinoja, 1983; Morcillo, 2000; Nash, 1999; Ollila, 1993).

Although maternalism maintained the ideology of separate spheres, it also opened up new avenues for women. First, the educational level of women rose along with the pedagogical aim of improving their mothering and housekeeping skills and abilities. The rise of women's general

educational level was especially marked in Spain, where the illiteracy rate among women aged 15 and over dropped from 28.5 per cent to 11.8 per cent between 1940 and 1970. In Finland, only 0.8 per cent of women were illiterate in 1930 (UNESCO, 2002; United Nations, 1949). Second, the idea of social motherhood created new wage-work opportunities for (middle-class) women in the fields of education, counselling, health care and welfare provision. Furthermore, maternalism was the launching pad for the development of social policies that, especially in Finland, provided a basis for women to establish themselves in policymaking[6] (Anttonen, 1994; Floquera, 1993).

However, perceptions about the right place and proper role of women were contradictory among women themselves. In Finland, the right-wing and middle-class women demanded educational and professional opportunities for upper- and middle-class women equal with men and endeavoured to instil the enlightened homemaker role among common women. Social democrats and working-class women saw women's wage work as a precondition for emancipation, but they also insisted on working women's right to motherhood and on the state's duty to help working mothers to combine wage work and mothering (Anttonen, 1994; Sulkunen, 1989). In Spain, conservative as well as socialist and anarchist women demanded respect for civil and social rights in education and work and their own active and independent role in these areas. They did not accept the separation of public and private spheres, but they did not challenge motherhood as the core of female identity and the feminine mission either (Nash, 1999). Consequently, women in both countries acted as advocates of the 'mother citizen', and conservatives, in particular, tried to embed the male breadwinner/female homemaker model in the working class and peasant populations (see Anttonen, 1994; Nash, 1999).

The male breadwinner/female homemaker model never became predominant in Finland. The absence of a large urban middle class, material austerity, low wages, the scantiness of the livelihood of small farms and wars forced most families into the two-earner model. Besides, Finnish women have always been characterized by special independence; they have never been under patriarchal control to the same extent as women in Central and Southern Europe, and the legislation has never prohibited their political organization (Haavio-Mannila, 1968; Julkunen, 1994).

However, the above-mentioned socio-economic conditions are not especially unique to Finland. Spain was also a predominantly agrarian society until the 1960s, and although the wealthy upper and middle

classes were significant, most of the Spaniards lived in material austerity and with a scant livelihood and low salaries. Yet women were under patriarchal control, although to varying degrees in different classes, and the sexual division of labour seemingly corresponded to the male breadwinner model. However, according to Lluís Flaquer (2000), the Spanish family was and is different from the classic male breadwinner model because the family is seen as a larger unit of income and resources to which everyone contributes according to his or her opportunities.

Thus, not only historical, social, economic and political factors but also cultural factors are important when we consider gender relations, conceptions of the family and the relationship between the family and the state. There are several cultural elements that are of importance here, but perhaps the most fundamental is the difference in the degree of individuality. Scandinavian as well as Finnish tradition has promoted equality and, most importantly, the idea that individual identity is not given but chosen. In other words, birth and family do not determine the essence of a person but rather individual will, skills and determination. This concept has implied individuality, subjectivity and self-discipline (Thorkildsen, 1997). One example of individuality, characteristic of Finland, is that a person has his/her personal identity number from birth. Thus, the society treats even newborn babies as individuals whose identification is not dependent on other people (Kinnunen, 1998).

In Spain, as in Southern European societies in general, the degree of individuality has traditionally been low (Flaquer, 2000). In the Catholic tradition, the society is seen as a set of ordered relationships that are natural and, correspondingly, birth, family background and social class determine the essence of a person. A person is first and foremost seen as a member of a social network, family and kin, rather than as an independent individual whose fate is in his or her own hands (Greely, 1989). These cultural differences have been reflected in the structure of the society, social mobility, gender relations, the family institution, and the type of welfare state and relationship between the family and the state.

In the course of the 1960s and 1970s, the position of women in both countries changed. Women's participation in education has risen since the early 1960s, but in Spain the increase has been remarkable and thus, a huge gap between the educational levels of women belonging to different generations exists. Only around 10 per cent of women born in the late 1930s and early 1940s completed at least upper secondary education, whereas over 60 per cent of women born in the late 1960s and

early 1970s have done so. A similar development has taken place also in Finland, although the generation gap is not as great as in Spain. Around 50 per cent of Finnish women belonging to the older age group have completed at least upper secondary education and over 86 per cent of women belonging to the younger age group have done so (Eurostat, 2000; Instituto de la Mujer, 2000; Statistics Finland, 2000). Today, in both countries female students outnumber male students at all educational levels. University-level education was clearly men's territory as late as the 1970s and early 1980s, but by the mid-1990s women bypassed men in Finland as well as in Spain; over half of university students in both countries were women by the mid-1990s (Havén, 1998).

In addition to the increase of women's participation in education, the number of women in the labour market in both Finland and Spain has grown since the 1960s. Again, the change has been greater in Spain than in Finland. In the early 1970s, 1.5 million Spanish women who had never been employed before entered the workplace, but the actual increase has taken place starting in the 1980s (Montero, 1995, p. 382). In 1960, 26 per cent of the Spanish female population aged 15 to 64 was in the labour force, whereas the figure in 2004 was 57 per cent. Although the number is still under the EU15 (63 per cent, 2004) and OECD (61 per cent, 2004) averages, the increase has been remarkable and continuous. In Finland, the female labour-force participation rate has traditionally been higher than in most other Western societies but in the 1960s married women, in particular, entered into working life in large numbers. In 1960, around 65 per cent of women aged 15 to 64 were in the labour force and by 2004 the figure had risen to 72 per cent (OECD, 2005c).

Both in Finland and Spain, these changes were interlinked with larger social and cultural changes in the 1960s and early 1970s, such as the economic growth, the demand for an educated labour force in new occupational branches, individualization, changes in the attitudinal climate in relation to moral issues in particular, and changes in family life (Jallinoja, 1983; Shubert, 1992).

Along with these changes, ideas concerning the proper places of women and men changed as well. The demand for equality strengthened and changed in nature. First, besides equal rights to education and wage work, women were to be visible and active in all the same places, positions and roles as men. Furthermore, views on the conditions of women's personal independence changed. Earlier, the state of being unmarried had been the only way for women to be independent individuals but now, according to the new view, a woman could pursue her

personal goals and be an active member of the society also in a marriage and with a family. Thus, demands for equality moved from the public sphere also to the private one: marriage and the family. Accordingly, female identity was no longer determined only by the roles of a wife and a mother, not even for those women with families. Instead, and especially in Finland, a self-sufficient wage worker became the ideal. Second, men's role within the family was no longer that of just a provider. Instead, they should play an active role in taking care of and bringing up their children and in sharing the housework with their spouses. Thus, gender ideology shifted from an emphasis on differences to an emphasis on likeness between the genders (Anttonen, 1994; Brooksbank Jones, 1995).

These demands and ideas, the fact that an ever-growing number of married women and mothers entered working life, and women's active role in policymaking initiated the development of 'family-friendly' social policies in Finland. Following the Scandinavian model, the ideal was the woman-friendly state where women can combine employment, motherhood and caring and maintain a social and economic position equal to men. Thus, the relationship between women and the state is seen as symbiotic; women need the state to secure their position as mothers and wage workers, and the state needs women for production and reproduction (Anttonen, 1994; see, also Part I, Chapter 2).

If the state has been a 'friend' of women in Finland, until recently, Spanish women have considered the state more like an 'enemy'. After the dictatorship, most Spaniards and especially women were suspicious of the political system, and all relevant post-authoritarian political and social actors wanted to disassociate themselves from the legacy of the pro-natalist and antifeminist Francoist policies. Following Anglo-American mainstream feminism, the objective of Spanish feminist groups as well as of women in political parties was to establish gender-equal policies in order to reduce the difference between male and female citizens, for example in terms of education and employment, and to avoid any sort of 'family-friendly' policies, which were seen as repressing women by defining them through the family and not as individuals. These principles became preponderant within the whole post-authoritarian political and social culture and discourse (Valiente, 1997).

Women's entrance into the public sphere in Spain was encouraged and emphasized in public discussion. Paid work became conceptualized as a choice but the welfare system remained grounded in the care provided by women in the family. Thus, until very recently, the reconciliation of work and the family has been considered a woman's personal rather

than a public problem. In the course of the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, demands for equality also within the family and couple relationship grew in the Spanish discourse. While women have been encouraged to take their stand in the public sphere, men have been enticed to take an active part in domestic work and parenting (Tobío, 2001).

Ideals of equality and individuality have shaped the conceptions of gender roles and the family. Gender ideology has changed from emphasizing differences to emphasizing likeness between the genders, and family ideology has moved from separate spheres to shared spheres. Although these tendencies are not only Western but global, they vary in timing and degree and according to cultural, social and political background and developments, as the cases of Finland and Spain clearly indicate.

Summary of family ideologies

Concerning the family ideology in Finland and Spain during the 20th century, both parallel trends and distinct features are detectable. Starting with the parallel trends, the nature of marriage has changed. First of all, it has become legally recognized that marriage may not be a lifelong commitment. Second, we may say that, earlier, marriage and family were inseparable from each other whereas, nowadays, they are separate institutions. Marriage used to be the only legal way for a man and a woman to live together and have an intimate relationship, and the ultimate purpose of marriage was procreation. Thus, getting married meant family formation. Although, in legal terms, marriage still is the best-protected form of relationship, other forms of intimate relationships are not sanctioned. As the articulated function of marriage is no longer procreation but the production of security, affection and emotional satisfaction, it has become necessary to grant that any kind of long-term and intimate relationship can fulfil these functions. Consequently, a couple is not determined to be a family; a family requires children. Denying registered homosexual couples the right to adopt children has recently served as an explicit expression of the enduring idea that The Family is composed of a heterosexual couple and their children.

Third, family ideology has shifted from emphasizing patriarchal and hierarchical couples and family relationships to emphasizing equality between the genders (and generations). As the gender ideology moved from the emphasis on difference to the emphasis on likeness between

genders both in society and in the family, similarly the family ideology moved from separate spheres to shared spheres.

Considering the distinct features or tones of the Finnish and Spanish conceptions of the family, the Spanish view on the family appears to be more collective than the Finnish one. First, contemporary Spanish law obliges spouses to live together in the same household whereas Finnish law makes no such obligation, and the codes on maintenance liability employ a more extensive definition of the family in Spain than in Finland. In terms of civil legislation on marriage and the family, the family in Finland is defined as a nuclear family composed of a heterosexual couple and their children. In Spain too, the core of the family is the nuclear family but parents and siblings of the core couple are also included under certain circumstances.

In legal terms, the conception of the family is quite traditional in Finland. Marriage continues to be an option only for heterosexual couples. Heterosexual cohabiting couples are practically outlawed in the eyes of civil legislation and although same-sex couples can register their relationship and enjoy rights and obligations similar to married heterosexual couples, they cannot adopt children – either each other's children or unrelated children. In Spain, recent legislative reforms lay heterosexual and homosexual couples on the same line in terms of the right to marry and adopt. Yet, regardless of the progressive stand on same-sex marriage, national-level juridical recognition of heterosexual cohabiting couples has yet to take place. Thus, different-sex couples are encouraged to conform to the traditional form of family and family formation. Furthermore, the new marriage law that permits same-sex marriage does, in fact, consolidate the role of the marriage institution as the bedrock of the family as married same-sex couples can form a family by joint adoption but the non-married ones cannot.

The civil legislative conception of the family is based on biological and marital ties in both countries. In Spain, the definition of the family in social legislation and public policy is congruent with the one in civil law. In Finland, however, social legislation and public policy define the family in broader terms than civil law, including also unmarried couples as cores of families and, unlike in civil law, as liable for each other's maintenance.

Regardless of their distinct features, the basic culturally and socially shared conception of The Family appears to be similar both in Finland and Spain: the ideal or 'ideological' family both in Finland and Spain is composed of a married couple and their children. The difference is that

so far in Finland, a married couple is always heterosexual whereas in Spain, it nowadays may be either straight or gay.

Yuval Merin (2002, p. 41) states that in most Western societies family behaviour hardly ever corresponds to official juridical and legislative norms, as social behaviour is usually one step ahead of the legislatures in the field of family law. This seems to hold true in the case of Finland but not of Spain. As an example, heterosexual cohabitation is a common way to live and form a family in Finland but it is not legally recognized, whereas in Spain, it is uncommon but in some autonomous communities it is recognized by law and recognition in the national law is under consideration. It appears that recent Spanish legislation is ahead of people's actual behaviour.

6
Family Values and Attitudes

According to studies of European values, traditional values – respect for authority, a hierarchical picture of society and subordination of the individual to the group – show a general decline to the benefit of universal individualism – valuing the primacy of an individual's freedom of choice, equal rights and the questioning of traditional centres of power and authority. This gradual shift characterizes attitudes concerning work, politics, religion as well as the family (Michalski and Tallberg, 1999; Therborn, 1995). This chapter reviews the values and attitudes that Europeans in general and Finns and Spaniards in particular hold regarding the family, assessing whether the values and attitudes are congruent with the family ideologies discussed above.

In principle and practice

There seems to be a converging trend in European family values as Europeans have become more tolerant and accepting with respect to non-traditional family behaviour. On the basis of the illustration of International Social Science Survey Programme (ISSP) data on family and gender roles presented in Table 6.1, it appears that, at least, in the eight sample countries cohabitation both as an alternative to marriage and as a prelude to marriage is widely accepted among the respondents. In every country, well over half of the respondents accept cohabitation without the intention to marry. A bit surprisingly, though, it appears that cohabitation as an alternative to marriage is slightly more accepted than cohabitation as a trial marriage (except in France). The survey data also indicate that the pursuit of personal happiness is important, as a bad marriage is not considered better than no marriage at all, and divorce is commonly accepted as a solution to marital problems.

Table 6.1 Attitudes to marriage, cohabitation and divorce in selected European countries

Proposition	**Percentage (%) of all respondents who strongly agree or agree**							
	Scandinavia		Central-Western		Southern		Central-Eastern	
	Finland	Sweden	France	Great Britain	Spain	Portugal	Hungary	Poland
Married people are generally happier than unmarried.	23	13	20	24	23	25	50	45
It is better to have a bad marriage than no marriage at all.	5	5	3	2	9	4	9	9
People who want children ought to get married.	45	30	36	52	35	48	45	68
It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married.	75	86	76	68	74	81	74	56
It is a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first.	73	84	80	60	67	57	60	47
Divorce is usually the best solution when a couple cannot seem to work out their marriage problems.	58	50	58	60	79	78	57	57
Number of respondents	1,289	1,080	1,903	1,960	2,471	1,092	1,023	1,252

Source: ISSP (2004) International Social Survey Programme: Family and Changing Gender Roles III, 2002.

Faith in marriage, however, seems to be considerably stronger among Hungarians and Poles than among Western European respondents. Half of the Hungarians and nearly half of the Polish respondents agree or strongly agree with the claim that married people are generally happier than unmarried. This applies also to younger people under age 35. In most of the sample countries, marriage is associated with children. The majority of the Polish and around half of the respondents in Finland, Great Britain, Portugal and Hungary agree that those who want children ought to get married. It is no surprise that only around a third of Swedish respondents agree that having children requires marriage. What is a bit surprising, though, is that Spaniards and Swedes appear to think along the same lines. In all the countries surveyed, the association of marriage with childbearing is stronger among older respondents and weaker among those under age 35.

Although we ought to be cautious in making deductions and generalizations based on attitude and value surveys, it is fairly safe to say that marriage is no longer considered as a necessarily life-long commitment or as the only acceptable option for living together and having an intimate relationship (see also, for example, CIS, 1997, 1999; Melkas, 1997; Michalski and Tallberg, 1999; Paajanen, 2002).

Looking at the attitudes of Finnish and Spanish respondents presented in Table 6.1, there are some interesting discrepancies. Finns more so than Spaniards agree with the proposition that people who want children ought to get married even though Finns actually do have children outside marriage, whereas Spaniards tend to marry first and have children later. Then again, Spaniards appear to be more in favour of divorce as the solution to marital problems than Finns even though in reality divorces in Spain are far more uncommon than in Finland (see Part I, Chapter 1).

Attitudes and actual practices are not always congruent. Even though it appears to be true that the general trend in Europe is towards more permissive attitudes and values, differences in actual practices continue to exist especially between Northern and Southern Europe. For example, in principle, Spaniards appear to be one of the most permissive people in Europe. They readily accept same-sex marriage, they tend to approve of births outside marriage and divorce more readily than Finns and they are in favour of cohabitation to the same degree as Finns but in practice they are more inclined to conventional behaviour than Finns.

The recent demographical changes in Europe are often seen as signs of the decline of the family institution; this decline is considered to be connected to a shift in values and attitudes (see, for example, Popenoe,

1988). Although the fact is that the proportion of single people (other than the widowed) and childless couples has increased while the proportion of families with children has decreased, most of the population in European societies still live in households composed of couples and of couples with children. As shown in Table 6.2, 60 per cent of households in Europe (EU25) are couple households and 35 per cent of them are composed of couples with dependent children. As for Finland and Spain, 62 per cent of Finns living in private households live in households composed of a couple and half of them (31 per cent) have dependent children. Little over half of Spaniards (53 per cent) live in couple households and 34 per cent of them are composed of a couple and dependent children (See Table 6.2). Furthermore, in both countries, the great majority of the households composed of a couple with children are based on marriage (Meil, 1999; Yearbook of Population Research in Finland 1998–1999).

