

INEQUALITY AND GENDER:

Work-Family Reconciliation Policy
and Gender Inequality -
A Cross-National Perspective



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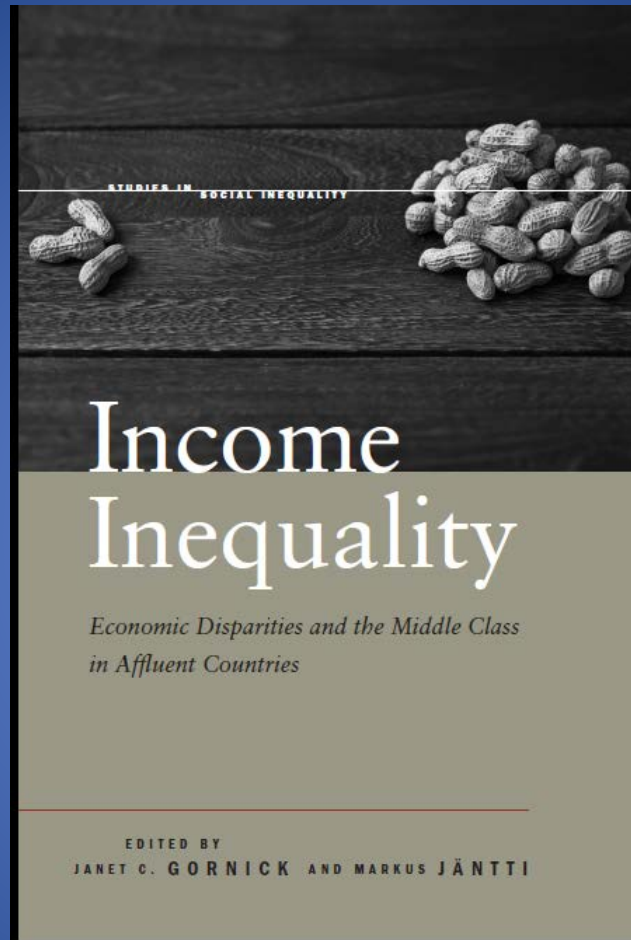


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Overview

- Contemporary gender inequality
A snapshot
- What is encompassed within “work-family reconciliation policy”?
A set of policy levers
- What is the role of the EU?
EU Directives matter
- Cross-national policy variation: what is currently provided?
Leave, working time regulations, child care;
a look at 12 EU countries and US
- What do we know (and not know) about the effects of WFR policy?
Intended consequences (economic, demographic)
Unintended consequences (new forms of gender inequality?)
- What drives US exceptionalism?

Contemporary Gender Inequality: A Snapshot

Economic Gender Gaps, and Fertility (approximately 2010)

