

Competing Powers: what matters for the timing and duration of fathers' parental leave

Merve Uzunalioglu, Marie Valentova, Margaret O'Brien, Katherine Twamley

Research question

To what extent intra-couple negotiations influence fathers' parental leave take-up duration?



What do we know about fathers' parental leave take-up?



- Fathers' parental leave take-up is higher when the leave is
 - Compensated
 - Designed as an individual entitlement
 - Non-transferable (see for example Karu & Tremblay, 2008; O'Brien, 2009)
- Father-reserved days make a difference, but the take-up remains within the limits of these days, even in pioneering countries like Sweden (Haas & Hwang, 2019) At the individual level,

one's education (esp. when higher), work experience, age, nationality, partnership status, children's sex, income

✤ At the workplace level,

the sector, workplace size, composition of the workforce (Bygren & Duvander, 2006; Kaufman & Almqvist, 2017; Lewis & Haas, 2005)

✤ At the household level,

- partner's characteristics (Duvander & Johansson, 2012; Ma, Andersen, Duvander, & Evertsson, 2019)
- More qualitatively, social norms, collegial attitudes, workplace culture (Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2007; Lewis & Haas, 2005)

What do we know about intra-couple negotiations?

- Transition to parenthood comes with new responsibilities & often **competing with existing responsibilities** → a need for (re)consideration of division of labour in the household
- With "child well-being no longer being a private matter" (O'Brien, 2009) and associated "motherhood penalty" (Budig and England, 2001) and "fatherhood premium" (Killewald, 2013) new parents are more often left to make decisions at their best interests:
 - Alturist behaviours (Becker, 1981) i) to protect the family income ii) to meet the child's care needs
- **Relative resources theory** (Blood and Wolfe, 1960): allocation of resources in the household is predominantly driven by partners' economic resources and their bargaining power is positively correlated with their economic resources (Esping-Andersen and Schmitt, 2019; Bittman et al., 2003)
- When men's bargaining power is greater the division of labour is more gendered (Breen and Prince Cook, 2005; Antman, 2014).
- Despite women's greater participation in paid labour, which stimulated the intensified negotiations around division of tasks (Kluwer et al., 2000), the convergence to a more equal division of labour within household continues to be slow (Altintas and Sullivan, 2016).
- The intra-household bargaining is a multi-faceted process not only involving the partners' relative resources, but also **extra-household resources**, such as access to services, institutional support and social norms (Agarwal, 1997).

Parental leave policy in Luxembourg

1999: introduction of parental leave policy for the first time – following European Commission Directive 96/34/EC dated 1996

✤Core characteristics:

- ✤Paid
- ✤Individual
- ✤Non-transferable
- Conditional on employment
- Equally available for those who are eligible, i.e., no sectoral segregation
- ✤Renewed for each new-born
- ✤Same-sex parents are eligible
- ♦ Self-employed parents are eligible

✤2016: parental leave reform

Parental leave policy in Luxembourg

Changes with the reform

- New modalities of use → more flexibility
- Increased compensation → from flat-rate payment to a function of previous salary*number of hours worked
- Expanded coverage period → from age 5 to 6
- Expanded eligibility → marginal part-time workers (10-20 h/w) included

Number of parental leave takers in Luxembourg (1999-2019)



Source: Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché De Luxembourg Ministère de la Famille, d l'intégration et à la Grande Région [Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region] Rapport d'activité 2019 [2019 Activity Report]

Hypotheses

- Fathers with greater economic advantage in comparison to mothers will take the leave for shorter periods
- We assume that fathers taking up the leave for shorter duration suggest lower bargaining power of mothers.
- The stronger involvement in paid labour, would potentially indicate less time allocated to care work. Similar to Kroska (2004)'s conclusions, we would expect a positive correlation between increased number of hours in mothers' paid work and their bargaining power → fathers' longer parental leave take-up



