

# TOWARDS RESILIENT NORDIC WELFARE STATES

Challenges, Responses and Consequences –  
The Nordic Welfare Research Conference

14-15 March 2019  
University of Helsinki, Finland

## Panels & abstracts



UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI  
SWEDISH SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE



Finnish Centre for Pensions  
ELÄKETURVAKESKUS

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## General information

The paper sessions will be held in the University of Helsinki Main Building (*Yliopiston Päärakennus, Universitetets Huvudbyggnad*, Street address: Fabianinkatu 33, Fabiansgatan 33) and at the House of Science and Letters (*Tieteiden talo, Vetenskapernas hus*, Street address: Kirkkokatu 6, Kyrkogatan 6). The House of Science and Letters is by walking distance from the University Main Building (see map on p. 5).

**THURSDAY, MARCH 14<sup>th</sup>**

**Session I, 13.30-15.00**

**Session II, 15.30-17.00**

**FRIDAY, MARCH 15<sup>th</sup>**

**Session III, 9.15-10.45**

**Session IV, 11.00-12.30**

### **1 Activation policies and the Nordic welfare states**

Session III-IV (The House of Science and Letters)

### **2 The EU and European welfare states**

Session I (University Main Building)

### **3 European comparison:**

#### **The Nordic welfare states and Europe**

Session II-IV (University Main Building)

### **4 Nordic pension policies adapting between sustainability and adequacy**

Session I (University Main Building)

### **5 Nordic welfare states in times of disasters: Local social services**

Session IV (University Main Building)

### **6 Paid parental leave, practices and policies**

Session II-IV (University Main Building)

**7 'Passion for equality': Mechanism of inequality and challenges for the Nordic welfare model**

Session I-III (University Main Building)

**8 The practices and consequences of aging and care policies in Nordic countries**

Session I-II (University Main Building)

**9 Political emotions in the Nordic welfare states**

Session III (The House of Science and Letters)

**10 Reference budgets as a tool for welfare research**

Session III (The House of Science and Letters)

**11 Resilience of the Nordic welfare state model in the wake of automatization? & Open stream**

Session IV (The House of Science and Letters)

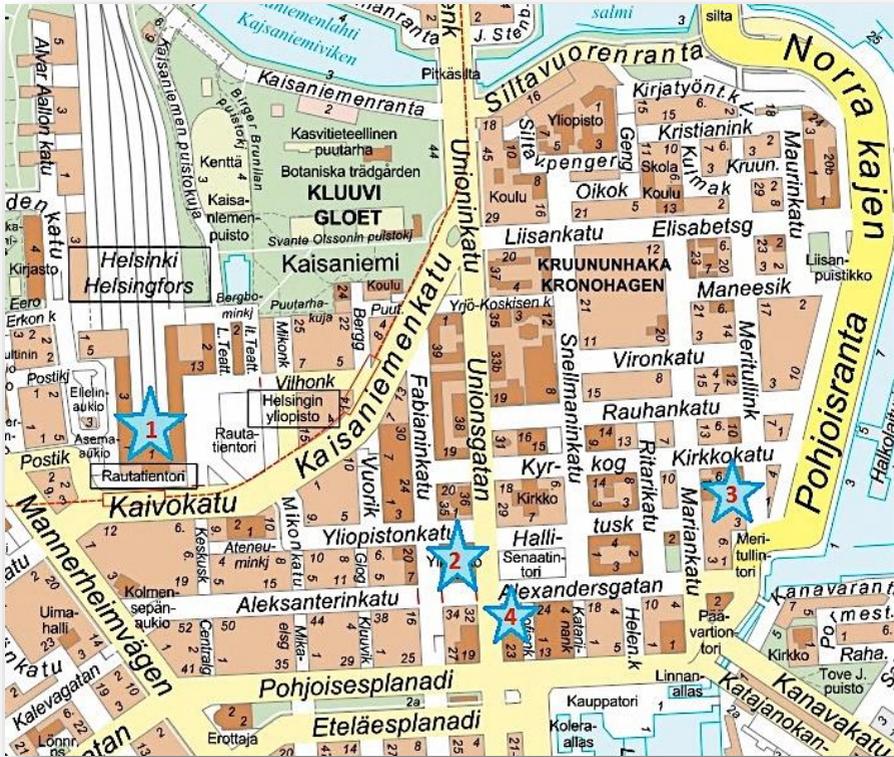
**12 Solidarity in the Nordic welfare states**

Session I-II (University Main Building)

**13 Sustainable welfare beyond growth**

Session III-IV (University Main Building)

# Map of Helsinki city centre



**1 Central Railway Station**  
(Rautatienatori, Järnvägstorget)

**2 University of Helsinki, Main Building**  
(Street address: Fabianinkatu 33, Fabiansgatan 33)

**3 The House of Science and Letters**  
(Tieteiden talo, Vetenskapernas hus, Street address: Kirkkokatu 6, Kyrkogatan 6)

**4 Restaurant Sunn**  
(Street address: Aleksanterinkatu 26, Alexandersgatan 26)

## **1 Activation policies and the Nordic welfare states**

Coordinators: *Johannes Kananen* (Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki) & *Christopher Deeming* (School of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Strathclyde, UK)

The amount of literature devoted to analysing ‘activation’ continues to grow, and while activation policy can be analysed along many different dimensions – legal, political, social, cultural and economic – the connections between the different dimensions and discourses are seldom made (Kananen, forthcoming). Typically, legal arguments consider contracts, the nature of rights and/or obligations, political arguments often consider the behaviour of parties and pressure groups, or the social politics relating to gender, class, oppression and social control, and related are the social arguments that turn to concerns about social citizenship and social cohesion; while cultural interpretations open up new frameworks for thinking about identity, change, and the borders of the national welfare states. Finally, the economic arguments tend to focus on ‘incentives’ and ‘moral hazards’, and the economic ‘efficiency’ and ‘effectiveness’ of activation schemes for society as a whole. It is now timely to reflect on the latest developments and directions in ‘activation’ policy in the Nordic welfare states, ten years on from the Great Recession that arguably triggered a new third wave of ALMP reforms across the advanced societies according to Lødemel and Gubrium (2014), the first and second waves being the early-1990s and early-2000s respectively. In order to shed new light on welfare state restructuring and social change, this panel welcomes theoretical and empirical studies of active labour market policies and their effects in the Nordic welfare states, we invite contributions that focus on or span the different spheres and dimensions broadly conceived as: legal, social, cultural and economic.

## ABSTRACTS

### **Policy changes and welfare state principles: implications for social work practice and service users in the activation context**

*Helle Cathrine Hansen* (VID Specialized University, Norway)

Reciprocity between the state and the citizens regarding rights, duties and responsibilities is a core principle in social democratic welfare state regimes. According to this principle the state is responsible for the citizens welfare and the citizen is responsible for participating and contributing to the community according to his/her capability. Nevertheless, changes in Norwegian activation policy point to a skewing of the reciprocal responsibility between the state and the citizens; towards more responsibility for the citizen and less for the state. This study explores what these policy-changes mean for social work practice and for the service users in the activation field.

This qualitative study is based on analysis of activation-policy documents and observations of meetings between social workers and service users in Norwegian labour and welfare offices (NAV). The document analysis is carried out as a content analysis, while the analysis of observations of meetings are carried out with an institutional interactionist perspective, focusing on the institutional contexts (policy, organisation, institution) in which activation practice takes place.

The document-analysis demonstrate a strengthened emphasis on the service users' duty to participate in activation as well as an increased responsibility on the service users' for activation outcomes, while the state is rendered less responsibility. However, analysis of practice also shows that institutional settings inhibit the social workers in providing the service users with adequate measures, which in turn limits the service users' possibilities of fulfilling activation policy goals.

The study points to a skewing in the balance of responsibilities between citizens and the state as a consequence of activation policy-changes, which in turn may represent challenges to social democratic welfare principles.

## **“All I want now is to get a job, so that I can prove something” experiences and conceptualization of work among young social assistance recipients**

*Anne Leseth* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) & *Heidi Moen Gjersøe* (Oslo Metropolitan University / VID Specialized University, Norway)

Work ethic in Norway is strong. Mandatory activation is proposed as “the solution” in bringing young people, particularly those inactive young people who are not in education, employment nor training (“NEETs”), closer to the labor market. Since January 2017, mandatory activation has been required by all Norwegian social assistance benefit recipients under the age of 30. The discourse on work as positive phenomena is within this context highly politicized and, arguably, there is a lack of critical reflection about the many ways work could be experienced.

In this study, we draw on qualitative interviews with 16 young people receiving social assistance benefit. The interviews are supplied with observations of informants’ workplaces. Most of the informants are interviewed twice; the second time seven months after the first interview. At the point of the second interview, most of the informants had obtained employment and were no longer benefit recipients.

Our findings indicate that the young benefit recipients’ experiences and conceptualization of work is related to structural and formal aspects of work, framed positively or negatively as routines, having a salary, being able to pay bills or taking too much of spare time or the need to get up early. The substantial form of employment (i.e. work tasks, what exactly one is doing) is to a lesser degree thematized. The young “post-recipients”, currently employees, did not talk about their work as an activity where they used their already existing knowledge. We argue that this might reflect the ways in which employment is put on the agenda, presented and talked about in the welfare services.

Inspired by among others, Sophie Danneris’ study of political rationality and the experiences of the unemployed in a Danish context, we discuss what aspects and dimensions of work the current political discourse fail to address.

## **Welfare Conditionality for young benefit recipients – Towards Individual Problem Explanations in an Encompassing Welfare State?**

*Heidi Moen Gjersøe* (Oslo Metropolitan University / VID Specialized University, Norway)

Welfare conditionality may imply an individual problem explanation in requiring certain behavior of benefit claimants. Recently, such welfare conditionality has extended from not only affecting the uninsured, but to also comprise the insured with health problems. Previous research argues that frontline bureaucrats' mode of solidarity towards claimants differs according to welfare regimes. Within the Nordic welfare states' encompassing social security system, frontline bureaucrats reason according to structural problem explanations, whereas in countries where social assistance plays a more central role in the benefit system, frontline bureaucrats reason according to individual problem explanations by practicing citizen agency (Møller & Stensöta, 2017).

This paper draws on qualitative interviews with 24 frontline workers administering social security and social assistance, respectively, at six local offices in the Norwegian Public Welfare Service. The paper argues that welfare conditionality applied for young benefit recipients who are not in employment, education or training, nor actively looking for work (so-called "inactive NEETs"), activates an individualistic oriented and paternalistic reasoning in the frontline bureaucracy. This type of reasoning spans the boundaries of rights-based social security and means-tested social assistance.

A paternalistic approach can be linked to the active role of the Nordic welfare state towards citizens, and it may entail both assisting and demanding measures. In the study, the caseworkers are hopeful and impatient for the young claimants. However, the paternalistic approach observed in the study presupposes an individual problem explanation as opposed to applying more structural explanations in the follow-up of young claimants. The paternalistic approach also appear to imply that young claimants are perceived as less deserving of benefits. Hence, the paper argues that welfare conditionality in the Norwegian welfare state may contribute to equalize the differences between how insured and uninsured claimants are treated by the frontline bureaucracy.

Reference: Møller, M. Ø., & Stensöta, H. O. (2017). Welfare State Regimes and Case-workers' Problem Explanation. *Administration & Society*, 1-30, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0095399717700224>

## **Labour Market Activation and Social Inclusion in Employment and Unemployment Security Policy in Finland 1991–2018. Multilayered Historicity and Transnational Connections. An Overview.**

*Sami Outinen* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Labour Market 'Activation' has been a key concept in employment and unemployment security policy in Nordic countries from the early 1990s onwards. It has been often connected to different political and ideological answers to tackle with social inclusion and exclusion. Historically, Nordic welfare states prioritized *providing activation* measures, especially active labour market policy, in its heyday until the 1990s. This was partly followed by *restrictive activation* practices such as workfare (work for welfare) programmes in the 1990s. This meant a partial return to pre-welfare state poor relief arrangements. On another hand, the ideas of basic income and citizen's wages has been spread also in the Nordic countries at least from the 1980s onwards. These ideas could be seen as an attempt to detach the concept of social inclusion from labour market participation.

This paper investigates the motivations behind activation measures and their relation to the ideas of social inclusion/exclusion in Finland in 1991–2018, as expressed by political and labour market parties as well as civil servants in the preparation phase of the most important employment and unemployment policy reforms. It puts these questions also into a historical context by analysing continuities and discontinuities of activation-related concepts and policies. Furthermore, transnational influences of activation will be presented in the paper, which presents author's interpretation on the relevant research questions and first empirical findings in the topic.

## **Integration of Policies and Services in Active Inclusion: Differences and Similarities in the Nordic Countries**

*Peppi Saikku* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland)

Active Inclusion as a policy stream in the European Union means enabling every citizen, notably the most disadvantaged, to fully participate in society, including having a job. From the viewpoint of the working-age people active inclusion can be defined as a policy that combines activation policies and disability or rehabilitation policies. These policies emphasize employability and employment, but also recognize the importance of social inclusion. However, coordination between these policy areas is complex and varying.

The aim is to study how vertical and horizontal coordination between activation and rehabilitation policies, and between different service integration structures, varies in the Nordic countries. Integration is studied as vertical and horizontal coordination. Multilevel coordination refers to vertical coordination between different levels: national, regional and local. Multi-stakeholder perspective means coordination between public, private and third sector organizations. Multidimensional coordination refers to horizontal coordination between different actors in different policy or administrative fields. Connected to multidimensional coordination is multi-professional coordination between different professionals.

The research data consists of literature review based on peer-reviewed articles of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Other literature reviews and reports in the topic are also used as research material.

Integrated services and local coordination between service providers have become increasingly significant in improving the employment of disadvantaged groups. In the Nordic countries various ways of service integration is applied. Multi-sectoral cooperation takes two basic forms: one-stop-shops and cooperating networks, which differ in vertical and horizontal coordination. Preliminary results suggest that three different frameworks – activation, rehabilitation and public administration – reflect the reforms implemented in the countries.

## **Benefit-for-rehabilitation – how youth rehabilitation benefit enhances economic inclusion?**

*Jarkko Salminen* (University of Tampere, Finland)

In the presentation, I discuss how youth rehabilitation benefit (YRB), provided by The Social Insurance Institution of Finland (Kela), enhances economic inclusion of young people with mental health problems. YRB is a so called conditional cash transfer. To receive it, the young people need to participate in vocational rehabilitation, in other words, they are offered cash for making themselves more employable. This should break the negative spiral between mental health problems and economic exclusion (poverty and unemployment), where poverty causes mental health problems and people with mental health problems are selected outside the labour market. However, YRB does not work as planned and over half of the young people who have received it for mental health reasons end up on disability pension soon after it. To study reasons for this from young people's perspective, I have interviewed 21 young people who have received YRB because of mental health problems.

I use the concept of capability by Amartya Sen and argue that YRB should enhance positive freedoms and capabilities. In many studies, it has been argued that creating capabilities is necessary for the success of activation and rehabilitation policies. Generally young people find YRB as a cash transfer to be a positive incentive which encourages them to go to school when mental health issues make staying home an easy and attractive option. However, the weakness of the YRB lies in the vocational rehabilitation which is inconsistent from school to school. It depends on the skills, interests and personalities of individual teachers and student counsellors. I will ask, how could vocational rehabilitation practices be developed so that all the youth would be able to show and develop their skills and to see vocational opportunities in the future.

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## **2 The EU and European welfare states**

Coordinators: *Rune Halvorsen* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway), *Kenneth Nelson* (Swedish Institute for Social Research – SOFI, Stockholm University, Sweden) & *Caroline de la Porte* (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark)

This panel focuses on the influence of the EU on the social and labour market policies of the member states, and on member state impact on EU social policy and regulation. We are also interested in the countries of the European economic area, which are subject to EU regulation in social policy. The introduction of the Social Chapter in the Maastricht Treaty and later progress has stirred significant discussions about the scope and nature of social rights at the EU level. The EU allows citizens effective freedom to work and to receive social protection in another Member State, through the system of coordination of social security. This has spurred debate and research about ‘social tourism’, ‘race to the bottom’ and ‘social dumping’, particularly following the two Eastern enlargements of the EU. With the EMU, EU member states agreed that, facing similar challenges in a common monetary union, common aims should be sought after, but decisions in labour market and social policy should remain at national level. After several decades of EU activity in social policy, it is a controversial area because it concerns the core of member states’ public expenditure and social citizenship regimes. Following the financial crisis of 2008, which had repercussions by creating more polarization among the EU countries, the Juncker Commission launched the European Pillar of Social Rights, which is intended to support and direct all EU’s social policy initiatives. This context creates a need for research about EU social policy and its influence in member states.

We invite papers that address the diverse processes through which the EU influences national welfare policy discourses, policymaking and outcomes in one or more policy area. Both quantitative and qualitative investigations are welcome. Papers may either focus on developments in a single country or adopt a comparative perspective. Papers addressing EU social policymaking from a theoretical and conceptual perspective are also welcome.

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **How does the Nordic and other European national welfare models conform to EU social policy ideals? A fuzzy-set ideal type analysis of policy models in social protection and inclusion in EU 28, Iceland and Norway**

*Jon Kvist (Roskilde University, Denmark)*

How does the Nordic and other European welfare models conform to EU social policy goals? To answer the question this paper examines whether EU social policy goals, as exemplified by the European Pillar of Social Rights, is more in accordance with social policy models in the Nordic countries than with models in other EU countries.

Therefore, the paper compares national social policy models covered by chapter III of the European Pillar of Social Rights. Policy models are the distinct configuration of social policy features in the given area, e.g. affordable and accessible healthcare. Chapter III covers nine policy areas (corresponding to rights and principles 11-19), i.e. childcare and support to children, social protection to all, unemployment benefits, minimum income at all stages of life, adequate old age pensions, affordable and accessible health care, inclusion of people with disabilities, long-term care and housing and assistance for the homeless. The comparison concerns the EU28 member states, Iceland and Norway.

Methodologically, the paper uses fuzzy-set ideal type analysis to examine the extent to which the Nordic and other European countries belong to distinct policy models that are established for each of the nine policy areas. The comparison thus involves the simultaneous assessment of qualitative (types) and quantitative (degree) diversity. The analysis draws on the ability of fuzzy sets to be calibrated using both qualitative and quantitative information.