Even though most people in Europe do live in a 'traditional' family or household at least at some point in their lives, non-traditional family behaviour appears to be more common in Northern Europe, in Scandinavia in particular and in Finland, than in Southern Europe and Spain. As an example, in Finland, the proportion of households composed of two adults without dependent children is far higher than in Spain (see Table 6.2) Households of single adults are common in Finland, comprising 17 per cent of private households, while the corresponding share in Spain is only 6 per cent. However, the proportion of lone-parent households with dependent children of all households is similar, 2 per cent in both countries, which is below the European average (see Table 6.2).

On the other hand, 40 per cent of Spaniards live in private households with three or more adults. As Table 6.2 indicates, this is a common household type also in other Southern European countries.[1] In Finland, households with three or more adults compose only 19 per cent of private households, which is way under the European average (25 per cent). Furthermore, 17 per cent of Spanish people but only 9 per cent of Finns live in households with three or more adults with dependent children (see Table 6.2).

These differences reflect, first, the fact that three-generation households are more common in Spain than in Finland. Furthermore, adult children in Spain tend to stay in their parental home considerably longer than the Finnish ones do. It is also more common in Spain than in Finland that a young married couple with a child or children lives in the same household with one of the spouses' parents. In addition, it is

Table 6.2 Household composition in selected European countries, 2005

Countries	**% of persons living in private households by household type**					
	Single adult living alone	Two adults without dependent children	Three or more adults without dependent children	Single parent with dependent children	Two adults with dependent children	Three or more adults with dependent children
EU25	12	25	14	4	35	11
Scandinavia						
Denmark	15	31	6	5	36	7
Finland	17	31	10	2	31	9
Central-Western Europe						
France	13	26	7	5	42	7
Germany	17	30	10	5	31	7
United Kingdom	13	27	11	8	31	8
Southern Europe						
Italy	11	20	19	2	36	12
Portugal	6	19	20	2	36	17
Spain	6	19	23	2	34	17

Source: Eurostat, 2007a, p. 18.
Notes: The data is not available for all EU25 countries. Therefore, the table presents only a selection of (Western) European countries. The original Eurostat table does not include totals, and the figures have been rounded.

also more common in Spain than in Finland that separated or divorced people with their child or children return to live with their parents (see also Douglass, 2005; Pinelli et al., 2001). These differences also point to long-term cultural heritage. As discussed in Part I, Chapter 2, Catholicism tends to encourage traditional family forms, larger families and stronger communality and interdependence between family members, whereas Protestantism exhorts smaller and less traditional families and an appreciation for individual independence.

Enduring conventions

Being open-minded and permissive towards non-traditional lifestyles in general is one thing but what is considered desirable and proper for oneself or for loved ones is another thing. Displaying permissive and 'modern' attitudes in interviews, questionnaires and public discussion is a politically correct thing to do but in personal life many, if not most of us, tend to be more conventional.

Although 'alternative' lifestyles have become more common and socially accepted, marital status still determines the conception of the family. When Finns were asked what the family in their opinion is, the most popular answer was a married couple and their children (98 per cent). Regardless of the fact that consensual unions are very common in Finland, only 55 per cent of respondents perceived them as families. However, consensual unions are accepted as families when the couple has children (86 per cent) (Reuna, 1997). When Spaniards were asked what kind of relationship they would establish themselves, the overwhelming majority (59 per cent) chose marriage with a religious ceremony and 9 per cent chose civil marriage. Only 10 per cent favoured cohabitation without future plans to marry and 9 per cent would cohabit before marriage (Orizo, 1996). Furthermore, marriage is regarded as an important institution in both countries, for around 75 per cent of Finns and Spaniards disagree with the claim that marriage is an out-of-date institution (CIS, 1997; Paajanen, 2002).

In spite of the fact that having and rearing children is no longer considered the ultimate purpose of marriage, studies indicate that the majority of Europeans agree that those who want to have children should get married (CIS, 1994; Oinonen and Alestalo, 2006; ISSP, 2004). Marriage is a mode of cultural behaviour and reasons for marrying are quite similar among Europeans in general and among Finns and Spaniards. First of all, getting married is what should be done in a long-term relationship. Second, it is believed that marriage creates security and permanency and

that in the long run it is better for children if their parents are married. As a case in point, although 40 per cent of children in Finland are born to unmarried parents, most of them marry after the birth of the child. The third most frequently stated reason for getting married is the decision to have children. The decision or desire to have children ranks higher on the Spaniards' list of reasons for marriage than on the Finns', which indicates that in Spain having children outside marriage is not as socially acceptable as it is in Finland (Reuna, 1997; CIS, 1999).

Although fertility and family size have declined, the great majority of Finnish and Spanish childless women and men aged 18–39 plan to have children sometime in the future. In fact, the study conducted in Finland shows how remaining childless is very seldom a conscious and unchanging decision. Rather, it is a consequence of several successive decisions not to have a child right now (Paajanen, 2002, p. 13).

On the basis of attitude and value studies, it seems that in Finland the reasons given for postponing family formation or hesitating to have children in the first place or to have more than one child are more of a personal nature and, in Spain, the reasons stated are rather structural. In Finland, the major reasons given by those under 30 years of age are unfinished studies, financial insecurity, a lack of 'broody', a desire to do other interesting things first before having children and not feeling ready to take responsibility for a child. The most common reason reported by those over 30 is the absence of the desire for a child (broody), followed by the demands of one's working life and career, the preference to have a break between the first and second child, the lack of a suitable partner and financial insecurity (Paajanen, 2002). In Spain, economic reasons are at the top of the list both among those under and over 30 years of age. Pessimism towards one's future economic and social situation, not feeling ready to take the responsibility for a child, women's employment and a lack of suitable housing are the other reasons given by Spaniards under and over 30 (CIS, 1998, 1999).

The appreciated family

Postponement of and hesitation in family formation is in sociological discussions often connected to extended youth and the youth-glamorizing culture (see, for example, Allan and Crow, 2001). It is claimed that the freedom that is associated with youth is regarded as more appealing than family life but, as we have seen above, attitude and value studies clearly indicate that establishing a stable partnership, mostly in marriage, and having children are future plans for most of the people.

Generally speaking, younger generations tend to be more permissive in their values and attitudes than older generations.[2] In fact, the differences in values are more significant between generations than between nations (Michalski and Tallberg, 1999). Ronald Inglehart (1997) suggests that younger generations are more inclined to permissiveness (post-modern values) than older generations because as a generation they have not experienced the kind of material and physical insecurity as the older generations have. In other words, insecurity enhances the need for predictability and absolute norms, whereas a sense of security is conducive to relatively permissive and flexible norms. Therefore, as the younger birth cohorts replace the older cohorts in the adult population, it is expected that the values and attitudes of the society will become more permissive or post-modern.

Analyses of the two waves of World Values surveys in 1981 and 1990 confirm this hypothesis as far as respect for authority, religious norms and attitudes towards abortion, divorce, homosexuality and same-sex relationships are concerned. However, family-related values and attitudes were not congruent with the general trend. The share of those who agreed with the claim that a child needs a home with both a father and a mother in order to grow up happily increased in almost all of the countries included in the data. The proportion in Spain increased from 85 per cent to 95 per cent, and in Finland the corresponding percentages were 55 and 85. In addition, contrary to the prediction, the number of those agreeing that a woman needs to have children to be fulfilled grew in most of the countries studied. This was the case in Finland, whereas in Spain, there was hardly any change. Approval of a woman having a child as a single parent increased between 1981 and 1990 in countries like Spain and Italy and decreased in countries like Finland, Sweden and Norway, where single parenthood has been quite common for a long time compared to Southern Europe (Inglehart, 1997, pp. 285–90).

The findings concerning family-related values allude to two things. First, family values and attitudes are in line with the prevailing family ideologies both in the Finnish and Spanish societies, signalling that the family is perceived as the nuclear family based on a heterosexual, and preferably married, couple. Second, it seems that those countries that are defined as the most post-modern in Europe, namely the Scandinavian countries, have reached a kind of plateau in the progression of individualism and post-modern values, whereas, for example, Southern European countries are still in the process of shifting from modern to post-modern values and attitudes (see Michalski and Tallberg, 1999).

While the questions in the World Values and European Values surveys and International Social Survey Programme may be criticized and it is likely that not all the questions or claims are understood in the same way in different countries, the results of the studies seem to confirm the broader idea that we are living in a 'renaissance' of the family or in an era of 'new familism', and that the values concerning the family and family life tend to be quite enduring (Jallinoja, 2003; Kumar, 1997). Familial sentiments appeared to be stronger in the 1990s than in the 1980s, and no sign of change is detectable in the 2000s either. The new familism and inclination towards traditional and conservative values and attitudes seem to be strong among younger generations, in particular. The studies indicate that young people in the 1970s and 1980s were clearly more liberal than young people in the 1990s (for example, Orizo 1996). One reason for the new familism often mentioned is the economic recession of the 1990s (and the transition of former socialist Europe), which led to dismantling the welfare state, to the political and ideological elevation of the family, to the fact that people have increasingly become dependent on the family regardless of the type of welfare state in which they live and to profound changes in the structure of the labour market (see Beck, 1999b).

Despite the fact that individualization and individualistic values are by now deeply rooted in contemporary societies, the need to rely on traditions and long-standing values persists even among younger generations. Although younger birth cohorts do not share the same insecurities as the older ones did, they face different kinds of insecurities and hazards that reinforce valuing such spheres of life that they learn to view as secure and familiar. In reality, people do recognize that marriage, the family and family life are not necessarily secure and lasting and, in fact, a growing number of people do not live according to the predominant family values and ideology, at least not permanently. Nevertheless, the idea or the ideological model of the family has not lost its strength and attraction because the expectations and hopes for the relationship, family and family life do not change relative to the changes in circumstances (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, 2002; Bittman and Pixley, 1997). Accordingly, the next chapter examines the discrepancy between values and the ideal of the family on the one hand and family practices on the other by discussing the demographic transition in Finland and Spain, trends in Finnish and Spanish patterns of family formation and the circumstances behind these trends and patterns.

7
On Family Practices

Changes in Western families since the early 1960s are well known and much discussed. In this chapter, we return to demographic changes and trends, and examine the demographic statistics of Finland and Spain within the Western European (EU15) context from 1960 to the early 2000s. To start the examination of family practices from 1960 is well justified, for it is the point in time that is considered as the start of the latest and ongoing transition in family practices, patterns of family formation and fertility. We will start with a description of the three-phased model of the so-called second demographic transition and review how demographic developments in Finland and Spain fit into the model. Second, the demographic statistics are viewed in connection with theories of demographic transition. After a more general discussion of elements of and reasons for the demographic transition, the Finnish and Spanish cases are discussed in more detail, assessing the explanatory power of the theories and looking for the case-specific explanations for changes in patterns of family formation.

Demographic transition

As discussed in Part I, Chapter 1, since the 1960s, patterns of family formation and practices have changed following the same general trend in all Western countries: marriage and fertility rates have declined, while cohabitation, divorce, extramarital births and mean ages at first marriage and first birth have increased. These changes are referred to as the 'second demographic transition',[1] which is divided into three phases (Lesthaeghe, 1995; Van de Kaa, 1987).

The first phase, roughly between 1955 and 1970, involved three major components of change: divorce accelerated considerably, the

baby boom came to an end and the decline in the age at marriage stopped. In addition, several countries experienced a temporary increase in shotgun marriages near the end of the 1960s.

During the second phase, roughly between 1970 and 1985, premarital cohabitation spread from Scandinavian countries to other parts of Europe. This led, first, to an increase in extramarital births among all births. However, it is important to note that the increase in births outside marriage did not entail a rise in fertility prior to age 25. Second, the nature of cohabitation shifted from a period of courtship to more of a 'paperless marriage'.

The third phase that has occurred from the mid-1980s onwards is characterized by a stabilization of divorce rates in those countries where divorce rates were high earlier. At the same time, remarriages of both divorced and widowed persons have declined since the 1960s, being replaced by post-marital cohabitation and 'living apart together' relationships. Moreover, there has been a recuperation of fertility among those over age 30 (Lesthaeghe, 1995; Van de Kaa, 1987).

The consequences of these developments have included a rise in the number of one-parent households (usually female-headed), an increase in one-person households and changes in patterns of leaving home among young adults. However, not all Western nations have followed these phases synchronously. In Western Europe, generally speaking, the leads and lags follow a north–south axis (Lesthaeghe, 1995).

Let us look at the demographic statistics concerning Finland and Spain presented in Table 7.1 in relation to the outlined three-phase model of the second demographic transition. In Finland, during the first phase until 1970, divorce accelerated and fertility declined sharply between 1960 and 1970. However, the decline in the age at first marriage did not stop at that time, nor did the marriage rate decline. The number of marriages rose remarkably by 1970 because the post-war baby boom generation reached marriageable age in the second part of the 1960s. At that time, cohabitation had not yet become socially accepted, and thus, the decline of the mean age at first marriage between 1960 and 1970 may reflect the increase in shotgun marriages. Spain does not conform to the model in any respect. First of all, divorce was illegal until 1981 and, therefore, no increase took place in the period in question. The mean age at marriage has been higher in Spain than in Finland and in the EU15 countries on average during the whole period reviewed. But, like in Finland, the mean age at marriage decreased slightly between 1960 and 1980.

Table 7.1 Selected indicators of the demographic transition in Finland, Spain and Western Europe (EU15), 1960–2003

Indicators	**Finland**						**Spain**						**EU15**					
	1960	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**1998**	**2003**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**1998**	**2003**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**1998**	**2003**
Crude marriage rate	7.4	8.8	6.1	5.0	4.6[1]	5.0	7.7	7.3	5.9	5.7	4.8[1]	5.0	7.9	7.7	6.3	6.0	5.0[1]	4.9[e]
Crude divorce rate	0.8	1.3	2.0	2.6	2.7	2.6	*	*	*	0.6	0.9	1.1	0.5	0.8	1.4	1.7	1.8	2.0
Mean age at first marriage:																		
Women	24	23	24	25	28	29	26	25	23	25	27	28[2]	24	23	23	25	28	28[e2]
Men	26	25	26	27	30	30[2]	29	27	26	28	29	30[2]	27	26	26	28	29[e]	31[e2]
Remarriages (% of total marriages)																		
Women	—	—	13.1	16.9	21.6	—	—	—	0.8	3.3	4.8	—	—	—	12.4	13.5	15.2	—
Men	—	—	14.2	17.7	23.4	—	—	—	1.5	4.9	6.5	—	—	—	11.9	16.2	16.4	—
Cohabiting couples %:																		
Total population	—	—	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
Under-30s	—	—	—	—	61	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	33	—
Total fertility rate	2.7	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.8[3]	2.9	2.9	2.2	1.4	1.2	1.3[3]	2.6	2.4	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.5[e3]
Proportion of live births outside marriage (%)	4.0	5.8	13.1	25.2	37.2	40.3[3]	2.3	1.3	3.9	9.6	14.5	26.8[3]	—	5.5	9.6	19.5	26.0[e]	32.6[e3]
Mean age of women at first birth	24	24	26	26	27	28	—	25	25	27	29	31	—	25[e]	25[e]	26[e]	28[e]	28[e]

Source: Eurostat 2006.
Source for remarriages: United Nations (2000).
Source for cohabitation: European Commission (2004).
[1]1997; [2]2002; [3]2004; *Divorce not legal; [e]Estimate; — No available data.

As for the second phase of the demographic transition, again Finland conforms better to the model than Spain. Extramarital births among all births have increased remarkably since 1970, which also indicates the increase in premarital cohabitation. Spain has followed the same trend but very moderately; births outside marriage as well as cohabitation are uncommon compared to Finland and the EU15 average even now, in the early 2000s, and among young people. What comes to the nature of cohabitation in Finland, it has not become a paperless marriage even though it has become a common and a legitimate way to start a family. Most of the cohabiting couples in Finland marry after the birth of a child. Thus, unlike in Sweden, cohabitation in Finland is, generally speaking, better described as a transitional phase preceding marriage, not as an established 'paperless marriage' as discussed in Chapter 1, in Part I, of this book (see also Kiernan and Estaugh, 1993; Reuna, 1997).

In accordance with the characteristics of the third phase of the demographic transition, divorce rates in Finland stabilized in the 1990s. In Spain there has been an upward trend, but all in all, the divorce rate is extremely low in the European context, although it is expected to rise owing to the new liberal divorce legislation (see Chapter 5). Since the considerable decline of fertility in the 1960s, the fertility rate in Finland has been quite stable, ranging between 1.6 and 1.8 children per woman. In Spain, however, the fertility rate has collapsed. By the end of the 1990s, it was the lowest (1.2.) in the Western world (together with that of Italy). However, in the course of the new millennium, a slight increase in fertility has been detectable, although the Spanish rate is still among the lowest-of-low together with other Southern European and CEE countries (see Table 1.2 in Chapter 1). However, both in Spain and Finland, the recuperation of fertility has taken place among those over age 30, and births among younger age groups are constantly decreasing. In the 1970s, childbearing in Spain was divided evenly between women aged 20–34, whereas at the end of the 1990s most babies were born to women aged 25–34 and the highest birth rate was among women aged 30–34. In Finland, the changes between the 1970s and 1990s were less radical. In the late 1990s, most babies were still born to women aged 25–29, although the number of births among women over 30 years of age increased (for further discussion, see Oinonen, 2004a).