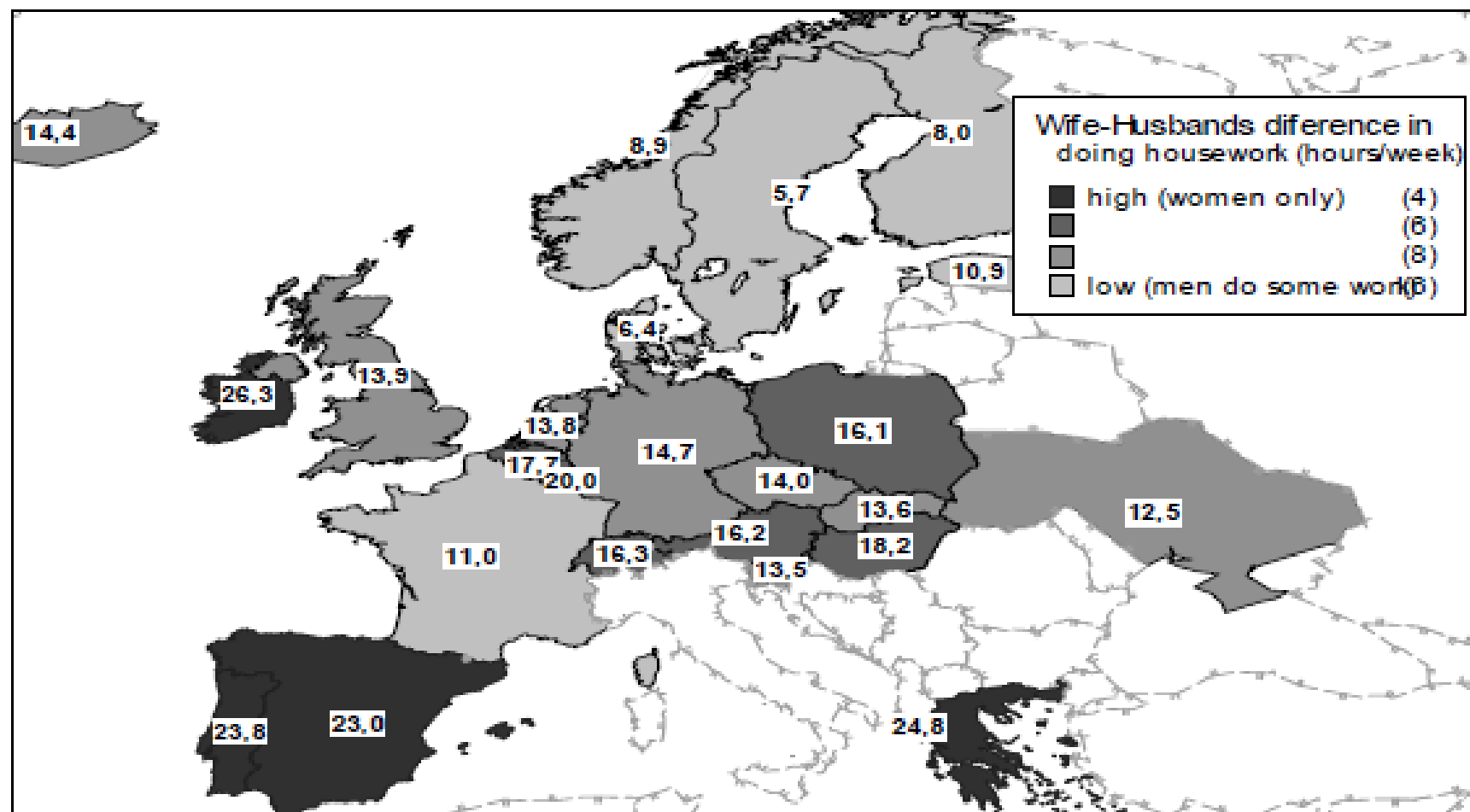
	labour force participation rate (age 15-64)			% employed working PT (< 30 hours)			hourly wages, gender gap	fertility rates
	women	men	W/M ratio	women	men	W/M ratio		
Finland	72.5	76.7	0.95	16.0	9.2	1.7	20.0	1.9
Sweden	76.7	82.2	0.93	18.8	9.7	1.9	17.1	1.9
Denmark	76.1	82.7	0.92	25.9	13.6	1.9	17.1	1.8
France	66.1	74.9	0.88	22.3	5.7	3.9	19.2	2.0
Netherlands	72.6	83.8	0.87	60.6	17.2	3.5	23.6	1.8
United States	68.4	79.6	0.86	18.4	8.8	2.1	19.4	2.0
Germany	70.8	82.4	0.86	37.9	7.9	4.8	23.2	1.4
Austria	69.3	80.9	0.86	33.0	7.0	4.7	25.5	1.4
United Kingdom	70.2	82.5	0.85	39.4	11.6	3.4	21.4	1.9
Belgium	61.8	73.4	0.84	31.7	6.7	4.7	9.0	1.8
Spain	66.8	81.9	0.82	21.7	4.9	4.4	17.1	1.4
Luxembourg	60.3	76.0	0.79	30.4	4.6	6.7	12.4	1.6
Italy	51.1	73.3	0.70	31.1	6.3	4.9	4.9	1.4
min	51.1	73.3	0.70	16.0	4.6	1.7	4.9	1.4
max	76.7	83.8	0.95	60.6	17.2	6.7	25.5	2.0
average	67.9	79.3	0.86	29.8	8.7	3.8	17.7	1.7

Table 1. Non-working fathers devote less time to childcare than working mothers in nearly all countries

Primary childcare in minutes per day for the population aged 15-64 over the period 1998-2009¹

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Working	Not working	Working	Not working
Australia ²	69	105	137	236
Belgium	28	31	58	99
Canada	59	94	97	188
Denmark	48	46	81	120
Estonia	27	35	47	108
Finland	42	43	52	106
France	26	48	62	114
Germany	37	48	66	182
Hungary	32	40	39	134
Italy	40	49	85	124
Ireland ³	69	-	150	171
Japan ³	20	-	53	154
Korea	12	13	31	89
Norway ³	46	-	67	179
Poland	40	56	67	151
Slovenia	32	27	77	80
South Africa	8	7	45	79
Spain	43	60	85	135
Sweden	55	56	82	144
United Kingdom	43	63	81	155
United States	62	95	94	155
OECD	40	51	74	144

Differences between wives and husbands in doing housework across 33 European societies




Data sources: ESS02 (2005).