Empirically, the paper rests on the on-going work of the European Commission's network of independent social policy experts, the European Social Policy Network.

## **Public Preferences for Redistribution and Policy Outcomes - Comparative Study**

*Chen Sharony* (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel), *Shlomo Mizrahi* (University of Haifa, Israel) & *Miki Malul* (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

What are the factors affecting the gap between preferences for income redistribution and policy? There is a mismatch between public preferences and policy in this field in some countries. That is, the public shows high demand for redistribution, but the government's social spending is low or vice versa.

This is a comparative study, which uses panel data from 24 OECD countries, from different years between 1990 and 2012. Public preferences were measured by value surveys and policy was measured by social expenditure and GINI index. The study has 2 phases: 1. measuring the gap between public preference and actual policy. 2. Regressions assessing the factors affecting this gap. The proposed sources for the gap are: social capital, ethnic heterogeneity, perceived government effectiveness and corruption.

Results showed that most countries have small gap between public preferences and policy. This result matches previous researches in the dynamic representation literature and matches the thermostat model, which spoke about government responsiveness to public preferences. A few countries (like Greece, Israel and Portugal) showed negative gap, where social spending is lower than the public preference. These countries belong to the Mediterranean welfare model, which is characterized by use of the welfare system by politicians for political means. Other countries (like Sweden and Denmark) showed positive gap, where public spending is higher than the public preference. These countries belong to the social-democratic welfare model, and considered to have high government effectiveness and low corruption. This could mean the people believe there is too much redistribution in the country.

Government effectiveness and corruption were found as the main factors affecting the gap, but in some regressions social capital also had an effect on the gap. This may mean that the public does not demand redistribution, because they don't believe in the government's ability to perform.

## **Comparing, categorizing and constituting welfare states**

*Leena Tervonen-Gonçalves* (University of Tampere, Finland) &

*Eriikka Oinonen* (University of Tampere, Finland)

This paper approaches the thematic of Nordic welfare states and European comparisons from a genealogical perspective. Genealogical method can be used to investigate how certain taken-for-granted facts, such as scientific truths, are historical constructs that have their roots in specific social and political agendas. Genealogy can be used to analyze the historical formation of discourses and ideas. By applying genealogical approach, we analyze *how* Nordic model gained the dominant characterization of being modern, advanced and superior *in relation* in other European models. In order to shed light on the *relationality of comparisons*, we focus on Nordic and Southern European welfare models, which are exemplified here by Portuguese and Finnish cases. Time frame of our analysis is from 1970s onwards. Our data consists of welfare state research, policy documents from EU and national governments as well as media texts. Special attention is paid to the categorization and labeling practiced during and after two recent crises in Europe: economic crisis and refugee crisis.

By juxtaposing two cases, which are understood, to be very different in terms of welfare related values, principles, practices and institutions, this study analyzes the formation of comparative discourses. By analytically scrutinizing the vocabulary and labeling used in European comparisons, we make visible how the Scandocentric bias has been produced and reproduced. As politics relies more and more heavily on evidence, and researchers are called upon to lend their expertise and legitimize politics and its arguments, it is necessary to give more careful to the question of how to describe and label different ways of living and resolving social issues.

## **Integrated research on ageing policy and poverty risk for older people in European welfare states**

*Jia Xu* (University of Hamburg, Germany)

The main research question of this paper is how ageing policy differ in their hypothetical impact on poverty risk of older people in European welfare states.

In comparative welfare state research, the ways in which welfare state policy frame poverty and social inequality for senior citizens is an important issue. Various empirical studies that usually focus on a single policy field have analysed the role of welfare state policies for social inequality and poverty in old age. However, it is important to analyse how the different policy fields interact in their framing of social inequality and poverty risk of older people.

A theoretical approach of “ageing policy” is introduced in this paper. This approach is based on the interaction of three policy fields in the ways in which they are framing social inequality and poverty of older people. Besides policies regarding pension and long-term care, it also includes social assistance policy. It is argued that all three types of policies are highly relevant in their role with regard to the risk of poverty in old age. In addition, I also introduce an “ideal-typical” typology of different types of ageing policy that are based on different ways in which ageing policy hypothetically impact on poverty risk for older people. I introduce the findings of a cross-national comparative study on the hypothetical impact of different types of ageing policies on the poverty risk of senior citizens in European welfare states. This paper examines the ageing policy of Germany, Denmark and the UK by looking at the institutional level. The interaction of ageing policy is analyzed by their generosity and the hypothetical impact on preventing poverty risk for older people. This paper also analyses how each ageing policy field compensates with each other.

## **Europe’s social cohesion depends on the wind of political change**

*Minna Ylikännö* (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland – Kela, Finland)

The European Union's importance as an economic area is stressed in political debates. Critics of the EU are faced with arguments emphasizing the benefits of the membership to national economies. Most European countries have indeed joined the EU and nowadays, 28 European countries are part of the Union. Integration of Europe have thus deepened, but with focus being on economic growth rather than on social cohesion. Instead of European social model (ESM), there are 28 social models in the EU. According to Ter Haar and Copeland (2010), legal grounds for

ESM exist, but no political will. They explain this with the strengthening of the neo-liberal political trend in the EU.

This article scrutinizes public opinion about European Union-wide social benefit scheme as a measure of support for the ESM. The data derives from the European Social Survey data from year 2016. The data includes 23 countries, of which 18 are EU member states. In the survey, respondents from EU member states are asked about a European Union-wide social benefit as follows: "It has been proposed that there should be a European Union-wide social benefit scheme for all poor people. Are you against or in favour of this scheme?"

According to the results, majority of the respondents are in favour of the EU-wide social benefit scheme. However, cross-country differences exist. While in Spain and Portugal over 80 per cent of the respondents are in favour of the scheme, corresponding share of respondents is less than 60 per cent in Sweden, Finland, and Great Britain. Only 10 percent of the variation can however be explained by country. Instead, variation mainly accounts by the political positioning of the respondents in a left-right scale. The more support there is for political right, the less support there is for EU wide social benefit scheme.

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### **3 European comparison: The Nordic welfare states and Europe**

Coordinators: *Marie-Luise Assmann* (University of Oldenburg, Germany), *Ida Tolgensbakk* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) & *Janikke Solstad Vedeler* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

For a long time, it has been common to consider the welfare systems of the Nordic countries modern and advanced. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and especially in the decades after the Second World War, Nordic systems functioned as role models for policy initiatives and reforms in other European countries. In recent years, a new type of convergence can be observed. Some would argue that the roles have been reversed: Nordic wel-

fare systems rather tend to follow the example of other European countries and seem to lose their pioneering role. This panel discusses the Nordic welfare systems compared to others: what is the contribution of Nordic welfare systems today in a European context, and is there potential for mutual learning? All papers are welcome which address the condition of the Nordic welfare systems from a cross-national perspective. Different areas of social policy can be addressed like health, pension and housing policy, labour market policy and many more. Moreover, also comparisons with non-European countries are welcome.

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **Changing household structures in Finland and Poland – living alone as a Nordic welfare state indicator**

*Urszula Ala-Karvia* (University of Helsinki, Finland), *Marta Hozer-Koćmiel* (University of Szczecin, Poland) & *Sandra Misiak-Kwit* (University of Szczecin, Poland)

The paper presents a comparative analysis of household structure and its dynamics, with a particular focus on one-person households (OPH), between post-economic-transformation Poland and Nordic-welfare-state Finland. Based on the literature, two research hypotheses were formulated; (H1) strong differences in household structure in Finland and Poland still occur and are supported by the national housing policies, and (H2) the share of one-person households is growing in both studied countries, due to the globally growing popularity of solo living. The paper uses register-base data for Finland and household census data for Poland from the last decades. The first research hypothesis was proven to be correct. Small, one- or two-person households strongly dominate the household structure in Finland, while in Poland, the household structure by size has been much more balanced. The second hypothesis was rejected. The share of OPH among all the households has been significantly larger in Finland than in Poland and the difference between the countries is growing. Thus, high shares of people living alone can be seen as a Nordic welfare state characteristic. A brief policy review supporting this phenomena is presented.

## **Child removal as a last resort – comparing the state’s support to families at risk in Europe**

*Kenneth Burns* (University College Cork, Ireland), *Sagrario Sanchez-Cabezudo* (The National Distance Education University, Spain), *Katrin Križ* (Emmanuel College, US), *Jenny Krutzinna* (University of Bergen, Norway), *Katre Luhamaa* (University of Bergen, Norway), *Thomas Meysen* (International Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Germany), *Marit Skivenes* (University of Bergen, Norway), *Tarja Pösö* (University of Tampere, Finland) & *June Thoburn* (University of East Anglia, UK)

Right to family life means that the state should limit its intervention to family life and, when intervening, it should select the least intrusive means for intervention. The states also have an obligation to support and protect the families in need, and when necessary, provide support as well as services for the families.

Current research analyses how the states support vulnerable families through social services and whether the removal of the newborn child is, in fact, the last resort measure. The analysis comparatively focuses on eight European countries: Austria, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Norway, and Spain. Some of their child protection systems are services focused, and some are risk-focused. The research team has collected all the first instance newborn removal judgments for the year 2016 (2015-2017) from these countries. The concerned families generally face five categories of challenges: housing/poverty; mental health difficulties; learning difficulties; violence; and drug/substance abuse.

We have three hypotheses regarding service provision: 1) there will be differences between countries due to the type of child protection system (risk or service oriented). 2) There will be differences between cases due to the type of problems the families face. 3) Even though the approaches of the countries differ, the actual services provided are not different due to the similarities of the newborn cases.

## **In and out of the crisis – the Nordic welfare states in comparative perspective**

*Menno Fenger* (Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands)

In nearly all European countries, the last decade has shown a period of rapid economic decline followed by a period of economic recovery which

has been almost unprecedented in modern economic history. A myriad of reasons has been given for the so-called Great Recession, including the instability of the US financial system, institutional failures within the Eurozone and the interrelation of national economies in a global economic system. The recovery has been more gradual in most countries but again is cumulatively higher than 10% in 4 subsequent years in most countries.

Not surprisingly, the economic crisis and recovery also affected unemployment levels in Europe. In economic literature, the concept of labour market resilience in recent years has been devoted to this. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2012) uses the concept of labour market resilience, which refers to the extent to which labour markets weather economic downturns with limited social costs. There is a general consensus that interactions between macroeconomic shocks (such as shifts in productivity growth, caused by global recessions) and structural policy settings play a key role in determining labour market outcomes (OECD 2006) and thus the labour market resilience of countries.

This paper focuses on the development of unemployment levels in the period between 2007 and 2018. This period is characterized by the Great Recession and the subsequent recovery. Countries have experienced different trajectories of unemployment development both within these two sub-stages and between these two sub-stages of the last decade. The paper compares and explains differences in labour market resilience on two levels: within Nordic countries and between Nordic countries and other European countries.

## **The Extension of Collective Agreements as “Institutional Stabilizers” in Collective Bargaining Systems**

*Wolfgang Günther* (University of Hagen, Germany)

Globalization, structural change and economic crises have put European systems of industrial relations under pressures for change, identified as “varieties” (Thelen 2014) and “trajectories” (Baccaro/Howell 2017) of liberalization. Yet, except from Germany and crisis ridden Southern Europe, multi-employer bargaining and the coverage of workers with collective agreements seem relatively stable in coordinated market economies. Against this background, this paper has two aims. First, it analyses

the main institutional stabilizer for multi-employer bargaining in European perspective, namely the extension of collective agreements to unorganized employers. Second it explains challenges to the extension system by comparing three different models of industrial relations, the Finnish, German and Dutch system of collective bargaining.

Theoretically we can expect that if collective agreements are universally applicable to all firms in one sector, individual firms have no incentive to exit employers' associations and to undercut wage standards. However, export firms might pressure for more flexibility in wage-setting. Applying power resource and employer centred approaches I expect coalitions for the extension of collective agreements and fair wage competition in domestic sectors with strong trade unions. To complement existing studies of changing collective bargaining institutions in crises-ridden Southern European states, I conduct qualitative comparative case studies of the actors' interests and institutions in Finland, Germany and the Netherlands. They show how different configurations of interests and power lead to differences in the stability of the extension mechanism and, hence, collective bargaining coverage: While export-oriented employers in Germany can pursue their interest for economy-wide flexibility also against the will of other sectors, Finnish employers face the resistance of trade unions. In the Netherlands, however, a liberal labour market and a flexible collective bargaining regime gives employers no reason to abandon the extension system.

## **The performance of Finland's family policy as a Nordic welfare state in the European Union**

*Hannele Heinänen* (University of Tampere, Finland)

### 1. Main issue analyzed in the paper

How the principles of the Nordic welfare state have reflected in Finland in the 2010s for the wellbeing of families with children and how has the objectives of Finnish family policy and family policy system been achieved in evaluating the results in European and national contexts?

### 2. Type of methodology and sources of data/information used for the analysis

Society supports the families through economic and functional resources to provide material and intellectual opportunities to set up a family and

to ensure the wellbeing and safe growth environment for children. The recommendations of the European Commission on breaking the cycle of disadvantage by investing in children have shown that EU member states should allocate resources to prevent social exclusion and child poverty by strengthening cooperation between different sectors and ensuring adequate resources and high-quality services. In the Finnish economy, the challenge is slowness of economic growth, the aging population and securing funding of the welfare state.

The outcome of Finnish family policy is evaluated both at the national and the EU level as an institutional based Nordic system by using national and EU documents and statistical data (Sotkanet, Tilastokeskus, OECD, Eurostat) of Finland and EU-28 member states. The evaluation will be carried out from all 28 Member States in the EU as a whole and separately selected member states representing different models of social security. The countries selected for further comparison represent the Nordic European, Central European, Southern European and Eastern European models. They also have different institutional bases in the state administration.

### 3. Main (expected) findings the analysis

In Finland the governmental institutional structure is normative and it is divided into several levels. The results of this research will show the outcomes of Finland's family policy both national and the EU level. At the national level the outcomes are based on regional equality. At the European Union level the outcomes are based on comparison of economic well-being, access to services and the satisfaction with life.

#### **The Nordic welfare state – distinct or diversified?**

*Mikko Kautto* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland) &  
*Kati Kuitto* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland)

The Nordic welfare state has long been seen as a distinctive, sometimes even forerunner model in several aspects. Extensive and universal social security, availability of public social and health services and societal equality as the outcome of social policy count as the merits of the Nordic model. However, welfare states are being transformed, and welfare re-

forms of past decades have brought about changes in the Nordic countries, too. This may have challenged the distinctiveness of the Nordic welfare model *per se*.

In this paper, we provide a macro-comparative assessment of the distinctiveness of the Nordic welfare states using data from the OECD. Drawing on the welfare regime literature, we analyse the development and the current state and development of the Nordic welfare states in comparison to other OECD countries since mid-1990s until mid-2010s. First, we assess the overall *scope* of the public sector by looking at levels of taxation and public social expenditure. Second, we use expenditure targeted at different welfare policy domains, welfare services and social investment policies, in particular, to indicate the welfare policy *orientations* in different countries and country groups. Third, we look at welfare policy *outcomes* by using the Gini coefficient for income inequality and the poverty rate before and after social transfers.

In the light of these key indicators, the Nordic welfare model by mid-2010s seems less distinct from other welfare states than before. If anything, the strong welfare policy emphasis on social investment and public services remain features that make the Nordic welfare states unique. Furthermore, rather than growing more alike, the Nordic countries have developed in part in different directions, with Sweden showing the clearest departing trend. Overall, the Continental and the Nordic countries seem to have converged in their welfare policies.

## **Bringing Women on Board? ‘Women-Friendly’ Welfare States and Gender Balance in Top Jobs**

*Helen Kowalewska* (University of Southampton, UK)

Much of the comparative literature on welfare states hails Scandinavia as a gender equality 'paradise' and a role model for other countries (e.g., Gornick and Meyers, 2006). Yet, certain studies suggest a welfare state 'paradox': while a large public sector and 'women-friendly' policies bring more women into the workforce, they also block women's access to managerial roles (Mandel and Semyonov, 2005, 2006).

However, existing research fails to differentiate between the very top board and executive positions and management more generally. Thus, it

remains unclear how women-friendly interventions impact on women's entry into the most powerful jobs. Clarifying this relationship matters because women in top management are more likely than those at lower levels of management to hold enough power to effect organisational changes (e.g., occupational childcare) that benefit all women throughout a company's hierarchy (e.g., Hirsch, 2013).

To contribute to addressing this gap, I propose a Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) of the relationship between welfare states and women's share of board and executive positions across 21 advanced economies representing different 'worlds' of welfare. Empirical trends indicate that women's access to board positions is accelerating in the Nordics; hence, other factors (e.g., gender boardroom legislation) potentially help to 'offset' the negative effects of women-friendly policies on women's occupational advancement (Korpi et al., 2013). By treating cases as 'wholes', QCA can test this hypothesis and draw valuable policy insights for other countries. The analysis will also reveal how other societal and economic factors (e.g., media representations of female CEOs, employment protection) mediate the relationship between welfare states and gender balance at the very top, and so contribute a more nuanced theorisation of the welfare state 'paradox'. Data will be compiled from multiple sources, including the International Social Survey Programme, the OECD, Eurostat, the Global Media Monitoring Project, the World Bank, and Deloitte.

### **Holes in the Nordic welfare model?**

*Jon Kvist* (Roskilde University, Denmark)

The Nordic welfare model claims to be universal but there are holes where certain groups or needs are not covered. One of these is dental care. This paper compares dental care for adults in the Nordic countries with that in other European countries. What are the coverage rates? Who have to pay how much? What is the extent of unmet need for care across various socio-economic groups? The empirical basis of the study is made up by institutional data collected in the European Commission's network of independent experts, ESPN (European Social Policy Network) for a forthcoming study on inequalities in access to healthcare, a Danish led comparative study on dental care and statistical data from the EU SILC. The study seeks to identify and describe what the Nordic countries can

learn from other countries in filling the holes in the Nordic welfare model. Finally, the paper discusses what general insights on the effects of privatization of welfare benefits in the Nordic welfare model that may be drawn from this study of dental care.