What comes to remarriages, Table 7.1 indicates that contrary to the model of the second demographic transition, remarriages both among women and men in Finland, Spain and in the EU15 region increased on average, at least during the 1980s and 1990s (see also Part I, Chapter 1). Again, the Spanish figures are very low, and Finns seem to enter into

second marriages more than Western Europeans on average. One probable explanation for this difference between Spain and Finland is found in the divorce legislation. Until recently, divorce in Spain was not easily attainable and, therefore, most of those whose marriage had been dissolved were legally separated, not divorced, and, thus, could not remarry (Roca, 1999).

Overall, Finland has followed the three-phase model of the second demographic transition, whereas in Spain, the transition is behind 'schedule' and the changes have been less radical and slower, with the exception of fertility. The Scandinavian countries have been the forerunners as far as the changes in family and household formation are concerned. Sweden and Denmark have been the pacesetters and, compared to them, Finland has lagged behind regarding all the indicators (Lesthaeghe, 1995).

Looking at the demographic statistics of Finland and Spain (Table 7.1), from the viewpoint of patterns of first family formation, marriage rates at the end of the 1990s were almost equally low in Finland and Spain, being lower than in the EU15 region on average. However, it appears that in the early 2000s, marriage appealed to Finns and Spaniards more than Western Europeans on average. As Table 7.1 shows, by 2003, marriage rates in Finland and Spain had slightly increased, whereas the average rate of the EU15 countries had slightly decreased. As for the mean age at first marriage, in the 1960s and 1970s, Spaniards tended to be older than Western Europeans in general but at the end of the 1990s they were slightly younger when getting married.

Accordingly, one could expect that Spaniards would also enter into parenthood at a younger age but the opposite seems to be true. The mean age of women at first birth is higher in Spain than in Finland and the EU15 region on average. As Table 7.1 shows, Spanish women seem to live in a childless marriage for a couple of years, whereas Finnish women tend to become wives and mothers at the same age or, increasingly, mothers first and then wives, as the difference between the age at first birth and first marriage indicates. This reflects the fact that Finns move from cohabiting partnership to marriage just prior to or after the child is born. As for cohabitation, it is the most common way to start life as a couple among Finns under age 30. Over 60 per cent of Finnish young adults who live as couples are cohabitors. The Finnish figure is almost twice the EU15 average. In Spain, however, only around 12 per cent of under-30s living as a couple live in cohabiting unions. In both countries, as in the Western European (EU15) countries in general, the proportion of cohabiting couples of all couples among the total

population is considerably lower than among the younger age group, as shown in Table 7.1.

Corresponding to the infrequency of extramarital cohabitation, extramarital births comprise a smaller share of all births in Spain than in the EU15 countries in general, not to mention Finland. In Spain, only around 27 per cent of babies are born to unmarried parents whereas the corresponding percentage in Finland is over 40. However, the increase of extramarital births in Spain has been notable, nearly doubling between 1998 and 2004 (see Table 7.1). With regard to fertility, Spain is the forerunner of the fertility decline. Although a slight increase has taken place at the beginning of the new millennium, the Spanish fertility rate is still extremely low, around 1.3. In Finland, on the other hand, the fertility rate is relatively high (1.8) compared to the EU15 average, not to mention Spain (see Table 7.1).

Thus, thinking in terms of patterns of family formation, the statistics suggest that in Finland and Spain, like in Europe in general, first family formation takes place at an increasingly older age (see Part I, Chapter 1). In the early 2000s, Western European women are around 28 years of age and men around 31 when marrying for the first time, and Finns and Spaniards conform to the EU15 average. The timing of motherhood has also been delayed. Nowadays, Western European women tend to be close to their 30s when having their first child. The average age at first birth in the EU15 countries and also in Finland is currently around 28 years of age, but Spanish women are even older, around 31, when becoming mothers (see Table 7.1). Furthermore, the statistics also indicate that Finns start their lives as a couple in a cohabiting union and marry as they have children, whereas Spaniards do not cohabit but get married straight away and have children after a few years of marriage.

Regardless of the differences, the demographic changes in both countries have followed the general trend. The reasons for this trend are widely discussed and debated not only by demographers but also by sociologists, economists, political scientists and historians. Before we go into the Finnish and Spanish patterns of family formation in more detail, let us take a brief look at the lines of discussion around the issue of demographic transition and changing patterns of family formation.

Perspectives on the demographic transition since 1960

Some demographers like Cliquet (1991) disagree with the idea of a 'second' demographic transition, arguing that the demographic changes of recent decades are only a linear continuation of the transition that

started in Europe along with the industrial revolution. However, the changes in patterns of family formation, fertility and living arrangements that have occurred since 1960 have been substantial enough to justify using the concept of a 'second demographic transition' (Lesthaeghe, 1995; Van de Kaa, 1987).

A distinction is often drawn between demographic changes prior to and after the early 1960s. From a political perspective, both the first demographic transition and the second demographic transition were strongly influenced by the growing importance of individual freedom of choice and the non-acceptance of external authority, such as the church, the state, kin and family. The difference, however, is that during the first transition, the manifestation of individuality occurred in privacy, whereas in the 1960s, in particular, the manifestation was public: reactions to the authority structures of the Catholic Church, the student revolts and the 'second feminist movement', all were highly visible and political (Lesthaeghe, 1995).

Furthermore, two distinct sexual revolutions may be identified. The first one, prior to 1960, changed the determinants of partner choice from parental involvement to personal choice, based on attraction and companionship. The second sexual revolution emphasized the sexual aspects of partner selection and sexual gratification in unions (Shorter, 1975). It was associated with the contraceptive revolution, which introduced new and efficient intrauterine methods. The major effects of the contraceptive revolution are (1) it enables women to control the timing and spacing of childbirth and thus improves combining extra-familial life with family life; (2) it allows women to avoid unwanted pregnancies and births and to choose the number of children they would like to have; and (3) it gives sexually active women the option of being childless. The availability and use of modern contraceptives have also wider social implications: sexual activity has become separated from marriage and reproduction, creating new lifestyle choices, such as informal partnerships, cohabitation and voluntarily childless marriages (see Hakim, 2000).

The social historian Philippe Ariés (1980) detects two distinct motivations for the historical and the recent demographic transitions, in particular, for the decline in fertility. The former decline in the 18th and 19th centuries was inspired by parental investment in the child, which was interlinked with the barging of the bourgeois family model into the lifestyles of all social classes and the emergence of the cult of motherhood. The latter began a period when the quality of the partner relationship is emphasized. Children continue to be important, but the core of the family is the couple, and marriage is defined less as a parenting

union and more as a personal relationship between spouses (see, for example, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Coontz, 2005; Lewis, 2001).

The fact that the divorce rate increased early on in the second demographic transition indicates that individuals had started to evaluate the quality of their personal relationships according to different standards than before. Those early divorcees were socialized in the conviction that marriage was a lifelong commitment, which stresses the fact that the status of the spousal relationship had surpassed the status of the parenting relationship and, consequently, the minimal standards for the quality of the couple relationship rose. As the quality standards rise, fulfilment is more difficult to achieve and thus, on the one hand, marriages are more likely to end and, on the other hand, it is more difficult to find a suitable partner in the first place. Thus, the changed nature of the couple relationship and raised quality requirements do not only make existing marriages more fragile but they also evoke the postponement of marriage and an increase in cohabitation (see, for example, Harding et al., 1986; Oppenheimer, 1988).

Economists too have recognized the distinctiveness of the two periods, before and after 1960. They stress that the trend of rising real earnings among men roughly between the 1880s and 1960 led to earlier marriage and parenthood in most Western countries. The 'second transition', however, has been influenced by the increase of female employment and female wages, which led to reductions in gains to marriage and to rising opportunity costs for women. As a result, marriages are postponed and fertility declines (Becker, 1981). According to Easterlin et al. (1990), the recent fertility decline is the result of deteriorating intergenerational income ratios and harder labour market conditions, which forces younger generations to change their demographic behaviour by remaining single, having fewer children and delaying marriage and parenthood. From the economic point of view, increased consumerism is one of the basic reasons for the latest demographic transition as well. As long as the consumption aspirations do not level off or men's labour-market situation does not improve and their income levels rise, there is no realistic reason to expect a reversal of the current demographic patterns (see Lesthaeghe, 1995).

This theory assumes that women would be willing to give up their lot in the labour market and their own resources if men's income would be enough to guarantee the desired standard of living and level of consumption. However, studies indicate that there is no realistic reason to assume a going-back to the old-gendered division of labour because women's economic activity is perceived as a precondition for forming

a household of one's own and having children (see Paajanen, 2002; Solsona, 1998; Tobio, 2001). The problem with many economists' theories is that they are based on a conception of the family that does not correspond to the present reality. First of all, nowadays, breadwinner/homemaker types of families are increasingly infrequent and, second, with regard to a husband's capacity to provide for his family, today, as well as in the past, two incomes are often necessary for the family economy (see Brining, 2000).

It is noteworthy that none of the above theories alone explain the process of the second demographic transition. Instead, they should be seen as complementary and, furthermore, they should be examined within the cultural, social and historical background and in the context of a particular case (Letshaeghe, 1995). Accordingly, the cases of Finland and Spain allow us to see whether and how well these theories explain changes in patterns of family formation.

Patterns of family formation: Interpretation of similarities and differences

As the statistics presented in Table 7.1 show, marriage rates are practically equally low in Finland and Spain, but the fertility rate is substantially lower in Spain than in Finland. In both countries, people enter into their first marriage and parenthood at an older age than a few decades ago, although Finns tend to become parents at a slightly younger age than Spaniards. These trends are usually explained by the availability and accessibility of modern contraceptive methods, cohabitation and women's increased labour-force participation. However, the comparative analysis demonstrates that these explanations and reasons are not valid in the cases of Finland and Spain.

Modern contraceptives: Cause for fertility decline?

To start with contraception, effective contraceptives became increasingly available in the 1960s and 1970s, and today modern methods of contraception are widely accepted and practiced. However, there are marked differences in the availability and accessibility of contraceptive methods between countries. Studies show that sex education and the use of modern contraceptives are more widespread in the North and West of Europe than in the South and East (Spinelli et al., 2000). These differences largely arise from differences in legislation and attitudes towards sexuality and birth control.

In Spain, the contraceptive revolution was delayed largely due to the negative attitude of the Catholic Church towards premarital sex, contraception and abortion. The ban on the sale and use of contraceptives was removed only in 1978. Abortion was legalized in 1985 but in a strict form: being permitted only if the health of the mother is endangered, if the pregnancy is the result of rape or if the foetus is seriously malformed. Due to the strict law, the number of legal abortions has remained low. As for the use of contraceptives, only around half of Spanish women of reproductive age use modern contraceptives, and yet fertility has declined sharply. Thus, neither the use of modern and effective contraceptive methods nor the availability of legal abortion explains the extremely low level of fertility in Spain (Commission Report, 1997; Oinonen, 2004a; Perez and Livi-Bacci, 1992; Spinelli et al., 2000).

In Finland, information concerning birth control and contraceptive methods and sex education has been more open compared to Spain. Sex education and family planning entered the comprehensive school curriculum in the 1970s. At the same time, family-planning clinics were established in connection with the municipal health-care centres. Family-planning clinics played a central role in advancing the contraceptive revolution in Finland. A visit to the clinic and the first contraceptive method, for example the pill for 3–6 months, became available to all at no charge. The liberal abortion law of 1970 permitting abortion not only on medical and eugenic but also on socio-economic grounds raised the fear of increasing abortions. However, no real increase took place and the previously common illegal abortions soon ceased (Rimpelä et al., 1998; Women and men in Finland 1999).

Although the new effective contraceptives have changed sexual and reproductive behaviour, no causal link between the use of modern contraceptives and fertility levels exists (Coleman, 1996). The cases of Finland and Spain confirm this; despite the widespread use of modern methods of birth control among Finnish women, the fertility rate is high by European standards, and in Spain, the fertility rate has collapsed although traditional and unreliable methods are still widely practiced.

Cohabitation: An initiator of the decline and delay of marriage and parenthood?

As for the decline and delay of marriage and parenthood, several studies demonstrate that the decline in first marriage rates is mostly caused by the increase in cohabitation. That is because cohabitation delays

marriages, since people tend to have several short-lived cohabiting unions before marrying. Second, the increased popularity of cohabitation as the form of the first partnership and the fact that the significant first partnership is formed at an older age are considered responsible for the delay in motherhood (see, for example, Ermisch and Francesconi, 2000; Ressler and Waters, 1995).

However, as the demographic indicators in Table 7.1 show, in Spain, cohabitation offers no explanation for the declining marriage rate or for the delay in marriage and motherhood because cohabitation is uncommon and Spaniards tend to start their lives as couples through formal marriage and live a few years in a childfree marriage. In Finland, however, cohabitation is common and delays marriage, but the prevalence of cohabitation as the first partnership does not explain the declining marriage rate, for most cohabiting couples contract a formal marriage when they have the first child. The high number of extramarital births and the fact that Finnish women tend to become mothers at a younger age than Spaniards indicates that cohabitation does not necessarily cause the delay of motherhood either (Table 7.1; see also Part I, Chapter 1).

Women's employment: A cause of changes in patterns of family formation?

The recent demographic transition has also been related to changes in gender relations and to the increase in women's employment in particular. Female labour-force participation has increased since the 1960s in all European societies. In the EU15 countries, the percentage of the female labour force of the total labour force increased from 32 per cent in 1960 to 44 per cent in 2004. Likewise, the proportion of women aged 15–64 in the labour force grew substantially. In 1960, 42 per cent of women aged 15–64 in the EU15 countries were in the labour force, whereas the corresponding figure in 2004 was around 63 per cent (OECD, 1997a, pp. 39, 41; Statistics Finland, 2006). Although women work increasingly outside the home, their responsibility for the major share of domestic work has not diminished. This double burden is seen as one of the factors causing changes in family formation, family life and the instability of relationships.

According to the influential home economic theory (Becker, 1981), the trend of declining marriage and fertility, increasing cohabitation and the instability of marriage and family arise from the loosening of the specialized marriage and family model, which is a consequence of increased female labour-force participation. Women are not financially

or socially as dependent on their husbands as they used to be, and due to the unequal division of domestic labour between women and men, women gain less from marriage than men. The reduced benefit from marriage increases the numbers of single people, cohabiting couples and extramarital births, increases divorce and raises the numbers of female-headed single-parent families. Furthermore, as women no longer identify themselves mainly as mothers and wives, the importance and benefit of children is reduced, causing a decline in fertility.

Rationalizing the demographic trends and changes in the family with changes in women's social position is problematic, especially if the theory is based on an outdated conception of marriage and the family. Margaret Brining (2000, pp. 87–91) points out that theories such as Becker's are based on a marriage and family model based on a strict sexual division of labour between a male breadwinner and a female full-time homemaker. According to Brining, such a model may be efficient when marriage is practically indissoluble but, nowadays, this is not the case as the grounds for getting a divorce have been facilitated and breadwinner/homemaker families are increasingly infrequent. The theory also assumes that married couples always have or plan to have children, and that a husband can earn enough to support the family. Although most married couples have or plan to have children, some choose to be childless and others suffer from it. Furthermore, the husband's capacity to provide for the family single-handedly is not always adequate. In the past as well as today, two incomes are often necessary for the family economy (Ahn and Mira, 1999; Brining, 2000). Thus, as Montserrat Solsona (1998) points out, women's greater independence is not a cause for declining marriage and fertility, but rather a precondition for young couples to form a household of their own and have children (also Paajanen, 2002).

Although fertility (and marriage rates) in Europe has generally decreased as female labour-force participation has increased, labour force activity does not necessarily have an impact on fertility. At present, the highest rates of female employment are in countries where the fertility rates are also the highest. The lowest fertility rates, on the other hand, are in countries where women's employment rates are the lowest. In Finland, in 2003, the female employment rate among women aged 15–64 was 66 per cent, which is considerably higher than the Spanish figure (46%) and the average female employment rate in the EU15 region (56%) (see Table 7.2). Correspondingly, the fertility rate in Finland in the early 2000s was higher than in Spain and in the EU countries on average, as we can see from Table 7.1.

Besides, even though women of childbearing age are now economically and professionally more active than ever before, this does not cause an aversion to family formation and family life. Attitude and value surveys done in Finland, Spain and other European societies clearly show that being in a partnership and having a family are highly valued as the essence of life. Most women, and men alike, hope for a steady relationship and expect to have children of their own (for example, Inglehart, 1997; Lewis et al., 1999; Melkas, 1997; Orizo, 1996). Moreover, although women today have access to education and professional life, they are not a homogeneous group with similar preferences. According to Catherine Hakim (2000, pp. 159–68), Western women can be classified into three main groups. Home-centred women prefer not to work (if possible) and prioritize children and family throughout their lives. At the other end, there are the career-centred women who prefer some other activity than motherhood and family and invest in qualifications and training. When a career-centred woman has a family of her own, she fits family life around the career following the stereotypical 'male' work and family history. The largest and most diverse group of women are the so-called adaptive women who, coping with the double burden, trying to reconcile family and work, are, therefore, often but mistakenly considered representatives of all modern women. Some women in this group opt for employment and a family. Others have successful careers, and some quickly modify their goals in response to changes in society, economy and their personal life situations.

