

WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND GENDER EQUALITY: THEORY  
DEVELOPMENT, RESPONSES OF POLICY REGIMES, AND IMMIGRANTS'  
EXPERIENCES

I-Hsuan Lin

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the School of Social Work,  
Indiana University

August 2019

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty of Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Doctoral Committee

---

Margaret E. Adamek, Ph.D., Chair

---

Lynn Duggan, Ph.D.

June 21, 2019

---

Linda L. Haas, Ph.D.

---

Kathy Lay, Ph.D.

© 2019

I-Hsuan Lin

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my mom, Sheng-Yin Yang, and to my husband, Pei-Shi Lin, whose endless love and support made this adventurous journey of pursuing my Ph. D. possible.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Pursuing a Ph. D. was a long but rewarding journey. I could not have reached the finish line without the support of everyone around me during my doctoral study. I am especially grateful to all my committee members: Dr. Margaret Adamek (Chair), Dr. Lynn Duggan, Dr. Linda Haas, and Dr. Kathy Lay. The continued academic and administrative support I received from Dr. Adamek has kept me focused and on track. Her expertise in academic writing and editing helped me enhance the quality of my dissertation. Dr. Duggan challenged me with her economic perspectives, which made my research more rigorous. As my external minor advisor in Women's Studies, Dr. Haas inspired me and led me into the field of work-family research. Her thought-provoking sociology courses that I took helped me build the intellectual foundation for my dissertation studies. Dr. Lay helped me keep my heterosexual assumptions in check when writing this dissertation. Without the insightful feedback and ongoing support of my committee members, this work would not have been successfully done. I am deeply indebted to all of them for their input and advice, but all errors are now my own.

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all of my good friends, colleagues, and faculty members at IUSSW. Without their friendship and mentorship, my journey and memory of doctoral study would have been pale. My special thanks go to Dr. Hea-Won Kim, Dr. Cathy Pike, Dr. Carolyn Gentle-Genitty, Dr. Carmen Luca Sugawara, Dr. Carol Hostetter, Dr. William Barton, Dr. Robert Vernon, and Dr. David Wilkerson. Their teaching and wisdom helped me become a better social worker, researcher, and educator. Finally, I would like to thank IUSSW; its supportive environment and scholarships made this journey amazing and possible!

A final note: Chapter Three of my dissertation has been published in *Social Work & Society* (see Lin, 2018). I am grateful to the journal editors and reviewers for their valuable feedback on my work, but, again, all errors remain mine.

I-Hsuan Lin

WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT AND GENDER EQUALITY:  
THEORY DEVELOPMENT, RESPONSES OF POLICY REGIMES,  
AND IMMIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES

Working parents across countries perceive increased work-family conflict. Work-family conflict not only has detrimental effect on the well-being of individuals, families, and organizations, but also contributes to gender inequality and care crisis in society. This dissertation consists of three studies that examine work-family conflict in terms of theory, policy, and understudied populations. The first study examined theories of work-family conflict through critical realism and gender lenses. Based on an in-depth critique of current theoretical and empirical evidence, an integrated-theoretical framework informed by role theory, gendered organization theory, and the ecology of the gendered life course approach was developed.

The second study comparatively ranked OECD countries' statutory policies of parental leave, early childhood education and care, and flexible work arrangements, in terms of their levels of supportiveness and gender equality based on the Supportiveness Index and Gender Equality Index. Among 33 countries, Sweden ranks 1<sup>st</sup> based on both indices, while the United States ranks 30<sup>th</sup> for Supportiveness and 29<sup>th</sup> for Gender Equality. Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey rank last for both indices. A new typology of four policy regimes was further constructed based on a care-employment analytic framework using secondary qualitative and quantitative data. This new set of regime types represents countries' varied abilities to help parents reconcile work and family demands, while promoting gender equality.

The third study is a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S. Four categories of factors associated with immigrants' work-family conflict were identified: 1) work-domain factors, 2) family-domain factors, 3) health outcomes, and 4) immigration, acculturation, and gender roles. Job demands are positively associated with work-family conflict, while having job control and job support are negatively associated with work-family conflict. More domestic work demands and economic responsibilities in the family domain have contributed to work-family conflict, whereas having domestic support for childcare and housework has mitigated it. Work-family conflict has contributed to deteriorating physical and mental health outcomes among immigrants. Finally, this study revealed that immigration *per se* has uniquely shaped immigrants' work-family interactions. Social work implications of the three studies were discussed to better address work-family conflict and related gender inequality.

