#### **Parental Leave, Working time and Work-Family Articulation**

#### Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay, Ph.D.

- professor, Télé-université, University of Québec in Montréal
- Bell Research Chair on Technology and work organization
- Canada Research Chair on the Socioorganizational challenges of the Knowledge Economy www.teluq.uqam.ca/chaireecosavoir
- www.teluq.uqam.ca/chairebell

#### Introduction-context of research

#### <u>Work-family benefits: Important Jobs and Justice</u> <u>issue, although often neglected : wages and</u> <u>social-medical benefits more often studied</u>

- Transformations in family and in work:
  - family: aging, increase in requirements vs education of children, vieillissement, longer education and stay-at-homes
  - Work environment: intensification, variable schedules, non standard work, precarization, loss of marginal benefits, etc.

Increasing difficulties in work-family articulation and frequent demands of men and women for work-family balance measures National models of adaptation of the employment-family relation (Hantrais –Letablier +Esping-Anderson) to situation Québec and Canada

- Models vary by geographical region
- Diferent forms according to social, demographic, cultural context, but also public policies
- And HRM practices take these dimensions into account (Barrère-Maurisson) in order to design practices differentiated by gender (part time for women; full time and presenteism for men)
- Québec and Canadian evolutions are contrasted ; they tend towards the reconciliation model but some alternation introduced recently with the 1200 \$ offered by the Harper Govt (« cash for care »)

## National models of adaptation of the employment-family relation

#### 1-Non interventionist Model

- No intervention because of lack of resources (Southern Europe, until recently and reduction in fertility rate in Spain and Italy because family has not been replaced)
- Or no intervention for reasons of principle (USA, UK until recently)
- Model of « one earner » predominates and the private sphere is asked to take responsibility for family (part time women)
- In the USA, managers and professional women manage by paying required services, but inequalities in access

National models of adaptation of the employment-family relation (2)

- 2-Modele that alternates between employment and family (Germany and Netherlands)
- Incitives for succession of activities related to employment and family and to retire from the labour market (especially when children are young : 0-3 yrs); although part time work is possible for women, lower full time participation than other countries.
  - Little daycare
  - Support for women at home, eventually part time work and temporary retirement from the labour market when maternity
  - Privatist Representation of the responsibility of education of children, which is seen as the responsibility of the family...which means women, who should retire from the labour market
  - =Model based on the « 1,5 earner »

## National models of adaptation of the employment-family relation (3)

- 3-Model of work-family reconciliation (also called cumulative or dual earner)
  - Public intervention aims at a reconciliation of professional and family responsibilities
  - juxtaposition of family and employment, without sacrificing one or the other
  - Diversity of public measures, very developed and accessible
  - Laws encourage a more equitable sharing of parental responsibilities, with months of parental leave reserved for fathers (2 months in SW and NO, 3 in Iceland)
  - Mainly Nordic countries, but also Italy (one month more if father takes one month); Belgium and France can be considered in this category but have a more familialist orientation, less equalitarian as in Nordic countries.

#### Where does Québec stand ?

- Québec: close to reconciliation model, but does not go as far on parental leave...and some elements could favour alternation (Cash for care proposed by Harper...and ADQ);
- Excellent daycare for 7 \$ a day (vs 30 \$ before 96) and which favours women's activity, especially for women with young children
- No obligation for the employer to take into account employees' requests for flexibility or work reorganization (as in Netherlands: poss to ask for increase (women) or decrease (men) in hours and employer should accept)
- Not as much time off for family activities and school meetings (vs Nordic countries)
- Still waiting for a Work-family articulation policy...since 2003 (Bureaux des temps, incentives for flexibility or work-life programs)
- But new Parental Leave

#### New Québec Parental Leave

- Maternity leave: 18 or 15 weeks
- Paternity leave 3 or 5 weeks reserved for the father
- <u>+ flexible</u> : long leave with reduced revenue replacement (50 weeks at 70 % for 25 weeks and 55 % for 25 weeks ) or short leave (40 weeks with 75 % revenue – up to maximum)
- Higher maximum eligible revenue : 57,500 \$ instead of 40 K (im for fathers' participation)
- No 2 week wait for benefits
- + accessible: self employed and students are eligible since criteria is to have earned eligible income of 2000 \$ (instead of 600 hrs in federal program)
- Adoption leave: 12 weeks at 70 % and 25 weeks at 55 % or 28 weeks at 75 %

## New data on fathers' participation in Parental leave scheme

	2004	2005	2006
Can	14 %	<u>15 %</u>	<u>20 %</u>
Québec	(20 %)	27,8 %	<u>48,4 %</u>
Québec- absence from work for birth or adoption (GSS) Canada		67 % 45%	80% 55 %

