Work-Family Balance Policies

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Note

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Introduction

Even though the global economy has undergone a major financial and economic crisis, with another weakening in GDP growth since late 2010, work-family balance remains a central issue for employed parents and employers alike (World of Work Report 2011). Pressures from an increasingly competitive work environment are leading to conflicting priorities for employers and governments creating considerable stresses for employees trying to "juggle" work with family responsibilities. In some European countries, financial strains have led to cuts in existing policies or postponement and cancellations to previously announced changes (International Network on Leave Policies and Research Report, 2011). Whereas in other less economically stressed regions of the world, paid parental leave policies are being introduced for the first time.

Despite the global economic downturn, work-family balance continues to be of great importance for societies because in more and more countries women's labour force participation has increased. Finding and retaining enough employment to economically provide, as well as having time to properly care for the young, old and vulnerable members of family groups is a key challenge for contemporary parents- "the squeezed middle generation" in many families. This pressure is intensified for parents raising children alone after separation or widowhood, a growing family form in developing and developed countries (Mokomane, 2011; OECD, 2011). For those in employment, work intensity has increased, due to a combination of new information technologies and the associated quickening pace of communication and production methods (ILO, 2006). Heightened work-load and worries about job security can lead to stress and health problems with emotional "spill-over" to home (Byron, 2005). In developing countries there is disquiet about jobs creating "a care deficit" for children where employees are less available to care for very young children who may be left alone for many hours due to the absence of nurseries or alternative care (Heymann, 2006).

Since the 1970s governments have tried to respond to work-care challenges, with varying success, by introducing specific policies/strategies and new benefits. The private sector has also made adjustments and in some cases provided a testing ground for small-scale innovations (Maitland & Thompson, 2011). Similarly intergovernmental bodies such as the ILO have formulated significant protective frameworks including two major conventions relating to work-family balance. The ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No. 156) and Recommendation No. 165 in 1985 stipulate that the full exercise of the right to work implies that family responsibilities cannot constitute cause for discrimination or restrict access to jobs (ILO, 2011). The instruments recommend that States implement policies ensuring more equal distribution of care responsibilities. However, many workers in the informal sector are not protected by existing legal or regulatory frameworks and a number of countries have eased regulations to lower the costs to employers of hiring and firing and/or introducing new work arrangements (ILO, 2006) leading some commentators to call for "raising the global floor" (Heymann & Earle, 2010). Other NGOs and grass roots activists are promoting a fundamental re-think and societal resetting in the balance of work and family life, for example a transition to a 21 hour week for all (New Economics Foundation, 2011). Whatever their position an increasing number of

stakeholders are recognizing the importance of finding more effective solutions to managing the distribution of paid work and family care time.

The purpose of this paper is firstly, to provide evidence on the key challenges faced by families today as members attempt to manage work and care and secondly, to critically examine policy solutions and initiatives, offered by governments, employers and civil society actors to ensure work-family balance.

I. Parents-Working Patterns

The work-family debate of the 1990s, in developed countries in particular, was dominated by discussion about the impact on family well-being of long weekly working hours – "*the long work hours culture"* (Burke & Cooper, 2008). Despite the slowdown in economic activity in many regions of the world, the working life of parents, particularly fathers and increasingly also mothers, can make sustaining a meaningful family life hard to manage. This section presents recent international comparative data available on parental employment patterns.

Women's increased participation in paid work

As shown in Table 1 women are increasingly participating in paid work, mirroring advances in women's education and aspirations (OECD, 2011). The timing of the resultant increase in female employment has varied across countries. For example, the rise in female employment began in the early 1960s in Australia, New Zealand, the Nordic countries, and the United States, whereas the main gains in Ireland, the Netherlands and Spain were recorded over the past two decades. However, female participation in paid work remains low in the Middle East and North Africa. A recent gender analysis for the World Economic Forum showed that North America held the top place on female economic participation followed by Europe and Central Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific and Middle East and North Africa (Global Gender Gap Report, 2011). Several Middle East countries are generally closing health and education gaps but show low levels of female participation in the paid labour force.

However, since 2009 it is notable that across OECD countries female participation in paid work rate dropped in almost every country (Table 1). The global recession and retrenchment in public sector occupations, typically a female domain, in part account for this trend but also gender discrimination practices may have contributed. Some of the countries with the largest differences in female and male earnings are also those where the growth in female employment has been the fastest, such as Chile, China, Republic of Korea and Singapore (ILO, 2006). For instance while Chinese women's labour force participation, at 74 per cent, is high, men's wages are growing faster than women's wages (Global Gender Gap Report, 2011). Women have made significant progress in the workplace, but still tend to have lower pay and far fewer high status occupations than comparable men (The Economist, 2011). Similarly in poorer regions of the world women are more likely to be in "vulnerable" unsalaried employment (contributing family workers or own-account workers). At a global level, women made up 52.7 per cent of the vulnerable employment sector in 2007, compared to 49.1 per cent for men (ILO, 2009).

The prevalence of the male breadwinner family model has diminished in those countries which experienced the expansion of female participation in the labour market. For example, it accounted for only 27 per cent of households across the 12 EU (Lewis et al., 2008) and over 40 per cent in Mexico and Turkey (OECD, 2010). Comparative direct family based measures of parents' employment status are not readily available for non-OECD countries but UN country reports suggest that solo male earner families are only significant in prevalence in Gulf countries (e.g. El-Haddad, 2003) and amongst the richer families within developing countries (e.g. Jelin & Diaz-Munoz, 2003). Elsewhere the global increases in women's employment have resulted in families where most young children are raised by parents, if both present, employed in some form of paid work.

> *The global movement of women into the labor force without equally large reductions in men's labor has led to a substantial increase in the number of children in households where all adults are in the workforce. A conservative estimate is that 340 million of the world's children under six live in households in which all adults work for pay.* (Heymann, 2006: 7)

In other developing regions with major public health issues or conflict settings, for instance in Africa, the male breadwinner household structure is not applicable, as many households are maintained by women (Mokomane, 2011).

Variation by family type and life course

Most mothers are in paid work, especially when children go to school (Table 2) and indeed just over half of mothers (51.9 per cent) across the OECD 26 countries are in work before their child reaches 3 years of age. An even earlier return to employment after childbirth is becoming more common in certain industrialized countries. For example, in the United States, 50 per cent of mothers have returned to employment by the time their child was 3 months old (Hofferth & Curtin, 2006). In this context, supporting the transition to parenthood and the reconciliation of work and care for very young children is becoming a crucial family policy goal as the economic well-being of families with children is increasingly reliant on maternal as well as paternal employment.

At later stages in the life course, men and women face challenges in confronting earning and care responsibilities on multiple fronts- for elders and young adult family members (Kröger & Sipila, 2005). Increased longevity and lower mortality rates in many countries have extended reproductive, caring and employment trajectories. Ageing effects will increase the potential for more generations to co-exist for longer periods (Bengston, 2001). As the later life course becomes more extended, varied and complex, men and women may begin to have overlapping multiple opportunities and obligations to family and work. There is a need for more sensitivity to elder care oriented work family packages to support adults workers who wish to contribute towards informal family oriented care of their parents or elder kin group. Also in many developed societies young people leave their family of origin at an older age than previous youth generations, in many EU-countries even beyond the age of 28–30 (Eurostat 2009). Employed parents are at risk of experiencing escalating multiple family responsibilities to several generations at the same time.

Working hours

The countries found by the ILO's global report on work time (Lee et al, 2007) to have the highest prevalence of long working hours (i.e. more than 48 hours per week) included Peru (50.9 per cent of workers), South Korea (49.5 per cent), Thailand (46.7 per cent) and Pakistan (44.4 per cent).This compares, for example, with 18.1 per cent of employees working more than 48 hours per week in the US and 25.7 per cent in the UK. In developing countries long full-time weekly hours are particularly common in agriculture, self-employment, management and some professional occupations (ILO, 2006). In Bangladesh, under the Factories Act, the law stipulates that a standard working week is 48 hours but can be extended to 60 hours if overtime allowances are paid. Overtime allowances, which double the normal wage, are a great incentive to workers to increase hours (Human Rights and Business Dilemmas Forum, 2012). In lower-income activities, such as agriculture, long hours are not a barrier to women's entry; rather they are an economic necessity for both sexes. Although legal protective frameworks against excessive work time are emerging, without enforcement compliance can be low and global thresholds culturally unacceptable (e.g. implementation of the 40-hour limit in the Forty-Hour Week ILO Convention, 1935 (No. 47)). In many developing countries it is customary to normally work beyond standard hours. For example in South Korea, although *"maternity leave has become normalized, it is somewhat common to be asked to resume work before the 90 days of entitled leave or for workers to hesitate to request the mandated leave* (Chin et al, 2011*)*. Similarly part-time or reduced hours work can bring social stigma as well as loss of earning, as reported for many Indian women (Desai et al, 2011).

OECD analysis has also charted wide variation in working hours for parents, leaving little time for family commitments in some countries (Adema & Whiteford, 2007). In many couple families with children, paternal hours in paid work are much longer than for mothers (OECD, 2011). For example, while a considerable proportion (nearly a third) of fathers in couple families work more than 45 hours per week (especially in Turkey and the UK), the proportion of mothers working long hours is relatively small (around 9 per cent), except in Greece (19 per cent) and Turkey (38 per cent). South Korea, USA and Japan make up the top three countries (in order) where the overwhelming majority of both male and female employees usually work 40 hours or more per week. An exception to the gender pattern is the Philippines, where employed women are two to three times more likely than men to work exceptionally long hours in paid work, sometimes more than 64 hours a week (ILO, 2009).

In terms of other emerging economies, there are differing profiles. For example, in the mid-decade period average weekly working hours grew in China and declined in Brazil: China (urban areas) 44.9 hours in 2001- 45.5 hours 2004; Brazil 41.5 hours in 2001 - 40.6 hours in 2001 (Demetriades & Pedersini, 2008). In general, in developed countries the incidence of long weekly working hours seems to be plateauing or declining (European Foundation for the Improvement in Living and Working Conditions, 2007) whereas in developing countries working hours remain high, especially in Asia and China. Also it is important to note that national averages in work time disguise regional and local variation and refer only to the formal labour market sectors. The likelihood of even higher weekly working hours is strong in informal and unregulated labour markets, which, amongst the G20 economies, are most prevalent in India, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and South Africa (ILO/OECD, 2011).

Anti-social working hours

What constitutes "anti-social" working hours varies across cultures. Typically night working, regular working away from home and regular employment on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays depending on region fall into this generic category. These working-time practices vary from the traditional reference point of 'standard hours' (full-time, daytime and weekday) and offer both risk and opportunity for work-family balance measures. European data show that non-standard "atypical working" is becoming more common for both fathers and mothers (Fagan, 2007). For instance, in the UK, about a quarter of parents (27 per cent of fathers and 22 per cent of mothers) normally work on Saturdays and 16 per cent and 15 per cent respectively on Sundays (La Valle et al, 2002). These data only cover workplace employment, not "bringing work home" and so may underestimate the volume of non-standard working by parents.

Weekend work is also common in emerging economies where data are available- an ILO survey showed that 25 per cent of respondents worked at weekends in three urban areas of China, in particular for the wholesale and retail trade (Demetriades & Pedersini, 2008). Night-time working is also not uncommon for parents as the global economy moves to operate on a 24-hour timeframe. In some developing countries new legislation has opened up opportunities for women to "work the night shift" especially in transnational call and global communication centres. For instance in India before a legislation change in 2005, women were not allowed to work between the hours of 7pm and 6am (Patel, 2010). The night time shift can be extended for female workers as typically lengthy social shuttle transportation is often arranged to protect women during their commute. While shift work can enable both parents to be in paid work, and be economically liberating for some women, the resultant "tag parenting" can be stressful reducing shared family time (e.g. La Valle, et. al, 2002). In addition, since most time use studies suggest that employed mothers continue to take more responsibility for domestic housework, despite an increase in fathers' participation in the care of children, long weekly work hours can be hard for families, particularly mothers, to manage without extra support.

National and local labour markets provide an important context to work-life balance with regard to working hours. In a study of working time preferences among men and women in 22 countries, Stier and Lewin-Epstein (2003) found that preferences were linked to a country's economic vitality. The wish for longer working hours was more common in countries with low rates of economic growth, high rates of inequality and inflation. In countries with higher levels of economic development, individuals were more likely to prefer time reductions in paid work. A broader macro-economic context influences individuals' aspirations and decision-making about working hours.

2. Impact of Work pressures on Family Life

During the 1990s a vocabulary developed to describe the time pressures many contemporary families lived by - 'the time squeeze', the 'second shift', the 'time crunch', 'the time famine', and 'juggling work and family' have become common currency (Hochschild, 1989; Daly, 1996). These pressures remain despite the economic downturn and are increasingly approached as a life course issue and for men as well as women. Across developing countries and emergent economies, the

reconciliation of work and family responsibilities is increasingly becoming an important phenomenon with high policy relevance for instance in Latin America and the Caribbean (ILO-UNDP, 2009), Asia (Caparas, 2011), China (ILO, 2009a) and in many sub-Saharan Africa countries (Makomane, 2011). With the growth of dual earner families there is increased awareness of the limitations of a policy approach which concentrates solely on mothers. Higher levels of maternal employment can mean that wives and partners are not as available to look after the male worker despite cultural norms assuming "business as usual". As reported in an analysis of work-family challenges in Latin America and the Caribbean, '*The cultural problem is not solely about men. How society works in general, with its unwritten rules, institutions and schedules tends to assume that someone is still working fulltime on familycare*' (ILO-UNDP, 2009: 41).

There is a strong body of academic literature on the relationship between work and family life, with an historic preoccupation on *conflict* (Biggart, 2010; Lu et al, 2011). Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985:77) psychological definition of work-family conflict as '*a form of inter-role conflict in which the pressures from work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respects'* has been widely adopted. At a policy level, the goal has been to reduce work-family conflict for individuals through *work-family reconciliation* measures in order to achieve harmonization and work-family *balance*.

