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How the Rest Was Won: The Impact of Women's Movements on the Dual-Earner/Dual-Caregiver Model in Sweden (1930-1989)

Emily Pfefer

School of Public Affairs (Dual Degrees in Political Science and CLEG)

Advisors: Professor Kimberly Cowell-Meyers and Professor Mieke Meurs

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This ad was put out by the Försäkringskassan (The Swedish Social Insurance Agency) in the 1970s to encourage men to begin taking parental leave. The pictured man was well-known Swedish weightlifter Hoa-Hoa Dahlgren (The Swedish Institute Staff Blog).

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ABSTRACT

Scholars consider the Swedish welfare state to be a comprehensive example of a gender-neutral system. Sweden's exceptionalism has typically been understood as a function of the Social Democratic rise to power, along with the influence of labor unions. The role of women's movements has long been left out. Despite much gendered analysis of the development of the Swedish welfare state in general during the last two decades, scholarship still fails to consider the confluence of women's efforts with the traditional, typically male, actor explanations. This paper analyzes the evolution of the Dual Earner/Dual Caregiver model through three historical time periods, arguing that the influence of the women's movement on the Swedish policy process is an integral and missing piece of the institutional theory behind the specific creation and development of the labor policies which shaped the DEDC model. Women have achieved influence by adopting class-egalitarian rhetoric and demonstrating economic benefits to support gender egalitarian policies.

INTRODUCTION

Research Area

The development of the welfare state has been a topic of considerable scholarly interest, particularly over the last two decades. Most welfare-state theorists deem the Swedish model to be a standard bearer for a gender-neutral comprehensive welfare state (Jelin 2008). Sweden has also attained a high degree of gender equity by global comparison (Hausmann et al. 2010). Two decades ago, however, a political science professor in the University of Stockholm dared to characterize the model in a different light, one which has received little scholarly attention since. Questioning the inherently *Swedish* model of gender equity, Dr. Maud L. Eduards wrote that instead the, "Swedish political culture can...be characterized by three features: *productivity*, *pragmatism*, and *paternalism*" (Eduards 1991, 169). Was she correct?

The policies that have provided the structure to the Swedish welfare state and will be analyzed in this paper are those that specifically undergirded the Dual-Earner/Dual-Caregiver ideal economic model (to be hereafter referred to as the DEDC model). This is the idea that predominates in Swedish society that even if paid labor and household responsibilities are not yet shared evenly between men and women, progress towards such a scenario is the goal.¹ Sweden has indeed progressed closer towards that goal than most other developed nations.

In the DEDC model, Swedish citizens receive the benefits of most welfare policy by virtue of their paid labor, not their citizenship alone. The model thus encourages all adults to both participate in the labor force and be caregivers. This encouragement became stronger as the twentieth century progressed. The traditional theory asserts that Social Democrat pressure, supported from within by labor unions, largely resulted in the current Swedish welfare state. The Social Democrats and labor unions are theorized to have obtained their power through their political resources (Mahon 1991) and, at least at first, by exploiting the historical moment of economic weakness in the 1930's when the Party gained control of the government.

These theories do not explain why the DEDC model specifically was the one that predominated. That the Social Democrats were the architects of many of Sweden's social policies is hard to dispute. However, a gender-neutral welfare state was not the only option, nor was it the only option that European countries were adopting at the beginning of the twentieth century. There were multiple ways that those holding political power could have addressed economic troubles. For instance, the Social Democrats supported full employment, but they did not have to support men and women's employment. They could have, like Germany, adopted

¹ Hobson refers to the current state of gendered division of labor in Sweden as a "1 and ¾ earner model," meaning that women continue to do more unpaid work, while men continue to do more paid work (Hobson 2003).

strong maternalism as a rationale and structure to support women as mothers (Koven 1990). The literature does not explain why the Social Democrats came to support men and women equally as paid workers.

More recently, the role of women has been advanced as an additional causal explanation for these policies. Women were newly enfranchised and beginning to exercise their voice in the voting booths as the Social Democrats took their place at the head of the Swedish government. Great thinkers, like Alva Myrdal, were gaining exposure through their writing on social policies. Women were entering the political arena² and the Social Democrats were beginning to take note. That much we know. What we do not know is how influential these women actually were, which would be observed by Social Democrats taking up women's arguments to support specific policies, or by how closely women's advocacy can be tied to specific policies that became law.

To the extent scholars have begun to write about the attempt of women's movements to influence policy, the interaction with traditional policy actors—the Social Democrats and labor union allies—has not been addressed. It is yet unexplored whether the Social Democratic architects of the Swedish welfare state from the 1930s intended to create the DEDC model or were simply pushing policies to stabilize the economy, while some additional factor took advantage of the economically driven campaign for class egalitarianism to transfer it to gender egalitarianism. This paper will attempt to demonstrate the latter and that the additional factor was the women's movement. Social Democrats laid the foundation of the welfare state, but women's influence molded it. This paper seeks to examine that interplay to determine the extent to which women's movements and female actors operated in tandem with institutional factors to spur the development of the DEDC model that might not otherwise have come to fruition.

² Women won 5 seats in the Riksdag in 1921, the first year Swedish women had universal suffrage in national elections. By 1970, women had only claimed 13 percent of seats, though that figure rose to 38 percent by 1988 ("Women in the Riksdag").

Research Topic

The research topic of this paper is broadly an attempt to explain the development of welfare policies that undergird the DEDC model. More precisely, this paper will examine that policy development in regards to specific Swedish labor laws passed from 1930 through 1989. The goal is to more fully integrate the effect of women and women's groups into the traditional actor explanations for the development of the DEDC model, which already include labor union power and the influence of the Social Democrats. The effect of women has been extensively examined, particularly in the last two decades, but that role has not been comprehensively examined in tandem with these other explanations and as an impetus for the DEDC model specifically. This paper will address the extent to which these factors influenced each other.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is to fill a gap in the current understanding of why the Swedish welfare state has developed as it has throughout the 20th century. We know that Sweden has a strong and comprehensive welfare state. Labor policy has been a large part of that development. We know Sweden's welfare state policies have encouraged the DEDC model. The nation has led Western civilization in its approach, becoming the first nation in the world in 1968, for example, to formally question the gendered division of labor with women at home and men in the paid labor market.³ In 1974, Sweden became the first country to offer paid parental leave to both mothers and fathers, a policy that has been expanded numerous times to encourage a more equal sharing of the leave between both parents in practice (Haas et al. 2009).

Scholarship for decades has led academics to believe that the Swedish welfare state was a result of labor union pressure and partisan politics, specifically from the platform of the Social

³ Sweden issued a statement to the United Nations in 1968 that asserted that declaring equal rights for women was not enough. Legislation need to also actively create a shift from the male-breadwinner model to one where men and women were independent individuals, sharing responsibilities equally (Dahlström 1971).

Democratic Party. However, Sweden is not the only nation where the Social Democrat party and labor unions have thrived, such as Germany (Clarke 1978), which did not form the DEDC model. If including the women's movement alongside the traditional factors significantly strengthens the explanation of why the DEDC model developed over other alternatives in Sweden, the necessity of including the impact of women's strategies in future comparative research will be supported. This conclusion would require examples in the literature of women impacting the government by adopting the rhetoric of the labor unions and the Social Democratic Party in the lead up to passage of key welfare labor policy. Evidence that would not support this conclusion would show women's efforts working against the goals of the labor unions and the Social Democratic Party in relation to the same policies, focusing on different policies than these traditional groups, or failing to participate in the political arena altogether.

General Research Question

The general research question to be addressed in the following study is: Why has Sweden developed such a strong level of gender equity?

Specific Research Question

The specific research question to be answered is: To what extent can the traditional actor explanations for the development of the specific DEDC model in Swedish welfare state labor policy be strengthened by considering the role of women alongside the traditional actors in the labor unions and Social Democratic Party? This research will provide the preliminary historical analysis that is needed to create a foundation for future comparative research. Future research could seek to isolate the "woman" factor in Sweden, as unique from elsewhere, in the hope of using the Swedish experience to improve gender equality abroad, a hope which is currently

unfulfilled. That lofty goal will not be achieved by this paper, but will remain as a challenge for the future. If Swedish women could be successful decades ago, what is stopping the rest of us?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Many supporters of women's rights view Sweden as a "progressive paradise" because of its globally renowned social service provisions, including childcare and paid parental leave, as well as its high level of gender equity (Lewis and Aström 1992, 59). It is often considered the most developed welfare state in the world, an example for emulation (Lindbom 2001, 171). "The 'welfare state' typically is conceptualized as a state committed to modifying the play of social or market forces in order to achieve greater equality" (Orloff 1996, 52). In Sweden, that effort has been achieved through the creation of the DEDC welfare state model, whether or not that model was strategically planned from above.

The foundations of the nation's welfare programs were set in place during the 20th century, with particular concentrations of policy activity during the 1930s-1940s, 1950s-1960s and 1970s-1980s. In the 1960s particularly, "a new normative, gender-contract was formulated, stating the individuality of men and women, in the family as well as in society" (Jelin 2008, 53). Men and women were to be valued on the same measure and as single units, not as filling a particular role in the family structure. Following the normative framework that women should be on an even plane with men, a new solution was proposed for the conflict between work and family life. Policy began to adapt to mould a social and legal structure based on similarities, not differences, between men and women. Women have entered the workforce in high numbers, although they still remain largely segregated in the lower-paying public sector. Strong state commitment to full employment and union commitment to wage solidarity, however, has led to a

compressed wage structure across industries (Mosesdottir 2001). As a result, the nation has a small gender wage gap and high gender equality by international comparison (Blau and Kahn 1996; “Gender Equality” 2009; Hausmann et al. 2008).

Men were increasingly encouraged to get more involved with the household and women with the labor force during the twentieth century. The concept of double emancipation was born. This is the Swedish idea, beginning especially in the 1960s, that women’s emancipation into the workplace should be matched with men’s emancipation into the household, though the latter has been slower to develop (Janshen and Meuser 2005, Haas 1992). From the prevalent gender-neutrality in Sweden’s labor policy, the DEDC ideal social-welfare model was born.

However, a question that bears asking is why Sweden’s welfare policies developed as they did during the twentieth century? Many have asked this question, but their attempts to answer it remain incomplete. We know how but not fully why Sweden’s social welfare system developed in this distinct way, focusing on both the sharing of wage earning and care giving. To what extent was the expansion of welfare state policies in Sweden that created the DEDC model during the twentieth century a result of the efforts of the women? The role of women taken alone is intriguing but has been extensively studied. More interesting and lacking full scrutiny is the interplay between women’s advocacy and the traditional institutional theory explanations as a cause of the model.

Why did the DEDC model develop, instead of one based on a male breadwinner only? Who were the important allies in women’s fight for social welfare labor policies? Did women fight? Did organized labor fight? On whose behalf? Were there particular characteristics of the historical moment in which these policies took form that contributed to this focus, such as the global depression of the 1930’s? These questions would seem to be a natural outcropping of the

subject, but instead, study examining the role of women has often been pigeon-holed into gendered-focused study only or a traditional institutional theory study only. To what extent, when and how woman's roles meshed with traditional institutional actors and labor unions to get this specific result has been largely unaddressed.

Explanations from the Literature

The literature explaining the development of welfare states in general and in Sweden particularly can be divided between those that do and do not have a gendered focus. Those that do not address gender in particular focus on a class-based origin of the welfare state. Through the class lens, several policy actors, sometimes in tandem, have been advanced as central to pushing Sweden's generous welfare state, such as the Social Democratic party politics and the demands of strong labor unions (Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1987; Mahon 1991; Pierson 1996). The historical moment as well as power-resource theory, that the political party controlling the government and their allies were best situated to craft welfare state policy, have been particularly important to explaining why these actors had influence (Aspalter 2001). However, in the last two decades, researchers have begun to examine the role of women in the creation of the Swedish welfare state. A take on discourse theory, the idea that women's movements have been able to advance their causes by using the language of those holding traditional political power, has been important to explaining this influence (Lundqvist and Roman 2008).

The following lays out the central class-based explanation for the development of the welfare state. The consensus among established research asserts that the Social Democrats in Sweden, as well as leftist parties generally, played a central role in the creation of welfare state policy during a time of economic weakness for the nation (Mahon 1991; Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1987).

Rather than a deep-seated desire for the gender egalitarianism that the DEDC model presupposes, the literature has located the motivation of the Social Democrats in creating welfare state policies in the historical moment: economic depression. Korpi and Esping-Anderson explain that economic hardships at the turn of the 20th century led to eventual acceptance and support by all political parties and the increasingly politically active working class for social insurance policies, but much of the support began slowly and was voluntary (Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1987, 44). Ultimately, the two point to the extreme economic depression of the 1930s and the international alliance of the Social Democratic parties of the Scandinavian states at that time as the catalysts that spurred the Social Democrats to extraordinary power in Sweden, which became the platform from which the party was able to construct the Swedish welfare state. Indeed, they specifically assert that, while it was in the post-WWII era that the Swedish welfare state began to diverge from international norms, “by and large, political energies were concentrated on the immediate problems of crisis management and economic relief,” not egalitarian economic citizenship (Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1987, 46).

Gustav Möller and Ernst Wigforss were two of the key Social Democrat players who formed Swedish welfare policy during the 1930s and 1940s. From the platform of economic insecurity, they were finally able to create the key labor protection policies that would form the Swedish state, such as public works projects and maternal allowances (Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1987, 45-47). Researchers also assert that labor unions in Sweden throughout the post-war period were able to exert their power on social policy by reaching informal agreements with mainly Social-Democratic governments (Esping-Anderson and Korpi 1987, 59). Sainsbury specifically argues that left-wing political parties in many nations, particularly social-democratic

parties, are associated with the characteristics that apply to Sweden, such as well-funded welfare support programs and services and a large public sector (Sainsbury 1996).

Powerful voices within the Social Democratic movement, labor unions have also been identified by scholars as key to the development of the welfare state. The Social Democrats were the party of organized labor. Pierson notes that organized labor was a critical factor in the initial development of the welfare state in the twentieth century, driving the concern for class egalitarianism (Pierson 1996). Initial development here would mean laying the ground work in the early 19th century for the path-dependent progression towards the DEDC model that Sweden enjoys today. Pierson also notes that unions were primary players in policy development, with strong control over centralized collective bargaining and political alliances with the long-governing Social Democrats (Pierson 1996).

Beyond the view of history that places the Social Democrats as the architects of the Swedish welfare state, Pierson contends welfare policy in Sweden was path dependent. No particular party can claim responsibility for the three historical periods of welfare state expansion (Pierson 1996). Discussing Sweden prior to 1990, Pierson writes, “regardless of who was in office, there was only occasional trimming of social programs; no government showed much enthusiasm for a major revamping of the Swedish welfare state” (Pierson 1996, 170). Without mentioning the DEDC model explicitly, his study supports the conclusion that the development of the Swedish welfare state along the DEDC model has been largely path dependent. This means once Sweden began to adopt policies that encouraged both men and women to enter and remain in the workforce in the 1930s, further progression was likely to continue without much prodding from women or any of the traditional institutional theory factors. The policies he addresses are those concerning social spending, such as child allowances, unemployment

benefits and retirement pensions. These are policies that help men and women enter the workforce on equal footing, and Pierson asserts that they are challenging to cut once introduced into society (Pierson 1996).

While history shows that the Social Democrats had a strong lock on the government from 1932 to 1976, the electoral record alone does not explain why they would have chosen to support the male-breadwinner versus the dual-breadwinner model. From 1932 to 1976, the Social Democrats remained continually at the head of the Swedish government, either alone or as part of a coalition ("The Swedish" 2010, 2). However, during the 1970s, the proportion of Social Democrats in the Swedish parliament gradually declined and the Conservatives holdings sharply increased ("The Swedish" 2010, 2). The Social Democratic Party finally lost their seat at the head of the government in 1976, which they regained in 1982. After losing a considerable number of seats in 1988, they lost their place in the governing coalition again in 1991 ("The Swedish" 2010 3-5; "Governments" 2010).

The 1970s and 80s, my final period of examination, thus would seem a perfect place to find retrenchment of the model, if the institutional theory factor of Social Democratic control were central to the development of the DEDC model and not some other factor like the influence of women. The extent that the 1970s and 1980s continued to be a time of welfare development indicates that either other factors are missing from the explanation of the Swedish welfare state development or the path-dependent assertion held true in this time period. The introduction of paid leave for both parents in 1974 just prior to the Social Democrats first fall from grace and the creation of the Equality Ombudsmen (*JAMO*) while the Social Democrats were out of power lend credence to that conclusion ((Björklund 2007, 23; Lewis and Aström 1992, 67; Janshen and Meuser 2005, 10).

By addressing the development of the Swedish welfare state as a class-based reaction to economic hardships, followed up by a populous growing increasingly comfortable with growing social supports, the preceding literature does little to explain why Sweden began to adopt gender egalitarianism as well. Framing the historical moments to be examined, Lundqvist and Roman particularly mark 1930 (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 219) and 1960 (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 224) as crucial turning points for the development of the Swedish welfare state. To the extent that 1960 was a turning point for the model, a point at which the welfare state fundamentally changed course, the path dependence implications loses its appeal. The economic hardships Sweden faced in the 1930s were felt throughout the western world. Germany especially had extreme economic troubles at the same time, but adopted a drastically different model, one based on supporting women as mothers. Even Sweden's next-door neighbor and fellow Nordic country, Norway, adopted a model of strong support for maternalism, and has been viewed as a critique to the whole traditional theory of welfare typologizing led by Esping-Anderson (Hagemann 2007). Something else must have been going on to shape Sweden's welfare state, and scholars are beginning to uncover what it could have been.

A growing body of research has begun to identify the origins of the unique gender-neutral features of the Swedish welfare model. The impact of sex-role research is one strong explanation that seems linked to the major trend in the Swedish government's focus from class-egalitarianism to explicit gender equity in the late 1960s.⁴ Sweden clung to the idea of knowledge and scientific study as the basis for crafting sex role policy—and policy in general—through the 1970s especially (Castles 1976).

⁴ Research during this time even bred a new Swedish word for equality of opportunities between men and women, *jämställdhet*, distinct from the word for class equality, *jämlikhet* (Lundqvist and Roman 2008; Ahlberg, Roman and Duncan 2008).

While explanations for the Swedish welfare state have tended to rely on the power resource model to explain its development, gender-egalitarian specific explanations have drawn instead on Nancy Fraser's bridge discourse theory. This is the theory that government-sponsored social science research provided a theoretical link to allow social movements to influence policy reform taken by the state (Lundqvist and Roman 2008).

Lundqvist and Roman do identify the sex-role research as a powerful driver of the definitive shift in Sweden forever beyond the male-breadwinner model from the 1960s. They specifically point to the *Familjesakkunniga*, a decade-long government sponsored commission of family experts, as a key driver. They assert that this and other government commissions⁵ appointed early on in the process from 1930 through 1975 bred the "Swedish model" (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 219) by making key policy recommendations through official reports (Lundqvist and Roman 2008).

However, if it was social movements shaping the research that then affected state policies as bridge discourse suggests, the theory provides a strong indication that the women's movement could have been much more integral to the development of the gender-neutral quality to the Swedish welfare state than it has been typically given credit for.

