

Parental leave in Europe and social of women from the labour market

CARA RUTTEN (THE NETHERLANDS)

Utrecht University (the Netherlands)

Paper for the 2012-edition of the international (post)graduate course on Inclusion and Exclusion in Contemporary European Societies: 'Challenges of Europe, the Strength of Soft Power'.

April 16-20, 2012 | Dubrovnik (Croatia)

www.inclusionexclusion.eu

Introduction

Recent data from the European Labour Force Survey shows that in the EU-27 9,6 % of the women (aged 25-54) are inactive for personal or family reasons, whereas only 0,5 % of men give this as the main reason for being inactive. Inactivity means that these persons are not employed or unemployed. Data of the same survey also shows that women have higher inactivity rates if they are mothers of young children and that this increases if they have more than one child. Men on the other hand seem to have a lower inactivity rate (or in other words: work more) if they have a young child and their inactivity rate stays stable if there is more than one child (European Union, 2012a).

This data indicates that family responsibilities are the main reason for women to be inactive (EU, 2012a). While women seem to stay at home to take care of the children, men seem to work more. Although there are cross-national differences these patterns of increased inactivity of women and a decreased or stable inactivity of men are visible in every EU-27 country (EU, 2012a). Especially the lower labour market participation of women who are (becoming) mothers can be a problem in regard with our aging societies. Female and maternal labour market participation is important to maintain economic growth and to ensure sustainable pension and social protection systems (Organization for economic Co-operation and Development, 2007). Therefore the European 2020-strategy aims for 75% of men and women participating on the labour market (EU, 2010). Besides this, matters of gender equality are also important. The EU does not only aim for equal labour market participation between men and women, but it also aims for a balanced participation in family life (EU, 2011). Therefore member states are encouraged to develop so-called reconciliation or family-friendly policies.

Family-friendly policies are those policies that “facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life, ensure the adequacy of family resources, enhance child development, facilitate parental choice about work and care, and promote gender equity in employment opportunities” (OECD, 2007: 13). An example of such a policy is parental leave. In most European countries this refers to the leave granted to mothers and fathers for long-term care of young children after maternity or paternity leave (Ray, Gornick & Schmitt, 2008). The problem, however, is that a similar kind of pattern is visible. In general women have a larger take-up rate compared to men and therefore stay at home more often to take care of the children (EU, 2005; EU, 2009). This is contrary to the equality aims of the EU *and* the gendered division of parental leave combined with a long period of parental leave could harm women’s labour market position leading to lower employment rates and earnings. In this sense the unequal share and the length of parental leaves ‘excludes’ women from the labour market. A possible solution to this problem could be an equal take-up rate of parental leave between men and women. This would give women the opportunity to go back to work earlier and minimize the negative outcomes of a long

employment break. Therefore the question is *how (national and) EU parental leave policies can influence men's take-up rates of parental leave in order to prevent women's exclusion from the labour market.*

Take-up rates are a crucial concept in this research, but each country calculates this differently and there are many information gaps. Therefore the take-up rates are hard to compare cross-nationally (EU, 2005; Moss, 2011). There is however country specific information available. For instance in Spain they estimated that between 1995 and 2005, 96% of the parents who took parental leave were women compared to 4% men. In 2009 the percentage of men taking parental leave was still 4%. The United Kingdom (UK) also has a low take-up rate since in 2005 only 8% of the men took some parental leave (Moss, 2011). Although these countries score low on men's take-up rates of parental leave there are also countries where the take-up rates are rather high. In 1998, 90% of the Swedish men already took some parental leave (one fifth of the total days) and in Iceland fathers even took one third of the days. 91% of the fathers in Iceland took a period of leave for every 100 mothers who took some leave in 2008 (Moss, 2011). To conclude there are also some countries that have a medium take-up rate like the Netherlands and Belgium. In Belgium 27% of the parents who took parental leave in 2010 were men and in the Netherlands 19% of the fathers, who had the right to take parental leave, used it (Moss, 2011).