### **Activation policies in Norway and the UK – different systems, different tendencies**

*Henriette Sinding Aasen* (University of Bergen, Norway) &  
*Richard Machin* (Nottingham Trent University, UK)

Activation policies are a well-established feature of the welfare state in both the UK and Norway ('welfare to work' in the UK, the 'work-line' in Norway). In both countries activation policies have become stricter in recent years. This paper will analyse and compare emerging activation policy trends within respectively the UK and Norwegian social security systems.

Successive UK governments have been explicit in their aim to 'nudge' welfare claimants towards behaviour which is considered to be consistent with the ideological and economic underpinnings of the welfare state (e.g. limiting support to the first two children in a family and implementing an overall cap on benefit levels). In Norway, activation policies are related to employment and work-oriented activities, reflecting strong social norms of labour participation and self-sufficiency. Welfare 'contracts' define the content of rights and duties of target groups, especially persons under the age of 30, who after a legal change implemented in 2017 are not entitled to receive economic support without participating in activating programs.

This paper is largely theoretical, exploring the tendencies in UK and Norwegian activation policies, including the expanding role of activation in UK social security policy beyond traditional work-oriented activation. It explores important underlying values and principles of the UK and Norwegian welfare states and other factors that could explain some of the different legal and socio-political developments in the two countries.

The expected findings of this analysis are that broad similarities can be drawn between the activation principles evident in the UK and Norwe-

gian welfare states. However, this paper will argue that the UK social security system is currently pushing beyond the activation policies evident in Norway by embracing broader behavioural economic concepts.

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## **Rethinking Whether Nordic Countries are still “the Promised Land”: Finnish Reforms of the Local Government System and Social Service Provision after the mid- 2000s**

Chino Yabunaga (Toyo University, Japan)

Nordic local government system is treated as belonging to a single model of the local government system and well-known as the “Promised Land” for local autonomy. Rose and Ståhlberg (2005) argued their characteristics are still maintained. However, since the mid- 2000s, they experienced several main changes with reforms such as in Danish, Norwegian and Finnish cases. Among them, the local government reforms in Finland and its feature seem like a sign of fundamental changes in the welfare state system.

This paper will outline the historical linkage between welfare state and the local government system along with the establishment of Nordic universal welfare states and its development process. An overview of the changes of Finnish local government system will be illustrated focusing on the reforms after mid- 2000s as well as their preliminary changes. Next, the cases of reforms (Kainuu administrative experiment, establishment of Eksote, a joint municipality authority, and transferring public assistance arrangement from the local level to the national level) are de-

scribed and their feature will be identified using comparison with previous municipal reform experiences. Whereas, to offer the adequate and effective treatment depending on the particular local situation, each municipality has the main responsibility for basic social services provision in Finland and in other Nordic countries, those three reforms removed all or a part of the responsibility from municipalities and transferred them to the upper authority or to an inter-municipal cooperation for ensuring their fiscal stability and efficiency. Furthermore, to enhance the clarity on the characteristics of the examined reform cases in Finland, Japanese experiences of the local government system reform are referred for comparison. The characteristics of reform cases, such as intentions, methods, organizations and provisional outcomes, will be compared to Japanese cases. Finally, the nature of the changes and its anticipated future direction will be discussed.

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#### **4 Nordic pension policies adapting between sustainability and adequacy**

Coordinators: *Joakim Palme* (Uppsala University, Sweden) & *Mikko Kautto* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland)

While there is wide literature on similarities between the Nordic welfare states, there is less work on the diversity and this appears to be particularly true for the pension models. That all Nordic countries have reformed their pension schemes during the past decades may have reinforced the diversity. On the other hand, the Nordics have all shown reform-capacity, in contrast to many other countries where pension reforms have proved more difficult to push through.

Financing concerns, ageing, the length of working careers, pension adequacy and well-being of the elderly population have been among key challenges that have had to be addressed. But generational fairness, prevailing gender inequalities and concern over socioeconomic equality have also loomed behind adaptation measures.

The reforms warrant the analysis of a range of questions: To what extent do we find similarities in adjustment patterns? How major are changes in the short vs. the long term? How has public and private responsibility,

and the role of pension funds evolved? In a comparative perspective, how do we characterize the Nordic pension reforms, their driving forces and their outcomes? How have the costs of reform spread across generations, different socioeconomic groups and gender? How has the power and interest equilibria changed?

The papers in this panel can address similarities, differences and changes in Nordic pension policies. We welcome papers on pension reforms and their outcomes. We invite papers from different disciplines, such as economics, history, social sciences and political science. Papers could approach the themes of the panel with country case studies, comparative analyses of Nordic pension schemes/reforms/outcomes or involve broader comparisons including also other countries outside the Nordic hemisphere.

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **Entanglement of collective and individual tendencies in pension security, Cases of Canada and Finland**

*Jyri Liukko* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland), *Aaron Doyle* (Carleton University, Canada) & *Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen* (University of Tampere, Finland)

In many countries, the past two or three decades have been considered an era of increasing individualization of pension security. This trend, in particular in the Anglo-American world, has often been interpreted as a rather linear neoliberal development. However, based on empirical studies on different countries and institutional settings, it has become clear that the development has been more complex. Instead of a straightforward direction, there often seems to be simultaneous collective and individual tendencies. By analyzing recent developments and reforms in two relatively different pension schemes in Canada and Finland, this paper shows that there have been similar peculiarities in these countries as regards three focal trends related to the international shift from collective pension insurance toward individual investment.

Firstly, in many countries there have been efforts to decrease the share of public pensions in people's total retirement income. In both Canada and Finland however, the public pension schemes have been relatively

resilient to (individualizing) retrenchment policies. Secondly, contrary to most other countries, in Canada and Finland not only occupational and individual pension plans, but also the *statutory* defined benefit pension schemes have increasingly sought to guarantee future collective benefits through pension funds and returns from equity investment. Thirdly, the drift from defined benefit (DB) schemes to individual defined contribution (DC) plans in occupational pensions has not been as strong in Canada as in other Anglo-American countries whereas in Finland the role of occupational pensions has remained marginal compared to most other countries.

In this paper, we argue that Canada and Finland differ interestingly in all these three processes from dominant developments, Canada in the Anglo-American context, and Finland in the continental European context. The main sources of information used in the analysis consist of academic, governmental and other expert literature and published statistics.

### **Reforming early exit pathways in Europe: Is there instrument substitution?**

*Aart-Jan Riekhoff* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland), *Kati Kuitto* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland) & *Liisa-Maria Palomäki* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland)

During the past two decades, the Nordic countries - like many other European countries - have implemented reforms to reduce early exit from the labour market. One common type of reform has been to close off possibilities for using early-retirement, disability-pension and extended unemployment-benefit schemes to leave the labour market before the old-age pension eligibility age. In his 1987 seminal article, Bernard Casey observed that reforms to close off these exit pathways often merely result in the replacement of one dominant pathway by another. This “instrument substitution” of exit pathways might be the intended outcome of policymaking, but typically occurs as an unintended side-effect of policy implementation. In the existing literature, evidence for instrument substitution is based mainly on single-country case studies, while there has been no research on this phenomenon cross-nationally and over time. Based on Eurostat labour market and social expenditure data for 20 European countries, we analyse whether reforms in early exit pathways have led to instrument substitution during the period of 1995-2015. In a

series of OLS regression models with panel-corrected standard errors we estimate the effects of changes in one exit pathway on changes in other possible routes out of the labour market, while including a set of economic and demographic controls. Preliminary findings suggest that instrument substitution is common especially between early retirement and disability, although effect sizes are small. Overall, we find a trend towards reduction in early exit through all pathways in most European countries. In our presentation, we will highlight the changes in early exit that have occurred in the Nordic countries and how the Nordic countries compare to the rest of Europe.

### **Pension knowledge and confidence in the pension system**

*Sanna Tenhunen* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland) & *Susan Kuivalainen* (Finnish Centre for Pensions, Finland)

Lack of knowledge can be a potential cause of low confidence in the pension system. This study aims to gauge Finnish people's knowledge in pensions; their confidence in the pension system and the possible associations between knowledge and confidence. The quantitative analysis is based on the "Finnish Pension Barometer 2017", a survey on 1 002 Finns aged 17 – 79 years. We consider both subjective, self-assessed knowledge and a more objective measure of knowledge about key features of the pension system. The results show that while self-assessed knowledge is low, people are quite knowledgeable about key features of the pension system. Subjective knowledge varies by age, income and education, while more objectively measured pension knowledge does not. The main research question concerning the association between pension knowledge and confidence in the pension system is addressed with the help of several logistic regression models. Both subjective and objective knowledge were positively related to confidence, but only objective knowledge had a significant effect when demographics are controlled for. Our results suggest that information campaigns aimed at strengthening people's basic knowledge in pensions are likely to have the additional benefit of increasing people's confidence.

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## **5 Nordic welfare states in times of disasters: Local social services**

Coordinators: *Carin Björngren-Cuadra* (University of Malmö, Sweden) & *Guðný Björk Eydal* (University of Iceland)

The literature reveals the importance of local social services both in the aftermath of disasters and in relation to preparedness and enhancing the resilience of communities and individuals. Local social services refers to the services that the municipalities are responsible for, usually social assistance and various services, and often including care services.

Despite the importance of such services before, during and after disasters there has been limited research in the Nordic countries on how social services relate to the system of disaster preparedness/civil defence systems and to what extent special Disaster Social Services Response Plans are been implemented within social services.

Thus the session welcomes papers that address how local social services are organized and implemented during times of disasters, how social services enhance resilience, planning and preparedness as well as long-term recovery both among individuals and the community.

### **ABSTRACTS**

#### **Local social services, risks and disasters**

*Guðný Björk Eydal* (University of Iceland), *Carin Cuadra* (University of Malmö, Sweden) & *Björn Hvinden* (University of Oslo, Norway)

In recent years the Nordic countries have all faced disasters due to natural, technical and man-made hazards. The frequency of such disasters is on the rise according to forecasts. In order to enhance resilience and preparedness of those most vulnerable in disasters, the involvement of local social services in the emergency management system is of vital importance. The literature shows how social services can enhance social and human investment, the citizen's economic participation and political empowerment. Furthermore, the literature shows that the co-operation between social services and the voluntary sector during the emergency and recovery phases is crucial, and the Red Cross is usually the

largest voluntary organization providing social services during disasters in all the countries. The paper explores the roles of social services in all five Nordic countries and if it has a formal role in the contingency planning of the national emergency management systems. It also examines the risks the Nordic countries have assessed, but a risk identifies hazards and evaluates risks associated with the hazards.

The paper builds on results from a research project on the roles of local social services in times of disasters that was conducted within the project The Nordic Welfare Watch, which aim was to enhance welfare and preparedness of the Nordic welfare systems. Data was collected from documents from all five countries.

### **A scenario based analysis in local social services - dependency on technology and social redundancy**

*Carin Cuadra* (Malmö University, Sweden)

The aim of this paper is to explore what disruptions in information technology implies for the public local social services in Sweden. Direct consequences of disruptions for documentation and communications will be in focus. The aim is also to contribute to a theoretical underpinned understanding of the events during disruptions in information technology. By building on Luhmann's perspective, the local social services is introduced as a functional system and the events can consequently be related to the system's continuity of services in spite of disruptions.

The material originate from four scenario-based analysis performed by staff in local social services within the framework of risk- and vulnerability analysis in four Swedish municipalities. The scenario outlines a disruption in information technology lasting 2-6 weeks. The material consists of the compilation of what staffs' assessments of direct consequences as well as organisational and staffs' responses to the situations.

The findings start of by describing the direct consequences such as non-accessible computers (hence inaccessible operational systems and files) telephones and alarms. The findings suggest that technological disruptions are challenging for social services as a functional system. However, the disruption seems not to lead to corresponding disruptions of social service. The functions are upheld thru adjustments made possible by functional equivalence and accessible redundancy. In this regard, it is

the staff that parallel to technical adjustments do interactive adjustments, partly at the cost of their working environment. I call this social redundancy to underline how technology are replaced by social interaction. The findings suggests that information security is an area in need for improvement and strengthened structural coupling (in Luhmann's sense) so as to emphasize the social services perspectives at the technologies in use and consequences of disruptions.

## **The Perspective of the Front Line Staff in Swedish Public Social Services at the Emergency Management System**

*Carin Cuadra* (Malmö University, Sweden)

The literature reveals an importance of social work in relation to all phases of crisis and disaster and a potential to strengthen the role further. Yet, little is known as regards the Swedish context. Given the centrality of municipalities in the emergency system and the local Social Services as a central municipal assignment it could be expected to find a well-defined role under two legal frameworks pertaining to the municipalities' responsibility involving security; "societal security" and "social security". However, the role has from a general national perspective been identified to be suboptimal. The aim of this paper is to explore the perspective of Social Services staff with an interest for their experiences and assessments as regard the emergency management.

The empirical material was obtained by using a web-based questionnaire distributed in four municipalities (n=1710) to staff in care of individuals and families, care of disabled and the elderly. The response rate was 60% (1020).

The analysis suggests that the staff is knowledgeable, take part in education and exercises and is involved in the context of crisis to a very differing extent. Their understanding of "crisis" and "disasters" seems to be underpinned by a social security perspective and to a lesser extent informed by the perspective of societal security as outlined in the legal framework targeting high consequence events.

With this backdrop it can be discussed to what extent social workers can be seen as fully involved in the Swedish emergency management system and to what extent they can be seen as having yet a potential for further involvement. An implication would be to systematise and strengthen the

role in current practice as well as to integrate disaster management in the curriculum for social work at both undergraduate and graduate level.

### **The roles of local social services in earthquakes and economic recession: The case of Árborg**

*Ragnheiður Hergeirsdóttir* (University of Iceland) & *Guðný Björk Eydal* (University of Iceland)

The paper explores the effects of two major events on the municipality of Árborg in the South of Iceland in 2008. Firstly, an earthquake that measured 6,3 on the Richter scale hit the area in May. Secondly, the economic crisis when the largest banks of the country crashed in October, resulting in a serious national recession. The project focuses on the role of local social services in crisis management for the affected municipality and if it responded in the same or different way in those different disasters. In this context it focuses on if and how contingency plan, like that the authorities in Árborg decided to use in the wake of the earthquake and partly following the bank crashing, was useful and if the same plan might be useful for different crisis.

The study is a qualitative case study, in addition to data in documents data was collected by interviews with social workers and the manager of the local social services in Árborg 2008 and with other respond agents from the emergency management system, the civil society and finally agents from the academic community.

### **Social Emergency Services' Preparedness to Respond in Disasters in Finland**

*Piia Ollila* (University of Tampere, Finland) & *Merja Rapeli* (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Finland)

Social workers are among the first responders addressing the needs of people affected by traumatic events and disasters. The Finnish social welfare act obligates municipalities to provide social services in acute crises as well as to organize emergency social services. Preparedness and continuity planning are also obligatory. The Emergency social services were built initially in 2007. The latest modification of legislation was in 2016 mandating the services to be provided partly within emergency health care services in hospitals. The municipalities have organized the

services in various ways, yet, a clear picture how coherently and equally the services are provided in the country is lacking. This study reviews the current situation mapping how these services are organized and explores what is the ability to respond to disasters of the services. A web-based survey was sent to all Finnish emergency social service providers (N=44). Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data. The findings show significant regional differences in organizing the services. Many small municipalities provide the services as part of their daily social work in office hours and lean on cooperation with neighboring municipalities during off hours. Large service areas and long distances during off hours affects the accessibility of the services. Uneven structures of the day time and off hours services result in incoherence in alarming and various other measures in responding to crises. Emergency social services are necessary to be available at all times, and social workers need to have relevant training in disaster management as well as psychosocial and acute crisis support. The preparedness to provide psychosocial and acute crisis support is significantly better in cities with large population bases, especially in the Southern metropolitan area, compared to rural areas. Intensive cooperation in preparedness and continuity planning between emergency social services and daily social services is recommended.

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## **6 Paid parental leave, practices and policies**

Coordinators: *Ann- Zofie Duvander* (Stockholm University, Sweden), *Berit Brandth* (Norwegian University of Science and Technology), *Guðný Björk Eydal* (University of Iceland), *Ingólfur V. Gíslason* (University of Iceland) & *Johanna Lammi-Taskula* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland)

The Nordic countries were among the pioneers in developing paid maternity leave and, in the 1970s and 1980s they were among the first nations to develop schemes of paid parental leaves that provided both parents with the opportunity to choose how they would divide the leave period between them. At different points in time, additional paternity leave was introduced, usually a two week period after birth of the child which the father could use to stay home with the mother and the child. All countries enacted such schemes in the late 1970s or early 1980s except Iceland that implemented rights to paternity leave as late as 1998. Despite

the joint entitlements mothers continued to use the lion's share of the joint leave and very little changed regarding the fathers' take up of parental leave. Drawing lessons from this development, the idea to define part of the paid parental leave as father's quota was put forward in the early 1990s in order to ensure that men took more leave. Norway was the first country to enact such father's quota into law in 1993, followed by Sweden in 1995, Denmark in 1998 (abolished in 2002) and Iceland in 2000 and Finland in 2003. The session welcomes papers on recalibration of parental leave institutions; on the policies and politics; patterns of take-up; consequences of take-up for children, fathers, mothers, gender equality and labour market.

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **Organizing care in two Nordic countries**

*Ásdís A. Arnalds* (University of Iceland) & *Ann-Zofie Duvander* (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Iceland and Sweden have historically developed quite different levels of care support to parents. Iceland has provided more limited support, today parents do have 9 months paid parental leave and they have no legal rights to day care, but most municipalities subsidize family care while parents wait for place in day care. In Sweden the paid parental leave is 15 months followed by legal rights to day care that usually is provided to parents after the leave period is over. How is this difference in the care policies of the two countries reflected in how parents arrange care for their children during the first three years after childbirth and their labour market participation? The empirical analysis builds on survey data, collected among parents in Sweden who had a child in 2009 and parents in Iceland who had their first child in 2014 in order to provide answers to this question. The paper compares patterns of leave use, and parents' participation in care and in paid work in the two countries and describes the reasoning behind parents' decisions.