Lundqvist and Roman assert that many competing efforts led to the development of family policy in the Swedish welfare state, but they conclude that Swedish politicians' reliance on, "social science as an 'objective force,'" was the largest factor, although somewhat diminished post-1970" (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 231-232). The researchers only imply that the women's movement was an important driver of this research. For instance, they note that in 1961, Eva Moberg, a powerful voice in the women's movement, published a book called

⁵ At least 74 distinct government commissions on family and gender issues were created in Sweden during the 1970s (Ahlberg, Roman and Duncan 2008).

Women's Conditional Release, in which she argued that if men and women would share household duties, they would become economic equals as well. The following year, a government report of the *Långtidsutredningen* (*The Long-Term Planning Commission*) was issued, which sought to encourage young mothers to go to work in light of the growing labor shortage (Lundqvist and Roman 2008). Lundqvist and Roman do not follow this example to the logical conclusion, noting what specific policies may have derived from this report. They only broadly note that such research lead to, "a more gender-neutral discourse and policy praxis," in the realm of family policy by the late 1960s (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 225). Their primary research focus was not the role of women and the women's movement in the creation of the sex role debate, both within the commissions and during the 1930s to 1960s leading up to them. It was on the social science research itself (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 219-226). To the extent women were instrumental in this research and within these commissions, bridge discourse would provide an explanation for women's influence on the DEDC model.

Scholarship has begun to note the systemic problem in the literature of leaving out a full analysis of gender in welfare states studies particularly over the last couple decades. Orloff criticizes the literature for failing to both analyze policies through a gendered lens and fully examine what women were doing as those policies were being molded. She has engaged in over a decade of writing on the lack of a systematic and substantial focus on gender in the study of the development of welfare states in general

In 1996, Orloff argued that gender relations deeply impact the shape of welfare states and acknowledged that gendered analyses of the historical development of welfare states had begun to challenge the misconception that women were mere recipients of the new programs aimed at them and their children (Orloff 1996). Such analyses have begun grouping nations by

typologies, with Sweden labeled a “social-democratic regime,” but the most commonly referenced set of typologies, Esping-Anderson’s, focused on class relations, only addressing gender later as a necessary side-note, rather than an integral factor. Orloff charged, “[Esping-Anderson] leaves invisible women’s work on behalf of societal welfare” (Orloff 1996, 65). Gendered analyses that had been done shared a common weakness: lack of an adequate, “theorization of the political interests of gender and a failure to specify the dimension of social provisions and other state interventions relevant for gender relations,” which is necessary to determine why women shaped the welfare states (Orloff 1996, 74).

Mósesdóttir attempted to redefine Esping-Anderson’s welfare state typologies among new lines of gender relations. She logically theorized that, “the more women and women’s interests are involved in the consolidation of the mode of regulation, the more ‘women-friendly’ the regime of gender-relations. Norms about women as either wives or mothers and/or workers determine the basic assumptions behind activities and policies of the state, capital, organised labour and other social forces” (Mósesdóttir 2001, 22). Her three typologies are *ecclesiastical*, *liberal* and *egalitarian*.

The *ecclesiastical regime of gender relations* is demonstrated by Germany’s support of women as wives and mothers and men as breadwinners. The *liberal regime of gender relations* is shown by the United States with its policies to encourage sufficient private sector employment. Answering the need of capital accumulation, the government has pushed women, particularly uneducated women, into the labor market by diminishing welfare support and labor rights. Finally, the *egalitarian regime of gender relations* is highlighted by Sweden where the idea that working mothers need social provision to allow them to engage in both unpaid work at home and paid work along with male dual-breadwinners. “The organisation of production is

based on generating full employment that requires the state to play an active role in employment creation where in the private or public sector the state is driven by egalitarian principles generated by the corporatist mode of interest intermediation such that everyone has a right to a socially acceptable income” (Mósesdóttir 2001, 23).

The significance of her work is the theory that to the extent that women are more involved in the policy process, the more the resultant policies will favor women. Thus, to the extent that Swedish welfare policies can be shown to be what women wanted, theory would suggest they may have had involvement in the process.

In 2009, Orloff updated her critical review of the literature, revealing a still incomplete process of gendering the study of welfare states even by Esping-Anderson (Orloff 2009; Adams and Orloff 2005). As such, she asserts that future study should cease the endless typologizing that characterizes much of the literature on welfare state development of the prior decade and focus on actual motivations that drove policy creation (Orloff 2009, 331). Grouping welfare states on the basis of how they have developed is of limited usefulness if you do not first understand why they developed as they did. It is necessary now to get down in the weeds of welfare state formation to uncover why or if women wielded power in 20th century Sweden in connection with the traditional institutional theory drivers to develop the DEDC model.

Current gendered examinations of welfare state development are beginning to show women as policy actors, consistent with Orloff’s assertion that, “The transformation of mainstream scholarship by the full integration of gender analysis is necessary to understand the development of welfare states” (Orloff 2009, 335). Future analysis must include a thorough explanation of how women’s advocacy for the labor policies that formed the DEDC model

interacted with the features of mainstream scholarship, such as class forces, the historical moment, and political party power.

The importance of the phrase *full integration of gender analysis* is that to the extent that the historical qualitative literature examines women's active role in the development of welfare state social policy, it focuses largely on women's role alone and on policy specific to women and children, the so-called "women-friendly" policies, while arguably ignoring the role of men (Bratton and Ray 2002; Misra 1998; Huber and Stevens 2000). In making these arguments, the gendered literature has also primarily highlighted a maternalist theory of female power, which does not fit the Swedish experience. Maternalist theory is the idea that women's early political power stemmed from their roles as mothers advocating for policy to safeguard themselves and their progeny (Bock and Thane 1991; Koven and Michel 1993; Skocpol 1992).

In addition, maternalist frameworks do not address the reasons for the development of the DEDC model in Sweden, in which labor policy and the role of women entering the workforce and men taking on more household responsibilities are central. They do not explain why the DEDC model formed over the traditional male breadwinner model either. This dual-emancipation of labor is exactly counter to a maternalist theory of female power. Bolzendahl offers one way to shift the scope of the analysis by noting a correlation between women's political representation and an increase in the government's social spending, but she uses a quantitative, not a qualitative framework and only uses data from 1980 through 1999 (Bolzendahl 2009, 40-44). This paper will follow Bolzendahl's lead, however, by shifting the scope of welfare state study to labor policy and by examining the interactive role of women alongside the institutional theory of DEDC model development in Sweden.

The concept of state feminism has also emerged as an institutionalized interpretation of how the feminist voice influenced Swedish labor policy. It is one attempt in the literature to explain the influence of women on welfare state development as part of a complete policy picture (Janshen and Meuser 2005). However, this interpretation has been accused of ignoring the lasting disadvantages that women continue to experience.

Instead of an autonomous feminist movement based on the notion of overturning the patriarchal system, a coalition with the political system and the major political players, including women's organizations inside and outside the political parties is made, and refuses to see that women's disadvantaged societal positions have something to do with male-dominated institutions in the political life as well as outside it. (Janshen and Meuser 2005, 14)

Misra agrees that the best way to understand why the DEDC model developed as it did is to remember that the women's movement did not act in a vacuum. "By examining the historical and cultural context behind these movements, we can develop a deeper understanding of the effects of women's movements on social policy and create more effective movements in our own time" (Misra 1998, 395).

In other words, a properly theorized analysis of the role of the women's movement in the development of the welfare state would need to address that role in relation to the institutional explanations to be academically honest. The impact of women did not happen in isolation from the other factors. For instance, in analyzing women's effect, their underrepresentation, *the lingering impact of gender stereotypes*, must be taken into account (Misra 1998). This means, for instance, the threshold for making a claim of observed influence for a women's organization would be lower than for a strong labor union. The former would have had to do far more to arrive at the same level of practical influence, particularly early on in the twentieth century.

In this way, the impact of women alongside the traditional factors of Swedish welfare policy creation—the Social Democrats and labor unions—can begin to be uncovered. There is

no better place to begin the dig than the nation known for having some of the most comprehensive welfare policies in the world, Sweden.

Sweden has long stood out as a model welfare state, but such characterizations are less interesting than an understanding of how it became one. The collective literature has established that the Swedish welfare state can be aptly characterized by the DEDC model in which both men and women are responsible for earning money and caring for children and the home, at least to some extent. We know that formulation began slowly in the 1930s-40s, taking off in the 1950s-60s and continuing to develop in the 1970s-80s. Mainstream institutional theory tells us that labor unions and political parties, particularly the Social Democrats, played a large role in that development. Yet, a growing body of literature has surfaced to explain the missing role of women in the development of the Swedish DEDC welfare state.

The following lays out my central critiques to the existing literature, which demonstrate the hole this paper fills. Theoretical and empirical study does not yet explain if, how or why Swedish women were able to specifically push the DEDC model in the larger context of welfare state inclined Social Democrats and the labor movement. While perhaps helpful in looking at later years, the theory of path dependence does not explain why the Swedish welfare state got its start in the first place or why the policies began to take a gender-neutral approach during the 1960s. Much of the literature has been prematurely comparative, such as Korpi's analysis (Korpi 2000).⁶ By combining the study of class and gender and applying it across multiple nations, Korpi cannot achieve the deep analysis possible in a single case study of Sweden (Korpi 2000).

⁶ When embarking on a study to go deeper into a topic, it makes sense to analyze a single case study first. Previous comparative work has addressed the development of the welfare state, but analyzing why the DEDC model followed from the developed policies is a step deeper than prior research has ventured. This structural concept is not unique or unprecedented. For example, Niklasson's study of contact capital in political careers took on a single case study, with Sweden being the case. She was examining the importance of contact capital in a political career, but argued that previous study had focused only generally on its use in getting recruited to join parliament and get

The literature purporting that Social Democrats and labor union actors as the primary drivers of the Swedish welfare state does not explain a link between the economic pressures and the gender-egalitarian nature Swedish welfare state policies were to take. It provides a plausible explanation for why the government desired to create the safety net of the welfare state, but not why the policies took aim to protect men and women equally, the prerequisite for the DEDC model, when they could have created labor protections for men and economic supports for women as mothers, as in Germany. It is true that women were newly enfranchised, but simply having the vote does not mean that they affected policy. To do so, women would have had to have been both heard expressing a unified message and taken seriously by the Social Democrats.

While the gendered analysis literature provides empirical support for undertaking a critical historical analysis of Sweden's welfare state development, it still fails to make the link between women and the DEDC model explicitly, though it begins to demonstrate women's effect on the gender neutrality of the law, a crucial first-step towards the DEDC model (Lundqvist and Roman 2008).

I hypothesize that the role of women and women's groups will be an important factor in strengthening the explanatory power of traditional actor theory for why the DEDC model developed out of Swedish welfare state labor policy. By adopting the principles behind the Social Democrats' class egalitarianism, which had been driven by economic necessity and experience among the working class, women's movements were able to translate Social Democratic rhetoric into a recipe for the DEDC model that the government was predisposed to support.

political appointments, but had not gone deeper to understand the continued support the recruits receive during various stages of the political process. As such, she notes that the use of the single Swedish case is justified because, "developing further knowledge of something that has not yet attracted a great deal of attention requires a look at the phenomenon itself," (Niklasson 2005, 59). This study examines the phenomenon of the DEDC model itself.

STUDY DESIGN

Strategy

This study will be a meta-analysis of the existing literature on the development of the Swedish welfare state labor policies that led to the creation of its DEDC model over three periods: 1930-1940s, 1950s-1960s and 1970s-1980s. At the beginning of each period, a brief overview of the relevant characteristics of the historic background will be laid out. For each policy area, the policy will be identified, followed by an explanation of how the policy supported the DEDC model, noting the relevant historic aspects. Then, there will be a section noting the influence of the traditional factors like the Social Democrats and, where relevant, the labor unions on the policy. Next, the impact of the women's movement on the policy will be explained, followed by a section detailing any observed interaction between these causes. Each time period will be concluded with a discussion of what the analysis means in relation to the hypothesis that examining role of women would substantially strengthen the traditional actor theory for the development of the DEDC model. A final conclusion will assess whether the findings lend support to the hypothesis overall, noting the limitations of the research. Finally, next steps for research will be suggested.

The seven policies to be analyzed in this paper all led to a demonstrable program that supported male and female workers in the context of a family.⁷ The two policies to be examined during the 1930s-1940s will be first, the Social Democrat's policy of full-employment, reflected formally first in the 1937 Swedish budget, with the arguably resulting 1939 Married Women's

⁷ This is why the 1980 Act on Equality Between Women and Men at Work was ultimately not included. It wrote into law that, "women and men have the same rights, responsibilities and opportunities to work, care for children, and participate in political, trade union, and similar activities," (Gustafsson and Kolam 2008, 28). While creating a statutory principle to enforce employment and other equality, it did not explicitly create a programmatic benefits to undergird the DEDC model.

Right to Work law. The second policy will be the 1937 statutory maternal leave with public assistance, as undergirded by the public works programs (Magnusson 2000).

The two policies for the prosperous period of the 1950s-1960s, will be first the paid maternity leave policy in the nation, which provided six months basic funding for all mothers, but an additional subsidy for employed mothers beginning in 1954 (Lewis and Aström 1992). Second, the creation of the mandatory national supplementary pension reform (Allmän Tilläggspension, ATP) in 1959 will be analyzed (Pontusson 1993).

For the very active period of the 1970s-1980s, three policies will be analyzed. First will come the mandatory individual income tax policy of 1971 (Björklund 2007). Secondly, increased provision of public child care during the time period, with specific reference to the 1972 declaration of childcare as a universal right will be examined (Lewis and Aström 1992). Finally, the landmark parental insurance (paid parental leave) policy that was accessible to both men and women from 1974 will be analyzed (Björklund 2007; Lewis and Aström 1992).

Data and Process of Its Collection

Uncovering women's policy roles, their long-lost voices and motivations will be challenging.⁸ This meta-analysis will take advantage of academic articles and historical texts, written in English or professionally translated into English, which are specific to Sweden or are comparative but contain identifiably Swedish sections⁹. As near as possible, the sources must

⁸ The original intent was to garner data from first-hand accounts from Swedish journalists during the study's three periods for a discourse analysis. However, a lack of available articles translated into English (most data was available in Swedish, some German and some Finnish) curtailed that attempt. Ideally, the results of this study may be noticed by someone fluent in English and Swedish, who could thus examine the primary sources I would have. The long history of respect for the free press in Sweden, dating back to the nation's first Freedom of the Press Act in 1766 ("The Freedom" 2010), indicates that newspaper articles would present a fairly accurate view of the voices influencing the development of the welfare state. Specifically, I would recommend focusing on *ledare* (Swedish for opinion editorials) because that would give a good indication, as it does in America, of which groups or individuals were actively engaging in activism for welfare policies. This will be a suggestion for future research.

⁹ This means the study will not attempt to compare the Swedish experience to other countries. The point again is to create a thick description of what happened in Sweden, so that similar analyses can be conducted on welfare

relate to one of the seven specific policies. Preference will be given to sources that themselves cite primary sources.

Instruments and Procedures

There will be two functional independent factors in this study. The first will be the presence of a compilation of the institutional theory motivations for creating Swedish welfare state labor policy, primarily pressure from the Social Democrats and labor unions. The second will be the presence of a female and women's movement impact on Swedish welfare state labor policy development. A chain from either or both of these two factors to the existence of policy that aided in the formation of the Swedish DEDC model will be sought. The unit of analysis for this study will thus be each labor policy, of which seven will be examined.

The relative importance of these two sets of actors in supporting the policy in isolation from each other and then by interacting with each other will be examined in the subsections under each policy. This interaction is the primary relationship missing in the literature, which this qualitative meta-analysis seeks to suggest.

Thus, the criteria for determining if support for the hypothesis has been found are as follows. Results supporting the hypothesis will provide evidence for a majority of the policies that women's influence was either instrumental in creating the policy or at least influenced the traditional theory political actors—Social Democrats and the labor union allies. Evidence that women's impact was largely absent in the 1930s, but greatly increased in the 1950s-1960s and was accompanied by a large shift in the development of the DEDC model at that same time would be another way to support the hypothesis.

state labor policy in other nations. Ultimately, enough will be known about a gender-inclusive, comprehensive institutional theory of why DEDC welfare state models have developed that a comparative qualitative study will be relevant and useful. This would also make decisions for what to measure and how to operationalize the variables in a quantitative comparative study clearer down the line.

Results that do not support the hypothesis will reveal that women's pressure went unheard by actual policy makers, somehow lessened the effect of the traditional institutional theory factors or focused on different policies. A similar level of women's involvement in the development of policies that would undergird the DEDC model across the time periods, but accompanied by unexplained shifts in such development would also fail to support the hypothesis. If the historical analysis supports the hypothesis for four or more of the policies or two or more of the time periods, the study will provide support overall because support will have been demonstrated over the majority of the analysis. If it does not support the hypothesis for four or more of the policies, the study will not provide support overall because a majority of the analysis will not support the hypothesis.

Historical Relevance

As the second decade of the 21st century begins, following a decade torn with global natural disasters, terrorism and most importantly, economic struggle, the world's critical eye should be fixed on Sweden. Even the golden model of the Swedish welfare state has been struggling and threatened with dismantlement by recent economic trouble and the social welfare cuts both made and threatened by the newly reelected center-right coalition led by Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt. The prevailing view that the Swedish welfare state was put into place by the Social Democratic led government presents a particular concern now because as, Lewis and Aström note, "What the state gives may be taken away" (Lewis and Aström 1992, 61). This fall's elections mark the first time in a century that the center-right coalition has won re-election and indicate the worst showing for the Social Democrats, traditionally referred to as the architects of the Swedish welfare state, since 1921 (Paterson 2010). The implications of this political shift, however, are uncertain. The Social Democrats, which comprise a large piece of the traditional explanation for the Swedish welfare state, are poised to become marginalized in a

way they have not been in nearly a century. Current events also seem to threaten to send the Swedish welfare state backwards, in contradiction to the path dependent assumption. Now is the perfect time, then, to reflect and consider just how much affect the Social Democrats may have had on the form of the DEDC model and how much can be attributed elsewhere, namely to the women's movement.

At the same time, however, others, like Anders Aslund, senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington, D.C. do not agree that the Swedish welfare model is digressing. Aslund asserts it is merely changing. The government remains concerned with social issues of the citizenry and is still putting money towards welfare, just in a more directed format. He asserts that Sweden is, "now a modern social welfare society, rather than a social welfare state" (Aslund, qtd in Ghosh 2010). Regardless, the face of the Swedish model is certainly changing and it is doing so without the Social Democrats leading the way. Thus, now is the prime historical moment to revisit the past in the hopes of uncovering the important hole women's roles have to fill in the original institutional theory for development of the DEDC model.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT ANALYSIS

Baseline Swedish Gender Relations Background

The Swedish historical snapshot necessary to understand what was on the minds of policy reformers as the 1930s began includes a long record of class egalitarianism, newly minted universal political participation stemming from a previous record of broader representation than most of Europe, an understanding of the injustice of poor relief (means-tested welfare provisions), the beginnings of the Swedish women's movement and key factors that led to its development. A foreign observer of Sweden around the turn of the twentieth century may not

have readily predicted the gender egalitarian form the nation's welfare state would take in the coming decades. In other words, Sweden was not fully "Swedish" as we know it today. As Mats Forsberg of the Swedish Institute notes, "The fundamental social structure of each country is crucial to the shape and development of its social welfare policy" (Forsberg 1984, 5). It is important to note the baseline structure from which the DEDC model developed; women began the twentieth century without even a single woman serving in the Riksdag, the Swedish parliamentary body (Freidenvall 2006).