It is interesting to discover which policy variables could explain the differences in take-up rates between the above-mentioned countries. This could give more information about the way in which EU leave policies can contribute to women's inclusion on the labour market by encouraging men's take-up rates of parental leave. First of all, the concept social exclusion will be elaborated since some discussion arose during the course about the voluntary aspect of taking parental leave. After that a literature review will elaborate the most important variables that influence men's take up rates. In the end this paper will compare the national leave policies of the six above-mentioned countries according to a method that is inspired by Ragin (1994). To overcome the problem with the comparability of the take-up rates, the six countries are classified in three categories (high, medium and low male take-up rates).

igh	edium	ow
Sweden	Netherlands	Spain
Iceland	Belgium	United Kingdom

Figure 1: The categorisation of the six countries according to a high, medium or low male take-up rate of parental leave

Social exclusion

Social exclusion is a contested concept and there are many descriptions. Burchardt et al. (1999) examined the concept and tried to give a clear and measurable definition. They started with a definition that was suggested by one of the authors (Le Grand): “An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society and (c) he or she would like to participate” (Burchardt et al. 1999, p. 229). Although this definition is a good start the authors made some adaptations. Burchardt et al. (1999) were for example unhappy with condition b, since this implies that an individual who voluntarily withdraws his or herself from society is not socially excluded. They ask themselves the question if an “(...) apparently voluntarily act of self-exclusion is really voluntary” (p. 229). With reference to an article made by Barry (in Burchardt et al, 1999) they say that if a young person is brought up with a narrow view of the opportunities that society can offer and therefore decides that it is his/her best option to join a local gang that terrorizes the neighborhood, it can still be described as social exclusion. So although the choice was ‘voluntary’, it still can be called social exclusion. Besides that, they agree with Barry that social exclusion is not good for the wider society even if individuals prefer it.

Burchardt et al. made a distinction between ‘problematic’ social exclusion (which excludes for example the ‘voluntary’ excluded) and ‘total’ social exclusion in which all forms of social exclusion are incorporated. In their research they focus on the total social exclusion, which they define as: “An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society and (b) he or she does not participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society” (Burchardt et al. 1999, p. 230). This paper will define social exclusion in the same way, but a problem occurs if we take a look at the operationalization of ‘normal activities’. Burchardt et al (1999) operationalize this in five dimensions: consumption activity, savings activity, production activity, political activity and social activity. ‘Production activity’ is defined as “engaging in an economically or socially valued activity, such as paid work, education or training, retirement if over state pension age or looking after a family” (p. 231). So this states that having a paid job and/or caring for a family are both ‘normal activities’ and this would mean that women taking full-time care of the children wouldn’t be socially excluded. I tend to disagree because Burchardt et al. (1999) didn’t pay any attention to gender differences in ‘production activities’. As shown in the introduction a clear difference between women’s inactivity & take-up rates and men’s inactivity & take-up rates are visible. Because of these gender differences and since Burchardt et al. (1999) included the voluntarily aspect of social inclusion in their definition, you could say that women taking full-time care of their family are still socially excluded.

Literature review

Now we can proceed with a literature review. First we will pay some attention to the directives that are stated by the EU, since they have an influence on the countries in this research (except Iceland). After that, the variables that have an influence on men's take-up rates of parental leave will be elaborated.

EU directives

The EU pays attention to parental leave policies to promote gender equality and female labour market participation, but the given EU directive (2010/18/EU) leaves room for variation in national leave policies. The directive states that all workers (men and women, irrespective of their type of employment) have a right to at least four months of parental leave. Earlier it was three months, but as of March 2012 this changed to four. Since the data of the six countries (see Appendix 1) was gathered before March 2012, they had to apply to the three months of parental leave instead of the four months (except Iceland).

In principle the directive states that parents should be able to take all of their leave, so-called non-transferable rights, but it also states that each parent should at least keep one month out of the four. This suggests that transferring months is possible. Besides this, all matters of social security, income and eligibility conditions are determined by the member states itself (EU, 2012b). So parental leave policies of member states can differ and these differences in policy variables could be an explanation for the differences in men's take-up rates of parental leave.

Policy variables that have an influence on men's take-up rate of parental leave

One of the important policy variables according to the literature is the level of payment during the parental leave. There seems to be a positive correlation between the level of payment and the take-up rates of parents (EU, 2005). This means that if the level of payment is higher, parents take more parental leave. In the Eurobarometer Survey of 2004, 41.9% of men (aged above 18 years and not retired) claimed that the insufficient financial compensation during parental leave was the main reason for fathers to be discouraged to take parental leave (EU, 2009). According to this data you could say that if the level of payment is high, men probably will be taking more parental leave. In addition, the level of payment also seems to decide which parent will take the parental leave. The parent with the highest income will probably stay working (especially if the level of payment during the leave is low) and the parent with the lowest income will probably take-up the parental leave. This mechanism partly explains the gender differences in take-up rates of parental leave, since men usually have a higher income compared to women (the gender pay gap). Because of this gap women (on average) contribute less to the family income and are therefore more likely to look after their children and exit the