## **“Ear-marked and shared parental leave for fathers: What sense of entitlement?”**

*Berit Brandth* (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) & *Elin Kvande* (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

In most countries, parental leave systems consist of several parts with different lengths for fathers and/or mothers. Looking at what facilitates or hinders fathers from taking parental leave, this paper compares fathers' sense of entitlement to two parts of the Norwegian parental leave system that are available to them, namely the individual, non-transferable fathers' quota and the shared parental leave. The objective is to gain knowledge of the rationale for fathers' different take-ups of the two types of leave where the father's quota has a high degree of use, but where it has been hard to get fathers to take more than what is earmarked for them. Analysis of interviews with 22 fathers finds culturally divergent understandings of the two types of leave among fathers. Using the concept of 'entitlement', which stems from social justice theory, as theoretical lens, results show that fathers feel entitled to the fathers' quota based on fathering- and gender equality norms in working life and the wider society. Fathers do to a much smaller degree feel entitled to the shared parental leave, which is culturally understood as mothers' entitlement. This understanding is, however, challenged by some fathers' claim to the shared leave on the basis of their being competent parents.

## **How long is a parental leave and for who? An analysis of methodological and policy dimensions of leave length and division in Sweden**

*Ann-Zofie Duvander* (Stockholm University, Sweden) & *Ida Viklund* (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Parental leave use can in Sweden be taken both as paid and unpaid leave and often parents mix these forms in a very flexible way. There are therefore multiple methodological issues regarding how to measure the leave length and the benefits taken during leave in the most accurate way. As the official statistics only measure the paid days they are likely to underestimate the length of leave, the gender differences in leave use, as well as possible differences between socio-economic groups. This paper reviews the somewhat complex legislation and the possible ways of using the leave before presenting a successful attempt of a more precise meas-

ure of leave lengths for mothers and fathers. This is done by using administrative data for a complete cohort of parents in Sweden in the 2000s. We ask how mothers and fathers divide the leave and whether there are other gendered patterns, such as timing, number of periods with leave and the share of unpaid leave that needs to be considered for understanding gendered parenting in Sweden. The paper will also relate the leave length of the mother and father to the complete leave length from the child's perspective, which in part is depending on whether periods of leave are overlapping. Particular attention will be paid to socioeconomic differences between families. The relation between mothers' and fathers' leave length is discussed in a theoretical framework of gendered behaviour, relative resources and negotiations in the couple, as well as various external restrictions in using leave, for example at the work place.

### **Paid parental leave use of lone parents and coupled parents in Iceland**

*Íris Dögg Lárusdóttir* (University of Iceland) & *Guðný Björk Eydal* (University of Iceland)

In 2000 the Icelandic parliament adopted unanimously a radical law on parental leave which aimed to ensure that children receive care from both parents and to enable both men and women to coordinate work and family-life. To reach these aims, the nine-month leave period was divided in to three months earmarked for each parent and three months for them to divide at will. All parents were entitled to parental leave regardless of their marital status or the legal residency of the child. With over a quarter of all Icelandic families with children being lone-parent families, it is important to study if the aims of the parental leave law are being met in the case of lone-parent families. The study analyses data from a cross-sectional population surveys among parents of firstborn conducted in the years 2001, 2007, 2013 and 2018. The surveys asked how parents divided parental leave, work and care during the first three years after birth of their first child. The study compares paid parental leave take-up among lone parents and coupled parents to see if and how these families differ in leave use. The preliminary results show that lone fathers use their quota to a lesser extent than married or cohabiting fathers, but their take-up has increased substantially since the implementation of the parental leave law. The comparison on leave use patterns of

lone parents and coupled parents are expected to show a significant difference in coordination of the leave between the family forms.

### **When Do Countries Support Fathers' Caregiving Responsibilities? The Cross-National Comparative Politics of Parental Leave**

*Cassandra Engeman* (Stockholm University, Sweden)

When do countries recognize fathers as caregivers under leave law? Since the 1970s many affluent democracies have extended paid leave rights to fathers by adopting paternity and parental leave policies. Such policy change indicates a “path shift” as countries break from breadwinner- or market-oriented family policy models to dual earner-carer models. Despite considerable cross-country differences in leave generosity and the timing of leave policy adoption, large-scale quantitative analyses on the sources of family policy are surprisingly rare. Using discrete-time event history methods, this paper reports new research estimating the impact of structural, institutional, and power resources explanations on the timing of paternity and parental leave policy adoption from 1965 to 2011 across 22 affluent democracies. The unique data set draws on multiple sources, including the author’s compilation of leave policy histories. Preliminary findings show that confessional-right parties and women in parliament are important for the development of leave for fathers, particularly for the creation and extension of time with family. However, for individual entitlements to parental leave – a provision with clear gender egalitarian aims – left parties and trade union institutional strength are additional sources of policy reform. Ultimately, the paper confirms the multi-dimensionality of family policies and carves-out a role for power resources in explaining their development.

### **Family leave rights in same-sex parent families in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands**

*Marie Evertsson* (Stockholm University, Sweden) & *Eva Jaspers* (Utrecht University, the Netherlands)

By enabling a more equal division of work and care for parents who so desire, family leave rights are key to long-term shared and equal parenting. Family policies and parental leaves cater to the majority of parents;

those in heterosexual couples. Based on policy documents and legal regulations, this paper focuses on how family leave policies in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands apply to and work for same-sex parent families, specifically female parent families. Same-sex couples may have difficulties to, 1) be legally recognized as parents and, 2) share family leaves between them. As an example, in Sweden, the partner of the birth-mother in a same-sex couple is acknowledged as a parent if the child is conceived via insemination or IVF at a Swedish clinic. However, if the child is conceived abroad or privately at home, the partner of the birth mother has to adopt to become the legal parent. Adoption is only possible if she is married to the birth mother. Parental leave is not linked to legal parenthood but to marriage. Hence, the birth-mother can share parental leave with a married partner. With more than two parents, things are more complicated. In the Netherlands, on the contrary, parental leave is not linked to marriage but to actual care for the child. Anyone, to a maximum of four, with whom a child lives at least half the time can take up parental leave. These and others issues linked to the transition to parenthood in non-heterosexual couples are discussed in more detail in the paper. The aim is to map the family policy context for same-sex couples in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands. The Netherlands being a country known to be HBTQ friendly, yet less family (policy) friendly than the Nordic countries as parental leaves are short.

### **The importance of pre-birth labour force positions to gender differences in parental leave uptake within couples in Belgium and Sweden**

*Leen Marynissen* (University of Antwerp, Belgium), *Karel Neels* (University of Antwerp, Belgium), *Jonas Wood* (University of Antwerp, Belgium) & *Eleonora Mussino* (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Although there has been an unprecedented rise of dual earner couples in Western countries, the shift towards gender equality in the labour force is incomplete as gendered divisions of paid work are articulated after childbearing and the majority of parental leave is used by mothers. However, it remains unclear to what extent the gendered effect of family formation on parental employment and parental leave uptake reflects gender specialisation in which pre-birth differentials in labour market posi-

tions are exacerbated, or persistent gendered parenting norms. Furthermore, the effect of pre-birth labour market positions on couples' parental leave uptake might differ considerably between countries with different institutional and gender contexts. In Belgium, the rate of parental leave uptake is rising but still strongly gendered, i.e. low percentage of fathers using parental leave. In Sweden on the other hand, about 80% of fathers and practically all mothers use leave.

Therefore, using longitudinal couple data from the Belgian Administrative Socio-Demographic Panel and from Swedish register data, this paper assesses to which extent gender differences in parental leave uptake within couples after the birth of the first child can be explained by differential pre-birth labour market positions (relative wages, employment stability) in Belgium and Sweden. Higher parental leave uptake of women as a result of lower pre-birth earnings or job stability than their partners suggest efficient within household specialization, although this mechanism might differ between Belgium and Sweden given the flat-rate replacement benefits in Belgium versus the earnings-related benefits in Sweden. On the contrary, gendered effects of childbearing on partners' parental leave uptake which are not accounted for by pre-birth labour force positions suggest that gender norms affect parents' parental leave uptake after the birth of the first child.

### **Father's quota reform in 2013 in Finland: small steps towards more gender egalitarian parental leaves**

*Anneli Miettinen* (Kela Research, Finland) & *Miia Saarikallio-Torp* (Kela Research, Finland)

Father's quota was introduced in Finland in 2003 but until 2013 it contained several restrictions to its use, most importantly a requirement of the mother's consent. A father could use his quota only if he took last two weeks of the shared parental leave (e.g. the mother didn't use these days). In 2013, this requirement was abolished, and fathers gained a completely independent right to father's quota. Flexibility of the quota was also increased and the leave could be taken until the child turned two. The total length of the leave designated to the father remained the same (2.2 months), but former birth-related leave was now included in the quota.

Introduction of the father's quota in the parental leave legislation in the Nordic countries has been a success in terms of increasing proportion of parental leave days taken by the fathers. However, sharing of the parental leaves beyond the quota remains modest, and a considerable proportion of fathers are not taking any parental leave. Furthermore, reforms appear to promote takeup among fathers with high education or from higher socioeconomic groups.

We use register data on parental allowances from Social Insurance Institution (Kela) and focus on the 2013 reform in the father's quota in Finland, following parental leave uptake among fathers of children born in 2013–2016, e.g. before and after the reform. We ask which families benefited from the reform and what effects it had on fathers' use of parental leaves, and discuss policy implications rising from our findings. Our first results show that the reform was unable to affect the 'core of non-users', but among fathers who took some parental leave, the reform had the biggest impact in the low to middle income groups. The reform also had unintended consequences as the proportion of fathers using birth-related leave decreased.

## **The manager as policy administrator - between gendered norms and organisational goals**

*Tanja H. Nordberg* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

This paper is based on a PhD-thesis, which explores the meeting between family policy and the requirements of working life. Managers have a statutory obligation to facilitate for employees' use of parental leave, and to actively promote gender equality. The paper explores the tension between how managers relate to their employees' use of parental leave, and how managers weigh considerations between their employees' right to facilitation and the requirements of the work in the organisation.

The paper is based on empirical data from qualitative interviews with 34 managers within the police and the legal profession. They were interviewed about how they approach employees' rights to parental leave, how they facilitate for employees and what they regard as problems and possible solutions.

The findings show that family policies enjoy a strong position in the police and the legal profession, and in both the public and private sectors.

At the same time, the managers' facilitation practices, with some exceptions, help to sustain the gender imbalance in the use of the schemes and the consequences of such use. The managers appear primarily concerned with facilitating a minimum level of use by ensuring the schemes can be used within a framework of organisational considerations. They are less focused on facilitating their use beyond this in a way that promotes gender equality.

An employer's obligation to actively work in a systematic and planned way to promote gender equality and prevent discrimination is regarded as one of the most important policy instruments for achieving gender quality in working life. Legislators take it for granted that employers want to promote gender equality. However, this study shows that managers generally appear to be unaware of what their responsibilities are in terms of promoting gender equality and little weight is given to the obligation to work on this actively.

### **Does it fair or not? Housework for couples in Nordic countries**

*Xiangjun Ren* (University of Hamburg, Germany) & *Jia Xu* (Anhui Normal University, China)

Housework has become more than a responsibility or daily task for families in modern society especially for countries with higher income and better welfare support. Under this circumstance, how dose housework influence the marriage and relationship within a couple in Nordic countries? This paper dedicates in finding the answer with measuring the amount of housework which female take and their attitudes toward the fairness of their housework among Nordic families.

For a couple with marriage or in a relationship, quality of marriage (relationship) usually takes most proportion of their family life quality. This paper use life satisfaction toward family life as the assessment for the quality of marriage and relationship. Data of this research comes from the latest European Quality of Life Survey 2016. Denmark, Finland, Island and Sweden are chosen as four typical Nordic countries. To exclude unqualified samples, this research extract couples (married or not) that live in the same accommodation only. Regression and cross tabulation analysis are used to cross check the relationship between housework and quality of marriage and relationship.

Through statistical analysis, the finding exposes how do housework relates with quality of marriage and relationship within Nordic couples. And further more discuss the impact of housework inequality within a couple on their marriage and relationship.

Key words: Quality of marriage, housework, inequality

## **The Finnish Family Leave Reform in the light of research: the rise and fall of a reform 2017–2018**

*Minna Salmi* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland) &

*Johanna Närvi* (National Institute for Health and Welfare)

The paper analyses the goals of models presented to reform the Finnish family leave scheme in the light of research findings.

To develop the family leave scheme and encourage fathers to take more leave has been a goal of Finnish governments for 25 years, with the present center–conservative coalition government as an exception. In spite of – or due to – this exception, several parties and three central labour market organisations presented in 2016–2017 their models to reform the leave system. As a consequence of this political pressure, the government decided in autumn 2017 to prepare a reform. However, preparations were broken off in February 2018.

The stated aim of all presented models is to promote gender equality and improve women’s position in the labour market. Many models want to increase fathers’ take-up of family leaves, but several only lengthen the father’s quota (paternity leave) moderately. The main idea of most models is to shorten the cash-for-care (homecare allowance) period available after parental leave as this is assumed to raise the employment rate of women. However, statistics and our research findings indicate that the effect of a shorter homecare allowance period on women’s employment rate would be modest. Moreover, the main predictors for mothers’ longer stay on homecare allowance are their care ideals, not the allowance as such. Furthermore, our research indicates that the key to improved gender equality is to lengthen the father’s quota, partly as at workplaces only paternity leave is regarded as fathers’ entitlement.

The findings are based, firstly, on survey data collected in 2013 from mothers (N=3029) and fathers (N=2161) with a child born 2011. The

sample was obtained from the Social Insurance Institution's register on recipients of parental benefits. Secondly, qualitative interviews were made during 2014–2015 with HR managers and male employees in five work organisations from different branches.

## **How does Swedish parental leave policy work for different parental groups? A comparison of leave patterns between adoptive and biological parents**

Ida Viklund (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Sweden has historically been a relatively large receiving country of adoptive children. The number of adopted children has however declined, from about 800-1000 in the 1990s to about 350 children in the recent years, mostly because of increasing welfare in the sending countries. While very similar generous parental leave regulations apply to adoptive and biological parents, there is hardly any knowledge at all on how adoptive parents use parental leave. Adoptive parents are in general older, have higher education and income compared to biological parents. While adoptive parents have greater biological 'flexibility' in how to use and share the parental leave between them, they have less knowledge about the timing of arrival of the child. The child is also often older upon arrival, and might have possible traumas of earlier separations. All these aspects can affect adoptive parents' decisions of how to divide the leave. This study aims to give comprehensive knowledge of how adoptive parents use the parental leave policy, whether parents share the leave more gender equally, how early the fathers use parental leave, and if and how they use the leave as the child ages. Their leave patterns are compared with biological parents' use of the policy. The study uses administrative data with detailed information about parental leave use for parents that adopted or gave birth to a child during the 1990s and 2000s. Parental leave patterns are discussed in relation to gender, biological and timing-related flexibility and inflexibility, besides the issue of whether policy regulations work efficiently for different groups of parents.

## **Back to work or stay-at-home mother? Heterogeneous effects of family policies on maternal employment in Finland**

*Eva Österbacka* (Åbo Akademi University & The Social Insurance Institution of Finland) & *Tapio Räsänen* (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland)

The labor force participation among Finnish women is comparatively high, but lower than in the other Nordic countries. During family formation, the labor force participation among women decreases. The universal family policies are extensive. After the parental leave, parents (i.e. the mothers) have the possibility to choose between returning to the labor force, utilize subsidized public day care services, subsidized private day care services, or staying outside the labor force and continue with home care, i.e. receive home care allowance. Most families utilize home care allowance for shorter or longer periods, and it is mainly the mother who stays home with the child. In this paper, we investigate the impact of the possibility to long paid childcare leaves on employment among mothers. We specifically examine the heterogeneous decisions made among different groups of mothers. . During home care, the parent is entitled to a flat rate subsidy, home care allowance, until the child turns three years old. However, there are also municipal supplements. By utilizing variations in municipal supplements of both home care and private care allowances, we are able to receive causal effects on the length of the care period of the policy effects for different groups of mothers. We apply a difference-in-difference framework to hazard models in order to receive causal effects. Our data is a 60 % random sample of Finnish mothers giving first and second birth between 2001 and 2009. Each cohort is followed until the child is three years old, i.e. the youngest cohort is followed until 2012. Our results show that the Finnish family policies clearly affect the length of childcare leaves among mothers. Different individual and family characteristics affect the timing of the return to the labor market; the career of different groups of mothers is affected differently.

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## **7 'Passion for equality': Mechanism of inequality and challenges for the Nordic welfare model**

Coordinators: *Mikko Niemelä* (University of Turku, Finland) & *Olli Kangas* (University of Turku, Finland)

In his seminal book 'Norden – Passion for Equality' Stephen Graubard prized the Nordic countries for their ethos of equality. Be it as it is with the 'passion for equality', the great achievement of the Nordic countries has been that the levels of various forms of social ills have been low and equality in all aspects has characterized the Nordic hemisphere. The question is if the 'Nordic model' still is as distinct as it was described to have been, and if in the global context it is possible to preserve the basic characteristics of 'The model'. Our panel invites papers on various dimensions of inequality.

In comparative research, much attention has been paid to the negative effects of inequalities. Not only scientists such as Wilkinson & Pickett, Marmot, Piketty and Kawachi but also the EU, several UN agencies (ILO, WHO, UNDP and UNRISD), the OECD and even the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund drew attention to the detrimental effects of inequality growth. The lion's share of the debate has concerned growing income differences.

However, it should also be remembered that inequalities in income are only one form of inequalities we found in our societies. Göran Therborn (2014) writes succinctly: "Inequality is not just about the thickness of a wallet. It is a social and cultural phenomenon that limits (the most of us) the opportunities to act as a human being. It weakens health, self-esteem, self-awareness and possibilities to actively participate in the world they live in."

Our panel offers various academic disciplines and groups of researchers interested in social inequalities in the Nordic countries the opportunity to present and discuss their results. We welcome presentations of inequalities in the Therbornian spirit: income, property, health, education, social mobility / immobility, gender inequalities, political and cultural inequalities etc. The goal is thus to discuss all the factors and mechanisms that condition and limit possibilities to full social inclusion and participation at different stages of their lives.

## ABSTRACTS

### **The concept of in-work poverty – Different measures, different results?**

*Ippo Airio* (Kela Research, Finland)

In measuring working poverty, the key choices involved cause great disagreement. The concepts of ‘working’ and ‘poverty’ are constantly under scrutiny and re-evaluation. The questions of how to define the potential workers, what amount of weekly working hours or yearly working weeks is adequate for one to be considered a worker, how to measure poverty and what the suitable measurement units are offer dozens of options defining the criteria of in-work poverty. The vast array of analytical assumptions makes it hard to compare and estimate results from the numerous studies – especially when no single set of assumptions is ever fully justified or foolproof.