HOUSEWORK'S DIVISION IN 24 EUROPEAN SOCIETIES: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON*

MĂLINA VOICU
BOGDAN VOICU
KATARINA STRAPCOVA

Work-Family Reconciliation Policy

A variety of policy levers are in place:

- 
- family leave rights & benefits (EU-mandated)
 - regulation of “standard work week”
 - entitlements to paid days off (EU-mandated)
 - part-time parity measures (EU-mandated)
 - rights to part-time and flexible schedules
 - early childhood education and care

EU Directives – set minimum standards and lead to a degree of intra-European homogeneity

- **1992 Pregnant Workers Directive:** requires 14 weeks job-protected paid maternity leave
- **1996/2010 Parental Leave Directive:** requires 4 months job-protected parental leave
- **1997 Part-Time Work Directive:** requires equal treatment for part-time workers; encourages (but does not require) options for voluntary PT work and flexible organizing of working time
- **1993/2000/2003 Working Time Directive:** requires 20 days paid annual leave; minimum rest periods; 48-hour maximum work week

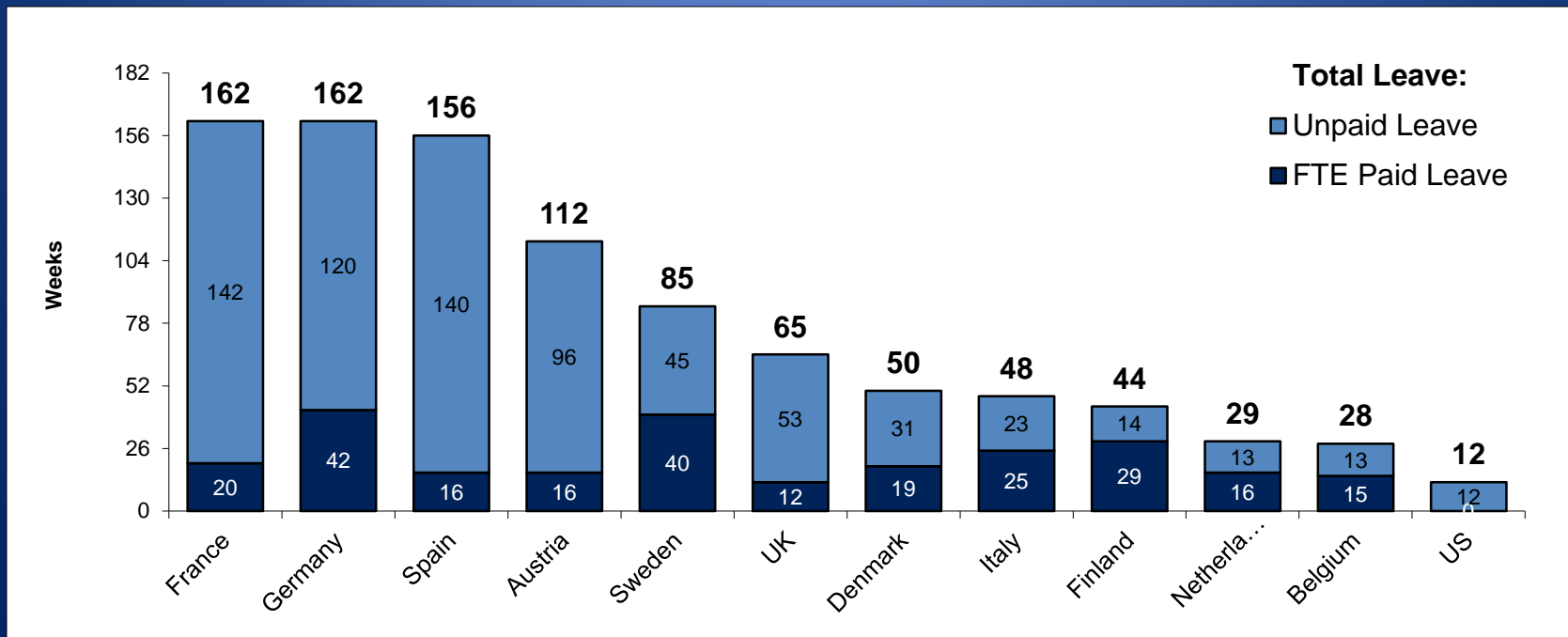
Cross-national policy variation: an overview

Leave Policy — Generosity Indicator (2009):

weeks available to mothers (unpaid, paid, total)

Source: Ray, Gornick, Schmitt (JESP 2010)

- Generosity of leave provisions varies across European countries.
- In the US, national law grants unpaid leave only; employer-provider paid leave is limited and distribution is regressive.
- **Luxembourg** provides 14 weeks unpaid leave, and 28 weeks FTE paid leave – nearly the same as Finland (RR January 2014).



Gender Equality Index: Gendered Allocation

Source: Ray, Gornick, Schmitt (JESP 2010), extension of Gornick/Meyers 2003

Table 1 Gender Equality Index: allocation of points for fathers' portion of leave

<i>Portion of a couple's leave that is reserved for the father's use</i>	<i>Portion of a couple's leave a father has if he takes his reserved leave, and all additional transferable leave</i>	<i>Resulting score</i>
0	0	0
0	Less than 16.7%	1
0	At least 16.7% but less than 33.3%	2
0	At least 33.3%	3
Less than 16.7%	Less than 16.7%	4
Less than 16.7%	At least 16.7% but less than 33.3%	5
Less than 16.7%	At least 33.3%	6
At least 16.7% but less than 33.3%	At least 16.7% but less than 33.3%	7
At least 16.7% but less than 33.3%	At least 33.3%	8
At least 33.3%	At least 33.3%	9