> *Striking the right balance between the commitments of work and those of private life is central to people's well-being. Too little work can prevent people from earning enough to attain desired standards of living. But too much work can also have a negative impact on well-being if people's health or personal lives suffer as a consequence, or if they cannot perform other important activities, such as looking after their children and other relatives, having time for themselves, etc. The way people allocate their time is determined by both necessity and personal circumstances, which in turn are shaped by individuals' preferences and by the cultural, social and policy contexts in which people live.*
>
> (OECD, 2011:22)

The cultural context is a significant factor in shaping the relationship between work and home. In countries with more collectivistic orientations, sacrificing family time for work may be viewed as a self-sacrifice for the benefit of the family, unlike in more individualist cultures where intensive investment in work time can be perceived as being less family oriented (Yang et al, 2000). However, what constitutes a normative working hour pattern is primarily influenced by economic necessity. For instance, in many Asian countries Caparas (2011:3) notes that *'work taken to the extreme of putting in long hours, often merely to make ends meet, is most pronounced'*. Despite these diverse orientations, most international surveys show strong endorsement of the importance of work-family balance, particularly from parents (Burchill, Fagan et al 2007). For example, a UK study found that 80 per cent of fathers and 85 per cent of mothers agreed or strongly agreed that 'everyone should be able to balance their work and home lives in the way they want' (O'Brien & Shemilt, 2003). Employers also supported work-life balance but at a lower level than parents- 62 per cent suggesting a 'commitment in principal' amongst employers with regard to facilitating work-life balance.

Quantity and Quality of work impacts: adults and children

There is growing evidence, mainly from developed countries, that the *quantity* of work (hours and lack of fit with personal preferences) has a negative impact on workers' well-being but that the *quality* of work (demands of the job, personal autonomy) is also highly important (Marmot & Brunner, 2005; Auer & Elton, 2010).

A recent Australian national survey (Pocock et al 2010) found that the majority of women (60 per cent) felt consistently time pressured, particularly women in full-time work and working mothers and nearly half of men also reported these high levels of pressure. Over a quarter of those in full-time employment worked 48 hours or more a week. Poor work–life outcomes are associated with poorer health, more use of prescription medications, more stress, and more dissatisfaction with close personal relationships. Many recommendations are made in the report including the importance of taking vacations that some workers did not take because of workload pressures.

> *"The economic slow-down in Australia has not been associated with less work-life interference despite a seven per cent fall in aggregate hours worked between 2008 and 2009. Instead work-life interference has stayed fairly steady. Unfortunately, negative work-life interference appears to be recession-proof." (Pocock et al, 2010:1)*

Also of note is the body of scholarship linking long hours of work with higher absenteeism and lower productivity (Holden et al, 2010). Research on Japanese men has shown that high weekly working hours are related to progressively increased risk of acute myocardial infarction particularly when weekly working hours exceeds 61 hours (Spurgeon, 2003). Long hours of work tend to lead to increasingly high rates of absence and sickness, which have a serious impact on workers' productivity and on production scheduling. This is related to poor occupational safety and health conditions.

Excessive working hours also reduces the time parents spend with their children. Yeung *et al* (2001:11) have been able to estimate that:

> "*for every hour a father is at work, there is an associated one-minute decrease in time a child spent with him on weekdays (mostly in play companionship activities)*".

As well as time pressures, the quality of parents' work can impact on family life. Crouter, Bumpus, Head and McHale (2001) examined the separate influences of long work hours (overwork) and role overload (feelings of being overwhelmed by multiple work commitments) on fathers' relationships with both their children and their wives. This American study included working and middle class families with adolescent children. Overwork had a greater impact on fathers' relationships with their children than on their marriages. Long working hours and less time together appeared not to effect wives' evaluation of their marriage but when the ingredient of role overload was added, wives tended to report partners being less loving and couple relationships as being more conflictual. By contrast, for children role overload emerged as a more significant influence on father-child relationships, even when fathers worked shorter hours. As the authors reflect:

> "*Indeed, when fathers worked long hours but (miraculously) reported low overload, relationships with sons and daughters were as positive as those of fathers who worked fewer hours*." (Crouter *et al*. 2001:13).

During the adolescent years when children spend less time with their parents anyway, the amount of time a father is away from his child might be less important than his capacity to be emotionally available when he is *present* in the home. The authors suggest that feelings of workload may be associated with fatigue, stress and a 'turning inwards'.

Other research has found that atypical working may have a more deleterious impact on couple relationships and their stability particularly when both partners are frequently affected by unsociable schedules (Presser, 2000; Han, 2008). Lavelle et al (2002) found that 41 per cent of those in couples where *both* partners frequently worked atypical hours were dissatisfied with the amount of time spent together as a couple, compared with 17 per cent of those couples where neither regularly worked at atypical times. The distribution of parental work schedules across the day matters in families as lack of overlap or fit means that there is limited time to spend together to engage in even basic, but emotionally, salient activities such as eating.

Studies of high-stress occupations have indicated a negative impact on family interaction. For instance, Repetti's (1994) study of air-traffic controllers has shown them to be more emotionally and behaviourally withdrawn from interactions with children and partners after difficult shifts. However, this transfer process or 'spill over effect' can also be beneficial, for instance when parents have high levels of job satisfaction. Parke's (2002) review of studies exploring the impact of paternal occupation on father-child relationships found strong evidence for more emotional responsive and intellectually supportive parenting styles when fathers had stimulating and challenging occupations. Job attributes and work cultures create 'emotional climates' which clearly parents do not leave at the workplace.

There is less research on the impact of parental work schedules on child-well-being in developing countries but the growing evidence on poor families and low income countries suggests a major care deficit, particularly when extended family kin groups are unavailable to cover for hard pressed parents (e.g. Heymann, 2006) In comparative fieldwork in five regions (Botswana, Mexico, Russia, USA and Vietnam) researchers found that the risk of preschool children being left alone when parents worked was highest in poorer families- 56 per cent vs 45 per cent in Botswana; 40 per cent vs 31 per cent in Mexico. (Heymann, 2006: 191).

> *No parents want to leave their preschool child home alone. Parents take the course of action when they have no other choice. Some children are locked in one-room shacks or apartments for their own "safety" – or at least to lower their risk of injury compared to wandering outside alone – while others are brought to unsafe workplaces. Others are left with very young brothers and sisters*. (Heymann, 2006: 190)

When these preschool children are left alone they in turn are at risk of injury, or accident: reported by 53 per of Botswanian, 47 per cent of Mexican and 38 per cent of Vietnamese parents in this study. Formal and affordable child care provision was

rarely present in these communities and Heymann found that parents were not always confidant in the level of supervision afforded to their children by informal community carers, in the absence of kin. The impact of these experiences on the children was not investigated although studies in richer countries have shown deleterious effects of poor quality and non-standard jobs on children's emotional and behavioural outcomes (Strazdins et al; 2004, 2010). Evidence shows that when parents held poor quality jobs (defined as without control, security of flexibility and any leave option) preschool children reported more emotional and behavioural difficulties - for both mothers' and fathers' jobs (Strazdins et al. 2010). In more developed countries the negative impact of poor job quality is most striking for children in low income households and also in lone mother households where women often have the least choice over their work schedules and lower resources available for finding quality child care (Han, 2008).

3. Work-Family Balance policies and programmes for families

This section presents an overview of the main work-family polices adopted to reconcile work-family pressure. There is international variation in the amount of financial investment governments are willing or able to invest in family benefits and in how the investments are implemented (OECD, 2011). For example the OECD average percentage of investment in family benefits is 2.19 per cent of GDP with a range between 0.57 per cent (South Korea) and 3.68 per cent (France).

ILO Work-family measures are policy solutions intended to facilitate all workers' access to decent work by explicitly and systematically addressing and supporting their unpaid family responsibilities. ILO Convention on Workers with Family Responsibilities, 1981 (No. 156) and its accompanying Recommendation No. 165 provide considerable policy guidance and represent a flexible tool to support the formulation of policies that enable men and women workers with family responsibilities to exercise their right to engage, participate and advance in employment without discrimination.

ILO Convention on Workers with Family Responsibilities - Article 22
(1) Either parent should have the possibility, within a period immediately following maternity leave, of obtaining leave of absence (parental leave), without relinquishing employment and with rights resulting from employment being safeguarded.
(2) The length of the period following maternity leave and the duration and conditions of the leave of absence referred to in subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph should be determined in each country by one of the means referred to in Paragraph 3 of this Recommendation.
(3) The leave of absence referred to in subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph may be introduced gradually.

Source: ILO Database on Conditions of Work and Employment Laws. ILO, Geneva. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail

3.1 Parental Leave Policies

Parental leave policies have continuously evolved and their implementation is responsive to local political and cultural agendas and more global processes such as work intensification, flexible labour markets and emerging child well-being norms (Kamerman & Moss, 2009). The societal challenge is to reach a settlement on the relative contribution of public and private (family) resources to create a sustainable framework for employment and care of young children. The tensions between

ensuring a high quality of child care, respecting parental preference, and supporting gender equality, are higher in the first few years of children's life than at any other period because of the dependency needs of young children.

This section describes the diverse set of parental leave schemes which are evolving across the world. Maternity leave, paternity leave and parental leave are increasingly used interchangeably (Moss, 2011) although they have distinct origins related to women and men's biological and cultural roles in pregnancy, childbirth and postnatal care. Each national or regional jurisdiction has its own formal definition and entitlements, however, in general:

Maternity leave is normally defined as a break from employment (usually a statutory entitlement) during pregnancy and /or after childbirth related to maternal and infant health and welfare; for this reason it is available only to women and is usually limited to the period just before and after birth.

Paternity leave is normally defined as a break from employment (usually a statutory entitlement) just after a child is born to enable a father to be at home to support and care for his partner and child.

Parental leave is normally defined as a break from employment (usually a statutory entitlement) after early maternity and paternity leave to care for the child.

However, parental leave in a number of countries includes a period of time that only fathers can take (sometimes referred to as a 'father's quota'). The distinction between paternity leave and father-only parental leave is blurred.

Each type of leave can be paid or unpaid and varies considerably in duration. World patterns are difficult to chart as policies change rapidly and national level summaries mask local variations (see Tables 3, 4 and 5 in the Annex).

Maternity Leave

According to an ILO (2011) review of maternity legislation, many countries worldwide provide insufficient benefits for pregnant women. In Africa, only 39 per cent of countries reviewed provided benefits in accordance with ILO standards, while in Asia, only two of the 23 countries reviewed met the same requirements. Some countries, including Lesotho, Papua New Guinea, Swaziland, and the United States, provided no paid maternity leave. Among the developed economies, including the European Union, 78 per cent of countries met ILO standards (ILO, 2011) which is more extensive but not yet comprehensive. The ILO argues that it is vital that maternity leave benefits are provided to ensure that women can maintain an adequate standard of living and health for themselves and their children in the early years, according to the Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183). This provision acts to ensure that they are not being structurally disadvantaged in the labour market as a consequence of pregnancy.

New legal provisions continue to be introduced. For example, Australia introduced its first universal paid maternity leave in 2010 (not captured in published tables yet) and committed to introduce paid paternity leave in 2013 (Alexander, Whitehouse & Brennan, 2011). Similarly over recent years, significant company and governmental

family support is being offered to Chinese employed parents in urban areas. In November 2011, the Legislative Affairs Office of the State Council announced plans to prolong maternity leave from 90 days to 98 days (14 weeks) (China Daily, 2011). Private and public sector organizations sometimes "top-up" with extra maternity leave provision and flexible work arrangements after mothers return to employment. Across the world employee organizations and governments are responding to the co-earner family role of modern women but coverage and income replacement levels remain patchy, especially for women in insecure labour markets who do not reach local eligibility criteria.

Most OECD countries have ratified the ILO recommendation of 14 weeks paid maternity leave and the average duration is 19 weeks (OECD, 2011) although there is wide variation globally (Table 5). Maternal labour market attachment is greater with shorter leave periods but what constitutes "short" varies across countries. In Sweden an absence of 16 months from employment has been found to create a negative impact on women's careers, in a country with a generous leave policy for both mothers and fathers to enable infants to be cared for at home in the first year of life (Eversston & Duvander, 2011).

Ford Motor Company UK offers generous support and benefits including assigning each woman a specific HR associate for the duration of her pregnancy and leave. They currently offer 52 weeks maternity leave for all employees and 100 per cent maternity pay for the entire 52 week period (providing employees have 26 weeks service after the 15th week before the expected week of childbirth). Ford's rationale was to attract more female employees, in recognition that 70 per cent of car purchasing decisions are influenced by women, and that women's skills are under used in the labour market. The outcome has been high satisfaction levels among staff and a 98 per cent rate of return of women from maternity leave.

Source: Working families http://www.workingfamilies.org.uk/

Maternity benefits in Jordan

In 2007, the ILO conducted a feasibility study on the implementation of a maternity cash benefits scheme for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The full cost of maternity leave, which was being borne by employers, had given rise to discrimination against women workers, because of the perception that they cost more than men. The study pointed to a fair and affordable maternity protection scheme for Jordan that would benefit women workers, labour markets and society as a whole. The findings showed that the introduction of a maternity cash benefits scheme in Jordan appeared to be feasible and financially sustainable. A proposal for its adoption has been presented to the Jordanian Parliament in 2008 and is to be implemented.

Source: ILO, 2009

Paternity Leave

Since the 1990s policies to support fathers manage their home and employment responsibilities after the birth of children and, while children are young, have been developed by employer organizations and governments. In one study fathers were found to have a paid entitlement to paternity leave or paid parental leave in 66 of 173 nations examined (Heymann et al, 2007). European countries have led innovation and experimentation in strategies to enhance the visibility of fathers' entitlements and uptake of paternity and parental leave including: incentives, compulsion and non-transferable daddy months (O'Brien & Moss, 2010). Father-sensitive leave policies

from employment are less extensive in developing countries although emergent economies are beginning to innovate. In several Latin American countries fathers are given between two to five days paternity leave but unpaid (see Table 5). Amongst African countries, three have *paid* paternity leave days Mauritius (5), Tanzania (5) and Uganda (4) (Mokomane, 2011). As with maternity leave, some private and public sector organizations "top-up" local national paternity leave benefits, such as allowing prospective fathers to attend antenatal scans without loss of pay.

Paternity leave innovations in the UK private sector

Lloyds Banking Group introduced a "Leave for Partners" policy in 2002 which allowed partners to take up to 52 weeks' leave to care for their birth or adopted child after the mother/primary carer had returned to work.

Nationwide Bank offers full pay for two weeks to fathers on paternity leave (without a service requirement) and paid leave to support partners at antenatal appointments. Their rationale is to retain skilled staff, and they use their family friendly employer status as a recruitment and retention tool.

British Petroleum offers enhanced paternity leave of two weeks paid and two weeks unpaid as well as encouraging new fathers to take advantage of flexible working options. They argue that helping their people to be the parents they want to be ensures that their employees go the extra mile to deliver a good service and create a better business.

