

Southern European revision of leave policies in the last decade (Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal)

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Session 3. Reviewing the past decade: leave policies in a welfare state and family policy context – Regional perspectives

Contents

- The concept of '*Leave models*' as analytical tool
- Work and family patterns (relevant indicators, commonalities and differences in the 4 countries)
- Leave and childcare policies (pathways and turning points, relevant actors)
- Meanings of the crisis: relevant topics and trends in the 4 countries since 2008

Discussion:

- **How have evolved the 'short-leave modified male breadwinner model' and the 'early return to full-time work gender-equality oriented leave model'?**
- **In which aspects are the 4 countries converging or diverging? Are they approaching to other groups?**

'Leave models'

- Refer to specific configurations of leave institutions, culture and social actors and their complex interrelationships
- Emerge both at a national or cross-national level.
- Dynamic - include processes and pathways of change and transformation

We need a conceptual framework which bridges the gap between welfare regime analysis and country/case-level analysis, to understand the changing nature and diversity in parental leave policies and childcare systems.

UNDERLYING RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- **How are family and gender models evolving? Shift away from male breadwinner model?**
- **Cross-national convergence? Maintenance or increase in divergence?**
- **Welfare state analysis does not account enough for variation of leave systems: What else is shaping diversity?**

Leave models have four main DIMENSIONS:

1. LEAVE SYSTEMS (duration and type of leave, payment, degree of individualisation such as father's specific entitlements, practices – take-up rates.)
2. OBJECTIVES AND ORIENTATION OF LEAVE POLICY OVER TIME: gender equity, work-family balance, family-building (motherhood/fatherhood), child development and well-being
3. GENDER-WORK-FAMILY models and practices: conjugal division of paid and unpaid work (ideals and practices of parental care and roles)
4. EARLY EDUCATION AND CARE SERVICES (intensity and prevalence). Welfare regime and CARING when parents work: care as the task of the family, state, market, third sector

Combining these dimensions, we identified 7 leave models in contemporary European societies, reviewing indicators and data from the Annual Reviews of the International Network on Leave Policies and Research 2005-2013, OECD Family Database and Eurostat, in 22 European Countries:

- 1) The “one year leave” gender equality oriented model (Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, Slovenia)
- 2) The long leave “parental choice oriented” model (Finland, France, Norway, Belgium)
- 3) Long leave “mother home-centred” model (Hungary, Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland)
- 4) The “balanced” mother-home-centred model (Germany, Austria)
- 5) Short leave “part-time mother” model (United Kingdom, Netherlands, Ireland)
- 6) Short leave modified “male breadwinner” model (Spain, Italy, Greece)
- 7) The “Early Return to Full-time Work” Leave Model (Portugal)

6) Short leave modified “male breadwinner” model

Main Characteristics: Greece, Italy and Spain

- ❖ One main type of leave: maternity, short (4 months), very well paid (80-100%) with improved coverage
- ❖ Weak but development of parental leave (low benefits 30%, working time reductions that can be taken in a block, public sector improvements, sectoral & regional variation...)
- ❖ Low integration of leave and services system (low to above average availability of services < 3 years, regional variation, more complementary relation in Spain)
- ❖ Emerging emphasis on gender equality (particularly in Spain)
- ❖ Maternal employment rate between 2-10 p.p. below EU average when children are small (female employment more affected by educational attainment and historical cohort, than by age of the child). Male unemployment and casualisation is stimulating high female activity rate.
- ❖ Dual earner model is now predominant (female part-time is near average in Italy, below average in Spain and low in Greece)

7) The ‘Early Return to Full-time Work’ Leave Model (Portugal)

Main Characteristics:

- ❖ One main type of leave: a short, very well-paid, gender flexible leave, up to five and a half months;
- ❖ Supporting work/family balance during first year child’s life through reduction in working hours (two hours per day, either parent);
- ❖ Emphasis on gender equality (gender sharing and father’s entitlements)
- ❖ Complementary relationship between leave and services: access to services as leave ends to support dual-earner model;
- ❖ High female activity rate (full-time) + predominant model of full-time dual-earner couple;

