This is to certify that the

thesis entitled
The Historical and Social Development of Child Care Policies in Sweden: Lessons for the United States?

presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

a master's degree in sociology

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Date June 4, 1991

THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD CARE POLICIES IN SWEDEN: LESSONS FOR THE UNITED STATES?

By

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1991

ABSTRACT

THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD CARE POLICIES IN SWEDEN: LESSONS FOR THE UNITED STATES?

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The historical and social development of child care policies in Sweden are examined with the intent of developing a social policy agenda for the United States. This is accomplished by examining the historical and social foundation upon which current child care policies and programs rest in Sweden. An analysis of the cultural context in which social welfare programs developed is necessary to determine the relevance of the Swedish "model" for other modern, industrialized countries.

Sweden and the United States can be compared based on their similar patterns of labor force participation, changing family patterns, and the level of industrialization achieved. However, these societies differ in the historical foundation and goal of social welfare provision. What this research suggests is that the Swedish welfare system is not a model of social welfare provision but a unique case study that can merely inform policy development in this country.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Child care, especially the care and supervision of children while their parents work outside the home, is a pressing issue in the United States. Recently, child care has become a more prevalent topic for the discussion of social policy initiatives in the United States, particularly as members of the middle class have begun to feel the pinch of juggling work and family life responsibilities (Hertz 1986; Yeiser 1987; Chapman 1987). In 1990, federal legislation sought to address some of the issues facing working parents through the passage of an expanded child care bill and the introduction of parental leave legislation.[1] Yet, although parental leave legislation was passed by congress, this legislation was vetoed by the president. Congress's failure to override the veto on parental leave legislation has suggested that federally directed efforts in this area are not likely to be adopted in the near future.

Yet despite the failure of these pieces of legislation, the need to balance work and family responsibilities requires increased attention at this time. Significant changes have taken place in the labor force over the last two decades that have forced the reexamination of social policy in the area of family and child support in the United States. The changes in the labor force, family, and work organization most salient to this thesis stem from the increased numbers of women with children who are now in the labor force (Fox and Hesse-Biber 1984). The increase in the number of women entering the labor force has persisted regardless of the ages of children in the household (Table 1). This is a marked contrast to past

Table 1.

Labor Force Participation Rates of Wives, Husband Present, by Age of Youngest Child under 6, March of Selected Years 1970-1986, in the United States.

Presence and Age of Child	Labor Force Participation Rate				
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1986
Wives, total	40.8	44.5	50.2	54.3	54.6
No children under 18	42.2	44.0	46.0	48.2	48.2
With children under 18	39.8	44.9	54.3	61.0	61.3
With children under 6, total	30.3	36.8	45.3	53.7	53.8
With children under 3, total	25.8	32.6	41.5	50.7	50.9
3 to 5 years total	36.9	42.2	51.7	58.6	58.6
With children age 2 years	30.5	37.1	48.1	54.0	54.3
With children under age 1	24.0	30.8	39.0	49.4	49.8

Source: Alfred Kahn and Sheila B. Kamerman, *Child Care: Facing the Hard Choices* (Dover, MA: Auburn Publishing House, 1987), p. 11.

patterns of women's labor force participation. Today, women with children under the age of 3 are entering and staying in the labor force. In the past, labor force participation was often delayed until after children reached school age (Wilkie 1988; Spitze 1988).

The increased labor force participation of women has led to a growing need for child care and additional family support in the areas of health care and parental leaves. Families with two working adult members must balance both work and family responsibilities, as must single-parent families when the parent works outside the home.

The social support and child care needs of families vary considerably due to the presence of dual-earners or single-parents in the household. An increasing number of children face the possibility of living with one parent for at least part of their childhood (Hewlett 1986). Rising divorce rates have increased women's need to work outside the home and have led to reduced financial support of children, both because of wage inequality and also reduced financial support of an absent parent (Hewlett 1986). Furthermore, in the United States, single-parent families where women are the heads of households are far more likely to be living in poverty than families in which two parents are present (Ellwood 1988, Levy 1988). Therefore, the options for child care and the other support of children might vary considerably given the socioeconomic conditions in which children are found. For both working parents and social policy makers, this varied set of socioeconomic conditions appears to create a complex set of problems for which solutions must be sought.

The United States is not alone in facing these challenges. The above mentioned changes in labor market participation rates of women are quite similar to those experienced by other highly industrialized countries.

Likewise, increasing divorce rates and single-parent family patterns are also common among industrialized nations (Table 2). Yet, governmental responses to the needs of working parents and their children differ greatly among these countries. Therefore, an analysis of social policy in other countries can be illustrative of the types and kinds of support that the United States could provide for its members. Since the social institutions of work and family often conflict and place constraints upon individuals, especially in households in which children are present, social policy alternatives must be sought to help working parents balance work and family responsibilities more effectively.

Previous social science research on child care has often focused on the developmental effects of public care on the child. Other research on child care has focused on the effects of maternal separation on the child when placed in a public environment. This type of research often fails to recognize the social changes that have necessitated women's increased labor force participation and hence, the reality of the need for child care outside the home. The sociological grounding of this research makes it clear that parents must work outside the home for a number of reasons. And, once engaged in paid employment, parents must also arrange for the care of dependent children. Indeed, what is most salient to this analysis is the recognition that work and family responsibilities cannot be examined in isolation from one another because they overlap and often conflict in contemporary United States society.

Since the focus of this research will be in the area of child care policy, some preliminary definitions are useful. For the purposes of this research, child care is defined as the social support and care of children

Table 2.

Marital Status of Women Who Head Households, in Eight Industrialized Countries (in percentages).

Country	Year	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Unwed
Austria	(1984)	7	43	9	41
Britain	(1985)	8	42	25	25
Finland	(1977)	29	50	4	17
France	(1982)	31	39	15	15
Italy	(1981)	41	7	40	12
Sweden	(1985)	4	31	4	61
West Germany	(1985)	18	46	16	29
United States	(1985)	7	42	22	29
	(1970)	20	33	40	7

Source: Sheila B. Kamerman and Alfred J. Kahn, "What Europe Does for Single-Parent Families," *The Public Interest* 93: p. 72.

generally. It may include the public care of children in centers or within the child's home, while parents work outside the home. Yet, child care must also be considered to be a part of a broad range of policies that provide working parents with more flexibility in working arrangements, such as, parental leaves after the birth of a child, job guarantees, and days off to care for children during periods of illness. These examples are not meant to be exhaustive of the possibilities for the social support of children, but they reflect a sample of the kinds of policies described in the child care literature.

Overview of the United States' Policy

According to Lubeck and Garrett (1988), "of all the nations in the world, only five lack a family policy: South Africa, New Guinea, South Korea, the Sudan, and the United States," (p. 31). The absence of a national family policy in the United States persists during a time when the federal government struggles with child care and work and family related issues. Since the United States lacks a comprehensive family policy or federal guidelines for the development of a universal child care network, an analysis of programs and policies developed elsewhere might provide insight and direction for programs in this country.

Broad criticisms of the United States however must be tempered with the recognition that at least some foundations of a social welfare system do exist in this country. Though the United States is often criticized for not providing comprehensive social support to its citizens, there are several programs and policies that have been implemented to specifically address the needs of individuals, families, and children. Hodges (1987), for example, illustrates that families in the United States have sought government intervention to address a myriad of basic needs in the areas of

medical care, welfare, and unemployment insurance when families could no longer meet their members' basic needs. These programs were first developed during the Roosevelt Administration in response to massive unemployment during the Great Depression. Though massive unemployment led to social policy development in the past, it is the increased labor force participation rates of women that is stimulating the call for social support at this time. It is the linkage of the economic necessity of working, the need for the care and support of children and the relative lack of comprehensive social programs for providing this support that create the need for research on policy alternatives in this area.

When the support of working members of this society and their children are considered, health care, job security, and child care are all seen as interrelated concerns. Researchers, such as Lubeck and Garrett, recognize that child care services are currently being expanded in this country, but herein an additional concern arises. What continues to differentiate the United States from other countries in the provision of child care and other social supports for working parents, is that "no national child-care policy exists to guide its formation" (Lubeck and Garrett 1988 p. 31). Thus, one objective of this study is to determine what can be done to more adequately balance work and family obligations, and what could facilitate the formation of child care and family related policy in this country. This will be accomplished by analyzing the development of social policy and child care policy in Sweden.

Overview of Swedish Society and Social Policy

At this juncture it is essential to make clear assumptions inherent in this analysis. Much of this researcher's interest in this subject is generated by a frustration with how the demands of paid employment and the

necessity of working outside the home have led to makeshift arrangements in the care and support of children in the United States. In the absence of other social support for the care of children in this country, parents are left to find the best possible individual solutions to their child care needs. If parents must work outside the home to provide for their family's basic needs, their children especially young children, must receive care and supervision. The costs to the society of not providing adequate supervision and care while parents work is beyond the parameters of this analysis. Yet, what is clear is that with the increased number of working women in this country, child care is an issue that must be confronted.

An analysis of social policy development in Sweden can illustrate what has been done to address the needs of Swedish citizens for basic support and also particularly the need for child care when parents work outside the home. The social welfare system in Sweden has often been elevated to the status of a "model"; therefore, it is seen as providing directions for policy in the United States in order to address the needs of both working parents and children.

Sweden is considered to be one of the industrialized countries with a highly developed social support network. What becomes clear is that the historical development of the social welfare system in Sweden must be analyzed so that the context of the child care system can be understood. This thesis will illustrate that the social welfare system in Sweden not only provides a comprehensive general support system, but also provides an infrastructure upon which social policies have been implemented which actively help working parents accommodate the demands of both work and family life. It is expected that by critically examining child care and

social support for working parents in Sweden, some directions for a policy agenda in this country will become apparent. The question that this research addresses is whether the child care system in Sweden is a "model" upon which social policy in the United States can be developed, and if so, in what ways.

If Sweden is truly a "model," the United States could simply adopt similar programs to address the needs of working parents and their children. However, the assumption of the "model" status of Swedish policies must be critically analyzed, and this is the underlying objective of this thesis.

Overview of Swedish Child Care Policies

In Sweden, specific policies to aid employed parents and provide care for children include a variety of components. One aspect is parental leaves in which either parent is allowed up to twelve months of leave to provide for a child during his/her first year. These leaves can be taken by one or both parents, during which time they receive ninety percent of their working wages. Additionally, parents are allowed to cut back their working hours (e.g., from eight to six hours per day) without compensation, while their children are age 8 or under. These programs and policies have been implemented through joint negotiations with employers, unions, and the government.

Sick leaves are available to working parents in addition to parental leaves. Working parents are allowed leave time to care for an ill child. These sick leaves allow for 60 days of paid leave per year per child (The Swedish Institute 1984b). In addition, nationally sponsored child care programs allow for the care of sick children within their own homes by a "licensed child-minder" while their parents work. Sick leaves are

available while the child is currently in public day care and while children are of school age.