The aim of this paper is to formulate a set of measures that represent the range of different concepts of working and poverty. A comparison of these measures will provide a picture of how wide the spectrum of in-work poverty rates is. Using factor analyses, it is possible to estimate how different measures associate with a latent construct of in-work poverty. The data is derived from the 2016 EU-SILC survey.

The findings are expected to show the poverty rate to deviate largely among the different measures. Measures that take atypical patterns of work (part-time work, part-year work etc.) into consideration and use an individual as a worker unit and a household as a poverty unit are likely to portray the occurrence of in-work poverty most accurately.

## **The (in-)significance of firm size for ethnic hiring discrimination: A mixed methods approach using randomized field experiments and qualitative employer interviews**

*Gunn Elisabeth Birkehlund* (University of Oslo, Norway), *Kristian Heggebo* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) & *Jon Rogstad* (Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research, Norway)

The presence of ethnic labor market discrimination has been established beyond any reasonable doubt by a large number of experimental studies in recent years. In order to move the discussions further, we need to pay closer attention to contextual factors, preferably by investigating under which conditions discrimination is less likely to occur. The present paper contributes to this end by examining the importance of firm size for ethnic hiring discrimination by means of a mixed methods approach.

It seems reasonable to expect firm size to matter. Larger firms often have Human Resource departments and more professional recruitment processes. Thus, large firms can screen more candidates (e.g., invite more job applicants to interviews) and they will often possess more accurate information on the quality of applicants because they are involved in more recruitment processes on average. On the other hand, firm size could be inconsequential. Most employers do not recruit people primarily to the firm, but rather to their specific department/section. The most important thing for middle management is probably that the potential newcomer will fit effortlessly into the existing work culture at that particular section, which might come at the expense of diversity issues.

We compile results from three field experiments performed in Norway, and ask to what extent the level of ethnic discrimination varies as a function of firm size. Further, we analyze data from qualitative interviews to shed light on exactly how managers and employers reason while deciding who (not) to hire. The preliminary empirical findings indicate that firm size plays a rather negligible role for the level of discrimination, with one important exception: the largest firms (>500 employees) in our experimental data tend to discriminate less. The interview data point to interesting reasons why firm size is inconsequential for the majority of recruitment processes.

## **Managing choice in Nordic eldercare: privileged and disadvantaged groups of older adults**

*Sara Erlandsson* (Stockholm University, Sweden), *Helene Brodin* (Stockholm University, Sweden), *Lea Graff* (VIVE, Denmark) & *Olli Karsio* (University of Tampere, Finland)

The implementation of choice models in eldercare has raised concerns about increased inequalities among older persons, since skills and resources required for making informed choices are not equally distributed. Needs assessors have a unique insight in implications of choice models on different groups of older people, since they are responsible both for assessing the needs and decide if a person is entitled to eldercare services, and for informing and guiding care users to informed choices.

The aim of this paper is to explore how needs assessors in three nordic cities perceive that choice based eldercare systems affects equality in access to and provision of eldercare services.

Thirty interviews with needs assessors were conducted in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Tampere. These cities were purposely selected as fore-runners in marketization, with different ways of implementing choice models. The interviews covered themes such as benefits and risks of choice models. The analyses focused on how different groups of older adults are disadvantaged or privileged in access to and provision of eldercare.

The paper presents three aspects of how health, ethnicity, social problems, social status, and network, shapes privileged and disadvantage in access to and provision of eldercare: 1) access to information about available services and ability to make informed choices; 2) possibilities to influence the needs assessment process; and 3) opportunities to receive services adjusted to their individual needs. The paper discusses how choice models interplay with inequalities by raising new barriers for groups, who were already disadvantaged.

## **Secondary Education and Timing and Accumulation of Family Background Disadvantages in Finland**

*Niko Eskelinen* (University of Turku, Finland), *Jani Erola* (University of Turku, Finland), *Johanna Kallio* (University of Turku, Finland), *Markus Keski-Säntti* (National Institute of Health and Welfare, Finland) & *Tiina Ristikari* (National Institute of Health and Welfare, Finland)

The effects of family background on individual's adulthood destinations have been widely investigated by the sociologist and other social scientist. Previous studies have indicated that the association between individuals' family background and social destinations is largely mediated through educational attainment. To date, extensive number of studies in this field have mainly focused on how socio-economic disadvantages, such as parental poverty, unemployment and receipt of social assistance, are related to probability of a child completing secondary school. In contrast, there are only few studies that have investigated the association between the parental health disadvantages and educational attainment of second generation. Less is also known how timing and frequency of socio-economic and health disadvantages associate with early adult outcomes such as educational attainment. The aim of this study is to analyze how socio-economic and health disadvantages that are related to parental background are connected with the probability of a child completing secondary school by the age of 25. Special attention is given to the timing and frequency of family background disadvantages throughout the childhood and adolescence. For our analyses, we applied high quality register-based data from Finnish National institute for health and welfare. The 1987 Finnish Birth cohort data covers all children born in Finland in 1987 and followed until the age of 25 years. Exceptionally rich dataset includes sociodemographic and health data for cohort member and their biological parents. Besides descriptive methods, we apply linear and logistic regression models. The findings of our analysis provide important additional insights on how parental health disadvantages are associated with the probability of a child completing secondary school and shed light on how the timing and frequency of parental socioeconomic and health disadvantages are related to child's educational attainment. Suggestions for further research and policy relevance are discussed at the end of the presentation.

## **Having it all, or avoiding black holes? Career-family strategies and the choice between leaving or staying in academia among Swedish PhDs**

*Anne Grönlund* (Umeå University, Sweden) & *Fredrik Snellman* (Umeå University, Sweden)

The gender imbalance at higher academic positions is commonly attributed to female exits from the university, described with powerful metaphors of 'leaky pipelines' and 'black holes'. However, the empirical underpinnings of these metaphors are shaky. In the Nordic countries, women do not seem to leave academia more often than men (e.g., Silander 2010). Also, the bleak metaphors, suggesting that exits are inherently problematic (e.g., Eltzkowitz and Ranga 2011), and the underlying assumption that family responsibilities explain female exits (Mason and Goulden 2004, Williams 2005) seem simplified and outdated. There is a need to study the motives, strategies and implications of leaving versus remaining in academia from a modern gender perspective. Here, Sweden provides an interesting context. Nordic family policies are increasingly criticized for stymying women's careers (e.g., Mandel and Seymonov 2006) and this 'gender equality paradox' may be relevant for understanding exits from academia.

In the paper, we explore the issue of leaving versus staying by utilizing qualitative data from 32 interviews conducted in 2018 with Swedish female and male PhDs working in- or outside academia. The PhD degrees were acquired 2003 - 2013 in eight disciplines in STEM and social sciences and women and men were matched across disciplines.

Preliminary findings: Although leaving is described as a radical, irreversible step, this step can be both accidental and strategic (as can the choice of staying). Job security appears a major reason for leaving and, for both men and women, strongly connected to starting a family. Academic careers are described as requiring an adaptable partner, potentially colliding with the Nordic dual earner-model and equality ideals. Some women remaining in academia report complex strategies (e.g. planning fertility) to deal with career demands and discrimination. Further analysis will explore in greater depth the choice of leaving vs remaining and the perceived implications.

## **Incomeless persons, social assistance receipt and access to social services in Finland**

*Merita Jokela* (National Institute of Health and Welfare, Finland),  
*Minna Kivipelto* (National Institute of Health and Welfare, Finland) &  
*Minna Ylikännö* (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland)

Living with no primary income, that is, incomeless, refers to individuals with no other incomes but social assistance, housing benefit or other benefits exempt from taxation. The amount of persons living with no primary income has increased during the past decade. According to the Finnish Social Insurance Institution (Kela), there were over 47 000 incomeless persons living in Finland in 2017. From the social policy perspective, this is an interesting group as they tend to be the ones who do not fit into any specific policy category and thus are often excluded from targeted services. In the universalistic Nordic welfare state with strong emphasis on equality, this can be considered a major contributor of inequality, and also social exclusion.

Using the Finnish administrative register data provided by Kela on social assistance recipients, we examine the incomeless population in Finland during the years 2017 and 2018. We study 1) the duration and continuity of the periods that individuals live without primary incomes, 2) the prevalence of reduced social assistance among incomeless individuals and reasons for the reduction and 3) what kind of other measures and benefits incomeless individuals received aside from social assistance (e.g. rehabilitative work experience, housing benefit). Finally, we discuss the role of social work in supporting incomeless individuals in the present centralized social assistance system.

## **The virtuous circle of comprehensive school – layers, dimensions and fragments (*contributed paper*)**

*Mira Kalalahti* (University of Helsinki, Finland) & *Janne Varjo* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

According to the common comprehension Finnish comprehensive school system is able to combine equality and quality. Since its origin in 1960s, the comprehensive system has been founded on the idea of equality of opportunity, concerning social class, gender and place of residence

alike. The universalist principle involves issues concerning the uniformity of the compulsory education, such as the homogeneity of schools and learning outcomes, and non-selective admission policies.

What is the legitimation of comprehensive school? Universalist welfare systems, such as comprehensive school, promote equality in society. Under circumstances where resources and possibilities are distributed relatively evenly citizens are likely to share the sense of solidarity. This builds generalised trust, which is the key component of social capital.

Our presentation is based on the comprehension how education policies, design to increase social capital, form a complex chain of events that reinforce themselves through a feedback loop. These cycles will continue in the direction of their momentum until an external factor intervenes and breaks the cycle. Heuristically, it draws from the theory on circular cumulative causation. (Myrdal 1956.)

Evidently, the educational reforms since 1990s have not reinforced the virtuous cycle of comprehensive school. The universalist and non-selective comprehensive system have diversified and gradually altered towards more selectivist model of provision of basic education. New mechanisms accepting differentiation by social class, place of residence, gender and ethnic have emerged within the comprehensive system.

In our presentation, we outline the functioning of the virtuous circle of comprehensive school by three policy threads analysed in our studies. First, we discuss how the comprehensive school was born as a part of welfare state reform. Second, we elaborate how the notion of equal educational opportunities has involved more individual contents and meanings. Third, we ponder the future possibilities for universalist service systems in a diversifying society.

## **The Geographic Maelstrom of Marginalization: Segregation of Long-Term Benefit Recipients in Denmark 1996-2016.**

*Kristian Kongshøj* (Aalborg University, Denmark)

If various various groups and social classes increasingly live in separate places, we know from studies on 'neighbourhood effects' and similar literature that this might have negative implications for various dimensions of social cohesion. Using Danish registry data covering all of the

adult population, this article shows how Danes in working age who have spent more than four of the last five years on income benefits are increasingly segregated at the municipal level. In other words, they have become less evenly distributed within the last decade. Particularly in Copenhagen there are fewer long-term marginalized than before, while their numbers have increased in other municipalities, particularly in Western Denmark. Other municipalities in South-Eastern and North-Western Denmark have had high prevalence of long-term marginalization throughout the period. The paper also investigates preliminary associations with geographic mobility. Throughout the period 1996-2016 municipalities with high numbers of long-term marginalized also have had relatively few new citizens moving in, but this indication of geographic 'sorting' has gradually become more pronounced. Besides reviewing implications for social cohesion, the paper also discusses the causes with a primary focus on geographic dynamics on the modern labour market.

### **Middle-class support for Welfare Services**

*Anders Lindbom* (Uppsala University, Sweden)

The Paradox of Redistribution (PoR) argues that high-qualitative social policies make the middle classes support a comprehensive type of welfare state. The original argument focused on social insurance, but my paper argues that the idea can be applied to welfare services as well. I use data from a survey experiment on Swedish health care, primary education, elder care and social care. The results of the empirical analyses suggest that PoR works in this kind of setting too. I moreover suggest certain developments of the theory's micro-link.

### **Income mobility of poor individuals in neighbourhoods of different status: consequences for spatial income inequality**

*Maria Vaalavuo* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland)

Research question and background

This study analyses income mobility of low-income individuals in neighbourhoods of different income status in three major Finnish cities. The principal objective is to study the chances of upward income mobility across neighbourhoods. Secondly, we study simultaneously upward income and residential mobility. Ambitiously, the study thus integrates the

dimensions of time and place into the study of monetary poverty and inequality. Furthermore, we go on looking what kind of effect the potential differences in income and residential mobility have on income inequality between neighbourhoods. The results can help us understand mechanisms behind segregation in cities if patterns of income mobility differ by neighbourhood status and if income mobility affects residential mobility. Furthermore, the results will illustrate whether neighbourhoods could have an overlooked role in the study of income inequality.

## Data and methods

We employ exceptionally rich register data spanning from 2004 to 2014 and comprising the total population living in Finland. We will follow individuals for five years. Using logistic regression we will study the chances of upward mobility in neighbourhoods of different income status controlling for immigrant background, age, gender, and changes in family type and labour market status.

## Preliminary results

We find that more than half of those in the poorest income quintile in 2009 had not moved up the income ladder five years later. Secondly, we see that there are some differences in income mobility when we look at neighbourhoods of different income status. Upward income mobility is more frequent in areas of origin that have higher income status. First tentative results from the logistic regression analysis confirms the result when controlled for immigrant background, age, gender, changes in civil status and labour market status, number of children, city, and year. However, a first analysis of differences in median incomes (i.e. when we look at the whole income distribution, not just the bottom) across areas shows that individual income mobility would decrease spatial income differences in cities, but residential mobility cancels out this effect.

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## **8 The practices and consequences of aging and care policies in Nordic countries**

Coordinators: *Marie Konge Nielsen* (Syddansk Universitet, Denmark) & *Minna Zechner* (Seinäjäki University of Applied Sciences, Finland)

The transition of the Nordic welfare states has profoundly affected the delivery of publicly funded health and care services to older adults. Market practices, such as competition and choice between public and private providers, have been introduced in the service provision and the increasing emphasis on ageing in place has resulted in heavy reductions of beds in hospitals and residential care. Thus, growing numbers of increasingly old and frail individuals are living at home supported or not by their families, communities and home care services. These changes polarize care for older adults: less affluent recourse to informal care more often than affluent ones. Those with more cultural and economic capital are better able to make informed choices of care providers. It is likely that digitalization, whereby services are partly or entirely transferred to internet or they are provided by using digital technologies, adds to the polarization. The panel addresses care of older adults and the consequences of transformations of care policies in Nordic countries.

### **ABSTRACTS**

#### **Demographic panic and the twists and turns of long-term care policy in Finland**

*Teppo Kröger* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

Long-term care policy of Finland is a paradox: on the one hand, Finland has been one of the first nations to start building modern home-based care services for older people and Finnish policy is still officially adhered to the Nordic welfare model and its universalist aspirations but, on the other hand, especially since the beginning of the 1990s, policy development in Finland has been characterized by the central state's constant avoidance of responsibility.

This paper aims to map the development of long-term care policy in Finland since the start of the 1990s. Various policy changes have taken place

during the last three decades. The main argument of the chapter is that these changes have to a large part been motivated by what is called here ‘demographic panic’, that is, fear of consequences of population ageing to the public purse.

First, the paper describes the development of the volumes of main long-term care provisions from 1990 to 2015, based on social care statistics. The main part of the paper analyses five different and even contradictory long-term care policy developments that have taken place in Finland: decentralization, recentralization, deinstitutionalization, refamilisation and marketization, and looks for their common denominator.

Long-term care policy-making in Finland has been based on demographic panic as the authorities have focused their attention to find ways how the public sector can escape from facing the real needs of ageing citizens and their family members. De/recentralization, deinstitutionalization, refamilisation and marketization have all been used primarily in order to cut down public responsibilities for long-term care and curb the anticipated growth of care expenditures. At the same time, no real effort has been made to make a progress in meeting long-term care needs of the ageing population.

### **The Changing Role of the Third Sector for Social and Health Services for Old People in Finland, the UK and South Korea** *Youngbin Kwon* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

The objective of this paper is to identify the roles of the third sector for elderly care services in comparative perspective.

There has been dramatic changes on the roles of social actors after several crises. In particular, financial and demographic issues bring pressure to public sector. The concern about the correlation between the insufficiencies of the public service and the incapacity of the government triggered self-reliance, self-control trend through the third sector organisation.

In elderly care field, this change has clearly appeared for the last decades. Most government turn their policy from state-driven care services (formal care) to family-centred care service (informal care), and emphasizing the role of private and the third sector.

Meanwhile, this phenomenon happens differently in different welfare regime. In Scandinavian countries, there are relatively limited roles of third sector as to public services because of strong state-centred provision, whereas the third sector organisations has more responsibility in liberal states. Therefore, the contribution to knowledge here is in identifying and scoping the different roles of the third sector to cover wider context of elderly care field.

This paper employs ‘process tracing’ methods for the analysis of causal relationship between the changes of welfare state and the roles of the third sector. Then, it compares the findings in three different countries.

The results imply the deeper understanding on the social problems on elderly care services risen by the welfare state reform, and incorporate the explanation on the social changes from the state and market to the third sector. It also provides conceptual basis to social entrepreneurs who are pursuing to provide care services to old people and policy makers to design or evaluating public service reform provision.

Furthermore it propose a way to explain more efficient and sustainable elderly care service models using the third sector organisations in wider context.

## **InForCare - Quadruple helix model for informal care and voluntary assistance**

*Santiago Martinez* (University of Agder, Norway) & *Jenny Bång* (County Council of Värmland, Sweden)

Informal care represents one of the fundamental pillars of the health systems in Europe, with reported figures of more than 80% of health care provided by informal carers [1]. These carers are outside of a professional or formal framework, and count for more than 100 million people just in Europe. Of these, 42% are non-working carers [2]; the other 58% are called employed carers, where those who spend more than 10 hours caring a week are at significant risk of leaving their jobs [3]. In this context, the European (EU) research and innovation project InForCare, funded by the EU Interreg VB program, is developing a Quadruple helix model for informal care and voluntary assistance to enable informal care and voluntary work in connection to public service delivery. The model refers to four important actors in the society in general and the service

delivery in particular and are represented and target by the project: citizens, academia, business and government. There is a variety of different topics currently being addressed in the project. For instance, broadening health professionals' perspectives on including family relatives in the care of patients, as part of a national campaign in Sweden for rising the awareness of the voluntary aspects of being a family carer. In Belgium, there are activities linked to an "Informal carer café" aimed at tackling loneliness among relatives as carers. In addition, providing relevant and understandable information for these carers is the goal of a digital service under development. In the UK and Denmark, two universities are serving as a hub for volunteers among the student population. In Norway, 3 municipalities are piloting a digital service to recruit, manage and follow-up informal carers and volunteers. The ultimate goal of the project is to enhance cooperation and innovate social services co-creating with societal key stakeholders.