Different types of leaves in Canada (GSS, 2006

81 % of mothers take maternity leave, vs only 3,5 % of fathers take paternity leave (GSS 2006)

- 37 % of fathers take annual leave,
- 19 % of fathers take unpaid leave
- 24 % of fathers take parental leave

#### Length of Parental leave

- 67 % of Canadian men return to work less than one monthy after birth or adoption (only 2 % of women)
- 17 % fathers take 1-5 months vs12 % of women
- 10 % of fathers take 6-11 months vs 33 % of mothers (+ QC fathers here)
- 4 % take 12 to 47 months vs 49 % of mothers
- 2,5 % of mothers take 48 months and +

#### Length of Parental leave

Need to see if as in Nordic countries and others, fathers participate only for the reserved weeks...or more eventually ?

Problem of legitimacy of fathers' demands for time off in firms, especially in some sectors where presenteism is very strong (IT, banks and finance, management jobs, etc.)

## Stressful when return to work?

		1	<b></b> Transition between
	Men	Women	eave and work is
	%	%	more stressful for
Very	5,6 %	19,4	mothers, according
Quite	28,9	42,9	o GSS (general social survey, 2006
Not too	25,1	26,6	social Survey, 2000
	40.2	11.0	
Not at all	40,3	11,0	

### **Research Questions**

- What is the offer of parental support in organizations ?
- Do firms offer more to women workers, associating them in fact to the role of mother and primary, if not sole caregiver ?

In other words do men and women with children have the measures they need, ie more work-family articulation measures in their firms?

### Methodology

- Workplace and Employee survey (WES) of Statistics Canada, representative of the Canadian labour market, except for the federal, provincial and municipal public service.
- Data are collected from 6 000 firms and some 23 000 workers of these same firms (Statistics Canada, 2004).
- We used both data sources combined into one data base
- Results were weighted to generalize the data to the Canadian labour market, excluding public service.

#### Hypotheses

- Beyond parental leave, measures offered by firms are important for the daily work-family articulation
- Hypothesis tested : does the presence of children OR gender (being a mother to be precise) explain the presence of benefits or work-family balancing measures, amongst which working time arrangements and support for the elderly?
- But also: some arrangements of working time can be source of supplementary difficulties in terms of work-family balancing:
  - Rotating schedules, changing hours or days of work can present challenges
  - Who has these schedules ?

Variables		No child	With child(ren)
Workweek (Monday to	н	71,24	83,78
Friday)	F	63,06	68,36
Work loss them Chr/day	н	92,21	96,06
Work less tham 6hr/day	F	85,69	83,74
Work from Ch to 10h	Н	76,04	83,86
Work from 6h to 18h	F	74,44	81,54
	Н	6,95	2,86
Reduced workweek (+F)	F	9,34	11,42
	Н	62,18	68,90
Work same hours in day (+F)	F	79,79	73,29
	н	64,27	70,70
Work same days in week	F	70,63	66,45
Deteting eshedular	н	45,11	54,55
Rotating schedules	F	52,27	43,82
Work on Saturday or Sunday	н	74,27	64,71
(+M)	F	72,01	56,63

 Table 5 work schedules according to presence of children, 2002

# Aspirations as regards working time

- Non negligible percentage of women would like to increase their hours of work, but the presence of children has a clear impact: men and women with children want to increase their hours less frequently than men and women without children
- Women with children as well as men with children are more incline to want a reduction in their working hours (vs those without children)
- Thus : presence of children is an incentive for men and women to want reduced hours
- Family obligations come first in the motives for which men as well as women with children want to reduce their working hours

 Table 6. Aspirations as regards working time, according to gender and presence of children, 2002

Variables		No child(ren) (0)	With child(ren) (1)
Want additional hours	Н	<u>23,83</u>	19,78
	F	<u>20,29</u>	16,15
•Want to reduce their	н	6,46	<u>8,83</u>
hours for :	F	6,68	<u>9,36</u>
	н	17,44	<u>61,48</u>
Family obligations	F	<u>40,44</u>	<u>73,58</u>
Work-related stress	Н	17,96	<u>37,29</u>
WOIK-TEIALEU SITESS	F	<u>49,19</u>	20,95
	Н	13,96	12,22
Health reasons	F	29,25	8,36
Manalajauna	н	<u>66,33</u>	<u>60,04</u>
More leisure	F	<u>66,05</u>	48,95
Other	н	16,44	6,06
Other	F	8,16	6,42