Since women continue to enter and participate in the labor force when very young children are present, child care is needed once parental leaves are exhausted. Compulsory school attendance does not begin until children are seven years of age in Sweden, leaving almost six years that children require care before entering the school system. Types of facilities vary based upon the ages of the children needing care. Pre-schools assume two forms, "day nurseries" and "part-time" groups, though both of these may be situated in the same facilities. Day nurseries provide four or more hours of care per day and provide care for children from six months and older. There is a shortage of spaces in day nurseries for very young children (six months to a year), and there are waiting lists for placement. However, since parental leaves through the first year of a child's life allow for care at home most children do not begin attending public child care centers until they are older than six months. Part-time groups are available for children between the ages of four to six. There is a policy mandate that all six year olds are to have spaces in part-time groups. Part-time groups become a pre-school environment with programs that are geared to facilitate a child's transition to public school when they are seven. Part-time groups provide care for children for three hours a day over a five day week.

In addition to public centers, there are family day nurseries. Municipalities hire "child-minders" who provide care for children in the child-minder's home. Up to four children may be cared for in a child-minder's home. As has been previously mentioned, under government

auspices, child-minders also provide care for sick children in the child's home.

Older children between the ages of seven and ten are cared for in "leisure time centers" (fritids). Leisure time centers provide before and after school care in addition to care during school vacations. Leisure time centers may also provide care for children up to the age of twelve. Wolfe found that according to a 1980 study, "...approximately sixteen percent of Swedish and Danish children relied on such after-school centers,...by 1984 that figure had risen to 30%" (1989b, p. 136). Within the leisure time centers there is an emphasis upon recreational activities.

In addition to child care facilities, and the before and after school care for children of working parents, there are a number of other programs that seek to meet the developmental needs of children. Parks and playgrounds, open pre-schools, and toy-lending libraries all fall under the auspices of public child care in Sweden. "Open pre-schools" are pre-schools in which parents and children are able to attend and participate in the programs offered. In most of the literature regarding public child care, day care is not seen as a replacement for parental care but as a dependable form of care to facilitate work in the paid labor force. The official position is that parental involvement is both sought and seen as necessary to develop programs that meet the needs of children. However, the amount of involvement parents have or seek while their children are in child care programs is an area in which future research is required.

It is also necessary to note that the child care system in Sweden is limited in two areas. Though developed to facilitate the employment of parents and the balancing of family responsibilities, most child care is

available only during daytime hours and "public child care programs still only meet a fraction of the demand" (The Swedish Institute 1984c, p. 1). According to research conducted in the 1980s, Wolfe found that "...nineteen percent of children who qualified for public day care couldn't obtain it" (1989b, p. 138). Literature about child care prior to 1985 concentrated on child day care, and identified normal working hours as falling between 6:30-6:45 a.m. and 6:00-6:30 p.m. (The Swedish Institute 1984b). This emphasis on the "day" in "child day care" appears to be an important distinction. Additional measures are needed to address shiftwork and non-daytime hours of working parents and the availability of child care arrangements to meet needs beyond "regular" work hours. Yet, the implications of this are unambiguous; parents who work during non-daytime hours still must find care for their children, and large numbers of children remain without access to public child care.

Those child care programs which are available are developed to provide a "good, secure growth environment" and to provide men and women equal opportunities to combine gainful employment with family life" (The Swedish Institute 1984b, p. 1). Child care is the responsibility of the municipal governments, and is financed through local taxes, parents' fees and state subsidies. These programs were originally developed under the Social Services Act of 1982, and supervision of programs is under the auspices of the National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen). Since the major goals of the program are to ensure a "safe and secure environment" for the children and facilitate their parents' work in the paid labor force, most public day care facilities are located in local neighborhoods.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The method that will be utilized in this analysis is a macro-level examination of social policy in Sweden in order to reveal possible directions for constructing and implementing social policy in the United States. This research relies solely on the use of documents in carrying out this analysis. These documents range from official government publications, to articles from scholarly journals and newspapers. There is a rather heavy reliance on publications from The Swedish Institute for both historical and general background materials on Sweden.

A macro-level approach has been adopted for this analysis for a number of reasons. It is impossible to try to describe social welfare and child care policies in Sweden without an understanding of this society's historical development. It appears also that some understanding of the distinctive nature of Swedish society must be developed to illustrate how far programs and policies have come to address the basic needs of residents in that country. It is necessary to grapple with the nature of Swedish society to illuminate whether the social policies generated there can be illustrative of directions in which the United States might seek to develop future social programs. What this means is that an understanding of the historical and social context in which social welfare and child care policies developed in Sweden must be examined more fully. It is not enough to merely describe the child care programs that exist in Sweden but to critically examine the social foundations upon which these programs and policies rest.

In 1970, Richard Tomasson wrote, *Sweden: Prototype of Modern Society*. In it he raised many issues that will be re-examined in this analysis. Tomasson (1970) sought to develop a means through which nation-states could be compared one to another, with the goal of evaluating how Sweden compared with other societies. In so doing he identified a number of characteristics of nation-states upon which macro-level comparisons could be based. Tomasson (1970) provides six features of nation-states which he calls "infravariables". For Tomasson (1970), these infravariables provide the foundation for comparative studies of societies.

The infravariables Tomasson developed for macro-level comparisons of societies, are:

1. The level of industrialization a country has achieved.
2. The transformation of a society from agrarian to industrialized.
3. The demographic characteristics of the population.
4. The degree of homogeneity present within a society.[2]
5. The spatial distribution and influence of the capital to the provinces.
6. The interrelations and dominance of central institutions in a society.

These infravariables will be used in two ways in this analysis. First, these infravariables provide the basis for a descriptive analysis of Swedish society. Since one purpose of this analysis is to examine the assumption of Sweden as a "model," a descriptive analysis of the society is necessary. This will be done by developing a case study that examines Swedish society given the context of its social structure and institutions. Secondly, these infravariables will be used to illustrate in what ways the United States and Sweden can be compared as modern,

industrialized nations, and to determine in what ways these societies differ from one another.

The case study developed within this analysis will therefore, focus on the characteristics of Swedish society, the economic and population policies developed within this social context, and the ideologies and goals upon which the social welfare system in Sweden rests.

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS

Social policy and social welfare as they are understood in a capitalist society are fairly recent developments both in the United States and Sweden.[3] Though there is some disagreement as to when social welfare began in Sweden, it can be illustrated that the impetus for social policy development in Sweden is different from other countries. Though researchers such as Scott (1982) have been critical of the Swedish government and its slowness to respond to the social needs of the population, an extensive social welfare system has been developed in Sweden that attempts to meet the needs of both children and society. The foundation for the existing social support system in Sweden requires some consideration.

Child care and the care and support of children as full members of Swedish society are part of both economic and population policies adopted in that country. In addition, there are characteristics of Swedish society that must be discussed so that the social support system can be understood within the context of the society. This discussion will center first on those characteristics of Swedish society that allow Sweden to be compared with other western, industrialized countries. This section will be followed by a discussion of the substance of the economic and population policies developed in Sweden and the ideological emphasis placed upon different aspects of social policy developed since the early 1900s.

Constructing a Case Study of Swedish Society

Level of Industrialization

The first infravariable that Tomasson (1970) suggests is necessary to consider when comparing nation-states is the level of industrialization that a country achieves. The level of industrialization in Sweden is high enough for it to appear among the elite of industrialized nations (Table 3). The nature of industry in Sweden varies across manufacturing types which gives Sweden a diverse industrial base. Though traditional industries such as timber and ship building are experiencing declines, as a whole, Swedish industry has sought to diversify to provide for internal consumption but also to obtain a level of production that allows Sweden to remain competitive with other countries (Table 4).

In addition to considering how the industrial configuration is similar in Sweden and other countries, the characteristics of labor force participation are also salient to this analysis. The labor force participation rates for men and women are quite similar for the United States and Sweden (Table 5). In 1980, the labor force participation rate for Swedish men was 78.4 percent; the rate for U.S. men was 76.3 percent. The labor force participation rate for Swedish women was 64.6 percent in 1980, while the rate for women in the United States was 54.5 percent. Though the overall labor force participation rate for women in the United States is less than the level for Swedish women, the overall pattern is similar. It shows that since the 1960s, women in both countries have been entering the labor force in increasing numbers (Steinberg and Cook 1988). Likewise, the percentages of women working in major employment sectors appear to be quite similar in both Sweden and the United States (Table 6). The point here is to recognize that not only is the level of

Table 3.

Occupational Distribution of Workers in Ten Industrial Countries, by Percentage in 1982.

	Services	Manufac-turing	Mining, Construction	Agricul-ture
U.S.	69.2%	20.4%	6.8%	3.6%
Canada	69.3	18.2	7.2	5.3
Australia	64.8 ('81)	19.6 ('81)	9.0 ('81)	6.5 ('81)
Japan	56.0	24.7	9.8	9.4
France	57.1 ('81)	25.1 ('81)	9.3 ('81)	8.6 ('81)
German (F.R.)	52.7	33.7 ('81)	8.1	5.5
Great Britain	62.4 ('81)	26.7 ('81)	8.1 ('81)	2.8 ('81)
Italy	50.4	25.9	11.3	12.4
Netherlands	64.3 ('81)	20.9 ('81)	8.9 ('81)	5.9 ('81)
Sweden	64.9	22.5	6.9	5.6

Source: Ramona L. Ford, *Work, Organization, and Power.* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1988), p. 44.

Table 4.

Swedish Foreign Trade by Product Groups, 1982.

	Exports SEK mill.	%	Imports SEK mill.	%
Foodstuffs	4,896	2.9	12,060	7.0
Raw materials and fuels	26,541	15.8	49,202	28.4
Wood products	7,038	4.2	1,242	0.7
Pulp	6,442	3.8	312	0.2
Ores	2,772	1.6	2,142	1.2
Fuels	8,996	5.4	42,491	24.5
Chemical products	9,684	5.8	15,344	8.8
Semi-manufactures	37,688	22.4	22,267	12.8
Paper and board	16,143	9.6	1,732	1.0
Textile yarn and fabrics	2,178	1.3	4,501	2.6
Iron and steel	10,865	6.5	6,695	3.9
Non-ferrous metals	3,393	2.0	3,896	2.4
Engineering products	76,583	45.6	52,657	30.4
Metal manufactures	6,060	3.6	4,461	2.6
Power-generating equipment	4,551	2.7	3,769	2.2
Machinery for special industries	8,238	4.9	5,075	2.9
Metal-working machinery	1,749	1.0	1,474	0.9
Other non-el. machinery and equipment	11,979	7.1	8,163	4.7
Office machines and EDP equipment	3,527	2.1	5,010	2.9
Telecommunications equipment, radios, TV sets, tape recorders and the like	6,651	4.0	3,363	1.9
Road vehicles	22,259	13.2	11,333	6.5
Other transportation equipment	4,504	2.7	1,272	0.7
Other manufactured goods	12,583	7.5	21,994	12.7
Furniture	2,510	1.5	1,404	0.8
Clothing	1,322	0.8	6,812	3.9
Scientific instruments	2,512	1.5	2,826	1.6
Arms and ammunition	1,175	0.7	767	0.4
TOTAL	167,975		173,525	

Source: The Swedish Institute, "Fact Sheets on Sweden: Sweden's Foreign Trade," (Stockholm, Sweden: October 1983), p. 2.

Table 5.

Labor Force Participation Rates by Sex, 1960-1980, in Nine Industrialized Countries.