However, *class* egalitarianism has a long history in the nation. The ideas of equality, citizenship based on parity, wide political participation, solidarity and freedom were long embedded truths in Swedish society, at least in terms of class. From at least early 16th century, peasants had representation in Sweden, yielding a level of class-based equity unparalleled in most other European nations at the time. Peasants were also engaged in local politics through parish meetings, which ruled on various social and economic issues of the day. From this historical reality developed the *folkheim* (people's home) metaphor that has become the glue that holds together different social classes in Sweden. *Folkheim* was the Swedish historical narrative of national identity, founded on the value of the state's skill to divide resources efficiently among the people and that all classes of citizens should be actively engaged in the policy process (Van Beek 2010). Class egalitarianism was not without limits, however. For instance, an expansion of Sweden's poor relief provisions in 1918 stripped suffrage from the working-class recipients of the aid (Forsberg 1984).

The Swedish experience with social welfare entering the 1930s was limited. Poor relief, the only Swedish social welfare net from the Middle Ages until the 1930s, was more a reflection of wealthy privilege, than an expression of concern for the impoverished. "It was characterized

by the self-appointed right of the privileged to control the unpropertied and dependent classes. This control was considered necessary to maintain public order and people's will to support themselves. Poverty and dependence were regarded as reflections of individual shortcomings" (Forsberg 1984, 18). Many women, especially single mothers, were *afflicted* with poor relief by a government to their financial detriment, becoming essentially slaves to the system. Many of those within the Social Democrat party came from a working-class labor background; they also understood the problems of *means-tested relief* (Gröndahl 1990).

As the nineteenth century ended, women began to get organized into a real movement, the first step necessary to influence public policy. For instance, a women's rights organization named for a renowned Swedish feminist, the Frederika Bremer Association, formed in 1886. It led the 1902 charge to abolish fathers' custody priority in a divorce. This initial motion failed but was finally accepted into law with the Marriage Act of 1915. Several women's socialist clubs got their start in the 1890s. The National Association of Enfranchisement of Women was founded in 1903 (Melby et al. 2008).

The most active women's political organizations formed around the suffrage were associated with the Social Democrats (Anders 1958). Women's groups of four of the five major parties all formed about this time over this concern. In addition to the Social Democrats, these included the Conservatives, Liberals and Centre Parties. "The establishment of these first-wave organizations, mostly in connection with the suffrage struggle, resulted in the institutionalized presence and influence of women" (Krook and Childs 2010: 97). Around this same time, several women's trade unions began to organize as well. These included the Lund glove seamstresses, the Stockholm shoe stitchers and the Malmo textile workers (Jacobsson and Alfredsson 1993). Notably by 1935, industrial statistics revealed that women were a majority, powerful at least in

numbers, in a number of productive fields, including the textile and cloth industry where they comprised 71.5 percent of all workers (Myrdal 1938).

While women did unite over their shared interest in suffrage, strong class divisions remained, which limited the force of women's organizations pre-1930s (Hobson and Lindholm 1997; Anders 1958). For instance, when the Swedish National Housewives Association was formed in 1919, concern rose within the Social Democratic Women's Union that the new group would usurp their role as the voice of women and that they must be closely monitored (Hobson and Lindholm 1997). The suffrage movement also did not yield the strong grassroots networks in Sweden that it did the US and UK (Lindholm 1991), the Swedish women's fervor perhaps dampened by the fact that they had already attained universal suffrage in local elections in 1918 ("The Struggle" 2011).

Several pieces key to the formation of the women's movement fell into place just prior to 1930 that fundamentally altered women's position in Swedish society and arguably the nature of the welfare state. First of all, the tariff dispute of the late 1800s had created a new era of political representation in Sweden. Members of the Riksdag could no longer rely on a "constitutional right to find solutions that were in the best interests of their country, freely and independently of popular opinion" (Lewin 1988, 47-48). The role of public opinion in Swedish politics had been permanently elevated in a way that irrevocably affirmed the right of the people to be heard in the Swedish government and bred new government "dependence on the popular will as expressed through political parties, which are the organizers of political life" in Sweden (Lewin 1988, 52). This supports the traditional understanding of the central role Social Democrats played in the development of the DEDC model, but casts doubt on the assertion that this is the full picture. In an era where voters were increasingly demanding that their voice be heard, it seems improbable

to assume that half of the constituency was not speaking out in any way on policies of such direct relevance to their lives. This strengthens the assertion that women could have played an important explanatory role in the development of policy leading to the DEDC model as women began to find their political voice in Sweden in this same era when the population as whole was demanding to be heard.

An early Swedish feminist, Ellen Key, purported that women's political role stemmed from their power as mothers. Key died in the 1920s, along with her maternalist thinking (Key 1912; Leira 1992). The overriding Swedish feminist argument as the 1920s ended and the 1930s began was that, "everything in society concerns women and what women think concerns everyone" (Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 485). This theme of inclusion would carry the women's movement through difficult challenges in the 1930s by holding an appeal for all women, from housewives to professionals to the working-class.

As well, the period in Sweden from 1930-1975 is known, "the heyday of the state commission system" (Lundqvist and Roman 2008). These commissions were called by the government in the early days of the policy process and their official reports directly influenced the legislation that was actually introduced in the Riksdag. These commissions, which would conduct or drawn on social science research to inform their reports, were an ideal entry point for the women's movement to begin to influence policy. One of the most prominent Swedish women, intellectual, and Social Democrat, understood this opportunity for women and seized it. She highlighted the process which had already begun with her 1944 words. "The time has come for social science scholars to step out of their isolation," she wrote. "To create social change, they must go beyond registration of facts and consistent analysis, to raise rational for special purposes" (Myrdal, qtd in Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 219).

The concept of full political inclusion was comprehensively embraced by the Social Democrats, who in coalition with the Liberals, crafted the proposal that ultimately enfranchised working-class men as well as women in national elections. The Riksdag approved the universal right of suffrage on May 24, 1919, but the election of 1921 was the first time it was exercised in national elections (Van Beek 2010; Aldt and Dallal 2008; “The Struggle” 2011). The first five women were also elected to the Swedish Parliament in 1921, with the first woman joining the Cabinet in 1947 (Freidenvall 2006; Wistrand 1981). “The notion [of universal suffrage] found full expression in the 1930s...when legislation relating to social matters was enacted and laid the foundation for the Swedish model of a welfare state” (Van Beek 2010, 59). Sweden had an institutional tradition of egalitarianism between classes, although there is little to suggest that applying the same tradition between the genders was inevitable. Someone had to work to attain the DEDC economic model; it was not an automatic outcropping of the Swedish class egalitarian mindset.

An early task among women’s groups and publications was simply to make women aware of their new voting right and duty and the political debates going on in the country. Still struggling with this task, twenty-five women’s groups signed a public letter, “A Call to Swedish Women” in 1936 to implore women to take up the cause of increasing their participation and representation in national politics. It was published in places to reach women of all classes, from readers of women’s trade union journals to the bourgeois women’s journals. This appeal was indicative of the Swedish women’s movement’s growing ability to coalesce beyond class divisions post-1930. This was necessary to strengthen their voice in the government (Hobson and Lindholm 1997).

Industrialization began to explode. In 1930, more Swedes depended on industry than farming for the first time. This was important because it created a solid differentiation between household labor, which was traditionally women's work, and economic labor, which was increasingly done outside the home. As such, the concept of working "outside the home" began to take flight in Sweden, creating a solid direction towards which Swedish women could advocate. Industrialization also left women more alone in raising children than had ever been the case in the rural agriculture-based economy (Hobson and Lindholm 1997; Myrdal 1938).

The Social Democrats took power of the government in 1932. Recall that this party opposed the oppressive poor relief social welfare system because it coerced the poor into unfair situations (Gröndahl 1990). Social Democratic leaders came from working-class backgrounds that gave them such sympathies (Milner 1989). That was the party predisposed to the type of policy that is applied equally between men and women and among classes, if not motivated by the same factors as women. Many in the party were of labor backgrounds and had experience with the poor relief policies, so they were at least predisposed to care about class oppression from them.

Most notably, the membership of women's organizations tripled from 1930 to 1940 (Hagemann 2002). The decade marked a turning point for the influence of the women's movement in Sweden, especially through the success of women in framing the inclusion of female political voices as a necessity of equal citizenship and participatory democracy, rather than an exercise of women's rights as mothers. This was a crucial distinction on the path to the DEDC model rather than simply providing maternal benefits that, while also helping families economically, would keep women in the home. Speaking as a unified group from all classes was a necessary—though not sufficient—pre-condition for women to gain legitimacy in their

advocacy of gender egalitarian policies, which were consistent with their cognitive framework of universal citizenship. The following analyzes how or if this mindset resonated with formal political actors to influence the creation of such policies, which would underpin the emergence of the DEDC model either in spite of or in concert with the actors.

1930s-1940s

This section will examine the driving forces behind two key Swedish labor policy initiatives of the 1930s and 1940s. The two initiatives to be addressed will be the commitment to full employment, and the maternal leave with public assistance program as an outcropping of the Public Works mentality. This section will first explain how two policy changes passed during the 1930s-1940s did or should have supported the DEDC model. Then, the expected factors contributing to these two policies will be examined, integrating what aspects were actually observed. The expected causes include the historical policy setting, including economic indicators, pressure from the Social Democratic Party and labor unions, advocacy by women and women's organizations, and the intersection of any of the above. It will then draw conclusions about what causes appear to have been strongest during this time period.

Overall Historical Policy Background

These two decades were a time of sweeping change by a young political party led by men. However, within those broad changes, the women's movement was able to achieve incremental workforce equity gains by making Social Democratic rhetoric their own. "A fundamental feature of the social welfare policy which began to be pursued during the 1930s was its aim of ensuring the security of the whole population through general reforms. There was a desire to do away with those forms of public aid which required special examination of a person's need for help." (Forsberg 1984, 61). The Social Democrats wanted to transition away

from the means-tested aid, the oppressive poor relief previously mentioned, which had comprised the Swedish welfare state prior to the 1930s. This shift to an inclusive welfare state is notably in line with the previously mentioned cognitive framework of the women's movement that was based on a wholly inclusive democracy, or rather, the women's movement followed this shift.

At the same time, it is also in line with the life experiences known to color the opinions of many members of the Social Democratic Party. Several hypotheses, such as that poor relief was demeaning to the recipients and that they became dependent upon the aid, have been offered to explain this transition, but the most plausible argument put forth in the current traditional literature is that the Social Democrats held political power. They were the party of the labor movement and as such, many among their membership had personal experience with the harsh realities of poor relief (Forsberg 1984). This background, combined with the political ability to do something about it in the early 1930s, bred the individualization of the Swedish welfare state. In contrast with poor relief aimed at the family unit, individualization of benefits was a necessary step in the road to the DEDC model. It allowed the government access to women and men outside the framework of the family structure that prolonged the breadwinner/homemaker stereotype and had to be overcome to progress towards the DEDC model.

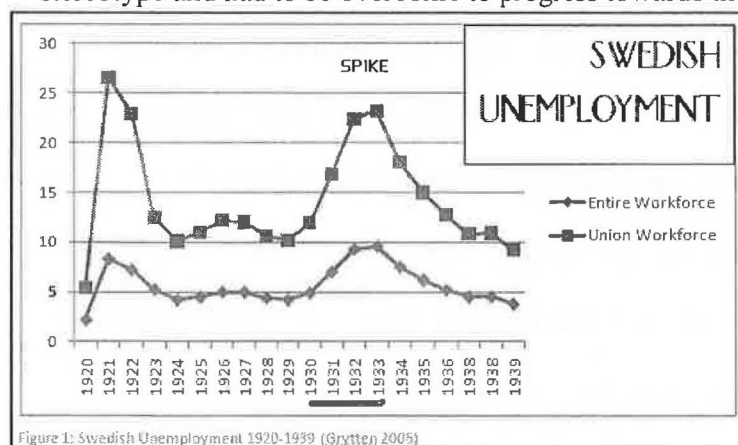


Figure 1: Swedish Unemployment 1920-1939 (Svrtén 2005)

During this time period, the policies of full employment and government-sponsored labor protections, such as through public works projects, were essential to laying the foundations for the

DEDC model. They both introduced the ideas of justice and equality into the workforce and also the concept of the government having a hand in the economic security of workers. This is the first of many observations to be made in this article that, voluntarily¹⁰ or involuntarily, the Social Democratic commitment to class egalitarianism facilitated the Swedish policy commitment behind the gender egalitarianism implicit in the DEDC model. Nevertheless, as displayed below, after a several years of a fairly stable labor market, unemployment for both the entire workforce and, particularly concerning for the Social Democrats, especially the unionized workforce, spiked just as the young political party was taking the helm of government in 1932. Not only did unemployment spike, but “the reduction in the number of hours worked and the fall in wages per hour combined to produce a reduction in the total wages-bill of 23 percent from 1929 to 1932” (Clark 1941, 135). The largest historical factor affecting both policies was the economic depression and high rates of unemployment, which spurred such consideration how “worker” should be defined.

How Full Employment Supported the DEDC Model

The two policies to be addressed in this time period created a foundation for the DEDC model that was to come by creating pathways for gender to enter the societal definition of employment and an acceptance of government support for employment. The first policy is the government commitment to full employment. Support for full employment in the Swedish budget beginning in 1937 was intended to renew confidence in a flailing economy, suddenly touched by global downfalls. However, it began to open up room for debate on what full employment meant. Who should be employed? Just men? Men and women? This was a crucial question along the path to the DEDC ideal model to begin asking, even though policy makers

¹⁰ It consequently seems likely to have been less of a heavy lift for Sweden to support later policies in the 1960s onward to specifically support women’s greater entry into the workforce, whether this was the intention of the politicians of the 1930s or not.

were not intentionally asking it. As such, women were able to adopt the philosophy of full employment to prevent attacks on married women's right to work and pass a law in 1939 specifically preventing a woman from being fired for getting wed.

Policy Environment: Full Employment

Full employment policy sought to ensure that all who wanted employment could find it. Support for attaining this outcome came from the Keynesian idea of balancing the budget over the business cycle rather than the fiscal cycle. In 1937, the Swedish budget first formally reflected the Social Democratic commitment to full employment, largely under the reform guidance of Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary of the Bank of Sweden. A new budgetary philosophy allowed the government to support full employment. This reform functioned by "underbalancing the budget in recessions and overbalancing it in boom periods. It was argued by [Gunnar] Myrdal and others that a policy of this type was quite consistent with balancing the budget over the cycle—a principle that was suggested as a replacement for balancing the budget each year" (Lindbeck 1973, 83). Just two years later in 1939 Sweden passed a law specifically prohibiting firing an employee for getting married, incorporating married women under the full employment policy umbrella, though married women's right to work had come under fire in the preceding decade (Morgan 1996).

The historical moment of economic depression and large unemployment figures colored the Social Democrat government's strong commitment to full employment. The Krueger crash of early 1932 soured the people of Sweden on trusting the previous government. Social Democrats had to prove they were somehow different and economically prudent to gain the public back. The policy was an essential beginning to the formation of the DEDC model because

in an era of rapidly growing employment outside of the home, it began to spur the question of who should be employed.

Institutional Explanation:

The Social Democratic Party was able to use the historical moment of Swedish economic uncertainty and turn it into an argument for full employment. As the 1930s began, Sweden was no exception to the economic depression blanketing the world and the Social Democrats were able to use their new expansionist economics to attack fiscal downturns and increase their political support. The particular historical moment that swung the Social Democrats into sustained power became known as the Kreuger Crash. A Swede, Ivan Krueger, launched an ambitious, but flawed international trust venture, the failure of which led to his suicide in Paris and economic panic in Sweden. Stocks and government bonds plummeted. One of the largest banks in Sweden, Skandinaviska Kreditaktiebolaget, had given Krueger extensive credit. Had it not been for a secret government bailout loan, the institution would have failed likely. The real political nail on the coffin, however, was the revelation that the Liberal Prime Minister Ekman had accepted at least two bribes from Krueger in the course of his financial scheming (Ander 1958).

The governing coalition could no longer persist, and the King of Sweden asked the Social Democrat Per Albin Hansson to form a new government. Hansson was a man of the workers, who had risen through the ranks of labor himself. The following election of 1932 was very good to his party, providing the government a strong mandate to enact new labor policies (Ander 1958). “Depression required positive leadership, and it was believed that Per Albin Hansson could provide what previous Swedish governments had lacked—public confidence” (Ander 1958, 169). The return of public confidence in the government and economy was absolutely essential.

The Social Democratic administration did its part in increasing public optimism about the economy through strategic release of its economic program.

The Social Democratic Party, in coalition with its Trade Union allies (Landsorganisationen i Sverige, LO), was able to effectively translate the economic decline into building the new Swedish model, “based on a guarantee of full employment for labor and a mutual guarantee of private ownership for business” (Blyth 2001, 1).¹¹ Historians pinpoint the genesis of the Swedish model on the wave of efforts by Social Democrats and a group of young economists who challenged the classical economic idea that some level of unemployment was natural. These thinkers were able to legitimize their theorization through the government appointed Committee on Unemployment that was created in 1927. The reports of this forum both made the new economic ideas, the Keynesian conception of balancing the budget over the business cycle by spending in a depression and cutting down in times of prosperity, more mainstream and began to influence policy-makers (Carlson 1987). Thus, full employment policy¹² indicates a central role for the Social Democrats, whose motivations were colored by the labor background of much of their membership and a desire to keep the traditional workforce employed. Women were not yet key players in the traditional workforce, however, so it is

¹¹ However, academics during the late 1930s were already skeptical about how intentional of a decision that actually was on the part of the Social Democrats (Higgins Summer 1938). For instance, part of Sweden’s ability to recover economic confidence came from improved economic conditions abroad, over which the Swedish government had absolutely no control. During 1933, the value of Swedish exports rose by 21 percent and imports only by 19 percent, raising the trade balance from 56 to 78 million kronor (Higgins Spring 1938).

¹² Much of Sweden’s employment law has not been created through formal legislation, however, but through voluntary agreements between employer and employee confederation agreements, such as the landmark voluntary Saltsjöbaden Agreement of 1938 between the LO and SAF, which created a process to settle employment disputes and avoid the need for many strikes. This agreement was made under the threat that the Social Democratic government led by Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson would otherwise legislate some sort of peace agreement between employees and employers to ensure that labor unrest did not disrupt their crisis policies that supported full employment (Magnusson 2000).

difficult to conjecture that the Social Democrats really gave much thought to them in their push for full employment.

The work of the labor unions during this time, particularly their commitment to wage solidarity, was generally very supportive of the Social Democrats' policy commitment to full employment. It is noteworthy as well that the blue-collar trade union organization (LO), *Landsorganisationen*, specifically refused to support a proposal made in 1931 to prevent married women from working in the public sector (Haas 1992). This indicates some level of cognizance of women as workers in the union mindset even at this early date, more than a decade prior to the creation of a women's council within the LO (Scott 1982).

Wage solidarity was the process of having labor unions run, "a centralized wage policy that stressed the principle of equal pay for equal work across sectors" (Blyth 2001, 7). It was central to the Rehn-Meidner model, designed by the economists Gösta Rehn and Rudolph Meidner of the Economics Research Department of the LO (The Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions). "The role of wage solidarity in the R-M model is not only to achieve greater equity but also to contain inflation by helping to prevent wage-wage spirals...[and] hold back wage increases in profitable companies willing and able to pay higher wages" (Erixon 2008, 369). It was deemed necessary to prevent wage instability in the face of full employment policy. "According to the R-M model, therefore, a wage policy of solidarity requires full employment but by means of minimizing wage drift" (Erixon 2008, 369). The model was an answer to the dominant Keynesianism of early post-war Sweden, which supported expansionary economic policies to combat unemployment and inflation.