#### Work space related measures

- Working from home is sometimes seen as a good way to balance work and family, but it can also be seen as an intrusion of work in the private sphere (Baines et Gelder, 2003; Taskin et Vendramin, 2004; Tremblay, 2002)
- Working from home is something about a quarter of all workers do occasionnally, but more men and women with children;
- Men are al little more concerned than women, but the percentage has reduced slightly from 1999 to 2002, except for women with children, where there is a slight increase
- For men as well as for women, the work done at home is explained by work requirements (two thirds of respondents)
- It is NOT primarily a way to reconcile work and family, even if it is often presented as such
- But it is interesting to note that the percentage of persons working from home because of family obligations has increased, especially for men with children

		No child(ren)	With child(ren)
Variables		(0)	(1)
	Н	<u>7,81</u>	<u>8,06</u>
Compressed workweek	F	4,70	5,85
•Variable schedules	Н	37,50	37,75
	F	38,91	36,88
•Work from home	Н	22,07	<u>31,33</u>
•Work Ironi nome	F	21,38	<u>27,90</u>
Paid working from home	Н	<u>40,63</u>	27,60
Paid working from nome	F	29,82	<u>41,68</u>
Reasons for working from	Н	64,48	60,75
home: Work obligations	F	62,23	67,91
Femily Obligations *	Н	0,81	<u>10,95</u>
Family Obligations *	F	0,63	<u>8,16</u>
other**	Н	34,71	28,30
Olliei	F	37,14	23,93
•Reduced workweek	Н	6,95	2,86
	F	9,34	<u>11,42</u>

\*Obligations familiales regroupait les soins des enfants ou d'autres membres de la famille, ainsi que d'autres obligations familiales. \*\*Les autres raisons regroupent le fait de rechercher de meilleures conditions de travail, de gagner du temps et d'économiser de l'argent.

### Childcare support

- While childcare support is the first desire of Canadian parents of children under 3 (Lero et al., 1993), only a quarter of firms offer childcare service in 2002. (Québec: less important because of quality public service)
- The WES question is very large: it asks if the employer offers « help for childcare, either by an onsite facility, of by external support or other informal arrangements » (informal arrangements are not very supportive so % probably refer to more regular elements)
- There is a progression in the percentage of firms offering this type of help since the percentage went from 20 to 29 % for women and from 18 to 26 % for men from 99 to 2002.
- Women are more numerous however in using the childcare services; they are 8,59 % doing so vs 6,21 for men; both percentages are progressing but it is mainly the case for women, who went from 5,3 to 8,5%.

# Offer of measures according to presence or number of children

- There is a strong progression in the offer of childcare services in groups that have no child or only one
- These may be the youngest and may have chosen the employer partly for this reason.
- However data indicate that these services are more present in the firms where 55 and over are working, which seems to indicate that it may be further on in career, when people have access to a larger organization offering more benefits that this is offered. This would need to be studied in more detail, but WES offers a first view on the issue
  - The offer of services for the elderly has also progressed slightly in 2002, and it is higher in groups having one or two children. (Data on use of these cannot be used because at least one cell has under 5 respondents).

<b>ENFANT</b> Variables		Aucun enfant (0)	Avec enfant (1)
Childeene	Н	15,98	19,78
Childcare	F	19,50	22,13
•Elderly support services	Н	12,24	8,74
•Elderly support services	F	13,32	11,31
Use of childcare	Н	3,96	7,59
	F	1,51	8,99
Use of elderly support services	Н	2,04	23,33
	F	5,71	6,33

#### Table 9a. Offer of childcare and elderly support and use of services, 1999

#### Table 9b. Offer of childcare and elderly support and use of services, 2002

<b>ENFANT</b> Variables		Aucun enfant (0)	Avec enfant (1)
Childcare	Н	<u>30,61</u>	22,77
	F	<u>35,44</u>	23,58
•Elderly support services	Н	<u>14,99</u>	10,85
	F	<u>15,52</u>	10,26
Use of childcare	Н	4,76	<u>7,95</u>
	F	4,53	<u>14,69</u>
Use of elderly support services	Н	1,51	<u>2,32</u>
	F	4,06	<u>10,28</u>

#### Paradox:

It seems the offer of measures is attached to the better jobs and is not offered according to the labour force characteristics in a given firm...

In 2002, the <u>offer of childcare support or</u> <u>services for the elderly is higher for men</u> <u>and women without children</u>

Important issue, although often neglected : wages and marginal benefits more often studied

# V-Conclusion-paradoxes and challenges

- Family responsibilities remain the responsibility of women and firms have not adapted their offer of services to the needs of parents with children
- Investments in daycare in Québec have translated into higher participation rates, higher than Alberta and France, especially for mothers of children under 3 (paper published in Leisure and Society, vol. 29, no 1)
- High impact of Québec parental and reserved paternity leave
- But parental leave and childcare are insufficient: firms also need to offer more options to parents (analysis of WES data – other research showed this), ...without penalizing them in their career