Margaret E. Adamek, Ph.D, Chair



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	xiii
List of Figures.....	xiv
Chapter One Introduction.....	1
Significance of Researching Work-Family Conflict and Gender.....	1
Historical and Current Context: Work, Family, and Gender.....	6
Origins and persistent influence of the separation of work and family.....	7
Women entering the labor market and changed family structure.....	10
Intensive parenting and the gender gap in caregiving.....	14
Changed and unchanged nature of work.....	18
Employers' and governments' responses.....	21
Work-Family Conflict in the Context of Work-Family Interface Research.....	23
Definition of work-family conflict.....	25
Work-family conflict and gender.....	27
Gaps in Literature.....	28
The Current Research.....	31
Epistemological stance of the researcher.....	31
Description of the three related studies.....	38
Logical connection between chapters.....	41
Ethical considerations.....	42
Contributions.....	43
Chapter Two Critical Realist View of Work-Family Conflict Through a Gender Lens: An Integrated Theoretical Framework.....	44

Methods.....	47
Critical Realism With a Gender Lens.....	48
A Critical Realist Critique of Work-family Conflict Theories Through a Gender Lens.....	52
Critique of role theory.....	52
Critique of gendered organization theory.....	55
Critique of ecology of the gendered life course approach.....	58
A comparison of three theories.....	63
Holistic View of Work-family Conflict: An Integrated Theoretical Framework.....	65
Implications and Discussion.....	68
Chapter Three Ranking Work-Family Policies Across OECD Countries:	
Implications for Work-Family Conflict and Gender Equality.....	72
Background.....	72
Previous efforts to compare and typologize work-family policies and gaps.....	74
The current research.....	79
Methods.....	82
Countries of comparison, policies, procedure, and sources of data.....	82
Measures.....	83
Results.....	98
Ranking OECD countries: Supportiveness level and gender equality.....	98
Reconciling care and employment: A typology of policy regimes.....	103
Discussion and Implications.....	120

Chapter Four Immigrants’ Experiences of Work-Family Conflict in the U.S.:	
A Systematic Review.....	130
Background and Objectives.....	130
Method.....	134
Search strategy and process.....	134
Overview of literature included.....	137
Data synthesis method.....	137
Results.....	137
Work domain factors of work-family conflict.....	140
Family domain factors of work-family conflict.....	142
Health outcomes of work-family conflict.....	143
Immigration, acculturation, and gender roles.....	144
Discussion.....	147
Chapter Five Conclusion.....	154
Implications for Research.....	157
Implications for Practice and Policy.....	160
Implications for Education.....	163
Appendices.....	166
Appendix A: Parental Leave Policy Across OECD Countries.....	166
Appendix B: Typology of Early Childhood Education and Care Services across OECD.....	212
Appendix C: ECEC Entitlement, Children’s Age, and Its Coordination with Parental Leave across OECD Countries.....	214

Appendix D: Flexibility Statute/Policy across OECD Countries.....	216
Appendix E: List of Included Articles on Work-Family Conflict.....	229
References.....	230
Curriculum Vitae	

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Comparisons of Three Theories Used to Explain Gendered Work-Family Conflict.....	64
Table 2 Indicators and Scale of Supportiveness Index and Gender Equality Index.....	90
Table 3 Typology of Policy Regimes and Regimes' Characteristics of Policy Designs and Caregiving and Employment Patterns/Outcomes.....	96
Table 4 Comparison of Three Typologies.....	122
Table 5 Empirical Studies of Work-Family Conflict Among Immigrants in the U.S., 2000-2018 (n=6).....	138

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Integrated-theoretical framework for studying work-family conflict.....	67
Figure 2. Supportiveness Index results.....	100
Figure 3. Gender Equality Index results.....	101
Figure 4. Flow chart of literature search and selection process.....	136

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **Significance of Researching Work-Family Conflict and Gender**