labour market (temporarily) compared to men (EU, 2005). On the other hand, Sundström & Duvander (2002) conclude with their research in Sweden that when fathers have relatively high earnings, the family is more able to cope with fathers taking parental leave. Nevertheless, this conclusion only applies to fathers who have an income above average, but below a certain threshold. In general their research concludes that both incomes (of fathers and mothers) have a positive effect on men's take-up rates of parental leave, but that the income of the father usually matters most (Sundström & Duvander, 2002). So hypothesis 1 is: The higher the replacement-rate (level of payment) during the parental leave, the more men take-up parental leaves.

Another policy variable that should be mentioned is the distinction between policies that grant parental leave on an individual or family basis. When parental leave is granted on a family basis, it is likely that fathers only take a small share of the parental leave (Moss, 2011). The distinction between family or individual rights is becoming more important, since this encourages men to take-up parental leave. The Nordic countries were the first to introduce so-called quotas. In 1993 Norway, for example, introduced a daddy-quota of four weeks that couldn't be transferred to the mother. Another new initiative was introduced in 2000 by Iceland. In this case each parent has an individual right of three months of parental leave that can't be transferred and three months of leave that the family can divide according to their preferences (Haas & Rostgaard, 2011). In this case a combination of individual and family rights is made. According to this literature hypothesis 2 is: If granting parental leave is done on basis of individual rights, men will take-up more parental leave.

A third variable that could be important is the flexibility of parental leave. In some countries parents are able to take-up their parental leave part-time or in different periods. More flexible arrangements might lead to more men taking parental leave, since they can stay active in the labour market. Moss (2011) elaborates different dimensions of flexibility that countries can combine:

- Leave can be taken full-time or part-time
- Leave can be taken in one block of time or in several blocks
- Leave can be taken for a shorter period with a higher benefit or for a longer period with a lower benefit
- Leave can be transferred to a non-parent
- All or a part of the leave can be taken at any time until a child reaches a certain age
- Both parents can take some leave at the same time
- Other forms of flexibility such as additional leave in case of multiple births

So hypothesis 3 is: The more flexible arrangements are possible, the more men will take-up parental leave.

Finally, there are some other incentives to encourage fathers to take-up parental leave. Sweden for example introduced a fiscal incentive that they call an 'equality bonus'. This incentive offers a tax reduction to couples that share their parental leave equally. Another measure to encourage men is the introduction of bonus weeks. Finland introduced it in 2003 and if the father would take-up the last two weeks of his leave, he would be entitled to two extra weeks of parental leave (Haas & Rostgaard, 2011). So hypothesis 4 is: If there is a fiscal incentive, men will take-up more parental leave. Hypothesis 5 has a similar structure: If there are bonus weeks, men will take-up more parental leave.

Control variables that have an influence on men's take-up rate of parental leave

Besides these policy variables two control variables are also important. The literature seems to indicate that the educational level of fathers can have some influence on the take-up rates of parental leave. Sundström & Duvander (2002) for example show with their research that, with equal wages, fathers with a higher educational level take more parental leave. A EU-rapport supports this claim and it states that this certainly seems to be true for Sweden and the Netherlands. However, in Denmark fathers with a shorter vocational training than their spouses are overrepresented in case of taking-up parental leave (EU, 2005). This situation in Denmark suggests the opposite; that men will take-up parental leave if their spouse has a higher educational level (Moss, 2011; Sundström & Duvander, 2002) and/or if their spouse earns more (Moss, 2011; Reich, 2011). Especially the last would endorse the claim about the financial variable, which suggests that the person with the lowest income is likely to take-up parental leave. However, this could be related to the educational level, since persons with a higher education often earn more (Blaug, 1972).

The above-mentioned literature suggests that especially the combination of education level and earnings are important. Reich (2011) supports this claim and she endorses that most studies show a positive effect of the high educational level and earnings of the father *and* the mother on men's take-up rate of parental leave. But, as was mentioned before, the income of the fathers seems to have a larger impact (Sundström & Duvander, 2002). So in case of the control variable 'education' we can formulate hypothesis 6: The higher the educational level of both men and women in a specific country, the more men will take-up parental leave.