Changes in family formation are an outcome of several distinct but concurrent factors. The development and availability of effective contraception have influenced people's sexual behaviour and their attitudes towards relationships. Sexual activity has become separated from reproduction and formal marriage. Equal opportunity policies, together with contraceptives, have advanced women's access to education and professional careers. However, despite improved options to make conscious lifestyle choices, the framework within which the choices are made varies from one society to another (see Oinonen, 2004a).

Frameworks of family formation: The labour market and public policies

The reasons for the cross-national variation of patterns of family formation should be looked at by focusing on the differences in the frameworks within which people make their life choices, such as the labour market and public policies.

To start with the labour market, differences and similarities between Finland and Spain exist. The greatest difference is found in the frequency and the levels of female employment. The proportion of women of the total labour force in Finland was at the same level already in 1960 as it was in Spain in 2000 (see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4). Accordingly, Finnish women have been engaged in employment in large numbers for a long time. Since the early 1960s, women of all age groups, and especially mothers with small children, have been entering the labour market at the same rate as men. Nowadays, women and men occupy positions in working life quite evenly and a dual-earner family is the norm.

As Table 7.2 shows, the employment rates of Finnish women and men are quite equal. However, changes on the labour market and the economic recession in the 1990s had an adverse effect on the labour-market situation of women and young people. Traditionally, women's unemployment in Finland had been lower than men's (Yearbook of Population Research in Finland xxxv 1998–1999) but since the recession the decrease in women's unemployment has not been as fast as men's, mainly because women are more often employed in the public sector, where the effects of economic growth since the mid-1990s are not as visible as in the private sector (Alestalo et al., forthcoming).

Due to the recession, youth unemployment rose sharply in the early 1990s and has not come down as much as unemployment overall (Laaksonen, 2000). By 2003, the unemployment rates of women and men have equalized but youth unemployment has remained considerably higher than overall unemployment, being higher than in the EU15 countries on average (see Table 7.2). Similarly, atypical work and fixed-term contracts, in particular, affect young people and women more than men. As Table 7.2 indicates, temporary employment and part-time employment are clearly more common among Finnish women and young people than among men. As for part-time work, around a third of women and young people and around a fourth of men working part-time do so involuntarily.

In Spain, women's labour-force participation has increased considerably in recent decades (see Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the labour force in Spain remains more heavily masculine than in most other European countries (De Miguel, 1998). In 2003, the employment rate among Spanish women was 46 per cent, which is considerably lower than that of Spanish men or that of women in the EU15 countries on average, not to mention in Finland (see Table 7.2). One reason for this is the legacy of the authoritarian period (1939–75), during which both the

Franco regime and the Catholic Church advocated a strict division between public and private spheres and discouraged women from pursuing interests other than motherhood. In addition, joint taxation penalized two-earner families until the end of the 1980s (Fernández Cordón, 1998; Radcliff, 2001).

Consequently, the male breadwinner/female homemaker ideology is still reflected in the labour market, where middle-aged men are in the advantaged position. They enjoy job security, higher wages and protection against employment, whereas women and young people have severe difficulties in landing secure jobs and protection schemes. The broadly accepted idea behind the segmentation of the labour market is that when employment is scarce, jobs should be reserved for male heads of families (Flaquer, 2000).

Unemployment and temporary contracts have for long been characteristic of the Spanish labour market. The already-high unemployment rose during the economic recession of the 1990s. As the economy recovered, the unemployment among women and young people did not come down at the same rate as men's. In 2003, women's unemployment rate was twice that of men's, and the youth unemployment rate was three times higher than men's. Furthermore, as in Finland and elsewhere in Western Europe, atypical work and fixed-term contracts are more common among women and young people than among men. Although temporary employment is far more common in Spain than in Western European (EU15) societies in general, it affects women and, especially, young people (see Table 7.2). Also more women and young people work part-time than men. However, like in Finland, Spanish women's part-time work is rare compared with the Western European average (see Table 7.2 and Chapter 2 in Part I).

The male breadwinner ideology prevalent, especially, on the labour market collides with the 'anti-authoritarian' ideas accompanying democratization. The private sphere, that is, family, housewifery and motherhood, acquired a negative image because of the key role of family and motherhood in General Franco's authoritarian regime. Consequently, women's entrance into the public sphere was encouraged and emphasized in public discussion. Policies promoting equal opportunity for women were considered progressive, while family policies were regarded as regressive (Radcliff, 2001; Tobío, 2001).

Thus, since the end of the authoritarian period, Spanish women have been free to work and pursue a career, but taking care of family responsibilities has not become a matter of choice, as the Spanish welfare state remains grounded on the family and care provided by women. This

Table 7.2 Selected indicators of the labour-market situation of women and men aged 15–64 and young people aged 15–25 in Finland, Spain and the EU15, 2003

	Finland				Spain				EU15			
	Women	**Men**	**Total**	**Young**	**Women**	**Men**	**Total**	**Young**	**Women**	**Men**	**Total**	**Young**
Employment rate (%)	66	70	68	40	46	73	60	34	56	73	64	40
Unemployment rate (%)	9	9	9	22	16	8	11	23	9	7	8	16
Temporary employees as % of all employees[a]	22	14	18	52[b]	35	30	32	64[b]	14	12	13	38
Part-time employment as % of the total employment[a]	18	8	13	33[c]	17	3	8	14	34	6	18	25
Involuntary part-time employment as % of the total part-time employment[a]	33	27	31	21	18	19	20	22	14	21	16	18

Source: Eurostat 2006.

[a]Data from the second quarter of the year 2003; [b]The high percentage in the second and also the third (54 per cent) quarter reflects the fact that Finnish young people tend to have summer jobs. The percentage of temporary employees during the first and fourth quarters, that is, during the school term, was around 36 per cent in 2003. In Spain, the share of temporary employees of the total employees aged 15–25 remained around 60 per cent during the whole year; [c]The percentage of part-time employment of total employment of Finnish young people aged 15–25 is higher, around 43 per cent during the first and fourth quarters, indicating that working while studying is common in Finland.

contradiction between the freedom to choose whether to work for pay or not and the obligation of family responsibilities irrespective of one's occupational choice leads to a situation where the reconciliation of work and the family is considered a personal problem of women, not a public problem.

The fact that the female labour-force activity rate is constantly increasing in the absence of comprehensive 'family-friendly' policy indicates that Spanish women are coping in one way or another. In many cases women's part-time work is a strategy for combining work and family (Hakim 2000), but as we have seen, in Spain, women's part-time work is relatively rare (see Table 7.2). The most common reason for women to work part-time is the inability to find a full-time job, not family responsibilities like in the EU15 countries in general (Oinonen, 2004a, pp. 330–1). On the other hand, the single most often-evinced reason among Spanish women for not being in the labour market is homemaking. Compared with the Western European average, a significantly larger proportion of Spanish women with children under 17 years of age are non-employed, but those who are employed work full-time (Meil, 1999, p 56). Apparently those Spanish women working for pay prefer to work full-time or lack attractive part-time options. Thus, the main strategy of Spanish women for reconciling work and family is to have another woman, a grandmother or hired help, to take care of the children at home. So far the other woman has usually been the grandmother because she is available, trusted, reliable and flexible, and her services are free. A 'substitute mother' at home is also a perfect solution for society because women are taking care of their problem by themselves, requiring no response from society to their new social and economic position (Tobío, 2001).

In Finland, part-time work is not an option for women because of the normative nature of full-time work and because no attractive options for part-time work exist (Salmi, 1996). The majority of Finnish mothers with children under age 17 are employed and work full-time. The number of non-employed mothers is high only among women with children under age two, which indicates that most under-3-year-olds are taken care of at home by their mothers (Meil, 1999, p. 56).[2] Those few who work part-time do so because they are unable to find a full time job or because they work while being in education and training. Education and training are also the most common reasons for not being in the labour force. Only 20 per cent of Finnish women give homemaking as a reason for not being in the labour force, which is substantially lower than the corresponding figure in the EU15 countries taken as a whole (43 per cent), not to mention Spain (69 per cent) (Oinonen, 2004a, pp. 330–1).

Services for families with children and paid leave schemes are considered to facilitate women's employment, but they are also considered to increase fertility (see Anttonen, 1999). As for leave schemes, Finnish as well as Spanish maternity and parental leave schemes are among the most generous in the EU region in terms of duration. However, the difference is that in Finland the leaves are paid, whereas in Spain most of the leaves are not (see, for example, Esping-Andersen, 2002; Gauthier, 2000). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 5, the level and availability of services differs substantially between the two countries.

Although some public measures in Spain were taken to ease the reconciliation of work and family in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Synopsis 5.2 in Chapter 5), the effect of the reforms has been limited because the reformed legislation does not include measures to reduce employment insecurity, which attenuates the attractiveness and use of family-related leave entitlements. In addition, even though there have been major investments in education and the capacity of preschools for children aged 3–6 now meets the demand, childcare services for children under three are scarce and are mostly private and expensive. This and a lack of coordination between school hours and working hours pose problems (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2000, 2002; Tobío, 2001).

Consequently, one of the strategies for coping with the difficulties of reconciling work and family is delaying and reducing the number of children. According to studies conducted in Spain, children are not explicitly said to be an obstacle to employment, but the delay in having children and reducing family size are reportedly done for economic and professional reasons. On the other hand, children are nowadays considered to cost so much that first, two incomes are needed and second, most can only have one or two children even though they may want more (Orizo, 1996; Bettio and Villa, 1998). According to Constanza Tobío (2001), the way in which Spaniards argue their decisions concerning childbearing and the number of desired children reveals that there is no going back to the old-gendered division of labour because women's economic activity is seen as a precondition for having children in the first place.

In Finland, public policies are designed to facilitate reconciling work and family and to encourage women and mothers to work outside the home. But, when the mass entry of Finnish women into the labour market started in the 1960s, it was not facilitated by public services. In fact, the development of institutionalized childcare services started in the 1970s, and most of the family-friendly services were developed only in the 1980s in response to the problems resulting from increased female

employment (Anttonen, 1999; see Synopsis 5.2 in Chapter 5). Regardless of the investments in childcare facilities, privations and shortages persist. Due to changes in working life, such as the extended opening hours of shops and increased overtime, the need for care in the evenings, at nights and during weekends has increased. There is also a shortage of after-school care for children (Anttonen, 1999; STM, 2002).

The 1990s saw serious setbacks in reconciling work and family: day-care fees rose, the child home-care allowance was cut and the taxation of the allowance tightened in relation to income taxation. Therefore, the child home care allowance is no longer an inviting or economic option for the majority of families (Hiilamo, 2000). However, regardless of the retrenchments, the level of Finnish family-friendly policies and services, in particular, remains high compared to Spain.

One factor that affects Finns' familial behaviour is that re-entry to the labour market after a period of home care has become more difficult in the course of the 1990s and early 2000s in spite of the recuperation of the labour market since the recession. Although no substantial evidence exists, there are signs that employers avoid hiring women because they are likely to use leave schemes and because employers are obliged to hold their jobs for them during the leaves. Difficulties in mothers' re-entry to the labour market and employers' reservations about employing women in the first place may signal growing female discrimination in the labour market and a strengthening of male breadwinner ideology (Rissanen, 2002).

The combination of a low female employment rate and extremely low fertility in Spain is often explained by pointing to a lack of public support for families, which encourages neither women's wage work nor childbearing. In contrast, the high employment rate of Finnish women and relatively high fertility are explained by family-friendly policies that encourage women to go into wage work and start childbearing. Yet the correlation between the level of 'family policies' and the level of female employment is not obvious: the lack of services does not prevent Spanish women from entering working life nor did it prevent Finnish women in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the Finnish and Spanish cases indicate that public policies may have either a positive or a negative effect on the family and fertility. Taking the constant increase of Spanish women's labour-force participation into account, the underdevelopment of benefits and services for families with children might be one of the causes of the decline in fertility and family size. In Finland, the fertility rate rose in the heyday of family-friendly services and benefits

in the 1980s and it started to fall again at the time of retrenchment policies in the 1990s.

Regardless of the differences between Finnish and Spanish public policies targeting families with children, both Finns and Spaniards regard public support for families as inadequate. According to Spaniards, insufficiency of public support for families is a main reason for the low fertility and diminishing family size (Meil, 1999; Orizo, 1996). Finns too consider public support for families inadequate and one of the major reasons for hesitations about having children or, rather, about having several children (Paajanen, 2002). Studies indicate that in both countries the experienced inadequacy of family services and benefits is not the determining factor in the decision whether to have children at all but it does affect the decision about the number of children.

What seems to have a crucial impact on fertility and formation of the first family in particular is the working situation and steady income. The lack of stable employment has contributed to the decrease of marriage and fertility in Spain. Historical and more recent observations in several Western societies suggest that the precarious employment situation of men, in particular, has a negative effect on fertility and marriage rates (Ahn and Mira, 1999). This correlation is, perhaps, more pronounced in Spain than in Finland due to the social persistence of the male breadwinner/female full-time homemaker ideology. Given the deterioration in women's labour-market situation and the fact that men tend to earn more than women, it is likely that in Finland, too, men's financial insecurity has a greater negative effect on family formation and childbearing than women's (Oinonen, 2004a, p. 338).

The responses of Spanish and Finnish societies to the changing role of women and to the family indicate ambivalences. In contemporary Spanish society, the public discourse accentuates the new role of women and gender equality, but social structures largely continue to maintain the traditional family and sexual division of labour. The labour market favours middle-aged men at the expense of women and young people. In public policy, reluctance to develop paid leave schemes and care services reflects the idea that women are expected either to fall into the category of home-centred women or to manage as best they can after becoming mothers.

In Finland, public discourse is aimed at upholding the image of an egalitarian and even gender-neutral society. The underlying idea of Finnish (gender) equality is that every adult ought to have an occupation and income of her/his own. In quantitative terms, the labour market

is fairly gender-equal, but the weakening of women's and young people's labour-market position since the 1990s recession could be interpreted as a sign of increasing male breadwinner ideology. In accordance with the Finnish idea of equality, public policy encourages mothers' full-time wage work, although it has also endeavoured to enable the care of small children at home. However, the setbacks in the reconciliation of family and work confirm the necessity of two incomes. This, together with the norms of the two-earner family and full-time employment, makes home-centeredness a lifestyle option only for few.

Given the connections between the labour market and family formation, the labour market situation of young people is of special importance. In both countries, the precarious labour market situation of young adults seems to be the focal factor for changes in patterns of family formation. In the 1990s and 2000s, and for even longer in Spain, fixed-term contracts and unemployment among young people have been more endemic in Spain and Finland than in the EU15 region on average (Oinonen, 2004a, pp. 330–1, 339; see also Table 7.2 and the discussion in Chapter 2 in Part I). In both of the countries, the precarious labour market situation and the financial insecurity of young people cause an inability to plan for the future and a fear of committing oneself to children and to family of one's own. The fact that the fertility decline among women under age 30 shows no sign of reversal in either of the countries, while a recuperation of fertility is discernible among women aged 30–39, reflects the importance of financial stability (Instituto de la Mujer, 2001; Paajanen, 2002). Both in Finland and Spain, people want and need to secure their financial situation before forming a family, as sufficient income is the precondition for household formation and having children.

Although precarious employment is a central factor of the postponement and even rejection of family formation, there are other important factors: prolonged education, housing policy and situation, social policy and cultural differences in the process of gaining independence and in the transition from youth to adulthood. The next section discusses the role of family formation in shaping the transition from youth to adulthood and the circumstances underlying the phenomenon of delayed family formation.

Transition to adulthood and family formation

Not so long ago, marriage was the key indicator of adulthood and the passage away from the childhood home and dependence on parents. Nowadays, marriage as the most important qualifier of adulthood has

given way to financial independence, which is a necessary precondition for most other stages like establishing a household, having children and forming a family. However, the attainment of financial independence is hindered by the prolongation of education and the instability of the labour market. Consequently, most Western European young adults aged 20–29, who are in the prime of their reproductive years, are single and childless. Besides, many of them continue to live with their parents and have not yet attained independence (Eurostat, 1997; Holdsworth and Morgan, 2005). Regardless of parallel trends, there are variations in the process of attaining independence, particularly between Northern and Southern Europe.

In Southern Europe, most unmarried young adults live in their parental home, regardless of whether they are studying or working. It follows that the proportion of young adults living alone or in consensual unions is very small and the age at which they gain independence is accordingly high (Juventud española, 2000; Martín Serrano and Valarda Hermida, 2001). The majority of Spanish young adults continue to live in their parents' household into their late 20s and early 30s. Around 39 per cent of Spanish men and 30 per cent of women aged 18–34 who have no partner or children live with their parents (Newman and Aptekar, 2006). In Northern Europe, young adults leave their parental home at a relatively early age. In Finland 67 per cent of those aged 20–24 and 88 per cent of those aged 25–29 live independently (Nuorten elinoloindikaattorit, 2006).