Work<sup>1</sup> and family are two important aspects of life that bring people enjoyment, a sense of accomplishment, and identities. However, increasingly demanding work and family life contribute to workers' work-family conflict on a regular basis (Lenhoff & Bell, 2002; Williams & Boushey, 2010). Working parents with young children perhaps struggle the most to reconcile work and family responsibilities (Ruhm, 2011) due to heightened time pressures and related stress (Heymann, Earle, & Hanchate, 2004; Offer & Schneider, 2011). According to the National Sleep Foundation (2002, as cited in MacDermid & Harvey, 2006), the average adult is awake for 6,192 out of 8,760 hours in a year. Working parents devote around 76% of their waking time to paid work, housework, and childcare (MacDermid & Harvey, 2006). Specifically, the American Time Use Surveys from 2003 to 2011 (Parker & Wang, 2013) show that on average, American dual-income couples spent 117 hours a week on paid work, housework, and childcare combined. Recent studies further reveal that the amount of time American parents spent on paid work, childcare, and housework combined has increased about 7 to 10 hours per week between 1965 and 2011 (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milke, 2006; Parker & Wang, 2013).

In the face of increasing demands of work and family domains, more than half of American working parents with children under age 18 in two nationally representative

---

<sup>1</sup> The value of unpaid work, including care work and housework usually conducted by women in families, is recognized and valued equally to paid work. For the sake of simplicity, however, the term 'work' in this dissertation is used to refer to paid work (i.e., employment), unless specified otherwise.

surveys find it difficult to juggle work and family life (Parker & Wang, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2015). The phenomenon is not unique to the U.S. Many working families in industrial and post-industrial countries have suffered from increasing work-family conflict<sup>2</sup> (Hassan, Dollard, & Winefield, 2010; Kaufman, 2013; Kelly, Moen, & Tranby, 2011; Moe & Shandy, 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007, 2013; Rhona Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher, & Pruitt, 2002; Sweet, 2014).

Work-family conflict has “dysfunctional and socially costly effects on individual work life, home life, and general well-being and health” (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000, p. 301). The negative consequences include, but are not limited to, lower marital and family satisfaction, lower life satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, poor physical and psychological health, lower organizational commitment, lower job satisfaction, higher work absenteeism, tardiness, and greater intentions to turnover (Allen et al., 2000; Frone, 2000; Maertz & Boyar, 2011). Work-family conflict not only affects individual well-being but also influences society as a whole, in terms of gender equality, children’s well-being, and business productivity, and hence, a country’s long-term economic development (Anxo et al., 2011; Cha, 2010; Cooklin et al., 2015; Madowitz, Rowell, & Hamm, 2016; Meurs, Breaux, & Perrewé, 2008).

Work-family conflict is traditionally framed as a women’s issue (Cha, 2010; Offer & Schneider, 2011). Research, however, suggests that work-family conflict is not merely a women’s problem. Both men and women experience work-family conflict (Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2007, 2011; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Fox,

---

<sup>2</sup> Since work-family conflict is experienced by parents across the globe, an international perspective is adopted, with a U.S. focus, to examine work-family conflict in this dissertation.



Fonseca, & Bao, 2011; Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2010; Premeaux, Adkins, & Mossholder, 2007), though they experience it differently (Byron, 2005) resulting from the influence of gender norms and solutions likely selected based on those norms. The most encountered conflict is between work demands and childcare needs. Research has found that finding stable childcare arrangements remains difficult for American working parents, particularly for low-income parents who often work variable shifts and have to patch together childcare arrangements (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; DeBord, Canu, & Kerpelman, 2000; Walker & Reschke, 2004; Williams & Boushey, 2010). Individuals and families hence adopt various adaptive strategies to cope with or address work-family conflict, including one partner exiting the workforce, one partner reducing work hours, or couples working different shifts (Sweet, 2014; Webber & Williams, 2008; Williams & Boushey, 2010). Those strategies often reinforce gender inequality because women, especially mothers, who traditionally are assigned to shoulder most family responsibilities, are more likely to scale back at work or quit their jobs altogether (Anxo et al., 2011; Cha, 2010; Chou, Fosh, & Foster, 2005; Kelly et al., 2011; Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; Stone, 2007; Webber & Williams, 2008; Yi & Chien, 2002).

Although progress has been made in promoting more equal share of labor in both work and family domains, the gender gap in employment outcomes and caregiving remains. According to the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014b), in 2013, among mothers with children under the age of six, around 36.1% were not in the labor force; another 42% were working full-time, and 16.1% were working part-time.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Part-time is defined as usually working less than 35 hours per week at all jobs (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014b).

By contrast, during the same period of time, only 6.1% of fathers with children under the age of six were not in the labor force and only 5% were working part-time. This gender gap has not changed since 2004 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2006, as cited in Webber & Williams, 2008) and represents a persistent gendered division of labor, which indicates women's, especially mothers', disadvantaged economic status, a sign of gender inequality.

