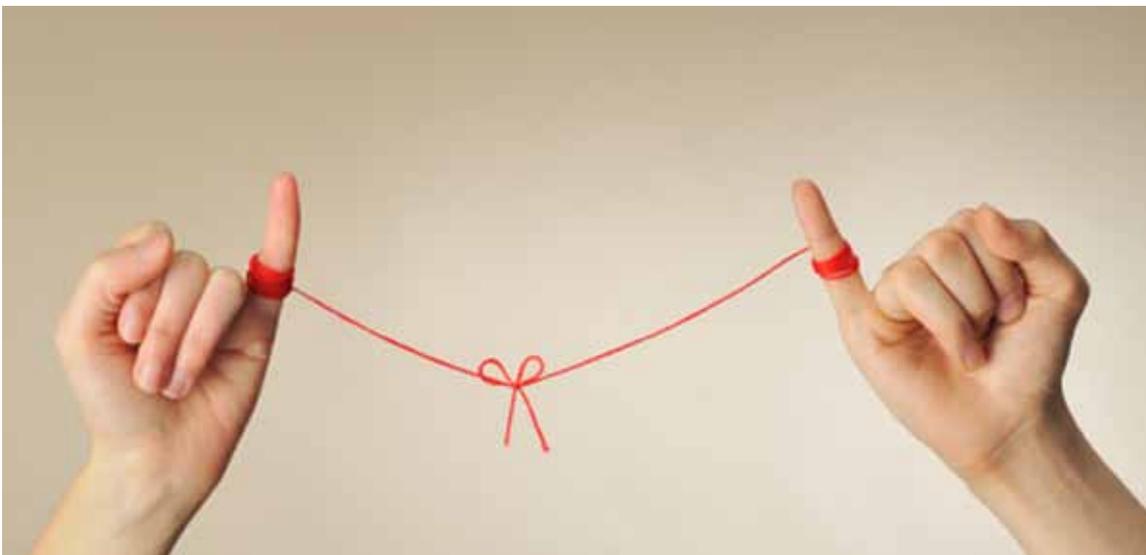


Vorträge und Präsentationen

Geschlechterbilder in Partnerschaft und Familie

Ein Vergleich zwischen Norwegen und Deutschland



Übersicht

Anne Lise Ellingsæter

The Norwegian dual earner/dual carer model: influences, evolution and effects

Vortrag

Powerpoint Präsentation

Tord Skogedal Lindén

Gender models in partnership and family using the example of Norway

Vortrag

Rune Harald Rækken

In the best interests of the child - in the re-organised family

Fathers between wish and reality – the role of civil society organizations in stimulating fathers to be active in family life

Powerpoint Präsentation

Martin Rosowski

Väter zwischen Wunsch und Wirklichkeit – Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen bei der Aktivierung von Vätern

Vortrag

Powerpoint Präsentation

The Norwegian dual earner/dual carer model: influences, evolution and effects¹

Professor Anne Lise Ellingsæter
Department of Sociology and Human Geography
University of Oslo

Introduction

I shall talk about the *dual earner/dual carer model* that are typical of the Nordic welfare states; addressing how this model has developed, and also outlining some of its effects on family practices. I will start with a sketch of some of the historical influences that gender equality ambition have had on this model. I'll then go on to briefly outline the main policy reforms since the late 1970s that have supported gender equality in the labour market and in the family, i.e. parental leave, daddy quotas and childcare services. Furthermore, I will address policies that compete with the gender equality ambition, and also which support 'parental choice', i.e. the cash for care arrangement. Finally, I shall discuss parents' use of policies and the effects of policies on family practices, especially regarding fertility decisions. My colleague, Tord Lindén, will elaborate more on policy effects of gender models on partnerships and families.

Political influences²

The Scandinavian welfare states were pioneers in transforming parenthood into political issues. As the employment rate for women began to increase and gain strength from the 1960s, the situation of women in society was increasingly debated. The inequalities that women faced – in the educational system, in access to the labour market and in wages, in politics and in public life – were defined as political concerns and coincided with the larger societal project of welfare state expansion and institutionalisation of social rights.

Politicisation of parenthood and gender equality were closely linked. From the 1970s, gender equality became an important part of the welfare state model, and legislation facilitating the reconciliation of work and family continues until this day. Welfare state intervention in gender and family arrangements has been more widely accepted, and

¹Prepared for the conference "Geslechterbilder in Partnerschaft und Familie – Ein Vergleich zwischen Norwegen und Deutschland", Norwegisch-Deutschen Willy-Brandt- Stiftung, Berlin 18.10.2012.

² This section is based on chapter 1 in Ellingsæter and Leira (2006).

expected, in social democratic Scandinavia than in states of a liberal or conservative type (Leira, 2002).

The politicisation of parenthood in the 1970s was strongly influenced not only by *egalitarianism*, but also by *universalism*. Esping-Andersen (1990: 27-28), in his well-known typology of welfare states, points to the importance of these two values as principles of legitimisation in the formative years of the Nordic social democratic welfare state model. The Nordic welfare state model provides a wide range of services and benefits that are universalist in orientation, often redistributive in aim, and often perceived as entitlements for citizens. The redistributive aspects of the Scandinavian welfare state are often underlined, interpreted as an expression of commitment to egalitarian values. The welfare state is expected to address inequalities in economic resources, political power, and influence between social classes and regions. In the 1970s, the situation of women in society entered the political agenda. The egalitarian tradition was broadened to include sexual or gender inequality (Leira 1992).

Gender equality is integral to Scandinavian citizenship and represents a central element of the Nordic welfare state model. Moreover, in the Nordic tradition, gender equality is about more than *equality of opportunity* - *equality of outcome* is an important part of policy thinking. Furthermore, equality between women and men is not only about labour market participation and economic independence, but also about work/family arrangements. If gender equality is to be realised, 'the distribution of the workload between women and men in the family and in society must be changed' (Nordic Council of Ministers, 1995:10). In accordance to this, Nordic parenthood policies have been central to the promotion of gender equality.

Evolution of the dual earner/dual carer model

In Norway, the main trend of family policy development in the past decades has been the evolution of a dual earner/dual carer model, that is, policies that encourage mothers' labour force participation and redistribution of care from mother to father in the family, and from family to society (Korpi 2000). The two main policy elements are paid parental leave, including earmarked leave for fathers, and universal access to high quality affordable child care services. These policies aim towards the reconciliation of work and family, emphasising not only employment opportunities for mothers, but also caring fatherhood.

Paid parental leave

The goal of 'equal parenthood' - a more equal distribution of employment and care among parents –was emphasised in Norway in 1978, when strategies such as replacement of maternity leave by parental leave were implemented. The introduction of parental leave meant that parents could apportion most of the leave between them. In 1978 the total leave was 16 weeks, of which 6 weeks were reserved for the mother. From the mid-1980s the leave was rapidly extended and reached one year in 1993 (Table 1). This signalled a shift in the thinking on the balance between paid work and care. While the aim of policies in the previous decade had been to strengthen women's position in the labour market, the leave extensions were motivated by the recognition of the value of parental care in the child's first year (e.g. St. meld. no. 70 (1991-92). In 2012 the total length of the paid parental leave was 47 weeks/100 percent or 57 weeks/80 percent wage replacement.

Despite the new opportunity to share the parental leave, very few fathers took up any leave at all. The lack of change in fathers' practices stimulated the innovation of 'daddy quotas'; earmarked leave for fathers on a use it or lose it basis. Norway was the first country to introduce a daddy quota, 4 weeks, in 1993. This instituted an *individual* component in the allocation of parental leave, which up to then had been a joint family-based right. It has been argued that while family-based leave entitlements enable gender equality, reducing obstacles of women combining employment and children and making it easier for men to engage in caregiving, only individual entitlements promote gender equality by putting pressure on families to share childcare more equally (Brighouse and Wright, 2008).

The father's right to the daddy quota and parental leave has been dependent on the economic activity of the mother: To be entitled to the daddy quota, both the mother and the father have to have been in paid work during at least six of the ten months prior to the birth, and the mother in at least 50 percent employment (this latter requirement was removed in 2010). The father's right to take up parental leave beyond the daddy quota is conditional on the mother's economic activity after birth (at least 75 percent in paid work or education). Mothers who are not entitled to parental leave benefits receive a lump sum.

Daddy quotas have been controversial in Norway, may be even more today than twenty years ago (see Ellingsæter 2012b). The daddy quota of 1993 was 'state feminism' at work, launched by a minority social democratic government. The main aim was to obtain a more just distribution of mothers' and fathers' caring time, and to strengthen the

father–child relationship (Ellingsæter 2007). The quota was supported by the Socialist Left Party and parties at the political centre; the Centre Party (original agrarian base), the Liberal Party and the Christian Democratic Party. The Christian Democrats emphasised that it would increase men’s recognition and valorisation of care work. The Conservative Party and the Progress Party, both right of the political centre, opposed the quota because it denied parental ‘choice’ and ‘punished’ families who did not use it.

The daddy quota remained at four weeks for more than a decade, but its extension has been part of an on-going political discourse on parental leave reform. When finally extended by a week in 2005, it was by a minority centre-right government aiming particularly at strengthening the father–child relationship. One more week came in 2006, this time by a majority centre-left government, emphasising father’s caregiving as a precondition for improving mothers’ employment opportunities. Both daddy weeks were added to the total leave. The 2005 reform stated explicitly that quota extension within the existing leave would be unfortunate; it would reduce parental choice and curtail established rights (for mothers). Both reforms were supported by all political parties, except the Progress Party, which rejected it on the grounds of parental ‘choice’.

The political platform of the red-green majority coalition in office during 2009-2013 is a daddy quota of 14 weeks, combined with an extension of the total leave to 48 weeks/100 percent wage compensation or 58 weeks/80 percent wage compensation. This model allows the mother to stay at home for eight months with full wage compensation, thus accommodating the health authorities’ breastfeeding recommendation, which has been important in the political debate (Ellingsæter 2012b). Recent reforms have moved towards this goal (Table 1): In 2009, the daddy quota was extended from 6 to 10 weeks and in 2011 from 10 to 12 weeks. Of the six weeks added, three weeks were taken from the joint part of the leave, while three weeks were added to the total leave. From 2012 there is also a mother quota of 12 weeks, the aim being to make it more explicit that the joint part of the leave belongs to both parents.

Childcare services

Childcare services have developed gradually in a dynamic interplay of supply and demand over the past 30-40 years (Ellingsæter&Gulbrandsen2007). The Day Care Institution Act of 1975 represented the start of modern childcare services, stating that day care should be a service for all parents who wanted it (Leira 1992). Childcare thus became part of universally oriented welfare services, supported by nearly all political parties. But it would take more than three decades to achieve close to ‘full coverage’, i.e. provision of day care places to all parents who want a place for their child.

In the 1980s' political debate about the development of childcare services, the political left wanted more day care places with longer hours while the political right considered too much day care as being harmful to children (Vollset 2011). In the 1990s, parents' demand for childcare was overshadowed by the paramount policy debate of 'more time for children' and the controversy over the cash for care benefit and 'parental choice' (Ellingsæter 2003).

The 2000s saw important reforms influencing the supply and demand for childcare, however. In 2003 an all-party Childcare Compromise about changes in economic and legal measures was reached. The main aims were sector expansion and lower parents' fees. Main measures were to increase state financial input and strengthen the municipalities' responsibility for the childcare sector. Public subsidies to childcare services were to be increased substantially, to 80 percent of running costs. A maximum parent fee was to be introduced, and a legal obligation was imposed on municipalities to offer childcare services. The principle of equal public grants to publicly and privately owned childcare institutions was stated.³ Moreover, a legal right to childcare was introduced.

Accordingly, parents' fees have been substantially reduced over the past decade. A maximum fee was introduced in 2003. In 2012 the maximum parent fee was 2330 NOK per month, about 300 euros. For the second child, fees were reduced by at least 30 percent, and the third child and subsequent children saw a reduction of at least 50 percent. Municipalities also have an obligation to establish arrangements that offer families with the lowest ability to pay a reduction or exemption of parents' fees.

Since 2009 childcare services have been institutionalised as a social right for children. The majority red-green government then established a legal right to childcare services for children 1-5 years old. The right to childcare is not dependent on parents' labour market status. The right to childcare comes into force when the child is one year of age, i.e. the municipality has to offer services from August to children who become one year or more before the 1st of September.

Politics of 'parental choice'

Politicisation of parenthood has been a main battleground in disputes about gender equality, also in Norway. Historically, Norway has actually been acknowledged as a family policy 'hybrid', a dualist model combining dual earner support with traditional breadwinner elements, including generous cash transfers to families (Ellingsæter 2003).

³ About 50 percent of Norwegian childcare institutions are privately owned.

Some scholars perceive it as part of a more general divergence from the Scandinavian model of gender and welfare – the Norwegian ‘puzzle’ (Sainsbury, 2001). Gender traditionalism and ambivalence towards employed mothers was long part of the political debate, but is not particularly prominent today.