Gender Equality Index: Wage Replacement

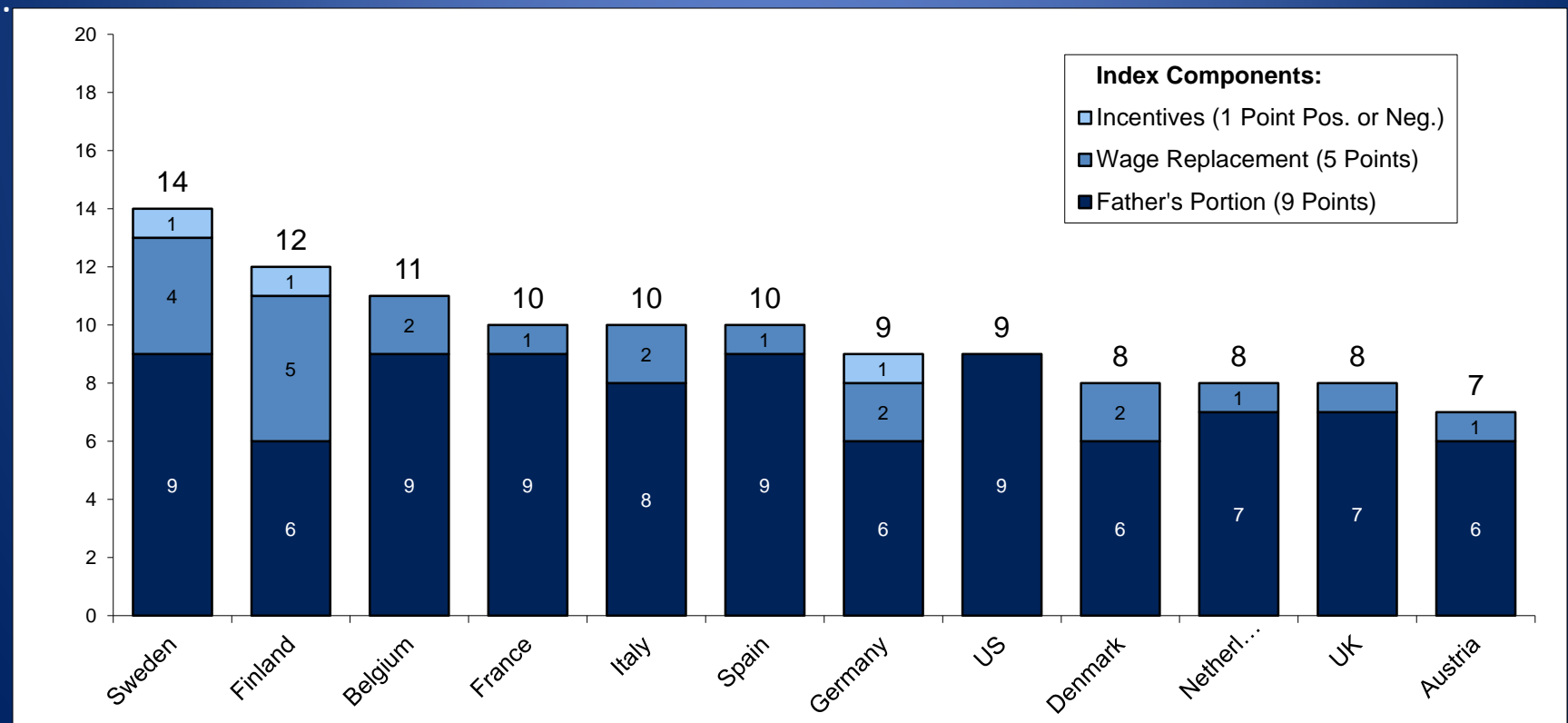
Table 2 Gender Equality Index: allocation of points for wage replacement rate during fathers' leave

<i>Average wage replacement rate during fathers' leave</i>	<i>Resulting score</i>
None: all leave for fathers is unpaid	0
Some payment but less than 16.7% of fathers' usual wages	1
At least 16.7%, but less than 33.3% of fathers' usual wages	2
At least 33.3%, but less than 50% of fathers' usual wages	3
At least 50%, but less than 66.7% of fathers' usual wages	4
At least 66.7% of fathers' usual wages	5

Leave Policy — Gender Equality Index (2009):

extent to which policy rules encourage gender-symmetrical leave-taking

- Generosity and gender-egalitarian design *are* distinct policy features.
- US leave policy is moderately gender-egalitarian; national law grants men and women identical non-transferrable entitlements.
- **Luxembourg** scores 12 points on this index. That 12 is the sum of 9 (father's portion) and 3 (wage replacement) – with the total, again, the same as Finland (RR January 2014).