Country	Year	Labor force participation rates		
		Total	Female	Male
Austria	1975	58.4	42.4	76.3
	1979		30.5	54.0
	1982		32.2	56.3
Canada	1960	56.2	30.2	82.2
	1968	57.8	37.1	78.7
	1974	61.1	42.9	78.7
	1979	--	47.9	78.1
	1983	--	52.6	76.7
Denmark	1967	--	49.1	86.0
	1973	--	54.2	80.5
	1976	--	56.7	80.9
	1979	--	60.9	79.3
	1983	--	64.7	78.4
Federal Republic of Germany	1960	60.0	41.2	82.7
	1968	57.1	38.6	79.1
	1976	53.2	37.7	72.1
	1982	54.1	39.1	70.9
France	1960	62.0	43.3	84.2
	1968	58.8	41.4	78.5
	1976	58.7	43.8	75.3
	1982	55.6	42.4	69.8
Italy	1982	51.6	33.6	70.9
Sweden	1960	63.2	43.4	83.3
	1968	62.4	46.9	78.9
	1976	65.3	55.2	75.8
	1980	--	64.6	78.4
United Kingdom	1960	60.7	38.7	86.0
	1968	60.2	40.8	81.7
	1976	61.5	45.8	79.0
	1982	59.1	44.5	75.0
United States	1960	59.4	37.7	83.3
	1968	59.6	41.6	80.1
	1976	61.6	47.3	77.5
	1985	--	54.5	76.3

Source: Ann Helton Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, editors, *Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspectives, Second Edition* (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1988), pp. 308-309.

Table 6.

Percentage Distribution of Female Employment by Main Sector, 1975 and 1982, in Nine Industrialized Countries.

Country	Agriculture		Industry		Service	
	1975	1982	1975	1982	1975	1982
Austria	15	12	27	24	57	64
Canada	3	3	15	14	81	83
Denmark	6	5	17	16	76	78
Federal Republic of Germany	10	8	31	30	59	62
France	8	7	25	22	66	72
Italy	18	13	28	27	53	60
Sweden	4	3	19	15	77	82
United Kingdom	1	1	25	20	73	79
United States	2	2	18	17	80	81

Source: Ann Helton Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, editors, *Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective*, Second Edition (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1988), p. 311.

industrialization comparable for Sweden and other western nations, but that labor force participation rates and work patterns are also similar among these nations.

Transformation from Agrarian to Industrialized Society

The second infravariable that Tomasson develops is the transformation of a society from agrarian to industrialized. Tomasson feels that in Sweden, the transformation from agrarian to a more urban and industrialized society had less conflict than these transformations in other European countries (1970 p. 4). Like Tomasson, Baldwin (1989) considers the social transformation from agrarian to industrialized nation to have been less violent than in much of the rest of Europe. Baldwin's (1989) research also emphasizes that the differential development of Sweden from agrarian to industrial nation differs based on the timing of this event when compared to other countries. Baldwin suggests that this transformation occurred somewhat later in Sweden than in the rest of Europe in that the agrarian production remained high for a more extended period of time (Figure 1).

Scott (1982) likewise emphasizes that Sweden was slow to industrialize when compared to other countries in Europe. Not only was Swedish society slow to industrialize, but Scott also feels that Sweden was relatively slow to develop social welfare policies that responded to the needs of society brought on by the transformation to industrialization. Though disagreement exists among researchers about when Sweden began to address social problems, they do agree that once begun, the development of the social welfare system and the transformation to industrialized society emerged rapidly. The point that needs to be stressed is that the transformation from agrarian to industrialized society differed in Sweden from that of other countries in Europe and from the United States, both in terms of goals and intensity.[4] Though less

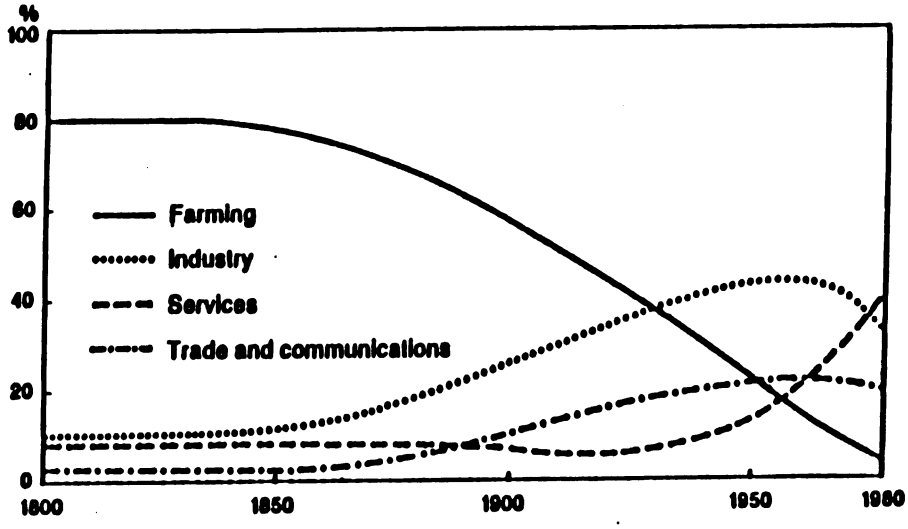

Figure 1.

Percentages of Working Population Employed in Farming, Industry, Services, Trade and Communications, 1800-1980, in Sweden.

Source: The Swedish Institute, "Fact Sheets on Sweden: The Swedish Population," (Stockholm, Sweden: December 1984), p. 2.

violent than in other places, the resulting social disruption led to the need for the development of a number of programs to address problems of widespread unemployment and poverty. Thus, the social transformation of Sweden from agrarian to industrialized is a significant difference that requires further examination.

Baldwin (1989) illustrates that Sweden was slow to industrialize when compared to Great Britain and the rest of western Europe, and suggests that this allowed Sweden the option of adopting similar programs or developing other approaches to social welfare. Baldwin feels that the Scandinavian approach that was adopted differed considerably from the programs and policies that were being developed elsewhere:

> ...Scandinavian welfare policy was the fruit of the common masses' political power,...it therefore incorporated a solidarity of the entire community by including all citizens, offering them egalitarian flat-rate benefits, and relying

> heavily on tax financing to distribute burdens by ability to shoulder them (Baldwin 1989 p. 6).

Baldwin contrasts this with the development of social policy that addressed the needs for social support in other countries in which revolt by the working classes was the impetus for the development of social welfare support (e.g., France), or in those countries in which the elite of society made concessions of social support to stem unrest among the working classes (e.g., the United States). The provision of social welfare became a means of social control under these circumstances. In the United States this is often referred to as "Mass Turmoil Theory" which is illustrated in the work of Piven and Cloward (1971; 1987). Baldwin suggests that in much of Europe (and the U.S.) social support was historically used to preserve the "unjust order" and not change it. The development of policies that focused primarily on the working class, avoided wide-ranging social equalization in which benefits varied based on placement in the hierarchy, and relied on unredistributive financing through premiums (Baldwin 1989).

Because the Scandinavian countries sought to address the needs of all citizens, attempted to redistribute resources across society, and sought to provide social equalization as a goal of the social welfare policy, the ground work was laid for social welfare policies that differed significantly from those in other industrialized countries. For Baldwin, the development of social welfare in Scandinavia sought to change the social order through the fundamental redistribution of resources across society coupled with tax reform that effected both urban and rural residents. This provided all residents with at least minimal social support. These strategies were to provide the basis for future welfare policies.

Because more people remained in agricultural development longer in Sweden in comparison to other countries, Baldwin feels this allowed time

for farmers and small producers to organize. And, just as industrialization elsewhere resulted in a movement to, and concentrations of, the population in urban areas, urban residents were not the only people experiencing social disruption. Increased concentrations of people in urban areas intensified the need for basic goods and services, but poverty was also widespread throughout the countryside. The need for rudimentary social support became evident in the late 1880s, as did the need for tax reform. Previous tax reform policies were, according to Baldwin, "archaically and unfairly apportioned" with the burden on the countryside greater than upon non-rural areas (1989 p. 16).

Tax reform became the means through which revenues were raised to address prevailing social ills. Though social problems appeared to be more acute in the urban areas due to the absence of basic goods and services, rural areas also experienced a high degree of social disruption and poverty caused by the exodus of people from the farm to industrializing areas. In Sweden, farmers and small producers developed a political voice from the beginning of this social transformation from agriculture to industry, and generally rallied around the issue of tax reform. The fact that much of the Swedish population remained in agriculture longer than in other countries appears to have had a significant impact on both tax reform and the benefit structure that was to develop in the society.

Baldwin's (1989) research illustrates that the increased need for social services in urban areas led to far more comprehensive social reforms in Swedish society because farmers and small producers in the rural areas were organized, had access to representation in Parliament, and would not accept a tax burden for social programs in which they were excluded from the benefits. Since tax reforms during this period took into account the needs and desires of both rural and urban residents, support for the general population had a collective foundation upon which

to rest. Even in its earliest form, social welfare contributions and benefits were linked to the amount an individual paid into the system, and did not rely solely on contributions from employers or other sources. Contributory programs are by far the most prevalent type of social support programs in the United States, with the largest of these programs being Social Security (OASDI) and unemployment insurance.

Baldwin's research illustrates two recurrent features of Swedish society and social policy that will be discussed further. The first is the high level of political organization among the general population, and political representation present in the society from the turn of the century; and secondly, that even the earliest social policies were implemented to address needs generally across the society. The implications of this for child care and the support of children will become apparent in later sections of this paper.

Just as Baldwin suggests that assistance was mediated between rural and urban residents with general assistance across the population, Kjellin (1980) illustrates early attempts by the Swedish government to mitigate inequalities between men and women. Though Kjellin focuses on family law, his research centers on the economic rights and responsibilities of men and women in Swedish society. Beginning in 1925, there was a reform movement which sought to abolish a man's exclusive control over property and over property his wife may have owned prior to marriage. A man's exclusive control over property meant that any property that a woman owned prior to marriage was appropriated by her husband once she married. Changes in family law during this time allowed women to retain property rights which provided women with some financial independence and "freed" them from total dependence upon a man. Because of these changes women who lost a husband through death or abandonment, or who chose to remain single, were able to provide for themselves because they were allowed access to property.

These measures to provide economic protection through guaranteed property rights have had far reaching consequences for additional social support. Women could own and retain property regardless of marital status. Kjellin (1980) stresses that changes in family law were part of an increased effort to achieve some type of equality between men and women; the outcome of these changes in the law were to allow women to have some measure of economic security. This was achieved through legislation and had ramifications for society as a whole.

Economic security can also be extended through social welfare programs that address the basic security needs of individuals and families. Tax reform and the need for pensions were addressed during this same period. In addition to changes in Family Law, during the 1920s and 1930s, the security needs of the Swedish population were addressed through "general old age pensions" (Kjellin 1980 p. 129). General pensions and tax reform illustrated early attempts by the government at a collective approach to social support. This collective orientation is present not only in Sweden but in other Nordic countries as well. This collective orientation among the Nordic countries and within Sweden are, for Kjellin, specific to these countries, and makes them distinct from other countries in Europe and from the United States.

Certain points regarding the social transformation from agrarian to industrialized and the patterns of social policy development must be emphasized. First, research has illustrated that the process of industrialization was less violent in Sweden than in other European countries. Secondly, industrialization did not begin in Sweden until considerably later than in other countries. According to the Swedish Institute (1983e), though the shift to industrial began between 1880 and World War I, it was not until the war broke out that industrialization was "firmly rooted" (p. 1). The 1920s and 1930s provided a period of continued industrial expansion with a slight decline during the 1930s,

though this was minimal when compared to what other countries experienced during this period. While other countries suffered devastation during World War II, Swedish industry remained intact and free from competition. And finally, the number of people in agriculture and working as small producers was greater because of later industrialization, and people remained in agriculture in greater numbers for a period even after industrialization was underway.