However, notions about ‘equal’ parenthood and parental ‘choice’ have been competing, and continue to do so. In 1998 a cash for care benefit (*kontantstøtte*) was introduced by a minority centre coalition government with the support of the right wing parties; the social democrats and the left opposed the reform. Parents of children 1-2 years old who did not attend publicly subsidised childcare were entitled to a monthly flat rate benefit of NOK 3303 (2011), approximately EUR 400. Those buying private childcare outside the state subsidised services were also entitled to the benefit. Those with children in part-time daycare would receive a reduced benefit proportionately to stipulated weekly attendance.

The cash for care benefit counteracts the main principles of the dual earner/dual carer model, promoted by social democracy and the left. ‘Choice’ and the one income family model have been supported by the centre-right. Cash for childcare schemes are commonly classified as male breadwinner family policy, presuming or being neutral to a traditional gender division of labour in society as well as within the family (Korpi 2000). Cash for care benefits involve low payment, thus presuming a main male wage earner in the family.

The main aim of the cash for care reform was to improve parents’ opportunities to provide good childcare, based on the assumption that parental care is the best for the youngest children. Another main rationale was equal distribution of government care subsidies among families; private child minders should be subsidised like publicly funded childcare. However, the scheme was recently reformed: The present majority centre-left government abolished the benefit for 2 year olds as of 1 August 2012. In addition to this, the benefit for 1-year olds became age graded (Ministry of Education and Research 2012). Some municipalities will continue to provide the benefit for 2 year olds, most of them are centre-right local governments in the more conservative and religious parts of Norway (Ellingsæter 2012a). As a sanction, the government considers taxing these benefits.

Policy effects

Use of family policies

The large majority of those becoming mothers, nine out of ten, are entitled to paid parental leave (Grambo & Myklebø 2009). Nearly three of four parents choose the longest

leave alternative (Grambo&Myklebø 2009). Two out of three fathers are entitled to the daddy quota. When the quota was expanded, entitled fathers immediately extended their leave according with the extension (Fougner 2009). Almost all fathers who are entitled to the quota take up at least some leave; only 1 percent did not take any leave (Grambo&Myklebø 2009).

For several decades, there was a huge gap between the supply of childcare services and the demand of parents (Ellingsæter&Gulbrandsen 2007). In the 1960s, when mothers' employment started to grow, barely 2 percent of preschool age children were enrolled in day care. The passing of the Day Care Institutions Act in 1975 was followed by an expansion in places, and coverage rates increased from 7 percent in 1975 to 21 percent in 1980 (ibid.). But the places were mostly part-time and for the 5 and 6 year olds. In the 1980s, further expansion was slow, only 35 percent of preschool age children had a place at the beginning of the 1990s. In the 1990s, coverage rates improved considerably, mainly because the parental leave was extended to one year in 1993 and school age was lowered from 7 to 6 years in 1997. The expansion of places was actually lower than in the two preceding decades. Also, a significant number of new places for the youngest children were provided in family day care (one adult, 4-5 children), which is less expensive to run, as it requires less staff per child compared to ordinary day care centres.

The 2000s may deserve the characteristic of a childcare 'revolution': In 2000 two of three children aged 1-5 were enrolled in day care, in 2011 nine out of ten were enrolled (Table 2). Nearly all 3-5 year olds, 97 percent, had a place in childcare in 2011, for this group growth in rates levelled off in the most recent years. A remarkable increase took place among the 1 and 2 year olds, labelled a 'toddler invasion' by some scholars (Løvgren&Gulbrandsen 2012). In 2000, 37 percent of 1-2 year olds were enrolled in day care, compared to 80 percent in 2011; 88 percent among 2 year olds and 71 percent among 1 year olds. In 2011, children under 3 constituted 36 percent of all children in day care (Statistics Norway 2012). Parents' demand for full-time places has also been met in this decade; 90 percent of 1-5 year olds were enrolled full-time in 2011. A huge expansion in the number of places is behind these coverage rates, clearly reflecting parents' strong preferences for childcare services also for the youngest children.

When the cash for care benefit was introduced, a high proportion of parents received the benefit: about 75 percent of all parents of 1 or 2 year olds (1999). But this share has fallen dramatically ever since, to only 25 percent of parents in 2011 (Table 3). The share of parents taking up full benefit also declined over this time period. The falling take up rate is clearly associated with the massive expansion of daycare services for children

under 3, and reduced childcare fees. Some parents receive the cash benefit only for a short period while waiting for a place in childcare services, others receive the benefit as long as possible; the first group has increased, the latter has decreased. Average duration of receiving the benefit has declined from 20 to 13 months. The decline in benefit recipients has occurred in all groups, but those receiving the benefit have become more homogeneous: Parents with low income and education, immigrants from Asia and Africa and mothers with weak labour market attachment are overrepresented. This is one reason why the impact of the benefits on the integration of immigrants has become a crucial issue in the political debate. The benefit is thought to cause disincentives to immigrant mothers' employment and their children's attendance in childcare (Ellingsæter 2012a).

Effects of family policies on fertility

Whether family policies may sustain or increase fertility levels is a key question in current European family policy debates. Statistical evidence of the association between family policies and fertility is mixed, and while policies have positive effects their reach is limited (Gauthier 2007, Hoem 2008). The Norwegian welfare state is an interesting case where close-to-replacement level fertility is maintained also among younger cohorts. In 2011 the total fertility rate was 1.88. Of all women cohorts born after 1945, the average number of births at the end of the reproductive period is 2. This pattern is also found in the youngest cohort that is about completed their reproduction; among women born in 1971, the average completed fertility at age 40 was 2 (Statistics Norway 2012). Statistical evidence suggests that Norwegian family policy may have a positive impact on fertility (e.g. Lappegård 2010, Rindfuss et al. 2010, Rønsen&Skrede 2010).

A data material containing semi-structured interviews with 90 women and men in working class and upper middle class occupations, born between 1975 and 1985, corroborates the importance of family policies for fertility (Ellingsæter & Pedersen 2013).⁴ The study suggests that the dual earner/dual carer model is likely to be one of the main foundations of continued high fertility among younger cohorts. Among the interviewees, the transition to parenthood is characterised by a high degree of perceived economic security, and perhaps the strongest evidence of the significance of family policies is the extent to which they are taken for granted. The choice of having a child is made without thinking much about financial constraints or the risk of unemployment, and with little detailed knowledge of policy arrangements. Although the existence of family policies is gratefully acknowledged – it is good to 'have the state behind you' – information gathering may start only after the pregnancy is recognised. Having children

⁴Carried out in the cities of Oslo and Trondheim in 2010.

emphasises emotional aspects: children as a crucial source of love and happiness, and individual 'readiness' and quality of partner relationship as the main foundation of parenthood.

Nevertheless, 'economic security' appears as a crucial notion for tacit economic reasoning about fertility choice. 'Economic security' is connected with the perceived needs of children and thus with ideas about responsible parenthood. 'Economic security' is affected by the social status of (prospective) parents, i.e. meaning different things to those in upper middle-class versus working-class jobs. This is evident in the consumption standards considered necessary for having and bringing up children. Yet, 'economic security' in both class fractions shares an *underlying economic precondition*: a dual-earner family provider model, supported by comprehensive family policies. Two incomes are the basis of parents' economic security, and childcare policies secure the ability to keep two incomes. The year-long paid parental leave and universal childcare services greatly influence the ways in which the interviewees organise or plan to organise their parenthood. The discrepancy between the knowledge of policies and the reliance on these arrangements reveals a great deal of trust in the welfare state.

Economic security among Norwegian young adults is founded on two risk-reducing pillars, creating a general sense of economic trust. When a dual-earner family is the foundation of the economic security for having children, reducing risks connected with the transition to parenthood depends not only on the welfare state, compensating income lost during child-rearing and providing childcare when both parents are working; but also on the labour market's capacity to provide jobs. So it is not only family policies that explain relatively high fertility; a strong labour market, generating secure jobs, is another main foundation.

Table 1. Paid parental leave 1977-2012, weeks.

Year	Total weeks, 100 percent wage compensatio n	Total weeks, 80 percent wage compensatio n	Joint weeks, 100 percent wage compensatio n	Joint weeks, 80 percent wage compensatio n	Weeks reserve d for mother	Weeks reserve d for father
1977	18	-	12	-	6	-
1977	20	-	14	-	6	-
1978	22	-	16	-	6	-
1979	24	30	18	24	6	-
1980	28	35	22	29	6	-
1981	32	40	26	32	6	-
1982	35	44 2/5	27	36 2/5	6 (+2 before birth)	-
1983	42	52	29	39	6 (+ 3 before birth)	4
1985	43	53	29	39	6 (+ 3)	5
1986	44	54	29	39	6 (+ 3)	6
1989	46	56	27	37	6 (+3)	10
1991	47	57	26	36	6 (+3)	12
1992	47	57	20	30	12 (+ 3)	12

Source: NOU 1996

Table 2. Coverage rates in childcare services, by age. Percent 1980-2010

	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
1-2 years old	7	9	15	31	37	54	79
3-5 years old	27	38	52	66	78	91	97
1-5 years olds	19	27	36	52	62	76	89

Source: Barnehagestatistikk, Statistics Norway

Table 3. The proportion of children 1-2 year old receiving the cash for care benefit (per 31.12) in Norway. 1999–2011.

	All 1–2 year olds	1 year olds	2 year olds	Proportion receiving full benefit
1999	75	79	71	84
2000	74	79	70	84
2001	73	78	69	83
2002	71	76	66	83
2003	68	73	63	82
2004	63	69	58	81
2005	58	64	52	79
2006	48	56	40	77
2007	41	47	35	75
2008	35	40	29	73
2009	31	36	26	73
2010	28	32	22	74
2011	25	30	20	75

Source: Rikstrygdeverket, NAV

References

- Brighouse, H. & Wright, E. O. (2008) Strong Gender Egalitarianism. *Politics and Society* 36(3): 360–72.
- Ellingsæter, A.L. (2003) The Complexity of family policy reform. The case of Norway. *European Societies* 4(4): 419-43.
- Ellingsæter, A. L. (2007) 'Old' and 'new' politics of time to care: three Norwegian reforms. *Journal of European Social Policy* 17(1): 49–60.
- Ellingsæter, A.L. (2012a) *Cash for childcare – experiences from Finland, Norway and Sweden*. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (available also in German).
- Ellingsæter, A. L. (2012) Ideational struggles over symmetrical parenthood: the Norwegian daddy quota. *Journal of Social Policy* 41(4): 695-714.
- Ellingsæter, A.L. & Gulbrandsen, L. (2007) Closing the Childcare Gap: The Interaction of Childcare Supply and Mothers' Agency in Norway. *Journal of Social Policies*
- Ellingsæter, A.L. & Leira, A. (2006) *Politicising parenthood in Scandinavia*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Ellingsæter, A.L. & Pedersen, E. (2013) Economic risk, fertility and the welfare state: Understanding individual rationales. In: Ellingsæter, A.L., Jensen, A.-M. & Lie, M. (red) (2013) *The Social Meaning of Children and Fertility Change in Europe*. London: Routledge, in press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fougner, E. (2009) *Fedres uttak av foreldrepenge etter fødsel*. Nav Rapport Nr. 1. Oslo: Nav.
- Gauthier, A. H. (2007) The impact of family policies on fertility in industrialized countries: a review of the literature. *Population Research and Policy Review* 26(3): 323-346.
- Grambo, A.-C. & Myklebø, S. (2009) *Moderne familier – tradisjonelle valg. En studie av mors og fars uttak av foreldrepermisjon*. Oslo: Nav.
- Hoem, J. (2008) The impact of public policies on European fertility. *Demographic Research* 19.249-260.
- Korpi W (2000) Faces of Inequality: Gender, class and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social Politics* 7: 127-91.
- Lappegård, T. (2010) Family Policies and Fertility in Norway. *European Journal of Population* 26: 99-116.
- Leira, A. (1992) *Welfare States and Working Mothers. The Scandinavian Experience*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leira, A. (2002) *Working Parents and the Welfare State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Løvgren, M. & Gulbrandsen, L. (2012) How early and how long? *Nordic Early Childhood Education and Research* 5(7): 1-9.

Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion (2012) Prop. 1S (2011-2012).

Nordic Council of Ministers (1995) *Gender Equality – the Nordic Model*. Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers.

Rindfuss, R.R., Guilkey, D., Morgan, S.P., Kravdal, Ø. (2010) Child-Care Availability and fertility in Norway. *Population and Development Review* 36(4): 725-748.

Rønsen, M. & Skrede, K. (2010) Can public policies sustain fertility in the Nordic countries? Lessons from the past and questions for the future. *Demographic Research* 22(13): 312-346.

Sainsbury, D. (2001) Gender and the Making of Welfare States: Norway and Sweden. *Social Politics* 8: 113-143.