Wage solidarity policy was also crucial to the extent that economists of the time believed it was necessary for the continued success of full employment policy. "It was this welfare policy

based on 'solidarity' that was the most distinctive characteristic of the Swedish and the Scandinavian model" (Magnusson 2000: 241). Wage solidarity is the very much labor union led policy that began in the 1930s as a call for equal pay for equal work¹³ and evolved during the 1950s and 1960s into a more socialized system to bring wages nationwide closer together (Edin and Richardson 2002; Magnusson 2000). A little-reported law passed in 1947 abolished female public sector wage schedules that artificially kept women's wages lower than men's (Edin and Richardson 2002). This would seem to be right in line with the labor cry for wage solidarity at the time and also a crucial step on the path to the DEDC model by establishing an equal value for women's entry into paid labor at least in the public sector at least in statute. As it is also in line with the women's movement call for universal citizenship it would seem the ideal place for a coalitional influence of women to have taken place.

The policy of wage solidarity had appeal with the labor leaders as well as the Social Democrats because of Rehn and Meidner's explanation that it would yield high economic growth and low inflation (Erixon 2008). Rehn and Meidner were part of the larger voice of labor as the 1930s began. The LO began to take a lead in molding social welfare policy with an eye towards protecting its membership, "pushing the Social Democrats of the government to accept their views. The emphasis of LO-leaders and economists was steadily fixed on full employment, but at the same time they pleaded for stronger anti-inflation measures as a basis for a solidaristic

¹³ The underlying concept of pay equity from the union's commitment to wage solidarity was consistent with the DEDC model given that early attacks on married women's right to work were based on the assertion that women would work for less and thus take men's jobs. However, I do not find evidence to support the assertion that women played a particularly influential role in this largely union driven fight beyond the fact that they seem to have supported gender neutral policies implicit in full employment as mentioned above and that this policy helped sustain full employment efforts. For instance, even while the LO, as mentioned, rejected the idea of a prohibition of married women's employment in the public sector, they concurrently failed to act on calls by women delegates within their ranks to take a strong position against gender employment discrimination. Women of Sweden, like in many countries, had created their own unions in the early 1900s. In 1909, the Women's Trade-Union Federation formally joined the LO, which failed to pay much substantive attention to the cause of women, whom comprised only about 17 percent of LO's membership by the end of the 1930s. Women's roles within the union organization did begin to grow towards the end of this period, with the creation of a women's council within the LO in 1947. The council was not an instant recipe for women's influence within the unions, however, unable to get the LO to agree to end the acceptance of gendered wage rates in *private* contracts until 1960 (Scott 1982).

wage policy” (Lundberg 1985, 4). In this way, the labor unions were able to support an economic environment to help the Social Democrats full employment policy succeed.

Women’s Influence:

During the 1930s-1940s, women were able to transform the Social Democratic rhetoric for full employment into an argument for greater emancipation of women into the workforce. As implied above, the policy of full employment was not innately an equal one as the newly enfranchised Swedish women soon found out. While the Social Democrats commitment to ensuring full employment sought to keep everyone working, there was some early disagreement as to what “everyone” meant, with women ever at risk of becoming sidelined in the policy discussion, if they were ever at the table in the first place. This tested the strength of women’s newfound political power¹⁴ early on when sought to block an offensive policy grounded in economic depression.

From 1931 to 1932, unemployment in Sweden rose five-fold, reaching its climax in 1933 with more than 186,000 citizens unemployed, nearly ten percent of the workforce (Hobson and Lindholm 1997, Grytten 2006). Faced with economic concerns from an international depression during the 1920s and 30s, without a political party in power that was fully committed to gender equity and without vast resources of political capital (Hobson 1993), Swedish women faced a potential employment ban on married women. Some restriction was supported by every major political party, indicating that emancipation of women into the workforce was indeed not central to the Social Democrats motivations at this time. At least nine specific proposals were made in

¹⁴ Mósesdóttir asserts that Swedish women’s suffrage (which is the basis for the newfound political power) did not allow them to have much of an impact on policy and that power was limited to those who identified with a particular class, not gender. She goes also writes, “From the 1960s until the 1980s, women mobilised in mass numbers around the social identity of gender that cut across more established identities such as class. The women’s movements were part of the ‘new’ social movements organizing around race/ethnicity, gender and generational divisions that challenged governing social blocks,” (Mósesdóttir 2001, 47).

the *Riksdag* to limit the right of married women to work. Some were made on the argument that women's entry into the workforce would unfairly drive down wages because they would work for less. A so-called gender-neutral proposal to limit public employment to only one spouse per household was proposed. It resembled a similar ban that had already been enacted in the US that, although gender neutral in theory, led mainly to wives' unemployment in practice. Conservatives tried to link married women's employment to Sweden's declining population growth by asserting that working women would have fewer children (Hobson and Lindholm 1997; Hobson 1993).

For some Swedish women, the concern was personal. Around 10 percent of female workers during the 1930s were married and so would be directly affected by such a ban. However, keep in mind the cognitive framework through which the Swedish women's movement was able to overcome class distinctions. As such, such proposals were symbolic attacks on all women's full citizenship rights, such as the right of economic independence (Hobson and Lindholm 1997).

No version of this ban ever became law, due in large part to the broad and vocal coalition of left-wing socialists and liberal feminist women fighting against the measure beginning in the late 1920s (Hagemann 2002). "From 1933 large joint meetings were held around the country against the restrictions proposed on working women. Social Democrats and liberal women were in the forefront...even housewives organised in The Housewives Association were active in favour of married women's right to work" (Hagemann 2002, 156). The Housewives Association, that on its face would seem to oppose married women's employment, was able to join the cause as defense of employment as right of universal citizenship (Hobson and Lindholm 1997). This is consistent with the premise that key to Swedish women's success in forming and

strengthening the foundations to the DEDC model was their ability to speak with as a unified front, though representing citizens from every level of society.

Another major victory came with creation of the 1936-1938 state commission¹⁵ on married women's right to work, a subcommittee of the Royal Population Committee. Not only was the commission's creation a sign of women's influence to get their issue into the mainstream, the appointment of two well-known feminists as chair, Kerstin Hesselgren¹⁶, and secretary, Alva Myrdal, indicated a clear influence of the movement on the government. The larger committee and this subcommittee did not come about by accident, nor were two key players from the feminist movement placed in positions so relevant to molding full employment policy to ensure women's equal access to the workforce. "The very fact that such a commission was inaugurated reflects the power resources of feminist groups" (Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 497).

The commission created a 500-page document that both appeased the Swedish policymakers' desire for social science research by quantitatively illustrating the extremes of gender inequity facing workers and demonstrated the claim that married women's employment would destroy home life. The report advised the government against any form of the discrimination employment ban legislation (Hobson and Lindholm 1997). By 1939, Swedish women, through their strong voices on the commission, had not only blocked a ban on married women's employment, but they had also achieved legal protection against being fired for getting married, engaged or pregnant, or being a single mother (Morgan 1996; Edin and Richardson 2002). This expansion of women's employment rights came at a time when economic

¹⁵ The point cannot be emphasized enough. "Existing for over 150 years, the parliamentary commission of experts is the site of a vital stage of policymaking that has become a prerequisite for formulating new proposals made to [the Swedish] Parliament," (Hobson and Lindholm 1997).

¹⁶ Hesselgren was also a member of Parliament at this time (Sörensen and Bergqvist 2002).

depression had chipped away at employment rights for women throughout Europe and North America (Hobson and Lindholm 1997).

Another related policy sought to forbid women from working in certain industrial jobs at night out of an alleged concern for women's safety, but in reality, would have imposed limits on women's ability to enter the workforce on an equal basis with men, a crucial precondition for approaching the DEDC model. A formal ordinance banning women from certain kinds of night work had passed in 1909, but it was not the end of the story. The measure was thoroughly condemned by a number of women's organizations across the political spectrum, another indication of women's ability to impact DEDC relevant policy as a unified block. The unified message was that the ban was a step backwards for gender equity. The fight was long and hard but ultimately, women were able to claim victory with the 1949 Worker's Protection Act that banned night work in principle, without regard to gender (Forsberg 1984; Siim 2000). While not explicitly encouraging women to enter the workforce or men to help out at home, this policy did have the result of leveling the ability of men and women to enter the workforce on an equal basis.

A significant female voice in the policy arena at this time was, as mentioned, Alva Myrdal, who, along with her husband Gunnar (Samuelsson 1968) had published the 1934 book *Crisis in the Population Question* to address the growing concern of population stagnation. This book signaled a major transition in Swedish welfare policy, laying out many of the redistributive welfare policies that would become law in the following three decades (Samuelsson 1968).

While the husband and wife pair co-authored the book, it is interesting to note that it was Alva who drafted the chapters on specific policy proposals (Carlson 1990). She argued, on the basis of a perceived need to raise the birth rate in Sweden, that the traditions surrounding

parenting and marriage needed revision with gender-egalitarian policies and stronger state support for families (McFeely 1999). Presenting a take unique in the industrialized world on the dialogue for women-friendly family policy, Alva argued for working women's right to motherhood (Haavet 2006, 205-206). She diligently sought to spread her proposals to a number of women's organizations such as businesswomen's clubs, Social Democratic women's clubs and women's collectives. "A joint January address by the Myrdals before the Stockholm Working Women's Club generated extensive press coverage, being reported in over two dozen Swedish and Finnish newspaper" (Carlson 1990: 113). Economist Karin Koch wrote a glowing review of the book that ran on the front page of the journal of the National Union of Housewives' Associations. The National Federation of Social Democratic Women's journal *Morgonbris* printed a whole issue in September of 1935 devoted solely to highlighting Alva's concept of the new woman and family (Carlson 1990).

Myrdal even carried her work abroad. In 1949, she co-authored *Are We Too Many: UNESCO Food and People* detailed her argument that Thomas Malthus population crisis, the idea that food production would increase arithmetically, leaving people to starve as the population increased geometrically, was wrong globally. The real problem, as in Sweden, was under population and to the extent there was what was called *overpopulation*, the real concern was poverty specifically for families, cause by a failed social and economic system in the country. She highlighted the problems industrialization had caused, while not specifically mentioning Sweden, but in such a way that it was applicable to her native land (Myrdal and Vincent 1949).

Only one—or a few people—under an industrialized economy, the so-called breadwinners, have a primary claim on the national resources. The impoverishment caused at first by changing over from an agrarian economy to an industrial one [exactly what happened during early 20th century Sweden] is

directly related to the fact that the revenue gained from work is related only to the number of workers, and not the different number of people they have to support in their families. (Myrdal and Vincent 1949, 41)

Myrdal went on to emphasize that the problems of *overpopulation* [read poverty] stem from the fact that families have too large of a burden to carry alone. While resources of a particular nation might be sufficient to provide for its entire population, the resources are not spread evenly and so poverty within a given family occurs. This is exactly the kind of argument for wealth redistribution that was made for DEDC model policies in Sweden like government sponsored child care and a maternal allowance paid directly to mothers (Myrdal and Vincent 1949).

Interactions

The women's movement and the Social Democratic party overlapped in their pursuit of full employment, which resulting in the tentative merging of their definition of the term. The Myrdals' population question was embraced by the powerful Social Democrats in the *Riksdag* as an intermittent but effective means to support social reform that would both create the economic protections politicians wanted and the improved gender equity that feminists wanted (Carlson 1990). Gunnar Myrdal became a representative of the Social Democratic party in the *Riksdag*'s First Chamber in 1935. The architect of many of the labor protection policies in Sweden throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Gustav Möller made the connection between the Social Democrats and the Myrdals' writing quite clear in a 1936 floor statement. He said, "I do not hesitate a moment to frighten however many Conservatives and however many Agrarian Party and Liberal [Riksdag] members with the threat that our population will die out, if with that threat I can persuade them to vote for social proposals which I offer" (Möller, qtd in Carlson 1990, 167).

In addition, it quite clear that women's voices were heard in a stronger way than simply from the government adopting Alva and Gunnar's concern over the population question. From the stimulus of their writing, the Royal Committee on Population was appointed in 1935 and became a central forum of policymaking throughout the decade. Within this committee, the national debate on welfare reform was crafted. Issues from maternity benefits, to child care, to family taxation and housing to, most importantly to the policy of full employment, married women's right to work. It is not simply that the committee took these issues up, but they did so through the same framework that women had been discussing them in for years, creating reports that, recall, directly informed policy rhetoric (Hobson and Lindholm 1997). One Swedish feminist quoted in *Morgonbris* in 1938, "If one reads the protocol from the first meetings of the Women's Trade Union or the Social Democratic Women's Club in 1907, it's almost like reading today's Population Committee Report" (Alexandersson, qtd in Hobson and Lindholm 1997).

The Social Democrats supported the policy of full employment on the grounds of economic efficiency, that it was necessary to fully utilize even human resources, to assuage business interests, and as a prerequisite to other socially desirable outcomes to assuage labor interests (Blyth 2001). However, women's groups were right behind them, advocating extending the commitment driven by the economic moment to ensure that full employment actually meant *full* employment, not just full male employment. As Alva Myrdal wrote, "The need of society to utilize to the fullest all available labour resources, male and female, coincides with the under-employment of women" (Myrdal and Klein 1956, 186). This defining mindset victory was necessary to lay the groundwork for the emancipation of women into the workforce.

How Maternal Allowances Supported the DEDC Model

The second policy to be examined will be the protected maternal leave with maternal allowance made available to most women by 1937 (Wangson 1938). The initial policy was implemented with The Maternity Benefit Law of 1931¹⁷, which reached its fullest expansion in 1937. The Swedish government began to directly support workers in this period and with this specific policy because mothers had to have been previously employed to qualify for the allowance.¹⁸ The Social Democrats were largely inclined to support public works projects out of concern for economic well-being of the nation and in attempt to fulfill their policy of full employment. Building on that acknowledged role of the government to support workers, it appears the women's movement was able to redefine employment to include women and thereby attain maternity allowances for mothers, particularly those who had worked in industrial jobs. This further legitimized the right of women to be in the workforce and the work they were doing, thus strengthening the dual earner part of the model. Furthermore, to the extent that public works provided jobs for men, the cries of economic alarmists that women must make way in the workforce for unemployed men, lost ground. Maternal allowances, while only aimed at women, were important for women's financial independence, and the payment structure rewarded and encouraged prior work experience (Wangson 1938).

Policy Environment: Maternal Leave With Public Assistance

This section will more fully define the maternal leave with public assistance policy, which specific reference to most important history and public works programs that undergirded

¹⁷ Notably, this was during a Liberal government, not a Social Democratic one. The Liberal government created a government commission, which was led by prominent Liberal feminists Kerstin Hesselgren and Ada Nilsson, tasked with coming up with language for a law to provide benefits to mothers distinct from the poor relief laws that characterized the welfare state at that time. Women in both the Liberal and Social Democratic Party supported the committee's suggestions, which included compensating mothers for two-thirds of their prior earnings. What passed into law, however, minimized this attempt, opting to primarily provide a universal healthcare maternity benefit, and for only six weeks (Gruber and Graves 1998).

¹⁸ Allowance was different than later maternal and parental pay because it was not tied to prior salary size, thanks to the Liberal government, and was much shorter, just six weeks, instead of six months, plus 90 additional days for working mothers in 1954 (Gruber and Graves 1998; Lewis and Aström, 1992)..

the reform. Maternal leave can said to grow out of the public works program as the married women's right to work grew out of full employment. As with full employment policy, public works highlight the importance of defining "worker" in Swedish society on the road to constructing the DEDC model (Weir and Skocpol 1983).

The historical element of economic depression without question colored the creation of the public works programs. With almost a quarter of labor union members unemployed as the Social Democrats took power in 1932, the party had little choice but to address the issue. Their finance minister at the time, Ernst Wigforss, came to the job with experience on the increasingly unpopular and slow 1926 Commission of Inquiry into Unemployment. In 1930, the Social Democratic Party had endorsed the desire of the trade unions for sponsoring public works programs and they acted on that promise once leading the government.

Institutional Explanation:

The Social Democrats' public works programs formed the backdrop for the maternal allowance policy of 1937. The public works jobs that Sweden created in the 1930s were pushed by prominent Social Democrat and welfare state architect Gustav Möller, as part of a broader package of worker protections. Others included unemployment benefits, a public employment service, and one week annually of statutory leave, doubled in 1945 (Magnusson 2000, 240-243). Public works embedded the conception of the government as an entity to support labor, which helped build the case for maternal leave protections.

Another commonly referenced voice behind these policies was Gunnar Myrdal of the "Stockholm School" of economics, which supported government intervention as a means of lowering unemployment. Myrdal was also a Social Democratic. He strongly advocated for public works programs as a means of ending the 1930s depression by arguing that there were

always projects that needed to be done. It would cost the government less to have them done during a time of depression than prosperity (Carlson 1990). Through his writing, he supported a new perspective on social policy. “The commitment to creating employment rather than welfare, for the unemployed represented a “preventative” social policy act. Attention to public works emphasized the interrelated character of social and economy policy: to create employment could also mean to build new hospitals and schools” (Carlson 1990, 53). Yet, these jobs were created in male-dominated industries, so they were not apt to help women directly.

The policy of public works to support employment was also what the ruling Social Democratic party identified early in the 1930s as the only feasible option for addressing the growing labor problem. Writing in 1938, the finance minister, Ernst Wigforss noted, “The political majority was not unfamiliar with the fact that the growing unemployment made measures of assistance necessary. Since in Sweden—which did not have a program of unemployment insurance—the dole had been considered for a long time to be very undesirable, reserve projects had become the principal means of unemployment policy” (Wigforss 1938, 30).

The previous Liberal government had sought to balance the budget, keep wages of public works jobs below market value, and generally spend as little as possible. The primary goal of the government during the 1920s was to preserve, “the prerequisite for the upswing” rather than to try and stimulate it outright (Lundberg 1985, 5). In contrast, the new Social Democratic government wanted to expand “public capital investments, in the hope or expectation of creating a substitute for stagnating private enterprise” with projects ranging from building public structures to laying highways to planting trees (Wigforss 1938, 30). These new ideas about how to handle economic downturn by capital investment rather than austerity, fomented primarily by Wigforss, Gunnar Myrdal, Erik Lindahl, and Bertil Ohlin, were introduced to the *Riksdag* as a

proposal even before the depression actually struck. They were the ones who advised against balancing the budget during depression, a novel idea in Sweden at the time (Lundberg 1985).

Women's Influence:

The women's movement employed the class-egalitarian values embedded in the public works program to advocate for the maternal allowance policy of 1937. Specific policies are not just important for the direct purposes they immediately serve, such as keeping people employed who would not have had employment from the free market. As with full employment policy, labor protection policy provided a forum for women to assert their gender egalitarian definition of labor protection on top of the Social Democrats and labor unions class egalitarian version.

Women do not appear to have been very high on the minds of the men crafting the public works policy. For instance in 1938, Gustav Möller, often referred to as the father of the Swedish welfare state, wrote a journal article on his nation's unemployment policy mentioning women only once. The brief mention was only to note that a considerable number of women had entered the Swedish workforce from 1929 to 1936, though he did not provide exact statistics for how many had entered, which he did for male workers (Möller 1938). Perhaps one should be encouraged by the fact that by specifying between male and female workers he did not automatically assume worker only meant man, but it is still some distance from a full endorsement of or an innate push for a gender egalitarian economic model.