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### **Older people as care service consumer: A Finnish perspective** *Jiby Mathew Puthenparambil* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland) & *Lina Van Aershot* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

Finland is often considered as a welfare state, where the public sector plays a predominant role in organizing care for its residents. It is also highly acknowledged with the universalistic approach in the care delivery system. However in recent years, social care service for older people in Finland has undergone several changes, particularly the strengthening of marketization of care. In this context, this paper seeks an answer to the questions: what type of social care services older people buy from the private sector, how do they finance these services and whether older people are willing to pay for private care services in the future. This study used a cross-section surveys 'Everyday life, support and services' conducted in 2010 (N=1436) and 2015 (N=1474) in two cities (Jyväskylä and Tampere) among people aged 75 years and older living at home or in service housing. Preliminary findings show that the use of private care

service has increased, mainly in the domestic help. Additionally, the percentage of older people using out-of-pocket payment to purchase private service has also increased significantly within the last five years. Almost one-third of the older people express their willingness to pay for private services in the future.

Keywords: Finland, Older People, Social care service, Out-of-pocket payment

### **Effectiveness of the 'Participatory group-based care management' for +65 aged people**

*Hanna Ristolainen* (University of Eastern Finland), *Sirpa Kannasoja* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland), *Elisa Tiihikainen* (University of Eastern Finland), *Mari Kivitalo* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland), *Kati Närhi* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland) & *Sari Rissanen* (University of Eastern Finland)

Health and wellbeing inequalities are difficult to reduce within all age groups. Current methods seem not to reach older people with multiple needs. As part of the Strategic Research Council at the Academy of Finland funded consortium project "Inclusive Promotion of Health and Wellbeing (PROMEQ)" this intervention study examines effects of 'Participatory group-based care management'. Six months intervention model was designed based on focus group discussions with end-users: older people living alone. A mixed-method Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT) was conducted in six Finnish municipalities and cities with all together 392 participants. Baseline and three follow-up surveys for intervention and control groups, participatory observation and focus group discussions were used to evaluate the intervention process and to study the health and wellbeing effects.

Used outcome variables were the WHO Quality of Life-BREF (WhoQoL-Bref) instrument, the Revised UCLA loneliness scale (with 12 items), and Trust (measured with two statements of generalized trust and six statements of institutional trust). A longitudinal regression with generalized estimating equations (GEE) model were used to estimate parameters for both group (intervention and control) and time effects, also group-by-time interaction. The analysis was conducted in segmented groups according to QoL using the cut-off point 60. The intervention showed positive effect on loneliness among those with poor QoL and enhanced trust

in public and social care. In addition, generalized trust and trust in municipal decision-making enhanced among those with good QoL. Preliminary findings from qualitative data support these results adding detailed information of causal mechanisms. Based on the findings, the intervention as a working practice of care management has potential to increase generalized trust and some components of institutional trust. Additionally, the intervention as a group-based and social supportive method offers a promising approach when aiming to reduce loneliness within certain target groups.

### **Knitting alone - in the city – A life course interpretation of population ageing and head count demographics**

*Gustavo Toshiaki Lopes Sugahara* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) & *Viggo Nordvik* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

This paper is knit around three pillars. The first is the well-known fact of population ageing across both Norway and most other countries. Second, population ageing is played out very differently in different parts of the country; both coincidental historical legacies and specific city demographic patterns contribute to this. Finally, at the individual level, we regard ageing very much as a social phenomenon; individuals are not atomistic entities, they live linked lives – or to term it different they are individuals in relation(s). The access to kinship and spousal links is obviously part of the life.

In short our research question is: Does a focus on head count demographics hide important aspects of the challenges of population ageing posed upon welfare agencies? We propose life links adjustments that account for presence and age of a spouse and presence and spatial proximity of off springs in the regions as a way to analyse this.

We start out with a description of the specifics both the simple head count demographics of the three regions studied. Moreover, we utilise population registers with complete coverage, combined with a parent-child identifier which enables us to map spousal situation and presence and location of children (and grandchildren) of the elderly population in the three regions considered. A main finding is even though Oslo have far lower shares of elderly than the other regions considered, the share of elderly living without a spouse and have no children is higher in Oslo than in the other regions considered.

## **Realization of ageing in place-policy in Swedish eldercare: consequences for family members as informal caregivers**

*Petra Ulmanen* (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Because of substantial reductions in hospital and nursing home beds in Sweden, an increasing number of older persons with extensive and complex health and social care needs are cared for at home. The need for family care increases, especially the need for managerial care (i.e. handling contacts with health and social care services, including choosing providers, getting access to and coordinate them).

The aim of this paper is to analyse the extent, content and consequences of family caregiving in Sweden today from a gender perspective. A mixed methods approach is used, combining a nationally representative postal survey on persons aged 45-66 years from 2013 (response rate 61%, n=3,630), with an ongoing longitudinal interview study in Stockholm county with so far 17 adult children of older persons with extensive and complex health and social care needs.

The survey show that 26% of the middle-aged population are caregivers, defined as providing care at least once a week. 80% of caregivers assist an older person (65+), most often a frail parent. Women provide more intensive care and are more frequently negatively affected by caregiving in their well-being, work situation, labour force participation and economy. To provide managerial care increases the risk for negative consequences for women more than for men, which is confirmed by the interviews. While only women say that they do not want to be a nuisance ('a troublesome daughter'); only men claim being used to make complaints and 'make things happen' in their professional role.

Most interviewees are very critical of home care services. Although frail older persons are discharged from hospital 'quicker and sicker', it is not framed as a health care problem, rather as a social care problem. Home care services are not regarded as a reliable solution after discharge, and residential care is too hard to get.

## **The Norwegian Model of Welfare State through the Current Challenges. Healthcare Practices In The Perspective Of Aging In Place**

*Gloria Ziglioli (University of Pisa, Italy) & Santiago Gil Martinez (University of Agder, Norway)*

Traditional Nordic welfare state principles such as universalism, inclusion and social cohesion face challenges due to deep social and economic transformations. For instance, significant changes in care practices are taking place in Norway, a mixed-care production country when referring to the multiple ways of providing care in post-industrial societies [1]. The rising of women's participation in the labour-market together with the marketisation and digitalisation processes in health care since the 1990s, have placed for-profit organizations and families [2] as new but relevant stakeholders with health services paid out-of pocket. Such development is denominated as "care going private" [3].

In particular this research is framed under digitalisation of health care, addressing the integration of the welfare technology in a policy priority area in Norway. An increase on the demand side requires new governance approaches and efficient tools to meet the healthcare challenges, while at the same time supporting the welfare system as a whole. The research investigates to what extent technology-driven care practices could tamper the principles on which the Norwegian welfare system is based, for example increasing social inequalities.

Certainly, technology represents one source of opportunity in order to improve users' autonomy and independence, across users' diversity of knowledge and experience. This Norwegian casestudy will show how health care services are being transformed into more user-oriented, affordable and efficient ones in the Norwegian southern region. Nevertheless, welfare technology poses further issues to address, including dignity, safety, privacy, data protection and informed consent, which with direct implications for communities services, users and their caregivers, and for the welfare system as a whole. Therefore, the paper looks into how the resilience of the Norwegian welfare system, making the principles of universalism and equity coexist with the new models of organization and production of healthcare services.

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## 9 Political emotions in the Nordic welfare states

Coordinators: *Hanna Wass* (University of Helsinki, Finland) & *Anu Kantola* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Globalization has aggravated conflicts between political winners and losers (Kriesi et al. 2008) and insiders and outsiders, i.e. wage earners with protected jobs and those who are unemployed or hold temporary jobs with few employment rights (Lindvall and Rueda 2014). In such situation, emotions play increasingly stronger role in politics (Manning and Holmes 2014; Papacharissi 2014). The winners in globalization feel politically capable and optimistic, whereas the losers may often feel powerless and pessimistic, leading to political apathy. At the same time, political emotion of solidarity seems to be weakening or fragmenting into resentful, divergent, mutually hostile political bubbles. The Nordic ‘happy democracies’, traditionally characterized by consensual decision-making procedures, corporatism, relatively high turnout, wide representation of various social groups, active membership in social organizations, national solidarity and institutional and social trust (Bengtsson & al. 2014), are not immune to these changes. Economic and social inequalities and political polarization might undermine the Nordic model (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010) and support for redistribution (Hall 2017), particularly if policy-making does not respond to the new social groups and interests.

This panels explores the Nordic model from the perspective of democratic participation and its emotional basis. We encourage papers examining a wide range of political emotions, such as trust, solidarity, empathy, anger and resentment, at the level of individual citizens as well as political system. Papers discussing the means to enhance the democratic resilience of the Nordic model are particularly warranted.

## ABSTRACTS

### **Fear of Crime and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments in Europe 2010–2016**

*Pietari Kujala* (University of Turku, Finland) & *Johanna Kallio* (University of Turku, Finland)

Immigration into Europe has risen in the 21st century, eventually leading to the Migrant Crisis in 2015. In a climate of tension, uncertainty and confrontation, anti-immigrant sentiments have intensified throughout Europe. However, a unified theory explaining anti-immigrant sentiments does not exist. In order to better understand their origins, further examination is important. Previous studies have explored many viewpoints. Common explanations relate to perceived threat from immigrants on economic well-being or culture. However, the possible explanatory power of fear of crime, i.e. fear of becoming a victim of crime has been studied sparsely, especially after the start of the Migrant Crisis. This is the case despite the fact that fear of crime has been associated with multiple negative outcomes in the past, including anti-immigrant sentiments.

This study examines how fear of crime is associated with perceived threat from immigrants on the economy, culture and the general quality of life between and in European countries and provides theoretical discussion and empirical testing to this less researched approach. Pooled cross-sectional analyses and mixed-effects logistic regression are used as analysis methods. The research data come from the European Social Survey 2010–2016 and country-level data provided by Eurostat. The analyses include 18 European countries.

Preliminary results indicate that stronger fear of crime is a significant predictor of a stronger tendency to perceive immigrants as a threat to the economy, culture and general quality of life in a country. Distrust in people and lack of social engagement appear to be mediating factors on the individual-level. These results coincide with the integrated threat theory, which sees a perceived threat from a group against another group resulting in prejudice against the supposedly threatening group, even if the perceived threat is not founded on reality. Further implications of the results and policy recommendations are also discussed.

*Keywords: fear of crime, anti-immigrant sentiments, migrant crisis, pooled cross-sectional analysis, mixed-effects linear regression*

## **Citizens' views on administrative procedures in Finnish Internet discussions**

*Kanerva Kuokkanen* (Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki, Finland)

The aim of this paper is to look at political emotions caused by administrative procedures present in Internet discussions. It is related, first, to the mainly political and administrative discussion about “administrative” or “regulatory burden”. According to the OECD (2012, 2), administrative procedures from obtaining passports to claiming social benefits “can impose a heavy burden on citizens’ time and can be irritating when, for example, citizens are asked to provide the same information several times”. However, in practice, much of this burden tends to concentrate on people who are already in a vulnerable position, usually recipients of social benefits (Kuokkanen 2018). Second, the paper employs literature about the relation between public authorities and citizens, such as that on “street-level bureaucrats” (Lipsky 1980), but also studies on emotions and trust towards public authorities. Finally, as the most central discussions concern the discussants’ experiences of social benefits and welfare services, the paper reflects the current situation of the Nordic welfare state and its potential exclusion mechanisms.

The research material consists of discussions concerning social security and benefits, permits and legal processes on Finland’s largest Internet discussion forum Suomi24. In this sample, negative experiences of administrative procedures and public authorities tend to be overrepresented, but the data gives an insight into personal experiences and viewpoints of the discussants, rarely reached through other channels. The preliminary results concern the importance of asking for advice from peers rather than public authorities in fear of sanctions; the complexity and cracks of the social security system in case of people with multiple problems; and critique towards street-level bureaucrats and low trust towards the system as a whole among the discussants. Moreover, the analysis raises the question about the relation between the discussants’ experience-based knowledge and emotions.

## **The Nokia factor: The Failed Promise of Globalization and the rise of the Finns Party**

*Mikko Poutanen* (University of Tampere, Finland)

Towards the end of the 1990s, Nokia became the emblematic Finnish company that spearheaded a small Nordic nation out of a recession and into global markets. The national success story solidified the perception that Finland's future lay beyond the welfare state. State-centred extensive social protections were reconceptualised as a drag on the Finnish economy. While global political and economic elites celebrated the new era, this development created polarizing influences previously subdued.

The Eurozone crisis brought an abrupt end to the success of Nokia and Finland alike. Thousands were laid off as the vanguard of Finnish globalization and national prestige foundered, while at the same time Finland was asked to participate in the debt-relief packages in the Eurozone. It was at this juncture when a relatively small party on the fringes of the Finnish political system found its audience. In the parliamentary elections for 2007 the Finns party commanded 4,1% of the vote. In 2011 that share had ballooned to 19,1%, making the party tie for second place in the Parliamentary elections.

This presentation investigates the conditions of the Finnish political economy, exemplified by the rise and fall of Nokia, and how liberal market policies of globalization created its own domestic counterforce in the form of the populist politics of the Finns Party. The presentation draws together previously separate research strains to synergize a case-based analysis of how the downfall of the Nokia Corporation triggered an acute sense of crisis that was demographically specific. This suggests direct economic consequences are less meaningful than an experienced sense of being alienated from the political economy.

## **Who deserves? Political implications of emotions in the Nordic welfare-state context**

*Hanna Wass* (University of Helsinki, Finland), *Anu Kantola* (University of Helsinki, Finland) & *Heikki Hiilamo* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

In his recent contribution, Piston (2018) suggests that sympathy for the poor and resentment of the rich are important mechanisms shaping Americans political preferences. Yet, the strength of the effect of class group attitudes on political behavior depends on the extent to which the public is aware of the redistributive implications of certain policy proposal and whether the issue is framed in terms that emphasize class consideration or fades them. While these findings seem rather surprising given the deep-rooted inequalities in American political landscape, they should be even more pronounced in the context of the Nordic welfare states. The Nordic consensual decision-making procedures, corporatism, wide representation of various social groups, active membership in social organizations and remarkable levels of both institutional and social trust (Bengtsson & al. 2014) provide a particularly favorite breeding ground for egalitarian class attitudes. During the era of economic and social transformation, however, political emotions of solidarity seems to be in flux (Hall 2017), and possibly fragmenting into resentful, divergent and mutually hostile political bubbles. On the basis of representative survey with 4,000 respondents, we examine whether and how class attitudes affect vote choices in Finland. Furthermore, we test whether corresponding connection apply to attitudes towards other groups alike, such as immigrants and asylum-seekers.

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## 10 Reference budgets as a tool for welfare research

Coordinators: *Lauri Mäkinen* (University of Turku, Finland), *Pasi Moisio* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland) & *Elling Borgeraas* (Consumption Research Norway – SIFO, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

Measuring living standards of the people has always been at the center of social policy research. For this purpose, several methods have been used. Reference budgets, which are one of the oldest methods for analyzing living standards, are increasingly being used in the contemporary social policy research. Reference budgets are baskets of goods and services that when priced can be used to represent any living standard. Typically reference budgets are constructed to represent minimum or decent minimum living standard that enable people to participate in the society. This enables to use reference budgets for several purposes such as to contextualize the at-risk-of-poverty indicator and in assessing the adequacy of benefits or wages. In the Nordic countries, reference budgets have a strong foothold in many strands of social policy research.

This session welcomes empirical, theoretical and methodological papers that utilize reference budgets in social policy research. These include for example papers that focus on poverty research, assessing impacts of policy reform, evaluating the adequacy of minimum income protection or analyzing the cost of children and household of varying size and composition. The papers can either be national or cross-national.

### ABSTRACTS

**What is the minimum budget for families and their children to have a healthy food diet in Barcelona? A revision and update of the Healthy Food Basket using the Reference Budgets approach.**

*Elena Carrillo* (Ramon Llull University, Spain), *Marta Anguera* (Ramon Llull University, Spain), *Irene Cussó* (Ramon Llull University, Spain) & *Jordi Riera* (Ramon Llull University, Spain)

Once a concept only used in developing countries, the notion of food security has become increasingly frequent in territories like Catalonia,

where since the economic crisis the number of families with difficulties to have proper access to nutritious food has increased remarkably. Food insecurity situations influence not only physical health, but also psychological and social well-being. Our paper focuses on the development of a healthy food basket for families with children based on the reference budgets (RBs) approach. We describe RBs as priced baskets containing the minimum goods and services necessary for well-described types of families to have an adequate social participation. In 2014 we constructed fully-specified RBs for Barcelona city based on the theoretical framework and methodology designed within the ImPRovE project<sup>1</sup>. We present here an update of this previous work and, specifically, a revised version of the healthy food basket for families with children, including for the first time children aged below 3 years old. In order to construct the healthy food basket we rely on various sources of information, mainly national guidelines and expert opinion, as well as scientific literature and survey data on cultural habits. The results will show specific children dietary needs and the weight of the different food categories. Finally, we will also present a socio-educative proposal in order to apply these results for assessing family and children dietary needs in contexts of poverty to guarantee social rights and reduce children malnutrition.

<sup>1</sup> <http://improve-research.eu/>

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## **The experience of updating the Finnish Reference Budgets in 2018**

*Anna-Riitta Lehtinen* (University of Helsinki, Finland) &  
*Kristiina Aalto* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

The Finnish Reference Budgets (RBs) have been compiled in decent minimum level of consumption in 2010 and updated thoroughly in 2018. The reference budget households cover the most common family types in Finland, and also all the essential household expenditure groups are included.

The Finnish Reference Budgets are compiled by using a consensual method, i.e. focus group discussions with consumers and experts. In Fin-

land the consumers have homework assignments as well. The consumers' role is most important in selecting the essential commodities but more crucial is to understand the reasoning why certain commodities are important for a decent minimum living. Content analysis is used in tracing commodities and their reasoning.