When social policy development is considered within this context, it is apparent that legislation during this period reflected a willingness to address the needs of all members of society and not just segments of the society. Tax reform sought to distribute the burden of social welfare costs across the society. Both rural and urban residents would share the burden of social welfare programs, and both would share in the benefits of these programs. Some measure of equality between rural and urban residents would therefore be achieved. Changes in family law sought to allow both men and women access to property, and to provide women with a measure of economic security whether or not they married. Women were thought to no longer be as dependent upon men for economic security once their access to property was secured. Social policy development at this time also sought to provide retired or disabled adults with economic security through the development of a universal pension plan. Working people and those unable to work due to old age or disability were guaranteed a minimum standard of living. Similarly, future child care legislation was to guarantee that the young would not be vulnerable to social disruption due to the inability to work. Thus, during the social transition from agrarian society to industrialized society, the legislation of social welfare provisions across the population was implemented to provide all segments of society with minimum standards of living.

Characteristics of the Population

A third infravariable that Tomasson discusses is demographic characteristics of the population of a country. Tomasson describes three variables under this heading: the size of the population, the "intermingling among classes", and the cultural resources available within a society. According to Tomasson, it was the characteristics of the population that made Sweden most distinct from other countries, though this distinctiveness was perhaps more true at the time Tomasson conducted his research. As political and economic conditions around the world have forced the migration of many and diverse peoples from their homelands, Sweden has sought to absorb a number of these people into a previously more isolated and homogeneous society. This has resulted in a social transformation in Sweden in which the characteristics of the population are being significantly changed.

Interaction among Social Classes

The first aspect of a society's population that Tomasson considers to be of importance is the amount of "intermingling" among classes in the society. By this Tomasson appears to refer to the amount of interaction and contact between classes in Swedish society. Sweden cannot be considered a "classless" society, but throughout its history there have been many examples of direct interaction between the different classes. Early on, farmers experienced direct interaction with the Crown, and often leased their land directly through this relationship. Farmers also achieved a level of political organization that led to political representation at the national level from the turn of the century. The support of the Agrarian Party (now the Center Party) was often a crucial component in coalition governments prior to the 1930s.

Not only have farmers been able to secure a voice in policies that effect the whole of Sweden's society, but contacts among classes have been

achieved through membership in a State Church. The Lutheran Church has traditionally been the State Church of Sweden. Though the Church's influence has substantially declined with increased urbanization and industrialization, membership numbers remain high even though attendance has decreased. Ninety-five percent of the population still belongs to the Church of Sweden, though only 5% of the population is thought to attend services on a weekly basis (The Swedish Institute 1984a).

The role of a Church of Sweden, however, appears to play two important functions in Swedish society, or did so traditionally. First, the church is often a provider of social assistance such as food and clothing during the times of social disruption, and though ill equipped to alleviate these problems over a wide scale, churches do provide assistance to local residents. Prior to 1914 the Lutheran Church appears to have been the major provider of this type of assistance.

Secondly, the Church of Sweden, especially in a largely homogeneous society (homogeneity will be discussed in a subsequent section of the paper), provided the basis for a common identity regardless of rural or urban residence. However this was certainly more true while Tomasson was conducting his research. The presence of a State Church would appear to reduce and prevent competition and divisions among classes and denominations that exist in societies that are less homogeneous than Sweden. That is, members of all classes remain integrated within one church in Sweden, and are not devided by social class among a number of different denominations.

The presence of a State Church reflects the early integration of government and religion. The early form of government in Sweden was a reigning monarchy. It was from among the nobility and the Church that a civil service arose, and, as the form of government changed, this foundation remained. The linkage between the government and Church was absolute until 1860 when it became possible to resign one's membership in

the Church of Sweden (The Swedish Institute 1984a). Allegiance to another church was required, even if membership was withdrawn from the Church of Sweden, until 1951. After 1951, one could withdraw her or his membership from the Church of Sweden without being required to establish membership in another denomination. Though the Church has become increasingly separate from the government, it is significant that at the parish level, a church tax is still collected and required even of non-members. Non-members pay 30% of the church tax, which represents the cost to the Church of providing "civil" duties, such as keeping population records and administering burial grounds (The Swedish Institute 1984a).

Though church attendance is now low among native Swedes, part of the social transformation that is taking place in Sweden is the presence of residents with far more diverse cultural backgrounds. With these diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds come other religious associations and traditions. As Sweden becomes more culturally diverse, other religious organizations and churches may gain increased influence. Though the present role of the Church in Swedish society is somewhat ambiguous, in the past the Church played an important role in the shaping of Swedish society and social policy in that country.

Size of the Population

Another characteristic of the population that Tomasson stresses is the size of the population of a society relative to other countries. The size of the population of Sweden remains relatively low for a country of its land area in Europe. And, though Sweden has endured periods of tremendous fluctuations in population, it has remained fairly stable over time. The size of the country is roughly equivalent to the size of California with a population of approximately 8.4 million in 1988.[5] The population of the United States at 246 million is considerably larger than this and this difference may well be significant in a number of

dimensions.[6] These differences will be discussed in more depth later in this analysis.

For Tomasson, the size of the Swedish population, "...frees the society...from international power and prestige considerations and perhaps tends to focus political attention on domestic affairs," (1970 p. 4). Though again, this may have been more accurate during the period in which Tomasson was originally conducting his research. Sweden's foreign policy is best described as "'non-participation in alliances in peacetime aiming at neutrality in the event of war.' This means that Sweden is not a member of any political or military alliance. In the event of war Sweden will declare itself neutral" (The Swedish Institute 1985c, p. 1). Being neutral during two World Wars prevented the massive destruction of Sweden that other countries in Europe had to endure.

Sweden has a history of remaining free from conflicts in Europe, and has appeared to place the needs of its people above involvement in international struggles. Sweden is not, however, wholly separated from the rest of the world; rather, it enjoys ties with other Nordic countries, and is an active member of the United Nations as well as other international agencies.[7] It is through Sweden's membership in the United Nations that political refugees are now entering Sweden in previously unprecedented numbers.

In recent years, Sweden has sought to curtail and decrease immigration into the country. Yet, regardless of policies to stem immigration into the country, Sweden remains a "refugee designate" country and has agreed to accept U.N. designated refugees. Refugees entering Sweden under this agreement with the United Nations High Commission are coming from more widely diverse and distant countries than ever before. Recent refugees have come from Chile, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Lebanon.

Though this research does not suggest that Sweden has concentrated more on domestic than international policy, Sweden has attempted to deal

with two issues, population growth and decline, and economic policy which emphasized specific needs of Swedish society in isolation from international considerations. That is, the Swedish government and people have taken specific steps to address population and economic issues as a society, in the hope of affecting fundamental changes within the society. Though increased and varied industry has made Sweden competitive with other nations, many of the country's industrial policies have been developed to address specific domestic needs of the Swedish people.

Cultural Resources and the Degree of Homogeneity in a Society

Another characteristic of the population Tomasson discusses is the number of cultural resources a country has available. This particular characteristic of the population is more accurately addressed when the degree of homogeneity present in a society is considered. Prior to and continuing through the 1960s when Tomasson was conducting his research, Sweden was a largely homogeneous society and relatively isolated from the rest of Europe. The Samar are a small culturally distinct ethnic minority, while native Swedes are by far the dominant ethnic group in Sweden.[8] For Tomasson the presence of only two culturally distinct and separate ethnic groups provides little in the way of internal cultural resources. The lack of a number of different cultural resources may well have intensified a collective identity among members of the society. In the relative absence of challenges to existing values, other cultural tools, or divergent subcultures, Swedish society experienced an intensified degree of homogeneity.

The degree of homogeneity remains a highly distinctive feature of Swedish society; however, as mentioned before, a social transformation is currently taking place. This transformation is a transition from a highly homogeneous society to a more multi-cultural society. With the increased presence of other ethnic and racial groups should come an increase in

cultural influences, though the form in which these influences might manifest themselves is difficult to predict. Whether these diverse cultural influences will serve to broaden the cultural resources and awareness among the society, or serve as a catalyst for polarization among the native population and newer residents within the society remains to be seen.

News of violence against immigrants and racial attacks have been on the increase in Sweden and much is currently being written about racism in Europe.[9] Certainly the influx of many people of different cultures and practices is often seen as a threat to the existing social order. Though the official posture of the government is to provide assistance and social welfare services to new residents with entitlement to the same rights and protection as native Swedes, in practice this has been difficult to achieve.

Existing programs have not been expanding fast enough and things like permanent housing have been difficult to provide. Even if goods, services, and programs were available immediately, societal values are far slower to change than social programs. A degree of "cultural lag" must certainly be a part of this transformation from homogeneous to multi-cultural society.

What is certain is that the needs and desires of a far different population than those native to Sweden will become evident in the addressing of child care needs. Language barriers will have to be bridged, and a sensitivity to other beliefs and practices will need to be established. Special assistance is, however, provided to immigrant children. For children whose home environment is largely dependent upon another language, Sweden has sought to provide training both in the native language and Swedish. This applies not only to new immigrant groups but also to Samar and Finnish-speaking children (The Swedish Institute 1984c, p. 4). In addition to "home language" training, immigrant children are

given priority placements in municipal child care settings. Though placement is provided based on the need for language training, priority placements place additional strain on a system that suffers from a chronic shortage of spaces.

This is not to say that Sweden has never experienced an influx of other people or other cultural influences. Previous patterns of immigration must be compared to the current pattern. Past immigration primarily stemmed from other Nordic countries (primarily Finland) in which assimilation and integration was carried out with relative ease. The current pattern is quite different. According to Kjell Öberg, changing immigration patterns between 1971 and 1981 have led to even greater changes in the demographic characteristics of Swedish society than merely the countries of origin of new residents:

> The changing pattern of immigration means, that of all foreign citizens, Scandinavians decreased from 64 per cent in 1971 to 55 in 1981 and other Europeans from 30 to 27, while non-Europeans increased from 6 to 18 per cent (1983 p. 3).

Other demographic characteristics of the Swedish population need also to be considered. Immigrant families are more likely to be of reproductive age than native Swedes. Among these new residents there occur more births than deaths. The pattern for native Swedes is just the opposite, birth rates are relatively low, while death rates are higher due to the higher proportion of elderly among the native population (Öberg 1983). Overall immigration accounted for nearly 45% of the total population increase during the period 1944-1980, and every fourth child now born in Sweden is of foreign (non-Swedish) extraction (The Swedish Institute 1984e, p. 3).

Frustration has been expressed by new residents and even among immigrants that have been in Sweden for decades about the difficulty of living among the native population (Daun 1990 and Kallifatides 1986). A number of concerns have been illuminated by Daun (1990) that illustrate

the difficulties new residents feel in becoming a part of Swedish society. Tension exists between assimilation to Swedish culture and the retention of one's native culture. How successfully new residents can be integrated into a previously more homogeneous society remains to be seen. This forces the consideration of how well, or if, cultural differences can be accommodated or tolerated within societies.