Source: Working families: http://www.workingfamilies.org.uk/

Longer parental leave and incentives for fathers agreed by EU ministers

Parents will have the right to longer parental leave, under the Parental Leave Directive (2010/18/EU) adopted on 8 March 2010 by EU ministers for employment, social affairs and equal opportunities. The revised Directive on Parental Leave will give each working parent the right to at least four months leave after the birth or adoption of a child (up from three months now). At least one of the four months cannot be transferred to the other parent – meaning it will be lost if not taken – offering incentives to fathers to take the leave. The new Directive also provides for better protection against discrimination and a smoother return to work. It puts into effect an agreement between European employers and trade union organisations. All matters regarding the income of workers during parental leave are left for Member States and/or national social partners to determine. The Framework Agreement on parental leave, on which the Directive is based, was signed by the European social partners (BUSINESSEUROPE, ETUC, CEEP and UEAPME) on 18 June 2009. It revises an earlier agreement from 1995. The new Directive will replace Directive 96/34/EC, which put into effect the 1995 social partner agreement and established for the first time minimum standards on parental leave at EU level.

Source:Eurofound/www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2009/07/articles/eu0907029i.htm

Best practice- effective design features to increase uptake of parental leave by fathers

Fathers can be wary or reluctant to take leave if not supported by cultural or workplace norms and practices. In addition, economic costs are a major constraint particularly for low income men. The research evidence highlights the importance of a country's policy framework, particularly financial incentives and father targeting, in shaping men's propensity to take paternity and parental leave. Fathers, and some mothers, tend not to use unpaid leave and their use of leave is heightened when reimbursed at least over 50 per cent or two thirds of regular earnings. For example, in Slovenia, 0.75 per cent of eligible fathers used unpaid parental leave in 1995 rising to 66 per cent a decade later in 2005 after introduction of enhanced father targeted provision (Stropnik, 2007). Similarly Erler (2009) reports that since the introduction of a new German Parental Leave system, incorporating paternal incentives, the proportion of fathers taking leave has more than tripled from 3.5 per cent in the last quarter of 2006 to 13.7 per cent in the second quarter of 2008.

Designated father targeted or reserved schemes enhance fathers' utilization rates. Blocks of time which are labelled 'daddy days' or 'father's quota' are attractive to men and their partners (Haas & Rostgaard, 2011). At this point in time fathers (and their partners) may need more explicit labelling to legitimise paternal access to the care of infants and children. Even when conditions are favourable, it takes time for utilization to become the dominant pattern: in Finland, 46 per cent of eligible fathers took paternity leave in 1993, rising to 63 per cent in 2000 and to 70 per cent in 2006 (Salmi, Lami-Taskula, & Takala, 2007). Fathers' use of statutory leave is greatest when high income replacement (50 per cent or more of earnings) is combined with extended duration (more than 14 days). Father targeted schemes heighten utilisation (O'Brien, 2009).

Even when there are statutory formal provisions, research in developed countries (Haas, Allard & Hwang, 2002; Tremblay & Genin, 2011) has found that work-place cultures can hinder utilization of family leave by men. Of great importance are supervisor and colleague informal support in creating positive family friendly environments which is inclusive of fathers as well as mothers taking leave.

ICELAND 3+3+3 month parental leave model

Within Nordic countries, one of the most innovative 'father-targeted' leave entitlements so far developed, in terms of combined time (three months) and economic compensation (80 per cent of prior salary) is to be found in Iceland (Einarsdóttir & Pétursdóttir, 2007). In 2000, the Icelandic government introduced a total of nine months paid post-birth leave (to be taken in the first 18 months) organized into three parts: three months for mothers (non-transferable), three months for fathers (non-transferable) and three months which could be transferred between parents as they choose. In addition there is 13 weeks unpaid parental leave available each year for each parent. The bill *Maternity, Paternity and Parental Leave* was passed by the Icelandic government in 2000, following several years' deliberation about men's societal role and gender equality, including a government committee on the Gender Role of Men (Eydal & Gíslason, 2008).

The Iceland 3+3+3 month model has significantly altered male behaviour in a relatively short period of time. By 2006, over 90 per cent of Icelandic fathers take parental leave. Gíslason (2007: 15) notes: '*Probably, there have never been more Icelandic fathers active in caring for their children than there are today*.' Gender differences occur in the sequencing of leave-taking: generally Icelandic fathers tend to utilise some leave days to be with their infant and partner immediately after childbirth and then resume leave after six months when mothers' leave comes to an end. Icelandic mothers' post-birth leave tends to be taken in a continuous block without return to employment breaks.

Source: O'Brien & Moss, 2010

Diversity and Income in use of parental leave

- Country level eligibility criteria (e.g. length of continuous service) restrict access to parental leave for many fathers and mothers. Significant excluded groups include; those with insecure, temporary or unstable labour market histories prior to a child's birth (over-represented by low income and immigrant families). Requirements for the application of maternity protection by vulnerable workers may be too onerous.
- Lower take-up rates by fathers in less secure and poorly regulated occupations indicate the significance of financial loss as a disincentive.
- A socio-economic profiling of fathers' utilisation of leave indicates: higher rates are generally associated with high income occupations (self and partner), high levels of education (self and partner), and public sector occupations (self and partner).
- In countries where there is no statutory father-care sensitive parental leave taking time away from employment is more difficult for low-income fathers. Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel's (2007) community study shows that that the likelihood of taking the longer leave of two or more weeks was associated with fathers being U.S.-born, more educated, and in middle or high prestige jobs.
- In countries with high statutory income replacement, father-care policies may promote gender equality but reinforce income inequalities, as cash transfers are being made to families which are already well-paid. This risk of greater economic polarisation between '*parental leave rich* and *parental leave poor households'* can be offset by distributive tax policies (e.g. higher tax for wealthier households, a fiscal strategy only acceptable in some countries).

In the absence of a formal paid job protected leave, poorer and less economically secure parents may be less able to spend time with their infants and partners in the transition to parenthood. It is possible that, from the earliest period of life, infants in

poor households are experiencing less parental investment than infants in more affluent households.

Impact of parental leave on family life

Reduction in infant mortality and morbidity

Ruhm (2000) and Tanaka (2005) have conducted large scale secondary analyses of parental leave arrangements and child health outcomes for 16 European and 18 of 30 OECD countries respectively. In both programmes of work, where the subject of inquiry has been on maternal rather than paternal leave taking, infant mortality and morbidity gains have been associated with parental leave. Tanaka's analysis, which attempted to control for some confounding variables, in particular national investment in child welfare, found a positive independent effect for paid parental leave on specific child health outcomes, notably infant mortality. The strongest effect was on post neonatal infant mortality (28 days - 1year) when compared to neonatal mortality (under 28 days) suggesting that parental availability to care beyond the first month may be an important parenting practice to enhance child outcomes. Further positive gains were indicated for immunization. The particular features of parental leave provision which were most significant in promoting child-welfare were difficult to disentangle but the secondary analysis suggests that internationally, parental leave positive child effects are maximized when the leave is paid and provided in a job secure context.

Breast feeding

Secondary analyses of national data sets also show that job protected paid maternal leave is associated with higher rates of breast-feeding (e.g. Galtry, 2003; Ruhm, 2000). In a cross-national analysis Galtry traces onset and duration of breastfeeding patterns and finds that duration of breast feeding is sensitive to parental leave provision. For example in Sweden 73 per cent of mothers were still breast feeding at 6 months, in contrast to 29 per cent and 28 per cent of American and British mothers respectively.

Parental perceptions of benefits

In terms of fathers, the evidence to date (primarily Nordic) focuses on men's experiences of paternity leave, parental leave and flexible work schedules and does not always independently track child outcomes. For example, research has shown that Swedish fathers who use a higher proportion of leave than average (20 per cent or more of all potential leave days) at least, in the short term, appear to sustain more engaged family commitment, work fewer hours and are more involved in child-care tasks and household work (Haas & Hwang, 1999). Similarly Huttunen's (1996) survey of Finnish fathers who had taken parental leave found that the opportunity it gave to develop a closer relationship with infants was valued most by the fathers. Norwegian research suggests that fathers who take the 'daddy quota' in a 'home alone' manner become more aware of infant life and 'slow time' than those who take parental leave with their partner (Brandth & Kvande, 2001). Brandth and Kvande's (2002) research also highlights the importance of taking a couple perspective in understanding fathers' personal experiences of leave from employment. They found a complex process of couple negotiation and bargaining influenced by couple values and preferences as well workplace and economic factors. The couple relationship is a key one, setting the

scene against which parents negotiate and balance their family and employment roles and responsibilities.

Two father-focused studies build on this earlier body of work by conducting large scale secondary analyses of longitudinal nationally representative samples, enabling statistical control for some confounding variables such as paternal pre-birth commitment. Using the UK Millennium Cohort Study, covering a large birth cohort of children at age 8 to 12 months, Tanaka & Waldfogel (2007) find that taking leave and working shorter hours are related to fathers being more involved with the baby, and that policies affect both these aspects of fathers' employment behaviour. They examine fathers' involvement in four specific types of activities: being the main caregiver; changing nappies; feeding the baby; and getting up during the night. Analysis showed that fathers who took leave (any leave) after the birth were 25 per cent more likely to change nappies and 19 per cent more likely to feed and to get up at night when the child was age 8 to 12 months. In addition, higher working hours for fathers were associated with lower levels of father involvement. The authors conclude that policies which provide parental leave or shorter work hours could promote greater father involvement with infants, but caution against definitive causality claims.

Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel (2007) find a similar association between paternal leave taking and later higher levels of father involvement, but only for those fathers able to take two weeks leave or more. The positive relationship, between longer duration of leave taking and greater participation in caring for the child, was maintained after controls for a range of selectivity factors including indicators of paternal pre-birth commitment (attendance at antenatal classes and the birth itself).

The findings from these two studies suggest that paternal leave taking has the potential to boost fathers' practical and emotional investment in infant care. Further follow-ups and direct assessments of child well-being and the influence of maternal leave taking are required to reveal underlying mechanisms at play (e.g. Dex & Ward, 2007). Fathers' leave- taking cannot be seen in isolation or in purely quantitative terms as it is embedded in a complex web of parenting styles, parental work practices, infant behaviour and wider socio-economic factors.

Paid parental leave, in particular when parents are sure of employment on return to work, can create a more financially secure context for caring. As well as family benefits of parental leave, evidence shows significant economic and business benefits in particular on staff retention and loyalty, although more research is needed (OECD, 2011).

3. 2 Flexible working arrangements

Over the decade, there has been strong policy steer to increase flexible working options in the spirit creating "family friendly" work places or more broadly work environments that enable "work-life balance" for all. Although informal voluntary flexible working arrangements have been in place for many years in many countries, they are not always promoted or commonly available. Examples include: flexi-time around daily start and finish times; working from home; part-time work, and working time adjusted to school timetable, without loss of pay. These practices are normally

regulated by collective agreements, which may be formal or informal and in some developed countries there are well advanced schemes such as time credits or accounts (OECD, 2011). Belgium is an example of the latter with its 'Time Credit' or Sabbatical Leave 1985 Law allowing an employee up to one year's leave over their working life (Deven & Nuelant, 1999).

Evidence shows that flexible working arrangements are popular, with the right to work part-time, or reduce working hours being the most utilized flexible work provision and overwhelmingly chosen by women with children (OECD, 2011). There is some evidence that when men become fathers their need for flexible work practice is heightened. In a UK study, 31 per cent of new fathers used flexi-time and 29 per cent occasionally worked from home, both substantial increases from levels among new fathers from an earlier survey (Smeaton and Marsh, 2006). Very few other forms of flexible working were adopted by fathers; only 6 per cent used a compressed working week, 4 per cent worked part-time, 8 per cent reduced hours for a limited period all lower than comparable mothers. Higher earner fathers were the most able to take advantage of reduced hours whether occasional or on a part-time basis.

Generally, employers report less availability of flexible working options in smaller organisations and male dominated sectors. Lack of cultural acceptability and a 'macho' work ethic can act as barriers for parents, fathers in particular, to work flexibly. In countries with more collectivist embedded values, for example South Korea, fathers "do not dare to request" the Reduced Work Schedule introduced for parents in 2008. In South Korea only 2 per cent of all claimants were fathers by 2010 (Chin et al, 2011).

Private sector examples of flexible working arrangements in India

Sapient India – offers the option of reduced hours considering that Indian women often take a career break to concentrate on the family. Women employees, including many managers, have taken this option to work for half a day without affecting their careers.

IBM India – has a compressed/flexible work week, which entails that the full, regular work week is compressed into less than five days; individualized work schedule, where employees have flexible timings; part-time reduced work schedule; and a work-from-home option. An equal number of men and women avail themselves of flexi-timings IBM India has 43,000 employees, 26 per cent are women.

Tata Group – provides a second career internship program for women professionals, consisting of live business projects to be done in 500 hours in 5-6 months on a flexi-time basis. This is a move to tap women professionals who have discontinued work for various reasons. The program portal received 5,500 hits and nearly 500 resumes were posted on the first day of the launch in March 2008.

Source, Caparas, 2010

Private sector examples of flexible working arrangements in Malaysia

Under the banner of diversity and inclusion, ***Shell Malaysia*** has implemented tele-working and flexible hours to enable all employees "to achieve a work-life balance in fulfilling family duties without sacrificing performance or career advancement". ***Microsoft Malaysia*** is moving towards developing a more comprehensive work-from-home policy to boost employee morale and increase productivity.

Source, Caparas, 2010

The ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156), and its accompanying Recommendation (No. 165), provide considerable guidance in the formulation of policies that enable men and women workers with family responsibilities to engage and advance in employment without discrimination. Such policies include more flexible arrangements as regards working schedules. The revised Law for Child and Family Care Leave 2010 in Japan, for example, allows employers to shorten a worker's working hours upon request, if the worker is responsible for the care of a child below 3 years of age but does not take childcare leave.

In some developing countries informal codes of good practice have emerged (see South Africa Box below) but a legal right to request flexible arrangements is rare. While supporting the new informal agreement entitlement in South Africa, scholars argue that the agreement is not sufficient, particularly in light of the increased care giving needs associated with major public health problems such as HIV/AIDS (Dancaster, Cohen & Baird, 2011).

South Africa - Codes of Good Practice in employment

- No general statutory entitlement.
- Codes of Good Practice are guidelines for employers and do not have the status of legislation. The Code of Good Practice on the Protection of Employees during Pregnancy and After the Birth of a Child provides that employers must consider granting rest periods to employees who experience tiredness associated with pregnancy and should also consider that tiredness associated with pregnancy may affect an employee's ability to work overtime. It also states that arrangements should be made for pregnant and breastfeeding women to be able to attend ante-natal and post-natal clinics during pregnancy and after the birth of the child and recommends that arrangements be made for employees who are breastfeeding to have breaks of 30 minutes twice a day to breast feed or express milk for the first six months of a child's life. It further recommends that employers identify and assess workplace hazards to the pregnant mother and/or to the foetus and consider appropriate action. The Code of Good Practice on the Integration of Employment Equity into Human Resource Policies and Practices adds that an employer should provide reasonable accommodation for pregnant women and parents with young children, including health and safety adjustments and ante-natal care leave.
- The Code of Good Practice on the Integration of Employment Equity into Human Resource Policies and Practices requires employers to endeavour to provide "an accessible, supportive and flexible environment for employees with family responsibilities". This is specified to include "considering flexible working hours and granting sufficient family responsibility leave for both parents". In addition, the Code of Good Practice on Arrangement of Working Time states that the design of shift rosters must be sensitive to the impact of these rosters on employees and their families and should take into consideration the childcare needs of the employees. It adds that arrangements should be considered to accommodate the special needs of workers such as pregnant and breast-feeding workers and workers with family responsibilities.