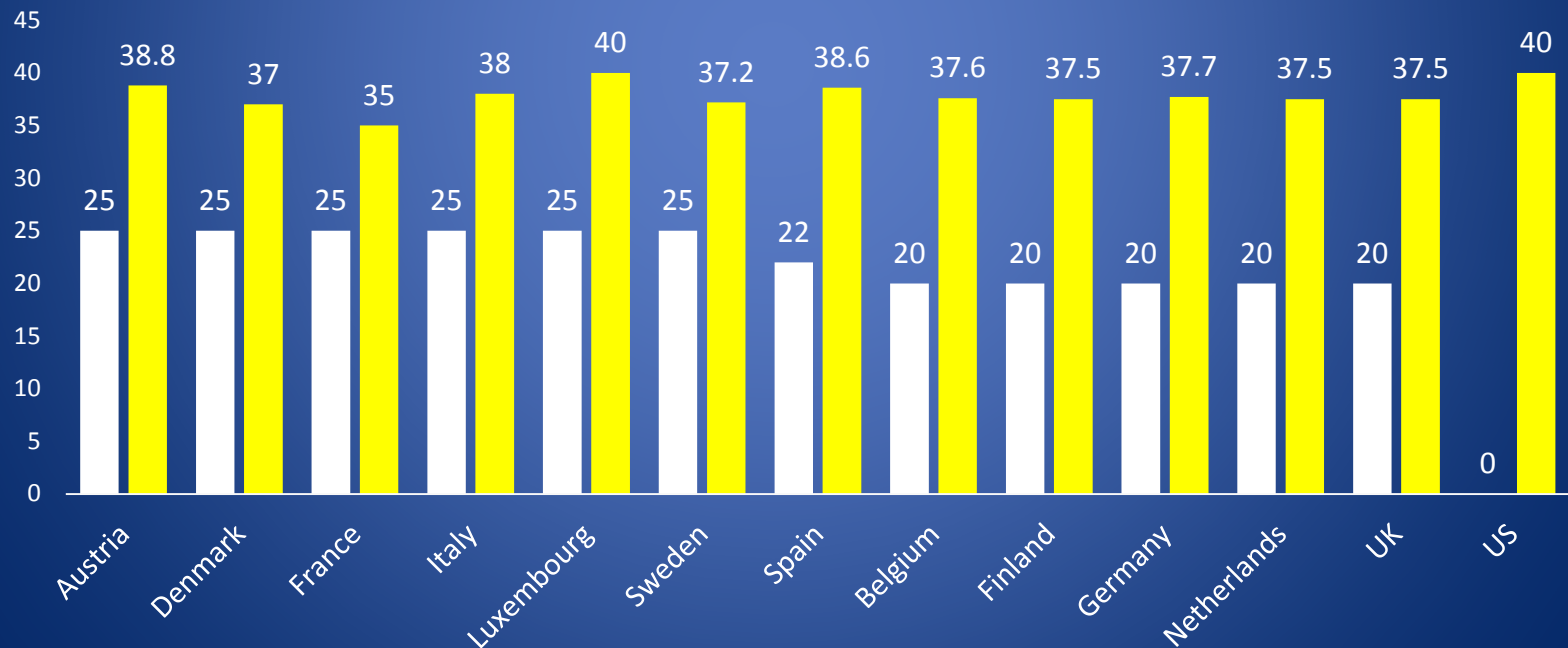


Working Time Regulation / Collective Agreements (2010):

standard work week (hours), minimum paid annual leave (days)

Source: EIRO Working Time Developments - 2010

- EU and national policies shape definition of work week and work year.
- US sets work week at 40 hours (unchanged in 70 years) and is silent on leave.



■ Statutory minimum paid annual leave (days) ■ Standard work week (hours); lesser of average collective agreement or legal threshold

Regulation of Part-Time Work - EU versus US

- The EU Part-Time Work Directive prohibits discrimination against part-time workers.
- US law offers very few protections for part-time workers.

PART-TIME WORK DIRECTIVE 97/81/EC / 15 December 1997

Clause 1: The purpose of this Framework Agreement is:

- to provide for the removal of *discrimination* against part-time workers and to improve the quality of part-time work
- to facilitate the development of part-time work on a voluntary basis and to contribute to the flexible organization of working time in a manner which takes into account the needs of employers and workers

Clause 4: Principle of *non-discrimination*:

- [P]art-time workers shall not be treated in a less favourable manner than comparable full-time workers solely because they work part time
- Where appropriate, the principle of *pro rata temporis* shall apply

Rights (to Request) to Change Work Hours (2008)

Source: Hegewisch and Gornick, 2008, *Statutory Routes to Workplace Flexibility in Cross-National Perspective*, IWPR.

- Most European countries grant parents some rights to flexible work hours.
- US law is silent on flexible scheduling.