In both countries women tend to marry on average at age 28–29 and men at age 30, but Finns have children sooner than Spaniards. Basically, Finnish women tend to have their first child at age 28 and Spanish women tend to be closer to age 31 (see Table 7.1). The reason for this is that in Finland it is common for people to have their first child while they are still cohabiting and only then to get married, whereas in Spain people get married first and have children after a few years of childfree marriage. In fact, marriage is still the single-most important reason for moving out of the parental home and starting an independent life in Spain[3], whereas in Finland, marriage does not play a central role in the process of attaining independence and adult status; studies and work are the principal reasons for moving out (for a more detailed discussion on the transition to adulthood in Finland and Spain, see Oinonen, 2003).

Compared to young adults in previous decades, young adults today are spending more time in education: around 40 per cent of Finnish and Spanish young adults under 30 are full-time students. Better qualifications

have become an indispensable asset when competing for vacancies in the erratic labour market. Due to prolonged studies, young people today are entering the labour market later than young people in the 1970s and 1980s, and they are having more difficulties in doing so. Finding stable employment is problematic for young adults in both countries. Unemployment, fixed-term contracts and part-time jobs are common particularly among young people and even more so among young women than men (see Part I Chapter 2). The reality is that approximately half of the young adults both in Spain and Finland get their first job only after a period of unemployment. However, periods of unemployment tend to be longer in Spain than in Finland. The transition from education to working life is also more gradual than it used to be. Periods of study, unemployment and employment are often mixed. This is the case especially in Finland, where working while studying and studying while working is more common than in Spain (see Álvaro and Garrido Luque, 2005; Oinonen, 2003, pp. 129–30). Difficulties in entering the labour market, insecure jobs and, thus, a lack of experience and short length of service are responsible for the fact that, generally speaking, young people earn less than older employees even though they are better qualified (Laaksonen, 2000).

Instability in the labour market, ever-increasing competition and low or irregular income are major obstacles to becoming independent and starting a family in both countries, but attaining independence and making the decision to start a family are also dependent on the prevailing housing situation and policy. Both Finland and Spain are among those European countries with the highest home-ownership rates (Winther, 1997). In Spain, housing production is mainly private and social housing production and availability is scant. Apart from subsidies of mortgage loan interest and tax relief, there is no system of housing allowances. In addition, housing costs have increased dramatically during the past few decades. Thus, one important reason for the late emancipation of Spaniards and the postponement of family formation is the inability to acquire one's own first home, be it rented or owned. In addition, acquiring a flat in order to be married is characteristic of Spanish courtship (Alberdi, 1999; Flaquer, 1997). In Finland too, home ownership is promoted and endorsed. Home saving schemes established to help young people to buy their own homes and mortgage interest tax relief promote home ownership. However, publicly owned rented housing, in particular, is more available than in Spain. Furthermore, student housing and the system of housing allowance facilitate Finnish young people's setting up of their own

households without taking out a mortgage and even with low incomes (Laaksonen, 2000).

The type of welfare state is one factor with a major impact on how easy or difficult it is to gain independence. The Finnish welfare state is based on principles that endorse individual independence. The basic principle is that every person who has reached the age of majority is entitled to individual social security. In other words, the individual's well-being should not be dependent on his or her family or descent. At the centre of the Spanish welfare state, in contrast, is the family, which is responsible for the well-being of its members. Basic social security is for those who do not have a family (parents, siblings, spouse, children) or whose families are incapable of offering support (see Chapters 2 and 5). Interdependence between parents and their adult children is institutionalized in the Spanish family-centred welfare state, whereas in the Finnish welfare state, individual independence and self-sufficiency is publicly and officially endorsed. The public policies that favour individual independence tend to ease cutting the cord to the parents by offering unemployment benefits for new entrants in the labour market, housing allowances, student grants and loans, and social and student housing. In family-centred welfare states, parental or family resources are virtually all that is available to support young adults without their own steady income (Flaquer, 1997; Newman and Aptekar, 2006; Raitanen, 2001).

The welfare state not only influences the process of leaving home but also patterns of family formation. Even though the welfare state and its policies have an influence on family size rather than on the decision to have children in the first place, it is probable that public policies and available services for families play a role in the process of starting a family especially when gender roles and relations are changing, the dual-earner family is becoming the norm and the labour market is insecure both for young men and women. Studies attest to the fact that financial dependence on one's spouse is considered a risk that ever fewer women (and men) are willing to take but, in both countries in question, the majority of young adults wish to be able to combine a professional career with a family (Juventud española, 2000; Melkas, 1999). Under these circumstances, policies that ease the reconciliation of work and family may function as an incentive to have children.

The prolonged time spent in education and the precarious labour market lead to late entrance into the labour market and to insecure income. Simultaneously with the changes in education, in qualification requirements and in the structure of the labour market, living and housing costs have increased, as has the expected standard of living. Furthermore, when

the possibility of divorce and separation is recognized from the outset, the personal ability to provide for oneself becomes an important value and a necessity, especially for women. All these factors confirm the importance of financial independence and usually of two incomes as the precondition for family formation. When financial independence and a sufficient and secure income are difficult to achieve, it is quite understandable that the formation of the first family is delayed further into the future.

Summary of family practices

The cases of Finland and Spain do not confirm the common hypotheses of changes in the family. Accordingly, given high female employment, the widespread use of modern contraceptives and the frequency of cohabitation, fertility and marriage rates should be extremely low in Finland. In Spain, where the female employment rate is low, traditional methods of contraception are widely practiced and cohabitation is rare, fertility and marriage rates ought to be high. Yet, in reality, marriage rates are equally low in both countries, and fertility is relatively high in Finland and extremely low in Spain. In this regard, however, it is important to recognize that although the female employment rate is lower in Spain than in Finland, it is constantly increasing.

As the interest in this study lies especially in the formation of the first family, the patterns of family formation should be considered together with the patterns of attaining independence and adult status. Compared to previous generations of young adults, the life stages today have become blurred, maybe more so in Finland than in Spain, where young adults still take the more 'traditional' route. To put it simply, Spaniards enter working life after their studies; however, this does not necessarily mean leaving the parental home and gaining independence. Establishing a home of one's own is usually connected to marriage and having children takes place after a few years of marriage. Finns tend to move out of the parental home when starting their studies. This, however, does not mean that they are entirely independent of their parents. Entrance into working life takes place after studies, although working while studying is common. Many students cohabit with a partner, but in any case Finns tend to cohabit before marriage and they also tend to have their first child while cohabiting and marry after.

Patterns of family formation characteristic of each country are affected by public policies and especially by the labour market. These are by no means the only factors but they appear to be important in the cases of Finland and Spain. Although the effect of public policies

on fertility has been found to be minor (see, for example, Gauthier, 2000; Hantrais, 2004), policies may influence it either positively or negatively. Taking into account the ever-increasing employment rate of Spanish women, the underdevelopment of benefits and services for families might be one important reason for the considerable and fast decline in the fertility rate and average family size in Spain. In Finland, on the other hand, the positive development of fertility has coexisted with the development of 'family-friendly' services and benefits but along with the retrenchment of social expenditure on families, fertility has somewhat declined.

The working situation and steady income seem to have a crucial impact on family formation and fertility. Increasing female employment is often considered as the cause of changes in family and fertility, but both the Finnish and Spanish cases indicate that the connection is not obvious. In fact, nowadays two incomes are the precondition for family formation in both countries. Unemployment and the precarious employment of both men and women appear to have a negative effect on the family. A particularly crucial factor is the employment situation of young adults. In both countries, the postponement of family formation (marriage and childbearing) and increasing singleness and voluntary childlessness are largely due to young adults' difficulties in entrenching themselves in the labour market and in acquiring a sufficient and stable income. This insecurity forces people to concentrate on the present and to push such commitments as marriage and children into the undetermined future. Therefore, remaining childless is seldom a conscious decision but rather a consequence of a series of decisions not to have children right now (see Paajanen, 2002).

Although establishing oneself in the labour market is equally difficult in both countries, it is somewhat easier to establish a household of one's own and start the first family in Finland than in Spain. The system of student loans and student housing, housing allowances, and unemployment benefits for those looking for their first jobs and the culture that endorses an individual's independence are important factors that ease the process of becoming independent and enable young people to have a home and even a family of their own with low incomes and limited means. In Spain, the family-centred welfare state and culture seem to hinder the formation of new families. The labour market that favours middle-aged breadwinner males, the scantiness of affordable rental housing, the lack of individual social assistance available to young people and the social acceptance of late emancipation are all factors that demur family formation.

8
Family in Finland and Spain: The Focal Findings

Ambiguous family ideologies

The analysis of Finnish and Spanish families demonstrates that parallel social changes have resulted in congruent family ideologies, on the one hand, and different patterns of family formation and fertility, on the other. To start with the family ideology, the basic socially shared and upheld definition of the family is analogous in Finland and Spain and it has evolved in the same direction although at different paces. In the early 20th century and before, the ideal family was based on an indissoluble marriage and the purpose of the marriage was procreation and socializing offspring. Thus marriage and family were inseparable. The family ideology endorsed the hierarchical male breadwinner/female homemaker family model, although more vigorously and longer in Spain than in Finland. In the course of the latter part of the 20th century, egalitarianism between the genders (and generations) and the notion of shared spheres became the leading principles.

Considering the present-day ideas of what the family is or ought to be, the family ideologies in both countries are ambiguous. On the one hand, the family ideology prescribed and maintained by civil and social legislation and policies is inclined towards family pluralism. Divorces are granted in both countries. In Finland, social legislation and policies treat married and non-married couples equally. In parts of Spain, heterosexual cohabiting couples have a legal status similar to that of married ones even though cohabitation is rare, and the national law grants same-sex couples the right to marry and adopt children. On the other hand, The Family composed of a heterosexual married couple and their children is still considered to be the 'normal' and 'proper' family, which is the bedrock of the society. In legal terms, marriage is the best-protected

form of the couple relationship in both countries. The societal endorsement of the heterosexual conjugal nuclear family as The Family in both societies in question is reflected in the laws on registered couples, which in neither of the countries give adoption rights to same-sex couples. Furthermore, in Finland, there is no specific law in civil legislation that regulates heterosexual cohabitation even though it is common.

Something has changed, though, in the 'conservative' conception of The Family. Unlike before, marriage and family are separate institutions, as the definition of the functions and purpose of marriage has changed from procreation to the production of security, affection and emotional satisfaction. Nowadays, the couple relationship is an intrinsic value in itself. The elevation of the couple as well as the legal and social recognition of divorce, cohabitation and same-sex unions undermines the supremacy of marriage as a form of intimate relationship. But, although it is accepted to live in an intimate relationship outside marriage, being a family is still very much related to marriage; people tend to marry when having children is topical or, like often is the case in Finland, when the child is born. According to people's opinions and public discourses in both countries, children are considered the qualifiers of the family; a couple is not considered to be a complete family without a child.

Marriage: The bedrock of the family

Although marriage is no longer the only accepted form of intimate relationship, the alternatives have not necessarily debilitated its role as the bedrock of the family. The fact that no specific national law in civil legislation regulating heterosexual cohabitation exists in either of the countries may be interpreted as an implicit means of the society to encourage opposite-sex couples to contract marriage and thus to affirm the role of marriage as the foundation of the family. Furthermore, the fact that the possibility of same-sex marriage is under discussion in the first place and that in some countries, like in Spain, marriage is available for all regardless of their sexual orientation signals the enduring importance of marriage as an institution. In his study on same-sex partnerships in Europe and the United States, Yuval Merin (2002) points out that the number of registrations of same-sex unions is low compared to the number of opposite-sex marriages even in those countries that were the first to provide comprehensive legal recognition of same-sex partnerships, such as Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands. This unpopularity indicates that registered partnership is regarded as 'second-class marriage'.

Merin (2002, p. 275) refers to a Dutch survey according to which 80 per cent of the same-sex couples who made use of the registered partnership before same-sex marriage became an option would have chosen marriage had that been an available option at the time, and a large majority said they would like to convert their registered partnership into marriage when it is possible. In fact, many Dutch same-sex partners have done so since same-sex marriage became available. This indicates that marriage is perceived as an institution with more significance and weight than a registered partnership. Although granting the marriage right to same-sex couples has its origins in human rights issues and in demands of equality between the majority and minority, it is clearly not only a question about equal rights but also of the cultural and social significance of marriage as an institution.

Even though European societies are little by little coming to terms with same-sex partnerships, registered and even married, they are not willing to grant parenting rights equal to opposite-sex couples, with the exception of married same-sex couples in Spain. The restriction of homosexuals' opportunities to form families with children reinforces the distinction between marriage or other types of intimate couple relationships and parenthood. In addition, it reflects the deeply rooted idea of 'The Family', which is composed of a man and a woman and their children.

Parallel changes, different patterns

The considerably similar social developments in Finland and Spain during the period from the early 1960s onwards have resulted in both parallel changes in the family and different patterns of family formation and fertility.

First, both countries have followed the trend referred to as the second demographic transition, although Spain has lagged behind the 'schedule'. Both Finns and Spaniards postpone the first marriage and childbearing longer than before. Marriage rates in both countries have fallen practically at the same pace, coming to an equally low level. Consequently, one would expect that cohabitation and, thus, births outside marriage must be common. The expectation holds true in the case of Finland but not in the case of Spain. The most striking difference between the countries is that fertility in Spain has collapsed, whereas in Finland, the fertility rate has actually risen since the slump at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s.

Second, the analysis reveals that regardless of the congruent sociodemographic changes, the patterns of first family formation differ in

the respective countries. Finns move out of their parental homes at a relatively young age and they tend to live in a cohabiting union before marrying, and they often have their first child while still cohabiting. Spaniards tend to take the more traditional route and move out of their parental homes when marrying and have a child after a few years of marriage.

Individualization thesis contested

Individualization and the emergence of post-modern values are often taken as starting points when explaining recent changes in the family. The decline in fertility and marriage rates and the delay of marriage and childbearing are often explained by the increased availability and use of modern contraceptives, and the increase in cohabitation and in women's labour-force participation, which are seen both as causes and consequences of individualization and the value shift. However, based on this study, I would argue that these explanations are not valid in these particular cases. In Finland, the use of modern contraceptives is common, as is (premarital) cohabitation and women's labour-force participation and, yet, fertility is relatively high and the marriage rate is practically at the same level as it is in Spain. In Spain, the use of traditional methods of contraception is still common, cohabitation is exceptional and, regardless of the constant rise, female labour-force participation is low compared to most EU countries. And, yet, the marriage rate in Spain is almost as low as it is in Finland and the fertility rate is among the lowest in Europe and the Western world.

Public policies and the labour market

The combination of a low female-employment rate and low fertility in Spain is often explained by the lack of public support for families, whereas the high employment rate among Finnish women and relatively high fertility are explained by the existence of family-friendly policies. But as this study attests, the correlation between the extent of family-friendly policies and female employment is not obvious. The lack of services does not prevent Spanish women from entering working life nor did it prevent Finnish women in the 1960s and 1970s. On the other hand, the cases also indicate that public policies may have either a positive or a negative effect on the family and fertility. Considering the constant increase of Spanish women's labour-force participation, the underdevelopment of benefits and services for families with children might be one of the causes of declining fertility and family size. In Finland, on the other hand, fertility rose in the course of the 1980s

when 'family policy' was intensely developed and it started to fall again along with the retrenchment policies. However, in neither of the countries does the level of benefits and services determine whether people decide to have children or not but rather it most likely affects family size.

Although public policies may provide incentives to form a family and especially to increase family size, this study indicates that the labour market plays a crucial role in people's decisions about the family. Since the recession in the 1990s, women's labour-market position has not improved similar to men's in either of the countries; unemployment and sporadic employment affects women more than men. However, the Spanish labour market is more heavily masculine than the Finnish one, which makes it more difficult for Spanish women to establish themselves and to advance their careers. This and the underdevelopment of public measures to ease the reconciliation of work and family together with younger women's growing reluctance to devote themselves only to family and children are factors that might force women to choose childlessness, or to limit the size of the family and to postpone childbearing longer than in Finland. On the other hand, when the state does little to support families in their coping with professional and family obligations, two incomes are necessary to buy the services needed. Furthermore, and regardless of the type of welfare state, living expenses and the expected standard of living in Spain, Finland and European countries in general have risen and, thus, two incomes are often perceived as necessary for the family economy.

Rough path to adulthood

Several studies, including this one, show that even though marriage and fertility rates are declining, most men and women say that having a stable partnership (mostly in marriage) and children are their aims in life. Thus, the focal question to be asked is why the young people of today 'fail' to achieve this aim more often than the previous generations (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). The comparative study of Finland and Spain shows that in both countries, the major reason for the changes in patterns of family formation is young people's difficulties in establishing themselves in the labour market and gaining financial independence, which is a precondition for household and family formation. According to the individualization thesis, the weakening of traditional forms of authority as directors of our biographies and the increased valuing and seeking of personal gratification has paved the way for lifestyles competing with the family and family life (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim,

2002; Giddens, 1995, 1999). Although it is undeniable that individuals increasingly negotiate their own moral stance, their relationships and biographies, the decisions concerning one's life, such as marriage, remaining single, having children, remaining childless and becoming independent, are never totally up to an individual. They are made in particular social contexts, with significant others and with the influence of social and individual resources (see Edgar, 2004).