Souce: Dancaster, Cohen & Baird (2011)

Across the OECD countries a formal statutory right to request flexible working hours or part-time work for family reasons is available in eight of 35 countries reviewed, although informal arrangements are present in a majority with varying ease of access (OECD, 2011). Data on access and use of flexible work practices, excluding part-time work, are limited even in countries with robust administrative systems. However, flextime preferences about daily start and finish times are the most comprehensively available and used by most employees, irrespective of family status and commitments.

Benefits of flexible work arrangements

Assessing the benefits of flexible work arrangements or specific programmes is complex as few organizations or governments systematically measure innovations before and after their implementation or utilize comparison groups. In addition companies may have confidentiality issues about public data share. However, some methodological controls have been used in a small number of studies and a series of reviews exist, mostly covering developed countries (e.g. Dex & Smith, 2002; Glass & Finlay, 2002; Hegewisch 2009 OECD, 2011).The evidence suggests a range of multi-level positive or neutral effects both at the company and the individual level.

Company benefits At the company level gains linked with different flexibility schemes have been associated with employee productivity, organizational commitment, retention, morale, job satisfaction and reductions in absenteeism (Glass & Finlay, 2002). Managers predominantly report positive or neutral impacts of flexible working on performance and productivity, with only a small minority reporting negative consequences (Hegewisch 2009) although some employers are concerned about implementation costs.

For example, analysis of a nationally representative survey of British workplaces found flexible working arrangements were associated with improved business performance (Dex & Smith, 2002). Mangers were asked to assess their workplace's financial performance, labour productivity and quality of service. After statistically controlling for a wide range of structural and human resources practices, flexible working arrangements were associated with small, but significant, amounts of improvement in the *private sector*:

Above average financial performance was associated with: paternity leave, job share; *Above average labour productivity performance* was associated with: parental leave, paternity leave, the ability to change from full-to part-time hours, having a higher number of family friendly policies in place; *Improvements in quality performance* were associated with; school term-time only working, the ability to change from full-to part-time hours; offering help with childcare; having a higher number of family friendly policies in place; *Reduced labour turnover* were associated with job share; flexi-time; offering help with childcare; working at or from home.

As reported in most studies, Dex and Smith (2002) found that, flexible working arrangements were more common where there were:

- larger organisations
- lower degrees of competition
- recognised trade unions
- public sector
- human resource and personnel capacity
- high commitment management practices
- more involvement of employees in decision making
- stronger equal opportunities polices
- larger proportion of women in the workforce
- a highly educated workforce

Small company case study of flexible working

Clock is a small digital agency employing 32 people, most of them men. The award winning firm designs and builds intranets and extranets, develops brands and creates online marketing campaigns. The firm makes flexible working, and other work-life balance benefits, available to its employees, allowing them to design work around their lives, interests, needs and desires. Clock knows some competitors pay a bit more. However, by offering people a better work-life balance, it says it can attract and retain highly skilled employees. With only five leavers in 11 years, Clock has saved money on recruitment and managed to retain valuable knowledge. Another benefit of implementing flexible working is the low sickness absence rate. Individuals have autonomy over how they work. Rob Arnold, a web designer, was able to work remotely while studying for a university degree. He says the flexible approach is a big draw for jobseekers. 'The remote working gave me just the flexibility I needed, I was treated like a person and given responsibility which gave me the opportunity to shine.' He has progressed with the company and is now a studio manager.

'If you really trust people and give them space, freedom and guidance, you will be repaid with dedication and enterprise,' says Syd Nadim, Chief Executive.

Nadim's tips on making flexible working a success include:

• Let staff know about the benefits and what it means to them financially (for example, a mobile phone is a great tax-free benefit and at £50 per month or more can be worth nearly £1,000 as gross salary).

• Be results-driven so that staff know what's expected and by when. It's two-way and openness is appreciated. Be fair and be firm.

Source: Source: Working Better, 2010

Companies with flexible working programmes tend to be the more profitable but it may well be that the more high performing companies are the most likely to innovate flexibility (selectivity into flexibility) (Hegewisch 2009). More rigorous research is needed to unravel pathways of influence but case studies point to flexible working arrangements enabling cost savings in specific material tangibles for instance office space, utilities and services (especially through home working schemes). But of course home working is only appropriate for some occupations and the absence of co-workers can reduce sociability and informal skills development (Maitland & Thompson, 2011).

Some governments, for instance in the United Kingdom, have conducted cost benefit estimates of specific flexitime innovations, such as extending a statutory 'Right to Request' flexible work to care for parents of older children, in addition to existing provisions for parents for children under 16 years. Estimates suggested that benefits would outweigh costs: at £21 million resulting from reduced recruitment costs, £6 million in reduced absence costs, and £64 million in enhanced profitability, compared with estimated implementation costs to employers of £69 million (BERR, 2008).

Benefits to individuals and families

Individual level effects of working in companies operating flexible work arrangements include decreases in somatic complaints and improvements in mental and physical health (Glass & Finlay, 2002). Flexible scheduling has been associated with a significant reduction in worker stress and role strain, perhaps linked to feelings of enhanced personal control over time schedules. Research shows that utilization of flexible work provisions offers time to care for children through breast feeding breaks; at the beginning or end of work days, and during school holidays (OECD, 2011).

A systematic review of ten high quality studies covering more than 16,000 people found that “self-scheduling of shifts” led to statistically significant improvements in either primary outcomes (including systolic blood pressure and heart rate; tiredness; mental health, sleep duration, sleep quality and alertness; self-rated health status) or secondary health outcomes (co-workers social support and sense of community (Joyce et al., 2010). No ill health effects have been reported. In one study reviewed, for example, police officers who were able to change their shift start times showed significant improvements in psychological well-being compared to police officers who started work at a fixed hour. A key driver for flexibility is the desire of individuals for greater autonomy in choosing the times and locations of their work. This provision of course has to be balanced and aligned with workplace needs.

More recent evidence has also demonstrated a link between flexible work arrangements and the care of dependent adults (e.g. elderly, disabled and sick kin), For instance, Bryan (2011) has found an association between access to flexible working and the amount of care provided to dependent adults. Out of a range of flexible working practices his results suggests that two of them – flexitime and access to reduced working hours – are each associated with about 10 per cent increase in more hours of informal care to adult dependents. This tendency was most pronounced for fulltime workers, possibly because part-time workers had already increased their care time through major reduction in working hours.

If employees have access to a part-time work option and, if such shorter working hours can be financially accommodated by family units, the provision can offer another form of family-friendly flexible work. This mode of working is more culturally normative for mothers in some developed countries, particularly in Europe; in OECD countries 1 in 10 men and 1 in 4 women work part-time (OECD, 2011). In developed countries, part-time work can reflect workers’ genuine needs and preferences, whereas in developing countries, many part-time jobs fall into the category of “time-related underemployment” consisting of individuals who would like to work more but cannot find sufficient work (ILO, 2006).

Maternal part-time employment is more prevalent in pre-school periods and where affordable child-care of good quality is in low supply but there is increasing evidence on the career penalties linked to this work-balance strategy. Although part-time workers have some advantages in stress reduction and time autonomy, the penalties are typically lower lifetime earnings and job security. These penalties are moderated to some extent for those who take short breaks from full-time employment and are able to return to the same high quality occupation as is the case in a minority of countries, such as the Netherlands (Connolly & Gregory, 2008). Long spells of part-time employment can be financially deleterious, especially if a transfer from full-time employment has involved a downgrade in occupational status.

Mechanisms to promote the awareness and benefits of flexible work

In the workplace, the attitudes of individual line managers and the work-place cultural support of flexible working, particularly from senior staff (‘leading from the top’), are critical in facilitating utilization of formal schemes although as statutory frameworks become more widespread, individual discretion by employers to go against the norm may become less socially acceptable (Hegewisch, 2009). The presence of systematic communication strategies to disseminate information to employees about the practices

available (including circulars to staff, staff magazines, e-mail and notice boards) are important as are, informal 'word of mouth' streams. Management research suggests that rewarding and praising agreed outputs with employees can be effective in creating more flexible and creative workplace cultures and so moderate tendencies towards "presentism" (Maitland & Thompson, 2011).

At the country level, celebration of 'family-friendly' workplaces and community practices can help raise awareness and expected standards. For instance in the UK, the NGO *Working Families* has yearly innovation awards (through private sector sponsorship) and CEO mentors or Champions who model good practice (see Box below). In Germany the Federal Government has initiated a 'Family Atlas', which publicly scores cities and communities on Business Excellence in Workplace Flexibility, which includes work family reconciliation; housing and urban space; schools, further education and training and leisure activities for children and youth. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the ILO working with the UNDP is promoting the concept of civic *social co-responsibility* as a new form of work-family reconciliation.

Work and Family: Towards new forms of reconciliation with social co-responsibility

Policies to reconcile work and family life can follow traditional formats, in which the family's welfare is considered the domain of women, or can rise to the challenge of encompassing the reality of today's Latin American and Caribbean families, favouring a more seamless interface between work, family and domestic activities.

It is important, therefore, to push for more equity and democratization of tasks, when designing and implementing measures to reconcile work and family. Societies must guarantee both men's and women's right to paid employment without having to sacrifice their family life. An agenda in this sense, which seeks *to achieve reconciliation with social co-responsibility*, must also ensure that men and women have more freedom to choose how their will combine work and family life.

Reconciling work, family and personal life by sharing responsibility for caregiving among men and women, and between *States, markets and society*, should mainstream government policies and social programs.

Source: ILO-UNDP (2009)

Further research is needed on the extent to which these innovations can be effective in developing countries where the incentives for employers to positively respond to family friendly flexible arrangements are less strong. With abundant supplies of workers in these regions, particularly to supply low-skill labour-intensive sectors, a global formal statutory employment legal protection is vital. Global surveillance of illegal employment practices is forming to help mitigate and protect against any so-called "race to the bottom" (Human Rights and Business Dilemmas Forum, 2012).

The Deutsche Bank Best for Innovation and Engagement Award

American Express is focussing on developing its leadership into visible 'champions' of flexibility for the whole business and has put in place a programme to develop its top people into effective leaders of a flexible culture. The programme is designed to make sure that the business leaders fully understand and embody a flexible working culture: what it really means, understanding the business case at a fundamental level and how it can benefit the whole organisation and its people. This will, in turn, bring a competitive advantage as flexibility embeds throughout the organisation and managing flexibility becomes a core skill of all senior leaders.

Ashurst has taken a holistic approach to work/life fit. In addition to focussing on individual requirements as they arise, the firm decided to review the way the organisation works as a whole. The senior partner leads a committee which has reviewed work practices and the work/life fit of employees, taking on board the responses of a number of focus groups from around the global network. Being driven by the most senior levels of the organisation ensures that the initiative has the necessary weight and credibility. This has resulted in practical outcomes which support a 'high performance, high support' culture, and avoid a 'one size fits all' approach across the organisation. The firm acknowledges that cultural change requires a long term commitment and takes time.

Driven by a desire to improve retention, especially of women, ***Deloitte*** have developed a suite of benefits for parents, which includes: mini fridges by your desk for storing breast milk, discounts to family attractions and educational events for parents. These benefits, which complement a comprehensive policy, are designed to make Deloitte a family friendly place to work. In particular, their maternity transition coaching programme helps women who are having a baby transition off and back into work, using a team of coaches. This coaching is currently being made available to all mothers and fathers either through 1:1 coaching or via a webinar system.

Mayer Brown set about developing a number of initiatives which would create greater engagement for their employees. For the first time they rolled out an employee survey and introduced a carers network, while also piloting a mentoring scheme. They have also implemented a backup dependant and child care scheme. The firm aims to be a sector leader in family friendly working, and aligning policies with business goals will determine the way forward for the next few years.

Source, Working Families, 2011 http://www.workingfamilies.org.uk/

Additional flexible leave entitlements

Additional leave entitlements, covering a wider range of family members than young children and/or situations of serious illness. For example, most provinces and territories in Canada have compassionate care leave provisions which allow employees to take time off to care for or arrange care for a family member who 'is at significant risk of death' within a 26-week period. The length of leave is eight weeks unpaid within a 26-week period, but benefits of up to six weeks can be claimed through Employment Insurance for this leave (Moss 2011).

The EU Parental leave directive 1996 gave all workers an entitlement to 'time off from work on grounds of *force majeure* for urgent family reasons in cases of sickness or accident, making their immediate presence indispensable', without specifying minimum requirements for length of time or payment.

New Zealand employees have five days sick leave for themselves or their dependents; South African workers are entitled to three days 'family responsibility leave' per year, but this covers a range of circumstances, not only caring for a sick child; while in Australia, all employees have an industrial right to use up to five days of personal or sick leave per year to care for a sick family member (Moss, 2011).

Flexible work-care innovations are needed to support employees with care responsibilities across the adult life course especially those who care for older or disabled adults. Many workplace and care provisions are still primarily designed for working parents of young children and rarely address other family responsibilities. A unique private sector innovation attempting to initiate a more holistic approach is the *passport* scheme offered by BT which has been endorsed by both management and trade unions (see Box below)

The BT* passport

Operating in more than 170 countries, BT is one of the world's leading providers of communications solutions and services. Their main activities include networked IT services; local, national and international telecommunications services; and higher value broadband and internet products and services.

The BT Passport Scheme

The BT Passport is a scheme to document the requirements of employees who have special needs that can sometimes impact on their working life.

Currently within BT there are the following Passports available;

• BT Disability Passport – available to employees with health conditions that the employee believes are covered by the DDA (Disability Discrimination Act).

• BT Health & Well being Passport – available to employees with mental health conditions.

• BT Carers Passport – available to employees who have specific caring responsibilities for someone else.

Benefits

It is a voluntary scheme that allows employees to ensure that any special needs that can impact on them in the workplace, either now or in the future, are documented. It ensures that any reasonable adjustments that are required are documented, so that if the line manager or job role changes in the future, the information is readily available. It therefore guarantees continuity of any arrangements that are required for the employee in the workplace. It allows the employee to explain in their own words their circumstances, the difficulties they experience in the workplace and discuss the help they require in the workplace. Hence, management are made aware and can implement the correct BT support/process, in line with the manager's duty of care.