Fuller endorsement came from other means of protecting a labor force that the Social Democrats were increasingly being made to recognize was both male and female. For instance, maternal leave with public allowance was first granted in the 1930s. The allowance was granted not on the basis solely of being a mother but of having been a worker first. In 1931, before the Social Democrats had taken control, the government declared that, "It was reasonable that public

assistance should be given the person who at great personal risk and trouble and at economic sacrifices assured the continuation of society” (Wangson 1938, 94). The mention of economic sacrifices indicates that if not giving birth, these women would legitimately have been in the workforce. Supporting this assertion is the fact that women who had previously been industrial workers were given more days of allowance than women who had not worked. In 1937, the law was improved to cover all but the most economically well-off women (Wangson 1938).

By 1934, Alva Myrdal was generally recognized as the strongest Swedish proponent of helping mothers enter the workforce (Carlson 1990). “To critics who might reply that there were not enough jobs [to fulfill their advocacy for working mothers], the Myrdals answered that public works projects, sound economic planning, and a growing national economy would create enough jobs for all adults to work if they chose” (Haas 1992, 20). Like many Socialists throughout history, the Myrdals pushed for equal employment rights as a necessary condition to achieve gender equity (Hass 1992).

In her 1941 text *Nation and Family*, Alva Myrdal clearly indicated the leverage women were able to wage in the battle to achieve the DEDC model. As demonstrated throughout this paper, women’s strength in the policy process rested in their ability to push a unified message that not only melded the interests of all classes of women but also melded the interests of the Social Democrats and women. She wrote, “The victories for Swedish women have been won on that one ideological alignment which alone can make the position of the working mother accepted by all as a matter of course, that her marrying and her childbearing are to be encouraged and not discouraged by society, So expressed, her rights coincide with the interests of society” (Myrdal 1941, 417). Therefore, in the larger scope of melding policy to support the DEDC

model, women were again effective at invoking the rhetoric of the Social Democrats and organized labor in a way that necessitated greater support of the woman worker.

Interactions

The women's movement was able to push the maternal pay and allowance policy as an unintended necessary outcome of the Social Democrats public works programs. As newly enfranchised voters, women had a unique chance to influence public policy in the 1930s, despite coming from a history of gender discrimination, such as not having been allowed to vote in national elections until 1921. During the 1920s, the importance of women's votes numerically was beginning to be appreciated, but the politics of their issues was still being marginalized. In 1921, this was noted by the Social Democrat Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting, who said, "the way in which women use their vote will be decisive in determining the development and direction of this country" (Branting, qtd in Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 499). He made further statements later in the decade that affirmed that his belief that the Social Democrats should try to harness the women's vote, but that did not mean he sought to support their issues or even recognized that they had issues to be supported (Hobson and Lindholm 1997).

Recognition of the political viability of the issues of the women's movement, such as broader protections for working mothers to stay employed, began to come about during the 1930s. Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson demonstrated a clear mindset shift during his 1936 speech on the Social Democrat platform for the upcoming year. He said, "I suspect women will notice with great satisfaction the way in which women's issues have received attention" (Hansson, qtd in Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 499). Clearly echoing the previously mentioned Swedish feminist argument from the 1920s that, "everything in society concerns women and what women think concerns everyone" (Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 485), he went on to address

women directly. “Essentially all our issues are your issues,” he told women (Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 499).

Clearly, the 1930s and 1940s were a time of great policy opportunity for women. Though probably not an intentional Social Democrat cause, the full employment for *all citizens* and government support for *all* workers that women championed coincided with the strong electoral mandate for the Social Democrats to stabilize a flailing economy. While the Social Democrats did not begin the period concerned with altering the economic structure to include women in the workforce and encourage sharing of household labor, they were concerned with votes and the overall state of the Swedish economy. The same arguments they made to ensure workers of all classes had support were drawn upon by women in such a way that the Party could hardly refuse to comply. Coming in to such strong power in the 1932, the Social Democrats had to do something to draw clear and positive distinctions between themselves and the failed governments just before them if they wanted to remain on top as they largely did for decades. Thus more and more, the Social Democrats began to adopt women’s gender egalitarian policies. Elin Mossberg, an active member of the Social Democratic Women’s Union in the 1930s, reflected back on the era as unique, “an amazing time to shape opinion. I would tell male politicians to go home and read more, and after a while I would hear them using the same argument I had made” (Mossberg, qtd in Hobson and Lindholm 1997, 499).

A factor working in favor of aligning the interests of the women’s movement with the interests of the Social Democrats was the findings of the previously mentioned Royal Committee on Population. Experts within that panel gave particular support for the move away from the male breadwinner model, which they held had been created by the industrial division of labor, to the dual earner family structure. In the context of the population question, the committee’s

reports argued that the division of labor and the tension between the genders that it created were the key causes of the declining birth rates. As such, an egalitarian family home life and workplace and labor market structure, the DEDC model, was stressed as an answer to economic shortcomings of the nation. “Ideas of a new society emerged, out of which, as some very influential architects argue, a ‘brand-new type of family’ would arise. In this new and modern family, women would be released from their duties as carers, mainly by letting society take over the responsibility of child care” (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 220).

Nearly all of the policies the Committee on Population suggested were aimed at helping working women rather than men because women were seen as the ones experiencing the problems under the male breadwinner model. This mindset led to several policy suggestions that were actually implemented by the government, such as the introduction of means-tested maternity support in 1935. Unlike the poor relief of earlier days, this was seen as a measure to empower—rather than to constrain—women as financial providers for their families, a key step in DEDC model formation (Lundqvist and Roman 2008).

Period Conclusion

As progressive as Sweden appears today, it is crucial to note the similarities that existed between Sweden and the rest of the western world in regard to gender egalitarianism during the 1930s and 1940s. As the 1940s drew to a close, the depression that had colored the previous two decades began to dissipate and economic growth in Sweden took off, (Magnusson 2000) but it was not at all a foregone conclusion that women would be emancipated into the workforce with men taking up more duties in home. For instance, it was not until the late 1960s that division on childcare views among even the Social Democrats and leftist women was resolved. Until that time, a sizable chunk among this group supported instead giving cash allowances to mothers to

stay home and care for their children (Goss and Shames 2009). Given the importance demonstrated of unity within the women's movement to their power to mold DEDC model relevant policy, this division was significant.

A series of articles in the Swedish women's magazine *Tidvaret* highlights this dissent among Nordic women. Margarete Bonnevie, who would later chair the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights, wrote an article for the publication early in August of 1933. In it she expressed her desire that cash payments to families with children ought to be built into the wage system as France had already done. The Swedish Housewives Association, while supporters of married women's right to work, also supported this idea of cash allowances for mothers as mothers (Carlson 1990).

Alva Myrdal sharply disagreed. She penned a series of responding articles over the next couple months that conceded the fact that a single male salary was no longer sufficient to support a family (Carlson 1990). It would be foolhardy, however, she wrote, to presume that the problem would be solved, "if only women abandoned the labor market and the patriarchal paradise became realized on earth" (Myrdal, qtd in Carlson 1990, 64). Ahead of her time, she advocated that the problem should be addressed with the understanding that women have a place in the workforce. As an alternative solution, she proposed that the government should create a socialized child welfare program that would provide for school lunches, medical care and public daycare among other things. Paid for by tax dollars, these programs' financial burdens to parents would be less in a collective system than if left to the individual parents, as was the status quo (Carlson 1990).

Even more telling was the experience of Swedish women during World War II. Even though Sweden stayed on the fringes of the actual war, men still spent significant time in military

service away from home. As in many countries at that time, Swedish women were subsequently expected to take up the responsibility of filling jobs left empty by soldiers. As elsewhere as well these same women were also expected to march dutifully back home when men wanted their jobs back (Goss and Shames 2009).

However, there was a twist that spurred the women back into the job market: economic growth. Strong and speedy economic growth in the 1940s created labor shortage. This was compounded by the increasing number of marriages during that decade. With more women needed to fill jobs and fewer single, childless women to fill them, the issues of childcare and parental leave were thrust to the forefront of policy attention. As economic conditions began to require women with children to work, women's resolve to achieve the welfare supports they needed strengthened (Goss and Shames 2009). Additionally, shrinking family sizes made women's entry into the workforce more practical even if men did not take on greater household responsibility. By 1945, only 13.2 percent of married women under 60 had three or more children who were under 18. Additionally, 71 percent of married women did not have children under the age of 15, thus essentially freeing them from the burdens of daily childcare (Myrdal and Klein 1956). It is difficult to assign total credit to Social Democrat policy or women's advocacy, but certainly the two seem to have been working in tandem to achieve the Social Democrats end of strengthening the economy and women's end of supporting working women equally through welfare policy.

Though women certainly did not sit idly by while men created policy change, women's own accounts indicate that all was not roses and sunshine between the women's movement and their primary political allies within the Social Democratic party during this time. One active Social Democrat woman explained the struggle in a late 1930s edition of *Morgonbris*. Citing

women's history of strong support on behalf of the Social Democrats, she demanded democratic rights for women within their own party structure. She wrote, "We believe it is both unjust and poor tactics to treat women as political zeros" (Västberg 1938, 5). A quick dig into the past reveals the political culture that may have caused her and other women to have felt that way. In 1927, Per Albin Hansson, Swedish Social Democratic Prime Minister from 1932-1936, stated, "We have come so far that we have been able to begin preparing the big People's Home. It is a matter of creating comfort and well-being there, making it good and warm, light and cheerful and free. To a woman there should be no more attractive mission" (Hansson, qtd in Lewis and Aström 1992, 65). With respect to the hypothesis that the women's movement is a missing, integral piece of the foundation of the DEDC model, however, it does appear to be the case that it is, to the extent that women were able to employ class-egalitarian rhetoric to support gender egalitarianism.

1950s-1960s

During the 1950s and 1960s, the voice of the women's movement in support of gender egalitarian policy appears to have been less audible, despite this being a time when the language of the DEDC model and women's equality really became common. Paid maternity leave¹⁹ and supplemental pension reform during this period should have supported the DEDC model, though the practical effects of pension reform did not. Expected causes include the historical policy setting, including economic indicators, pressure from the labor unions and the Social Democratic Party, advocacy by women and women's organizations. Significant interaction between the

¹⁹ Paid maternity leave took government support of mothers as workers a step further than the 1937 maternal allowances. While women who'd worked received payment for a longer period, the size of the allowance, as has been noted, was not tied to prior wages, despite the request of the committee examining maternal benefits to compensate women for two-thirds of prior wages (Gruber and Graves 1998). The additional maternity pay awarded to working mothers from 1954 onward was tied to prior salary, indicating a concern by the government to support women not only as workers but as workers earning a wage (Lewis and Aström 1992).

traditional actors and the women's movement during the time period was not observed. The strongest influence on these policy reforms appears to have come from the traditional actors, the Social Democrats.

Overall Historical Policy Setting

As the 1950s began, the historical backdrop for social policies included an expanding economy, greater workforce participation by married women, an ensuing labor shortage in the 1960s and greater pressure to increase women's representation in the government. Sweden began to expand out from under the burden of depression that colored the previous two decades. This expansion allowed economic growth to resume (Magnusson 2000, 243-244). It was during this period of prosperity that many of the foundational public services in Sweden were put into place, providing the crucial support that women needed to enter the workforce on a more even footing with men. On the backs of these policies, the language of the DEDC model really began to take hold in the mainstream political dialogue during the 1960s. For instance, a 1968 joint report by the Social Democratic Party and the trade union confederation (LO), concluded directly that, "there are thus strong reasons for making the two-breadwinner family the norm in planning long-term changes within the social insurance system" (Lewis and Aström 1992, 67).

Also as this period began, married women entered the workforce in even greater numbers, forcing public policymakers to take some notice of their situation. "In Sweden, the number of women in the labour force increased by 77,000 from 1945 to 1950. In the same period, the number of married women in gainful employment increased by 85,000 women" (Myrdal and Klein 1956, 79). Furthermore, despite a decline in married women's employment overall from 1930 to 1950, since 1950, increasing numbers of wed mothers of young children have sought employment, "even during periods of economic stagnation or recession" (Wistrand

1981, 50). This means, therefore, that not only did women increasingly enter the workforce, but they did so increasingly as mothers, which is consistent with the strong women's advocacy for married women's right to work previously shown. To the extent that their husbands worked, which is likely, such women were furthering the norm of the DEDC model by their actions, the proverbial voting with their feet. Tellingly, the term the "Swedish People's Home" came into popular usage during the 1950s as well. It "refers to social relations based on equality, consideration and co-operation" (Mósesdóttir 2001, 47).

A labor shortage struck the nation again as the 1960s began. As unemployment in the 1930s and labor shortages after WWII had moved the Social Democrats to action out of economic concerns, similar economic concerns arose at this time. Wanting to stabilize the economy, the Social Democrats once more responded to shortage by internalizing the pressure from women to gain equal opportunities and encouraging women both directly and indirectly to go to work. This was accomplished by the creation of policies that supported women as workers, such as the 1954 maternity insurance to be analyzed below (Mósesdóttir 2001).

Notably also during this time, there was a clear call for greater participation of women in the government. Entries written in the 1950 and 1951 Tage Erlander's personal diary noted public pressure from his party for increased female representation in the government. Erlander was a Social Democrat and Prime Minister of Sweden from 1946-1969 (Niklasson 2005). This could be significant for the argument that women were integral to supporting policies that undergirded the DEDC model because studies assert that when more women are in parliament there is a stronger focus on social supports. These social supports include increasing spending directed towards families, spending such as child care supplements that help women enter the workforce on equal footing with men and the emphasis in parliament on gender equality.

Women's representation could, therefore, provide one way to explain the impact of the women's movement on the model, specifically by taking on greater roles inside the government (Wägnerud 2000). Challenging the optimism of that conjecture, however, Bergqvist and Findlay note that resistance to any movement that would change gendered balance of power in public life in Sweden has persisted since the 1960's (Bergqvist and Findlay 1999).

How Paid Maternity Leave Supported the DEDC Model

The first policy change of this period is the paid maternity leave program, which was passed in 1954. This was the first paid maternity leave policy, which provided six months pay for new mothers, as well as an additional ninety day subsidy for employed mothers. (Lewis and Aström 1992, 66; Wistrand 1981). This policy was integral to building the DEDC model for two reasons. First, providing financial support to new mothers upheld the principal that women should be able to retain some measure of economic independence when they have a child. Otherwise, they would be given no pay or their pay would be given to the children's fathers. Second, providing an additional subsidy for women who had previously been working explicitly upheld the principle that women should retain the economic independence relative to their paid labor, not just by virtue of being a mother, which had been the maternalist view.

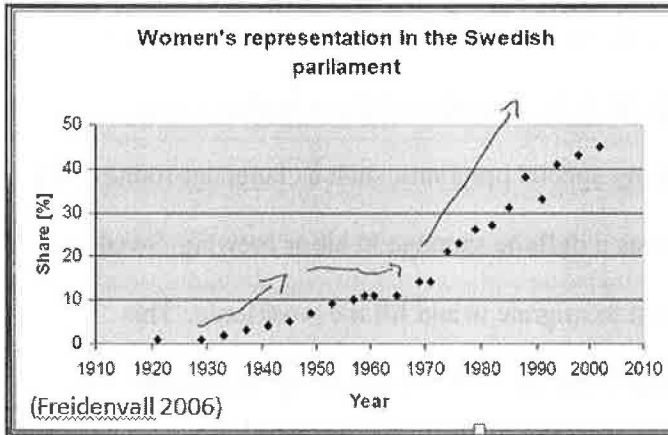
Specific Policy Environment: Paid Maternity Leave Policy

In 1955, the Swedish government enacted the first paid maternity leave policy, which provided three months pay for new mothers, as well as an additional subsidy for employed mothers. Previously employed women received a subsidy for 90 days longer than unemployed mothers. This pay came on top of the six months of unpaid leave mothers had been entitled to

since 1945²⁰ (Lewis and Aström 1992; Wistrand 1981; Haas 1992).²¹ It was not until this 1955 law, however, that women were guaranteed some compensation during their maternity leave.

The call for increased female representation in government could have impacted this policy. The increasing numbers of married women entering the workforce would have put clear pressure of the historical moment on the government to implement this policy. With greater number of mothers working, there were more stakeholders who would have directly benefited from this policy. This is also an argument, however, for observing actual greater participation of women in advocating for the policy. Simply that more mothers worked would not pressure the government to action unless those mothers, by virtue of being constituents, or even policy makers themselves, expressed their desire for such policies.

However, since scholarship demonstrates that the women dominating the policy debate on gender roles throughout the 1960s were middle-class, working class women appear to have



had room to make their voice heard in this way (Sandqvist 1987b). Greater numbers of women in the political process would also be an element of the historical policy setting likely to impact this policy development, had it

actually happened. However, actual political representation for women increased only

²⁰ The first maternity leave law had come in 1937, granting women just three months, with six of the weeks before birth and six after. In 1939, the statutorily protected leave for mothers increased to four and a half months (Haas 1992).

²¹ The length of maternity leave and pay would expand greatly over the next several decades and begin to include men. Under the current plan, both parents are allowed to take a combined 480 days, which includes 30 sickness days, of paid leave from work. This leave must be taken during the child's first eight years of life (Nordstrom and Bernhardt 2008). The term "daddy" months refers to the fact that at least 60 days (originally 30 days) of the leave must be taken by each parent. This ensures some division of the labor of caring for a new child. However, men still take less leave than women. While 43% of all parental leave takers were men in 2003, only 17% of the days taken went to men (Jelin 2008).

marginally during this period (Sainsbury 2004). Left unanswered, therefore, the call does not explain why maternity pay was created.

Swedish pacifism, however, has been attributed to the creation of this and further expansions of parental leave pay policies. Sweden had remained neutral during WWI and WWII. Its long history of keeping out of armed conflict meant that social welfare programs were not competing with large defense budgets for funds (Haas 1992). While not spending on war would not automatically mean the government would choose to spend on policies that strengthened the DEDC model, it did mean that, given the expansion of the economy post-depression, there was money available to support those policies. Swedish pacifism was at best a contributing, but not controlling, factor for the creation of the model through this maternal paid leave policy.

Institutional Explanation:

The Social Democratic Party's strong desire to support immigrants, based on their commitment to class-egalitarianism, made policies to support mothers as workers more economically efficient. The Party crafted many special programs, such as language training for immigrants (Sainsbury 2006). While there was a definite shortage in labor brewing, Sweden could have simply encouraged immigrant men to migrate in and fill the workforce. This happened in other parts of Europe like Germany and the Netherlands during this period (Gustafsson and Stafford 1995).

Sweden, however, unlike these two nations, treated its immigrants to many benefits as mentioned. While Germany treated immigrants more like guest workers, without access to public support, Sweden gave them access to the complete range of social supports given to citizens, as well as language training to aide them in employment and education. Such a policy

towards immigrants was costly, however. It was actually cheaper to incorporate Swedish mothers into the labor force, though with greater supports like this maternity pay policy (which would be expanded) and later child care supports (Gustafsson and Stafford 1995) than it was to fill the labor market with immigrants. In this case, the Party's own class egalitarian policies seem likely to have created an economic climate where the DEDC supportive policy was the more economical choice of the two options.