Another control variable that has influence on the take-up rates is the culture in a specific country and the opinions on childrearing, gender equality etc. The EU (2005) reports that in many countries women are still expected to care for small children, irrespective of their work or income. So the traditional view that women are better able than men to care for children still seems dominant. The social role theory tries to understand these views and posits that men and women become associated with the characteristics of the roles they commonly occupy. Eagly (in Coleman & Franiuk, 2011) argues that men and women don't have these characteristics

naturally, but that the repeating pairing of women in for example the caregiver role and men in the provider role, leads to the common belief that women are more nurturing than men and that men are better suited for work outside the home. Recent research of Coleman & Franiuk (2011) shows that these stereotypes are changing. It seems that there is a more positive attitude towards men and women who take parental leave. Nevertheless, cross-national differences can be expected according to the masculinity-femininity index of Hofstede (in van der Lippe, de Ruijter, de Ruijter & Raub, 2011). This index can be described as the degree to which gender roles are present in society. In so-called 'masculine societies' the traditional roles are present, since men are required to be assertive and geared towards material success, while women should be friendly and oriented towards the quality of life. At the other extreme, so-called 'feminine societies' have overlapping social roles, which means that both men and women can be assertive/friendly or provider/caregiver. Van der Lippe, de Ruijter, de Ruijter & Raub (2011) use Hofstede's index to measure the culture in certain welfare regimes. The welfare regimes refer to the classical work of Esping-Andersen, and in their research they make a distinction between the Conservative, Liberal, Social democratic, Mediterranean and (post-)Communitic welfare regimes. The higher the score on the index (0-100), the more value is attached to typically masculine work standards and less attention is paid to a good work-life balance. The results showed that the Social democratic countries had a low (9.37) score and that these countries are therefore more 'feminine'. The Liberal and Conservative regimes scored more or less the same (55.67 and 58.36) while the Mediterranean regimes had a high score of 70. The (post-)Communitic countries scored 45.09, so they fell in between the Liberal/Conservative and the Social democratic regimes. The countries that are involved in this research can also be categorized in these regimes (the Communitic regimes are left out since non of the countries belongs to this regime). According to this literature, hypothesis 7 is: The Mediterranean regimes (Spain) will have the most traditional role patterns, thereafter the Liberal regimes (UK) and the Conservative regimes (the Netherlands & Belgium) and the Social democratic regimes (Iceland & Sweden) will have the least traditional role patterns.

Methods, Data and Results

Comparative method

As mentioned in the introduction this research will use a method that is inspired by Ragin's (1994) comparative method to study diversity. The aim of this method is to "(...) unravel the different causal conditions connected to different outcomes – causal patterns that separate cases into different subgroups" (Ragin, 1994, p. 108). Especially the possibility to link configurations of variables to the outcome variable makes this a very appropriate method for this research. However, there are only two cases/countries per outcome variable (high, medium, low male take-up rates) and therefore there aren't enough cases to fully elaborate Ragin's method. Nevertheless, Ragin's method and his comparative schemes can be useful to compare the different countries. To do so, all the policy and control variables will have to be converted to measurable indicators. Ragin (1994) uses so-called 'presence-absence dichotomies' for qualitative data. In this case a plus (+) means that the variable is present and a minus (-) means that it is absent. Ragin's schemes can also incorporate quantitative data. In this case the average of the variable will be calculated and cases with a score above this average will get a plus sign, while the cases with a score below the average will get a minus. In this research some complex variables can also get a combination of plusses and minuses (++/+-/+/--).

Operationalization

Replacement rate: The percentage of their wage that parents get when they take-up parental leave, multiplied by the weeks parents are entitled to parental leave.

Individual/family rights: Countries that only use individual rights will get a plus (+) since the literature indicates that this will have a positive effect on men's take-up rates of parental leave. Countries that use family rights will get a minus (-) and countries that make a combination of individual and family rights will get a combination (+-).

Flexibility of parental leave: In this case only the dimensions of Moss's (2011) definition that might have an effect on men's take-up rates of parental leave will be incorporated into this variable. This results in:

- Leave can be taken full-time or part-time (present/absent)
- Leave can be taken in one block of time or in several blocks (present/absent)
- Leave can be taken for a shorter period with a higher benefit or for a longer period with a lower benefit (present/absent)
- All or a part of the leave can be taken at any time until a child reaches a certain age (present/absent)
- Both parents can take some leave at the same time (present/absent)

In order to give a total score of the variable flexibility the dominant sign of the above dimensions will be given. For example if Spain scores three times a plus and two times a minus, the total score will be a plus. A separate scheme is used for this variable (See table 2 in Appendix 1).