Access

The contents of the BT Passport are strictly confidential and treated accordingly. The line manager holds a copy, which is kept in the employee's personal file. The employee is provided with a copy, which ensures they have a copy of any reasonable adjustments/support that is agreed. Nobody else has access to the contents. In fact, nobody else within BT is aware who has a BT Passport.

The BT carer's passport can be completed by any BT employee with caring responsibilities that they believe could impact on their ability to work, currently or in the future. The BT carer's passport describes the nature of the caring responsibilities and adjustments that the individual might need to make. It also outlines action to take if they need to leave work suddenly, together with agreed communication between them and BT if they are unable to attend work

***** BT – former British Telecom

Source:
http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/workingcaring/cases/uk003.htm
and trade Information for CWU members. http://www.cwu-eastmidlands.org.uk/equality.htm

3. 3 Working Time Innovations

Imaginative ways to reconfigure work-time have developed at many levels in societies - within companies, at national levels and as civil society initiatives. In the 1990s, time struggles often crystallised around campaigns for tackling 'the long hours culture'. More recently, in the context of the global recession and a need to 'downsize', there are challenges to cut hours rather than cut jobs. One example is the German work-sharing scheme (Crimmann et al, 2010).

The German work-sharing scheme

The scheme is a labour market instrument based on the reduction of working time, which is intended to spread a reduced volume of work over the same (or a similar) number of workers in order to avoid layoffs or, alternatively, as a measure intended to create new employment. Work sharing and partial unemployment benefits are policy responses suggested by the *Global Jobs Pact*, adopted by the ILO's tripartite constituents in June 2009, to limit or avoid job losses and to support enterprises in retaining their workforces. The German Federal work-sharing programme, called *Kurzarbeit*, is by far the largest work-sharing programme in the world. The programme reached a maximum participation of approximately 64,000 establishments and 1.5 million employees at the height of the crisis in mid-2009.

'*If the course of the economic crisis is V-shaped (i.e. a deep, but short cut), work sharing has a fair chance to save jobs. But if the crisis is L-shaped (i.e. deep, but also long-lasting), work sharing would end up in unavoidable unemployment anyway and could even hamper necessary structural changes. …In the long run, one also has to bear in mind that work sharing is not cheap'* (Crimmann et all (2010), p. 36).

Crimmann et al (2010) The German work-sharing scheme

Others have promoted a wholesale reduction in work time *"In the 21st century, moving towards much shorter hours of paid employment could be a critical factor in heading off environmental, social and economic catastrophe. In the developed world, most of us are consuming well beyond our economic means, well beyond the limits of the natural world and in ways that ultimately fail to satisfy us." (Coote,* co- author of 21 Hours, National Economic Foundation, 2011).

21 hours as the new 'norm'

The vision

Moving towards much shorter hours of paid work offers a new route out of the multiple crises we face today. Many of us are consuming well beyond our economic means and well beyond the limits of the natural environment, yet in ways that fail to improve our well-being – and meanwhile many others suffer poverty and hunger. Continuing economic growth in high-income countries will make it impossible to achieve urgent carbon reduction targets. Widening inequalities, a failing global economy, critically depleted natural resources and accelerating climate change pose grave threats to the future of human civilisation.

A 'normal' working week of 21 hours could help to address a range of urgent, interlinked problems: overwork, unemployment, over-consumption, high carbon emissions, low well-being, entrenched inequalities, and the lack of time to live sustainably, to care for each other, and simply to enjoy life.

Source: National Economic Foundation (2011)

At a company level, CEOs are beginning to initiate cultural change in excessive working practices. Legislation can help shape norms of appropriate working hours and indirectly influence the working patterns of those who work excessive hours. Global legislation is particularly important in developing countries. However, employers and some employees also stress the importance of an individual's 'right to choose' their own working hours. Employer organization often point out that formal regulation or monitoring cannot totally protect against informal practices, for instance, 'presentism' or variation in personal preferences. Research suggests that cultural change in work practices itself take time and needs to be led by line managers and CEOs (e.g. Hwang, Haas and Russell, 2001). For instance, the Australian programme to reduce excessive hours took several years to implement.

Reducing excessive working in a construction company: Probuild

Probuild is a major national Australian contractor with construction and civil engineering operations. The industry is highly competitive, with contracted deadlines and has had a long standing tradition that people work long hours, including most Saturdays.
Probuild's Work-life Balance Program has three key aspects:
• the basic framework which includes a statement of commitment from leaders, program strategy, responsibilities, policy, guiding principles for implementation and a 'Saturday and Excessive Hours Guide';
• a supportive culture necessary to ensure that strategy and policy are effectively implemented and are not just rhetorical;
• appropriate workplace practices are to be determined through consultation with staff.
The 'Saturday and Excessive Hours Guide' identifies that there is no formal requirement to work on Saturdays (except in defined special circumstances) for head office staff, site secretarial staff, administrators and graduates. For staff on award wages, Saturday work occurs to meet project targets, having respect for any particular individual requests not to work. Foremen are expected to be available to work three out of four Saturdays, if the project requires Saturday work, having regard to their leave benefits and any particular requests regarding rosters. For Project and Site Managers, apart from periods of peak activity, working more than two out of every four Saturdays is considered excessive.

The five guiding principles are: 'there must be mutual benefit'; 'it is a team effort'; 'one size won't fit everyone'; 'hard work can be done flexibly'; and 'good communication is fundamental to success'.
Benefits to Employees and Employer:
For employees on Probuild construction sites, informal flexibility is the most prevalent form of flexibility available. Early leaving times are standard across all sites to accommodate personal appointments, sport, family, and social functions. All sites have a foremen roster, so foremen can self roster weekend work. Labourers have the option to work on weekends and a process exists to enable assistance from other sites to be called in to cover labour shortages if required. project and construction managers rotate weekend work.

In the early years of its work-life balance initiatives commencing in 2005/06, Probuild experienced reductions in staff turnover, reduced talent shortage, increased attraction of employees and reduced recruitment costs, reduced burnout, benefits to the company's reputation and improved communication with its employees. During the global financial crisis, the company sought to retain its workforce and limited separations to voluntary redundancies.

Source: McMahon & Pocock, 2011

Avoidance of chronic long weekly working hours can help promote active parental involvement with children and participation in personal and family life more generally. Children benefit from both parental attention and the emotional and practical support which derives from 'at home' parenting. 'Being there' and emotionally available to children can also be rewarding for parents but difficult to combine with work which entails long hours away from home or anti-social hours (Skinner, 2003).

3.6 Early childhood education and care

Places of care for children before they reach the age of compulsory education are another form of support for parents of young children to help them engage in paid work. Typically called nurseries or kindergartens, these centres of childhood education and care (ECEC) are funded through a range of sources including public spending through taxation, employer subsidy or private family resource. With the growth of female aspirations and the necessity to work in paid employment, formal child care policies and provisions have developed across the world. In addition, pre-primary education has expanded. Gross enrolment rates have increased particularly in North America and Europe at 81 per cent, Latin America, 64 per cent and East Asia reaching 44 per cent of eligible children by 2008 (UNESCO, 2011). Rates are much lower and variable in other parts of the world where data are available. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa participation in pre-primary education ranges from nil in Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho and Zimbabwe to over 80 per cent in Liberia, Mauritius and the Seychelles (Mokomane, 2011). In terms of child care enrolment, it is estimated that in OECD countries about one third of children under 3 years participate in some form of formal child care provision (less than 10 per cent in Latin American countries to over 50 per cent in Nordic countries) (OECD, 2011).

Across the world there is lack of coordination between the sequencing of parental leave and children access to ECEC (Moss, 2011). In most countries there is a gap between the end of well-paid leave and the start of an ECEC entitlement. In Moss' analysis of thirty countries the gap ranged from 18 to 67 months emphasising the extensive lack of coordination between these two policy areas.

In some countries concern about labour supply, particularly of mothers, has been a driver behind the development of child care and early year's education but other policy objectives such as the promotion of child well-being, fertility and gender equity are also significant. Usually, a multiple set of objectives are in play. For instance, in South Korea a family focused policy, including public investment in child care provision and an approach which places obligations on employers as well as citizens are in place (Lee, 2009). Employer mandates to provide childcare facilities dependent on the number of female employees exist in the Middle East and North African countries (e.g. for Libya and Tunisia, mandatory when a threshold of 50 female employees is reached). Publically funded or social insurance based preschool child care subsidies are also in existence across many Latin American countries to expand the provision of childcare services (Hein & Cassirer, 2010).

The ILO Report *Workplace solutions for childcare* (Hein & Cassirer, 2010) showcase interesting innovations in workplaces across urbanised communities in developing countries. The child care centres have taken shape in larger countries with a relatively high proportion of their populations in urban areas and a significant number of workers

in formal employment – Brazil and Chile from Latin America, India and Thailand from Asia and Kenya and South Africa from Africa. Many of the developments have been funded from mixed partnerships involving employer organisations, workers, and local government bodies. As yet quality assurance of the centres is patchy, although some are audited by local early child care specialists.

Kenyan workplace nursery in coffee industry for export

Workplace: Nine coffee plantations in Ruiru (around 54,000 inhabitants), 35 km northeast of Nairobi.
Workers: 1,450 permanent agricultural workers, of which around 45 per cent are women. During the peak harvest season, workers can total up to 10,000 people, including casual workers.
Working hours: from 7.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m., 46 hours per week, over a period of 6 days.
Childcare solution: Childcare centre on each plantation, including a crèche for children between 3 months and 3 years; nursery school for children between 4 and 6.5 years.
Partners: Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union (KPAWU); Ministry of Education, District Centres for Early Childhood Education (DICECEs); National Occupational Safety and Health Environment Programme (OSHEP).

Source: Hein & Cassirer (2010) *Workplace solutions for childcare*

Philippines

Multinationals such as **Intel** and **Johnson & Johnson** provide daycare centers for their employee's children. Intel has a vacation bank program, an option to substitute maternity leave for paternity leave for extraordinary reasons, an employee discount program, onsite gymnasium, and benchmarking of child care solutions across Asia. Johnson & Johnson organizes summer programs for kids that relieve working parents of the effort to keep their children busy during school vacations.

Source: Caparas, 2010

The importance of the quality of early childhood education and care services has been underlined in several international strategy documents (e.g. Bennett, 2008) including those focusing on work-family reconciliation (European Council, 2011). Some bodies are attempting to initiate negotiation about quality benchmarks on staff training, ratios of children to staff and so on, such as the Korean National Child Care Accreditation programme (see Box below on Quality benchmarks of the Innocenti). High staff-to-child ratios of appropriately trained care workers enhance the likelihood that young children will experience a more stimulating and engaged environment. Others have suggested going beyond child care and educational administrative targets to focus on the personalised needs and well-being of children as individual actors (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2010a; Dahlberg, Moss et al., 1999). Key issues here are parental and child involvement as well as strengthening the provision of high quality childcare and education which is accessible and affordable. From the care provider's perspective, high quality care environments require greater levels of investment with higher wage costs per child and infrastructural expenditure. Evidence indicates that the 'return' on high quality ECEC, in terms of children's intellectual and social development, particularly for socially disadvantaged children, can be significant (OECD, 2009; 2011).

Child care centre helps informal sector workers in Guatemala

The Guatemala municipal government supports a childcare and early childhood program serving vulnerable families from marginalized urban areas in the city. Created after studies found child care was a major need among the city's working mothers, the five municipal centres in this program care for over 1,000 children under six years old.

The city's Santa Clara childcare centre, started in 1990, is for children of workers in the informal economy who collect, classify and sell recycled material from the municipal rubbish dump in zone 3 of Guatemala City. Most of these impoverished families, some of them extremely poor, live in precarious conditions, often in highly unsanitary accommodations in the dump itself. Many are single-parent families headed up by women.

The centre looks after over 300 children, providing nutritious foods, care, early stimulation, pre-school education, regular health checks and vaccinations, hygiene and psychological help. It also offers support and training to both parents.

Parents contribute 15 quetzals (about US$2.20) monthly for this service. The municipality finances, manages, supervises and hires personnel through its social assistance office (*Secretaría de Asuntos Sociales*). Funds come from other sources too, particularly voluntary donations from local employers, and co-operation agreements with other State institutions, local health centres, national and international non-governmental organizations.

Prior to the centre's creation, parents had to take their small children with them to work in the dump. Today, the centre has helped to prevent child labour, since children no longer work with their parents, and improved their social and physical development. Women can work longer hours for remuneration and have fewer problems resolving conflicts between their children's care and work. Big sisters no longer have to care for younger siblings and mothers have noted that the centre's proximity to their workplace is an important advantage.

Source: (ILO-UNDP, 2009, using Cassirer and Addati 2007)

Research suggests that securing parents' trust in the quality of child care is critical as; in its absence the provisions will not be used. Lack of use is even more likely in countries where reliance on kin care is normative. For instance, in South Korea despite incentives, through the Infant Care Act of 1991, by 2005 only 29 per cent of employed mothers with infants used child care facilities while 62 per cent relied on kin-based child care (Chin et al., 2011). Caparas (2011:8) reports that the effectiveness of child care centres *'is highly dependent on the quality of the caretakers, the equipment and facility, sanitation and food*.' In several Asian countries she reviewed, the re-occurrence of accidents and mistreatment of children had discouraged working parents from using centres for their children.

High cost acts as a disincentive too, especially to the poor and those working in the informal sector. In developing countries Heymann (2006) found that those parents on "high" daily pay rates working in the informal economy, had greater access to centre-based child care than those with lower rates (61 per cent of workers who earned at or above $10 PPP-adjusted per day had access, versus 11 per cent of those earning less than $10 PPP-adjusted per day). The differences were less dramatic for those in the formal sector (51 per cent of those earning at or above $10 PPP-adjusted per day had access to center-based childcare, compared to 41 percent of those earning less than the $10 PPP-adjusted per day).

The quality benchmarks of the Innocenti Report Card 8

A - Policy Framework

Benchmark 1. A minimum entitlement to paid parental leave

The minimum proposed standard is that, on the birth of a child, one parent be entitled to at least a year's leave (to include prenatal leave) at 50 per cent of their salary (subject to upper and lower limits). For parents who are unemployed or self-employed, the income entitlement should not be less than the minimum wage or the level of social assistance. At least two weeks of parental leave should be specifically reserved for fathers.

Benchmark 2. A national plan with priority for disadvantaged children

All countries taking part in the childcare transition should have undertaken extensive research and evolved a coherent national strategy to ensure that the benefits of early childhood education and care are fully available, especially for disadvantaged children.