The main result of the updating is the RBs for different reference households. Besides that we are interested in changes in contents of commodity baskets between 2010 and 2018 and a comparison of spending between the RBs and the Household Budget Survey (HBS) 2016. Updating in 2018 was the second time we used the consensual method comprehensively. We made minor revisions, e.g. we held two rounds of focus group discussions instead of three and most focus group discussions with mixed household types.

The RBs start from the consumers' subjective experiences and end up an objective definition of a certain consumption level. Thus the content of the budgets reflect current consumption and follow the changes in society. Because of that the RBs have been utilized as benchmarks of levels of social security, indicators for adequacy of subsistence, and practical tools in Finland.

### **Using reference budgets to evaluate the adequacy of the basic social security: case Finland**

*Anna-Riitta Lehtinen* (University of Helsinki, Finland), *Pasi Moisio* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland), *Susanna Mukkila* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland), *Lauri Mäkinen* (University of Turku, Finland) & *Jussi Tervola* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland)

Reference budgets are a multipurpose tool for welfare research. They have been used for example to contextualize poverty indicators and to evaluate the adequacy of social security. For the latter, the reference budgets offer a distinct and understandable benchmark. As reference budgets are priced baskets of goods and services, they give a concrete example of the decent minimum living standard and of the amount of money needed to obtain that. Here reference budgets have an advantage over the at-risk-of-poverty thresholds, which cannot establish what kind of living standard can be achieved with it.

This paper presents the key results from the mandatory evaluation of basic social security in Finland 2015-2019. Based on the act on National Pension Index (2010), the evaluation has to be conducted every fourth year. The first evaluation report was published in 2011, the second in 2015 and the third is due in March 2019. The mandatory evaluation aims at providing a solid research-based perspective on the development of the adequacy of basic social security during the past parliamentary term. The objective is to provide material in support of political decision-making relating to the core questions of social policy. The adequacy of basic social security is evaluated for example in several hypothetical life situations, family types and dwelling characteristics.

### **Can social assistance recipients afford a healthy diet? A comparison of the cost and affordability of 26 cross-nationally comparable food baskets in Europe.**

*Tess Penne & Tim Goedemé (University of Antwerp, Belgium)*

Food is indispensable for the growth and repair of the human body, it provides the body with new energy and protects it from diseases. The reasons for inadequate food intake and unhealthy eating habits are diverse. In this paper, we focus on one potential reason for unhealthy eating patterns: the lack of sufficient income. More in particular, on the basis of a large-scale international EU pilot project with country teams in 26 EU Member States we have calculated the minimum cost of a healthy food basket in a cross-country comparable way. The baskets have been priced in the capital city of each country during the Spring of 2015. Based on national food-based dietary guidelines, nutritionist experts and focus group information, the food baskets illustrate what is minimally needed in order to have access to an adequate diet across Europe. The paper aims to assess to which extent people living on a low income, and more specifically those living on social assistance, have sufficient resources to afford a healthy diet. In a cross-national analysis the paper 1) compares the level of social assistance to the cost of a healthy diet for three different family types, and, 2) estimates the proportion and profile of people with insufficient income to afford a healthy diet (based on EU-SILC). The paper aims, firstly, to contribute to our knowledge of the affordability of a healthy diet, and secondly, to which extent minimum income schemes are sufficiently high to obtain this adequate food intake. Thereby, the paper shows that reference budgets, by going beyond income and taking an

empirically grounded, needs-based approach, offer a concrete and informative tool for EU and national policy makers.

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## **11 Resilience of the Nordic welfare state model in the wake of automatization? & Open stream**

Coordinators: *Heikki Hiilamo* (University of Helsinki, Finland) & *Liisa Häikiö* (Tampere University, Finland)

The inclusive Nordic welfare model has facilitated economic growth, stable business environments and excellent living conditions. The high-quality public institutions are supported through a large tax base and a high participation rate. In terms of labour market institutions, the Nordic countries are classified among the so called coordinated market economy countries as opposed to liberal market economy countries.

As small and open economies the Nordic countries are forced to adopt to technological changes in the global markets (Katzenstein 1985). In the wake of automation and digitalization, apart from general education level, also the types of skills may also determine the range of exit options. Workers in the Nordic coordinated market regimes may be less mobile across different occupations relative to workers in liberal market regimes. For this reasons automation would arguably have a substantial impact on workers' employment prospects and economic security in the Nordic countries where workers have vocational and skills-based training with least cross-occupational mobility.

This panel will collect papers which focus on the effects of technological change on social policies, including educational, employment policies in the Nordic. Also papers discussing new innovations such as basic income, participation income and personal social security accounts will be included. In addition, the panel will attract discussion on future directions of social security delivery through digitalization, e.g. social security accounts based on life-course perspective.

## ABSTRACTS

### **Increased needs with age but less support – about misdirected public efforts and dependence on families among older people living alone in Sweden**

*Ulla Melin Emilsson* (Lund University, Sweden) & *Agneta Ståhl* (Lund University, Sweden)

Becoming alone in old age can be a decisive life event that brings major changes depending on various causes as health status, financial resources, family situation, and available welfare services. To continue getting older on its own may imply a strengthening of the individual limits regarding living conditions and thereby increasing dependence on help from others and from society. This presentation is based on findings from two own studies conducted in Sweden seven years apart with the opportunity to follow the same individuals in their daily lives. In 2010, interviews with 18 older people, age 67-90, showed large differences between the men and women. They all tried to live as they always had done. However the men could live as before on their own financial merits, while the women needed assistance from children, grandchildren and the welfare system.

Seven years later, the 14 who were still alive were interviewed a second time. Regardless of gender and living conditions, the impaired health status was the most striking condition. More people were granted home care and transportation services, but the help was designed in a way that did not meet the needs. Paradoxically, when the need had become so great that the old persons were granted assistance, they were too weak to be able to use it. Therefore, family support increased and was relatively larger than society's efforts.

The shortcomings in the welfare state's way of caring for the elderly, that were uncovered seven years ago, appeared to have increased with age and greater need of help. Thus, the gap has even enlarged between social policy promises of opportunities for autonomy and independence to live an active life in old age and the everyday reality for these older people.

## **Transnational welfare strategies among intra-European migrants**

*Marie Godin* (University of Oxford & Birmingham University, UK) & *Justyna Bell* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

This paper aims to explore how migrants navigate their lives, decisions, expectations within the ever changing ‘welfare resource environment’ (inspired by Levitt et al. 2017) in which migrants and non-migrants are embedded. We focus on two groups of EU migrants which are seldom studied together: Polish and British nationals living in Norway, Spain and the UK. The perspective we take on links individual social protection needs across borders, welfare systems in country of migration and origin as well as potential other destinations and ‘welfare repertoires’. We additionally explore shifts and turns in migrant trajectories resulting from economic and political circumstances as well as through applying the concept of “linked lives” (see Glen Edler, 1994) embedded in the life-course literature.

The analysis draws from semi-structured in-depth interviews collected between March 2016 and January 2017 within the MobileWelfare ([www.mobilewelfare.org](http://www.mobilewelfare.org)) comparative empirical study conducted in several European countries.

In our analysis we adapt a transnational perspective moving beyond the ‘welfare-magnet hypothesis’ (Borjas, 1999). We argue that, while economic motivations and welfare considerations are regularly treated separately, both are often inter-twinned. In the case of British migrants, the formal welfare system in the country of origin can sometimes be an incentive to materialise a migration project which then gives access to more economic capital. However, in the case of Polish migrants, the informal welfare system and the support of the family back home has also come to play a role in the realisation of the migration project.

## **Does the Nordic welfare model fit the jobs of the future?**

*Jon Kvist* (Roskilde University, Denmark)

Driven by technological change and globalization more and more people are self-employed or in non-standard jobs. Persons in such jobs are commonly said to guarantee innovation and growth for the welfare society of

tomorrow. But what welfare are people in such jobs offered in the Nordic welfare model? This paper sets out the extent of various types of new jobs and employment form and sketches the challenges they pose for welfare policies. Also the paper analyses recent reforms and debates that seeks to accommodate new employment forms in the Nordic countries and compare these with other European labour market and social protection reforms. The analysis draws on material collected by the European Commission's network of independent experts, ESPN - the European Social Policy Network, for the studies "Access to social protection for people on non-standard contracts and as self-employed in Europe" and "Work-life balance measures for persons of working age with dependent relatives".

### **Different ideals for professional practice within different institutional logics – what is the required competences of nurses and social workers seen from different actors in the field?**

*Tanja H. Nordberg* (Oslo Metropolitan University , Norway) &  
*Tone Alm Andreassen* (Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

Recently, new general requirements for the health and social welfare educations in Norway have been suggested by committees representing the educational institutions, users and employers. Thus, one could presuppose that the suggested general requirements represent the coexistence, overlap and hybridization of different logics. However, whether or not, and how, this may be the case, needs to be explored. This paper analyses which logics that underlie different ideals for professional practice.

In this paper, the suggested general requirements provide a starting point for the analysis of what the ideals for professional practice consist of, seen from both the educational institutions and work organisations. Two professions have been selected for analysis: social workers and nurses. Both social workers and nurses often work in large, bureaucratic organisations. Thus, the general requirements for these educations may provide insights into how different logics guide the required competence for professionals that will work in such institutions, seen from the educational institutions and work organisations. Furthermore, the paper uses data from a public consultation process where a number of organisations representing the professions, employers, users and the state

commented on the general requirements with regards to what they consider central qualifications. Together, this data provides important clues about what is regarded as the essence of the qualifications these professionals should have, seen from different actors in the field. Three research questions guide the analysis:

- 1) What is a social worker's or nurse's core expertise, seen from different actors in the field?
- 2) Which institutional logics are reflected in the different viewpoints?
- 3) To what degree are the different logics dominating, conflicting or overlapping?

With these questions, the article aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion about professional work in organisations. Our approach take as its point of departure that radical shifts – such as educational reforms–challenge institutionalised foundations in which established practices, perceptions of professionalism, models of organizing, divisions of labour, and modes of regulations and governance are embedded.

### **Finnish Industrial Workers' Careers over time – Fragmented or Stabilized?**

*Satu Ojala* (Tampere University, Finland), *Aart-Jan Riekhoff* (The Finnish Centre on Pensions, Finland) & *Liudmila Lipiäinen* (Tampere University, Finland)

As a result of global competition and technological development, labour markets are undergoing continuous change. The changes affect export industries' workers' jobs in many ways. Employees are required to have more and more specialized knowhow and continuous readiness to change. Theories of job polarization have warned that the change leads to the creation of low- and high-skill jobs, while the middle is being hollowed out.

We ask how work careers have developed in specific industrial sectors compared to the working age population as a whole. We use FLEED – the linked employer-employee total data of Statistics Finland from 1988 until 2016 – and select industrial employees who were born in 1958–1970, to compare their careers as they were 30–45 year old. We analyze

the stability of their employment over time by examining their annual main labour market statuses (employed, unemployed, student, disabled, retired, out of labour force), adding estimators for changes of workplace and industry. We focus on the forest, metal and chemical sectors' employees at various educational levels. Our methodological approach is an application of sequence analysis suitable to estimate the stability of careers across cohorts and over time.

The paper is part of the research project *Fragmented work careers?* funded by the Finnish Work Environment Fund (2018–2020). The main interest is to analyse the hypotheses of de/stabilization and de/standardization of work careers. Despite of the commonly held assumptions, earlier international, longitudinal analyses do not find any overall de-standardization or destabilization of employed populations' work careers, neither in the US, Europe, nor in Finland. Yet, there may be differences between genders and socioeconomic groups.

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## **12 Solidarity in the Nordic welfare states**

Coordinators: *Marianne Takle* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) & *Are Vegard Haug* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

The theme of this panel is the role of solidarity in the Nordic welfare states. Solidarity has commonly included mutual obligations and entitlements within some kind of community such as religious or political groups, classes, local places and nations. While national solidarity is essential in Europe, we increasingly observe calls for solidarity that are European and cosmopolitan. Such appeals for solidarity are based on a growing awareness of how complex policy challenges such as climate change, migration, poverty and social cohesion can only be solved by crossing national boundaries. Moreover, there is an increasing call for solidarity based on human rights derived from international law and humanitarian values.

Nevertheless, existing welfare states rely on bounded solidarity. The commitments to common public solutions, which are crucial to the Nordic welfare states, seem to make self-interest insufficient or unreliable on its own to maintain a welfare state. If modern welfare states are motivated by attitudes of mutual concern and mutual obligations towards fellow co-citizens, how can this be combined with wicked and global challenges?

In order to better understand the nature of these challenges, and the responses and consequences for the Nordic welfare states, we need to understand the meaning of solidarity – and how it can be enhanced or diminished. What are the sources of solidarity? What are the boundaries of solidarity? What are the threats to solidarity?

The types of paper we expect to this panel are analysing different forms of solidarity and the combinations or conflicts between them. The papers can be both empirical and theoretical, and come from various academic disciplines. In this panel, we apply a broad approach to solidarity. We do not only define solidarity in redistributive terms, but also civic and democratic solidarity are crucial in the Nordic welfare states.

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **Experience of solidarity: a long-term approach to welfare state history**

*Johanna Annola* (Tampere University, Finland), *Minna Harjula* (Tampere University, Finland) & *Heikki Kokko* (Tampere University, Finland)

#### 1. Main issue

Our paper will present the history of experiences as a new long-term approach to the study of solidarity, which may broaden the established traditions of welfare state research. We approach welfare state building from below, as everyday experience. The focus is on the lived individual-society relationship, which enabled the construction and adoption of the welfare state in the local communities. By concentrating on one country, Finland, it is possible to capture and analyse long-term changes reflected in language and institutionalised in local welfare practices.

## 2. Type of methodology and sources of data

We approach the welfare state as a lived, local experience crystallised in the relationship between individual and society. Social science history, as the constant interplay between theories and historical empirical material, provides the cornerstone of the study. Our novel approach leads us to focus on research material, which has been under-utilised and ignored in previous research, such as datamining of the entire corpus of early Finnish newspapers, archival material and oral history.

## 3. Expected findings

The focus on experiences indicates the multilayered historicity of the welfare state. Our paper will indicate that the solidarity in welfare state is based on particular individual-society-relationship that comes visible by long-term historical approach. By focusing on three turning points in 1850-1980, the paper explores the conceptual construction and practical adaptation of social beliefs, which made the realisation of the utopia of welfare possible in Finland. In order to understand and regulate the unpredictable change and reformulation of the individual-society relationship in Nordic welfare state in the digital era, it is crucial to know how it took shape in the modern(ising) society of the 19th and 20th centuries.

## **Eroding solidarity in the social assistance and basic services, case Finland**

*Sanna Blomgren* (National Institute for health and welfare, Finland) &  
*Paula Saikkonen* (National Institute for health and welfare, Finland)

The Finnish social assistance reform was implemented at the beginning of 2017. The implementation, how the social assistance was centralized from the municipalities at the national level, caused problems for the disadvantaged groups who are most in need of support. However, these problems were mostly recognized beforehand yet they seemed to be ignored in the implementation of the new system. The case offers an opportunity to scrutinize solidarity or its relationality as it enlightens attitudes towards social assistance recipients. The paper scrutinizes equality and equity in the social assistance and services for the disadvantaged groups and it asks what the boundaries of solidarity are in the Nordic welfare state?

Primary research material consists of data based on surveys targeted to municipal social workers (n= 369) and the management of municipal social services (n=111). The policy documents are used as background information to illuminate what was said about the consequences of the reform for the disadvantaged groups beforehand. The analysis starts by showing the winners and losers of the new system then it scrutinizes the ignorance towards the possible problems for the disadvantaged groups.

After the reform, it has been difficult for social work to reach people with cumulated social problems, the need for social services is harder to discover due to the disconnected services. On the other hand, the new system is much better for clients who only need financial aid. The paper ends by discussing the ability of the welfare system to fulfill needs of the disadvantaged groups and ponders the equality and equity in a relation to solidarity.

### **Breaking the cycle: Towards solidarity with future mothers in care**

*Kenneth Burns* (University College Cork, Ireland), *Sagrario Sanchez-Cabezudo* (The National Distance Education University, Spain), *Katrin Križ* (Emmanuel College, US), *Jenny Krutzinna* (University of Bergen, Norway), *Katre Luhamaa* (University of Bergen, Norway), *Thomas Meysen* (International Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Germany), *Marit Skivenes* (University of Bergen, Norway), *Tarja Pösö* (Tampere University, Finland) & *June Thoburn* (University of East Anglia, UK)

Securing the welfare of children is one of the key challenges of our times, not least because children are tomorrow's citizens and thus the very foundation of a sustainable society. The Nordic welfare states, with their emphasis on equalising opportunities, have put in place strong child protection services as part of their social welfare systems. However, the formal commitment to solidarity and the reduction of inequalities is being challenged by an increasingly neoliberal political agenda, which frames social problems in terms of individual relationships and responsibility.

This is exemplified by the case of women who were once in public care, which makes them much more likely to be in need of child protection services and intrusive interventions once they themselves become mothers. These women do not seem to be supported by the welfare state to

enable them to enjoy an equal opportunity to be mothers. The seeming lack of solidarity with this at-risk group begs the question of why so many of these women are left behind and how welfare states can provide better support in order to provide an equal opportunity to those women to *be* mothers, and to break the cycle of child protection interventions.

The empirical material for the analysis is a sample of court judgments involving newborn child protection removals from care-leaver mothers in 8 countries (Austria, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Spain) to assess whether consideration of these women's own childhood in public care and the responsibility of the state to provide them with a decent childhood has a noticeable effect in the judgments and thus affects their equal opportunity to be mothers.

### **Can one parent raise a child as well as two parents together? Multilevel analysis of attitudes towards single parents in 22 welfare states**

*Mia Hakovirta* (University of Turku, Finland), *Johanna Kallio* (University of Turku, Finland) & *Milla Salin* (University of Turku, Finland)

Drawing 2012 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) data for 22 countries, this article analyses variation in attitudes towards single parents and the determinants of those attitudes from the cross-national perspective. We ask a) to what extent do attitudes towards single parents vary across countries and b) what are the individual-level and country-level factors that explain variation in attitudes towards single parents? This study employed multilevel logistic regression analysis.