Women's Influence:

Women's demonstrated influence on the maternity pay policy of 1954 was not evident in the English literature, though the work of women during the 1930s did appear to set the ball rolling for this policy. Two policy positions were at play in the formation of this program. First, the government had to decide to support mothers in the first place. Then, they had to decide if women's paid work merited their receipt of additional support. In other words, the government had to decide if it particularly mattered that women had to stop working to have a child. The new policy clearly affirmed in both cases, reflecting a belief that mothers should receive independent support from the government and that wage earning prior to the pregnancy merited additional compensation. Women's paid work mattered.

While it would make sense for women's groups to have spoken out widely in favor of this policy prior to its passage, a fuller explanation of women's advocacy must return to the genesis of government maternal policy. The real story began with Alva Myrdal's 1930s policy proposals, which set the ball in motion for this stronger law in support of both mothers and their employment. Recall back that it was the Myrdals' recommendations in *Crisis in the Population Question*, a book for which the major policy proposals were laid out by Alva Myrdal, which first planted the seeds into society that the government should take some role in subsidizing the

burden of childcare. “Accordingly, they proposed that the government take steps to help women combine employment outside the home with motherhood” (Haas 1992, 20).

Contrary to economic arguments that women should leave work to make room for unemployed men, Alva Myrdal argued that employed women would have more and happier children. To those who doubted that there were enough jobs to go around, the Myrdals suggested expanding public works projects to help grow the economy. These ideas were accepted and adopted by the Social Democratic party and the 1935 Population Committee, in which Alva Myrdal was involved. This Committee made recommendations based on their advice, which ultimately became law, such as the previously mentioned 1937 law that barred women from being laid off for having a child. Specific to this policy, it was the same committee that created the initial recommendations for the first maternal leave law of 1937, upon which this 1955 law was ultimately an expansion (Haas 1992).

Interactions

With a lack of strong women’s influence during the actual time period, the claim that the women’s movement influenced traditional policy actors cannot be made. The Swedish tradition for generations has been to solve policy conflicts peacefully, through empirical statistics, rather than harshly clashing ideological debates based upon abstract principles. This is a theme throughout analysis of the advancements in Swedish welfare public policy and the creation of a maternal pay policy was likely no different. It has been through these committees, which were convened by the ruling Social Democratic Party, that women have often become key voices between their movement and the Social Democrats (Castles 1976, Lundqvist and Roman 2008). This established Swedish process of social policy change, “is based on a vast system of consultation with interest groups and research and study groups, and often agreements with

affected constituencies, before legislative proposals are made” (Eiger 1982, 126). Even at the conclusion of that process, interested parties are able to review what the commissions have concluded and make comments that become known to legislators early in the policy process, similar to the US process for interest groups to make public comments through the federal register (Eiger 1982).

However, evidence for that assertion, such as mentions of a particular committee recommending this particular update to the law or women’s groups submitting *remisses* on it, are not evident in the English language literature on the politics of this time period. The Population Committee’s earlier work as explained above was the result of prominent men and women coming together for the sake of Sweden’s knowledge and empirical data based-policy process, however. During the specific time period of this policy, though, the same cannot be said, at least per the English language literature.

How The Supplemental Pension Policy Supported the DEDC Model

The second policy of this period, the mandatory supplemental pension, could have been supportive of the DEDC model because it seemed to aid financial independence of both men and women equally. Pensions represent a crucial chunk of the support women need to sustain their financial independence as they enter retirement. The dual-earner portion of the model does not cease to be important when paid employment ends. This policy allowed a portion of both men and women’s earned income to continue to support them in retirement.

This policy could have encouraged women to remain employed throughout their working lives, as it required workers to earn a salary above a minimum threshold for at least 30 years in order to receive a full pension. A full supplemental pension was 60 percent of the citizen’s average income during her or her best 15 years (Wistrand 1981). However, in reality, women’s

pensions were disproportionately shrunk by this requirement because women retained the larger share of child care burdens, which took them out of the workforce longer than men, and women were already on lower salary scales than men on average (Stahlberg 1995). This policy provided an interesting area of analysis thus because it could have been a policy that the women's movement would have had a great interest in preventing for that reason. It represented a retrenchment in the DEDC model.

Policy Environment: Pension Policy

In 1959, the Swedish Riksdag enacted this national supplementary pension reform (Allmän Tilläggspension or ATP). It added a mandatory supplementary retirement pension on top of the existing universal pension. Under this new program, workers received an income-based pension, which was calculated from their economic activity from age 16 onwards and was given in addition to on top of their previous flat-rate benefits (Schludi 2005). The new law ensured that retired workers would receive at least 60 percent of what they earned at the time they retired (Pontusson 1993).

Esping-Anderson notes that the law was intended to “equalize the pension status of all workers” (Esping-Anderson 1985, 108). To the extent women had increased their numbers in the workforce by this time, they would automatically be included in this new law. Some measures of inequality remained in the law, however. For instance, to receive this full additional pension, one must have earned above a minimum threshold salary, working for at least thirty years. For every year less than thirty worked, the pension is reduced by two percent (Schludi 2005). Women tend to make less, work part-time, and take more time off to raise children, making it harder for them to reach this requirement initially. “The longer a woman remains at home, the more economically dependent she becomes on the continuation of her marriage” (Wistrand 1981,

35). Yet, if she gets divorced, regardless of how long the marriage was, she loses her right to a widow's pension and a homemaker's supplement, if she was a stay-at-home wife (Wistrand 1981).

The specific call within the Social Democratic Party for greater participation of women in the formal government could have had a significant impact on the aspects of this policy that disadvantaged women (Niklasson 2005). As studies reveal greater numbers of women in the Swedish parliament increase the amount of social spending directed towards families, increases in female representation could have resulted in provisions to make this policy more family-friendly for working mothers (Wägnerud 2000). The reality that women's political representation barely changed during the 1950s indicates that women's voices, which could have made such a difference from within the government, were not given such a platform. This may help explain why a policy with such anti-women real-world implications was allowed to pass during this period (Sainsbury 2004).

Institutional Explanation:

The mandatory supplemental pension policy has been typically painted as a painstaking craft of the Social Democrats, along with their allies in the Communist Party and the Trade Union Confederation (LO). It has been called a model example of a Swedish labor-crafted social reform (Pontusson 1993). The mark of the Social Democrats, thus, should be found clearly in the motivations for the policy's passage.

A broader reading of history reveals that pension policy actually originated with the Liberal Party. The class-coalition thesis explains that farmers' interests, a significant chunk of Swedish voters in the first half of the 20th century, had to be considered when framing pension policy. "Furthermore, it was the Agrarians who first prepared a national pension system in

Sweden. The Swedish Social Democrats only took over the ideas of the liberals and continued their concept” (Aspalter 2001, 9). During the 1950s, however, urban interests increasingly eclipsed the agrarian interests, as more Swedes moved to urban areas. Rural farmers favored universal flat-rate pension, however, rather than one tied to occupation, as in the 1959 policy, which was the favored option of the trade unions and employer organizations (Edebalk 2009).

The idea of the mandatory supplemental pension, a policy too extreme for the Liberals, deeply divided the political parties. ATP was obligatory for employees and voluntary for other categories in the workforce, such as workers, employers and the self-employed. Two other options were voluntary insurance for the entire workforce, favored by the Agrarian Union, and supplementary pensions voluntarily negotiated between the workforce and the employers, favored by the Conservatives, Liberals and Swedish Employer’s Confederation’s (SAF).

Leading the fight for the mandatory supplemental pension, the Social Democrats held a national referendum in 1957, which failed to secure enough votes to demonstrate a clear mandate for any option. Despite legislative failure for the Social Democrat’s plan in 1958, their Prime Minister Tage Erlander dissolved the Riksdag to take advantage of a perceived shift in support for his party, a rare but successful move. After a new general election, the vote count was in a dead heat along party lines. The Social Democratic Prime Minister Erlander wrote in his private papers that the fate of the pension plan might be just up to luck at that point. The policy was only finally successful because Ture Konigson, of the Liberal Party, abstained from voting, in deference to the interests of his working class metal worker background. In the spring of 1959, the Social Democrats plan went back for a vote and it passed the final hurdle of the second chamber on a vote of 115 to 114 (Castles 1976; Stjernquist 1987; Lewin 1988). The policy

allows employees to sustain the majority of their working life standard of living because the benefits are correlated with earlier income level (Forsberg 1984).

Women's Influence:

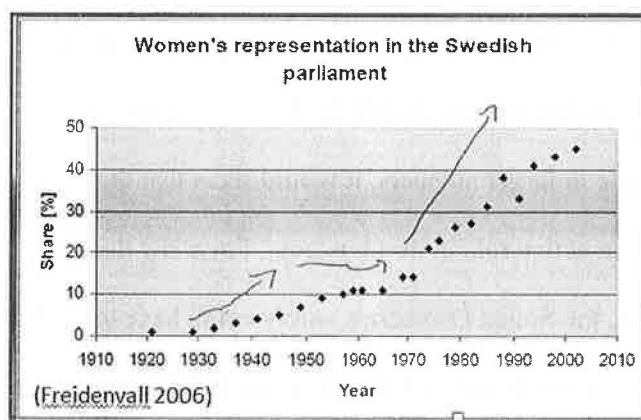
Quite surprisingly, the English language literature does not seem to support a strong women's influence either for or against mandatory supplemental pensions. This policy, more than the maternal leave pay, seems a clear cut case of a policy driven by Social Democratic actors. Yet, with women entering the workforce in larger numbers, it would seem that they may have had a vested interest in the policy, if not an active role in its advocacy. For a law that barely passed after years of legislative struggle, the Social Democrats surely could have used the vocal support of women, if not to increase their majority in the Riksdag, at least to pressure more opposition like Konigson to abstain on principle.

The reality of this law's unequal affect on male and female workers may explain a lack of vocal support for it by women. While in theory, the ATP reform would affect men and women equally, in practice that is often not the case. One requirement to collect on the ATP funds seems as if it might have raised particular ire among Swedish women: a worker must have put in at least thirty years in the labor market to receive the full pension. This would disproportionately harm the ability of mothers, still responsible for more of the childcare than fathers, to collect on the new policy.²² The other key provision of the policy, that the value of the pension is calculated from the best-earning 15 years, however, supports to women's tendency to take career breaks to have children and have more prosperous employment in their post-child rearing years.

²² This policy was reformed from this defined benefit system into a notional defined contribution system by the Riksdag in 1998, that went into effect in 1999 and paid out in 2003 for the first time. Under the new system, citizens accrue pension benefits from time spent working, as well as time not working but covered by unemployment, sickness, or parental leave insurance. This means that a parent (of either gender) not working to care for a child (up to age 4) will still receive credit towards the 30 year requirement as though he or she were working (Ståhlberg et al. 2006).

They can have lower earning years while raising their children, but make up for it later in life without being penalized as harshly as if the pension were calculated on total lifetime earnings (Hobson 2003).

Retrospective analysis of this policy reveals, as expected, that the policy helps low-wage



women workers the least, while serving white-collar male workers with quickly increasing salaries the most (Ståhlberg 1995).²³ It is surprising then but none-the-less true that very little can be found in the English language about either opposition or support of the women's

movement to this policy. I expect this is one area of the research where access to Swedish language primary sources would be instructive. It is worth noting that women's political representation within the Riksdag remained low in this time period, stagnating even from the slight momentum built during the 1930s and 1940s. Women's political representation in Sweden did not take off until the 1970s (Freidenvall 2006).

Interactions

Without a strong influence of women on the pension policy during this time, a claim of direct action with the traditional political actors cannot be made. However, work done by the Swedish Working Group on Equality after the policy was passed does at least indicate that

²³ A reform to the pension policy in the 1990s increased to 40 the number of years working required for a full pension. The earnings-linked portion of the pension also became based on lifetime earnings, not just the best 15 years. This somewhat equalized the disparity between white and blue class workers. However, it increased the penalty that women face for taking a career break for raising children. A provision was created to allow parents to get credit to time spent at home with young children, but only at a maximum of 75 percent of the mean wages of all citizens under the plan (Hobson 2003).

women with the ear of the government were creating connections between the Social Democrats class egalitarian rhetoric and consideration for gender equity among the retired population during this time period. While it came out after this specific legislative victory was won, the first report of the Swedish Working Group on Equality, chaired by Alva Myrdal, is instructive because it provides insight into the language of a prominent feminist with the ear of the Social Democrats.

The message of the first report of the Swedish government set-up Working Group on Equality (*Jamlikhet*²⁴) in 1969 was clear: obtaining equality between men and women and among the rich and the poor would require demonstrating how the Social Democratic definition of equal rights, if justified in one, was justified in both cases. The definition held that in society each citizen must be given freedom of choice to shape his or her own paths. This was a crucial step along the way to breaking down economic gender roles within the family and the workplace, while also tossing a clear bone to those in the ruling party concerned primarily with ending class inequality.

Of specific relevance to the pension law especially, it reveals concurrence between a law to provide these pensions, Myrdal's views, and the Social Democratic Party. The report asserted that, "Social democracy maintains that society's responsibility for providing the individual with equal opportunities for development applies *throughout* his life [emphasis in original]" (Myrdal 1971, 19). The ideals of the party dictated, whether party leaders intended to or not, that the party walk its talk, therefore, for retired men and women as well. While the pension policy did treat men and women equally on the surface, the reality was that women still carried most of the childcare burden, meaning that men were disproportionately more able to actually reap the financial rewards of the policy (Wistrand 1981).

²⁴ Note: This working group used the more general and original Swedish word for equality, not the latter one which would be developed specifically to mean equality of opportunity between men and woman.

Period Conclusion

The observed policy process during this time period provides little support for the assertion that the interests of the women's movement were active behind the creation of policies underpinning the DEDC model. This may be partly attributable to the fact that much of the labor policy in Sweden does not go through the formal legislative process but is achieved instead through agreements between employer associations and unions, such the removal of wage differentials in public and later private contracts. Myrdal attributed a narrowing of the gender wage gap during the 1960s to such compromises, which were not legislative in nature. This narrowing would change the differential outcome of supplemental pensions because more equitable wages would yield more equitable pensions. Myrdal notes:

The average income for a female industrial worker in 1961 was about 70 percent that of a male worker, in 1965 it was 77 percent and in 1967 about 80 percent of the man's income. During the 1960s trade unions succeeded in getting the wage differential between male and female workers eliminated from wage contracts. (Myrdal et al. 1971, 27)

An American observer, Dorothy Thompson of the Washington (D.C.) *Star*, noted in 1955 that reform in Sweden at the time seemed fairly complete, so much so that, “‘there [was] little’ for the reformers ‘to look forward to,’” (Thompson, qtd in Jenkins 1968, 12). While it certainly was not true that Sweden's days of reform were complete by 1955, the voices of women reformers do seem harder to detect during this time.

Women's influence on actual policy were found in the historical process towards the creation of the maternal pay program prior to the 1950s but not in this specific time period. Women's voices surrounding the mandatory supplemental pension were only found loosely after the fact. While on the surface, this policy seemed like a logical extension of the equity of economic independence to the post-employment years, in reality it disproportionately improved the male golden years. While the provisions that made this fact a reality, such as the requirement

of thirty years in the workforce to receive the full supplemental pension, were later changed, such a significant policy in this period represents a retrenchment in the foundation of the DEDC model. It is not altogether surprising that the women's voice was harder to find in this period for two reasons. First, the pension policy, as mentioned, did not actually support women's economic independence in reality, though the text of the law applied equally to both genders. Secondly, during this period, women's political representation increased only marginally, essentially stagnating. This will stand in stark contrast to the numerous public policy improvements and gains in women's political representation that occurred in Sweden during the 1970s and 1980s (Sainsbury 2004).

1970s-1980s

During the 1970s and 1980s, the voice of the women's movement was much more prevalent in this time of rapid expansion of policies undergirding the DEDC model. Policy reform to require individual tax filing, to provide government-subsidized childcare and gender-neutral parental insurance are three key examples of this expansion. Expected influences on these three policies include the historical policy setting, especially economic indicators; pressure from the Social Democratic Party and labor unions; advocacy by women and women's organizations. These factors did influence each other in this time period, creating stronger support for the model. The women's movement does appear to have had a strong policy influence during the first half of this time period.

Overall Historical Policy Setting

As the 1970s began, the historical backdrop for social policies included a long-controlling Social Democratic party, a recognition by that Party that they needed to work to

achieve women's support, strong body of social research in support of the DEDC models and labor shortages, especially among domestic workers.

The Social Democratic Party had led the government from 1932 through 1976, regaining power again in 1982 through 1991 ("Governments of Sweden" 2010). While the SAP arose on the platform of supporting class egalitarianism and getting the nation back to work, it has now long embraced ideas of gender equality central to the DEDC model. The Social Democratic government issued an official policy statement to the United Nations in support of the idea of equal parenthood in 1968, just prior to the beginning of this period, for example. The landmark statement read, in part:

The aim of a *long-term* "programme for women" must be that every individual, irrespective of sex, shall have the same *practical* opportunities, not only for education and employment, but also in principle the same responsibility for his or her maintenance as well as shared responsibility for the upbringing of children and the upkeep of the home.... (Dahlström 1971, 215)

This statement made Sweden the first state in the world to note in formal policy the importance of changing both men and women's roles in order to create gender equity (Baude 1979; Scott 1982).

Though the Social Democrats had been in power and a driving force behind actually enacting Swedish social policies since 1932, and thus in the early and later portions of this historical period, women were not automatically in their column politically during this time. Women were more apt to support the bourgeois block, including the Center Party (Centerpartiet), the Liberal Party (Folkpartiet), and the Conservative Party than men who were more apt to support the socialist block, including the Left party and the SAP, from 1960-1979 (Mósesdóttir 2001).²⁵ This may have something to do with the way power was achieved within the Social

²⁵ Interestingly in the first year that voting data is available, 1956, the trend was completely reversed, with women more likely to identify with the SAP (Mósesdóttir 2001).

Democratic and centre-right political parties. There was a tradition of inheritance of political power and strong male-dominated networks within the long-ruling Social Democratic Party, which made it hard for women to break in. Conversely, historical research demonstrates that as the centre-right parties had been out of power for decades, similar strong networks had not formed within them. This made it more feasible for women to gain political power inside these parties. Consistent with this research, during the centre-right coalition rule from 1976 to 1982, women's representation in executive government positions jumped from eleven percent at the end of the Social Democrat's 1969-1976 government to twenty-five percent. None of these Social Democrat women were given their own issue portfolio, whereas the centre-right coalition instated the first female Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Karin Söder (Bergqvist 2011).

The recognition by the Social Democrats that they needed to reverse this shift and support women and women's issues, which was noted even in the 1950s, continued to be a concern during the 1970s and 1980s. For instance, former cabinet member Anna-Greta Leijon revealed in her memoirs that Prime Minister Olaf Palme specifically asked her to think of more potential female cabinet ministers, "since the Social Democratic government in 1982 could not possibly consist of fewer women than the Centre-Liberal coalition government before them" (Niklasson 2005, 62). The idea that the Social Democrats represented both class and gender equality was well-cemented by this time and a major theme in 1970s policy reform did become eliminating, "the principle of the man as a chief wage earner in the family" (Wistrand 1981, 13).

The research produced by the government at the beginning of this time period was also very much in line with the ideals of the DEDC model. For instance the first report on family and marriage produced by the Family Expert Commission (*Familjesakkunniga*) in 1972 explicitly set a government policy objective to create policies and institutions that would breed a society,

“where every adult individual takes responsibility for herself or himself, without being dependent on other family members” (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 217). Notably, women’s participation in the workforce skyrocketed in the 1970s, going from 59 percent in 1970 to 74 percent by 1980 (Jenson and Mahon 1993).