Prolonged studies, the instability of the labour market and low or irregular income are major factors that postpone family formation in both countries. However, owing largely to the welfare state types, differences exist between the countries. In Spain, the lack of individual public support for young adults, the lack of affordable housing and the cultural tradition of leaving home when marrying are factors that postpone gaining independence and family formation even longer than in Finland, where individual social security, the availability of publicly owned rented housing, housing allowances, student housing, the system of student loans and grants and the tradition of early emancipation make establishing one's own household and having children possible (although not desired) even without a regular income, wealth or affluent parents. It appears that public support for young people might further the formation of new families, but enhancing young people's entrance into the labour market and limiting fixed-term contracts and periodic employment might make a more substantive difference in forming new families with children.

The instability of employment and low or sporadic income creates insecurity and the inability to plan for the future, despite the measures of public support. The postponement of such commitments as family and children is not only a matter of adopting post-modern and individualistic values and attitudes but also represents a means of risk control or a strategy to cope with uncertainty. As the expectations of couple relationships increase, so does the chance of a break-up and, therefore, being dependent on a partner is a risk that fewer women, in particular, are willing to take and this emphasizes the importance of personal income. Furthermore, forming a family and having children before one has attained sufficient financial and material security is considered a major risk, especially for successful parenting and for the welfare of the children.

Family: Still a community of need

According to Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (2002), individualization – the historical process that increasingly questions

and tends to break up the traditional or normal life history, paving the way to the do-it-yourself life history – is the reference point for explaining changes in the family. What counted in the pre-industrial family was not the individual person but common goals and purposes. In this respect, the family in pre-industrial times could be defined as a 'community of need' held together by an 'obligation of solidarity'. Modernization, particularly the emergence of the wage work society and the development of the welfare state, paved the way and enforced the logic of individually designed lives, first for men and later also for women. The development of the welfare state played a focal role in the process of individualization. By reducing economic dependence on the family, the state increases the scope of individual action. Thus, the contemporary family of individual times could be described as comprising elective affinities which, unlike the pre-industrial family, are based on emotional ties rather than economic and material ones (Beck-Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; see also Giddens, 1995, 1999).

This thesis is undoubtedly correct, but there are some remarks to be made on the basis of the findings of this comparative study regarding the meaning and role of the family. Although emotional 'need' is nowadays more emphasized than 'economic' need, the family may still be described as a 'community of need'. The family remains an important source of economic and material support for its members, especially when the labour market is erratic and the welfare state tightens its belt. Besides, as the Spanish case in particular demonstrates, the family is still held together not only by emotional ties but also by an 'obligation of solidarity'. Spanish legislation, like the Finnish legislation, obliges parents to be liable for providing maintenance to their minor children, but it also obliges major children to be liable for their parents' maintenance and siblings to be liable for helping each other (under certain circumstances). In Finland, this kind of broad liability between parents and their grown children and between siblings is a moral obligation rather than a legal one. Considering the definition of the family in terms of the legal maintenance liability, the Finnish family is clearly defined as a nuclear family whereas the definition of the Spanish family is broader.

In Finland, the welfare state has supported individuality and the individual's independence from the family, particularly in the case of women and young people. In Spain, there is a long history of public emphasis on the family, its role as the principal provider of welfare and on women's caretaker role within the family. Owing to this, the democratic state has, until recently, deemed the family to be a private matter. Generally speaking, the Finnish welfare state has reduced the individual's economic

dependence on the family but the Spanish one has not. This difference is reflected in the possibilities for and patterns of forming new families. Paradoxically, the family-centred society makes it more difficult to establish new families than the more individualistic one. In addition to reducing the individual's dependence on the family, the welfare state also ought to reduce the individual's dependence on market forces (see Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999, 2002). However, the recent retrenchment policies have turned the course of the Finnish welfare state in the opposite direction and brought the Spanish one to a standstill. As has become apparent, the choices of life, family lives and the well-being of both Spaniards and Finns are more dependent on the labour market and earnings than on the welfare state even if it is the type of welfare state that has policies designed to mitigate dependency on market forces, like the Finnish one.

The family – Still going strong

Social change not only influences the conception of the family in society but also in research. Considering the conceptual shift regarding the family in research, basically three views on the family prevail among social scientists. First, there are those who perceive a massive change in the family, even the end of the traditional family. Others criticize the talk of crisis and predict the revival of the family. The third group, positioned somewhere in between, prefers to speak of tendencies towards pluralism. All these standpoints are based on empirical data and especially on demographic statistics.

The analysis of Finnish and Spanish families indicates that the traditional or conservative idea of the family is in crisis if the family is defined as a conjugal male breadwinner/female homemaker family. It is suited neither to egalitarian values nor to the reality within which people live in contemporary societies. Nonetheless, a life-long marriage – a prerequisite of the traditional definition of the family – has remained the ideal most people hope to pursue in both countries regardless of the differences in divorce law and the frequency of divorce.

If the 'normal' family is defined as a conjugal, nuclear family in which both spouses are employed most of the time during the family cycle, then the family is going strong both in ideological and practical terms. Most Finns and Spaniards hope to live and do end up living in this sort of a family, although not always permanently and some more than once.

Family pluralism is a reality in both societies although 'alternative' family forms such as families based on cohabiting couples, single-parent

families and reconstituted families are still more common in Finland than in Spain. However, the two latter ones are not usually consciously chosen from the outset but rather are consequences of failed marriages (and/or relationships). Families based on a cohabiting couple, on the other hand, often lead to a family based on a married couple. Furthermore, there are families that are based on a couple but composed of three generations living in the same household. These types of families are more common in Spain than in Finland, so far.

Part IV Family in Converging Europe

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9
Integration of European Societies and Family Patterns

Family is ambiguous. It transforms in its forms while at the same time being an enduring social institution and one of the most valued things in the lives of Europeans. Europeans are increasingly open to alternative forms of organizing their private lives, and European societies are increasingly giving their 'official' approval to alternative lifestyles. This approval extends, for example, to providing legal protection for non-marital cohabitation, same-sex partnerships and, in some cases, even same-sex marriage, by permitting adoption rights (although in most cases restricted ones) for same-sex couples. It also includes allowing the use of reproductive technologies, on the one hand, and acknowledging the right for abortion and use of contraceptives, on the other, as well as allowing and facilitating divorce. There is no longer only one 'correct' way to live as a couple, to start a family and live a family life, although most of us hope for and choose the 'traditional' way: marriage and (preferably) two children.

This does not, however, indicate unlimited freedom of choice. Social, economic, political and cultural factors frame and shape individuals' choices, actions and even hopes. Structural factors and changes in structural circumstances affect family practices and people's behaviour. The postponement of family formation appears to be the most notable contemporary and common trend in Protestant and Catholic Europe, in east and west and in north and south. The fact that Europeans postpone family formation, have fewer children and smaller families than they used to a few decades ago is not only originating from changes in values but to a large extent from the demands and obstacles posed by contemporary societies under the pressure of globalization.

Yet the discussion of socio-demographic developments in Europe and the analysis of the Finnish and Spanish cases as representatives of different

European societies demonstrates that although global forces push social changes in the same direction in each society, the specific contexts moulded by political, economic, religious and cultural developments, institutions and characteristics create and maintain differences. For example, regardless of the common trend of postponed family formation, the historical distinction between Eastern and Western European patterns of family formation persists. Eastern Europeans continue to be younger when marrying and having children than Western Europeans (see Chapter 1). Confirming historical differences between Southern and Northern modes of transition to adulthood, Spaniards tend to leave home when marrying and starting their own family whereas Finns leave to establish themselves as independent adults before forming a family of their own.

The historical and in-depth comparative analysis of the two European cases – Finland and Spain – demonstrates how the family is very closely and in a real way connected to macro-level changes and circumstances. In both countries, the rapid change in industrial structure from agriculture to industry and services as well as migration from the countryside to urban centres altered the family. Large farm families were replaced by small urban families (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, for example, in Finland, fertility started to rise when family-friendly policies were actively developed in the 1980s and took a downturn along with the retrenchments in the 1990s. In Spain, the release of the housing market from public control in the 1980s caused a dramatic increase in housing costs and in the availability of affordable rental housing, which coincided with a sharp decline in marriage and fertility rates. Besides, as we have seen, the new economic order and changed labour markets have influenced Europeans' decisions concerning childbearing in particular. The former socialist CEE societies exemplify how economic, political and structural changes brought about a collapse in fertility.

Furthermore, viewing the family as a social institution and as an ideological construct held up by laws and policies reveals that the family is political, and not only in the sense of a 'battleground' of the sexes and generations or as a locus of negotiations of power and resources. The analysis of family institutions and ideologies over the 20th century and early 21st century shows that the family has been harnessed to the purposes of the ruling power and of the state in various ways, either explicitly or implicitly, at different times. For example, pro-natalist and antifeminist policies were a cornerstone of the authoritarian regime in Spain as was the case also in other European societies with fascist or authoritarian histories, such as Germany, Italy and Austria. Also in countries where pro-natalism took a milder form, as in Finland, the

state endeavoured to manipulate people's familial behaviour to serve the best interest of the nation.

Although explicit interference in individuals' private lives and in family lives is no longer politically correct, public policies, legislation and the labour market shape the frameworks within which individuals live and make their choices. Therefore, individualization is very much 'institutionalized individuality', to use Parsons's (1978) term, implying that increased freedom of choice does not equal a breakdown of order or limits. Besides, in the world of accelerating globalization, it is not only the national frameworks that shape people's lives but also the international ones. European integration and the EU and other international organizations, such as the OECD, play a central role in ideology formation and policymaking.

Converging European welfare states

Within the frame of this study, we may ask, has the process of European integration and the enlargement of the EU had a converging impact on European welfare states and on the family in Europe? Or, is it rather so that the convergence of different European societies has occurred despite the European integration process? Our case study on Finland and Spain has demonstrated that the structural and economic development in societies which in many respects have been and are different, has been remarkably alike since the 1960s. This suggests that convergence occurred before the countries joined the EU. Besides, Spain joined the European Community a decade earlier than Finland and this did not seem to cause a distinction between the modernization paths of the countries.

In fact, during the past century or so, and particularly since the Second World War, Western European societies have begun to resemble each other more and more in terms of economy, production structure, political organization and degree of secularization, and they have undergone a similar gender revolution and demographic shift. Furthermore, since the collapse of socialism, Eastern and Western Europe have become more and more alike not only in economic and political terms but also in cultural ones.

As for the demographic transition, it is more than likely that parallel changes in Europeans' demographic behaviour were bound to occur with or without the European integration process. If we look at the demographic development in European societies in relation to the timing of joining in Europe's integration process, it appears that the process

of family change was not generated by the integration process (see Tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 in Chapter 1). For example, fertility did not decline earlier in the forerunner countries of European integration, namely, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands (EEC founded 1957), than in those Western European countries – Austria, Finland or Sweden – that joined the EU almost four decades later (in 1995). In fact, the trend of declining fertility as well as increasing cohabitation and divorce started in later-wave Western European member states, namely, Finland and Sweden (see Chapter 1). In Eastern Europe too, demographic changes had been going on long before the new member countries joined the EU (2004). All in all, we may well assume that 'pre-EU' convergence, be it economical, political, structural or cultural, may have been the factor that has facilitated the process of European integration and the enlargement of the European Union (see Alestalo and Flora, 1994; Kuhnle and Alestalo, 2000).

Studies indicate that the process of convergence, particularly its economic dimension, has been faster and more notable among EU members than among other societies, but EU membership as such is not the reason for the accelerated economic convergence. Rather, the poorer member states benefit from the growth created by the EU policy of transfer payments (Bornschier et al., 2004). The 'community logic' on which the EU is based seems to have other effects besides 'pure' or direct economic equalization. Studies, this one included, indicate that during the past decade or so, the 'less developed' welfare states in Europe have been under pressure to improve their level of social security and services and, on the other hand, all types of welfare states have been under pressure to cut back public expenditure (see, for example, Adelantado and Calderón Cuevas, 2006; Kuhnle, 2000; Social protection in Europe 2000; Taylor-Gooby, 2004). For example, the Finnish social security system has become a bit more earnings-related and means-tested than before and Spain has attempted to develop its welfare state, which has resulted in some improvements, in particular in the reconciliation of family and work and health care provision.

Speaking in terms of welfare state types, the European welfare states appear to be converging as they are slowly moving towards a middle ground. The volume of resources a society earmarks for public expenditure and social protection expenditure is one of the elements used to describe the different European welfare states (see Chapters 2, 3 and 5). According to a study conducted by Adelantado and Calderón Cuevas (2006), public expenditure and social protection expenditure have increased in Western Europe since the early 1990s, but at the same time,

the GDP (gross domestic product) has grown to a much greater extent especially since the mid-90s. Therefore, year after year, in relative terms, European governments have allocated less of their economic growth to public and social protection expenditure. The investment in public expenditure has slowed down among countries that had spent the most, namely, those belonging to the Social Democratic or Scandinavian welfare state regime. In turn, public expenditure has expanded in countries that had spent the least, that is, in countries belonging to the Mediterranean and Liberal welfare state regimes. In Conservative welfare states the level of expenditure has remained the same. Likewise, the evolution of income inequality and the risk of poverty have also tended to converge as income inequality and poverty risk have increased in Social Democratic welfare states, have remained steady in Conservative welfare states and have decreased in Liberal and Mediterranean welfare states. In sum, according to Adelantado and Calderón Cuevas (2006), European welfare states have been converging towards the middle ground although they have preserved their principal characteristics. Social Democratic welfare states are still the ones that allocate most of their wealth to public expenditure, the most egalitarian in terms of income distribution and the most effective in preventing poverty, and on the opposite side are the Mediterranean welfare states.

Generally speaking, owing to economic globalization and the Maastricht commitment to 'open markets', the capacity of European welfare states to reduce the individual's dependence on markets and, consequently, on the family has diminished. Welfare systems are changing according to market values by expanding private provision and modifying services to minimize conflicts with national economic competition (Taylor-Gooby, 2004, pp. 29–48). Consequently, people's decisions about their private lives and biographies are increasingly directed by market values and the labour market. As we have seen, difficulties in establishing oneself in the labour market affect family formation and fertility negatively across Europe. Furthermore, the dependence on the family as a provider of welfare increases in all types of welfare states and, on the other hand, the possibilities to form new families decrease.

On the other hand, the ageing of the population and declining fertility have for long been recognized as problems even at the level of the European Council. Already in the late 1980s, the European Commission stressed the reproductive and economic significance of the family for Europe's political, economic and cultural position in the world. Despite the stress on the family as the bedrock of Europe and its competitiveness, no common distinct policies to support families exist in the European

Union. The principle of subsidiary leaves social and family policy the responsibility of the member states. The lack of common social protection is explained by different attitudes of very dissimilar governments, by political diversion within the EU and by the existence of fully developed and different welfare states. The exclusion of the family as an explicit political issue on the community level is explained by the very different cultures and traditions of member states (Weiss, 2000).

However, the analysis of Europeans' familial behaviour and the case study on Finland and Spain show that regardless of different cultures and traditions, the socially held idea of the family has converged. Furthermore, it has become evident that regardless of differences in patterns of family formation, generally speaking, family life is converging in different countries. So far, the ideal family appears to be an egalitarian two-generation nuclear family composed of a couple and their two children. Adults are increasingly engaged in paid work most of the time while children are taken care of by somebody else than their parents.

Parallel socio-demographic trends and indications of a convergence of welfare states, family ideologies and family lives suggest that a basis for developing common social protection in the EU may exist after all. If and when economic globalization and economic and monetary unification in Europe push different welfare states towards a parallel model and make individuals increasingly dependent both on market forces and on the family, perhaps the Community should also take common action to better enable the formation of new families and to ensure the functioning of the existing ones. Observations that differences in patterns of family formation and fertility largely come from structural factors, and that the existence of family-friendly policies and services may have a positive effect on the formation of families, on fertility and, especially, on family size, suggest that the development of a common support system for families in Europe might help in balancing the disproportion of age groups in the member states and, thus, ensure the welfare of people in Europe and Europe's position in the world. However, as the study indicates, the welfare of families and individuals, neither on the national nor on the EU level, is ensured only by the development of public policies and services, but also by employment policies.

European social model and the family

Towards the turn of the millennium, welfare policy had achieved a higher profile at the EU level although an independent EU-level welfare policy cannot be identified. It has been acknowledged that such

processes as rapid progress towards economic and monetary union and Union enlargement have an impact on social protection and make it a common matter of member states and a matter of cooperation at the European level. Besides, the dramatic labour market and family change that has occurred in Europe during the past few decades, and particularly since the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, has challenged the welfare systems of the member states. Accordingly, the EU has started to push member states to take action for combating unemployment, increasing labour market participation and modernizing social protection systems.

Consequently, the European Commission proposed a concerted strategy for modernizing social protection in 1999, which exhorts the member states to develop pensions, health care, and wage work and to promote social inclusion. In practice, the member states were to review the costs and labour market implications of pension and health care systems to make tax and benefit systems favourable to labour market activation, and to reduce the overall tax burden (Lewis, 2006). The message of the proposal is in line with market values and economic competition. In a simplified manner, it states that labour markets ought to be developed so that work pays and provides a secure income, which in turn is the principal, although not the only means to prevent social exclusion. Equally, the social protection of families ought to be developed so as to better reconcile wage work and the family in the forms of benefits or allowances, leave schemes and care services so that European women, in particular, and men are able to work and be economically productive (Social protection in Europe 2000).