Although problems associated with this social transformation will surely take years to be fully manifested, the stresses and strains that may be exerted upon the social welfare system can be anticipated at least partially. While it is difficult to assess even current events to their fullest, the relatively recent transformation of Sweden from a homogeneous to a multi-cultural society appears to have no parallel in the industrialized west. Most societies in Western Europe, and certainly the United States, have been less homogeneous and have longer histories as multi-cultural societies than Sweden.[10]

The Concentration of Institutions and People in Sweden

Another infravariable crucial to the understanding of nation-states and societies is the "elite and bureaucratic concentration" exhibited within a society. Tomasson describes this as, "...the relations between the center and the periphery, the capital and the provinces within the society" (1970 p. 5). The national government of Sweden is concentrated in Stockholm, while other institutions such as commerce, industry, and its universities are spread throughout the country. There is more urban concentration in the south than in the north of Sweden. Therefore, population numbers vary considerably among municipalities. New residents are more likely to be settled in urban areas than rural areas. The presence of new residents also varies among municipalities, meaning that some municipalities must absorb the cost of more new residents than others. Usually new residents express a preference for urban residence

over rural residence, and to live in the south of Sweden rather than the north. Since the population is already concentrated in this way, stresses are increased upon the existing system.

In Sweden, the central government has been active in implementing social policy by supporting municipal government and "county" level governments in fulfilling the mandates of the country's constitution. Sweden is divided into 284 municipalities (Kommuns) each with an elected assembly (The Swedish Institute 1983c). Between the national and municipal government is a county level of government (landsting). There are twenty-four county governments in Sweden, and their functions and the functions of the municipal governments are integrated with those of the national government. The municipal governments are responsible for providing a number of basic services mandated by the national government, and this includes child care programs and services. Other programs administered by the municipal government provide both for "necessities and facilities: housing...roads, sewerage and water supply, and basic education, and public assistance, (and) child welfare" (The Swedish Institute 1983c, p. 4). Though fees are assessed for a number of these services, these services are provided by law and regulated by the national government. The national government also provides subsidies for the provision of these programs.

Clearly the uneven distribution of the population in Sweden and the influx of new residents to the country places stress on the municipal governments. Those municipalities with a greater percentage of the population require greater revenues and resources to meet the child care needs of the population. Likewise the availability of jobs will be different, given one's place of residence. The concentration of government and social service institutions may be effected as the number of residents increase and concentrations of people continue in urban

areas. Whether social services are experienced differently among the population is an issue that requires more research.

In Sweden, programs have been developed to achieve more equal distributions of people throughout the country. Incentives have been developed to make less densely populated areas more attractive to newcomers. Job training programs and new industries have been planned in northern areas. With the increased number of dual-wage earner families, some of these efforts to redistribute the population have been more difficult to achieve. The presence of a nationally mandated set of standards for services rendered would indicate that programs must be comparable among municipalities.

The patterns of concentration and distribution of people are certainly similar to the United States. People remain more densely populated in urban than rural areas. New immigrants are more likely to settle in urban than rural areas. And though industries are likely to relocate in non-metropolitan areas, there are often not enough other job opportunities to sustain dual-earner couples. One factor that makes the United States distinctive from Sweden is that because the United States lacks a comprehensive, national level social welfare program, programs and social welfare policies vary among the 50 states. This pattern is very apparent when social welfare benefits are compared between states and between regions. Northern industrialized states are far more likely to provide higher benefits than southern states, though considerable variation may exist between states in each region.

The Interrelations and Dominance of Institutions in Swedish Society

The final infravariable Tomasson develops for comparing Swedish society with other societies is the "pattern of interrelations and the dominance of institutions" in the society. Through the literature available on Sweden, the interrelations of social institutions can be

delineated in a number of ways. And though it has been illustrated that the influence of certain social institutions such as the church is declining in Sweden, other institutions remain strong. A centralized government has long been the dominant institution in Sweden. The prominence of the government as a social institution in Swedish society must be explored.

The central government was initially shaped by civil servants that came out of the monarchy, the Lutheran Church, and the university system, all of which were traditionally strong social institutions. In addition, the individual behavior of Swedish citizens in acceptance of a strong central government as a mitigating force in social life has been quite strong.

The Swedish public tends to vote in large numbers. In Sweden's parliamentary form of government, an individual votes for the party of their choice and not for an individual. This would appear to allow for a greater cohesiveness between what is voted for and the platform and issues that will be addressed in Parliament. Political parties and party affiliations have been strong in Sweden, and voter turnouts have been high. In 1982, voter turnout was 91.4% (The Swedish Institute 1985b). High voter turnout appears to have remained high through much of the 1980s. According to Åsard, "...about ninety percent of the electorate now vote in general elections..." (1987 p. 11). When voting behavior and union membership are considered together, Swedish society appears to exhibit a collective orientation to the formation of political institutions and policies.

In addition, new immigrants are provided a voice in local elections whether or not they choose to become citizens of Sweden. This provides non-citizens a voice in central government planning, and it also gives them a voice in the amount and types of services that are available to them at the local level including education and child care services. In

them at the local level including education and child care services. In a country like Sweden, collective organizations appear to be important points of access to the political process and the resulting implementation of programs and policies. Collective organization among new residents could be very important to gain the provision of goods and services they need in local areas. Since child care is provided at the local level, this input may be quite important.

In addition to high participation rates in government elections and politics, union membership is high in Sweden when compared to other nations (Table 7). No other country in the industrialized west can boast of such high union memberships. It is not just union membership that is high in Sweden, there also exists a great deal of organization among employers. In 1983, membership in the SAF (Swedish Employers' Confederation), which is the primary employer organization in the private sector, was 1.4 million members (The Swedish Institute 1983a). Among labor unions, the LO (Swedish Trade Union Confederation) has over 2 million members, and the TCO (Central Organization of Salaried Employees) has over one million members (The Swedish Institute 1983a).

The interconnectedness between labor unions and political parties has been historically present in Sweden. One example of this would be the direct connection between the LO and the Social Democrats (Åsard 1987). Since child care appears to be an issue confronted by parents when they enter the labor market, this connection between the labor union and the political system is an important factor to consider.

This integration between labor union activity and the political process could be a crucial concern for future policies and agendas in Sweden. Since unemployment is beginning to rise during this time of increased immigration, concern needs to be voiced about access to labor market opportunities, especially among new residents. Without access to the labor market, a lack of representation could develop among new

Table 7.

Percentage Unionized in Twelve Industrial Countries, 1977 or after.

Country	Percentage of Workers
Belgium	68%
Canada	31
Denmark	64
France	25
Germany	32
Italy	60
Japan	24
Netherlands	42
Norway	66
Sweden	80
United Kingdom	53
United States	19

Source: Ramona L. Ford, *Work, Organization, and Power,* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1988), p. 219.

immigrant populations. How adequately the government and labor unions can address the employment needs of new residents is an important consideration for the future, given the importance of employment in Swedish society. What appears to differentiate the development of social welfare policies in Sweden is that collective measures appear not to conflict with societal values. Indeed, collective and cooperative measures are the goal of programs and policies in Sweden. This will be illustrated more clearly in the next section of the paper, when economic policy and population policy are discussed.

A number of conclusions can thus far be developed based on this analysis of Tomasson's infravariables that clarify similarities and differences between the United States and Sweden and the provision of social support in each country. Sweden and the United States are most similar in the level of industrialization each of these countries has achieved. Labor force participation rates and patterns of labor force participation are quite uniform between the two countries. The concentrations of industry and people are also quite similar. More people in both countries are likely to be found in urban rather than rural areas. Industry remains largely concentrated in particular areas, though some differences can be seen when these patterns are further considered for each country. New residents in both countries appear to prefer urban to rural residence. The Swedish government is more likely to develop programs to promote industrial production in non-metropolitan areas and facilitate the movement of people to these areas. In the U.S., the federal government is not likely to be involved in activities of this type. Indeed this type of government intervention in the U.S. would be seen to be too obtrusive in both business and individuals' lives.

Sweden and the United States vary considerably when programs and benefits are studied. Benefits and programs are developed at the national level in Sweden, which allows for more uniform implementation and

guarantees a level of general assistance to the entire population of the country. In the U.S., programs and assistance vary among different regions of the country and between states. The United States lacks a coherent and consistent vision of general support for the population as a whole.

Sweden and the United States are dissimilar in a number of other significant ways. Though a transformation from agricultural to industrialized society occurred within each country, the historical pattern was different for each country. Agricultural production remained a major part of the political and economic landscape far longer in Sweden than in the rest of Europe. As has been previously mentioned, the United States pattern was significantly different from either the patterns present in Europe or in Sweden due entirely to its "born-free" status.

The United States and Sweden differ considerably in the degree of social welfare provided during the transformation from agricultural to industrialized society. As industrialization progressed, the Swedish government sought to implement programs that would provide general assistance and effect fundamental changes in Swedish society. Sweden adopted a more "planned" approach to the development of economic and industrial policies while the transformation to industrialization was taking place; that is, the government sought an active role in developing economic policy. The social welfare program that developed as a part of this "planned" approach was developed to mitigate the effect of industrialization upon the population.

In the United States, individuals and families were often left to cope with the changes brought on by industrialization as best as they could. Though the social disruption that existed during the Great Depression led to the development of a number of government directed programs and policies to assist families, these programs were not developed to provide general assistance or change the existing social

order present in the United States. Many researchers feel these programs were developed to stem social unrest that would otherwise threaten the existing social order. In the U.S., social policy was not developed to fundamentally change society.

The size and characteristics of the populations of each country are also quite dissimilar. The difference in size between the two countries and the impact this has had on their development cannot be underestimated. Clearly, in Sweden, programs and policies have been developed that seek to address the domestic needs of the society and provide basic support to the population. In addition, Sweden has been far less likely to engage in international struggles or international affairs to the same degree as the United States. By concentrating on domestic concerns, a comprehensive social welfare program has been developed in Sweden that coexists with economic and population policies developed there. On the other hand, a comprehensive social support system does not exist in the United States.

The scope of programs in Sweden has been the entire population, and though certainly there are vast differences in providing support to 8.4 million people rather than 246 million people, the emphasis upon general support for the entire population is a critical distinction between Swedish and United States policies. The foundation for general support programs in Sweden, developed based on the existence of a largely homogeneous population. Though the linkage between homogeneity and the provision of general support is not altogether clear, it is apparent that general support and the tenets of a program that provides a basic standard of living for the entire population has been more easily adopted in Sweden than in the United States.

Since the limits of social welfare provision are difficult to assess, how well Sweden can adapt its programs to a more culturally diverse population could be helpful information for the United States. Should Sweden be able to expand programs to meet the needs of a more

diverse population, then these programs would be more applicable to countries with multi-cultural populations. Clearly the United States has been unable, or unwilling, to provide general assistance to the population and instead has developed a "safety net" that is wholly inadequate to meet the needs of even the most vulnerable populations it seeks to serve. Women, people of color, and children, remain at a distinct disadvantage to the rest of the population in the U.S., even if they are receiving social welfare benefits.

The extent of government involvement in the provision of social welfare is another point of divergence for Sweden and the United States. Though national level programs and policies exist in both countries, compliance and implementation remains more sporadic in the United States than in Sweden. In Sweden, there are national mandates that direct local programs of social assistance, whereas in the United States, programs vary based on the amount of state support for a program and the amount of local resources.

In addition, the Swedish government is not acting independently, but in concert with collective organizations to develop programs and policies that provide general support. Collective organization among the Swedish population is a distinctive characteristic of the society. Again, the degree of homogeneity in the population could be a crucial factor in the development of a collective orientation to social problems in Sweden.