Gender gaps in labor force participation and hours worked exist not only in the U.S. but also across nations (Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d). As Bowen (2000) argues, as a group, women, in terms of career success and psychological well-being in the work realm, are still negatively affected by persistent traditional expectations of their caregiver role and by a lack of support on both the work and home fronts, even in dual-career families where both husband and wife have high-status jobs. Women's interrupted career or employment has a negative impact on their short-and long-term economic security (Looze, 2015; Madowitz et al., 2016; Parker, 2015). On the other hand, men are still expected to be the primary breadwinners and are often discouraged from taking a more active role in caregiving (Bailyn, Rapoport, & Fletcher, 2000; Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998; Kaufman, 2013; Squirchuk & Bourke, 2000; Williams, Alon, & Bornstein, 2006). In other words, although both men and women experience work-family conflict, "women are unfairly constrained in their ability to achieve in the workplace, and men are unfairly constrained in their ability to achieve in the family" (Bailyn et al., 2000, p. 171). Work-family conflict is not only a health issue or an organizational management issue, but also a gender and gender equality issue. Therefore,

fundamentally addressing work-family conflict needs to and helps address gender inequality in the workplace and in the home (S. Lewis, 2000).

Work-family conflict may also negatively affect children's well-being through lower quality parenting behavior, higher family stress, less family satisfaction and so forth (Allen et al., 2000; Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011; Cooklin et al., 2015). Related gender inequality in employment and caregiving also has implications for children's well-being. Studies have found that maternal employment has positive effects on children's well-being, especially in low-income families, through increased income, improved home environments, and established stable routines that benefit children (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Esping-Andersen, 2009). Hence, mothers leaving the labor force due to work-family conflict may negatively affect children's well-being. Research evidence also suggests the positive influence of father's involvement in children's early years of life on their later emotional, cognitive, and social well-being (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000; O'Brien, Brandth, & Kvande, 2007). Work-family conflict and the emphasis on fathers' breadwinner role may hinder fathers' active involvement in caregiving and in turn negatively influences children's development. Thus, addressing work-family conflict and the resulting gender inequality may contribute to children's well-being.

On the work front, how to help workers integrate competing demands from work with family domains has also concerned current work organizations. Since research has found that work-family conflict has negative effects on employees' work outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction, performance, organizational commitment, absenteeism, intention to quit, and so forth) (MacDermid, 2005), it is important for organizations to understand and

address work-family conflict to retain competent employees (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000; MacDermid, 2005; Meurs et al., 2008) and ensure productivity (Hammonds, 1996, as cited in Bowen, 2000; Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; MacDermid, 2005; Meurs et al., 2008).

According to the social work Code of Ethics (National Association of Social Workers [NASW], 2008), the primary mission of the social work profession is to “enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people,” and the defining feature of the profession is its focus on “individual well-being in a social context and the well-being of society” (p. 1). Therefore, it is imperative for social work researchers and practitioners to study work-family conflict as it concerns the well-being of workers, their families, organizations, and society. In addition, as discussed above, gender still functions as a stratification system that constrains women’s participation in paid work and men’s participation in unpaid family work, which not only results in gender inequality but also affects how men and women experience work-family conflict. Given that gender equality and work-family conflict are interwoven, and that social workers should promote social justice and prevent or eliminate any oppression based on sex and gender (NASW 2008), it is important to incorporate gender into the discussion of work-family conflict. The next section briefly explores the historical roots that set the gendered foundation of work-family conflict and the current trends that accentuate it.

### **Historical and Current Context: Work, Family, and Gender**

The work-family interface is not gender-neutral. In fact, work-family conflict is gender-related, derived from traditional beliefs and the practice of dividing work and family spheres into a gendered division of labor. Trends in work, family, and gender

roles make reconciling work and family demands more challenging for many individuals and families not only in American society but also in other developed and developing countries around the world (Amstad et al., 2011; Beneria, 2010; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Meurs et al., 2008; Williams & Boushey, 2010). Historical roots and current trends that have fueled work-family conflict and have gender implications are discussed in this section, including separate spheres of work and family, female participation in the labor force, changing family structures, intensive parenting norms, gender gaps in caregiving, the changing and unchanged nature of work, as well as employers' and government responses.