As already discussed in Chapter 2, the EU has laid down the minimum requirements of 'family friendliness' applying to the member states by recommending the development of childcare and determining the entitlement to maternity and parental leaves and job protection during pregnancy and maternity leave. Council Directives laid down the ground rules but member states were left to determine the details, such as the conditions of access and compensation.

Work and family reconciliation has been one of the European Community's main commitments to welfare policy. Although the notion of reconciliation has usually been taken to mean the harmonization of paid and unpaid work for women rather than equal sharing of work between men and women, the central documents on work and family reconciliation issued in the first half of the 1990s referred to the desirability of sharing employment and familial responsibilities between men and women. Since the late 1990s, work and family reconciliation has been more tightly integrated into employment policy

and strategy. As a result, encouraging men to change their behaviour in regard to sharing familial and caring responsibilities dropped off the agenda and the focus of family friendliness moved to emphasizing the provision of child-care services rather than providing time for care through leave schemes (Lewis, 2006, pp. 428–30).

The shift in emphasis from care leaves to services arises from one of the principal weaknesses of the Union defined by the European Council meeting in Lisbon in 2000; too low employment rates and particularly women's and older workers' insufficient participation in the labour market (Presidency Conclusions Lisbon European Council 2000). The goal set by the Lisbon Council was to increase the number of women in employment from the present 50 per cent to 60 per cent by 2010. In 2002, the Barcelona Council continued to set targets for women's employment by announcing that the provision of child-care services should reach 90 per cent of children between age three and school age and 33 per cent of children under age three by 2010. The logic behind prioritizing formal, institutional childcare over care leaves is that extensive care-service provision will encourage women to enter and stay in the labour market, whereas leaves, if they are long, encourage exit from the world of paid work (Lewis, 2006). In the same spirit, Esping-Andersen (2002) states that the 'good society' requires women's active labour market participation facilitated especially by high quality, institutionalized childcare provision also for all children under school age. Ultimately, women's employment encourages family formation and enables couples to better achieve the desired number of children. It improves family welfare and is the most efficient way to combat social exclusion and poverty. Furthermore, women's employment helps to sustain future welfare state finances and significantly furthers Europe's competitiveness as resources invested in women's education will not be wasted.

The shift of work and family reconciliation policies to a more exclusive focus on childcare services in order to increase female employment rates is in line with the contemporary expectation that women as well as men are or will be 'citizen workers' living in an 'adult worker model family'. In practice, in most European societies, the adult worker model family is not an egalitarian two-earner family where both adults work full-time and, ideally, share domestic and caring tasks. Instead, it tends to be a modification of a male breadwinner model family, namely, a one-and-a-half-earner family (see Kronsell, 2005; Lewis, 2006).

If an increase in women's employment rate is achieved by women's part-time employment, we may wonder whether women's greater participation in the labour market will actually improve family welfare and

prevent social exclusion and poverty. In many cases, as discussed in Chapter 2, part-time jobs tend to be poor-quality jobs with low wages. Thus the half-earner's income does not necessarily make a notable difference in family economy especially when care services for children need to be bought. If the part-time worker is a sole earner, the income is usually insufficient to make ends meet and thus does not prevent social exclusion and poverty. Besides, there is more to family welfare than sufficient economic resources.

Another much promoted element of an active employment policy and means to facilitate the reconciliation of work and family, namely, the flexibility of labour markets and flexible management of working time, also poses questions. As part-time jobs and particularly fixed-term contracts become ever more common, job and income insecurity increases. As discussed earlier, an insecure labour market position appears to be one of the focal factors causing the postponement and even rejection of family formation. Furthermore, hardened competition for (quality) jobs and insecure labour markets appear to prevent employees with families from flexibly managing their working time by taking advantage of existing leave schemes or, for example, by reducing working hours until the child goes to school (see Chapters 2, 5 and 7).

The notion of a citizen worker embedded in the EU programmes of an active welfare state and active employment policy programmes appears to be based on a very limited view of work and productivity. It does not seem to take cognizance of the caring and socializing work done in the private sphere. If a highly educated woman takes care of and educates other people's children in nurseries, kindergartens and schools she is an active, productive and valued citizen but if she decides to take care of, educate and socialize her own children at home she is 'wasting' society's investment in her education and, for her part, 'threatens' Europe's efforts to develop a dynamic and competitive economy.

Yet there is no denying that women's employment and two incomes are often a precondition for family formation in the first place and also a focal source of family welfare. It is also fairly safe to say that the majority of women want to have both a professional life and a family, but it is also clear that there are women (and men) with different life choice preferences. Moreover, it is evident that family-friendly policies need to be developed together with labour market policies for, as Esping-Andersen (2002, p. 65) puts it, even the most elaborate and extensive work–family policies can be effective only if there is work. However, the tight integration of work–family policies into the EU's economic and employment strategies does not leave much room for

multifaceted consideration of the needs of European families in policymaking. On the basis of this, we may ask what kind of family ideology the EU is upholding? How free are we to choose a kind of family life in which to live?

Converging norms

Although the EU's core and main aims are economic, it also has other than economy-related converging effects. Since the Treaty of Rome in 1957, gender equality and equal opportunities have been important goals at the EU level which have been linked both to the pursuit of market-making and to social justice. The EU has been a forceful advocate of equality, so forceful that equal opportunities and the issue of gender equality have become normative at the EU level and among Europeans (Kronsell, 2005). This is reflected, for example, in value and attitude surveys. In practically all European societies the great majority of respondents tend to agree that both a man and a woman should contribute to household income or that household work should be equally shared and they tend to disagree with claims such as a man's job is to earn and a woman's job is to look after the home and family even though the reality might be very different (see, for example, ISSP 2004). Displaying gender-equal attitudes in particular has become the correct thing to do.

Definitions of equality, gender equality and equal opportunities have shifted over time. At first, equal opportunities meant equal pay for men and women and gender equality was defined in terms of the same treatment of men and women in the workplace. Definitions shifted in the late 1980s. Equality was no longer seen as treating men and women the same but as taking into account differences in their positions. This shift paved the way for the development of work and family policies in the early and mid-1990s and gave room for the idea that achieving gender equality and equal opportunities required changes in men's behaviour too (Lewis, 2006).

The definition shifted again in the latter part of the 1990s along with the idea of 'mainstreaming'. Mainstreaming is a strategy for promoting gender equality aiming to ensure that gender perspectives and gender equality are taken into account in all activities and societal fields, be it labour markets, policy development, research, legislation and so forth. At the same time, the concept of equality has expanded to include diverse forms of inequality on the basis of race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, disability, religion and belief (Kronsell, 2005; Lewis, 2006).

The EU has been a driving force to ensure that member states that have had different histories concerning gender relations and notions of equality adopt equality legislation based on common ground rules. Thus, EU membership can have an integrating effect on norms. For example, in Spain, the development of work and family reconciliation policies started after joining the EU in 1986 in accordance with the ground rules set by Council Directives. In the late 1980s and during the 1990s, maternity leave was extended, parental leave was introduced, public childcare services were developed and dismissals related to pregnancy, maternity and to the use of family leaves became illegal (see Synopsis 5 in Chapter 5).

A more recent example of the EU's role as a norm-setter is connected with the expansion of the concept of equality. In accordance with the broadened conception of equality, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the equal rights of homosexual and lesbian couples in 1994 (see Chapter 5). The member states are requested to take action to safeguard the equal treatment of all EC citizens regardless of their sexual orientation, and to eliminate all forms of discrimination based on such orientation. Thus it is considered abusive that some legal systems neither allow same-sex couples to marry nor provide a corresponding legal institution (Pintens, 2003, p. 13).

The resolution has driven the member states to reconsider their stand on and definition of such fundamental institutions as marriage, parenthood and family and to reform their legislation to better correspond to the demands of equality and non-discrimination principles. Although it is likely that the legal recognition of same-sex partnerships would have been placed on the legislators' agenda sooner or later, it is clear that the EU-level resolution accelerated the process in most of the member states. Even though the 'Europeanization' of family law is in motion, it does not necessarily lead to identical national laws, as the analysis of Finnish and Spanish family legislation attests (see Chapter 5).

10
The European Family – Made in the OECD?

What kind of an idea of the European Family is the EU upholding? Where does it come from and how does it affect Europeans' familial lives? Looking at the documents of the EU bodies and the OECD reports, it soon becomes quite evident that the OECD tends to act as the first mover regarding definitions of social problems and recommendations on how to tackle the problems, and the EU frequently accepts and includes them in its agenda.

The main social challenges of Europe in the 21st century are very closely connected to the family: declining fertility, the ageing of the population, changes in household type and family structure and too low labour-force participation rate (see, for example, European Commission, 2000, 2004; OECD, 1999, 2001) Although the OECD's definitions and recommendations may not explicitly be aimed at influencing family structure, ideals and practices, we may assume that they have an impact on the conceptualization of the ideal European family among European decision-makers, on the one hand, and on the economic and political circumstances within which Europeans make their family-related choices and decisions, on the other.

The OECD plays an important role in identifying common problems and laying out a range of 'best practice' solutions for its member states. In family-related issues, the EU has been in close collaboration with the OECD's Social Policy Division of the Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs (DEELSA) which, according to Rianne Mahon (2007), has reasserted the OECD's authority in the policymaking of the EU and of its member states. This section examines the OECD's recommendations concerning family-related issues and the work–family balance in particular on the basis of the recent four-issue report series – *Babies and Bosses: OECD Recommendations to Help Families*

Balance Work and Family Life. The section also assesses what kind of a family the OECD, and thus the EU, promotes for Europeans and what questions or problems might be included in the recommended 'best practices' for 'family-friendly' policies.

Inclusive Liberalism and the 'right sort' of welfare policy

The core of the OECD's discourse lies in neoliberalism. The type of liberalism has somewhat varied over time but common to all variants is an emphasis on the individual and adherence to a capitalist market economy. The role of welfare policies or the type of welfare policies recommended has varied along with variations in the type of liberalism. In the 1960s, in the beginnings of the OECD, the discourse followed Keynesian social liberalism which included a positive view on welfare policies as they sustained full employment by protecting the male breadwinner worker against income risks. Since the late 1970s, neoliberalism gained ground, and in the 1980s the OECD helped to spread the neoliberal view of welfare policy as an obstacle to economic growth (Mahon, 2005).

Towards the end of the 1990s, the OECD's view on welfare policy changed again and the Social Policy Division of the DEELSA claimed for the 'right sort' of policies. The important themes of this so-called inclusive liberalism are opportunity and empowerment. The underlying idea is that welfare states ought to create such conditions that all individuals can develop to their full potential and that individuals have the responsibility to take advantage of these opportunities. These themes are the core of the OECD's 'active social policy' agenda, which includes the 'reconciliation of work and family life' agenda (Mahon, 2005, 2007; OECD, 2005a).

Inclusive liberalism stresses the centrality of employment by demanding social support systems to be modernized so that barriers to work will be removed. Accordingly, tax and benefit systems have to be redesigned to make work pay and people need to be provided training and other services to enable them to make the most of their potential and capacities, thus ensuring their purchasing power and maximizing the active labour force participation of the working age population (Dostal, 2004; Mahon, 2007). Labour market regulations and welfare state provisions need to be scaled down in order to make labour markets more flexible and to reduce structural unemployment. Second, inclusive liberalism advocates the 'flexibilisation' of labour markets. Furthermore, like neoliberal discourse, where women are treated similarly to men, including

the expectation of full-time participation in the labour market, inclusive liberalism advocates the adult-worker family. According to the 'active social policy' agenda (OECD, 2005a, p. 4):

> Some view 'Mom at home with the kids' not only as reducing family income, but also as a gamble on the partnership between the parents not ending in separation and on the continued job security of the father. Staying in the labour force is viewed as one way that mothers can protect themselves and their children against the vicissitudes of relationships and work. At the very least, policy needs to support the option of maternal employment and arguably it needs to go still further, promoting employment by parents as being in their own best interest and that of their children.

However, according to OECD policy, an increase in women's labour market participation should not come at the expense of fertility rates. Therefore, the state must assist with the reconciliation of work and family. Reconciliation methods recommended by the OECD include public support for adequate and affordable childcare, but publicly subsidized childcare ought also to be developed in such a way that private provision is encouraged. It is believed that private care providers are better equipped to answer the needs of customers, for example, in terms of opening hours, and are more innovative concerning the philosophies of early child education. The state not only provides subsidies but also regulations to monitor quality and to ensure that nobody is excluded from the coverage of care services (OECD, 2005a, p. 11). Another component of this reconciliation package is parental leave. According to Rianne Mahon (2007, pp. 7–8), parental leave is included partly because it can obviate the need for public investment in extensive and expensive infant care. Yet leaves should not be too long because long leaves lead to the deterioration of human capital and the weakening of women's attachment to the labour force. The 'active social policy' agenda also acknowledges that short leaves, while preferable for the full utilization of human capital, may be detrimental to 'the best possible start' for children.

Although the OECD does not have the power to oblige member states to follow its recommendations, it influences the agenda-setting of the member states' policymaking through the permanent delegations of the member states, ministerial meetings and training sessions for civil servants and office holders. Thus, the OECD represents an official consensus on the direction of policy reforms (Dostal, 2004; Kiander and Lönnqvist, 2002; Mahon, 2007). As the discussion about the development of

European welfare states and the European social model clearly showed, the 'right sort of social policies' outlined by the OECD based on principles of inclusive liberalism are echoed at the EU level.

Recommendations to balance work and family life

The OECD report series – *Babies and Bosses* – is based on a comparative research project conducted by several researchers representing different disciplines employed by DEELSA . The reports review 'family-friendly' policies in OECD countries and recommend measures to improve the policy results. The series is composed of four reports covering thirteen OECD member states. The European countries reviewed in the reports are Denmark and the Netherlands (Volume 1), Austria and Ireland (Volume 2), Portugal and Switzerland (Volume 3) and Finland, Sweden and the UK (Volume 4). Next we will take a look at the critique and recommendations given to some of these European member states.

In line with the 'active social policy agenda', women's increased labour market participation is presented as a solution to a range of common problems from poverty, low fertility and the ageing of the population to the modernization of welfare policy in general. Following the ethos of the 'adult worker family', the focal message is that mothers should not be encouraged to stay at home. Consequently, for example, the Netherlands and Austria are advised to move from family to individual taxation; the Portuguese are counselled to move from child allowances for low-income families to employment-conditional tax credits; and Ireland is recommended to reduce long-term benefit expectations among recipients of One Parent Family Benefits (OECD, 2002a, 2003, 2004). Finland is criticized for the level and duration of childcare support. The system of Child Home Care Allowance (see Chapter 5) in particular is seen to hold back labour-supply growth by encouraging mothers with small children to stay home for too long (OECD, 2005b, p. 14).

As for work and family reconciliation, *Babies and Bosses* is in favour of public support of non-parental childcare arrangements especially for children under three years of age. The governments should make sure that sufficient and affordable nursery and day-care places are available. The UK, for example, is advised to increase public support for childcare and improve low-income families' possibilities to use childcare services (OECD, 2005b, p. 15). However, public sector monopolies should be avoided and private provision is preferred (OECD, 2002a, p. 88; also Mahon, 2005, 2007). Although publicly subsidized childcare services for under-three-year-olds ought to be developed, the OECD appears to

show a preference also for family childcare for under-three-year-olds. Sweden and Finland are recommended to maintain the less costly family day-care system where municipal childminders provide care in their own homes and the family pays a fee in the same way as for care in day-care centres (OECD, 2005b).

According to the preference for flexible labour markets, 'family-friendly' policies in the workplace are keenly recommended. In many European countries, employees with preschool-aged children are entitled to reduce their working hours or to take leave to care for sick children and so forth. But, as discussed in Chapter 5, the use of these entitlements is not widespread, largely owing to the attitudes held by employers. Even if family-friendly working practices can reduce absenteeism and increase employees' commitment to work, or raise performance, not all employers are convinced that investments in family-friendly measures will pay. *Babies and Bosses* exhorts governments to actively convince employers of the merits of family-friendly workplaces (OECD, 2002a, 2003, 2004, 2005b).

Family-friendly flexibility requires also an expansion of part-time work. Austria, Ireland, Portugal and Finland are encouraged to support the expansion of part-time work as one way to organize the care of very young children and to keep mothers attached to working life (OECD, 2003, 2004, 2005b). Simultaneously, though, it is also recognized that an increase in part-time work tends to push women into low-paid, low-quality jobs and does not necessarily make a notable difference in a family's economy and purchasing power. As an example, in the Netherlands where women's part-time work is widespread, the 'one-and-a-half-earner' family turns out to be a 'one-and-a-quarter-earner' family in terms of the real income (OECD, 2002a). Another feature of flexible labour markets is the growth of temporary work. The OECD (2005b) report acknowledges the fact that the growth of temporary contracts in Finland and Sweden has had negative effects on family formation but the blame is not put on the insecurity that temporary employment creates, but rather on the 'stringent employment protection' in these countries.

The recommended family model

The above review of the OECD's recent evaluation of and recommendations for 'family-friendly' policies in different European societies is very limited and oversimplifying. Nevertheless, it provides us tools with which to draw some general conclusions concerning the suggested model of the European family and to bring forth some questions related to it.