Statistics Norway (2012) Andelen barn i barnehage flater ut.
<http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/10/barnehager/>

St. meld. no. 70 (1991-92) *Likestilling for 1990-årene*.

Vollset, G. (2011) *Familiepolitikken historie – 1970 til 2000*. Oslo: Nova.



UiO : **University of Oslo**

The Norwegian dual earner/carer model: Influences, evolution and effects

Prof Anne Lise Ellingsæter
Dept of Sociology and Human Geography
University of Oslo

Prepared for the conference “Geschlechterbilder in Partnerschaft und Familie. Ein Vergleich zwischen Norwegen und Deutschland», Berlin, October 18 2012



Political influences

- Parenthood early became a political issue
- Women and inequalities, this became part of larger project of welfare state expansion and institutionalisation of rights
- Parenthood and equality linked; welfare state intervention expected
- Values of the Nordic model: egalitarianism and universalism
- Equal opportunity *and* equality of outcome

Evolution of the dual earner-care model

- Policies encouraging mothers' labour force participation, and redistribution of care, from mother to father in the family (caring fatherhood) and from the family to society (childcare services)
- Parental leave:
- 1978 from maternity leave to parental leave:
1993 4 weeks daddy quota

Year	Total weeks, 100 percent wage compensation	Total weeks, 80 percent wage compensation	Joint weeks, 100 percent wage compensation	Joint weeks, 80 percent wage compensation	Weeks reserved for mother	Weeks reserved for father
1977	18	-	12	-	6	-
1987	20	-	14	-	6	-
1988	22	-	16	-	6	-
1989	24	30	18	24	6	-
1990	28	35	22	29	6	-
1991	32	40	26	32	6	-
1992	35	44 2/5	27	36 2/5	6 (+2 before birth)	-
1993	42	52	29	39	6 (+ 3 before birth)	4
2005	43	53	29	39	6 (+ 3)	5
2006	44	54	29	39	6 (+ 3)	6
2009	46	56	27	37	6 (+3)	10
2011	47	57	26	36	6 (+3)	12
2012	47	57	20	30	12 (+ 3)	12

Childcare services

- Universal childcare services: Day Care Act 1975
- 2003: maximum parents fees (about 300 euros/month)
- 2004: municipalities an obligation to provide childcare places
- 2009: a right to a place in childcare services for children 1-5 years old

“Parental choice” - cash for care

- Norway seen as a ‘hybrid’ policy model, combining dual earner and traditional breadwinner elements
- “Equal parenthood” and “parental choice” competing values (Left vs. centre-right)
- 1998: cash for care for 1-2 year olds not using publicly subsidised childcare
- Discontinued for 2 year olds as of August 1 2012

Policy effects

- Parental leave: 9 of 10 mothers are entitled to leave; 3 of 4 choose the longest leave alternative
- Almost all fathers entitled to the daddy quota take some leave
- Childcare services: universal coverage, late 2000s “toddler invasion”
- Cash for care: strong decline in parents receiving the benefit

Childcare services, coverage rates by age 1980-2011, percent

Age	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2011
1-2	7	9	15	31	37	54	79	80
3-5	27	38	52	66	78	91	97	97
1-5	19	27	36	52	62	76	89	90

The proportion of children 1-2 year old receiving the cash for care benefit (per 31.12) in Norway. 1999–2011.

	All 1–2 year olds	1 year olds	2 year olds	Proportion receiving full benefit
1999	75	79	71	84
2000	74	79	70	84
2001	73	78	69	83
2002	71	76	66	83
2003	68	73	63	82
2004	63	69	58	81
2005	58	64	52	79
2006	48	56	40	77
2007	41	47	35	75
2008	35	40	29	73
2009	31	36	26	73
2010	28	32	22	74
2011	25	30	20	75

Family policies and fertility

- Total fertility rate 1.88 (2011)
- Stable cohort fertility, average of 2 children
- Qualitative study of young adults 25-35 in working class and upper middle class jobs (90 semi-structured interviews in 2010)
- Transition to parenthood characterised by perceived economic security, policies taken for granted
- Dual earner model the basis of parenthood; based on two pillars of trust: family policies and a well functioning labour market

Gender models in partnership and family using the example of Norway.

Conference on "Gender Models in Partnership and Family - A comparison between Norway and Germany" of the Norwegian-German Willy Brandt Foundation in co-operation with the 'Zukunftsforum Familie' and the 'Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Familienfragen', on 18 October 2012 in Berlin.

Tord Skogedal Lindén, PhD,
Stein Rokkan Centre for Social Studies, Uni Research, Bergen/Norwegen.

Dear participants and organizers,

I have been asked to address four main topics in my speech, and I will do this in approximately 20 minutes. When relevant, I will try to relate Norwegian debates, experiences and conflicts to its German counterparts. After all, the whole conference is based on comparisons of the two countries.

As Anne Lise Ellingsæter has discussed the most relevant policy instruments in more detail I will not describe the design of the parental leave scheme or the cash-for-care benefit. Similarly, I will only to a small extent provide you with statistics on the use of the instruments I discuss and the magnitude of the challenges I identify. For details I refer to Anne Lise Ellingsæter's speech and the references accompanying the written version of my speech.

The topics the organizers have asked me to initiate a discussion on are as follows: First, what could be said more general about the social climate in Norway concerning equal opportunities of gender in working life and family life? Second, how are custody, alimony and spousal support formed in Norway? Third, many Norwegian mothers are working part time and fathers mostly do not take more than the legal quota of parental leave – How can one explain this fact seeing that a model of gender equality exists in Norway? The fourth and last question is where is there still need for improvement in Norway?

First question;

Gender equality and family policy is continuously discussed in Norway. Much has been accomplished, and many international delegations visit Norway to learn from our experiences. However, much is also still to be accomplished. Skrede (2004) has coined the term "gender equality light" to describe the situation, implying that both parents work, but the father is still the main provider, and the mother is doing most of the unpaid

family and domestic work. Skrede, writing in 2004 (2004: 170), draws attention to an important point guiding the debate which is still highly relevant: If the political aim first and foremost should be to accommodate for and ensure freedom of choice for a dual-earner, equal-sharing family model, then we can consider Norwegian policy rather successful. However, if one thinks that public policy to a larger extent, and more rapidly, should promote such a dual-earner, equal-sharing family model, then the picture is less shining.

Let me briefly mention some on-going debates in Norway. Whether the father's quota should be further extended, and if so by extending the total leave period or by reserving the father some of the now "free weeks", is much discussed. Proponents of this last approach refer to how the existing quota has increased men's take-up rates, its opponent's thinks the state has done enough and should leave decisions to the family (Ellingsæter 2012). As a matter of fact, the parties which according to current opinion polls are most likely to win the elections in 2013 might abolish the quota and replace it with total freedom of choice. This rhetoric of freedom of choice has always surrounded the cash-for-care benefit, which the current red-green government has cut substantially, but which in some municipalities has been replaced by a local alternative. Whether a new government would reintroduce the old national benefit is more uncertain. I will return to both of these family policy instruments later.

A new, or at least, growing debate on the well-being of children has accompanied the rapid increase in childcare coverage. A few years ago, the political aim of full coverage has finally been reached. I would argue that there has been more debate in recent years on whether the smallest children really profit from childcare institutions, or whether the full coverage aim is more an issue of employment policy, allowing the mother to work.

The employment rates for men and women are rather high in Norway, 73 – 66 per cent respectively (cf. NOU 2008: 39), but the country has one of the most gender segregated labour markets, and still a high pay gap between men and women. This is often referred to as the gender equality paradox (ref), and is a recurring issue in public debate, often in connection with how women work much more part time than men.

In summary, many of the same issues being discussed in Germany are still high on the agenda in Norway. In the following I will discuss some of these issues in more detail.

The second group of questions I am asked to address is as follows: How are custody and alimony (or maintenance) and spousal support formed in Norway?

Is there a benefit for separated families if they have lived parenthood with equal care and household responsibilities beforehand?

According to a recent PhD-dissertation by Anne Hege Henden Strand (2012), there are small differences in income between men and women after parental break-ups in Norway. Strand (2012) emphasizes three main factors explaining this. First, a high level of female employment ensures an independent income after a break-up for women. This is different from countries where women work less, often in the first years after giving birth. The tax system contributes to the high employment participation level. It is based on individual taxation whereas Germany, according to the OECD (2011b), "is the only OECD country where the tax/benefit system does not favour second earners in families with children".

Second, compared both to other Nordic and European countries, Norway stands out as having particularly comprehensive benefits for lone parents. Within this benefit system, several benefits could be listed: extra child benefit (receive cash benefit for one more child than you actually have), tax deductions, a transitional allowance (up to three years, secures sufficient income), child care benefit (to cover parts of child minding costs while working/studying), and an education benefit (can be received while entitled to the transitional allowance) (Skevik 2006: 246).¹

Third, the Norwegian system of maintenance is efficient compared to many other countries as the state has strong sanctions if one partner is not paying. Maintenance may also be forwarded by the state if the former partner does not pay alimony.

All in all, compared to many other countries, Norwegian lone parents are doing well, and the level of child poverty is also comparatively low.

Close to 90 per cent of children born in 2006 had parents living together, around 10 per cent had a lone mother (NOU 2008, 9, : 21). In 2004, of the children living with one parent only, 82 per cent live with their mother, 8 per cent with their father and 10 per cent had an alternating residence (NOU 2008, 9, : 21). In several surveys, men express dissatisfaction with these numbers, asking for more comprehensive visiting arrangements, many preferring alternating residence (NOU 2008, 9, : 21).

So, in terms of gender equality, it is still most common that children live with their mother after a parental break-up. A commission appointed by the government in 2007 was asked to discuss legislation on custody, residence arrangements after divorce and visiting arrangements (NOU 2008, 9). More implicitly, the commission's terms of

reference implied that recommendations for change should contribute to the development of equal parenthood ("likestilt foreldreskap"). Among changes following the commission report is that parents now have to notify their former partner six weeks before changing place of residence and that what is understood as "normal visiting rights" is extended.

A current debate in Norway is whether women are given custody too often when the father is just as capable of taking care of the child. Another particular criticism is that public benefits could be conducive to reducing contact between father and child. This could be so because the benefits depend on the visiting arrangement; if parents have equal responsibility for the child, the total level of public support is reduced. One suggestion from the Norwegian two parents' organization (F2F, Foreningen 2 foreldre) is thus that parents sharing custody should have access to the same benefits as lone parents. Today, women constitute more than 95 per cent of the recipients of transitional allowance (Berven and Ravneberg 2012: 10).

Moving on to my third topic, why does the Norwegian model of gender equality not result in full equality in terms of employment patterns and use of parental leave?

This question seems fair enough as progress is modest with regard to fathers' use of parental leave, taking only some 18 per cent of the total leave, and women still work much more part time than men. To rephrase the title of a book chapter by Johanna Lammi-Taskula (2006); Can not the welfare state change gender relations?

In 2011, 60 percent of employed women work full time in Norway. This is up from 55 per cent in 1996 (Moland and Bråthen 2012: 23). In the care sector approx. 50 per cent of women work part time, within education the number of female part time workers is around 30 per cent (Moland and Bråthen 2012: 24).

There are a whole range of factors influencing the degree of employment. As this conference is focussing on gender equality and family policy, I will mainly discuss the role of public policies when trying to explain why many women work part time.

Actually, the high level of female labour market participation is one explanation why many women work part time in a gender segregated labour market: unpaid care work, traditionally taking place in the family, is now done by publicly employed women. With reference to several Norwegian researchers, a recent Green Paper (NOU 2008: 41) explains how the situation is somewhat overstated by comparing Norway with other

countries, where much care work still is done within the family without pay, thus absent in official statistics. Viewed in this perspective, the gender-segregated labour market looks less problematic. However, two key issues are involuntary part-time work and how this can reinforce traditional gender roles.

Gender equality is an important aim of Norwegian family policy, and a dual earner, dual carer model is promoted, as discussed by Anne Lise Ellingsæter in her speech. However, as stressed by several researchers, the Norwegian family policy could be considered dual in the sense that it promotes different aims (Ellingsæter 2003). While the father's quota clearly encourages dual earner, dual carer families, the cash for care scheme and the, in a Nordic comparative setting, slow development of kindergarten coverage, may contribute to a more traditional way of dividing paid and unpaid work. It should be stressed here, that although Norway might appear as a potential model for Germany or other countries today, the country in many respects is a latecomer compared to its Scandinavian neighbours (Bervena and Ravneberg 2012: 4). For instance, full kindergarten coverage was reached later than in Denmark and Sweden. Although childcare constraints should be less important today as the aim of full childcare coverage is reached, it might still matter. Yet, childcare and out-of-school hours care are bigger challenges in Germany than in Norway.

Costs of formal childcare can probably not explain the pattern either as heavy subsidies have reduced costs, although the combination of a cash-for-care benefit and the amount one saves by not using formal childcare adds up to a high amount for low income families, among them many with an immigrant background.

