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bearing an 'ethnographic attitude' (and a non-English language). In 'Children as consumers', Cook outlines the interrelationship between a generation's peer culture and consumer culture which, especially through American television and merchandising, now harnesses childhood globally to promote discourses of choice and participation. The argument is thoughtfully expanded by Buckingham's 'Children and television' with attention to research studies, including in-depth ethnography, while raising critical implications of asking children for their experiences of watching television without examining the cultural conditions of their lives. This critical point is taken up by Drotner, 'Children and digital media: Online, on site, on the go'. Today's children are called the digital generation, celebrating the innovative potential of digital media and its role in upskilling future generations. For those who fear distortion and harm in new 'mediatized' time-space social environments, Drotner points to article 13 in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which protects the right of children to freedom of expression in whatever media they choose.

Thus, Section VI on children's rights (Freeman) and place in the world (Bühler-Niederberger and Sünker) provides a fitting endpoint to the thematic sections. The reader is ready to consider afresh the significance of universal rights, in particular the right to transnational travel and mobility (Bailey). This anthology is deeply engaged with differential aspects of children's social lives and the generational shaping of the conditions of childhood. Its editors have skillfully shown that generational analyses have important and unanticipated insights into social change. In the process, they have opened many doors to new ways to investigate the realities of children's impact on this world.

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Sheila B. Kamerman and Peter Moss (eds),

The Politics of Parental Leave Policies: Children, Parenting, Gender and the Labour Market, Policy Press: Bristol, 2009; 286 pp.: ISBN 9781847420671, £65.00 (hbk), 9781847429032, £24.99 (pbk)

Reviewed by Kimberly Earles, *Seattle, USA*

Keywords

Gender, labour market, parental leave, parenting, work-life balance

Sheila B Kamerman and Peter Moss are leading international scholars in the areas of child and family policies and services. In this volume they have assembled members of an international network to deliver a comprehensive comparative analysis of leave

policies across 15 countries, one Canadian province and at the supranational level of the European Union (EU). The book is written for both academics and policy-makers, providing a rich analysis of the various approaches to parental leave policies. The book constitutes a valuable contribution to the existing literature on parental leave specifically, family policy more broadly, as well as comparative social policy in advanced industrialized countries.

Kammerman and Moss ('Introduction') argue that leave policy is at the intersection of the economic, the social and the demographic, and that this creates a complex situation where conflicting objectives can, and often do, arise. This helps to explain some of the variation in leave policies across countries and over time. A strength of the volume is the historical overview of the development of leave policies in each case study. This gives the reader a sense of why leave policies developed in a certain way in one context but in a different way in another. This is linked to the authors' focus on 'history matters', demonstrating the role of welfare regimes in defining boundaries for leave policies, often leading to path dependency, but not in all cases. The authors do well to point out cases of path dependency (i.e. Sweden) and path breaking (i.e. Germany), but the links between leave policies and welfare regimes could have been more fully fleshed out throughout the book.

Kammerman and Moss also argue that the relationship between employment, care and gender remains contentious because of differing beliefs about childhood, parenthood and the appropriate gender roles for women and men. This argument is well supported throughout the volume, and helps to underscore the historical and current debates surrounding leave policies, particularly the debate between proponents and opponents of a more traditional family model centred around a male breadwinner and a female carer. Korintus and Stropnik ('Hungary and Slovenia: Long leave or short?') highlight these tensions when analysing Hungary and Slovenia, two former communist countries that have followed divergent paths post-independence. Hungary adopted a long parental leave at a relatively low rate, and has a low level of childcare provision for children under three years of age; this has led to low levels of maternal employment. Slovenia, on the other hand, provides a year of combined maternity and parental leave at 100% of previous earnings, and has high levels of maternal employment. The difference appears to be in each country's approach to female labour force participation post-independence, with Hungary shifting its focus to traditional gender roles, while Slovenia encourages both female employment and gender equality. Kocourková ('Czech Republic: Normative or choice-oriented system?') demonstrates how the Czech Republic followed a similar path to Hungary post-independence, with similar outcomes.

Kammerman and Moss also put forward the argument that leave policy is influenced by and influences other policy areas, particularly childcare policy. This argument is supported throughout the volume, with case studies that demonstrate the connections between various aspects of family policy. Doucet, McKay and Tremblay ('Canada and Québec: Two policies, one country') provide a strong analysis of how leave and care policies are connected with their investigation of the differences between the province of Québec and the rest of Canada. In 1987 Québec adopted a coherent family policy which provides public support for parents attempting to reconcile work and family life, including accessible and affordable childcare as well as more generously compensated leave

policies than found in the rest of Canada. The Québec family policy is modelled after the Scandinavian model, rather than the Canadian model, which provides far less support for working parents, both in terms of compensation and the provision of services.