**Origins and persistent influence of the separation of work and family.** Work-family conflict has its root in the historical separation between work and family and the resulting gendered division of labor. Work and family domains were traditionally regarded as separate spheres (Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Gerson, 2004; Kerber, 1988) with men's focus on paid work and women's on unpaid domestic work. Researchers have documented that due to the influence of the assumption of separate spheres, paid work in many organizations is structured as if their employees do not have any responsibility outside of work (S. Lewis, Gambles, & Rapoport, 2007; M. W. Sallee, 2012; Williams, 2000), which makes reconciling work and family demands difficult for many workers, especially working parents. Additionally, because family work to some extent is still considered as women's realm, work-family conflict has been regarded historically as a women's issue (Moen, 2011), although studies (Eby et al., 2005; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010; Premeaux et al., 2007) have demonstrated that men experience work-family conflict as well. To better understand work-family conflict and related gender-equality

issues, this subsection briefly explores the history and the evolution of separate spheres of work and family.

In the pre-industrial era, the family was the dominant economic unit and production was the major function of the family (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2014; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Although, due to presumed biological differences, men and women performed different tasks, both of them held the same economic role, i.e. producer. Both parents worked long hours side by side. For both men and women, childrearing was a secondary activity that was integrated into daily life. Children also provided labor to support the family economy (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau et al., 2014; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). In other words, the work and family were interwoven rather than separated; the division of labor between men and women was often not rigid during this era.

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the course of 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, industrialization occurred in Western societies and a few Eastern countries. During the industrial age, along with the development and the pervasion of machinery and factories, social norms that support separate spheres became more clearly defined and prescriptive (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau et al., 2014; Kerber, 1988; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Mass-produced, machine-made goods replaced artisan and home production. More and more people, including men, women, and children, relied on wages for their survival. The work conducted in the family became increasingly invisible in economic models. The productive activities continually conducted in households, such as shopping, planning, meals preparation, cleaning, and so on, came to be regarded as unproductive (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau et al., 2014; Kerber, 1988). Households were conceptualized as sites of consumption

instead of production (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau et al., 2014; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Hence, commodity production and consumption were gradually separated in time and space.

At the same time, according to Barker and Feiner (2009), Kerber (1988) and Rhona Rapoport et al. (2002), the ‘cult of domesticity’ and the ‘cult of true womanhood’ that developed out of the life experience of white, middle-and upper-class women increasingly became norms that emphasized the role of raising a family and of motherhood in women’s lives. Raising and nurturing children became the central component of an “ideal mother’s domestic responsibilities” (Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002, p. 26). Accordingly, the work sphere was gradually considered as men’s world and the family as women’s. Although young, unmarried women usually worked in the new factories to supplement the family income, once married they generally left their jobs to look after their own households (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau et al., 2014; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Therefore, the men-breadwinner and women-housewife family model was believed the ideal family type, at least in theory, during this age. Historically, however, this ideal family model was never completely achieved. Rather, this model was mainly practiced in late-nineteenth-century white middle-and upper-class families and families in the aftermath of the Great Depression and World War II (WWII) (Albelda, 2001; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Working class women including mothers, mostly immigrants and African Americans, have always worked for pay to some extent (Barker & Feiner, 2009; Blau et al., 2014; Goldin, 1990; Kerber, 1988; J. Lewis, 1992; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Nevertheless, since then the assumptions about separate work and

family spheres and hence the divided roles of men and women have been established and persisted.

Orthner and Bowen (1990) argued that since the implementation of the New Deal, the practice of separate work and family life in the workplace has been reinforced as employers adopted a more rational and bureaucratic management ethic. Based on this new organizational ethic of separate spheres, family demands have become subordinated to work demands, and work organizations have operated to minimize the potential intrusion of family life into the workplace (Aldous, 1969). The belief and practice of separate spheres developed in the workplace and in the larger society and hence contribute to and perpetuate the division of labor between men and women (Kanter, 1977, as cited in Bowen, 2000) and set the foundation for work-family conflict.

The accumulated knowledge about the work-family interface shows that work and family life have never been completely separate; instead, they are actually interdependent and interactive. The complete separation of work and family is a myth that has been eroding (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). However, the structure, practices and culture of work organizations created based on the assumption of separate spheres of work and family and the gendered division of labor that was rooted in this assumption remain (J. Lewis, 1992, 1997). The persistent separate-sphere assumption and gendered division of labor along with the trends discussed below constitute the context for understanding work-family conflict and relevant gender equality issues.