B - (Quantitative) access to early childhood education and care services

Benchmark 3. A minimum level of childcare provision for under-threes

The minimum proposed is that subsidized and regulated childcare services should currently be available for at least 25 per cent of children under the age of three.

Benchmark 4. A minimum level of access for four-year-olds

The minimum proposed is that at least 80 per cent of four-year-olds participate in publicly subsidized and qualified early education services for a minimum of 15 hours per week.

C - Quality of early childhood education and care services

Benchmark 5. A minimum level of training for all staff

The minimum proposed is that at least 80 per cent of staff having significant contact with young children, including neighbourhood and home-based child caregivers, should have relevant training. As a minimum, all staff should complete an induction course. A move towards pay and working conditions in line with the wider teaching or social care professions should also be envisaged.

Benchmark 6. A minimum proportion of staff with higher level education and training

The minimum proposed is that at least 50 per cent of staff in early education centres supported and accredited by governmental agencies should have a minimum of three years tertiary education with a recognized qualification in early childhood studies or related fields.

Benchmark 7. A minimum staff-to-child ratio

The minimum proposed is that the ratio of preschool children age four to five to trained staff (educators and assistants) should not be greater than 15 to 1, and that group size should not exceed 24 children.

Benchmark 8. A minimum level of public funding

The suggested minimum for the level of public spending on early childhood education and care (for children aged 0 to 6 years) should not be less than 1 per cent of the GDP). This first set of eight benchmarks is supplemented by two further indicators designed to acknowledge and reflect wider social and economic factors critical for the efficiency of early childhood services.

D - Low child poverty and universal outreach of social services

Benchmark 9. A low level of child poverty

Child poverty rate of less than 10 per cent (using less than 50 per cent of median OECD income threshold)

Benchmark 10. Universal outreach of social services6

The benchmark of 'universal outreach' is considered to have been met if a country has fulfilled at least two of the following three requirements: a) the rate of infant mortality is less than 4 per 1000 live births b) the proportion of babies born with low birth weight (below 2500 grams) is less than 6 per cent and c) the immunisation rate for 12 to 23 month-olds (averaged over measles, polio and DPT3 vaccination) is more than 95 per cent.

Source: Early Childhood Education and Care Services in the European Union Countries Proceedings of the ChildONEurope Seminar 2010 www.childoneurope.org using Bennett (2008) *Benchmarks for Early Childhood Services in OECD Countries*, Innocenti Working Paper

There is significant controversy about the impact of out-of-home-care, particularly for infants, with most studies conducted in the developed world where parents have more options to take longer periods away from the labour market. The OECD (2009) Report *Doing Better for Children* highlights research evidence showing the importance of stable parental care for infants, and recommends that optimally young children should not experience long hours in poor quality non-parental care environments. Greater consensus is found on the benefits of early year's education, with the most positive impact for children from less advantaged backgrounds.

The evaluation evidence on the justification for adopting work-based child care policies and provision are less focused on child outcomes and more on organisational benefits and are mainly conducted in developed countries (e.g. Glass &Findlay, 2002). For developing countries, most of the evaluation evidence concentrates on the process of implementation with rich descriptions of the policy innovation, goals and challenges involved in delivering services (see Box on Mexico, OECD, 2011). For developed countries, the data point to a mix of outcomes with most studies showing positive or neutral effects for both employer supported child care provisions (e.g. vouchers, subsidies) and explicit workplace policy documentation. Gains include: reduced turn-over; reductions in absenteeism; and willingness to accept over-time and promotions. Co-location of nurseries with the workplace was not found to be a necessary condition for positive outcomes; presence of an accessible high quality provision was more important to participants in the reviewed studies.

Developing formal childcare in Mexico

In January 2007, the Mexican government launched a national child day-care programme – *Programa de Estancias Infantiles para Madres Trabajadoras* (PEIMT) – which aims to provide parents in paid work and/or study with access to child day-care services. In 2009, public spending on childcare amounted to 0.04 per cent of GDP, of which 20 per cent was allocated to PEIMT. Parents are eligible for support if they have a child between 1 and 4 years old (or up to 6 yearsold if the child has some disability) and their household income is less than 6 times the minimum wage (about USD 770), which is equivalent to the mean income of couples with two children. PEIMT has grown rapidly, and by December 2009, the programme included 8,923 day care centres covering 261 728 children and 243 535 parents. However, this is only 6 per cent of all children between 1 and 4 years old in Mexico, of whom 26 per cent grow up in poverty. Day-care centres are open for a minimum of eight hours per day, five days a week (Monday to Friday). The programme supports supply and demand of formal child day-care services in thefollowing way: *Supply*: PEIMT provides a financial support to those who wish to operate a child day-care centre and who meet a series of requirements, including qualifications (having finished secondary school) a psychological test and having the facilities needed for offering services to at least ten children. In 2010, the amount was USD 4,200 for creating a new facility and USD 2,600 for adapting a private residence or retail space into a day care centre. Providers set fees, but they have to admit those children selected by the PEIMT authorities as eligible.

Demand: monthly subsidies to eligible families to partially cover the childcare fees. This monthly subsidy or "voucher" (up to about USD 53) is directly transferred to the centre on behalf of the child, conditional on the child attending services for more than 11 days per month. Parents have to pay a small fee (up to around 23 USD) to the childcare provider, except in very poor areas. This fee represents less than 10 per cent of household's income. Parents who cannot pay this fee may pay in-kind (fruit, tortillas, eggs) or may do some voluntary work *(e.g.,* cleaning day-care centres, sewing uniforms) as agreed with the childcare provider.)

Source OECD (2011) *Doing Better for Families*

Another policy model for the care for young children, only found in a small number of richer nations, is to provide income directly to the main carer – a form of *cash for care* approach. In Moss' (2011) thirty country analysis he found that six countries offered this form of *Childcare leave* which can usually be taken immediately after parental leave, creating a continuous period of leave, even if the conditions (such as benefit paid) may not be the same. In most cases childcare leave was unpaid, in contrast to a paid parental leave: until a child is 3 years in Croatia; two weeks per year per parent until a child is 14 in Estonia; three months per year per parent in Iceland until a child is eight years; two year in Norway (see Box below); and two to three years in Portugal. Parents with three or more children in Hungary can take leave until their youngest child is eight years old, with a flat-rate benefit. Finland was noted by Moss (2011) as exceptional in that its 'home care' leave is both available to all parents and paid, albeit with a relatively low flat-rate allowance. There is debate about the extent to which this policy instrument can disadvantage the occupational career of the parent who selects, or by circumstance is constrained, to take the benefit, which in most cases are mothers.

Norway 'cash-for-care' scheme
Parents with a child aged 12-36 months are entitled to receive a cash benefit ('cash-for-care' scheme) *on condition they do not use publicly funded ECEC service.*
The full benefit is NOK3, 303 (€420) per child per month. Children who use ECEC on a part-time basis receive a reduced benefit (e.g. if parents use no place, they receive 100 per cent of the benefit; if they use a place for 17-24 hours a week they receive 40 per cent of the full benefit).
The main criterion for eligibility, therefore, is not parental employment status, but parents not using a particular service.

Source: Brandth & Kvande, 2011

A key challenge for societies remains to provide affordable locally based care environments for children of working parents which are sensitive to their developmental needs at different stages in the life course.

Care of older children
Once children enter primary school there are still care and supervision needs, especially at the beginning and end of the day when parents may have to travel to work or search for employment. Across the world a number of *out-of-school hours* (OSH) care programmes have developed to support children and their parents including: breakfast clubs, after-school homework programmes, extended schools. These services are particularly important for children in lone parent families and who have parents who are required to work in nonstandard and inflexible jobs. They can provide adult-supervised care for the periods before and after school when it is not possible for parents to be there.

Typically out-of-school hours care centres are based in school, neighbourhood or leisure centres. Research evidence on their implementation and impact is not extensive and has mainly been conducted in developed countries, although some facilities such as breakfast clubs have been in existence for some time. The concept of a breakfast club originated in the USA and clubs have become widespread there since 1966, when the School Breakfast Program (US Department of Agriculture,1999) was established to provide federal funding to assist schools serving breakfast to

nutritionally needy children in poor areas (Shaw 1988). By 1997, the number of participant schools exceeded 68,000 with clubs attracting six million children each day. In spite of very low running costs some childcare schemes struggle to survive, especially in low-income areas.

OECD analysis indicates that OSH services are mostly used by the 6-9 year old group and provision is variable - ranging from a 40 per cent participation rate in Denmark, Australia, Sweden and Hungary to below 10 per cent in South Korea, Poland and several Southern European countries (OECD, 2009). These data do not include children's participation in formal out-of-school sporting activities which is extensive and can involve parental participation.

For those developing countries with high levels of child labour, OSH has less immediate priority, but can still contribute to the goal of universal primary and secondary education, through promoting the concept of educational and activities throughout the day (e.g. UNICEF's The Global Out-of-School Children Initiative launched in 2010).

Although robust evaluation evidence is patchy, most research indicates social and academic benefits of OSH with socially disadvantaged children benefiting the most. For example, using a cluster randomized controlled trial (comparing schools with and without breakfast clubs), Shemilt et al (2004) found that at 1 year follow-up, a higher proportion of primary-aged breakfast club participants attended school and also reported eating fruit for breakfast in comparison to non-participants. Interviews with parents indicated that breakfast clubs help ease the strain and pressures of family morning routines, particularly amongst families with several school aged children and lone parents (Shemilt *et al.*, 2003). The school based breakfast clubs were an additional form of support for parents who were working, studying or seeking employment and were perceived as safe, secure and settled environments. Similar academic and social gains from OSH have been reported from American studies of participating young children and youth (Bissell et al, 2002). Activities for children and youth in low-income households may have a larger impact because the alternative home and neighborhood environments are typically less enriching and more dangerous than for middle-income children and youth.

Informal Care and Grandparents

Informal care of children by kin, friends, neighbours and unregulated local child childminders is common across developing countries (Heymann, 2006) and many developed countries (e.g. Plantenga & Remery, 2009). Cross-national European survey research showed that 34 per cent of grandmothers provided childcare almost weekly or more in the last year (Hank and Buber 2009). In some urban areas of China, it is commonplace for grandparents to provide childcare on a full-time basis (Goh, 2009). Grandparent care is most common in areas where co-residence rates are high and grandmothers generally provide more care than grandfathers to grandchildren. A shortage of childcare facilities for infants and, in some countries such as China, a general mistrust of domestic helpers, means that women's labour market participation can be strongly reliant on grandmothers. In China traditional cultural ideals such as *chuan zhong jie dai* (to ensure the passing down of the family lineage) foster grandparental care but new models of autonomous and independent lives for elder people are also developing, which may reduce grandparental 'care supply'. Similarly,

as employees extend their working lives older family members may be less available to support grandchildren's care needs.

Inclusion of grandparents in work-family provisions is becoming more common, especially in Europe for instance in terms of allowing access to parental leave and in 2005 Australia introduced one of the first benefits focused on grandparents- *Grandparent Child Care Benefit (GCCB).*

Grandparent Child Care Benefit (GCCB) Australia
To assist grandparents with the costs of child care, Grandparent Child Care Benefit (GCCB) is available to eligible grandparents caring for their grandchild and who are in receipt of an Income Support Payment. GCCB covers the full cost of child care for up to 50 hours for each child in approved care each week. In certain circumstances you may be able to get GCCB for more than 50 hours per week.
To be eligible for GCCB, a grandparent must:
-meet the eligibility requirements outlined for the waiver of the work, training and study test;
-and be in receipt of an Income Support Payment

Source:http://www.deewr.gov.au/Earlychildhood/Programs/ChildCareforServices/SupportFamilyCCS/Pages/GrandparentCCB.aspx

Conclusion and recommendations

This paper has taken a family-focused perspective on work-care challenges and solutions. It has shown the close interconnections between the 'two worlds' of paid work and family life. As the labour market participation of women has increased, governments and employers in many parts of the world, have 'stepped forward' to find ways to support work-family balance at key family transition points such as childbirth, having young children, or caring for sick and elderly kin. Similarly enlightened employers have become aware of the benefits of a flexible and humane response when employees have family crises such as illness, stress or bereavement. Many of the basic provisions reviewed, such as maternity, paternity and parental leave and early childhood education and care have emerged in richer nations, but not exclusively so. In other countries very little progress has been made on work-family balance or family-friendly initiatives with negative consequences for employee health and well-being, gender equality and child well-being.

There is now a critical mass of research evidence showing the benefits of work-family reconciliation measures. The paper has charted the negative impact of poor quality job conditions on individual workers and their families. It has reviewed evidence indicating that long working hours put workers' health and relationships at risk; in particular for vulnerable groups of employees, and for those without kin help for the essential daily care of dependents and domestic responsibilities.

Profound demographic changes are taking place in family life as family units have become more diversified and the life course less predictable. In many countries across the world, family trends towards smaller households will necessitate more support for families as extended kin may not be available to care for young and old. A new tension in many contemporary societies is how employed parents manage to accommodate 24/7 infant care within a 24/7 globalised working environment. Dilemmas are negotiated against a background of changing cultural norms concerning

the appropriate time for employed mothers to return to paid work after childbirth. In these times of cultural flux parents deploy diverse parenting and employment strategies contingent on their available external resources and internal capacities. The trade-off between time, money and care involves intense personal negotiations within the family and in the workplace. Family-friendly initiatives from employers and governments can and do have a constructive role to play in supporting parents raise the next generation of children. The presence of work-life balance policies in an organization can show positive and harmonious labour relations, and demonstrate a corporation's sense of social responsibility.

Concerns about the welfare of children, and care of older family members needing care, cannot be developed in isolation from gender equity goals. Absence from the labour market carries substantial financial penalties and occupational risk, traditionally mostly borne by mothers. Developing societal policies to ensure work-family policies therefore requires sensitive meshing with gender equity policies (Lewis & Plomien, 2009; Gornick & Meyers, 2009). Central to this ambition is a more father or male-kin inclusive approach to work-family reconciliation. As this report, and other evidence has shown, governments, regional bodies and employers are developing support for working fathers' caring responsibilities and obligations (United Nations, 2011). Expanding national policies and programmes to promote a stronger engagement of men in family care activities through the life course will help modernize work-family policies to catch up with the changing role of women. In the twentieth century many post-war public polices created systems and services which assumed a full-time home female carer, supporting a full-time male breadwinner, a work-family model which no longer fits the circumstances of twenty-first century families.

In order for citizens to have a meaningful work and family balance, the challenge for all societies is to find work-care solutions which are personally, culturally and economically affordable. Taking the long view, it is clear that a range of effective provisions have emerged to help families cope with care of dependent family members and participate in the labour market. However, access to these support systems is mainly in the formal and regulated labour markets of the world, with many workers still experiencing profoundly 'family-unfriendly', harsh and dangerous work environments. In these cases it is essential that global employment protection is implemented and enforced. Starting points differ but a meaningful rather than just bearable work-family balance is an important aspiration for all.