84 per cent of the recipients of the cash-for-care scheme are female (Nav 2012b). The cash-for-care benefit did not have such a big negative impact on employment patterns as the schemes' main critical voices claimed it would have, although recent research shows that it did reduce women's employment substantially, and one effect was that some women went from full- to part-time work (Rønsen and Kitterød 2010:101). Rønsen and Kitterød (2010:102) conclude that the cash-for-care benefit "preserves traditional gender roles by stimulating a more unequal division of labour between the parents, and has thus a negative effect on (...) greater gender equality". According to Anne Lise Ellingsæter (2012: 7), studies on the cash-for-care benefit suggest that it has a general negative impact on gender equality, both in the labour market and with regard to the division of unpaid work in the family. This applies particularly to families with immigrant background. Also, the traditional gender role, and the gendered division of domestic work, which is strengthened by the cash-for-care benefit as long as the family receives this benefit, could contribute to the establishing or reassuring of such roles and work

division in the future as well (Ellingsæter 2012: 8). Long periods out of work, which may be the result of one or more parental leaves followed by a cash for care benefit, could make it more difficult to return to full time work, as qualifications may be less attractive after some years. According to Rønsen and Kitterød (2010: 105), Norwegian experiences provides an important lesson for countries introducing this benefit particularly relevant for Germany, which has decided to introduce a similar scheme in 2013: "introduced in a setting with poor provision of formal daycare, a cash benefit for care may have a substantial negative effect on mothers' participation in the labour market".

Moving on to the father's quota, you will remember from Anne Lise Ellingsæter's speech that 12 weeks are reserved for the father and 9 weeks reserved for the mother. The remaining 26 or 36 weeks can be divided between the parents as they want to.

Norway was the first country to introduce a father's quota in 1993. Since then it has been extended several times. Statistics from the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Service (NAV 2012) shows a clear pattern: each year the quota is extended, men's take-up rates increase the following year. Many men chose the number of weeks corresponding to or close to the quota; in the first six months of 2012 approximately 4 per cent of men on parental leave took the whole quota (12 weeks), and 9 per cent took 12 weeks or more, while around 18 per cent took ten weeks. The prolonged quota will probably take full effect in the second half of 2012 and beginning of 2013 as women often take leave after giving birth and men first spend time at home in the last part of the leave. In 2009-2010, approx. 50 per cent of the men took the then earmarked ten weeks and some 10 per cent took more (Fougner 2012: 73). In total, around 90 per cent of Norwegian men take parental leave (in Germany: 25 per cent) compared to some 4 per cent before the quota was introduced. In the ten year period 2002-2011, during which the quota was extended with eight weeks, the per cent of all leave days taken by Norwegian fathers increased from 8,5 per cent (Lammi-Taskula 2006: 85) to 17, 8 per cent (correspondence with NAV, 19.9.2012).

This could illustrate that the quota is rather important in guiding couples' decisions on how to divide the parental leave. But please remember that the quota is based on a "use it or lose it" logic; parts of the quota not used by men cannot be transferred to the mother. Thus, for many families this means that the father takes the quota and not more. Berith Branth and Elin Kvanne thus claim that the quota is a success based on its high take-up rate, but that it has not fundamentally changed childcare in Norway:

"Rather, gender equality may come to mean gender segregation. As long as the father's quota is what defines good fathering and what fathers are expected to take, it contributes to cementing the traditional division of care work, but in a slightly different way than in the traditional one breadwinner family. Now it is in the form of long leave for mother, short leave for dad. Thus the quota has not changed the gendered character of childcare in a fundamental way; it has only modified it" (Brandth and Kvande 2009: 204).

The quota thus contributes more at the symbolic level than at the actual division of labour (Lammi-Taskula 2006). I will mention only a few out of many reasons why the quota has not contributed more to the aim of full gender equality. Decisions on parental leave are not solely based on the characteristics of the leave, context is important in several ways (Brandth and Kvande 2005). Structural factors such as the labour market, and cultural factors such as values and norms, are important. Men generally earn more than women, not only in Germany, but also in Norway. This makes long leaves for some families an economic challenge. Here I should repeat that the wage compensation rate in Norway has a ceiling, and although some employers voluntarily cover the difference between the public ceiling and the salary, far from all companies do this. Fougner (2012: 75) finds that men's use of parental leave increases with the income of the mother.

Furthermore, taking more leave than the quota means that some men face questions and prejudices from their colleagues and employers as there are still strong traditional division of paid and unpaid work in Norway. Another point that is raised in discussions of fathers' use of parental leave is that some women allegedly consider the parental leave to consist of two parts; the father's quota and the rest being their part. In reality it consists of 9 weeks reserved the mother, 12 weeks reserved the father and another 26 (36) weeks that the couple can decide how to divide. To blame the mother here is probably not fair; according to traditions this is simply the way it is and has been (Brandth and Kvande 2005: 56). As such, there are still societal attitudes towards the role of men and women that need to be overcome if more men should take parental leave for a longer period.

Other critical arguments could be raised as well. Some argues that it is insufficient to give fathers leave as long as the mother often stays home at the same time and thus in reality keep on taking care of the child (ref).

Summing up, culture, how supportive employers are, and the pay gap between men and women are some important factors influencing the number of weeks fathers take. It is thus easy to agree with Lammi-Taskula (2006: 96): "The means provided by family

policy are important but not sufficient for producing any major change in gender relations”.

4. Improvements?

Coming to the last question guiding my speech; which needs of improvement can be identified in Norwegian family policy?

Public policies alone cannot change peoples´ behaviour in terms of leave-taking and employment, but, as pointed out by the OECD (2011b: 137), “parental leave design is one of the few policy tools that are available to governments to directly influence behaviour among parents”. Thus, it makes sense to discuss possible policy reforms.

The fact that few men take more leave than the father’s quota is one reason why there have been discussions on dividing the parental leave in three equal parts; one third for the two parents each and one third left for the family itself to decide (cf. Ellingsæter 2012). This would be to take some of the “free weeks” and give them to the father, and some would prefer to increase the total leave and give “new weeks” to the father instead. Others again want to leave it all to the family itself to decide. However, as the number of weeks reserved the father seems to guide families´ decisions, such extension of the quota could increase fathers´ take up rate.

Maybe more flexibility is a solution (Brandth and Kvande 2005, Lammi-Taskula 2006)? Today, men and women for instance cannot be on leave simultaneously, except during the fathers quota. Maybe accepting that both parents stay home at the same time could make it less demanding and overwhelming for some men to take more leave?

However, this could easily be turned around; Maybe less flexibility is the solution. Some men do not spend their leave taking care of their child, but leave it to the mother, as is possible because she e.g. can have holiday during the father´s quota (Fougner 2012). However, to take away such existing flexibility and thus force men to take more responsibility for their children, is not likely to be met with enthusiasm and would heavily interfere in private life.

The ceiling in the wage compensation of the parental leave could be increased to make it more attractive to men. In an international comparative perspective, however, it is already very generous, and this would be costly.

Moreover, from a gender equality perspective, it seems strange that the father's right to take parental leave depends not only on his own employment record but on the mother's as well: the mother must have worked in six of the last ten months. This is not the case in other Nordic countries, or in Germany, and is problematic for approx. 12 per cent of Norwegian fathers.

The parties which according to current opinion polls are most likely to win the elections in 2013 might abolish the quota altogether and replace it with freedom of choice. One of the arguments is that the quota now has served its purpose and made it unnecessary to reserve parts of the leave for men. Parties defending the quota strongly disagree and are worried that it will have negative influence on the number of fathers taking leave. It is at least probably safe to say that such abolition not will increase the take up rate for men.

Sources:

Berven, N. og B.Ravneberg (2012): Forskning om velferdspolitik og omsorgsordninger i et likestillingsperspektiv. En kunnskapskartlegging. Rokkannotat 7, 2012.

Brandth, B. and E. Kvande (2009): "Norway: The making of the father's quota", in Kamerman, B. S. and Moss, P. (eds.): *The Politics of Parental Leave Policies: Children, Parenting, Gender and the Labour Market*, Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 191-206.

Brandth, B. and E. Kvande (2005): "Valgfri eller øremerket permisjon for fedre?" in Brandth, B. and E. Kvande (eds.): *Valgfrihetens tid. Omsorgspolitik for barn møter det fleksible arbeidslivet*. Oslo: Gyldendal, pp. 44 – 61.

Bringedal, Kristin Horn og Trude Lappegård (2012): Holdninger til fedrekvote. Småbarnsforeldre sier ja til fedrekvote. SSB (Norway Statistics), available at <http://www.ssb.no/ssp/utg/201201/03/>

Ellingsæter, Anne Lise (2012): Cash for Childcare. Experiences from Finland, Norway and Sweden. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Ellingsæter, Anne Lise (2012): Symmetriske foreldreskap – politiske forhindringer. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 52 (1): 3-32.

Fougner, Elisabeth (2012): Fedre tar ut hele fedrekvoten – også etter at den ble utvidet til ti uker. *Arbeid og velferd* nr. 2-2012, s. 71 - 77.

Kitterød, R. H. und T. Lappegård (2010): "A typology of work-family arrangements among dual earner couples in Norway". Discussion Papers No. 636, November 2010.

Lammi-Taskula, Johanna (2006): «Nordic men on parental leave: can the welfare state change gender relations?», in A.L. Ellingsæter and A. Leira (eds.), *Politicising Parenthood in Scandinavia. Gender relations ion welfare states*. Policy Press, pp. 79-100.

Moland, Leif E. and Bråthen, Ketil (2012): Hvordan kan kommunene tilby flere heltidsstillinger? Fafo-rapport 14.

NAV (the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Service) (2012a): Foreldrepenger, engangsstønad og svangerskapspengar. Statistikk pr. 30. juni 2012.

<http://www.nav.no/Om+NAV/Tall+og+analyse/Familie+og+omsorg/Foreldrepenger>

NAV (the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Service) (2012b): Kontantstøtte. Statistikk pr. juni 2012. Publisert 18.9.2012.

NOU (2008: 6): Kjønn og lønn. Fakta, analyser og virkemidler for likelønn. Oslo: Barne- og likestillingsdepartementet.

NOU (2008: 9): Med barnet i fokus – en gjennomgang av barnelovens regler om foreldreansvar, bosted og samvær. Oslo: Barne- og likestillingsdepartementet.

OECD (2011a): Doing Better for Families. Country note Germany. Paris: OECD.

OECD (2011b): Doing Better for Families. Paris: OECD publishing.

Rønsen, M. und Kitterød, R. H. (2010): Cash-for-care in Norway: Take-up, impacts and consequences for mothers», in J. Sipilä, K. Repo, and T. Rissanen (Hrs.): Cash-for-childcare. The consequences for caring mothers. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Skevik, A. (2006): Lone motherhood in the Nordic countries: sole providers in dual-breadwinner regimes», in A.L. Ellingsæter and A. Leira (eds.), Politicising Parenthood in Scandinavia. Gender relations ion welfare states. Policy Press, pp., pp. 241 - 264

Skrede, K. (2004): "Familiepolitikken grense" – ved «likestilling light», in A.L. Ellingsæter and A. Leira (eds.), Velferdsstaten og familien. Utfordringer og dilemmaer. Oslo: Gyldendal, s. 160 – 199.