**Women entering the labor market and changed family structure.** Women's participation in the labor market has challenged the assumption and practice of separation of work and family domains and also brought work and family issues to the fore



(Whitehead, 2008). The resulting societal transition to a dual-earner family type and gradually diverse family formation highlight the difficulty of reconciling work and family responsibilities many individuals and families have experienced.

Due to the combination of economic, social, and technological factors (e.g., the development and expansion of the service sector, feminization of jobs in manufacturing, increase in women's educational levels, invention of contraception and hence decreased fertility rates, the women's movement and resulting more egalitarian gender ideology), women in industrialized and developed countries have entered the labor market in great numbers since the 1960s (Albelda, 2001; Beneria, 2010; Goldin, 1990; Hill, Yang, Hawkins, & Ferris, 2004; U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014c; Yeandle, 2001). In the U.S., while working mothers were more common at the turn of the 20th century than during the 1950s partly because of the influence of domesticity ideology, marriage bars<sup>4</sup>, and the family wage (Albelda, 2001; Barker & Feiner, 2009; Goldin, 1990), many mothers have always held jobs or engaged in income-generating activities (Albelda, 2001). An exception would be the aftermath of the Great Depression (Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002) and a short period of time following WWII when the family size increased with the postwar baby boom and when most men earned a family wage sufficient to ensure that their wives did not have to be employed. The family wage mainly resulted from the efforts of male-dominated working-class organizations and upper-class reformers since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and from industrial unionization in the

---

<sup>4</sup> Marriage bars were policies took up by firms and local school boards in Western countries, including the U.S., throughout the 1900s to restrict the employment of married women. Specifically, these policies were used to terminate the employment of women when they got married and to prevent hiring married women. In the U.S., marriage bars were not banned by law until 1964 when Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted to prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin (Goldin, 1990).

early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Albelda, 2001; Barker & Feiner, 2009; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Since the 1950s, women have increasingly entered the labor market and reached the peak of labor force participation rate, 60 %, by 1999. Although since then the participation among women has slightly declined, it still remains relatively high by historical standards, especially among mothers (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014c). In 2013, among American women age 16 and older, the total average labor force participation rate was 57.4 %, with the highest rate of 64.7% for divorced women and the highest rate among races of 59.5 for African American women. Among mothers with children under 18 years old, the participation rate was 70.3%, with the highest rate of 74.8% for mothers of children age 6 to 17 and the lowest rate of 62.1% for mothers with children under 3 (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014d).

Similar patterns have occurred in other western industrialized countries, including Canada, the UK, Australia, and Sweden (Bjornberg, 2000; Brannen, 2000; Glezer & Wolcott, 2000; Haas & Hwang, 2000; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f). In order to promote economic growth, the European Council in 2000 set out the Lisbon Agenda with a target of increasing female labor force participation across Europe to 60% or more by 2010 (Naumann, McLean, Koslowski, Tisdall, & Lloyd, 2013). Although recent evidence shows that the EU did not reach this target (the labor force participation rate for 15-year-old and older women in the EU was 50 % in 2013), women's labor force participation across Europe has indeed slowly increased (up from 45% in 2000) (World Bank, 2014). In fact, some member states, including Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and the UK, had already

met this target by the end of 2000 (Haas, 2003) and many even had a labor force participation rate above 70% in 2013 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014d). Eastern industrialized countries, such as Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore, also have increasing or relatively high female labor force participation rates (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (Taiwan), 2015; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014d; World Bank, 2015). With the development of economic globalization, this trend has spread globally to newly industrialized and developing countries (Beneria, 2010; Heymann et al., 2004; Hill et al., 2004).

This dramatically increased participation of women, especially mothers, in the labor force has changed gender role expectations, family life and structure, and the workplace (Whitehead, 2008). The dominant family model has transitioned from a men-breadwinner and women-homemaker model to less traditional models. The number of dual-earner families has increased across countries. In fact, many families in industrialized countries today are dual-earner families, where both partners work full-time in the labor market even when they have children (Bjornberg, 2000; Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Brannen, 2000; Glezer & Wolcott, 2000; Haas, Hwang, & Russell, 2000a; Hassan et al., 2010; Meurs et al., 2008; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014e; Whitehead, 2008). The U.S. is no exception. According to the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014a), 54% of married couples with children under 6 years old in 2013 were dual earners. The number of dual-earner families is likely to continually increase, since given the aforementioned trends, it is reasonable to assume that in the foreseeable future female labor force participation

around the world is likely to stay high or increase while men's labor force participation will remain high. Additionally, it is also because two incomes are necessary for many families nowadays (Whitehead, 2008).