Another distinction that needs to be made between Sweden and the United States, when the role of the government is considered, is the acceptance of the government as a legitimate source and provider of social support. Though Hodges (1987) illustrates that the federal government can be a source of social support in the United States, seeking national level intervention in addressing social ills is far more acceptable in Swedish society. The extent of government involvement in addressing social problems in Sweden will become more apparent in the following section of

this thesis. In the U.S., the appropriate role of the federal government is at best ambiguous, and, given the changing political orientation of each administration, the political climate can even be hostile toward the provision of social welfare.

Social Policy Development within the Cultural and Social Context

This next section will analyze the emphases and impacts of specific social policies given the context of Swedish society in which they developed. By using Tomasson's infravariables as the basis for developing a case study of Swedish society, a foundation has been laid to examine the development of economic and population policies within this context. The first part of this discussion will examine the historical and social development of the economic policies that led to increased social support and the child care programs and strategies that are a result of these economic strategies. This discussion will be followed by an analysis of the effects of the development of a population policy in Sweden and the child care programs that are a result of this policy. Both of these first two parts place the development of specific social policies within the historical development of Swedish society and the development of social welfare policies during the early 1900s to the 1950s. The final part of this section will analyze changes in policies, and provide a current look at the direction of child care programs and policies in Sweden.

Economic Policy and Social Welfare Provision

Economic policies from the early 1900s in Sweden sought to alleviate fluctuations in the labor market and mitigate the effects of these fluctuations on individuals and their families. Like social welfare programs that were developing during this period, economic policies sought to provide steady and dependable support through work in the paid labor force, and not merely a means for providing temporary support during times of uncertain employment. Instead of targeting programs at alleviating the

symptoms of poverty associated with unemployment, full-employment for all who wanted to work became an early goal of economic policy development in Sweden. Bo Jangenäs refers to this as the "employment principle":

> The employment principle means that it has been considered preferable for the public sector to ensure the availability of temporary jobs or vocational training for the unemployed, rather than passively provide cash assistance (Jangenäs 1985 p. 7).

Unemployment policy at the turn of the century (1900-1909) led to the creation of public sector jobs and was a time during which jobs were actively developed and work projects were adopted. The economic downturn of the 1930s led to the adoption of additional "active labor market policy" to mitigate fluctuations in employment and unemployment (Jangenäs 1985 p. 16). That is, the government began to assume an active role as planner of economic policy in concert with employer organizations and the unions. Labor market policy in Sweden did not develop with the intent of instituting a top-down approach to management of the economy. More accurately, the government sought to intervene in cooperation with industry and labor to address the needs for people to work, with the recognition that a smoothly functioning economic sector was essential to the functioning of the society as a whole.

After World War II, the most pressing labor market issue became how to combine high rates of employment with low rates of inflation. The Social Democratic Party (in concert with the labor unions) was most influential in bringing about progressive labor market policies. And, though the bulk of these policies were not adopted until after World War II, the goals of the Social Democrats and labor were consistent with social support policies previously implemented; that is, Swedish economic policies after World War II sought to fundamentally address issues of redistribution of resources and general support for all members of society. Labor and the Social Democrats sought active government programs

and policies that provided protection from fluctuations in the market place. These took the following form:

1. A restrictive policy toward overall demand;
2. A wage policy of solidarity, i.e., the goal of 'equal pay for equal work' and reasonable and fair wage differentials, interpreted in practice as meaning narrower wage differentials;
3. Selectively targeted (rather than general) programs to deal with unemployment, partly because the wage policy of solidarity tends to accelerate structural changes in the economy;
4. Programs to promote mobility and thereby improve the balance between labor supply and demand (Jangenäs 1985 p. 12).

These policies, just as the previously mentioned social welfare policies and the goals of the population policy, were implemented to bring about fundamental changes in Swedish society. They led to government intervention and collective measures to address needs of both individuals and society. The acceptance of progressive policies in the labor market and the emphasis upon jobs and working has led to the acceptance of the belief in the "right" of Swedish citizens to a job. Not only this, but policies as recent as 1980 stress "that those people who want a job should have a genuine opportunity to find a job" (Jangenäs 1985 p. 33).

Economic policy did not develop in isolation from other programs. The need for increased numbers of laborers led to the influx of both immigrants and women into the labor market. Fluctuations in the Swedish labor market have often required the recruitment of immigrants and women as laborers. Smoothing out the fluctuations in the labor market began with programs that sought to secure full-employment. Though male full-employment was the initial target of these policies, the increased need for women's labor force participation has led to the application of the same economic policies for women. The emphasis upon greater equality between the sexes has also led to the acceptance of these same ideals for women. Equality between the sexes in the labor market has become an

increasingly important issue during the 1960s and continuing through the present.

Early fluctuations in the economy and unemployment among the population occurred at the same time in which recognition was made that the population was at a less than replacement level. Low birth rates during the 1920s and 1930s meant that programs to expand an industrial economy and address the unemployment problem could occur, and still there would not be enough people to fill jobs. Thus, Swedish economic policy and the population policy sought to address these simultaneous concerns.

Population Policy and Social Welfare Provision

Sweden has often experienced periods of population surplus and population decline. However, during 1927 the net fertility rate was less than 1.0, and by 1934 it had dropped to .70 (Scott 1982 p. 12). During this period Sweden began to address the social problem of declining birth rates in a way that was both experimental and progressive:

> Swedes became used to the idea that social policies, to be effective, cannot be applied individually, like band-aids or the legendary finger in the dike, but must be part of a consistent program...,Sweden accepted the premise that 'a population policy can be nothing less than a social policy at large' " (Scott 1982 p. 12-3).

What began as a program to address a problem of a less than replacement birth rate became a comprehensive program for health care, prenatal care, and child care policies. Legislation of these programs began as early as 1935 and continued through the 1950s. These programs did not, however, develop without considerable debate or controversy, and these programs did not develop in a vacuum free of economic considerations. A less than replacement birth rate would have left new industry and the country's economic and industrial position vulnerable. Support to women and families appeared initially to allow for population growth while at the same time sustaining economic growth.

Implicit in the population policies was the recognition that women were not only mothers but full members in society. The population policy and changes in family law sought to guarantee that women shared the same rights as men, and that their work in paid employment or at home was of value to society. Programs implemented during 1935 to 1938 included the following provisions:

1. Free delivery care and a maternity bonus for all women, and state maternity clinics;
2. Public housing schemes for families with three or more children, and rent reductions according to the size of family;
3. State loans to married couples, and sizable tax exemptions for families with children;
4. Subsidies for school meals, children's clothing, and play schools for children (Scott 1982 p. 14).

Additional aspects of the Swedish population policies developed during the 1930s provided improved old-age and disability pensions, voluntary unemployment, and sickness insurance. These programs were followed by basic pension plans regardless of paid employment (Scott 1982 p. 15), and in the 1950s a national health-insurance plan was adopted. In addition, the 1950s brought the acceptance of compulsory sex eduction courses that are administered through the school system. Scott's (1982) research suggests that it was far more difficult to implement programs that provided birth control and sex education as additional goals of population policy, than it was to provide programs that facilitated women's entrance into the labor market. The reason for this reluctance on the part of Swedish society to include sex education and birth control as part of a social change strategy is best understood and illustrated by looking to Myrdal (1941).

In the opening pages of *Nation and Family*, Alva Myrdal (1941) identified the need to consider widely held societal values, while at the same time, seeking to address the "population problem" in a scientific manner:

> The principle difficulty in constructive social engineering is...the need of value premises to supplement knowledge of facts....To be truly rational, it is necessary to accept the obvious principle that a social program, like practical judgment, is a conclusion based upon premises of values as well as upon facts (1941 p. 1-2).

It was the values of individual sexual behavior and the issues surrounding the "family" which were, and which remain, most difficult to legislate, because it appears these are the issues that are most ideologically laden.

Myrdal (1941) recognized that the development of a population policy would, from the very beginning, result in a basic conflict with other social values in certain areas. But these conflicts were an inevitable part of the process:

> It (the population policy) will be felt to condition the life of the individual just as it determines the welfare of nations. It touches sex life and the institution of the family as well as national production, distribution, and consumption...When that happens it is of the greatest importance that it be made common knowledge that the population policy concerns the very foundation of the social structure and that a problem of such giant dimensions calls for nothing less than complete social redirection (1941 p. 2).

Even though it took twenty years for sex education and birth control to become an accepted part of the population policy in Sweden, these programs eventually became a part of the policy.

In hindsight, it is easy to see that the policies of the government that addressed the population issue also led to a program of increased support to children. The care of children became one of the latent functions of the government as population policies developed during this period. The government sought to guarantee not only basic security needs for all members of society, but also to insure the same access to opportunities for all children. Regardless of their home environment, children were to receive meals at school, a clothing allowance, and equal educational opportunities. Thus, a collective orientation toward the needs of all members of the population appears to have permeated most aspects of social life to a degree unparalleled in other countries. For

Myrdal (1941) and Scott (1982) the population policy, and programs adopted as part of this policy, sought to bring about fundamental changes in Swedish society, and were not one-time solutions to the problem of less than replacement birth rates.

As the need for women to enter the labor force persisted, it became apparent that child care and aid to working parents were important issues for labor unions and the Swedish government. Yet, two additional issues arise when child care as social policy is considered: first, children need care while their parents work; and secondly, collective socialization of children may lead to the desired outcome of more equality between men and women.

Equality Between the Sexes and Social Policy Development

Scott (1982) links the recognition of the need for more equality between men and women as one component of the programs and policies geared toward children in child care settings. The notion of equality between the sexes, though legislated in a variety of ways, has however had problems gaining acceptance in Swedish society, even though legislation was enacted in the mid-1920s. Child care strategies in public care settings have been adopted with the expressed hope that more equality between the sexes will be achieved if children are introduced to these precepts early on in their development. The hope is that not only will more equality between the sexes be obtained, but that children will be socialized to engage in more collective and cooperative relationships that are considered desirable in Swedish society.

Fundamental to many of the programs and policies directed at these efforts is the recognition that women remain largely responsible for child care and the home, even as their labor force participation rates rise. A number of social policies implemented since 1980 which were directed at

working women with children have the expressed goal of creating more equality between men and women both at home and in the work place.[11]

Though legislation has been adopted in Sweden to promote equality between the sexes, and child care programs have been developed to further these ideals, it is a serious mistake to believe that equality has been achieved in any great measure. Both Silén (1987) and Leijon (1987) have examined the outcomes of social programs since the 1960s that were intended to facilitate even greater quality measures between the sexes in the labor market. Silén (1987) suggests that a "gap (exists) between words and deeds" (p. 11).

Leijon (1987) goes as far as to say that "sexual equality has lost ground" (p. 13). The goals of government directed programs since the initial population policy have developed to facilitate greater equality, but these alone cannot dictate individual or employers' behavior and attitudes. The forms that discrimination against women in the labor market take continue in Sweden and are often quite subtle. Though a broad array of social reforms have taken place since the acceptance and implementation of a population policy and specific equity legislation, individual behaviors continue to change more gradually. The "population problem" that led to the development of social policy and allowed women greater access to the labor market is no longer the same "problem" that effects the current generation. The fact that a gap continues to exist between official programs and policies and the way people live out their lives is not an issue to be passed over lightly. What becomes clear is that government action alone does not alter individual attitudes.