Strand, Anne Hege Henden (2012): The welfare state matters. On the economic consequences of partnership dissolution in Norway and Britain. PhD-dissertation, University of Bergen. SSB (2011):

ⁱ Cf. Nav for information on family related benefits for single parents

<http://www.nav.no/English/Stay+in+Norway/St%C3%B8nader+p%C3%A5+familieomr%C3%A5det+%28Family+related+benefits%29.231380.cms>

In the best interests of the child - in the re-organised family

Fathers between wish and reality – the role of civil society organizations in stimulating fathers to be active in family life

Norwegisch-Deutsche Willy-Brandt-Stiftung, Berlin, October 18th 2012



Rune Harald Rækken

Deputy chairman, Foreningen 2 Foreldre
(Joint Custody Association of Norway)

www.f2f.no

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Outline

- About Foreningen 2 Foreldre (The Joint Custody Association of Norway)
- The two parents' role in the life of the children
 - When parents are living together
 - When parents are living apart after divorce
- Contributions offered by Foreningen 2 Foreldre to promote active parenting



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

”Disclaimer”

- F2F usually focuses on the children and their situation after divorce
- In this presentation we are asked to focus on fathers’ active parenting
- Feedback given here is based on the reporting given to F2F from the organisation’s users



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

About Foreningen 2 Foreldre (F2F)

- Gender neutral parent's organisation founded 1985
- Aim to strengthen the childrens' relations to both parents to ensure life-lasting parenting
 - Focusing on children of separated or divorced parents
- On F2F's political agenda:
 - Make joint custody becoming basis in the Children's Act
 - Align the Norwegian Children's Act with the UN convention on the rights of the child
 - Improving the mediation system
 - Quality control of judges and experts witnesses
- F2F offers help for self-help at separation and divorce

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Parental leave

- Parental leave 47 weeks with 100% income compensation or 57 weeks with 80% compensation*)
 - 9 weeks before birth and 6 weeks after birth reserved for mother
 - 12 weeks reserved for father, else they will ”disappear”
 - Proposal in national budget for 2013 to extend with 2 weeks
 - Exception; if mother and father are living apart, the mother will get the parental leave originally reserved for the father
 - Due to tradition and unwritten expectations, many mothers claims that the rest of leave is “theirs”
 - Hurdle for fathers wanting to take part in parenting on equal grounds
- *) Limited for high incomes



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes

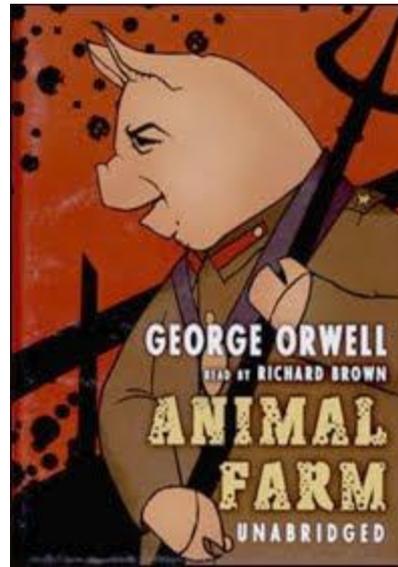


foreningen 2 foreldre

Parental leave – Icelandic model

- F2F has for years promoted that parental leave should be according to the “Icelandic model”
 - One third reserved for the mother, one third for the father and one third to share according to agreement
 - From fathers view; the genius with paternal leave is that the government have conducted the negotiations with the employer and with the mother, to make it easier for father being allowed to take part in child care
- So far – no political willingness to implement in Norway

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Gender equality a strong and pronounced norm in Norway

- Rather strong regime promoting gender equality in public sphere
 - Including dedicated ombudsmann with mandate to act on gender discrimination
 - Significantly less willingness to regulate gender equality in private (family) sphere
- Quite common that both parents take active part in the rise of the children,



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

What happens in case of divorce ?

Every year...

- Out of a total population of 5 millions;
- 270 500 children are living they daily life with only one parent
- 25 000 children experience family separation
- in around 90% of cases the father that is non-custodial parent
- non-custodial mothers experience the same problems

270 500 children
1,8 children per family
486 900 parents
730 000 grandparents
55 000 step parents

Family breakup affects more than one third of the Norwegian population

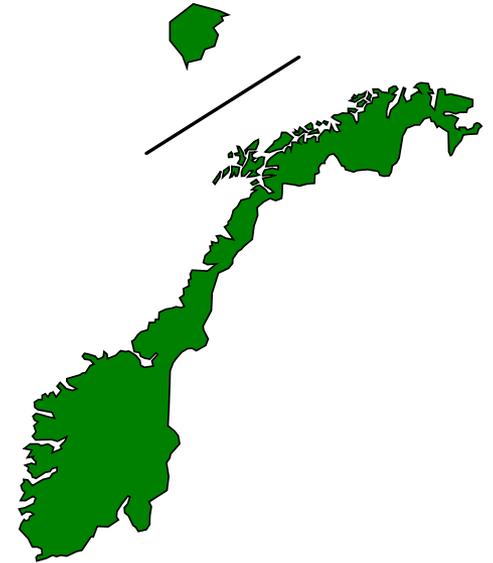
We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Reality in Norway

- 60 000 Norwegian children have not seen their non-custodial parent a given month
- The most common way Norwegian children "lose" one of their parents, is at divorce
- Why?
 - Sabotage of visitation right?
 - Moving away with the children?
 - Non-custodial parent can not afford travel expenses?
 - Non-custodial parent don't care?
- The children suffer, despite of cause



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

UN convention on the right of the child



- art. 9 no. 3: *”States Parties shall respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, except if it is contrary to the child's best interests.”*
- art. 18 no 1: *“States Parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interests of the child will be their basic concern.”*
- The UN Convention on the rights of the child is incorporated into the Norwegian legislation

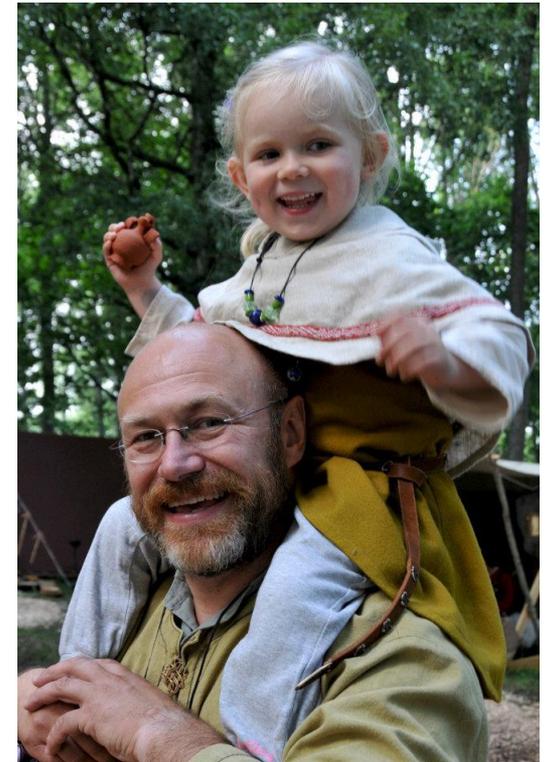
We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

We all know the myth about the good mother. Does the myth about the good father exist?

- Until 1981 it was explicitly stated in the Children's Act that the mother should be the preferred parent
 - Tradition still hard to change
 - Still taboo to challenge this outdated doctrine
- If mother and father never have lived together mother still have sole legal custody
- For children born until 2006 the mother has sole legal custody even if parents were living together
- Report from mediation: "Father not considered as primary caretaker, but found insufficient"



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



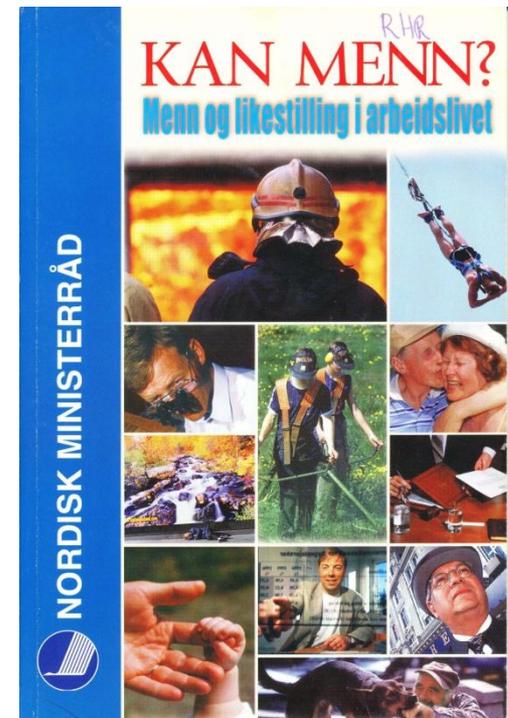
foreningen 2 foreldre

”Can men?” – about fatherhood

- ”Fatherhood has been weakened as an institution for a long period of time. Today’s solutions are not consistent. A father is a father – as long as a mother stands next to him. When Per and Siri are married or living together, society ask them to live according to today’s expectations. If they are breaking up, they are expected to act as they lived three generations ago. This is a fair summary of men’s experience of divorce and child custody disputes. The care they (at least partly) were invited to give by the family, are now held against them. ”The caring father” disappears, from now on men shall be ”wallet men”.

”Kan menn?” –

Nordisk Ministerråd, 2000, p 83/84
(my translation)



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Pitfalls in Norwegian Childrens' Act

- When sabotaging visitation rights
 - No real sanctions available
 - This have been criticised by CEFL
- Custodial parent can move across country with children
 - Even if children is visiting other parent up to 50% of the time
 - Should notify other parent 6 weeks before moving, but no sanctions described if this is violated
- Parental Aleniation Syndrome (PAS) not recognised by authorities



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Thorkildsen varsler endringer i barneloven



Barn-, likestilling- og inkluderingsminister Marte Thorkildsen (SV) under forhandlingen på Stortinget i formiddag. Foto: Steinar Jørgen / NTB scanpix
Publisert 11.10.12 - 21:09, endret 11.10.12 - 21:11 (2 NTB)

VG Nett følger

Barneminister Marte Thorkildsen (SV) varsler endringer i barneloven for å styrke barns rettssikkerhet, melder Aftenposten.

Freitag sender inn på høring flere endringer i barneloven, blant dem en bestemmelse som gir den ene av foreldrene rett til å stanse barnets samvær med den andre hvis det er «reell frykt for at barnet utsettes for vold og seksuelle overgrep».

Det overordnede målet for endringene er å beskytte barn mot vold og overgrep i usære relasjoner.

Hvis mor sier hun har «reell frykt» for hva far kan gjøre, så kan hun nekte ham å ha samvær med barnet, uten at noen domstol har vurdert om barnets frykt virkelig er «reell».

Reell frykt

Thorkildsen sier det ikke nødvendigvis må foreligge noen dom for overgrep for at den ene av foreldrene skal nekte barnet samvær med den andre. Men hun presiserer overfor Aftenposten at det må være en «begrunnet reell frykt for overgrep».

Frp Solveig Horne er skeptisk til å gjøre endringer som ikke bygger på bevis. Hun er redd for at en ny praksis kan bli misbrukt i samlivskonflikter. Ellers er Frp tilhenger av at foreldre som er dømt for overgrep mot sine barn, automatisk skal miste samvær og omsorg.

- Frp ønsker at statsråden reisk får på plass lovverk som sikrer dette. Her har barn ikke tid til å vente, sier Horne.

Frykter ikke misbruk

Barneministeren er ikke redd for at dette kan misbrukes av foreldre som ligger i konflikter.

- Alle bestemmelser kan misbrukes. Jeg er mer redd for at man venter for lenge. Hvis det er tvil, skal den komme barnet til gode. Erfaring og kunnskap tilsier at det heller er slik at man kvier seg lenge for å ta opp dette spørsmålet, sier Thorkildsen.

Hun tror ikke at falske beskyldninger er noen stor risiko.

Fatherhood further weakened – self justice as law proposal

- Minister of childrens affairs and gender equality proposes to change Norwegian Childrens’ Act so that “if the mother tells that she has a real fear for what the father can do towards the child, then she can block the visitation right, without any law court have evaluated whether her fear is “real”. ”
 - Proposal to changes in Childrens’ Act to be sent for hearing at 12th October 2012
- Why this resistance from the minister to let an objective third party (the law court) judge whether there is reason to believe that the visitation parent may harm the children?
- Can one parent both be part in disagreement when it comes to visitation rights, as well as being given authority to act as a judge?

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Fathers "without" children

- As a parent you need to be authentic
- Mother chauvinism
 - The idea that the mother is best just because she is mother
 - Children need both parents because they shall learn to relate to different people behaving differently



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Consequences for the children

- As strong sorrow as when a family member dies

Research scientist Benedicte Carlsen, UiB

- children of divorce have a higher risk of poverty and unemployment

Torild Hammer, NAVF, Dagbladet 27.11.92

- 12 times the risk of being a client of the child welfare growing up without contact with the father

NIBR-investigation “Growin up in large cities”, 1989

- Children with mental problems coming from broken or disharmonious homes

Nils Johan Lavik - “The mental health of youth”, 1976

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

How can this happen?