To begin with, in practice, the demand for increasing flexibility on the labour market by expanding part-time work in particular and fixed-term employment means that it tends to be women who change their lives according to flexibility demands, not men. This goes against the important goals of the EU, namely the pursuit of gender equality and equal opportunities. The OECD reports note that it is women who are engaged in part-time employment, who take the care leaves and do the lioness's share of domestic work. The reports also note that regardless of the policy attempts to encourage fathers to take a more active role in childcare, in practice fathers rarely take full advantage of the leave schemes available. Rather men's working hours tend to increase after becoming parents (for example, OECD, 2002a, 2005b). It is recognized that gender inequality persists but little is done to advise how to amend such shortcomings in regard to gender equality issues.

Secondly, the OECD puts forward a homogenizing discourse on the family, the welfare state and relations between them. The recommendations do not pay much attention to the fact that regardless of the converging trend and the process of integration, Europe remains heterogeneous, and the various national, social, political and cultural histories affect current familial practices and welfare arrangements. It appears that the recommendations given to different European societies to reform their policies push European welfare states into the same matrix based on (neo- or inclusive) liberalistic principles. In the same vein, the recommendations on the best practices seek to mould the socio-economic framework so that it enforces the adult worker family as the ideal European family. In practice, the adult worker family translates into the one-and-a-half-earner family model – at least for those who have (small) children – which can be considered as a modification of the male breadwinner family model (Lewis, 2006).

The advice of the OECD is included in the EU's social model as the member states are put under pressure to revise and economize their spending on welfare benefits and services. What might be the implications for European families if European welfare states were to reform their policies in accordance with the evaluation and recommendations provided by the OECD?

We may claim that according to the recommended family model, the European 'ideal' family ought to be composed of a full-time working father, a part-time working mother and their two children who are early on socialized, educated and taken care of by professionals outside their own home. To fit into this model would require major changes in most European societies and in the lives of Europeans, women in particular.

In countries such as France, Finland, Hungary or Portugal, where women's full-time employment has for long been a norm, women who have or would like to have children should change their behaviour and, in many cases, also accept lower incomes, increased dependence on their spouses and deteriorating career-advancement opportunities. In countries where women's labour-force participation has traditionally been low, as in Ireland, Italy or Spain, their labour-force participation would increase but their financial and social independence probably would not. Furthermore, they may need to compromise their career aspirations. For example, Spanish women who nowadays are highly educated do not wish just for a job but for a career (see Chapter 5). In both cases we may ask, would the one-and-a-half-earner family model and an increase in female employment through an increase in part-time work actually add to family income, provide financial independence and security for women and ensure the full utilization of human capital?

The recommended family model, whether it is understood as a two-earner or one-and-a-half-earner one, takes no notice of the fact that the family is not necessarily limited to the nuclear family. In many European societies and cultures even the legal definition of the family goes beyond the nuclear family. Furthermore, in societies where the law clearly defines the family as a nuclear family, the moral obligations and practicalities tend to extend family liabilities (see Chapter 5). In contemporary Europe, many of the working-age core couples belong to the so-called sandwich generation who need to find ways not only to reconcile work with having children but also to combine work and children with caring for elderly parents. *Babies and Bosses* forgets the 'oldies' in proposing the best practices for 'family-friendly' policies. Although the activation policies include the idea that people need to be encouraged to stay in working life longer, accumulate wealth and contribute to the welfare state's finances so that when they eventually retire they will have the means to buy the care services they need with a little help from the state, the reality right now is that there is a growing ageing population who need care, and there also exists the moral obligation and will to provide care for family members outside the nucleus.

Furthermore, the homogenizing discourse and approach to family does not take into account the hopes, needs and aspirations of individuals and families living in different societies. There are studies indicating that in societies where women's full-time labour-force participation has been normative and even enforced from above, as in the former socialist CEE societies, a considerable number of women hope for the opportunity to be stay-at-home mothers, as the Hungarian example

discussed in Chapter 2 indicates. Under the present circumstances, this is not a realistic option because two incomes are needed for livelihood and because of the weakening of the welfare state (see Chapter 2; Pongrácz, 2006). On the other hand, in societies where there is a long history of limiting or even prohibiting married women's and mothers' labour-force participation (marriage bars) as, for example, in Spain, women are keen to establish themselves in the labour market and to have a professional life similar to men. As we have seen in the case of Spain, this aspiration combined with minimal support from the society has been reflected in further postponement of family formation and in lowest-of-low-fertility rates.

A comparative study on mothers' preferred and actual labour-market situation in countries representing different welfare state types – Finland, Sweden, Germany, Spain, the UK and the US – indicates that the majority of mothers are not able to realize their preferences. Most mothers with a child or children under school age would prefer either to work part-time or to stay at home. To stay at home would be the most desired option among Finnish and British mothers, but in reality women who have a child or children under school age are working: full-time in Finland and part-time in the UK. In Spain and Germany, more often than in the other countries, mothers who would like to work are at home. Spanish mothers in particular hope for full-time work irrespective of whether their child is under school age or at school. Finnish, Swedish, British and American mothers also work more and longer hours than they wish for (Hakovirta and Salin, 2006).

Finland stands out from the other countries, for the majority of mothers are in employment and working full-time as part-time work is rare regardless of the age of the child/children. However, many of the Finnish mothers hope for the possibility to stay at home when the child is very young or to work part-time when the youngest child starts school. In the case of Finland, the enforced full-time employment of mothers is at least partly due to the fact that there are no desirable part-time jobs available and that mothers' full-time employment is endorsed by the public day-care system and individual taxation. Although Finnish women in general do not prefer part-time employment (see Chapters 2 and 5), it appears that mothers would be in favour of part-time work (Hakovirta and Salin, 2006, pp. 263, 265).

This result is interesting as part-time work has never been characteristic of Finnish women in general or mothers in particular as, for example, in Germany or in the UK. Hakovirta and Salin (2006, p. 265) suggest that perhaps in a similar manner as in the former socialist countries

with a long history of mothers' full-time employment and the dual earner family model, Finns' attitudes are changing and the preference for the one-and-a-half-earner family model is becoming more prominent. In reality though, it might well be that given the change, mothers would not take the part-time work since it might be an economically infeasible solution.

It appears that mothers' preferences concerning the work–family balance are poorly fulfilled regardless of what sort of employment they prefer, what kind of family-friendly policies are practised or how the labour markets are structured in different societies. The policies ought to be developed so that there would be more options available for mothers and prospective mothers to make work–family balance choices according to their personal preferences and to realize their social right to caregiving (Hakovirta and Salin, 2006, p. 266; see also Leira, 2002).

Individuals, both women and men, ought to have the social right to give care as well as not to give care that is a right for employment and, as we have seen, in different societies these rights are embraced in different ways (see Leira, 2002). Yet, thinking in terms of the 'active social policy' agenda, it appears that employment is a duty rather than a right and the right to caregiving is limited. From single parents' point of view in particular, the suggested policy orientation from welfare to workfare may severely limit their right to provide care.

For babies or bosses?

If the entitlement to social benefits and services becomes increasingly employment-conditional, if more and more of the services needed are to be bought from private suppliers and if family leaves and income compensation are scaled down, it is a bit difficult to see how these measures would benefit family formation and childbearing. As noted above, it appears that mothers in Europe would prefer to take care of their small children themselves rather than put them in the care of others or to hire somebody to care for their children at home (see, for example, Hakovirta and Salin, 2006). Furthermore, the insufficiency of benefits and services for families is the major reason given for the decline in fertility and the postponement of family formation even in such welfare states that in the European context are the most family-friendly, such as France and Finland (see Chapter 2).

One cannot help wondering whether the family and work reconciliation agenda outlined by the OECD favours bosses more than babies. If 'welfare citizenship' becomes increasingly employment-conditional and

people are obliged to work under insecure conditions with fixed-term contracts and often in low-paying part-time jobs, bosses will have an ample supply of 'flexible' workers and fewer responsibilities towards them (see Chapter 2). However, a number of studies, including this one, attest to the fact that an insecure labour market position does not work in favour of family formation and childbearing irrespective of the type of welfare state. Furthermore, from babies' point of view, having well-off parents and an affluent home surely prevents child poverty but a child's welfare and the 'best possible start' in life is not guaranteed only by the income level and purchasing power of his or her parents. If children are given a chance to speak, what they hope for is more time with their parents (Save the Children – Finland, http://www.pelastakaalapset.fi).

The adult earner family model combined with 'active welfare policy' based on principles of inclusive liberalism may reduce peoples' family-related choices by narrowing the social right to caregiving. Furthermore, regardless of the emphasis on the individual and the aspiration for greater individual economic independence, individuals may actually become more and more dependent on their families. For example, if women are pushed to lower income levels, they will be dependent on their spouses. Besides, there will always be a group of people who are not successful in competing in the flexible labour markets, who cannot afford to buy the services needed and, thus, have to rely on their families for support. Moreover, as we have seen, under the present circumstances, young adults find it increasingly difficult to gain independence and thus need to live at the expense of their parents and families for increasingly longer periods, not being able to form new families. In fact, it is accepted and acknowledged by the advocates of inclusive liberalism that the demand for the 'flexibilisation' of labour markets means greater inequality both between individuals and between families (at least in the here and now) (see Mahon, 2007, p. 5).

We may also ask whether these 'right sort of policies' accentuating individual activation and flexibility actually increase people's freedom of life choices and whether they prod and endorse the multiplicity of family forms. It seems that the structural frameworks outlined by the 'active social policy' agenda recommend a quite conventional family for Europeans. In a workfare society, a family composed of a one-and-a-half-earner couple and their children might actually manage to juggle private and public responsibilities.

However, there is another angle to the OECD's recommendations. We may also consider that the 'active social policy agenda' does not merely subject the family to the economy but brings the family into the focus

of economic policy. The agenda brings forward the question: under what conditions would Europeans be willing and able both to be active in the labour market, enhancing the economy and maintaining the welfare state, and to make babies? Although the 'active social policy' agenda leaves room for doubts and questions, it recognizes that sufficient income, the availability of family-friendly services and opportunities to arrange family life in accordance with the given familial situation are preconditions for people to act according to their familial and professional aspirations.

Yet, to be successful, the 'active social policy' and family–work reconciliation agendas require changes particularly in attitudes. Parents are challenged to reassess their conceptions of good parenting and the best interest of the child. For example, is it always in the best interest of a child, even a small one, to be looked after at home by a parent or could it be cognitively and socially beneficial to the child to be in (quality) non-family care. Or, is it better for the family if an unemployed and/or unskilled lone parent stays at home taking care of the child/children rather than her being able to put the child in affordable and quality child care while she goes to study and better her future labour market position?

Major changes are needed also in gender attitudes. Particularly, men need to accept that being a father is more than being a provider, to take more responsibility in sharing the caring duties, and to take advantage of their entitlements to family leaves and flexible work arrangements. With a more equal distribution of care provision between genders, both men and women could realize their professional and familial aspirations and respond to the central social challenges of Europe: too low fertility and labour-force participation rates. However, it is not only individuals with families and children who ought to change their attitudes but also employers. Employers both in the private and public sectors ought to recognize that creating family-friendly workplaces with family-friendly work practices for all employees regardless of their position in the organization might actually increase their commitment to work and their productivity.

Major questions are still left more or less open. For example, how to develop labour markets so that work actually pays and that peoples' insecurities in terms of their labour market position and income would decrease? How to prevent or, at least, minimize inequalities between individuals and families? And, how to make sure that a flexible labour market actually benefits both babies and bosses?

Nevertheless, the OECD's reports and the 'active social policy' agenda make family-related issues relevant to economic policymaking. Bringing

the family in as a valuable player in the global economic game, and acknowledging that governments and their policies are needed to support both the family and the economy, makes the family once again political. It has already become clear that the family has not lost its importance to individuals. Now it is also quite clear that the family has not lost its role as the focal societal institution either. In fact, it seems that the family's importance as the bedrock of society is increasing in the current globalizing world.

Notes

1 Family Patterns – Convergence or Divergence

1. Here Europe refers to European Union member states before 1st January 2007 (EU25).
2. Although the NMS10 countries include Malta and Cyprus, they can be used as a reference to ex-socialist Europe as the rest of the new member states share socialist past.
3. Ideal types of cohabitation express cross-national variation in the prevalence of different forms of cohabitation. In reality, though, in any given society all types of cohabitation may be found (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2004, p. 1216).

2 Explaining Family Changes

1. A similar development took place also in Finland. For further discussion, see Part III, Chapter 5.

3 Premises for Studying Finnish and Spanish Families

1. Mary Ann Lamanna's book *Emile Durkheim on the Family* (2002) brings together Durkheim's ideas on the family from diverse sources and scattered references, lectures and discussions, and presents his little-known 'family sociology' systematically and comprehensively.
2. Influential studies on family and kinship at the time included Henry Sumner Maine's study *Ancient Law* published in 1861, Lewis Henry Morgan's study *Ancient Society* published in 1877, Friedrich Engel's study *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* published in 1884 and Edward Westermarck's study *The History of Human Marriage* published in 1891.
3. Emile Durkheim (1921) La famille conjugale. *Revue philosophique* XC: 1–14. Edited with notes by Marcel Mauss.
4. Emile Durkheim (1909) Contribution to the discussion of 'Mariage et divorce', pp. 261–62 in *Libres entretiens: Questions realtives à la condition Economique et Juridique des Femmes*. Paris: Union pour la vérité.
5. Emile Durkheim (1895) 'Revue critique: L'Origine du mariage dans l'espèce humaine, d'après Westermarck', *Revue philosophique* XL: 606–23.
6. Emile Durkheim (1978) [1893] *De la division du travail social*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [Alcan].
7. In addition to the legal and statistical data, Durkheim used a wide range of historical and ethnographic data in his study on the family (Lamanna, 2002).
8. Emile Durkheim (1908) 'Débat sur l'explication en historie et en sociologie', *Bulletin de la société française de philosophie* viii: 229–45.

5 On Family Ideology

1. Emile Durkheim (1888), Introduction á la sociologie de la famille. Annales de la faculté des Lettres de Bourdaux 10: 257–81.
2. I have dealt with the historical development of Finnish and Spanish civil legislation in the following publications: Oinonen, E. (2000a) 'Nations' Different Families? Contrasting Comparison of Finnish and Spanish 'Ideological Families'. *Working Papers 15*. Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung and Oinonen, E. (2000b) 'Finnish and Spanish Family Institutions: Similarities and Differences', in A. Pfennig and T. Bahle (eds) *Family and Family Policies in Europe. Comparative Perspectives*, Frankfurt am Main and New York: Peter Lang, pp. 141–61.
3. In the Netherlands, the joint adoption right of same-sex married and registered couples is restricted to Dutch children. Inter-country adoption is an option available only to different-sex married couples or to one individual (Merin, 2002, p. 122).
4. The extension of family allowances beyond the dependent children and spouse was not unique to Spain. In Italy, too, the family allowances covered parents and in-laws with little or no income in addition to dependent spouses and children (Naldini, 2000).
5. At first the allowance was paid for children under age 16, but since then there have been several amendments. In 1962, the allowance was staggered according to the number of children. An additional supplement for children under age 3 was included in 1973 and 16-year-olds were included in 1986. In 1994, the supplement for children under age 3 was discontinued (Forssén, 1998).
6. Women's opportunities to take part in public life and affairs have been quite different in Finland and Spain during most of the 20th century. Women's suffrage in Finland (1906) and Spain (1931) was achieved together with the emergence of universal suffrage, which was connected to profound political changes and reformations. In Finland, the reformation of the parliament and the universal suffrage were direct reflections of the deterioration of the autocracy of the Russian tsar and the establishment of the Russian parliament (Alapuro, 1988; Ylikangas, 1986). In Spain, universal suffrage was connected to changes in politics: by the time the military dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923–31) failed, the democratic and liberal Second Republic had emerged. However, already in 1939, the nationalist forces led by Franco revoked all the progressive changes of the liberal republic and it was only in the late 1970s when Spain again adopted the norm of basic equality and women regained their full civil rights (Keene, 1999; Romero Salvadó, 1999). Since the attainment of suffrage, Finnish women have gradually entrenched themselves in formal social and political arenas. In Spain, the first period of women's participation in politics and social affairs was too short for women to establish themselves (Shubert, 1992). Nonetheless women were never totally kept out of politics and social action: they have been active, for example, in political, cultural and religious organizations, in women's movements and in organizing riots, boycotts and demonstrations. But, even after the re-attainment of full civil rights, Spanish women have been more active in civil society than in formal politics (see Enders and Radcliff, 1999; Morcillo, 2000; Nash, 1995).

6 Family Values and Attitudes

1. Households with three or more adults are common also in many Eastern European countries. For example, in Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and Slovakia, over 40 per cent of private households are composed of three or more adults with or without dependent children (Eurostat, 2007a, p. 18).
2. Likewise, educated people and those who live in urban areas tend to be more permissive than less educated people and those living in rural areas (see Inglehart, 1997; Michalski and Tallberg, 1999).

7 On Family Practices

1. The 'first demographic transition' in Europe was connected to industrialization, urbanization and secularization. Between 1880 and 1920 ages at marriage and parenthood started to decline and natality and mortality levels stabilized at low levels (Solsona, 1998).
2. Statistics are misleading: women on maternity leave are counted as employed, whereas women who are on parental leave or on the child home-care allowance are counted as non-employed even though they have a job to return to (Meil, 1999, p. 55).
3. Marriage does not always lead to setting up a household of one's own and to independence from parents, as around 10 per cent of 25 to 29-year-old Spaniards living with their parents are married (Juardo Guerrero, 1997, p. 18).

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