Countries	Maternity Leave	€	Paternity Leave (during mat. leave)	€	Parental Leave			Total Post-Natal Paid Leave
					Total length	€	Who in fam.	
Italy	5 months (1 before)	80% - 100%	1 day	100%	10 months	30%	6 per parent (max 10)	14 months (4 mths: 80%)
Greece Pub. Sector	5 months (2 before)	100%	No specific entitlement	-	48 mths 9 mths	Unpaid (if => 3 rd child 3 mths paid) 100%	24 mth per parent Per family	12 months (100%)
Greece Priv. Sector	4 months (2 before) + 6 mths (special leave)	100% Paid by employer min.wage	2 days paid by employer	100%	8 months 3,75 months (if employer agrees)	Unpaid Paid 100% by Manpower Organisation (Alternative use of reduced hours)	4 mths per parent 3,75 months x family	12 months (5,75 mths: 100%)
Spain	4 months + 2-4 weeks	100% max. €3230/mth	15 days	100% max. €3230/mth	Up to 36 months per parent (until child is 3)	Unpaid (flat rate in some regions per family under conditions)		4 -5 months (100% with ceiling)
Portugal	5 months + 1 month bonus if gender sharing (“daddy month”)	80% (or 4+1 at 100%)	20 days (10 compulsory)	100%	6 months: + 24 mths special leave	25% unpaid	3 mths x parent x family	12 months (5-6 mth: 80%)

1 month = 4 weeks; 1 year = 52 weeks; 1 month = 30 days; 1 week = 7 days

Table. Take up rates of maternity leave, paternity leave and Parental Leave in relation to births of the year 2011-12

	Mater Leave/initial PL	Patern. Leave	Parental Leave	% male PL users
Greece	-	-	-	-
Spain 2011	67% (80%)	57% (74-77%)	7.2%	4.5%
Italy 2011	70%		54%	11%
Portugal 2012	84%	58-68%(69-81%)	(2.8%)	17%
<i>Sources and notes: country notes in the 2013 LPR Annual Review plus additional data provided by partners.</i>				
<i>Coverage per births, when the figure on brackets in relation to employed or eligible group.</i>				
<i>Portuguese data exclude important groups as civil servants and bank employees.</i>				

Leave policy pathways in the 4 countries (relevant evolutions)

- Positive impacts of the EU directives and comparative policy evaluation methods
- Leave policies and childcare gain positions in the national policy agendas
- In parallel to childcare services developments, increased perception of the need to articulate services and leaves (in Pt and ES; It? Gr?)
- Gender equality discourses and emerging social policies of fatherhood (in Pt and ES; It? Gr?)

Leave policy turning points in the 4 countries

- **Portugal:** 2004 obligatory paternity leave– 2009 paradigm shift with global reform
- **Spain:** 2000 (regional diversification) , 2003 tax benefits for mothers staying at work, 2007 (relocation in gender equality law, with paternity leave extension and extension of leave+allowances for dependants), 2011-12 austerity measures
- **Italy** (introduction 30% payment, 2013 introduction of compulsory paternity leave)
- **Greece** (development in the provision of reduced working hours or in blocks of time first 1999 in the public then in private sector in 2004; 2008 special extension of maternity leave in private sector, 2012 austerity measures affecting collective bargaining)

Relevant actors:

- Trade unions
- State feminists
- Regions (in Spain)
- The public sector as employer (in Greece, in Spain)
- The European Union (Parental leave directives, childcare recommendations, Employment and gender equality strategies...)

Relevant indicators

Fertility is clearly below EU average, slight recoveries in some years, now decreasing number of births from 2008 (particularly from 2012)

	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Greece	2.40	2.23	1.40	1.31	1.28	1.25	1.27	1.28	1.30	1.33	1.40	1.41	1.51	1.52	1.51	1.42
Italy	2.43	1.68	1.36	1.19	1.28	1.25	1.27	1.29	1.33	1.32	1.35	1.37	1.42	1.41	1.41	1.42
Portugal	2.83	2.18	1.56	1.41	1.56	1.46	1.47	1.44	1.40	1.41	1.36	1.33	1.37	1.32	1.37	1.36
Spain	2.90	2.22	1.36	1.17	1.23	1.24	1.26	1.31	1.32	1.34	1.38	1.39	1.46	1.39	1.38	1.36
EU-21		1.95	1.72	1.51	1.50	1.47	1.48	1.49	1.52	1.53	1.56	1.58	1.63	1.62	1.63	1.59
EU-15	2.41	1.88	1.66	1.54	1.58	1.56	1.57	1.58	1.61	1.61	1.64	1.66	1.70	1.68	1.71	1.67