Norwegian Children's Act demands two equal parents to be substituted with one primary and one secondary parent after divorce:

- “the primary caretaker”
- and the visitation parent

Having significantly different privileges when it comes to decisions about

- Childrens' kindergarten and school
 - Where in Norway the children should live
 - Rights to economic support from the government and from the other parent
-
- Joint physical custody considered as an exception for particularly co-operative parents

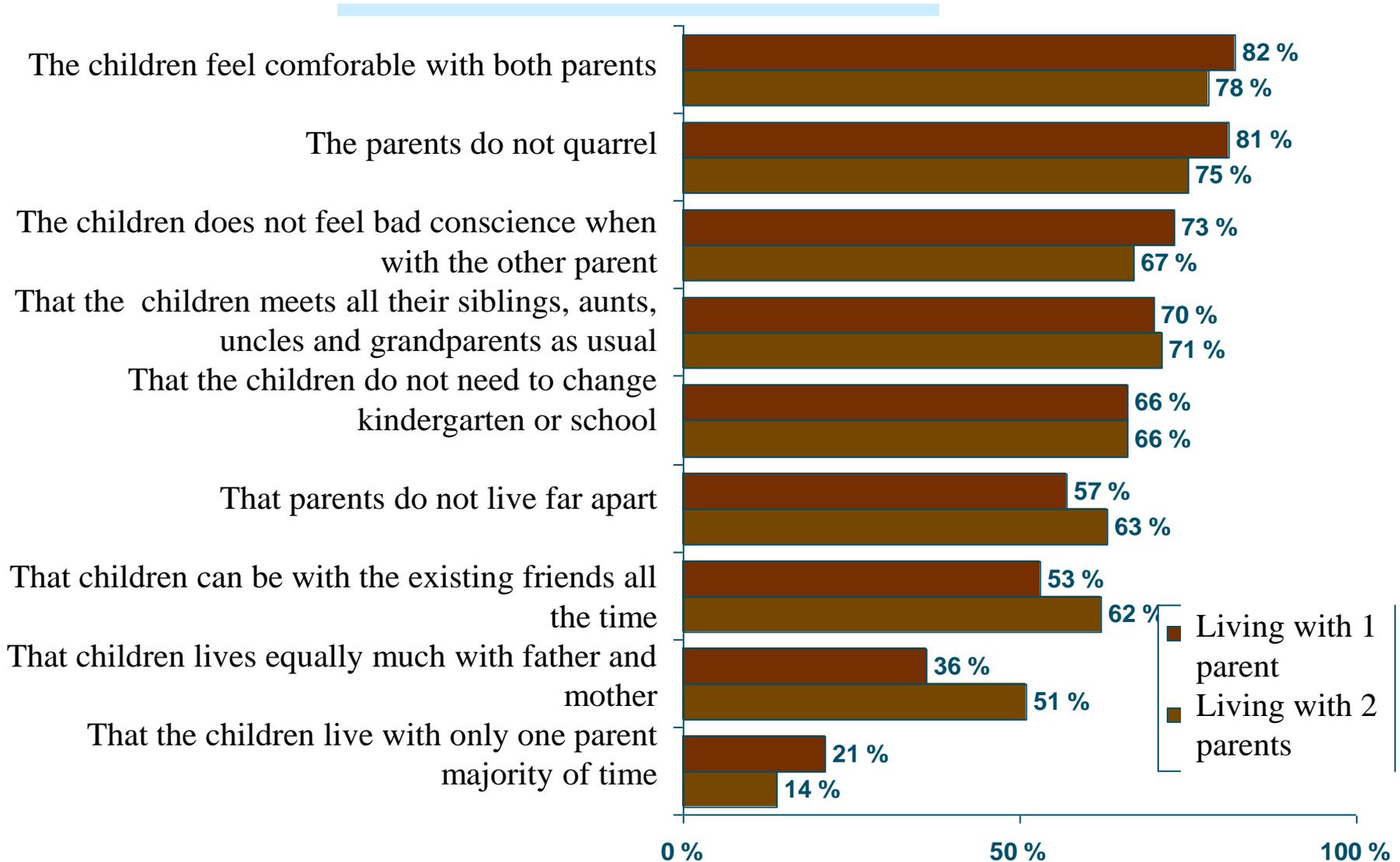
We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre



Question 127: Some children have parents living apart, some live only with mother or father, others lives with stepmothers or stepfathers. If a child has parents living apart, what do you think is important for those children?
(Basis: interviews with 1024 children and youth 8-24 years old)



Family = household?

- Families do not dissolve
- Cohabitation might dissolve, but family relations preserve
- Families do not dissolve, but they might re-organise so that the children have their closest family in two homes



”My family”

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Which support does F2F offer for separated or divorced couples

- Political work to change the legislation towards equal partenthood, independent on the parents' mutual status and relation
- “Peers”, someone with corresponding experience to talk with, to listen to frustrations and support them that the feelings in a crises is legitim
- Advice on how to keep focus on how the children benefits from maintaining both parents as resources
- Advice on how to make sustainable agreements with respect to the children, based on the collective experience of the members
- Legal advice
- Advice when it comes to the child support and allowance system
- Co-operation with lawyers specially skilled and dedicated to the field of family law
- Member meetings on special topics related to separation and divorce

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Which problems do fathers (and mothers) have who ask F2F for support?

- Some are in "shock" and sorrow as they suddenly are in a separation situation, and they need help to understand "the system" and what will happen next
- Some have problems getting access to their children after divorce
- Some have problems or questions regarding the children allowance and support system
- Some have lack of trust or confidence to the public officers in charge who does not appear to be neutral
- Some lack trust to the mediators, who does not appear to be neutral, or do not "stop" parent being completely unreasonable
- Some need help to make reasonable agreements about the child care
- One new trend is grandmothers (fathers' mothers) contacting F2F because they are denied access to the grandchildren as the father does not get access to the children

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Which kinds of special support do fathers get?

- Other players, like Reform (Resource Centre for Men) offers
 - Dad's groups (place to meet and talk)
 - Personal coaching
 - Coaching on how to handle anger
 -
- Small organisation, a handful employees



HJELPETILBUD

[Enesamtaler](#)
[Sinnemestring](#)
[Mannstelefonen](#)
[Juridisk rådgivning](#)
[Samtaler om sexkjøp](#)
[Enesamtaler om kjærestevold](#)
[Sinnemestring for menn med ulike etnisk og kulturell bakgrunn](#)

Reform 10 år!

fredag 07. september 2012 11:55



4. september 2002 ble Reform åpnet av daværende Barne- og familieminister Laila Dåvøy. Hun beskrev åpningen som en "banebrytende begivenhet" og trakk frem at Reform "gjør et nybrottsarbeid og vil være en kilde til ny kunnskap, og gi viktige innspill til den politiske arena". Vi er stolte av å ha fått mulighet til å gjøre en forskjell i livene til menn, kvinner og barn i ti år, men vi har fortsatt en vei igjen å gå! Her publiserer vi åpningstalen til Dåvøy.



søk ...

- VOLD
- SAMLIVSPROBLEMER
- BARNEFORDELING
- ANDRE VANSKELIGE SITUASJONER

What are the needs of men to become active fathers?

- Be recognised and respected as genuine resources for their children
- Getting rights to earn paternity leave, despite of the mothers situation
- Getting access to the children and a reasonable time with the children in case of divorce
- Mothers must stop behaving as self-appointed supervisors
-



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Areas of improvement to ensure equal standing in parenthood, also after separation

- Legislation and society must recognise that children and father have independent mutual relations
 - Relations between children and father can not be dependent on the fathers relation to the mother, as it is today (mother presumption, legal custody, paternal leave,
- Legislation and society must recognise fathers as resources for the children, also after divorce (and not as a “threat” to the mother-child unit)
- Moving with children after divorce should be agreed between parents, or decided by objective third party if parents can not agree
 - Never seen a movement with children justified by “the children need to move away
- Introduce real sanctions when agreements or court orders on visitation are violated

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Influence on national policy by F2F

- F2F are part of the public debate on how to ensure children maintaining both parents as resources also after divorce
- F2F are body entitled to comment when government sends new law proposals for hearing
- F2F have meetings with local and Parliament politicians to give our view on how legislation should be improved in family area
- F2F takes part of client participation with different public organs dealing with children and parents, to give feedback and propose improvements
- F2Fs attitude is that we should be constructive, not only criticise what we think are improper legislation, but also propose how we think legislation could improve
- F2F member of “Forum for UN Convention on the Rights of the Child”
 - Co-author of the alternative report to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child on violations of the UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Backup

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

What about the children's act?



- §44: “The child has the right to personal relations to both parent, even if the parents live apart. The parents have mutual responsibility that the visitation right is fulfilled. The child shall have care and forethought from the one the child is with”.

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Do the children want only one psychological parent?

We know that children love both parents and are loyal to both parents. They can therefore come into a difficult loyalty conflict if they are asked to prefer one of the parents before the other."

(Berger, Haynes og Undersrud 1994, s.24)

"If you are visiting your own parents, then something is wrong, I think. It is not possible to have a natural relation to your parents without experiencing the everyday, weekday together. *Every second weekend and a little bit more is not sufficient. Then it is just visitation. If you are going to maintain proper contact with Mum and Dad after divorce, you have to live with both of them..*"

(Girl, 12 years. Haaland 1988, s.29)

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

”Can men?” – about marginalisation of men

- ”Even though a lot of things have changed, three out of four divorces are initiated by women. After divorce women are often winners, men are often losers. Men after divorce reports about poorer economy, relations to friends, and often also poorer psychological health. At the same time their self confidence increases a bit. The picture related to women are significantly different – a great increase in psychological and physical well being, most often improved relations to friends, somewhat mixed on economy.

”Kan menn?” –
Nordisk Ministerråd, 2000, s 85
(my translation)

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

”Can men?” – about women’s privileges

- A representative survey amongst women revealed:
 - Only 13% was interested in ”handing over more of the responsibility for ”The Family Ltd.” to the man
 - Only 20% would support a ”sharing of parental leave with the father where both parties should have 26 weeks of leave each
 -
 - Less popular is the thought of ”handing over more of child care to the father in case of divorce, with only one and a half percent – a real *taboo*.
- The survey shows a picture of women who on one side wishes for gender equality and balance in work life, and at the same time sticks to a traditional gender role at home.”
”Gender discrimination of men includes disparagement of men as care persons, loose of parenthood, weak or missing support, tradition and culture in work life where men are treated as breadwinners and not as care takers.”

”Kan menn?”

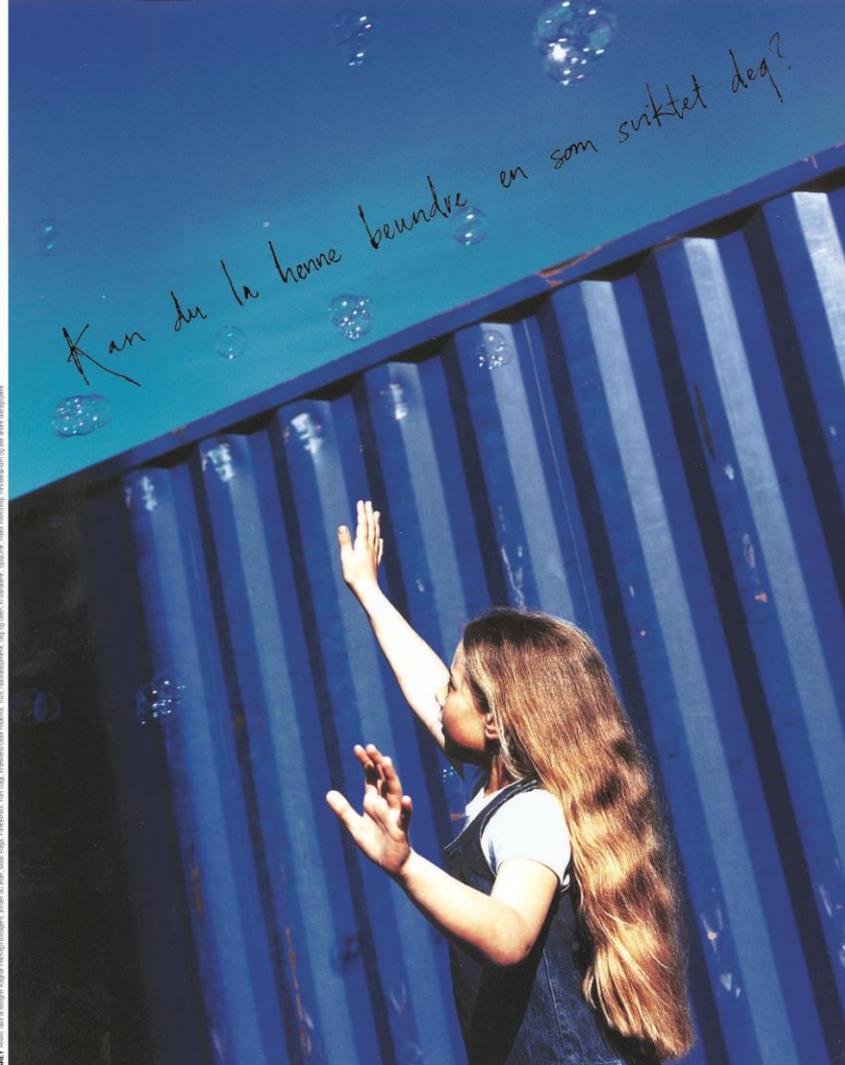
Nordisk Ministerråd, 2000, s 91

(my translation)

We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre



Kan du la henne beundre en som siktet deg?

GREY: ©2014. Det er ingen fotografier/illustrasjoner av barn. Bildet er et fotografi av en jente som ser på en annen jente som siktet på henne. Bildet er et fotografi av en jente som ser på en annen jente som siktet på henne. Bildet er et fotografi av en jente som ser på en annen jente som siktet på henne.

Selv om foreldre velger å skille lag, har barn behov for både en mamma og en pappa. Foreningen 2 Foreldre jobber for likedeling av ansvar, plikter og gløder. Se www.f2f.no eller ring 88 00 88 45.

”Can you let her admire someone who let you down?”



We secure the family relations
for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre



Kan du diskutere oppdragelsen hans med en du ikke respekterer?