Findings indicate significant attitudinal differences across the countries. The most positive attitudes towards single parents were in Nordic countries, except Finland, and the attitudes were the most negative in Eastern European countries. Among the individual-level factors, women, young age, voting on the political left, Protestants, and low religiosity evidenced more approval than their counterparts. This can be explained from self-interest argument and ideological preferences. At the country level, in countries where proportion of single parents were

high or where egalitarianism (regarding gender roles) was more evident, attitudes were more positive towards single parents. We argue that in countries where single parenthood is less prevalent or where gender roles are more traditional publics are less tolerant to single.

### **Strong Welfare States – Weak Family Ties? Intergenerational Solidarity in the Nordic Welfare States in a European Perspective**

*Bettina Isengard* (University of Zurich, Switzerland), *Ronny König* (University of Zurich, Switzerland) & *Marc Szydlik* (University of Zurich, Switzerland)

Previous empirical analyses have shown that adult family generations are generally characterized by an impressive lifelong solidarity. However, findings also suggest that strong welfare states may take some pressure of families, thus leading to less intense support. For example, adult children may not necessarily need to rely on parents to take care of their (grand)children, and frail elderly parents can count on formal care arrangements instead of being dependent on their children or other informal caregivers.

Against this background, the question is to what extent (strong) welfare states have a lasting effect on various dimensions of intergenerational solidarity. Therefore, the paper addresses intergenerational solidarity in a European perspective, focusing on similarities and differences between the Nordic welfare states in comparison to Southern, Western and Eastern European countries as well as changes or stability over time. In detail, the analyses take affectual and associational solidarity into account, defined as emotional closeness and contacts between adult family generations.

The empirical investigations are based on the fourth and sixth waves of the “Survey of Health, Ageing, and Retirement in Europe” (SHARE), including 19 European countries. Overall, the results show a high level of associational solidarity amongst parents and adult children throughout Europe. However, the results underline that everyday contacts are below-average in particular in the Nordic welfare states. Although the sheer number of contacts cannot necessarily be equated with a higher quality of the relationships, further analyses on emotional closeness

show a similar pattern especially for Denmark and Sweden. In addition, our results provide evidence for specific changes and stability over time. Furthermore, they give insights into specific determinants for intergenerational solidarity, differentiating between European countries in general and Nordic welfare states in particular.

### **A solidarity paradox: Welfare states mingling with global health data economy**

*Karoliina Snell* (University of Helsinki, Finland) &

*Heta Tarkkala* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Nordic welfare states have a long tradition of collecting register information and especially health and wellbeing data from their citizens. Records date back to many decades and different data can be easily combined with the help of personal identification number. As the welfare states are struggling with aging population and growing health care costs, a new emphasis is put on big data to generate economic growth and to boost people's health in new ways. The effective utilisation of data is one of the central goals of health as well as innovation policies. It is expected that the Nordic countries could offer health data and data infrastructures that attract international investments, and become world-leaders in global health data economy.

The tradition of collecting and utilising health and register data is based on a social contract that relies heavily on the values of welfare state, such as solidarity. As the purpose of data collection and use is changing to serve development of national competitiveness and to attract international business, the values are not necessarily compatible any more.

We examine the conditions and boundaries of solidarity in global health data economy. We argue that the logics of welfare state and global health economy create a paradox – data economy is not possible without welfare state infrastructures and solidarity, but global health economy dismantles solidarity and welfare states.

We analyse this paradox and conditions for solidarity through the example of a legislation renewal in Finland. It aims to streamline secondary use of health and welfare data, and to make data easily available for research, innovation, management and other purposes for both public and private users, nationally and internationally. We analyse policy goals and

the legislative reform and reflect them to findings from focus group research among Finnish citizens on uses of health data.

### **Solidarity and active citizenship**

*Marianne Takle* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) &

*Are Vegard Haug* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

In this paper we analyse five voluntary organisations established with the aim of improving the situation for target groups of asylum seekers, unemployed persons, substance abusers, migrant women and disabled persons. These organisations are mainly established and run by people who have themselves been part of one of these groups, and they perceive their organisations as a supplement to the public sector. The questions we raise in this paper is: What kind of supplement are these organisations representing? Why is it perceived as necessary to establish such organisations to solve social problems within a generous welfare state – as the Norwegian? To answer these questions, we apply a concept of active citizenship, in which social citizenship is seen as practice requiring active relationship to the community, civil society, polity or state. This is a supplement to the perception of citizenship as a status associated with a given set of rights and obligations. Within the framework of the Norwegian welfare state, we analyse how different institutional arrangements offer contrasting ways of combining and realising the achievement of three types of values central in the literature on active citizenship: Security (being protected against central risks), autonomy (being able to enjoy relative independence and influence (being able to take part in deliberation and decisions related to one's own situation and to the common good) (Hvinden and Takle 2017). Moreover, the paper discusses possible links between active citizenship and perspectives on social solidarity. We analyse how these five organisations are based on different types of solidarity defined in relation to their degree of institutionalisation, and how the institutionalisation of solidarity can support or be a barrier to achieve these values for the target groups. The paper is based on document analyses and 20 semi-structured interviews conducted with four representatives from each of the five organisations.

Hvinden, B. and M. Takle (2017). Conceptual paper for Activating Social Citizenship. SOLIDUS: Solidarity in European Societies, H2020-project. <http://solidush2020.eu/outco>

## **Satisfied, Uncaring, and Suicidal Finland**

*Joonas Uotinen* (University of Turku, Finland)

The article investigates the strange result by Daly et al. (2011) that across nations in Europe, and across states in USA higher average life satisfaction correlates with higher suicide rates. I use the Health, Wellbeing, and Services Research (Aikuisten terveysterveys-, hyvinvointi- ja palvelututkimus; ATH) conducted between 2013 and 2015 in seven rows by the National Institute for Health and Welfare (Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos; THL) of Finland. Using generalized linear regression methods, I correct the regional means of different possible explanatory variables for differences in sociodemographic distributions across regions, and, then, I evaluate Spearman rank correlations between life satisfaction, suicides, and the possible explanatory variables. The preliminary findings are that higher regional life satisfaction correlates with less experience of being cared; and that less experience of being cared correlates with suicidal thoughts the past 12 months. Solidarity understood as caring for others, it appears that higher life satisfaction, or happiness as claimed today, may undermine it.

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## **13 Sustainable welfare beyond growth**

Coordinators: *Tuuli Hirvilammi* (Kokkola University Consortium, University of Jyväskylä, Finland) & *Max Koch* (Lund University, Sweden)

Much current welfare and social policy literature gravitates around the crisis and corresponding recalibrations of the welfare arrangements that were developed in the post-war era. Ecological concerns such as climate change keep being largely ignored. Sustainability and degrowth researchers in particular have demonstrated that, on a finite planet, Western production and consumption patterns as well as its welfare standards cannot be generalized globally. Shrinking of material throughput of the economy is required in order to safeguard wellbeing in the future. An institutional compromise for a sustainable welfare society would therefore need to go beyond existing institutions and welfare regimes including the Nordic one. The academic debate on these topics is growing but further interdisciplinary research is needed on a theoretical concept of

“sustainable welfare”, in which environmental and intergenerational concerns are systematically accounted for. Elaborated ideas for eco-social policies at transnational, national and local levels are also required.

In asking what it requires to make welfare societies ecologically sustainable, the session regards the current financial, economic and political crisis and the corresponding adjustments in existing Nordic welfare state institutions as an impetus to also consider environmental crisis and reach beyond the growth imperative. The focus is on the sustainability of Nordic welfare states. Are there, for example, indications that these are in a better position to provide environmental sustainability than other welfare state types? What is the current relationship between wellbeing, economic growth and environmental impacts in Nordic countries? And how to ensure wellbeing while reducing material and energy use? We particularly invite papers that:

- develop theoretical perspectives on welfare and wellbeing within environmental limits;
- provide empirical studies that combine sustainability and welfare perspectives;
- identify and discuss (emerging) eco-social policies for sustainable welfare.

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **Sustainable welfare through a broader understanding of work? Diverse work practices and the role of welfare institutions**

*Tuuli Hirvilammi* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland) &  
*Maria Joutsenvirta* (Aalto University, Finland)

In Nordic welfare states, the employment policies and social security are built on the premises of an unsustainable growth economy without fully understanding how the increase in production is connected to environmental destruction. Due to the emphasis on full-time labour and clear distinction between voluntary and paid work, welfare institutions do not recognize the diversity of work practices that are necessary for building sustainable community economies. In this paper, we argue that a reconceptualization of work is needed to make necessary advances towards

sustainable welfare. We draw on the research on community economies that focuses on different ways to conceptualize and perform labour. The empirical analysis is based on case studies of an organic food cooperative and an alternative art center through which a diversity of work practices are described. In addition to waged labour, also alternative and unpaid work and work for welfare play essential roles in community economy building. The presentation scrutinises the tension between work as understood within community economies and the currently hegemonic ideas and norms of employment in Finnish welfare institutions. We ask what the motives are of the interviewees to be involved in community economies and what the practical ramifications are of decisions by state actors and welfare institutions on the work practices existing within these cases. The findings show how employment policies and the social security system have both enabling and disabling impacts on the possibilities to enact community economies. The article then proceeds to discuss how the welfare institutions that tend to categorize people as being employed or unemployed and that activate unemployed people into unsustainable work practices could have an enabling role in supporting the transformative work that is done in community economies.

### **Sustainable welfare (states): A noble goal with challenging contents**

*Bjorn Hvinden* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway) &  
*Mi Ah Schoyen* (NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway)

Since before the turn of the millennium, welfare states have been under pressure to restructure (e.g., Pierson, 2001). The rationale for institutional reforms have been to address structural challenges (including globalisation, a shift from production to service economies, population ageing) and the resource constraints that have followed on from these. Experts and decisions-makers alike often refer to ‘sustainability’ as the ultimate goal underpinning their push for reform. After all, the social protection programmes that define modern welfare states tend to be popular and should not be dismantled. However, overall, scholars and decision-makers in the field of social policy tend to refer to a kind of sustainability that is rather narrow and poorly grounded in a holistic framework.

The proposed – mainly conceptual paper – aims to develop further the notion of welfare state sustainability. Following the emerging literature

that advances concepts such as ‘sustainable welfare’ and ‘sustainable wellbeing’ (e.g., Gough, 2017; Koch et al., 2016; Koch and Mont, 2016), we suggest that the environment and planetary wellbeing are elements that should be incorporated in any definition of the sustainable welfare state. The first section offers a selective review of the literature on ‘sustainable development’ and ‘sustainable welfare’, by asking how these concepts relate to and may inform discussions of welfare state sustainability. While especially the notions of sustainable welfare and sustainable welfare states are sometimes used interchangeably, we argue that they draw attention to related but distinct issues. Therefore, analytically, it makes sense to keep the two apart. Next, to disentangle and develop further the idea of a sustainable welfare state, we analyse separately what each of the classical dimensions of sustainability – economic or financial, social and environmental or ecological – means when applied to the welfare state. In the conclusion we summarise the discussion and offer some reflections on the political challenges and potential for bringing the three dimensions of sustainability together in rich democracies with mature welfare states such as the Nordic ones.

Gough I (2017) *Heat, Greed and Human Need Climate Change, Capitalism and Sustainable Wellbeing*. Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar.

Koch M and Mont O (Eds) (2016) *Sustainability and the Political Economy of Welfare*. New York: Routledge.

Koch M, Gullberg AT, Schoyen MA, et al. (2016) Sustainable welfare in the EU: Promoting synergies between climate and social policies. *Critical Social Policy* 36(4): 704–715. DOI: 10.1177/0261018316654614.

Pierson P (ed.) (2001) *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. Also available as: Paperback | eBook.

## **Sustainable welfare in Swedish cities**

*Jamil Khan* (Lund University, Sweden) & *Roger Hildingsson* (Lund University, Sweden)

This paper studies the integration of ecological sustainability and social welfare in cities. Increasingly, ecological impact (climate, biodiversity, resilience) and social welfare (segregation, inequality) are identified as the two major challenges for cities in industrialized countries, and there is growing awareness that they are interconnected and need to be addressed simultaneously. E.g. environmental threats, as well as the

measures to address them, can have negative effects on equality and the welfare of the poor. It is also up to debate if current levels of material welfare and consumption in cities are compatible with sustainable development or if there is a need for new approaches to welfare and well-being. Still ecology and social welfare are, at the urban level, most often planned as two separate issues with limited contact.

Based on text analysis of policy documents and qualitative interviews this paper studies the extent to which ecological concerns and social welfare are integrated in policy strategies and planning in three metropolitan cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. Theoretically, the paper builds on writings on sustainable welfare, social and ecological sustainability, urban policy integration and urban planning.

The findings show that ecological sustainability and social welfare indeed are portrayed as two major challenges that are interconnected, and that there are signs of a new emerging storyline of sustainable welfare in the three cities. Still there are few examples of policy integration in practice between the two areas. Related to some specific issues the picture is better, e.g. transport planning were more sustainable transport patterns and issues of transport justice are addressed in an integrated way.

### **EU's potential for promoting the eco-social agenda**

*Sebastiano Sabato* (European Social Observatory, OSE Brussels, Belgium), *Matteo Mandelli* (University of Milan, Italy) & *Matteo Jessoula* (University of Milan, Italy)

This paper explores the potential of the European Union (EU) to promote synergies between environmental and social policies, so as to implement an 'eco-social agenda'. We aim at answering two research questions: 1) What is the approach followed by the EU in order to link and create synergies between these two policy domains?; and 2) What are the governance arrangements through which the EU pursues such a strategy by coordinating actions under the responsibility of various Commission's Directorates-General (DGs) and by ensuring coordination between different EU institutions and with social stakeholders? From a methodological point of view, we rely on qualitative research methods, notably documentary analysis (scientific literature and policy documents) complemented by 12 interviews to relevant EU actors, including

policy-makers, social partners and NGOs. Besides a more theoretical discussion on the approaches that could be followed in order to link environmental and social policies, we explore two concrete case studies: a) Europe 2020 and the European Semester (i.e., the overarching EU strategy for socio-economic policies), and b) the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (ASD) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). We draw three main conclusions. First, the EU is following a 'green growth' strategy that, while trying to conciliate environmental, social and economic objectives, prioritises the latter (i.e., the pursuit of growth and competitiveness). Second, inter-DGs and inter-institutional coordination to link environmental and social policies is rather *ad-hoc*, i.e. it takes place on specific initiatives and pieces of legislation (especially through impact assessment exercises). However, these policy areas are not adequately linked in overarching strategies such as Europe 2020. Third, the ASD and the SDGs (duly adapted to the EU context) appear suitable frameworks for the next EU post-2020 strategy. Discussions on this are still on-going and appear rather open, with a strong activism by social stakeholders.

### **Ecosocial innovations – small-scale models for new ecosocial policies?**

Ingo Stamm (University of Jyväskylä, Finland) & *Tuuli Hirvilammi* (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

The paper is based on a Finnish Academy funded research project that connects research on social policy and social work with transdisciplinary research on an ecosocial transformation. In the center of the research are ecosocial innovations. These innovations are small-scale organisations that are successfully putting the principle of sustainability into practice. They are part of local social and solidarity economies and combine social and ecological goals in their work. In the first phase of the project, we conducted in-depth case studies in Finland, Italy, Germany and Belgium. In the current phase, based on interview material from the case studies and a literature review, we are examining the connection between social security systems, focused on unemployment policies, and ecosocial innovations. We asked in what way unemployment policies, employment promotion programs and activation measures in the respective countries are helping or hindering the activities of ecosocial innovations. Further we examined, what ideas for social policy changes in

the field of unemployment policies arise from ecosocial innovations? The findings of the cross-national study revealed a rather strong relationship between public institutions related to unemployment and most innovations. They all rely on employment promotion programs or subsidized voluntary work, but they are vice versa also often important partners for regional or local public institutions. What is missing the most are long-term perspectives for people engaged in ecosocial innovations and a better acknowledgement of the innovative practices. In conclusion, innovative ecosocial practices established by ecosocial innovations can contribute to make welfare states more resilient in various ways. They can be considered as forerunners for new ecosocial policies in the field of unemployment. The integration of these policies is a challenge and a chance for Nordic countries. Considering the severity of current global environmental threats, it might as well become a necessity in the near future.

### **What kinds of pension systems are feasible in an ecologically constrained economy?**

*Henri Wiman* (National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland)

The paper analyses how different pension plan types compare under constrained growth conditions. Focus is on funded plans, since constrained investment returns could be associated with ecologically constrained GDP growth. Though attempts to find a general connection between GDP growth and investment returns is ambiguous and controversial in the literature, I argue that overall investment returns cannot grow sustainably if GDP growth is zero. Crucially, alternative or 'green' investment strategies would not overcome this constraint. Individual funded plans would thus not be feasible as universal pension provisioning strategies.

I also ran simulations of the two main funded plan types – Defined Benefit and Defined Contribution plans – under low-growth conditions. I demonstrate how much contribution rates would need to rise to offset the negative effects of reduced investment returns under various constraint conditions. If low-growth is associated with low inflation and low wage growth, negative pension impacts could be offset to some degree. The effects of population ageing on collective funded plans may be far greater than the effects of constrained investment returns. I also demonstrate how financial crises, possibly induced by the expectation of growth constraints, would impact the accumulation of individual funds.

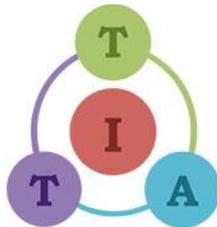
I suggest that pay-as-you-go plans, general taxation, and schemes in the vein of collective funded plans that distribute profits from collectively owned assets could be feasible pension provisioning systems in a post-growth context. Inter-generational solidarity is a prerequisite to all feasible post-growth pension systems. I discuss whether Nordic pension systems appear ready to handle ecological growth constraints. A post-growth economy would erode some of the prior rationales for favouring funded plan types. Perhaps more fundamentally, post-growth could undermine the profit-motivated model of pension asset management and perhaps require other forms of pensions governance.

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# Cooperation and partners

*The Social Policy Association in Finland and the University of Helsinki are organising the conference in cooperation with the Finnish Centre for Pensions and the National Institute of Health and Welfare.*

## Partners



**Abstract book layout:** Jenny Högström (University of Helsinki, Finland)