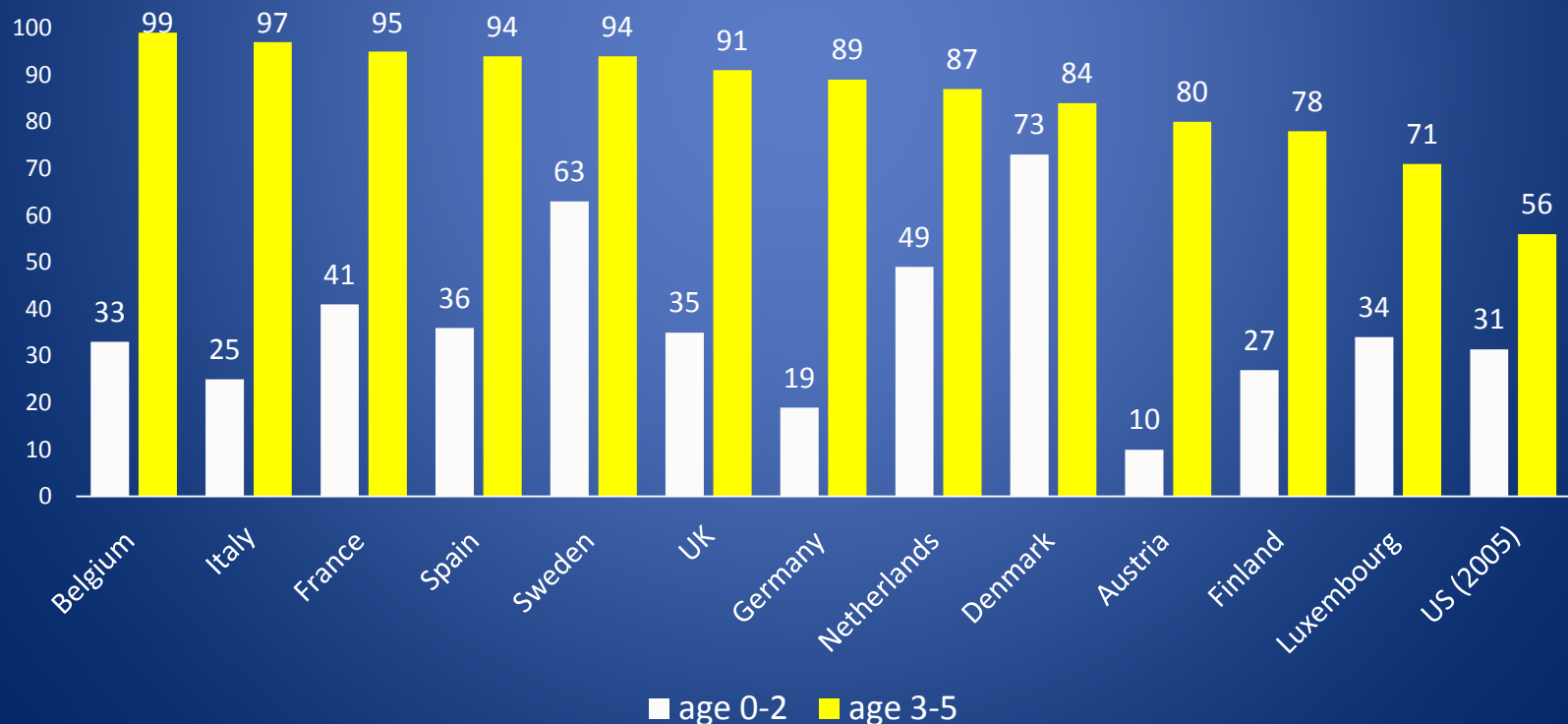
	AT	BE	DK	FI	FR	DE	IT	LU	NL	ES	SE	UK	US
Gradual return to work	√	√	√		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
Parental leave on part-time basis	√			√		√	√	√	√	√	√		
Reduced hours and other alternative work arrangements	√									√	√	√	
Refuse overtime/shift patterns										√			

Early Childhood Education and Care (2009):

% of children in *formal* care (public and private)

Source: Moss 2011

- Enrollment limited and varied for younger children; nearly universal in several countries for older children.
- The US provides especially little *publicly-supported* child care.



Policy effects:
What do we know?

Work-Family Reconciliation Policies

intended consequences (1)

- A large social science literature indicates that work-family reconciliation policy features influence several economic and demographic outcomes
(for a review, see Hegewisch and Gornick, 2011, *Community, Work, Family*)

Key findings: Leave (depending on design) and child care secure mothers' employment.

- Within Europe, some policy-outcome correlations are evident
 - Countries with the most extensive work-family reconciliation policies have the highest women's labor force participation and the highest fertility rates (e.g., France, Denmark, Sweden).
 - Poverty rates for households with children tend to be lower in countries with extensive work-family supports.

Work-Family Reconciliation Policies

intended consequences (2)

- Work-family reconciliation policy is also macroeconomic policy; policy failure has significant economic consequences.

“If countries with no paid maternity leave (such as the United States) introduce this measure at the average OECD level, they could increase multi-factor productivity by 1.1 percent in the long run.”

- Bassanini and Venn, OECD Monitor (2008)

Work-Family Reconciliation Policies

unintended consequences?