Recommendations

1. A Family-focused Work-Life Vision

- Adopt a family-focused perspective in the pursuit of work-care reconciliation challenges and policy development. This approach integrates *family, work and child policies with an awareness of life course transitions.*

2. Global Compliance with a basic legal framework for work-family balance

- Responsible national entities to endorse and work towards implementing the ILO Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (no 183) and the ILO Workers with Family responsibilities Convention (no 156).

- National entities to increase global awareness, especially by employers, of the ILO decent jobs initiative and its links with human rights legislation.

3. Family Leave

- Phased introduction of leave policies which support optimal child well-being (particularly in infancy) and gender equality incentives, using design features from “best practice” Nordic models.

- National entities should explore systems to recognise and support caring activities by fathers in families, in particular, consider statutory leave provision for fathers at the time of a child’s birth (paternity leave) or later, in the early years of a child’s life (ring-fenced “daddy months” in the parental leave period). A phased approach is recommended.

- Stage Stage 1- Expand Eligibility, improve levels of payment, introduce access to fathers. Stage 2: Introduce dedicated, non-transferable periods of leave for mothers / fathers. Stage 3: Extend periods of paid parental leave for mothers / fathers and introduce a general carer’s leave.

- Engage employers in publicity campaigns drives to raise awareness of the importance of family leave for male and female workers who have infants and young children.

4. Flexible Work Arrangements and Work-Time Innovation

- Introduce a formal right for all employees to request work flexibility to be negotiated subject to workplace/ business needs.

- Invest in training managers to introduce flexibility and manage a flexible workforce (employers and Governments).

- Target campaigns at sectors and workplaces with little flexibility, to open up opportunities.

- Support the development of high quality part-time jobs and short hour working days.

- Consider flexible working as a means to navigate the recession (e.g. reduction in hours not jobs).

5. Early Child care and Education and Youth Care

- Develop higher quality standards, flexible and affordable child care and education spaces in the community and in the workplace to support different working patterns for parents and business' need to deploy workforce beyond standard hours.

6. Mixed partnerships a multi-stakeholder approach

- Encourage wide-ranging consultation and partnerships between, employers, trade unions and employees (at different stages in the life course) to promote a better understanding and celebration of work-family reconciliation.

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APPENDIX

Table 1 Female Participation in paid work OECD, 1985 to 2009 as a percentage of the working population (15-64 years)

		YEAR																								
		1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Australia	AUS	49.6	51.8	52.7	54.2	56.4	57.4	56.0	55.6	55.5	56.9	59.0	58.9	58.9	59.6	60.0	61.4	61.7	62.1	62.9	63.1	64.7	65.5	66.1	66.7	66.2
Austria	AUT										58.8	58.9	58.2	58.4	58.5	59.3	59.4	59.8	61.0	61.5	60.7	62.0	63.5	64.4	65.8	66.4
Belgium	BEL	37.0	37.6	37.5	38.4	39.7	40.8	43.0	44.6	44.9	44.8	45.4	45.6	46.7	47.5	50.2	51.9	50.7	51.1	51.4	53.0	54.1	54.0	55.3	56.2	56.0
Canada	CAN	56.2	57.9	59.4	61.2	62.4	62.8	61.9	61.0	60.5	61.1	61.6	61.5	62.1	63.5	64.6	65.6	65.9	67.0	67.9	68.4	68.3	69.0	70.1	70.1	69.1
Czech Republic	CZE									60.4	61.0	61.0	60.6	59.9	58.7	57.4	56.9	57.0	57.1	56.3	56.0	56.3	56.8	57.3	57.6	56.7
Denmark	DNK	67.4	70.1	71.0	70.9	69.5	70.6	70.1	70.4	68.7	67.1	67.0	67.4	69.4	70.3	71.6	72.1	71.4	72.6	70.5	72.0	70.8	73.4	73.2	74.3	73.1
Finland	FIN	69.8	69.5	69.2	69.6	71.4	71.5	68.4	63.8	59.7	58.7	59.0	59.5	60.4	61.3	63.6	64.5	65.4	66.1	65.7	65.5	66.5	67.3	68.5	69.0	67.9
France	FRA	48.5	49.4	48.8	49.2	49.7	50.3	50.8	50.8	51.1	50.8	51.6	51.8	51.7	52.4	53.0	54.3	55.2	55.8	56.4	56.7	56.9	58.2	59.4	60.1	60.0
Germany	DEU	47.7	48.5	49.1	49.9	50.8	52.2	56.3	55.7	55.1	54.7	55.3	55.5	55.3	56.3	57.4	58.1	58.7	58.8	58.7	59.2	59.6	61.4	63.2	64.3	65.2
Greece	GRC	36.1	36.1	36.3	37.2	37.6	37.5	34.9	36.2	36.4	37.1	38.0	38.5	39.1	40.3	40.7	41.3	41.2	43.1	44.5	45.5	46.2	47.4	47.9	48.7	48.9
Hungary	HUN								52.3	49.3	47.8	45.9	45.5	45.5	47.3	49.0	49.6	49.8	49.8	50.9	50.7	51.0	51.2	50.9	50.6	49.9
Iceland	ISL							74.5	74.0	74.0	74.6	76.8	76.5	75.6	78.3	80.2	81.0	81.1	79.8	81.2	79.4	81.2	81.6	81.7	80.3	77.2
Ireland	IRL	32.4	32.4	34.1	33.7	34.5	36.6	36.3	37.1	38.2	38.9	41.5	43.3	44.7	48.2	51.3	53.3	54.0	55.2	55.4	55.8	58.0	59.1	60.7	60.5	57.8
Italy	ITA	33.4	34.0	34.5	34.9	35.2	36.2	36.5	36.5	35.8	35.4	35.4	36.0	36.4	37.3	38.3	39.6	41.1	42.0	42.7	45.2	45.3	46.3	46.6	47.2	46.4
Japan	JPN	53.0	53.1	53.3	53.8	54.8	55.8	56.6	56.9	56.6	56.5	56.4	56.8	57.6	57.2	56.7	56.7	57.0	56.5	56.8	57.4	58.1	58.8	59.5	59.7	59.8
Korea	KOR (1)	44.1	45.3	47.2	47.4	48.5	49.0	48.8	48.7	48.8	49.8	50.5	51.1	51.6	47.3	48.1	50.0	50.9	52.0	51.1	52.2	52.5	53.1	53.2	53.2	52.2
Luxembourg	LUX	39.7	40.7	41.9	40.6	41.3	41.4	43.6	46.2	44.8	44.9	42.2	43.6	45.4	45.6	48.5	50.0	50.8	51.5	52.0	51.9	53.7	54.6	56.1	55.1	57.0
Mexico	MEX							34.2	35.1	36.0	36.2	37.0	37.4	39.9	40.1	39.8	40.1	39.4	39.9	39.4	41.3	41.5	42.9	43.6	44.1	43.0
Netherlands	NLD	35.5	36.1	42.3	44.3	45.2	47.5	49.3	51.0	52.0	52.6	53.9	55.2	57.6	59.4	61.6	63.0	63.7	64.0	64.2	64.3	64.8	66.4	68.5	70.2	70.6
New Zealand	NZL		60.2	61.1	59.6	57.6	58.6	57.5	57.5	58.0	59.9	61.7	63.4	62.8	62.1	63.0	63.5	64.8	65.3	65.7	66.5	68.0	68.2	68.7	68.7	67.4
Norway	NOR	65.6	69.7	70.7	69.8	67.5	67.2	67.0	66.7	66.6	67.5	68.8	70.4	72.2	73.6	73.8	74.0	73.8	73.9	72.7	72.7	72.0	72.3	74.0	75.4	74.4
Poland	POL								53.1	52.1	51.9	51.8	51.8	51.8	52.2	51.6	48.9	47.8	46.4	46.2	46.4	47.0	48.2	50.6	52.4	52.8
Portugal	PRT	49.4	48.9	51.2	53.1	53.9	55.4	57.6	56.1	55.3	55.0	54.8	55.6	57.2	58.3	59.5	60.5	61.0	60.8	60.6	61.7	61.7	62.0	61.9	62.5	61.6
Slovak Republic	SVK										52.6	53.0	54.6	54.0	53.5	52.1	51.5	51.8	51.4	52.2	50.9	50.9	51.9	53.0	54.6	52.8
Spain	ESP	25.8	26.2	28.1	29.4	30.6	31.8	32.5	32.5	31.5	31.5	32.5	33.8	35.2	36.5	39.1	42.0	43.8	44.9	46.8	49.0	51.9	54.0	55.5	55.7	53.5
Sweden	SWE	76.8	77.8	79.2	80.1	80.7	81.0	79.3	76.2	72.1	70.7	70.9	69.9	68.9	69.4	70.9	72.2	73.5	73.4	72.8	71.8	71.8	72.1	73.2	73.2	70.2
Switzerland	CHE							66.5	66.6	66.1	64.9	65.6	67.1	67.8	68.8	69.6	69.4	70.7	71.5	70.7	70.3	70.4	71.1	71.6	73.5	73.8
Turkey	TUR				32.1	34.3	32.9	33.7	31.9	25.8	30.4	30.2	30.3	28.0	28.5	28.9	26.2	26.3	26.6	25.2	24.3	23.7	22.7	22.8	23.5	24.2
United Kingdom	GBR	55.6	56.8	57.7	59.8	62.2	62.8	62.2	61.9	61.8	62.1	62.5	63.3	64.0	64.2	65.0	65.6	66.0	66.3	66.4	66.6	66.8	66.8	66.3	66.9	65.6
United States	USA	59.3	60.5	61.9	63.0	64.1	64.0	63.3	63.5	64.0	65.2	65.8	66.3	67.1	67.4	67.6	67.8	67.1	66.1	65.7	65.4	65.6	66.1	65.9	65.5	63.4
OECD	OECD	50.8	51.7	52.7	52.4	53.5	53.9	52.8	52.7	52.4	52.9	53.3	53.7	54.2	54.5	54.9	55.3	55.4	55.3	55.3	55.7	56.1	56.7	57.2	57.6	56.7
Russian Federation	RUS															56.6			61.4	60.2	61.3	62.4	63.5	64.9	64.5	64.9

Source: OECD (2011), Doing Better for Families, OECD using OECD Database on Labour Force Statistics 2010].
For Korea data refers to ages 15-59 prior to 1989. Data missing for OECD countries Chile, Estonia, Israel and Slovenia.

Table 2 Maternal Employment by age of youngest child and number of children under 15 years. 2007

	Maternal employment rates, women age 15-64						
	by age of youngest child *				by number of children under 15		
Country	0-16	<3	3-5	6-16	1 child	2 children	3+ children
Hungary	45.7%	13.9%	49.9%	58.3%	53.7%	48.3%	24.6%
Poland	46.4%	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	42.7%	35.6%	28.5%
Italy	48.1%	47.3%	50.6%	47.5%	48.3%	41.0%	27.4%
Slovak Republic	48.4%	23.1%	46.6%	60.4%	56.4%	49.4%	31.5%
Greece	50.9%	49.5%	53.6%	50.4%	48.4%	44.4%	37.4%
Spain	52.0%	52.6%	54.2%	50.9%	51.1%	44.7%	38.5%
Japan	52.4%	28.5%	47.8%	68.1%	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Czech Republic	52.8%	19.9%	50.9%	67.6%	57.4%	52.5%	34.4%
Germany	54.9%	36.1%	54.8%	62.7%	58.4%	51.8%	36.0%
Luxembourg	55.4%	58.3%	58.7%	52.7%	56.0%	49.8%	33.8%
Ireland	57.5%	55.0%	#N/A	59.9%	55.4%	52.5%	42.3%
Belgium	59.9%	63.8%	63.3%	56.9%	58.3%	58.5%	39.4%
France	59.9%	53.7%	63.8%	61.7%	62.2%	57.6%	38.1%
OECD 26-average	**61.6%**	**51.9%**	**61.3%**	**66.3%**	**61.9%**	**58.2%**	**44.0%**
United Kingdom	61.7%	52.6%	58.3%	67.7%	67.1%	62.4%	42.3%
Australia	63.1%	48.3%	#N/A	70.5%	63.3%	58.1%	#N/A
New Zealand	64.6%	45.1%	60.6%	75.3%	64.1%	64.5%	56.7%
Austria	64.7%	60.5%	62.4%	67.5%	67.7%	60.1%	46.5%
United States	66.7%	54.2%	62.8%	73.2%	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Portugal	67.8%	69.1%	71.8%	65.4%	63.5%	59.2%	46.1%
Netherlands	69.2%	69.4%	68.3%	69.4%	70.1%	70.6%	59.9%
Switzerland	69.7%	58.3%	61.7%	77.0%	69.5%	65.4%	58.0%
Canada	74.3%	65.1%	72.6%	79.4%	70.1%	73.2%	66.3%
Finland	76.0%	52.1%	80.7%	84.2%	71.2%	70.9%	60.1%
Denmark	76.5%	71.4%	77.8%	77.5%	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A
Sweden	82.5%	71.9%	81.3%	76.1%	80.6%	84.7%	75.6%
Iceland	84.8%	83.6%	#N/A	86.5%	88.5%	82.3%	#N/A

* By age of youngest child table: For Australia, Iceland and Ireland children aged <2 and 3-5 are grouped together as children aged under 6. Panel B: For Australia and Iceland the "two children" group represents "2+ children". 1999 for Denmark; 2001 for Belgium, Canada and Japan; 2002 for Finland, Iceland and Italy; 2003 for Sweden; 2005 for Australia; 2006 for Switzerland. Data missing for Chile, Estonia, Israel, Korea, Mexico, Norway, Slovenia and Turkey.

Source: OECD (2011), *Doing Better for Families* using Australia, Australian Bureau of Statistics (2005); Statistics Canada (2001 data), Statistics Denmark (1999 data), Statistics Finland (2002 data), Statistics Iceland (2002 data for women age 25-54), Japanese authorities (2001 data), Swiss LFS (2006 2nd quarter data), UK Office of National Statistics (2005 data), and the US Current Population Survey (2005 data); all other EU countries, European Labour Force Survey (2005 data, except for Italy which concerns 2003).