Though the debate over the success in achieving more equality between men and women is beyond the parameters of this paper, the fact that equality exists as an expressed goal of the Swedish child care policy is important to note. As women increased their work in the paid labor force, child care became an extension of the population policy. Thus, in

Sweden, the population policy and labor market policy are the foundations upon which child care programs rest. Children are accepted not only as full-members of society who benefit from general social welfare programs, but also are recognized as a group that has special needs. Many of these special needs arise when their parents work outside the home. The next section of this paper will explore women's role in the labor market and the child care strategies that have more recently been adopted to facilitate women's labor force participation.

Critical Review of Existing Child Care Policy

This final section will concentrate on what has been learned about Swedish society and the social policies adopted there to meet the needs of working parents. This analysis is essential to assess what type of policies might facilitate a better integration of work and family life in the United States.

An analysis of social welfare and child care policy development in Sweden has consistently reflected three key issues:

1. The first is the need for women to work outside the home;
2. Equality between the sexes has been an expressed goal of both labor market policies but also child care policies in that country;
3. Social change has been accomplished through collective action that sought to implement changes across society among its basic institutions and not a temporary remedy to current problems.

Child care programs have not been adopted simply to meet the needs of parents, but are imbedded within economic growth and population strategies in Sweden. Child care programs have been implemented to effect changes in society to create more equality between all segments of society and to guarantee a level of support and opportunity across the population.

Sweden is quite similar to other industrialized countries in the level and types of industrialization that has been achieved, and in the labor force participation rates of both men and women. Some of the

reasons for women's participation in the labor force are similar in both the United States and Sweden. High rates of inflation and declining real wages in manufacturing and traditional industries in both countries have compelled women to enter the paid labor force. As educational levels of women have risen, so too has their labor force participation rates (The Swedish Institute 1984e; Wilkie 1988). In addition, high rates of divorce and the increased incidence of single parent families have led to a continuing number of women working outside the home (Hewlett 1986). The types of jobs that women in Sweden occupy are largely similar to those women occupy in the United States. That is, there remains a high degree of sex segregation in jobs in both countries with women concentrated in low wage, service, secretarial, and health care occupations (Adams and Winston 1980; Steinberg and Cook 1988).

One contrast between the labor market participation of women in Sweden and the United States is the availability of part-time work (Table 8). According to the Swedish Institute, forty-five percent of all women in the paid labor force in Sweden work part-time in "occupations which are regarded as 'women's work'" (1984d, p. 1). In 1984, the proportion of women working part-time in the United States, was twenty-seven percent (Spitze 1988). Though the hours worked part-time has not been examined as to whether work hours are compatible with hours children are in school or during the evening when another parent may be present, the availability of part-time work may reduce the number of hours that children require public care. In Sweden, part-time work by women is supported by the labor unions (Steinberg and Cook 1988). Furthermore, there is some pressure from women's groups to set both men's and women's work hours to six hours a day for 5 days a week. This is considered to be one way to increase men's contribution to work in the household and in child care (Furåker 1986).

Table 8.

Part-Time Employment: Selected Labor Force Statistics, 1981, in Nine Industrialized Countries.

Country	Women as a percentage of all part-time workers	Part-time workers as a percentage of total employment		Percentage of female population, 15-64	
		Males	Females	Working full-time	Working part-time
Austria	87	2	18	--	--
Canada	72	7	32	36	17
Denmark	92	3	44	36	28
Fed. Rep. of Germany	94	1	26	35	12
France	85	2	16	39	7
Italy	64	1	6	33	2
Sweden	85	7	46	40	34
United Kingdom	94	1	37	34	20
United States	70	8	24	42	13

Source: Ann Helton Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, editors, *Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective, Second Edition*, (Mountain View, VA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1988), p. 313.

Though part-time work is considered to be a strategy that women in the United States adopt to balance work and family responsibilities, it is seldom supported by organized labor unions and falls outside of the existing benefit structure in the United States. Part-time work in the United States is often used as a means to reduce employer benefit costs. Part-time work in Sweden and the United States remains a poor substitute for full-time employment if a family's sole source of income and support are dependent upon a part-time worker.

Given the number of pieces of legislation and the development of the social support system in place in Sweden, it is evident that the government takes an active role in facilitating work in the paid labor force. It is the availability of public sector jobs that has allowed for much of women's labor force participation in Sweden. As more women seek paid employment, the pool of private child care providers decreases resulting in the need for more public care. This leads to an interesting paradox regarding women's labor force participation: tasks which were once performed by women in the home are now being provided by women who are employed by the government.

Adams and Winston's (1980) research offers a major criticism of the public employment of women in Sweden. For Adams and Winston, it is the types of public employment available to women that leads to increased sex segregation in the labor market: "...it simply leaves women doing the same jobs they have always done (cooking, cleaning, child care), only now they work for public authorities instead of their own families" (Adams and Winston 1980 p. 17). The concern is that women's roles will therefore become even further entrenched in "traditional" spheres. This calls into question the whole ideal of achieving more equality between the sexes. If women remain the sole providers of child care, health services, and social work, their roles have not changed, but have merely been supplanted. Women are now being paid for their "traditional" labor, but men are not

working to any great degree in these areas. They are also not helping to alleviate the burden of work women perform in their own homes. Thus, the messages children receive about equality between men and women in school ultimately may not be reflected in the adult roles they see carried out.

The emphasis upon full-employment and the primacy of working has also led to the need for increased child care and family support. In Sweden, as the need for labor increased, women were actively encouraged to enter the labor market, again increasing the need for child care. Programs and policies had to be developed to provide assistance to families with children, not only to encourage the birth of more children, but to guarantee their care while their parents worked in the paid labor force.

The population and economic policies that have been created in Sweden have sought to address the need for increased population growth, and have actively encouraged the labor market participation of women. The existence of a population policy in Sweden illustrates the extent of government intervention in what is considered in the United States to be a largely "private sphere." If a society is to encourage both child birth and work, then additional supports have to be generated to provide for the care of children while their parents (mothers) work.

Much of the initial focus of Alva Myrdal's (1971) research centered upon how ill-equipped the family was to meet the challenge of a changing labor market in which both men and women would work outside the home. The Swedish population policy not only sought to address population and work issues, but also to effect changes in the core institutions of the society. As the labor force participation rates of women rose, it became clear that parents couldn't work and raise a family without additional social supports. In addition, other goals, such as achieving more equality between the sexes, could not be addressed unless fundamental changes were made in other social institutions.

Child care, "domestic science" and sex-education have become part of the public school curriculum in Sweden (The Swedish Institute 1984d). Each of these programs represents attempts at reducing gender specific tasks, and training both boys and girls to provide for the care of children and the home, while at the same time, children are trained to work in the paid labor force. In the United States, the care of children and "domestic science" are still largely assumed to be appropriate topics for girls and women, while sex education largely remains the province of parents. Here, a significant difference between the two countries becomes obvious: in Sweden, social policy and public programs seek to change society and social relationship through education. The government has therefore assumed the role of provider of the programs and ideologies that are sought within the society.

The emphasis upon achieving more equality between the sexes and among different segments of society in Sweden cannot be overstated. Intervention early on in a child's development through day care programs is a tenet of the child care programs in practice in Sweden (Scott 1982). This collective approach to child rearing is thought to encourage desirable outcomes for Swedish society. Yet some researchers (mainly Americans) express concern for the future of a society in which the government has assumed such extensive involvement in activities that were once provided by parents for their children, and other family members (Wolfe 1989a, Wolfe 1989b, and Popenoe 1991). Limitations on government intervention and the effect that these programs will have on Swedish society are currently unknown. What becomes increasingly clear is that the scope and extent of government involvement in addressing social concerns in Sweden is significantly different from the traditions present in the United States.

While more equality between the sexes remains an elusive goal, it is clear that all individuals can expect a basic level of support in Sweden.

This becomes clear when the influence of public policy on the institution of the family in Sweden is examined. Working parents and their children can depend upon public programs for a diverse number of services.[12] This is illustrated not only in the types and kinds of child care available, but also because the government is the major provider of organized, non-family care. In Sweden, the government has assumed a burden of responsibility for its citizens that people in the United States would largely consider to be the responsibility of individuals and "the family."

When the social transformation from agrarian to industrialized society is considered for Sweden and the United States, one difference between these societies becomes quite clear: whatever social disruption did occur in Sweden was met through various and active programs and policies of the government. From the early 1900s to the present day, the Swedish Parliament has sought to legislate general and ultimately universal assistance programs and policies. Though debate exists as to the how quickly and how effectively the needs of the population have been met in Sweden, it is clear that macro-level solutions have been sought to address social ills. Coughlin (1979) believes that this is the essence of social policy: "social policy originates in government intervention in social and economic affairs in order to mitigate the effects of the 'free market' on individuals and families" (p. 8). The clear intent of both population policies and economic policy in Sweden, has been to mitigate the effects of labor market fluctuations within the society and to allow for the accommodation of both work and family life.

FINDINGS OF THE ANALYSIS

What this analysis has revealed is that Sweden has adopted general and universal social welfare policies that provide a minimal standard of living for all members of society. The primary goals of Swedish labor market policies have emphasized full-employment, self-fulfillment through employment, more equality between the sexes, and the care of children while parents work. Thus, the question underlying the Swedish model is not whether public child care is "appropriate" care, but how to make public care the best possible care for children while their parents work (The Swedish Institute 1984b, p. 4). Children not only receive care and support while their parents work, but they also receive care and support as full-members of society; children are provided for if their parents cannot provide adequate care; in addition, children receive some measure of government support over and above what they receive from their parents. Thus, the government through the provision of child care is playing a part in the socialization of children. The socialization of children in a public setting is thought to facilitate other societal goals.

But government intervention in these areas is not limited to child care. Indeed Myrdal (1971) suggests that social policy development in Sweden sought to address fundamental problems and contradictions in society. For Myrdal, the "science of family sociology" illustrated time and time again, "...how irrationally the dominant family type tended to perpetuate itself," (Myrdal 1971 p. 13). The dominant family type being, the man as "breadwinner" and the woman as "housewife", even though social research during the 1930s illustrated that the dominant type was no longer adequate and appeared to be inconsistent with the increased need for women

to enter the paid labor force. For Myrdal, social science research of the period led to the formulation of the issue not as the, "'right of married women to work' but rather 'the right of working women to marriage and motherhood'" (1971 p. 23). This difference in the way the issue is constructed appears to recognize that women were needed to participate in the labor force, and that future society is dependent upon women continuing to bear children. Thus, in Sweden there appeared to be an implicit recognition that there existed both the economic impetus for policies shaped in this way, and also the recognition that families and children were essential to the survival of society.

CONCLUSIONS

On one hand, this research has addressed the issue of Sweden as a "model" society by exploring the tenets of the social welfare system in that society. By doing so, it has become apparent that the Swedish child care system would be practically impossible to implement in the United States. When the context in which child care is provided is considered, it is evident that Swedish society and United States society are vastly different. The child care system in Sweden was laid upon a foundation of social support that sought to encourage both increased birth rates and work for all adults in the paid labor market. Child care was not a "one time" agenda item for the Swedish Parliament or the labor unions, but is part of an expanding system of social support not only for working parents but for the children themselves. Children are seen as "full"-members of society and benefit from a social support system based upon the supposition that children require society's support.