Fiscal incentive: Is there a fiscal incentive present/absent in the country? (present/absent)

Bonus weeks: Do fathers/parents get bonus weeks if the father takes-up parental leave? (present/absent)

Educational level: The percentage of the total population (aged between 25-64) in a specific country that has completed a tertiary education.

Culture: Two questions of the European Values Study (2011) are used to measure the opinions of the population about childrearing (a) and gender equality (b). More questions could have been incorporated, but this was impossible because of time restrictions. The following questions were included:

- a. 'Fathers are well-suited for looking after children' (agree strongly - agree - disagree - strongly disagree)
- b. 'Husband and wife should both contribute to income' (agree strongly - agree - disagree - strongly disagree)

To incorporate both questions in a comparative scheme the percentages of the population that answered 'agree strongly' & 'agree' were added. If this results in a high percentage, this would indicate a more 'feminine society' according to Hofstede's definition (in van der Lippe, de Ruijter, de Ruijter & Raub, 2011). To give a total score of culture, a combination of signs will be used (++ / +- / -+ / --) and the sequence matters in this case since the first sign refers to the opinions on childrearing, while the second sign refers to the opinions on gender equality. A separate scheme is used to elaborate this variable (See table 3 in Appendix 1).

Data

In Appendix 1 the different comparative schemes are elaborated. Table 1 is the scheme where all variables are incorporated and table 2 and 3 are the separate schemes for the variable flexibility and culture. Different sources were used, such as Moss's research (2011), statistics from the OECD (2011) and some survey questions from the European Values Study (2011).

Results

This paper will not elaborate all the results related to the hypotheses, but it will give the main findings related to the variables that might explain the differences in take-up rates between the six countries. The first finding is that national parental leave policies differ a lot (See Appendix 1). For example Spain entitles each parent with 156 weeks of parental leave but this is unpaid, while Iceland gives (more or less) 13 weeks with a wage replacement of 80%. Secondly, the data-analysis showed that only a high replacement rate (the length of the leave didn't seem that

important) combined with a combination of family and individual rights (like for example in Iceland & Sweden) seemed a possible explanation for the differences in take-up rates. Nevertheless, the five policy variables combined with the two control variables didn't result in a satisfying explanation. Apparently more variables play a part in respect of men's take-up rates of parental leave. Some implications for EU- (or national) leave policies can be drawn though.

Conclusion: Implications for EU parental leave policies

The results of this research show that the replacement rates *and* the combination of individual and family rights are of importance in case of encouraging men to take-up parental leave. If these findings are kept in mind and we take a look at the EU directive 2010/18/EU, two things are clear:

1. The directive aims for non-transferable rights or individual rights, but leaves room for countries to use family rights as well.
2. All matters of income and therefore replacement rates are determined by the member states itself.

In case of the first it is clear that this doesn't need any change. According to the results of this research especially the combination of individual and family rights seems important and the EU directive indicates that there is room for such a combination. In case of the second observation an adaptation of the EU directive could be recommended. The EU directive doesn't state any replacement rate. Especially if the EU wants to promote gender equality in the labour market as well as in family life, some attention should be paid to this aspect. Perhaps a minimum replacement rate can encourage men to take-up their share. The problem is, however, what a 'good' replacement rate is. Further research could look into this and besides that, further research is needed to discover more variables that influences men's take-up rates of parental leave in order to prevent women's social exclusion from the labour market.

References

- Blaug, M. (1972). The correlation between education and earnings: What does it signify? *Higher Education*. 1(1), 53-76.
- Burchardt, T., Le Grand, J., & Piachaud, D. (1999). Social exclusion in Britain 1991-1995. *Social Policy & Administration*, 33(3), 227-244.
- Coleman, J.M., & Franiuk, R. (2011). Perceptions of mothers and fathers who take temporary work leave. *Sex Roles*. 64(5-6), 311-323.
- European Union (2005). *Reconciliation of work and private life: a comparative review of thirty European countries*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cecot.es/harmonitzacio/documentacio/estudi%20CE.pdf> on 10 December 2011.
- European Union (2009). *Reconciliation between work, private and family life in the European Union*. Retrieved from: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-78-09-908/EN/KS-78-09-908-EN.PDF on 13 December 2011.
- European Union (2010). *Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015*. Retrieved from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52010DC0491:EN:NOT> on 3 December 2011.
- European Union (2011). *Balanced participation of women and men in family and working life*. Retrieved from: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10917_en.htm on 3 December 2011.
- European Union (2012a). *Labour market participation by sex and age*. Retrieved from: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Labour_market_participation_by_sex_and_age on 3 April 2012.
- European Union (2012b). *Parental leave*. Retrieved from: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/em0031_en.htm on 18 May 2012.
- European Values Study (2011). *Online data analysis*. Retrieved from: <http://www.jdsurvey.net/evs/EVSanalyze.jsp> on 18 January 2011.
- Haas, L., & Rostgaard, T. (2011). Fathers' rights to paid parental leave in the Nordic countries: Consequences for the gendered division of leave. *Community, Work & Family*. 14(2), 177-195.
- Moss, P. (ed.) (2011). *International review of leave policies and related research 2011*. Retrieved from: http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/Complete_review_2011.pdf on 10 December 2011.