A final historical aspect of the economy that may have affected policy development during this time was a shortage of labor, especially as it pertained to domestic work. One economic argument that has been made to explain the influx of middle-class women, especially in the push for child care policies, was the lack of women available to hire for domestic work. “As women gained more employment opportunities, through special government programs and increased demand in the ever-growing service sector, fewer women were content with being private domestic workers” (Haas 1992, 51). The same policies that led to class-equalization in employment led to more opportunities for women, which created this domestic worker shortage. It was mainly middle class women who had dominated the policy debate concerning gender roles throughout the 1960s. Growing opportunities for more women meant these middle class women were less able to hire home help, which seems likely to have hastened their desire to have supported policies to reduce their own household responsibility burden (Sandqvist 1987b). As was a theme throughout the women’s movement of the 1930s and 1940s, we see class egalitarianism strengthening the case for gender egalitarianism.

How Individual Income Tax Filing Supported the DEDC Model

The first policy change will be the 1971 law that mandated individual income tax filing. Beyond the fact that this policy sought to treat both men and women as equal economic units, it also sought to change the tax code to encourage women to enter the workforce, thus strongly supporting the dual-earner part of the model. Due to Sweden’s sharply progressive income tax

rates, a two-earner married couple would end up paying less in taxes by filing separately than filing jointly. They would each individually pay a much lower tax rate on their individual salaries than they would if combined. With joint filing, a woman would have to make a significant sum to make it worth the household paying a higher tax bracket on total income due to her added salary. With individual income tax filing, the woman's additional salary contribution to the household is taxed at a lower rate, making it more *worth her while* to enter the workforce, even if as her husband remains working, than it was before the 1971 law (Wistrand 1981).²⁶

Specific Policy Environment: Mandatory Individual Income Tax Policy

The mandatory individual income tax policy began in 1971 when the Riksdag passed a law that ended the practice of jointly-filing income taxes. The new law required all taxpayers, male and female, to file taxes as individuals whether they were married or not (Mósesdóttir 2001).²⁷ Writing into law the principle that all workers are economic equals, rather than lumping them together as part of a family unit, was another crucial step towards encouraging the dual-earner aspect of the DEDC model. As Hobson writes, "Individualisation transforms tax penalties into tax incentives for women to enter the labour market" (Hobson 2003, 76).

The specific historical characteristic most likely to have affected this policy shift is the dearth of women available for domestic work. Middle class women dominated the women's movement throughout the 1960s. These were the same women potentially able to hire domestic help in theory. Without the labor shortage of women seeking domestic work, as well as increasing numbers of women entering the workforce because of class equalization

²⁶ Not all problems of the marginal value of the woman's salary added to family income were alleviated by this policy, however, because many social insurance payments continued to be awarded based on total household income, whether a marriage was involved or not. Such provisions included child care and housing subsidies (Wistrand 1981).

²⁷ This was an expansion on the reform already begun in 1968 when the Parliament passed a law that allowed for married couples to *voluntarily* file jointly (Lewis and Aström 1992).

Institutional Explanation:

While support for individual tax filings pre-dated the Social Democratic rise to power, the labor unions would become quite influential proponents of this policy reform in the few years prior to its passage. As with many of these policies, it should be noted that while this policy has been placed in this final historical time period based on passage, the campaign for its creation began much earlier. The first public demand for individual income tax in Sweden pre-dated the Social Democratic rise to power, coming in 1904 and reemerging about once a year thereafter. The concern at first was one of population, a recurring concern in Swedish society. The idea was that joint tax policy created a financial penalty for getting married and thus discouraged marriage and having children (Bergström 2004).

However, from about 1945 onward, the argument switched to a concern for encouraging women to participate in the labor force. Yet, this concern was not sufficient to achieve the results women's groups wanted (Bergström 2004). The government Commission on the subject published a report in 1949, 1951 and 1959 and all three supported the continued practice of joint tax filing. It was not until the key male players in the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions (LO) decided to stand up for individual taxation in 1964 that this clear dual-earner model taxation policy began to gain traction (Melby et al. 2008). It was at this time, therefore, that the labor unions began to break into the role of champion for the cause. Interestingly, as well, the People's Party, which tended to be libertarian, endorsed the reform starting in 1965 as economic move for business (Sörensen and Bergqvist 2002). The LO demonstrated its strong support for individual income tax filing through the publication of a joint report with the Social Democrats in 1968, which found, "There are strong reasons for making the two breadwinner family the

norm in planning long-term changes within the social insurance system” (Lewis and Aström 1992, 67).

Women’s Influence:

Women’s battle to achieve mandatory individual tax filing began in earnest in the 1960s. Around that time, a large collection of female sociologists, psychologists, and economists began to push for breaking down the sexual division of labor in the home and to press for policies that would create equal opportunity and affirmative action beyond the home in paid work. One such policy was the individual tax filing system. In 1962, a few young female scholars started a newspaper dialogue on the injustice of the current tax system for married working women. They purported that all women should work outside the home. While previous such arguments had gone unheard, this argument, in the context of a new widespread debate on gender roles as well as an economic boom that was increasing the demand for labor, this voice gained hold (Melby 2008).

The Social Democratic Women’s Federation also took up this specific battle starting in 1964, trying to get the larger party to support the reform (Mósesdóttir 2001). “As a result of growing pressure from the women’s groups and other social movements demanding greater equality, the leadership of the SAP renewed during the 1960s its socialist commitment to equality of outcome in terms of both class and gender” (Mósesdóttir 2001, 48). The Social Democrats put the issue of separate spousal taxation on their agenda in 1964 (Melby 2008).

The dream of the male breadwinner model, which had been part and parcel of the Social democratic vision since the early 20th century, vanished into thin air. Other left and centre parties agreed, and so, after a while, did the right. However, to calm down the public protest against the reform, the Right Party as well as the Social Democrats, including the Women’s Federation, chose a strategy of silence. Christina Florin emphasizes the strange fact that even if men, as husbands, gained from the old system of joint taxation, housewives did not find allies among organizations dominated by men. It was the young wage-earning women who

gained the support of the press and of men with power. In 1969, the labour shortages became acute in Sweden, and although in the spring of 1970 the Social Democrats faced a private petition, initiated by a housewife and signed by 63,000 citizens, for the preservation of joint taxation, it did not waiver. Married women's contribution to family maintenance through domestic work had become economically irrational and the reform was enacted later that same year. (Melby 2008, 75-76)

One woman, Alva Myrdal, deserves particular note for her work towards the individual income tax policy change. She chaired the 1968 government-appointed Working Group on Equality. In 1969, the body published *Jamlikhet*,²⁸ a report that urged the Social Democratic party to adopt programmatic equality legislation. Specific to this tax policy, the report's conclusion urged the Social Democrats to treat marriage partners as economically independent individuals to adopt this principle to guide future legislation (Myrdal 1971). "Tax policy and social insurance should reflect the emerging institution of a family in which husband and wife are independent, equal partners. Families should receive no tax advantages; the individual, not the family, should be the basic social unit for taxation" (Tilton 1990, 221).

Swedish feminist author Eva Moberg declared that joint taxation doomed women to, "lifetime imprisonment with the four walls of the home" (Moberg, qtd in Carlson 2007, 71-72). In 1971, legislation followed this sentiment and Myrdal's proposal exactly by mandating everyone file income taxes independently. That year, women truly succeeded in their fight to end the 'marriage penalty' because the new law required all taxpayers to begin filing separately, whether married or otherwise connected with anyone else. This was a huge victory for the value of married working women especially (Jacobsson and Alfredsson 1993, 12; Mósesdóttir 2001).

Interaction

The influence of the women's movement on the rhetoric later taken up by the Social Democrats was particularly apparent on this policy. In the previously mentioned 1969 report,

²⁸ An abridged English version of this report was later published in 1971 under the title "Towards Equality."

Myrdal shaped her argument in a way that clearly enveloped both the argument for gender equality of the women's movement and class equality of the Social Democrats. Critiquing the differential between the taxes paid by two working single adults and two similarly employed married adults, she noted that it would be unfair for the tax system to reward any person differently based on their living situation. Instead, taxation, she argued, should be equal for all Swedes, "regardless of sex or civil status" (Myrdal et al. 1971, 38). The mention of sex was a nod to the women's movement, while civil status was a nod to the labor and Social Democrats initial concerns. It was smart and impactful that she chose to approach both issues.

Even more directly, Myrdal went on to write words in the report that must have been clearly aimed to assuage the still notable distaste for anything that might look like the pre-1930s Poor Laws that Social Democrats strongly disliked because of their history of imposing aid on the lower classes, rather than supporting them with what they needed. She wrote, "Society must attempt to raise the standard of low-income earners by methods which insure that income transfers really improve conditions for groups with low living standards and that transfers are made in such a way that they do not appear to be remnants of bygone Poor Law policies" (Myrdal et al. 1971, 37-38).

Myrdal's practical impact was clear as well. The full statement about sex and civil status asserted that, "No specific form of cohabitation should be rewarded through the tax system, which should be the same for everyone regardless of sex or civil status" (Myrdal et al. 1971, 38). That is exactly the result of the 1971 law. Still later, in 1976, joint taxation for married couples who worked in a family owned business was also abolished (Wistrand 1981).

How the Right to Universal Childcare Supported the DEDC Model

The second policy change will be declaration of child care as a universal right, with increased provision of public child care and subsidies. With mothers at this time (and still today) carrying out a disproportionate amount of the childcare responsibilities, adequate care provision was absolutely essential to allowing many women to have the freedom to enter paid labor (Lewis and Aström 1992; Melby et al. 2008). While not especially attaining the dual caregiver part of the DEDC model because it does not seek to encourage men to take on a greater direct role in household duties, this policy was central to supporting the dual-earner portion. As explained, the policy intended to reduce the burden of childcare, thus allowing both men and women to more easily enter the paid workforce.

Policy Environment: Universal Right to Child Care

In 1972, the Swedish government enacted a law declaring a universal right to child care.²⁹ This section will demonstrate that the collective call of women's groups, like the women's caucus within the Social Democratic party, for greater childcare provision was able to combine with influence of the Swedish trade unions, which also supported the measure, to overcome opposition to it by right-wing political parties during the 1960s (Melby et al. 2008). This law directly worked to overcome the burden of home responsibilities disproportionately placed on women. This was in line with growing support in Sweden for the idea that home responsibilities should be more evenly distributed between the genders or at least not placed all on the woman, though this discrepancy continued throughout this time period (Sandqvist 1987a).

The historical backdrop to this policy must include the 1960s conditions as well because this policy came about so early in the period and much of the women's organizing occurred in

²⁹ The Universal Right to Childcare does not mean that all children are actually in childcare or even that there are enough spaces to provide that result. However, by 1994, 72 percent of children aged 3-6 had a place in childcare (Drew, Emerek and Mahon 1998). By 2004, 90 percent of children aged 3-6 were enrolled (Mörk, Sjögren and Svaleryd 2010).

the decade prior. The previously mentioned decision in Sweden to support working mothers rather than recruiting immigrants throughout the 1960s certainly strengthened the women's case for policy that would promote gender equality in the workforce (Gustafsson and Stafford 1995). Declining fertility rates throughout the 1950s and 1960s also served to give credence to the policy that was at least concerned with lessening the mothering burden on women. The Swedish economic boom and transition from a goods based economy to a service economy during the 1970s also served to encourage women to enter the workforce (Mahon 1999). As Swedish children still needed looking after by someone, this situation where more and more parent couples both worked surely must have increased pressure on the government to act with some sort of child care policy. Finally, Sweden was unique³⁰ in the world for entering the 1970s decade with an incredibly low level of established care and educational program for pre-school aged children. Morgan asserts that this lack of policy structure actually made it easier for Sweden to create strong childcare policies that were concerned with aiding two-earner households, rather than just educating children. She writes:

Preschool programs often are structured around purely educational objectives, rather than seeking both to provide pedagogic stimulation and to help working parents. Once institutionalized, these programs can be difficult to change later on due to resistance by teachers and education ministries. Thus, the weak development of these programs in the Nordic countries left a void that could then be filled by a unified set of programs that fused caregiving and educational motivations—the “educare” model. In this way, the initially slow expansion of the Nordic early childhood education system actually enabled more coherent policy making. (Morgan 2008, 407)

As with the historic setting explanations for many of these policies, these features, especially more married mothers entering the workforce and declining fertility rates were conditions that in hindsight appear to have aided policy reform, but not ones that definitively led to a certain action. Morgan's argument about child care, for instance, really only asserts that the policy

³⁰ Along with Norway (Morgan 2008).

arena was a blank slate, and was thus open to the type of reform that occurred, not that lack of child care policy in the early 1970s necessitated a declaration of the right of universal child care.

Institutional Explanation:

Labor unions became a particular champion for this policy by directly advocating for a more egalitarian division of home responsibilities. For instance, the working-class trade union confederation (LO) issued a report in 1967 asserting that men should take greater ownership of child care duties, for instance. However, these reports followed the landmark work of feminist journalist Eva Moberg, to be further explained under women's influence (Haas 1992). In 1977, the LO and the white-collar labor union (TCO) reached an agreement with the employers' confederation (SAF), which specifically noted that, "it should be possible for both men and women to combine employment with parental responsibilities" (Haas 1992, 39-40). Though this followed the passage of this particular policy, it demonstrates the central place that support for the DEDC model held in the trade union platforms during this time period.

The Social Democratic Party began to get behind the policy to some extent in the 1960s even. For instance, young members of the Party published articles in the Social Democrat journal, *Tilden*, which supported the idea of a, "world in which men and women were simultaneously to play two roles, with the assistance of the (social democratic) state" (Mahon 1999, 241). To this end, the Social Democrats of the 1970s, along with their blue-collar labor union allies, continued to support public institutions as the optimal method of providing child care. Consistent with the Party's concern for class equity, "the pedagogical advantages of public institutions were stressed in a discourse that laid as much emphasis on equal opportunity between the classes as between the sexes....to erase disadvantages arising out of working-class origins" (Mahon 1999, 243).

Women's Influence:

While this policy reform occurred in 1972, women had been pushing for the reform during the decade prior. To only look at actions from 1970 to 1972 would be to paint an incomplete picture of the direct policy activism in this area.

Consistent with Morgan's claim that childcare policy was underdeveloped in Sweden, when the 1960s began, only about 10,000 spots in child care centers were available. By 1970, the number had risen to 32,000 (Myrdal et al. 1971). Neither numbers are particularly overwhelming, given that the population under age seventeen in 1960 and 1970 was just a bit over two million ("Population Statistics"). A number of female sociologists, psychologists and economists came together at the start of the 1960s to work to demand, "the break-up of the sexual division of labour in the home and...policies of equal opportunities and affirmative action outside the home in the welfare state and in paid employment" (Mósesdóttir 2001, 48).

A specific example of their efforts was the 1962 publication of *Women's Lives and Work*, which has been credited with mainstreaming the so-called *woman questioning* and creating the sex role debate as a broad political concern (Mahon 1999). These ideas were adopted by the Social Democratic Women's League beginning in 1964 and were partly taken up by the equality program, which the Social Democrats adopted in 1969. As in the 1930's, though, economic conditions of the historical moment may have played a factor in the Social Democrat's willingness to support such policies as expanding funding to childcare and making it a universal right. "Motivated by the labour shortage in the 1960s caused by export-led economic boom and expansion in almost all fields of welfare provisions, the LO and SAP started to incorporate women's issues into their class politics" (Mósesdóttir 2001, 48).

Especially as the 1960s began, the focus of family policy shifted to the desire to foster equality between men and women. For instance, expanded public child care facilities in that decade served to enable women to work outside the home to a much greater extent than had previously been possible (Forsberg 1984). This is in line with what women would logically have been concerned with as Swedish women of the 1950s still were the primary bearers of the childcare burden, as indeed they continued to be throughout this period (Sandqvist 1987a). In the same interest of universal citizenship that carried them through the start of the 1930s women's movement, women sought to attain equal social citizenship rights in the 1960s. "Access to good-quality child care is a crucial condition for women to enter the labour market on the same footing as men, and for their economic and social independence" (Naumann 2005, 48). Recognizing this reality, women pressured politicians, addressing the system from the top down, and labor unions, addressing the system from below, to improve the public provision of child care (Naumann 2005).

The concept of government provided child care had been largely discussed in the context of the needs of the labor market during the 1950s and early 1960s. As the 1960s went on, the demand for public child care became more an argument for the children's needs and the gender equality it would foster. "To be more precise, experts and politicians maintained that the male-breadwinner family was not necessarily beneficial to the child. For example, the former opinion that small children need to have their mothers at home was dismissed as a myth. In fact, that "truth" was reversed when commissions argued that children's psychological development actually suffers from spending too much time at home with an isolated mother" (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 226). These female researchers began to introduce the concept of quality time, that what mattered was the quality, not quantity of time mothers spent with their children. Consistent

with the Swede's desire to have social science back up policy change, a text engaging in scientific research on children's quality of life had been published in 1962. The book supported the Liberal Swedish feminist Eve Moberg's arguments from her 1961 book,³¹ in which she argued, "women would never achieve equal employment opportunities as long as it was assumed that women should adopt a double role of worker and housewife-mother" (Haas 1992, 38). Her book had wide appeal to the Swedish intellectuals. The later publication also received wide public attention due to the authors' media contacts (Scott 1982).

Another argument was also advanced that framed public child care as a *love-resource*. "That is, by receiving care and love from well-educated preschool teachers, children were not solely dependent on parents. Public child care institutions were also thought of as having the potential to create more democratic individuals and develop the potentials of the individual child" (Lundqvist and Roman 2008, 226).

Interactions

Women continued the theme of engaging class-egalitarian rhetoric to support this gender-egalitarian policy. Especially as the 1960s rolled around, social welfare policy again came under scrutiny in Sweden. As with poor relief prior to the 1930s, the policies were deemed arcane and out of step with the values of the majority. "These values were outdated, patriarchal, and originated from pre-industrial society. The social welfare system was regarded as a 'cleaning woman' that helped tidy up messy situations for society, rather than as a source for genuine help for the individual" (Forsberg 1984, 63). Concerns sprung up, for instance, that the poorest among society would receive temperance care, where similarly situated richer citizens would get needed psychiatric care. Concern also arose over the ability of various disparate social welfare offices to properly communicate, which led the government to appoint a commission of inquiry in 1967 to

³¹ The Conditional Emancipation of Women (Kvinnans villkorliga frigivning)

draft welfare reform recommendations, which ultimately led to the Social Services Act of 1981 (Forsberg 1984). Such commissions are one of many institutional ways the Social Democrats (or indeed any ruling party in Sweden) found compromise with other parties (Samuelsson 1968).

In the previously mentioned government commission on equality, Myrdal explained the link between child care policies and opening up the market for female actors. She wrote of the expansion in child care availability during the 1960s, that, “This expansion has played a role in giving women increased opportunities in the labour market, but the number of places in day-care centres is still far below requirements” (Myrdal et al. 1971, 27).