- What about unintended consequences?
 - Do (generous) work-family reconciliation policies worsen some forms of gender inequality and/or lead to new forms?
 - Specifically, do they lower the glass ceiling and/or make it more impenetrable?
 - If yes, are the effects operating on the supply side, the demand side, or both?
 - If yes, is there a tradeoff – with disadvantageous effects at the top, and advantageous effects at the bottom?

Outcomes, revisited

One recent empirical example:

Female Labor Supply: Why is the US Falling Behind?

Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Kahn

January 2013, IZA DP No. 7140

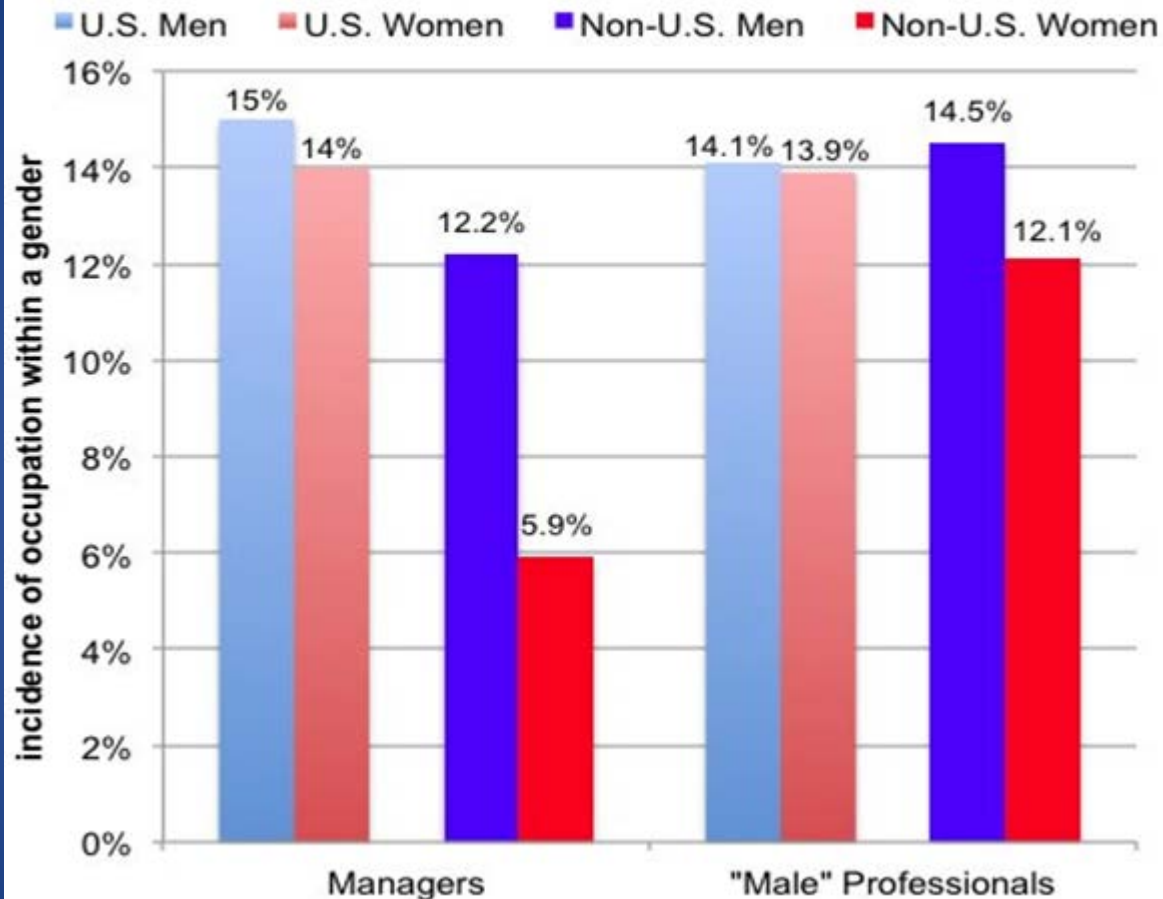
ABSTRACT:

“In 1990, the US had the sixth highest female labor participation rate among 22 OECD countries. By 2010, its rank had fallen to 17th.

We find that the expansion of ‘family-friendly’ policies including parental leave and part-time work entitlements in other OECD countries explains 28-29% of the decrease in US women’s labor force participation relative to these other countries.