- Organization for economic Co-operation and Development (2007). *Babies and bosses: Reconciling work and family life. A synthesis of findings for OECD countries.* Retrieved from: http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/babies-and-bosses-reconciling-work-and-family-life_9789264032477-en on 10 December 2010.
- Organization for economic Co-operation and Development (2011). *Factbook 2011-2012: Economic, environmental and social statistics.* Retrieved from: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-factbook-2011-2012/education-attainment_factbook-2011-85-en on 18 January 2012.
- Ragin, C. C. (1994). *Constructing Social Research: The Unity and Diversity of Method.* Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Ray, R., Gornick, J.C., & Schmitt, J. (2008). *Parental leave policies in 21 countries: assessing generosity and gender equality.* Retrieved from: http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/parental_2008_09.pdf on 14 December 2011.
- Reich, N. (2011). Predictors of fathers' use of parental leave in Germany. *Population Review.* 50(2), 1-22.
- Sundstrom, M., & Duvander, A.E. (2002). Gender division of childcare and the sharing of parental leave among new parents in Sweden. *European Sociological Review.* 18(4), 433-447.
- Van der Lippe, T., de Ruijter, J., de Ruijter, E., & Raub, W. (2011). Persistent inequalities in time use between men and women: a detailed look at the influence of economic circumstances, policies and culture. *European Sociological Review.* 27(2), 164-179.

Appendix 1

Table 1: Comparative scheme with all the variables

	Replacement rate ¹ M = 9.55	Individual /Family Rights ²	Flexibility ²⁺³	Fiscal Incentive ²	Bonus weeks ²	Tertiary education ⁴ M = 33.1	Culture ⁵	Take-up rates
Sweden	+ (44.5: 68 weeks with 390 days 80% wage replaced and 90 days 60 euro a day)	+- (60 days per parent isn't transferable)	+	+	-	- (33%)	++	High
Iceland	+ (10.4: 13 weeks with 80% wage replaced)	+- (3 months per parent isn't transferable)	-	-	-	- (32,8%)	+-	High
Netherlands	- (0: 13 weeks but no wage replaced)	+	-	-	-	- (32,8%)	--	Medium
Belgium	- (2.4: 12 weeks with 20% wage replaced)	+	-	-	-	+ (33,4%)	+-	Medium
Spain	- (0: 156 weeks but no wage replaced)	+	+	-	-	- (29,7%)	+-	Low
UK	- (0: 13 weeks but no wage replaced)	+	-	-	-	+ (36,9%)	+-	Low

¹ EU (2009): data from the year 2007. Replacement rate = number of weeks entitled to parental leave multiplied by the percentage of wage replacement (Full Time Equivalent)

² Moss (2011)

³ See table 2

⁴ OECD (2011): data from the year 2009 or later.

⁵ See table 3

Table 2: Analysis of the variable ‘flexibility’ according to Moss (2011)

	Part-time	Several blocks of time	Short period & high wage replacement	Leave can be taken at any time	Take leave at the same time	Total score flexibility
Sweden	+	+	-	+	-	+
Iceland	-	+	-	+	-	-
Netherlands	-	+	-	-	-	-
Belgium	+	+	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	+	-	+	+	+
UK	-	-	-	+	-	-

Table 3: Analysis of the variable ‘Culture’ on basis of the European Values Study (the percentage of ‘agree strongly’ and ‘agree’ are added here)

	Childrearing M = 79.3	Gender equality M = 69.2	=	Culture
Sweden	+ (91.8%)	+ (89.3%)	=	++
Iceland	+ (84.5%)	- (63.7%)	=	+-
Netherlands	- (77.2%)	- (37.9%)	=	--
Belgium	- (76.8%)	+ (70.4%)	=	-+
Spain	- (74.2%)	+ (83.3%)	=	-+
UK	- (71.1%)	+ (70.4%)	=	-+