Mahon credits the feminist organization Group 8 with putting forward a radical line of reform during the 1970s that led to change in a variety of policy areas, including childcare policy. She writes of the group, “The radicalism, moreover, fitted the times as the unions and the SAP responded to workplace unrest by raising the banner of industrial and economic democracy. The notion of ‘women’s oppression’ did not seem out of place in a context where ‘class oppression’ was again being openly debated” (Mahon 1999, 245). Notably, Mahon here continues the theme made evident during the 1930s and 1940s, which is that women were able to achieve policy success by adopting the language of class equity.

Another radical group, consisting of both men and women, Group 222, also played a part in adapting class egalitarian rhetoric to support this gender egalitarian policy. Group 222, whose membership had many ties inside trade unions and the Social Democratic Party, specifically advocated for greater supports for childcare by seeking to get previous opponents in the government on board. “They did so, at least initially, by emphasizing women’s ‘right to choose’ between paid work and staying at home” (Mahon 1999, 242). The idea that women needed this choice opened up to them presupposed the argument that women were previously oppressed, that

they did not have this choice. This was quite evidently an argument made possible by the class egalitarianism of the ruling Social Democrats. “The notion of ‘women’s oppression’ did not seem out of place in a context where ‘class oppression’ was again being openly debated” (Mahon 1999, 245).

How Parental Leave Insurance Supported the DEDC Model

The third policy is the creation of parental leave insurance, *Föräldraförsäkring*, in 1974, which replaced the solely maternal leave insurance provided prior to that. It was the first such gender neutral parental leave program among Western democracies, allowing men and women to share 26 weeks of paid leave between them (Duvander, Ferrarini and Thalberg 2005; Lewis 2006).³² This policy should have helped solidify both the dual earner and dual caregiver parts of the model. By providing economic support to parents of new children, it would encourage workers to remain in the workforce after the birth of their children. By extending the policy to men and not just women, it encouraged a more equal division of household caregiving responsibilities. Men have not become equal providers of childcare to women from this policy; however, the policy has moved Sweden closer to the dual-caregiver ideal. A study conducted by the Swedish Census Bureau in 1975 and 1976 found that, as expected, when fathers took parental leave, they continued to take a greater part in household responsibilities even after the leave was over. A survey taken by the researchers at the University of Gothenburg found a similar effect (Haas 1992).

Policy Environment: Parental Insurance (Paid Parental Leave) Policy

In 1974, Sweden passed a law that formally recognized the right of the fathers to take leave for the birth or adoption of a child. This converted the maternity leave policy into parental

³² Sweden’s parental leave policy would later become even more gender-egalitarian in 1995, when the so-called daddy month was implemented, reserving 30 days of leave that could only be taken by fathers. This was extended to 60 days reserved for each parent in 2002 (Ekberg, Eriksson and Friebe 2005).

insurance. It allowed men to share leave with the mothers of their children, provided the woman had been employed for the previous nine months or twelve months out of the previous twenty-four (Haas 1992). Leave was given for up to 26 weeks at 90 percent wage replacement (Duvander, Ferrarini and Thalberg 2005). It was the first time that the Riksdag, or any Western democracy, legally recognized in that parenthood is an experience of both mothers and fathers. Previously, parenthood had been statutorily under the purview of the mother only in this way (Gustafsson and Kolam 2008). By 1979, about 10 percent of fathers took advantage of their right to collect leave and pay under this law, taking about a fifth of the total paid parental leave used in Sweden (Wistrand 1981).

The aspect of the historical setting that likely influenced or at least eased the creation of this policy especially was the continuing concern about the *population crisis*. “Sweden’s policy of advocating shared parenthood has its roots in a concern for the survival of the Swedish population, a concern that first arose in the 1930s” (Haas 1992, 19). The size of the Swedish population was particularly hard-hit among European nations by the birth rate decline of the global Depression, a problem that persisted into this time period. In 1983, for instance, the birth rate was just 1.63 children per family, which implies a declining population. The rate did not reach 2.0, the minimum needed to attain population stability—notwithstanding immigration and maternal mortality—until 1989 (Haas 1992).

Institutional Explanation:

The traditional voices of the social science research and the Social Democratic Party were particular evident in supporting paid parental leave. Research was a particularly crucial feature of this policy’s creation. For example, economist Per Holmberg’s “discovered” during the 1960s that it was not economically efficient for women to remain out of the workforce. He

specifically projected that the Swedish GNP would increase by half if women could freely enter the jobs for which they were eligible (Jenkins 1968).

The Social Democratic Party was also strongly behind the reform, as it was the Social Democratic government that introduced the policy (Mahon 1999). “Two main goals of the Swedish Social Democratic government have long been to strengthen both the role of women in the labor market and the role of men as fathers” (Baker 1997, 58). Two years prior, in 1972, the Social Democratic Prime Minister made his intentions quite clear in a statement to the Advisory Council on Equality between Men and Women. He implored them to seek changes that would, “give women an increased opportunity for gainful employment and to give men an increased responsibility for care of the children” (Baude 1979, 151). That was exactly the point of the 1974 policy. Most major political parties supported the policy, but there was disagreement at the margin about what the length of leave should be and about how to ensure the program was open to men and women. While the Social Democrat plan, which became law in 1974, called for simply making the program gender neutral, the Liberal Party, Centre Party and Social Democratic Women’s Association were worried this would result in women still being the sole users of the benefit. It was this concern that led to later restrictions, such as the daddy month enacted in 1995, to ensure some sharing of the leave. However, at this time, the political will was not strong enough to create non-transferrable leave between parents. As a compromise between the Social Democratic plan and the desire of other parties, leave was capped at six months in order to minimize women’s time out of the work force (Duvander, Ferrarini and Thalberg 2005).

Women’s Influence:

The women's movement impacted the expansion of maternal leave to parental leave in 1974 by framing the policy as an economic benefit for the nation. Mahon specifically credits the inclusion of the "father month" into the 1976 Social Democratic election platform as a result of, "bold action by a small group of social democratic women MPs." (Mahon 1999, 246).

Unfortunately, that is all the detail she provides about these women's actions, citing from a Swedish source, and this specific aspect of the policy did not come into legal force until 1995.³³

Part of the intensity of change during the 1970s may be attributable to the growing impatience and greater activism of women during that time. Women began to grow tired of operating within the confines of the slow-moving political parties, such as in the Swedish Social Democratic Women's Federation. Its membership declined from 60,000 in 1968 to 45,000 by 1975 (Scott 1982). Many of the women leaving the Social Democratic women's organization found a new home in the previously mentioned Group 8, a leftist feminist organization founded in 1968, "which took women's issues out of the inner sanctums and into the streets" (Scott 1982, 51) and would play a major role in policy affecting women and families, such as parental leave (Haas 1996). Detailed information on the specific details of Group 8's activism, however, seem to be yet locked behind the veil of the Swedish language, not being widely described in English language scholarship yet.

Specific details, however, are widely mentioned about the work of feminist journalist Eva Moberg and the impact her 1961 book, *The Conditional Emancipation of Women*. Her ideas, initially rejected by even women, gained widespread respect among the policy elite in Sweden within about three years of publication (Haas 1992). Another book was published in 1963, which provided a social science context for the family policy dialogue in Sweden. Annika Baude, one of the researchers for the other book, noted of Moberg's work, "It was the first time

³³ See: Karlsson, G (1990). *Manssamhället till behag?* Stockholm.

responsibility for the problem was put on the man. One can no longer talk about the question without talking about the problems of the man” (Baude, qtd in Jenkins 1968, 193).

These texts were able to have a particular impact coming out when they did probably because of the labor shortage plaguing the nation during the 1960s. Per Holmberg, a Labor Market Board economist in Sweden, noted that the problem of unused potential women workers was rapidly coming to the fore in the Swedish policy arena because of concern for economic waste. He predicted in 1968 that the GNP of Sweden would increase by 25-30 percent if all women who could work actually became employed, which is tied to the earlier policy goal of full employment as well as what the goals would be behind the paid parental leave program (Jenkins 1968). Women were able to incorporate these economic arguments to strengthen the case for women to enter the workforce on a more even basis with men, a clear goal of this parental leave policy for women’s groups. Baude put it bluntly, “Our full employment is fake. The reserve of women who would be available to work if it were conveniently available are not registered among the unemployed” (Baude, qtd in Jenkins 1968, 194).

Interactions

While the Social Democrats were also vocal on this concern for dual emancipation of the genders, the idea that men should be freed to take on household duties and women should be freed to pursue paid employment, their position clearly emerged from the voice of the women’s movement. For example, in 1972, the Social Democratic Prime Minister Olaf Palme gave a very direct command to the Advisory Council on Equality between Men and Women that pretty well echoed the previously mentioned and earlier calls by women like Moberg for a dual emancipation of the genders. While Moberg’s writings were important as evidence of women’s

influence, they are even more interesting here as evidence of their influence on the Social Democrats.

Moberg's 1961 publication *The Conditional Emancipation of Women* is again an influential piece of women's efforts towards this policy. She wrote "Both men and women have one main role, that of being human beings" (Moberg, qtd in Haas 1992, 39). She went on to list specific suggestions for changing men's role in society, such as by decreasing the pressure to succeed economically and increasing their motivation to help raise their family (Haas 1992).

Clearly arguing for the dual emancipation necessary to achieve that *one* role—the role of the human being with both work and family responsibilities balanced—Palme again implored the Council in 1972 that "The demand for equality...involves changes not only in the conditions of women but also in the conditions of men. One purpose of such changes is to give women an increased opportunity for gainful employment and to give men an increased responsibility for care of the children" (Baude 1979, 151). He was pushing for what Moberg had demanded over a decade earlier. Notably, Palme was not alone. He was also joined by the trade unions in adopting Moberg's ideas in the years leading up to 1974. For instance, the TCO, the labor union confederation for white collar workers, adopted a bold family policy reform program in 1973. This program asserted that all adult members of a family, "should have the same opportunity of being gainfully employed and all work in the home should be divided equally between men and women" (Scott 1982, 52).

Period Conclusion

From this time period, it has become evident that women were not only active behind the success of the three policies analyzed, but that their role was crucially interwoven with the Social Democratic support for the reforms. On the whole, it seems that women's and women's groups

were particularly active regarding policy change that occurred during the first half of this time period, supporting the claim that their impact should be considered in creating the structure of the DEDC model.

Yet, much more work was still required to actually attain the admittedly only ideal model. Some within the Swedish feminist movement expressed concern that the momentum behind their push for gender equality flagged as the 1980s began, perhaps supported by the fact that the key policies for the time period analyzed in this project were all enacted prior to 1980. In a 1982 interview with a New York Times reporter, Karin Ahrland, Swedish Minister for Public Health and Medical Services at the time and former Chair of the Committee on Equality, positively reviewed a number of key reforms of the 1970s for which the women's movement could take credit, such as legislation that provided greater child care, family and property rights. However, she acknowledged that movement may have burned itself out. "We have achieved so many reforms; most people are tired of hearing about the feminist movement. They are bored with the subject, and that worries me" (Ahrland, qtd in Teltsch 1982)

Particularly, she expressed concern that increasing unemployment in the 1980s was presenting a challenge to legislation aimed to change the family roles to entice men to take on greater responsibility in child-rearing, the dual-caregiver portion of the model. While low by international standards, unemployment had risen in 1981 and caused particular stagnation in the female-dominated public sector. "We are fighting a tradition, and my life experience tells me we cannot expect major change at once," she said (Ahrland, qtd in Teltsch 1982). "In the eyes of the Western world," she concluded, "Swedish women are envied as pacesetters, but our labor market is really very sex-segregated, much more so than in Britain, West Germany or the United States" (Ahrland, qtd in Teltsch 1982). At that time, employment statistics located women in only about

30 fields, relative to men in more than 300 (Teltsch 1982). By 1982, over one-third of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation members were women, yet there was only one woman on the central executive board (Wistrand 1981).

CONCLUSION

This historical, meta-analysis of the key policies that formed the foundation of the DEDC model in Sweden during the time period 1930-1989 have revealed a central theme. While the Social Democratic Party along with labor unions have on paper fueled the actual creation of many of these policies, women's groups have been behind many, though not all, of the changes by adapting class-egalitarian rhetoric to support gender egalitarian causes. Mosesdottir noted one explanation for Swedish women's success in influencing policy, writing, "The unitarian state in Sweden has enabled women to concentrate on one level of government when fighting subordination" (Mosesdottir 2001, 72).

Policy Analysis				
		Social Democrat/ Labor Union	Women's Influence	Intersectionality
1930s-1940s	Full Employment (1937 Budget and 1939 Married Women's Right to Work)	✓	✓	✓
	Maternal Leave with Public Assistance (1937)	✓	✓	✓
1950s-1960s	Maternal Pay, with additional supplement for industry workers (1954)	✓	✓	✓
	National Mandatory Public Supplementary Retirement Pension (1955)	✓		
1970s-1980s	Mandatory Individual Income Tax Filing (1971)	✓	✓	✓
	Childcare As A Universal Right (1972)	✓	✓	✓
	Gender Neutral Parental Leave (1974)	✓	✓	✓

Key

✓ = INFLUENCE

✓ = MINOR INFLUENCE

□ = NO INFLUENCE

The above chart summarizes the support found for the hypothesis. Support was found for the traditional assertion that the Social Democrats and labor unions greatly impacted the creation of policies undergirding the DEDC model in all three time periods. However, support for the hypothesis that women were influential alone and influenced the Social Democratic and labor union policy creation was only found in the 1930s-1940s and 1970s and 1980s.

Theoretical Hook and Hypothesis

Sweden has long been noted as a paragon of gender equality and has built the foundations of the DEDC model through a series of policy reforms during the twentieth century than most Western nations. This transition has even been noted in the nation's language, with a separate word to specifically denote the phenomenon. Swedish has two different words for equality. The first, *jämlikhet*, means more or less the same thing as equality in English, the idea that all people have the same fundamental worth. It is the type of equality mentioned in the UN Declaration on Human Rights. The second, *jämställdhet*, which originated about 1970, is most closely translated to "equality between men and women." It means that regardless of biological differences, men and women deserve the same basic opportunities in society, work, and family life (Wistrand 1982). Given this reality and the incredible amount women had to gain (and have gained) from the DEDC model, the notion that the model had come about through the construction of the primarily male Social Democratic Party during the 1930s and beyond seemed to be leaving out vital context. Women had too much to gain from these policies to have been mere recipients of a Social Democratic project. As such, I hypothesized that the impact of women's movements in Sweden was an integral and missing piece of the creation and development of the DEDC model in Sweden throughout the twentieth century.

Primary Analysis Arguments

Looking back through the three historical periods of the 20th century, key themes have emerged through the analysis of women's role in the policy process of creating the DEDC model. The 1930s and 1940s were a time overall when the Social Democrats rose to power over the government on the backs of their working-class roots and sweeping programs to get Sweden back to work. Class egalitarianism became a central tenet of their platform, creating ideas of equality that intelligent women, like Alva Myrdal, were able to highlight in relation to the equality of opportunity between men and women, the Swedish term which came to be known as *jämstalldhet*.

The most interesting theme that recurred throughout the decades was the ability of Swedish women to take the class egalitarianism arguments of the Social Democrats and use the same logic to push policy to support gender egalitarianism, supported also by a desire to improve the economy.

This was observed as a phenomenon the Social Democrats did not intend during the 1930s and 1940s. Recall, for example, that the Social Democrats' support of full employment in the 1937 budget opened up a window of opportunity for women to begin to call into question the definition of a worker. If the government was really committed to full employment, that had to mean *all* employment. Out of this logic and women's advocacy came statutory protection of married women's right to work in 1939.

In the 1950s and 1960s the challenging economic realities springing from Social Democratic policies opened up yet another window for women's policy influence. For instance, the Social Democrat's strong commitment to class egalitarianism led them to support broad provisions for immigrants. When the expanding post-WWII economy bred a labor shortage, Sweden could not as readily do what many of its European neighbors were doing: fill jobs

through immigration. The cheaper option—and the one women wanted—was to create policies to encourage women to enter and stay in the workforce, such as the maternal pay policy of 1954.

By the time the 1970s and 1980s came around, the Social Democratic Party came to most strongly embrace the policies, such as paid parental leave, that would really solidify the parameters of the DEDC model. The strongest example of this was shown by the Social Democratic Prime Minister Olaf Palme's unabashed public support in 1972 of Eva Moberg's call for dual-emancipation of the genders. This new-found boldness may have been motivated by the fact that this was the period where the Party's political power was most seriously threatened, and even defeated for a few years. They needed the women's vote, to be blunt, at a time when women identified more strongly with their opponents.

This all suggests that while the Social Democrats may not have arrived at the current policy that supports the ideal of the DEDC model without pressure from women's organizations, the Swedish feminist movement also could not have effectively pushed those policies onto the government's agenda without such favorable rhetoric to adopt.

Returning to the broad picture, this analysis is an affirmation of Maud Eduards' conception of the Swedish gender model as one based on "productivity, pragmatism, and paternalism," and not on innate Swedish gender egalitarianism (Eduards, qtd in Curtin and Higgins 1998, 75; Eduards 1991). This analysis supports the hypothesis that the women's movement was a driving force behind the formation of the DEDC model. However, the reason this is true is not altogether encouraging for strengthening the model in Sweden and elsewhere. Sweden appears to be a progressive paradise for gender equality because the policies flowed from an underlying concern for economic well-being and tangential class-egalitarianism, not because of a uniquely "Swedish" desire for gender equality. The upshot is that this analysis

implies the type of strategy that would be effective for Swedish women's groups moving forward, which is one that highlights not the values of egalitarianism as such, but frames the economic benefits to Sweden from the DEDC model. Given the economic problems threatening retrenchment of the key welfare policies in Sweden and globally, this advice comes at a crucial time in history.

Limitations of the Study

The overarching limitation to this research has been the limitation to English sources and sources which have been translated into English. As a result, the picture of the women's movement in Sweden remains incomplete and many questions about the specific involvement of particular groups and actors remain unanswered.

The researcher's ability to drill down into the nuances of specific policy campaigns has been hindered by the language barrier. Primary source materials for this topic are not in English. Much of what is written about women's roles in the policy process, particularly Mahon's very helpful essay (1999), addresses women's roles broadly, narrowing the scope at the most to a policy area, not a specific policy. Many authors make general points about women's roles without noting the specific policy or sometimes even the specific groups involved. While this increases the importance of creating a study like this one to aid the English-speaking world's understanding of policy development in Sweden, it made conducting the study a bit like completing a 10,000 piece puzzle. This lack of clarity to specific policies in other sources also strengthened the rationale for the methodology of this study to just focus on Sweden in this early stage for the sake of obtaining as many specifics as possible.

Suggestions for Further Research

At this point, the most instructive next steps would be for a future Swedish-speaking researcher to engage in primary source materials in order to best compare what specific women's

groups were saying in the years leading up to particular policy changes. This would have the effect of strengthening this essay's conclusion that the importance of this study is the notion that future efforts to strengthen the DEDC model need to frame proposed reforms in light of their economic benefit, not their gender egalitarian principles.

Three types of sources that have been identified as likely to be useful during the course of this study are newspaper op-eds, *ledares*, written by women and women's groups, publications of women's groups, and *remisses* written by women's interest groups in relation to DEDC model supportive policies. There are extensive microfilm databases of Swedish newspapers since the 1930s on microfilm and even subject directories of many of the articles held at the Library of Congress, all in Swedish. The prominent Swedish women's organization for a gender-equal society has been publishing the newsletter *Hertha* continually from 1914 to the present day ("Frederika-Bremer" 2011). Issues from 1914 to 1935 are freely available online in Swedish from the library website of the University of Göteborg ("Hertha" 2009).

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