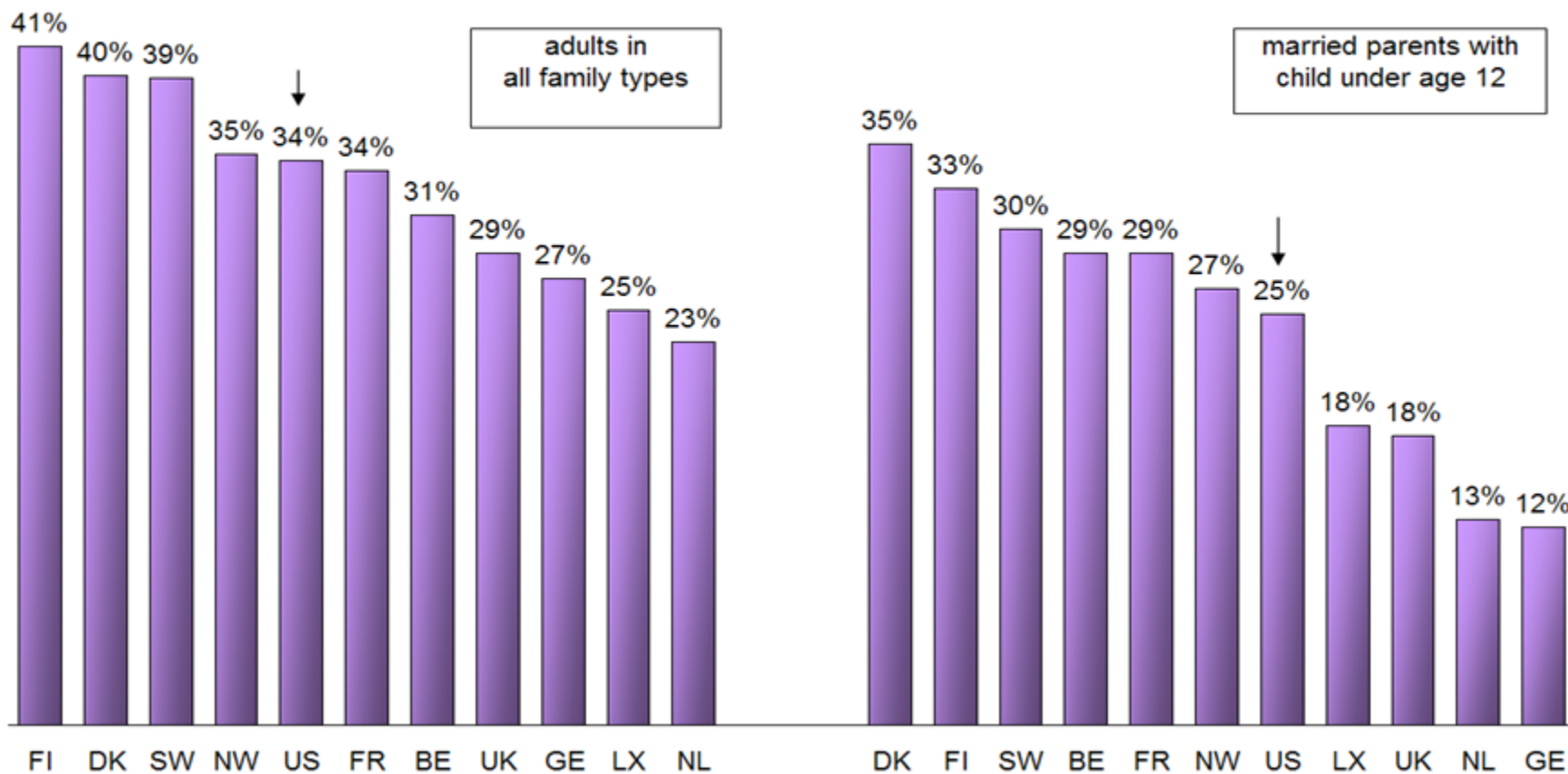
However, these policies also appear to encourage part-time work and employment in lower level positions: US women are more likely than women in other countries to have full time jobs and to work as managers or professionals.”

Incidence of Managerial and "Male" Professional Jobs, in U.S. and Average of 10 Other O.E.C.D. Countries, by Gender



Source: Blau and Kahn 2013 (data for 2009), reported by
Rampell *New York Times* (April 2, 2013).

Figure 2.
Share of Total Labor Market Earnings Taken Home By Women
in the US and Ten European Countries



Source: Gornick and Meyers, 2009, based on LIS data

What on earth is going on the US?

What is suppressing “work-family reconciliation policy” development in the US?

some thoughts

1. An unusually privatized conception of childrearing and family responsibility; “work/family conflict” generally viewed as a private issue; Folbre: “children as pets”.

EX: *EEOC v. Bloomberg LLP (2011)*: Federal judge’s ruling, after dismissing charge of unequal treatment of workers following maternity leave (quoting Jack Welch, former General Electric CEO): **“There’s no such thing as work-life balance. There are work-life choices, and you make them, and they have consequences”.**

2. “Hard work” mythicized in American political culture; calls for shorter work hours (especially among men) meet resistance from many quarters; the value of time (versus income) is rarely noted in public discourse.

What is suppressing “work-family reconciliation policy” development in the US?

some thoughts – continued

3. **Persistent ambivalence about maternal employment;** the “mommy wars” are especially intense and polarizing in the US, partly fueled by the religious right.
4. **Fertility declines not (yet) an issue in the US;** fertility remains high (why? high teen and immigrant fertility; inexpensive services available in the market; unique pattern of expectations?)
5. **Lack of awareness of policy provisions in similar countries.**