What this analysis of the social support system in Sweden illustrates, is that in the absence of other social institutions to meet the needs of the people, the government was turned to as the appropriate agency upon which to depend. With increased urbanization came the disruption of a social system in which families could meet their subsistence needs. Urbanization and industrialization created new needs and social problems that the family as an independent institution was unable to meet. In Sweden, collective solutions were sought to mitigate the effects of increased social disruption. Solutions to social problems

were not adopted as temporary measures, but attempted to address needs across society in an effort to change society. The result is a fundamentally different set of social institutions in a society with a different approach to social problems from that which exists in the United States.

Thus, Sweden does not provide an adequate model for the development of social policy in the United States given the vastly different origins of social policy development in these countries. That is not to say that Swedish society does not provide some directions in which future United States policy might go. What is apparent is that the care and support of children goes beyond the provision of day care while parents work in the paid labor force. Basic inequality in the way society is structured must be mitigated. Child care policy in Sweden did not develop in a vacuum but as part of a comprehensive care and support system in that country. The integration of economic and population policies led to the restructuring of the educational system, the labor market, and even some might argue, the family, to more thoroughly meet the basic needs of the population in Sweden.

The Swedish system is not without flaws. Likewise, the future of Swedish society is difficult to predict. What is abundantly obvious is that other European countries appear on the surface to more adequately meet the basic needs of the members of the society for health care, child care, and employment. And, though more comparative work needs to be done in this area, without employment guarantees, even more basic needs for food, and shelter may not be met. Thus, additional research is needed to examine the gaps between the programs and policies in existence in the United States and other countries. The way people experience programs and

policies that seek to meet basic needs, in Sweden and the United States, also requires further research. Evaluation research is vitally important to assessing existing programs and future policy agendas for social support in both countries.

As was mentioned in the introduction, families in the United States have sought government intervention when their problems could no longer be handled within the family alone. A social welfare system does exist in the United States, but so far it has been unable to effectively eliminate or even substantially reduce a number of problems that it has attempted to address. Certain programs such as Social Security have, however, helped to mitigate some of the poverty among the elderly, but this program is set up and administered as a contributory system and not a progressive system; thus, the burden and the benefits are unequally distributed. Members of the population who find themselves working in low-wage jobs benefit little from the existing Social Security program.[13]

What becomes clear is that the United States is at a point where it must begin to ask (and answer) a number of difficult questions, if, as a society, it seeks to mitigate the effects of the labor market upon individuals and families. A number of fundamental questions must be asked before a child care program or additional family policies are developed in this country. Important decisions about the importance and value of working in this country and how this effects the perception of women's work outside the home, must be considered.

Currently women's role both at home and in the labor force is largely ambiguous. Women continue to increase their labor force participation even in the absence of social support in child care. Likewise, women in the United States continue to absorb the greater share

of the burden for home and child care even as they work outside the home. Given these circumstances, is it realistic to believe that every man and woman in this country could be guaranteed a job that provides adequate wages to maintain themselves and their dependents? Social support can be provided so that a parent can stay home with a child or social support can provide care while both parents work outside the home. What is unmistakable, is that child care is not an issue isolated from labor market considerations or simply, as it has been constructed here, a "family issue."

Employment in the paid labor force is not the only issue to consider. Adequate wages and job security are needed to guarantee that individuals can support themselves and their families. In a society in which wages are the only acceptable means through which to obtain food, shelter, medical care, and clothing, it is essential to guarantee employment opportunities that provide a sufficient wage. This would appear to be obvious, yet the opportunity structure that exists in this country does not allow for equal access to education or jobs, which leaves large segments of the population unable to compete to achieve even a minimum standard of living. Unemployment and high numbers of discouraged workers illustrate the vast gaps that exist in the job market and opportunity structure in the United States. The question becomes, as a society, how serious is the United States about providing jobs and adequate wages for people? If, as a society, the primacy of working outside the home is raised above all other concerns, then as a society the needs of working parents and their children must be considered. If parents are expected to work outside the home, what types of care will be acceptable and appropriate for children?

Current social policy initiatives in this country have left the dual roles of women as parents and as workers in the paid labor force ambiguous. It is undeniable that women continue to enter the labor force and that this "trend" shows little sign of abating or reversing itself. Since women continue to enter the labor force, the question becomes what types of child care will be considered acceptable for children in these households. In the absence of other social supports, parents (especially women) are left to balance as best they can the burden of making child care arrangements and meeting work obligations.

Changes in the labor force and changes in family patterns have resulted in the need for women to work outside the home. Since most women (and men) will be parents at some point in their lives, how the United States addresses the needs of children of working parents will have a great impact on future society. The basic support of a large and vulnerable population, that is, children in the United States, should be of great concern.

Fundamental changes in work organization and the labor market have taken place and will continue to take place, as women continue to enter the labor market. The goals of any social policy development in the United States must be made explicitly from the start. As a society, truly the United States must address some very basic questions. An emphasis upon working must be coupled with provisions to provide for the care of children. The care a child receives surely must have some effect on the life the child will lead and the society of which she or he is a part. How well the needs of our youngest members of society are addressed is a reflection of the future of the society. Indications exist that the United States has a declining standard of living and vast gaps exist

between the different strata of society. The role of social science research may well be to identify those programs and policies that facilitate the balancing of work and family responsibilities, and to provide a glimmer of hope for future society.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Both the Senate and the House of Representatives introduced child care legislation during the calendar year of 1989. Senate bill (S. 5) was introduced by Senator Dodd on January 25, 1989; and was titled, "The Act for Better Child Services," this bill passed by voice vote on June 23, 1989. The House bill (H.R. 3) was introduced in the House on January 3, 1989; by Representative Hawkins, this bill was titled, "The Early Childhood Education and Development Act." On April 4, 1990; the Senate acted on H.R. 3 in lieu of S. 5, a joint bill (H.R. 5835) was introduced on October 15, 1990. This later became Title V, of the "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990" which was signed by the President on November 5, 1990 and became Public Law 101-508 (104 stat 1388). Congressional Index 101st Congress 1989-1990 Vol. 1, Chicago: Commerce Clearinghouse, Inc.

Parental leave legislation (H.R. 770) titled, "Family and Medical Leave Act of 1990," was passed by both the Senate and the House, but was vetoed by the President on June 29, 1990. The House failed to override the veto by a 232-195 vote. *Michigan AFL-CIO News*, Vol. 51 (8) August 1990.

[2]Tomasson (1970) lists three specific items under characteristics of the population in his book; the first, is the size of the population; the second, is the number of cultural resources available to the population; and thirdly, the amount of intermingling between classes. Tomasson then develops a separate infravariable that measures the degree of homogeneity present within a society.

I have adopted a slightly different strategy for this analysis. In the section subtitled, "Characteristics of the Population," I discuss the degree of interaction among the various social classes and the size of the Swedish population in comparison to the United States and Western European countries. I then develop another subsection of the paper that looks at the number of cultural resources available in the society and the degree of homogeneity in Swedish society.

[3]David Ellwood (1988), in *Poor Support: Poverty in America*, describes the generally held view of the way the term social welfare is used in the United States. "People hated welfare no matter what the evidence. It wasn't just conservatives; liberals also expressed deep mistrust of the system, and the recipients themselves despised it" (pp. ix-x). And later in the book, Ellwood writes, "Welfare, as the public uses the term..., means cash, food, or housing assistance to healthy and nonaged persons with low incomes" (p. 5). As an assistance program, Ellwood feels that the existing welfare system conflicts with widely accepted values of United States society, "--involving autonomy, responsibility, work, family, community, and compassion..." (p. 6).

In the early 1930s, the groundwork for social welfare in Sweden was laid and was known as folkhemmet or "the People's Home." According to

Stig Hadenius the People's Home is defined as "a comprehensive but loosely defined social welfare program to improve the living conditions of broad categories of ordinary citizens" (1988 p. 41). This emphasis upon support for "ordinary citizens" is an important distinction between the two interpretations of social welfare in use in Sweden and the United States. The extent of social services provided is also an important distinction to make when the provision of social welfare is considered in each country.

[4]Tomasson (1970) considers the United States to be a "born-free" state (p. 4). By this he is referring to a nation-state that did not have a feudalistic society that needed to end before capitalism and industrialization could be advanced. Richard Tomasson. *Sweden: Prototype of Modern Society*. (NY: Random House, 1970).

[5]*The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, Mark S. Hoffman, editor. (NY: Pharos Books, 1988) p. 721.

[6]United States Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1989, 109th Edition*, (Washington, D.C.: The United States Government Printing Office), p. 7.

[7]Sweden is also a member of a number of other international agencies. Sweden is a "member of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), EFTA (European Free Trade Association), and the Council of Europe. Sweden also has a trade agreement with the EC (European Communities Common Market) covering industrial products." The Swedish Institute, "Fact Sheets on Sweden: General Facts on Sweden," (April 1985), p. 1.

[8]The Samar have until recently been referred to as "Lapps" or "Lapplanders." The Samar (Lapps) are a culturally distinct and linguistically distinct ethnic group, indigenous to Northern Sweden. With the increase attention and growing awareness of ethnicity and multiculturalism in Sweden, Samar is the preferred identity designation for this people.

In 1984, the population of the Samar "(was) roughly estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000" (The Swedish Institute, "Fact Sheets on Sweden: The Swedish Population," (December 1984), p. 3).

[9]Steven Prokesch, "In Haven for Refugees, Hate Make Entrance," *New York Times* (20 June 1990) p. A12; Steven Prokesch, "Sweden's Puzzle: Fate of Soviet Jews," *New York Times* (5 July 1990) p. A9; Anne Lindh, "Don't Touch My Pal," *Inside Sweden*, (June 1986) p. 5; Kjell Öberg, "Is Sweden Ripe for Racism?" *Social Change in Sweden*, 27 (February 1983), p. 1.

[10]The Swedish government has remained committed to the development of an expansion of social services to this new more multi-cultural population. How well and how long the social welfare system can continue to expand is a crucial issue (Prokesch 1990a). Though unemployment has begun to rise in Sweden, the curtailing of most immigration into the country is hoped to allow the system time to adjust to the changes taking place in society. Sweden appears to be experiencing the same malaise as other industrialized countries. With the rapid changes taking place in

Eastern Europe clearly the path upon which any country is currently treading is no longer as sure a course.

[11]Specific legislation exists to provide equality at work and in education between men and women in Sweden. The Act on Equality between Women and Men at Work was enacted in July of 1980, with the aim of promoting equal rights in work, working conditions and opportunities for self-fulfillment in employment. This Act is directed at employers and has two main parts. The first part contains rules of the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of sex, and the other part deals with active measures to promote equality. Compliance with the above act is supervised through the creation of a position, the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman, and an Equal Opportunities Commission. The Swedish Institute, "Fact Sheets on Sweden: Equality between Men and Women in Sweden," (December 1984), p. 2.

[12]The extent of government involvement in child care can be further illustrated. All school children receive free lunches while they attend public school. No distinction is made about the socioeconomic status of the family. These lunches are developed to meet, at least for one meal a day, the child's nutritional needs. The issue is not whether the parents can or cannot afford to provide a lunch but is seen as a way to guarantee that the child's nutritional needs are being met and they can concentrate on their studies.

[13]Women appear to be at a particular disadvantage in this respect. Tamar Lewin, "Change is Urged in Social Security," *The New York Times*, (10 May 1990), A16.

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