Source: OECD Family Database

Chart. Change in the distribution of employment status among couple households from 1994 to 2008 in selected countries (Source: OECD Family Database LMF2.2.B Chart)

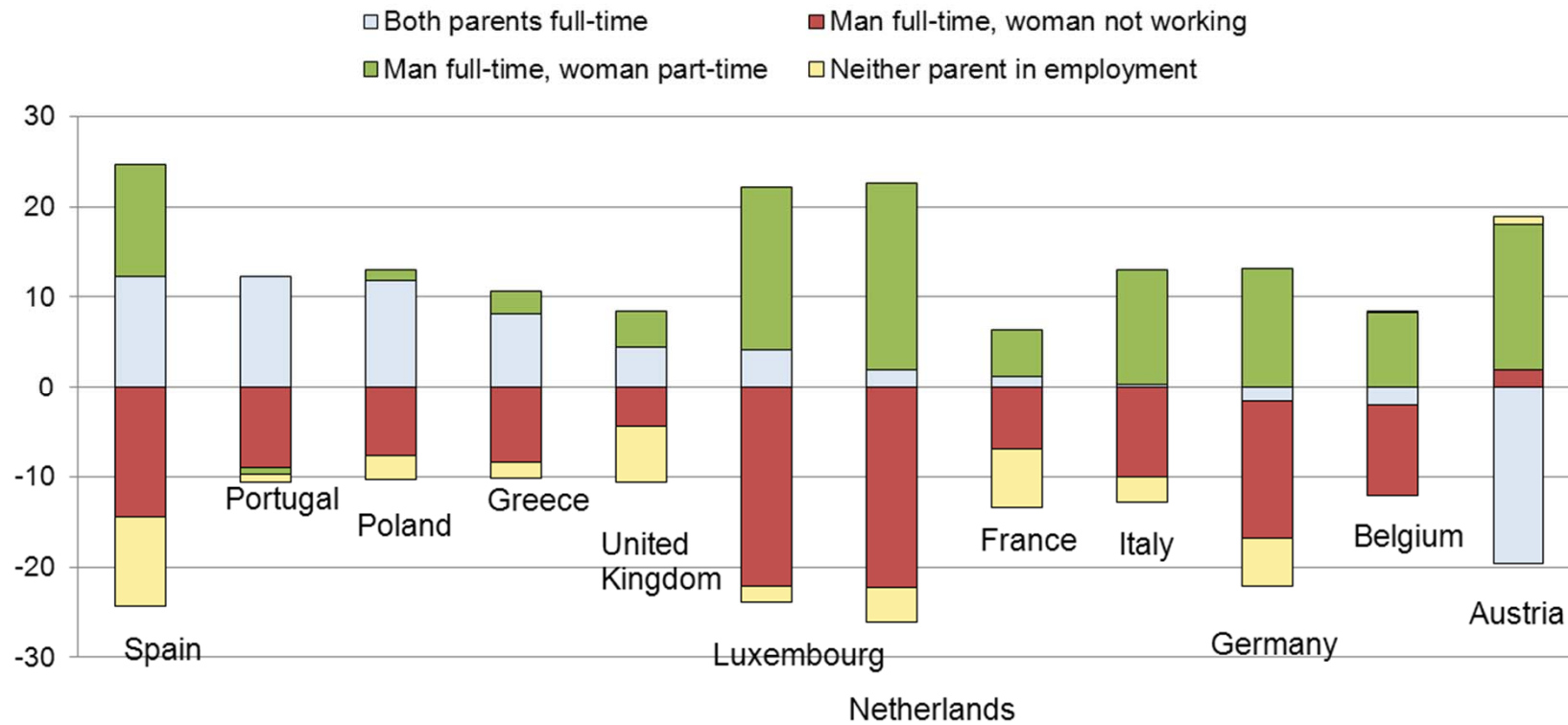


Chart. Employment patterns among couple families with children aged 0-14 in South European Countries and EU average, 2008