”Can you discuss his upbringing with someone you do not respect?”

SBET Bildet skal tilhøre fotografen. Annonse i nett. Bildet er fra Facebook. www.2foreldre.no. Foreningen 2 Foreldre jobber for likedeling av ansvar, plikter og gleder. Se www.f2f.no eller ring 88 00 88 45.



We secure the family relations for children having two homes



foreningen 2 foreldre

Väter zwischen Wunsch und Wirklichkeit – Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen bei der Aktivierung von Vätern

Ein Kommentar

Martin Rosowski

Bei den Ausführungen meines norwegischen Kollegen haben mich zwei Aspekte überrascht: Die fehlende Euphorie über Norwegens Ruf als eine der familienfreundlichsten Gesellschaften Europas zum einen und die Parallelität der kontroversen Diskussion der Sorgerechtsfrage für Väter in Trennungssituationen zum anderen. Ich fasse die beschriebene Situation in Norwegen zunächst noch einmal zusammen.

Die Erwerbstätigkeitsquote norwegischer Frauen liegt bei 75%. Norwegen war das erste Land, das eine Väterquote eingeführt hat, durch die seit 1993 ein Teil der Elternzeit und des Elterngeldes den Vätern vorbehalten ist. Diese Zeit beträgt inzwischen 12 Wochen. Neun von zehn Vätern teilen heute die Elternzeit mit der Mutter – vor 20 Jahren waren es lediglich 2 Prozent. Zugleich betreuen über 16,5% Väter ihre Kinder über die Elternzeitquote hinaus, indem sie sich beruflich freistellen lassen. Allen Kindern wird ein Kindergartenplatz per Gesetz garantiert und seit über 30 Jahren schon verbietet ein Gesetz zur Gleichstellung der Geschlechter die geschlechtliche Diskriminierung in allen Lebensbereichen der Gesellschaft. Zugleich erfahren wir aber auch von Rune, dass es noch nicht gelungen ist, eine explizit offene Drittelung der Elternzeit (wie beispielsweise in Island) trotz vorhandenen gesellschaftlichen Willens zu erreichen. Wir hören auch, dass sich Väter in Norwegen nach Scheidungen und Trennungen in der Frage des gemeinsamen Sorgerechtes benachteiligt fühlen. Er spricht vom Mythos Mutter, der das Bild vom verantwortlichen und verlässlichen Vater zumeist verblässen lässt.

Wir verspüren eine Ambivalenz der Verhältnisse und Entwicklungen in Norwegen, die auch für Deutschland zu beobachten ist.

... und in Deutschland?

In Deutschland wächst auf der einen Seite so etwas wie eine neue Väterlichkeit, während auf der anderen Seite Anspruch und Realität eines wirklich ausgeglichenen Geschlechterarrangements noch erheblich auseinander klaffen. Der Anteil an Vätern in Elternzeit steigt in Deutschland zwar (immerhin mittlerweile 30% mit einer steigenden Anzahl derer, die mehr als nur die zwei so genannten Papa-Monate in Anspruch nehmen) doch im europäischen Vergleich hinken wir noch immer hinterher. Die große Mehrheit der deutschen Paare mit Kindern lebt in traditionellen Konstellationen der Aufteilung der

Erwerbsarbeit, in denen die Mutter während der Elternzeit entweder gar nicht oder höchstens in Teilzeit erwerbstätig ist und der Mann voll erwerbstätig bleibt.

Dabei prägt vor allem die Ungleichheit der Einkommen von Frauen und Männern noch immer einen Großteil der Partnerschaften. Wenn also der in der Regel mehr verdienende Mann in der Familie sich zur Kinderbetreuung und zum Ausscheiden aus dem Beruf entschließt, ist der Einkommensverlust für die Gesamtfamilie entsprechend höher als im Falle der Mutter. Weiterhin werden mögliche Nachteile in der beruflichen Laufbahn und Behinderungen der Karriere von vielen jüngeren Männern befürchtet. Es sind vor allem solche äußeren Faktoren, die viele junge Paare, die ursprünglich gemeinsam für den Erwerb und die Erziehung der Kinder verantwortlich sein wollten, letztendlich doch wieder in die Traditionsfalle tappen und zu traditionellen Arrangements zurückkommen lassen.

Ein weiterer Faktor kommt hinzu, der die zumindest anteilige Teilhabe des Mannes an der Erziehung und der Hausarbeit erschwert: Der Zeitfaktor. Bis heute orientieren sich die maßgeblichen Zeitmodelle in der Tarif- wie Sozialpolitik am Vollzeiterwerb und auch die aktuellen wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Prognosen weisen noch auf eine Ausweitung der Wochen- wie der Lebensarbeitszeit hin. Nicht auf die gestalterische Vielfalt der Arbeitszeitgestaltung wird im Hinblick auf die demografische Entwicklung gesetzt, sondern auf das Höchstmaß an Anwesenheit. In Deutschland erleben die Männer das ganz konkret: 60% aller berufstätigen Väter wünschen sich heute eine kürzere Wochenarbeitszeit aber auch 56% aller vollzeitberufstätigen Väter hält eine Teilzeitregelung für ihren aktuellen Arbeitsplatz für nicht umsetzbar.

Geschlechtergerechtigkeit und Familienfreundlichkeit gelten heute überall in Europa als erfolgversprechende Kriterien des Organisationsmanagements von Arbeitgebern aller Bereiche. Im Kampf um die knapper werdenden Fachkräfte wird nach dem Konkurrenzaspekt des Standortvorteiles gesucht. Zwischen den beiden genannten Kriterien, die einen solchen Standortvorteil versprechen, besteht eine sehr enge Wechselwirkung: Nur Strukturen, die geschlechtergerecht sind, können auch familienfreundlich sein!

Und doch gehört es nur in wenigen nationalen wie internationalen Betrieben bereits heute zur Philosophie, dass die Vereinbarkeitsfrage sich auch auf Väter bezieht. Daher brauchen Männer mindestens ebensolche Unterstützung in der Vereinbarkeit ihrer väterlichen Interessen mit denen des Berufes wie sie gegenüber Müttern nahezu selbstverständlich ist. Heute haben sich vielfältige Formen familiären Zusammenlebens entwickelt. Männer brauchen klare gesellschaftliche Signale, dass sie auch in ihren unterschiedlichen Lebensentwürfen und -situationen, in klassischen Vater-Mutter-Kind-Beziehungen, als geschiedene oder als homosexuell lebende Männer Verantwortung übernehmen dürfen und sollen und als aktive Väter gewollt sind.

Väterrechte als Kinderrechte

Die Präsenz von Männern gehört zu den politisch in Europa allseits anerkannten moderneren Familienbildern. Doch die juristische Bewertung der Bedeutung von Männern und Frauen für Kinder ist nach wie vor klassisch geprägt. Mütter scheinen im Zweifelsfall für die natürlicheren Bezugspersonen gerade für kleine Kinder gehalten zu werden. Dies bringt in Deutschland wie in Norwegen kontroverse aktuelle Diskussionen mit sich.

1998 gab es in Deutschland eine große Reform des Kindschaftsrechtes, die die gemeinsame Sorge der getrennten Eltern als Option stark machte. Doch bereits Ende 2009 mahnte der Europäische Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte (EGMR) eine Neuregelung an. Das Urteil vom 3.12. 2009 kritisierte die Abhängigkeit der Anordnung einer gemeinsamen Sorge von der Zustimmung der Mutter. Daran anknüpfend urteilte das BVerfG am 21.7.2010, dass die Regelung, durch die die Teilhabe des Vaters an der gemeinsamen Sorge von der Zustimmung der Mutter abhängig ist, ohne die Möglichkeit, dies gerichtlich überprüfen zu lassen, einen tiefgreifenden Eingriff in das Elternrecht des Vaters darstelle: „Der Gesetzgeber setzt das Elternrecht des Vaters in unverhältnismäßiger Weise generell hinter das der Mutter zurück, ohne dass dies durch die Wahrung des Kindeswohls geboten ist.“ Das BVerfG hob damit die bisherige Regelung auf und eröffnete unverheirateten Vätern einen Rechtsweg, um das Sorgerecht einzuklagen zu können. Der Gesetzgeber wurde zudem auf eine gesetzliche Neuregelung verpflichtet. Die geheime Botschaft des Urteils: Es geht nicht um Väter- oder Mütterrechte, sondern in erster Linie um das Recht des Kindes auf Vater und Mutter! Das Erleben von Liebe, Zuwendung, Sorge und Zeit mit dem weiblichen und männlichen Elternteil sowie die Option weiblicher und männlicher Vorbilder von klein auf stellen existentielle Erfahrungen für Kinder dar. Sie dürfen ihnen nicht vorenthalten werden, nur weil sie in außerehelichen Lebensformen oder veränderten Familienkonstellationen aufwachsen.

Deutschland steht nun vor einer diesbezüglichen Gesetzesreform, die in ihren juristischen Feinheiten sehr umstritten ist. Wie es aussieht, wird sich eine Variante durchsetzen, die dem Vater das Antragsrecht auf gemeinsame Sorge zubilligen, der Mutter aber noch ein nicht unerhebliches Einspruchsrecht einräumen wird. Dies widerspricht nach meiner Einschätzung dem Grundgedanken einer Stärkung der väterlichen Rechte und Verantwortung, über den juristisch wie politisch Konsens besteht. Das Bundesforum Männer hat daher eine Regelung vorgeschlagen, die dem nichtverheirateten Vater das Sorgerecht nach der Anerkennung der Vaterschaft automatisch zuerkennt, wenn dem

keine schwerwiegenden Gründe des Kindeswohls entgegenstehen. Entsprechend käme der Mutter ein auf das Kindeswohl begründetes Widerspruchsrecht zu. Leider findet eine solche gesetzliche Initiative vermutlich noch nicht die ausreichende parlamentarische Mehrheit.

Über die anstehende Reform des Sorgerechts hinaus halten wir es aber für unerlässlich, dass die Informations- und Beratungsangebote für betroffene Väter und Mütter zum Thema ‚gemeinsame elterliche Verantwortung‘ verbessert und flächendeckend ausgebaut werden ebenso wie verbindliche Fortbildungsangebote für beteiligte Fachleute – z.B. (Familien-) Richterinnen und Richter, Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter der Jugendämter usw. Dies ist unverzichtbare Voraussetzung dafür, um künftig angemessener mit den auch weiterhin auftretenden Streitfällen und gerichtlichen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Eltern in Sorgerechts- und Umgangsrechtsangelegenheiten im Interesse des Kindeswohls umzugehen. Die Ressourcen von Vätern und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung ihrer Kinder müssen wesentliche Elemente dieser Informations-, Beratungs- und Fortbildungsangebote sein. Wir sind der Überzeugung, dass Väter für die Entwicklung von Kindern wichtig sind. Je fürsorglicher sie diese Aufgabe wahrnehmen können, desto positiver ist dies für die Entwicklung der Kinder.

Gleichstellungspolitik ist Politik für Frauen, Männer und ... !

Was fällt auf am Vergleich der Situation von Vätern in Deutschland und in Norwegen?

Vor allem wohl die Parallelität der Diskurse, obwohl der gesellschaftliche Konsens über die Legitimität von Gleichstellungspolitik in beiden Ländern sehr unterschiedlich ausgeprägt ist. Woran liegt es, dass ein Staat wie Norwegen, der mit seiner Politik für die Gleichstellung der Geschlechter auf der offiziellen Homepage offensiv wirbt, in den Problemfragen die aktive Vaterschaft betreffend dann aber doch in ähnlichen konservativen Mustern wie in Deutschland verharret, wo Gleichstellungs- und Geschlechterpolitik eher als „Gedöns“ betrachtet wird? Mit der positiven Bewertung von Vaterschaft, mit der Anerkennung des Eigenwertes einer veränderten Vaterrolle über ihre unterstützende Bedeutung für die Erwerbsmöglichkeit der Frau hinaus tun sich beide Gesellschaften scheinbar gleich schwer.

Ich glaube, dass sich uns hier ein Phänomen offenbart, das in einem Widerspruch zwischen formaler Zieldefinition und verinnerlichtem Selbstverständnis der AkteurInnen von Gleichstellungspolitik und Gendertheorie begründet ist. Gleichstellungspolitik ist nur dann Politik zur Gleichstellung von Männern und Frauen, wenn sie als Politik für Frauen und für Männer gedacht wird und als solche identifizierbar ist. Ich möchte das noch einmal an den Entwicklungen in Deutschland verdeutlichen.