A final argument put forward by the editors is that leave policies must be enhanced and designed so that parental leave policies are truly available to both parents. They argue that one way to achieve this is through individualization, such as in the Icelandic case. Einarsdóttir and Pétursdóttir ('Iceland: From reluctance to fast-track engineering') provide an analysis of Iceland's relatively new parental leave system, which includes a total of nine months' leave divided into thirds: three months for the mother, three for the father and three for the family to share as they wish, all paid at 80% of earnings, up to a ceiling. This type of system, which includes more individualization, has achieved the most success in encouraging fathers to take a larger share of parental leave. This can be seen also in Brandth and Kvande's chapter on Norway and Chronholm's chapter on Sweden.

There is also evidence that other countries are seeing the advantages of the Nordic model and are beginning to move in that direction. Karu and Pall ('Estonia: Halfway from the Soviet Union to the Nordic countries') demonstrate how the Soviet legacy of female labour force participation and the reconciliation of work and family life, as well as the more recent influence of the European Union, have led to a situation in Estonia where parental leave is headed in the direction of longer duration and higher compensation. In another example, Erler ('Germany: Taking a Nordic turn?') argues that demographic pressures combined with German unification and the influence of East Germany's family policy have led to a situation of path breaking where, in 2007, Germany introduced a parental leave reform that broke with the traditional male breadwinner model, focusing instead on increasing women's employment and men's role in childrearing. Germany's new parental leave policy moved from flat-rate to earnings-related payments, decreased the length of leave from 24 to 12 months, introduced two 'daddy months' and expanded childcare services for children under three.

Overall, the volume is easy to read and well organized, providing clear, concise case studies, with a box at the beginning of each chapter highlighting the basics of leave policies in that context, followed by the historical development of leave policies, important debates and current policy directions. The introduction and conclusion chapters are strong in terms of defining the foci of the volume and summing up the various issues and debates within leave policies, as well as providing some recommendations for the future. However, there are also some weaknesses. First, more direct comparisons of the case studies would be particularly helpful for students wishing to compare and contrast leave policies across countries. Second, while the limits of the volume and individual chapters are generally clearly laid out, this provides the editors and authors with an easy pass to skip over important topics. For example, an analysis of member state implementation of the EU parental leave directive would have enriched Fusulier's ('The European directive: Making supra-national parental leave policy') analysis and the overall volume immensely. On a related point, while the EU is listed as an influential actor in a number of individual case studies, particularly for new member states, a more thorough summary of the EU's influence on the parental leave policies of its member states would have been helpful, either in the Fusulier chapter or in the

concluding chapter. And, finally, the chapter written by Lammi-Taskula and Takala ('Finland: Negotiating tripartite compromises') does not fit harmoniously with the foci of the volume or with the other chapters in the book. This chapter takes a slightly different, more narrow focus, seeking to explain only the role of the labour market partners in the development of leave policies in Finland. As such, it stands out from the other chapters for not providing a more multidimensional analysis of leave policies and current debates in that context.

Even given these weaknesses, the volume still provides an invaluable comparative study of parental leave policies across a substantial number of case studies. The editors and individual chapter authors meet their stated aim of providing a more nuanced exploration that complements those who write from a regime or 'type' approach. The authors also provide comprehensive answers to virtually all of the questions posed in the introductory chapter. Thus, the book meets its stated aims and provides a rich contribution to the fields of leave policy, family policy and comparative social policy.

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Helen Stapleton,

Surviving Teenage Motherhood: Myths and Realities, Palgrave Macmillan:
Basingstoke and New York, 2010; 241 pp.: ISBN 9780230579200, £55.00

Reviewed by David Farrugia, *University of Melbourne, Australia*

Keywords

Class, health, teenage motherhood, young women, youth

Motherhood is a heavily politicized term. Mothering, and the construction of maternal identities, takes place in the context of a variety of institutional and cultural power relationships which fundamentally shape the experiences and practices of contemporary mothers. In *Surviving Teenage Motherhood*, Helen Stapleton has provided a powerful insight into the way these processes influence the lives of young women who become mothers before they are normatively expected to do so. Drawing on ethnographic material collected in Wales and South Yorkshire, Stapleton traces the way that becoming a 'teenage mother' positions young women outside of classed and aged-based expectations of 'good mothering', and describes the challenge of practising motherhood in this 'other' space. A particular strength of the book is the examination of young women's relationships with their children, their own mothers and the professionals who control so many aspects of their maternal lives. The complex interplay of these relationships is situated in the context of entrenched classed inequality which fundamentally structures who these young women can be and how they can mother.