Method

- Multinomial logistic regression
- **Outcome variable:** co-residential parents' joint leave take-up decisions in 3 categories leave shared equally, mothers take longer leave than the fathers do (base), and fathers take longer leave than the mothers do
- Independent variables: parents' relative resources i) financial power ii) time in paid work
 - (Fathers' salary mothers' salary)
 - <u>(Fathers'salary+mothers'salary</u>) 1 means father is the sole income provider, 0 means they have an equal income
 - Time in paid work: both parents work for equal hours, mothers work for longer hours, fathers work for longer hours
- Other control variables: workforce composition: share of employees younger than 45, share of female employees, share of white-collar employees. Workplace characteristics: company size, activity sector. Nationality. Child's sex.

Data and sample characteristics

- IGSS data
- N = 3,030, parental leave eligible, Luxembourg-resident, co-residential parents
- Working full-time is a norm among parents (95% of fathers, 87% of mothers)
- Majority of parents work in private sector
- Half of the parents work in large-size companies
- Fathers tend to be employed in low-feminized workplaces
- 33% of fathers & 89% of mothers took parental leave
- Part-time leave take-up is more prevalent among fathers than the mothers

Couples' joint-leave take-up decisions

- In 43.88% of households were where fathers did not take any leave whereas mothers took the full-time leave
- In 14.14% of the couples, fathers were not taking the leave and mothers were on part-time leave
- 12.14% of the couples were « parental leave rich » households where both parents take full-time leave
- 8.02% where fathers take parttime leave and mothers' take fulltime leave
- 3.96% both parents take part-time leave

Leave distribution	Number of couples	%			
Leave shared equally	487	16.10%			
Mothers' leave > fathers' leave	2,142	70.83%			
Fathers' leave > mothers' leave	395	13.06%			
Total	3,024	100%			
Source: IGSS 2020. Authors' calculations.					

Relative risk ratios from multinomial logistic regressions where the base category is mothers take longer leave than fathers do

Findings

Leave shared equally Fathers' leave > mothers' leave

base: mothers' leave > fathers' leave

Fathers' nationality							

Neighbouring countries (BE-DE-FR)	1.25	1.48					
Portuguese	.93	2.06**					
Other European or non-European	1.06	1.15					
Fathers' employment sector							
Public vs. private	.67**	.61					
Fathers' relative share in the household	.4***	.27***					
income							
Fathers' employment industry							
Construction vs. public admin.	.48**	1.33					
Mothers' nationality							
Neighbouring countries (BE-DE-FR)	.73	1.99**					
Portuguese	.85	1.95**					
Other European or non-European	.9	1.59**					
Mothers' employment industry							
Finance	.60**	.97					
Catering	.53	.43**					
Reform	1.47**	.42***					
Constant	.49	.06***					
N= 3,030							
*n<0 1·**n<0 05·***n<0 001							

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.001

Source: IGSS 2020. Authors' calculations.

Note: controlled for age, nationality, employment sector, employment industry, relative income share, labour force composition of the workplace by age, sex and white-collar worker ratio, company size, all separately for fathers and mothers, child's sex, and reform.

Note: Constant (_cons) estimates baseline relative risk for each outcome.

Conclusion

- Parental leave is a two-staged decision happening under the influence of intra-household as well as extra-household factors
- Fathers' economic power in comparison to mothers' make them take the leave shorter
- Working in public sector reduces fathers' relative risk ratios in taking longer parental leave
- Economic resources happened to be playing a greater role than time resources
- The 2016 parental leave reform positively influenced fathers' leave take-up, but remains lower than mothers'



Thank you!

This research was supported by the Luxembourg National Research Fund (FNR), no. 12540500.

"The data used in the present paper were generated by the L'Inspection générale de la sécurité sociale (IGSS) and made available to the authors via the Luxembourg Microdata Platform on Labour and Social Protection managed by the L'Inspection générale de la sécurité sociale.

The results and the opinions presented in this publication should be attributed to the authors of the publication and do not reflect in any case the opinions of the L'Inspection générale de la sécurité. "