Moderne Gleichstellungspolitik blickt heute auf eine große Tradition zurück. Unsere Gesellschaft hat sich durch den hartnäckigen politischen Einsatz von Frauen für gleiche Rechte und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe in den vergangenen 150 Jahren grundlegend verändert. Sie mussten sich dabei gegen den Widerstand von Männern (und Frauen) durchsetzen, erfuhren aber immer auch Solidarität und Unterstützung von (einzelnen) Männern. Die internationale Schwul-lesbische und die Queer-Bewegung haben zudem die Geschlechterdebatte insgesamt angestoßen. Eine emanzipatorische Männerbewegung entwickelte sich dagegen erst sehr spät und sehr langsam. Vor vierzig Jahren fingen vereinzelt Männer an, ebenfalls gesellschaftspolitische Themen zu definieren, die sie als Männer beschäftigten. Dabei ging es um Fragen des Zusammenlebens in Partnerschaften, um Pflichten und Rechte von Vätern, um Macht- und Herrschaftsverteilung. Heute vernetzen sich die bis dato weitgehend vereinzelt Gruppen; dafür steht das Bundesforum Männer – Interessenverband für Jungen, Männer und Väter, dessen Vorsitzender ich bin.

Das Bundesforum Männer setzt sich für eine gemeinsame Gleichstellungspolitik von Frauen und Männern ein. Denn wir gehen davon aus, dass gesellschaftliche Veränderungen sowohl für Männer als auch für Frauen notwendig sind, um tatsächlich gleiche Rechte, gleiche Chancen und gleiche Teilhabe zwischen den Geschlechtern zu erreichen. Eine solche Politik kann nur von Frauen und Männern gemeinsam sinnvoll getragen und umgesetzt werden. Um Männer in diesem politischen Gestaltungsprozess aber wirklich mitzunehmen, müssen sie Vertrauen zum Prozess gewinnen. Wir können in der gesellschaftlichen Diskussion in Deutschland heute zum Teil recht skeptische Reaktionen von Männern beobachten, die nicht so recht an eine Gleichstellungspolitik glauben mögen, die sich wirklich um ihre Interessen und Belange kümmert. Da finden Sie zum einen den emotionalen Reflex solcher traditioneller Männer, die sich durch Frauenförderung in ihrer Rollenidentität bedroht sehen. Auf der anderen Seite aber auch emanzipatorische Männer, die enttäuscht sind darüber, dass ihre Interessen und Bedürfnisse in der Geschlechterdebatte nicht glaubwürdig vertreten werden

Solche Schief lagen, wie wir sie in Norwegen wie in Deutschland beobachtet haben, kann Gleichstellungspolitik nur dann verhindern, wenn sie eine zweidimensionale Gleichstellungsperspektive konkret werden lässt: Nachhaltige und gerechte Geschlechterpolitik kann immer nur auf die Lebenssituation von Frauen **und** Männern gerichtet sein. Um geschlechtergerechte und chancengleiche Bedingungen zu schaffen, benötigen wir politische Instrumentarien, die die Spezifika in den Lebensbedingungen analysieren und diese Analyse zur Grundlage weiterer Gestaltung von Lebensverhältnissen macht. Gerade deshalb dürfen die Akteure aber eben auf dem

jeweils andersgeschlechtlichen Auge nicht blind sein. Es wird in diesem Kontext dann auch der Diskurs zu führen sein, welche Bedeutung wissenschaftliche und politische Feminismen dabei spielen und wie sie sich gegenüber neuen wissenschaftlichen Perspektiven verhalten.

Denn, und verstehen Sie diese Frage als meinen abschließenden Impuls für die Diskussion: Wie soll das Projekt Gleichstellung – gedacht als Aufbrechen normierter Geschlechterverhältnisse, als Neuaushandlung des Geschlechtervertrags und Neuverteilung bezahlter und unbezahlter Arbeit – gegen den strukturellen Vorbehalt eines Geschlechtes gegenüber anderen funktionieren? Mit wem soll das Projekt angegangen werden, wenn nicht mit gleichstellungsorientierten Männern, die ihre konkreten Interessen in den Prozess einbringen?

Väter zwischen Wunsch und Wirklichkeit-

Berlin, 18.10.2012

Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen bei der Aktivierung von Vätern

Ein Kommentar



Norwegen ...

Erfolge!

Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen liegt bei 75%

Elternzeit für Väter 12 Wochen

90% der Väter teilen Elternzeit mit Müttern



**bundesforum
männer**
Interessenverband für
Jungen, Männer und Väter

Norwegen ...

Ambivalenzen?

Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen liegt bei 75%

Angestrebtes Island-Modell gescheitert

Elternzeit für Väter 12 Wochen,
16,5% gehen darüber hinaus

Trennungsväter fühlen sich benachteiligt

90% der Väter teilen Elternzeit mit Müttern

Mythos Mutter versus verlässlicher Vater



bundesforum
männer
Interessenverband für
Jungen, Männer und Väter

**... und
in Deutschland?**

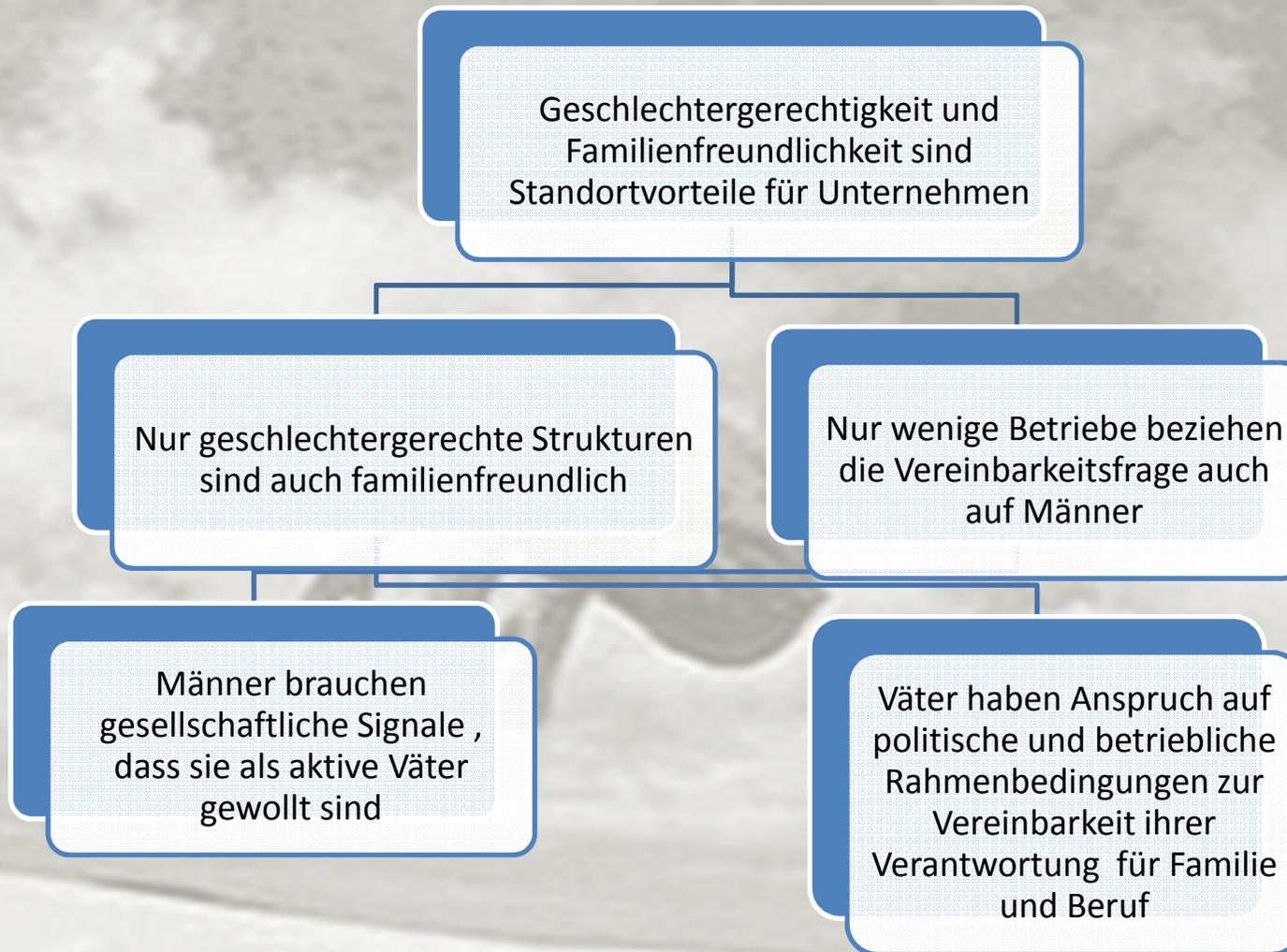


... ebenso Ambivalenzen!



bundesforum
männer
Interessenverband für
Jungen, Männer und Väter

Väter zwischen Wunsch und Wirklichkeit



Väterrechte sind Kinderrechte

Forderung Bundesforum Männer: Gemeinsames Sorgerecht automatisch. Widerspruchsrecht der Mutter begründet durch Kindeswohl*

Gesetzesreform mit Antragsrecht 2012?

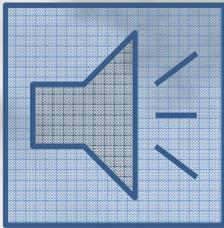
2009 Urteil des EGMR

2010 Urteil des BVerfG

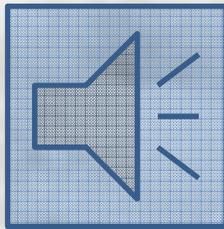
1998 gesetzliche Option auf gemeinsame Sorge

* Flankierend Informations- und Beratungsangebote zum Thema ‚gemeinsame elterliche Verantwortung‘ und verbindliche Fortbildungsangebote für beteiligte Fachleute verbessern

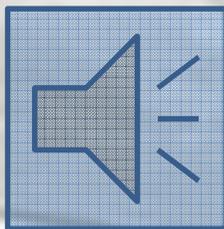
Gleichstellungspolitik ist Politik für Frauen, Männer und ...



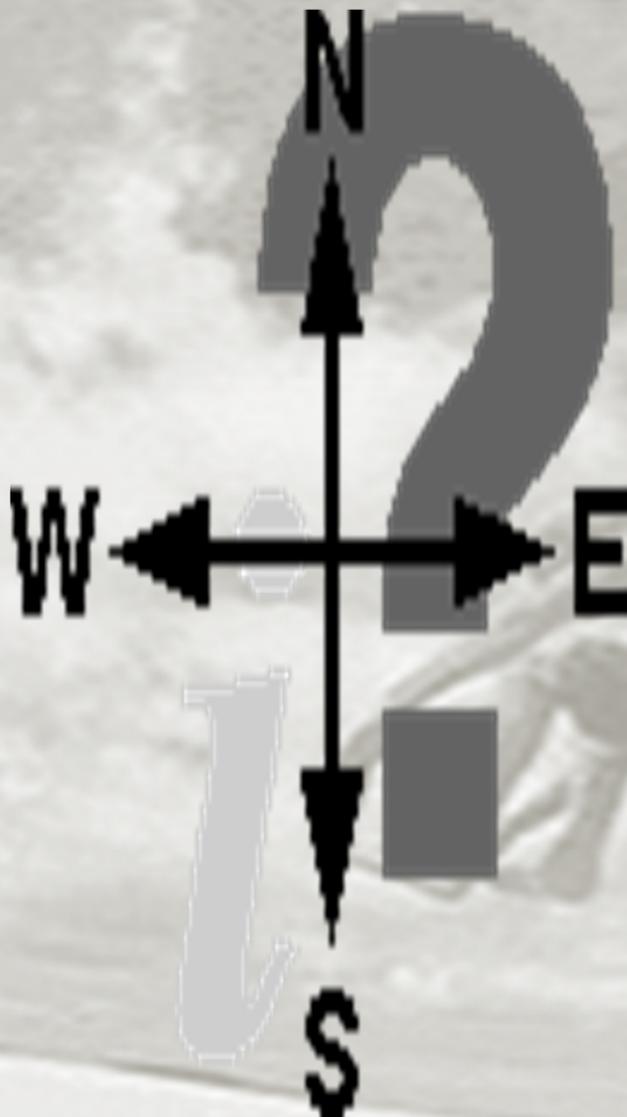
Gleichstellungspolitik als Politik für Frauen und Männer denken!



Das Bundesforum Männer bündelt Männer/Väterinteressen und bringt sie in die Politik ein!



Gerechte und nachhaltige Geschlechterpolitik ist auf die Lebenssituationen aller Geschlechter gerichtet!



Wie soll das Projekt Gleichstellung – gedacht als Aufbrechen normierter Geschlechterverhältnisse, als Neuaushandlung des Geschlechtervertrags und Neuverteilung bezahlter und unbezahlter Arbeit – gegen den strukturellen Vorbehalt eines Geschlechtes gegenüber anderen funktionieren?

Mit wem soll das Projekt angegangen werden, wenn nicht mit gleichstellungsorientierten Männern, die ihre konkreten Interessen in den Prozess einbringen?

Väter zwischen Wunsch und Wirklichkeit-

Berlin, 18.10.2012

Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen bei der Aktivierung von Vätern

Ein Kommentar

Vielen Dank!