	Both parents full-time	One parent full- time	One parent full- time, one parent part-time	Neither parent in employment	Other
Portugal	66,0	23,1	6,8	2,7	1,5
Greece	49,1	41,7	6,0	2,3	0,9
Spain	39,2	39,5	16,8	3,2	1,3
Italy	32,4	41,5	20,1	3,8	2,3
OECD Average	36,6	33,3	23,6	3,9	4,8
EU-25 Average	44,6	30,5	18,0	3,8	3,1

Sources: OECD Family Database Chart LMF2.2.A downloaded Oct 1st 2013, Eurostat Labour Force Survey (2008)

Employment rate of adults (25-54years) with a youngest child less than 6

Last update	26.06.13			
Source of data	Eurostat			
TIME	2012			
AGE	From 25 to 54 years			
N_CHILD	Total			
AGECHILD	Less than 6 years			
ISCED97	All ISCED 1997 levels			
Employment %	Total	Males	Females	
EU27	74,7	88,1	62,0	
Greece	67,6	83,3	51,5	
Spain	68,0	77,5	59,0	
Italy	71,5	88,4	55,2	
Portugal	78,8	85,4	72,7	

Formal childcare by age group and duration - % over the population of each age group

(source: EU-SILC) in 2011

Last update 26.06.13

Extracted on 07.10.13

Source of data Eurostat
Short Description is not available

Short Description

TIME

2011

%under 3's	30+	less 30	total
EU27	15	15	30
Greece	15	4	19
Spain	19	20	39
Italy	17	9	26
Portugal	34	1	35

2005 under3's	30h or plus	less 30h	Total
Greece	4	3	7
Spain	14	25	39
Italy	16	9	25
Portugal	26	4	30

Conclusions (1)

- In the last decade Southern European countries have shifted away from the male-breadwinner reference, both in terms of household patterns and policy models.
- The new dominant pattern for families with children is the dual earner household connected both to early education and care services and to informal care arrangements within the extended family networks or the informal market.
- Portugal has consolidated its differential trajectory with a policy model more adapted to its high rates of full-time dual earning.
- The crisis in recent years is further deteriorating the male breadwinner model , meaning the activation of women (particularly adult women in central ages) and worst working conditions for all women and men. Plus migration issues.
- Work-family-childcare policies had improved in the last decade (influenced by EU and international trends) Important development of formal childcare
- Formally the improved leave systems remain intact up to date (take up rates patterns high for those entitled with less users due to fertility and eligibility decline)
- Cuts in family policies are focusing on child benefits (increase of child poverty)
- Focus on fathers: amongst those entitled, more use and improved gender sharing observed in Portugal and Spain, where data is available.

Conclusions (2)

The previous “rudimentary” leave systems have improved in the 4 countries in the last decade, while Portugal has produced a paradigm shift:

- Improvement of the maternity leave - Better coverage (including low paid schemes for employed mothers not reaching contributory payment requirements)
- Paternity leave granted (except in the Greek public sector, last in 2013 Italy)
- Movement away from unpaid parental leave schemes
- Extension of reduced working hours with the possibility/trend of alternative full-time options to extend paid leave

Resulting in improved take-up rates, when measures and data are available.

Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) services have developed in the four countries (rather than informal migrant household assistant solutions, more frequently related to elderly care?) articulating a complementary relationship in Portugal and Spain.

Conclusions (3)

Finally from research perspective

- Data gaps have been improved in Portugal, Spain and Italy -to some extent-, remaining a difficulty for monitoring Greece (where data started to be collected 2 years ago by labour inspectors)
- Is male unemployment and casualization shaping new work-family arrangements? New patterns of allocation of time involving redistributions of childcare and domestic tasks?
- How will emerging low parental leave payments affect gender sharing in this group of countries?
- Portugal clearly consolidates a divergent pattern.
- But which label would be appropriate for the rest of the group ?

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- http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/employment_social_policy_equality/equality/indicators_gender

We are grateful to all criticism and comments received before, during and after the presentation , particularly from colleagues from Southern European countries. Following these comments, we have introduced some revisions to this presentation.

Thanks for your attention

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