Table 3 Maternity and Parental leave provision compared in OECD countries 2008

Panel A

Length in weeks of maternity leave[1] and full-rate equivalent[2] for the average worker, 2008

	Total length of maternity leave	Number of paid weeks	Average wage (national currency)	Full-rate equivalent
United Kingdom	52	39	29633	13
Greece	43	43	21693	25
Ireland	42	26	47522	7
Czech Republic	28	28	292461	17
Slovak Republic	28	28	9773	15
Israel	26	14	8075	14
Hungary	24	24	2693557	17
Italy	20	20	27099	16
Estonia	20	20	157030	20
Russian Federation	20	20	207481.2	20
Denmark	18	18	362674	9
Finland	18	18	34828	12
Poland	18	16	35495	18
Chile	18	18		18
Canada	17	15	48812	8
Portugal	17	17	16001	17
Austria	16	16	35260	16
France	16	16	33802	16
Luxembourg	16	16	49260	16
Netherlands	16	16	38936	16
Spain	16	16	24818	16
Turkey	16	16		11
Belgium	15	15	38506	12
Slovenia	15	15		15
Germany	14	14	32047	14
Japan	14	14	4302880	8
New Zealand	14	14		10
Switzerland	14	14	82248	11
Iceland	13	13		10
Korea	13	13	28493329	13
Mexico	12	12		12
United States	12	0	50888	
Norway	9	9	407349	7
Sweden	9	9	329481	7
Australia	6	0	67287	0
OECD-35	**19**	**17**	**1309594**	**13**

Panel B

Length in weeks of parental leave[3] and full-rate[2] equivalent for the average worker, 2008

Country	Total length of parental leave	Number of paid weeks	Full-rate equivalent
Poland	156	156	21
Germany	148	61	41
France	146	146	28
Spain	144	0	0
Finland	144	144	24
Russian Fed.	132	58	46
Hungary	136	136	59
Slovak Republic	136	136	31
Estonia	136	136	65
Czech Republic	134	156	47
Austria	104	156	19
Norway	91	91	32
Australia	52	0	0
Sweden	51	51	31
Denmark	46	32	23
Korea	46	46	10
Japan	44	44	31
New Zealand	38	0	0
Slovenia	37	37	37
Canada	35	35	19
Greece	30	0	0
Luxembourg	26	26	12
Iceland	26	13	10
Italy	26	26	8
Turkey	26	0	0
Netherlands	26	tax reduction	5
Ireland	14	0	0

1. Total length of maternity leave refers to the sum of paid and unpaid entitled weeks: the numbers above the bars refer to the total length of employment-protected maternity/parental leave in 2008.
2. Full-rate equivalent (FRE) = Duration of (maternity/parental) leave in weeks' payment as a percentage of AW earnings received by the claimant over this period.
3. Information refers to parental leave and subsequent prolonged periods of paid and unpaid leave women can take after maternity leave to care for young children (sometimes under a different name as for example, “childcare leave” or “home-care leave”, or the "Complément de libre choix d’activité" in France).

In all, prolonged periods of home-care leave can be taken in Austria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Finland, Germany, Norway, Poland and Spain (Annex 4.A1) and since 2008 in Sweden. Values for parental leave refer to the number of weeks women can take after maternity leave, and thus can be added to the weeks of maternity leave. Weeks of maternity leave to be taken after childbirth are deducted from the length of parental leave in countries where entitlements are set up to an age limit of the child. Parental leave is unpaid in the Netherlands, but there is a tax advantage to stimulate take-up, which is reflected in this chart. For Canada, the 17 weeks in Panel A refer to the situation in most provinces and territories, but, for example, the provinces of Québec and Saskatchewan provide 18 weeks. In Panel B, the federal Employment Insurance programme provides for 35 weeks of paid parental leave; unpaid leave periods can be longer. For example, the province of Québec provides up to 52 weeks of unpaid leave, during which period eligible clients can claim benefits under the Québec Parental Insurance Plan.

Source: OECD (2011), *Doing Better for Families* using Moss and Korintus (2008); Missoc tables: Social Protection in EU Member States; and information provided by national authorities in non-EU countries.
Information on data for Israel: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932315602

Table 4 Maternity Leave Benefits in Selected Asian Countries

Source: Caparas, 2011 using http://data.un.org

Length of Maternity Leave		% of Wages Paid in Covered Period	Provider of Maternity Coverage
Afghanistan	90 days	100	Employer
Bangladesh	16 weeks	100	Employer
China, People's Republic of	90 days	100	Social Insurance (urban areas, state-owned enterprises regardless of location)
India	12 weeks	100	Social Insurance or employer (for non-covered women)
Indonesia	3 months	100	Employer
Korea, Republic of	90 days	100	Employment Insurance Fund
Malaysia	60 days	100	Employer
Myanmar	12 weeks	67	Social Security
Nepal	52 days	100	Employer
Pakistan	12 weeks	100	Social Insurance
Philippines	60 days	100	Social Security
Sri Lanka	12 weeks	86,100	Employer (86% of wages for workers paid at a time-rate or piece-rate)
Thailand	90 days	100, 50	Employer (45 days at 100%) and Social Insurance (remaining 45 days at 50%)
Viet Nam	4-6 months	100	Social Insurance (duration depends on working conditions, nature of work, disability)

Table 5 Family Leave- a global snapshot

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**		
Argentina	100%	90 days	100%	2 days	-	-	100%	1-10 days*	Employer/Family Allowance Fund	*Leave for bereavement, marriage and other events; amount of leave depends on event.
Australia	-	-	-	-	Fixed amount*	18 weeks**	-	-	General taxation	*Paid at the level of the national minimum wage. **If the primary caregiver returns to work before the expiry of this period they can transfer the unused paid leave to their partner.
Austria	100%	16 weeks	-	-	Variable*	2 years	-	-	Statutory health insurance/ general taxation/employer contributions	*Parents can choose between flat rate options or an income-related option.
Bangladesh	100%	16 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Belgium	75%*	15 weeks	100%**	10 days	Fixed amount***	12 weeks****	Fixed amount*****	1 year (time credit system)	Federal health insurance, general taxation, and employee and employer contributions	*82% for first 30 days, then 75%. ** 100% for 3 days then 82%. ***Approx EUR 653 (US $892) per month net of taxes. ****To be extended to 4 months by end 2011. *****Approx EUR 592 (US $809)

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**		
										per month.
Brazil	100%	17 weeks*	100%	5 days	-	-	-	-	Social security and employer**	*Employer can extend for another 12 weeks. **Employer is reimbursed, except for the extended weeks, which are tax deductable. Employer pays for paternity leave.
Canada	55%	15-18 weeks*	-	-	55%	37 weeks	100%	3 days**	Employer and federal and state employment insurance programme	*Varies by province. **Leave for bereavement.
Chile	100%	18 weeks	100%	5 days	-	-	100%	3-7 days*	Social security	*Leave for bereavement.
China	100%	13 weeks	-	-	-	-	100%	1-3 days*	Social security	*Leave for marriage or bereavement.
Colombia	100%	12 weeks	100%	4-8 days	-	-	-	-	Social security	
Czech Republic	60%	28 weeks	-	-	Variable*	3 years	-	-	Social security/health insurance/general taxation	*Fixed amount that vary according to length of leave.
Denmark	100%	18 weeks	100%	2 weeks	100%	32 weeks*	-	-	Sickness benefit scheme/employers and municipalities through pooled	*The leave period may be extended if the worker returns to work part-time, and the payment is then spread over the longer

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration		
									leave funds	period. In certain sectors, fathers are entitled to additional non-transferable leave.
Egypt	100%	12 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Social security/employer	
Estonia	100%	20 weeks	-	-	Variable*	3 years	80%	14 days**	Social security/general taxation	*Flat rate for 3 years or 100% of earnings for 62 weeks. **Leave for care of sick children.
Ethiopia	100%	13 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Finland	Variable*	21 weeks	70%	3-6 weeks	Variable**	158 working days	Variable***	3 years****	Health insurance/ municipal taxes	*90% for first 56 days, then 70%. **75% for first 30 days, then 30%. ***Depends on number of children. ****Home care leave.
France	100%	16 weeks	100%	2 weeks	Variable*	3 years	Variable**	3 years	Social security/health insurance/family allowance fund	*Entitled to leave or to work part-time until the child is 3 year old. Varying flat-rate payments depending on size of family and leave circumstances. **Leave to care for seriously ill or disabled family member. Amount of pay depends on length of employment and family

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration		
										circumstances.
Germany	100%	14 weeks	-	-	67%*	12-14 months**	80%	10 days***	General taxation/statutory health insurance/employer****	*If spread over 28 months, half of this amount is paid per month. **A mother or father can receive parental leave pay for up to 12 months. An additional two months of pay is available if the other partner takes leave. May be taken over longer period with lesser pay. ***Leave for care of an ill child. ****Depends on the amount to be paid while on leave and whether the worker is eligible to receive statutory health insurance.
Greece	100%	17 weeks*	100%	2 days	-	-	100%	3.75 months**	Social security and other government sources/employer funding of paternity leave	*An additional 6 months of paid leave is available with minimum wage pay after maternity leave. Public sector maternity leave is longer. **Through flexible working scheme. Longer leave available in public sector.
Hungary	70%	24 weeks	100%	5 days	Variable*	2-3 years**	70%	Variable***	Health insurance/general taxation	*Flat rate for uninsured parents, 70% of earnings for insurance parents. **Depends on whether parents

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration		
										are insured. ***Leave length depends of age of child.
Iceland	80%	3 months	80%	3 months	80%	3 months	-	-	Social insurance fund with employee and employer contributions	
India	100%	12 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Indonesia	100%	13 weeks	100%	2 days	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Ireland	80%/ fixed amount*	26 weeks	-	-	-	-	100%	3 days**	Social insurance fund	*Whichever is greater. **Leave for family illness or injury.
Israel	100%	14 weeks	100%	8 weeks*	-	-	-	-	Social security	*If mother returns to work before 14 weeks, partner can take up her maternity leave entitlement after 6 weeks of maternity leave.
Italy	80%*	20 weeks	-	-	30%**	6 months	-	-	Social security	*100% for public sector workers and for workers covered by some collective bargaining agreements **100% for public sector workers for first 30 days.

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**		
Japan	60%	14 weeks	-	-	30%*	1 year	40%	3 months	National health insurance/employment insurance	*Returning job allowance also given upon return to work after parental leave.
Luxembourg	100%	16 weeks	100%	2 days	Fixed amount*	6 months	100%	2-4 days**	National heath fund, through general taxation/employer for paternity leave	*1,778 EUR (US $2,431)/month full-time or less for part-time leave. **Leave to care for ill or disabled child. Can be extended to 52 weeks for exceptional illness.
Malaysia	100%	60 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Mexico	100%	12 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Social security/employer	
The Netherlands	100%	16 weeks	100%	2 days	-	-	70%/ variable*	10 days**	Unemployment fund/employer	*Workers taking parental leave are entitled to a tax deduction of about half the minimum wage per hour. **Leave to care for a sick close relative. Additional parental leave available, with length based on number of working hours.
New Zealand	100%	14 weeks	100%*	1-2 weeks	-	-	100%	5 days**	General taxation	*Paid if the partner transfers the statutory entitlement after taking less than 14 weeks of maternity leave. **Leave to care for ill dependant.

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**		
Nigeria	50%	12 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Norway	80%/100%	9 weeks	80%/100%	10 weeks	80%/100%	27-37 weeks for either parent	Fixed amount**	10 days***	General taxation/employer	*Depends on length of leave. **Paid at rate of sickness benefit. ***Leave to care for an ill child.
Pakistan	100%	12 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	
Poland	100%	22 weeks	100%	1 week	Fixed amount	3 years	80%	14 days*	Social insurance fund/employer	*Depends on duration of employment.
Portugal	80%/100%*	120-150 days	100%	20 days	25%	3 months**	65%	30 days***	Social security/general taxation	*Depends on leave length. **Per parent, non-transferable. ***Leave to care for an ill child.
Russia	100%	140 days	-	-	40%	18 months	Variable*	60 days	Social insurance fund/employer	*Depends on duration of employment.
Saudi Arabia	50%/100%*	10 weeks	-	1 day	-	-	-	-	Employer	*Depends on duration of employment.
Slovak Republic	55%	28 weeks	55%	22 weeks*	Fixed amount	128 weeks	-	-	Social insurance/general taxation	*For the period the mother does not take maternity leave due to illness, death or waiving her

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**		
										rights.
Slovenia	100%	15 weeks	100%/fixed amount*	13 weeks	100%	37 weeks	80%	15 days**	Social security/general taxation	*100% of wages for the first two weeks, then social security benefits. **Leave to care of an ill dependant.
South Africa	Variable*	4 months	-	-	-	-	100%	3 days**	Unemployment insurance fund/employer	*31% to 59% of earnings, depending on duration of employment and level of earnings. Available for 17 weeks. Longer for public sector workers. **Family responsibility leave. Available for bereavement of illness of family member, as well as for fathers at time of childbirth or adoption. Paid by employer.
South Korea	100%	13 weeks	-	-	Fixed amount	1 year	-	-	Employment insurance fund/employer	
Spain	100%	16 weeks	100%	15 days	-	-	100%	2-5 days**	Social security/employer	*Depends on the amount contributed to the social security scheme. **Leave for bereavement, serious

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**	**Pay**	**Duration**		
										illness or marriage.
Sri Lanka	86%/100%*	12 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	*Employees covered by the Shop and Offices Employees Act receive 100% paid maternity leave.
Sweden	80%	50 days	80%	10 days	80%	480 days*	80%	120 days**	Social insurance	*60 days for mother, 60 days for father and rest is a family entitlement. **Leave to care for an ill child.
Switzerland	80%	14 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Social insurance	
Turkey	66.6%	16 weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	Social security	
United Arab Emirates	50%/ 100%*	45 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	Employer	*100% after one year of continuous employment.
United Kingdom	90%/ Fixed amount*	52 weeks	Variable**	2/26 weeks***	-	-	-	-	Employer****	*90% for 6 weeks and then 124.88 GBP/week or 90% of weekly earnings, whichever is less. **Two weeks paid at a rate adjusted according to weekly earnings. Father receives 124.88 GBP (US $197)/week or 90% of weekly earnings, whichever is less, if caring for the child during

	Maternity Leave		Paternity Leave		Parental Leave		Additional Family Leave		Funding Sources	Comments
	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration	Pay	Duration		
										maternity leave not taken by mother. ***Up to 26 weeks to care for the child if the mother returns to work within the first year without using all of her maternity leave. ****Employer is reimbursed 92% of statutory paternity pay.

Source: Human Rights Watch (2011) *Failing its Families Lack of Paid Leave and Work-Family Supports in the US (Annexe).* Report available at http://www.hrw.org, using:
•the International Labour Organization Database of Conditions of Work and Employment Laws (http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/travmain.home) (with many entries last updated in 2009);
• the International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2010 (Peter Moss, ed.) (http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/employment-matters/docs/i/10-1157-international-review-leave-policies.pdf);
• a March 2010 OECD Gender Brief (http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/31/44720649.pdf); and
• government websites