The resulting convergence of roles and activities conducted by men and women in terms of paid work (Beneria, 2010; Yeandle, 2001) has implications for work-family conflict. Since both parents are now employed, it becomes more difficult for working parents and families to reconcile demands from work and family. At the same time, other types of families, including single-parent and same-sex families, have also been increasing (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Hill et al., 2004; Meurs et al., 2008; Sawyer, 2012; Schultheiss, 2006; Whitehead, 2008; Yeandle, 2001), which adds a new dynamic to the phenomenon of work-family interaction. On the other hand, the convergence of caregiving roles conducted by men and women in terms of childcare and housework has stalled, which contributes to the gender gap in labor market outcomes (e.g., labor force participation and employment rates, earnings, promotion, etc.) and experienced work-family conflict levels. This issue is discussed in the next subsection.

**Intensive parenting and the gender gap in caregiving.** Increased demands at home, including childcare, elder care and housework, as well as changing gender norms and the persistent gender gap in caregiving have been documented. These trends set the context for understanding work-family interaction and work-family conflict.

Research has found that nowadays parents, both mothers and fathers, spend more time with their children than parents did in the "family-oriented" 1960s (Offer & Schneider, 2011; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; Whitehead, 2008). In order to

promote children's development, parents, especially mothers, engage in highly active and intensive childrearing practices that are time-and energy-consuming. Hence, parenting has become more demanding (Offer & Schneider, 2011; Sayer et al., 2004). This phenomenon has been named as intensive parenting or intensive mothering (Hay, 1998, as cited in Cha, 2010; Gerson, 2004; Offer & Schneider, 2011). This intensive parenting has become a synonym for ideal parenting, involving constant availability and intensive involvement in children's various activities, which parents are encouraged or even feel forced to follow (Hays, 1998, as cited in Cha, 2010). Although ideal parenting still predominantly takes the form of intensive mothering, expectations that fathers also have to invest considerable time and energy in children have grown (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Pleck, 1997, as cited in Marsiglio et al., 2000; O'Brien et al., 2007; Ranson, 2012; Sayer et al., 2004; Whitehead, 2008). Factually, the ideal of involved fathering in which fathers become more intimately engaged in the daily care of their children has emerged since the 1970s (Pleck, 1997, as cited in Marsiglio et al., 2000; Sayer et al., 2004). Therefore, in order to live up to the current standards of appropriate parenting, both mothers and fathers across industrialized countries have to allocate a great amount of time to care for their children, which will inevitably squeeze the amount of available time and energy parents have for other demands or needs. To reconcile increased demands in both work and family domains, as an accommodation, mothers have decreased the amount of time they spend on housework and cut down on their own leisure time, while fathers also cut down on the time they spend on free-time activities (Brannen, 2000; Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000). Hence, it is logical to argue that the newly developed norm of intensive parenting has added additional stress and time demands to the already hectic

lives many families have, which in turn may increase the amount of work-family conflict they experience.

Although gender norms in caregiving have gradually changed in that fathers now are expected to invest more in the care of their children, mothers are still considered as the primary caregivers even though they now have jobs. As Sayer et al. (2004) argued, the breadwinner role has been incorporated into the motherhood ideal but mothers have not been released from the norms that they will need to devote substantial, if not all of their time and energy to hands-on caregiving and housework. Although research has documented a decreased gender gap in housework as a result of women's reduced time along with men's increased time in doing these activities (Bianchi et al., 2006), American data show that mothers still spend ten more hours a week than fathers on housework and childcare (Offer & Schneider, 2011). OECD (2014i) also found that on average, women spent more time than men on childcare, eldercare, care for disabled relatives, and housework across countries, even if they are working full-time. Therefore, the gender gap in providing unpaid care work, including housework, childcare and eldercare, persists across nations (Anxo et al., 2011; Bianchi et al., 2006; Cha, 2010; Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000; Hassan et al., 2010; Lee & Waite, 2005; Marsiglio et al., 2000; Offer & Schneider, 2011; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014i; Sayer et al., 2004; Watanabe & Falci, 2016).

This persistent unequal distribution of unpaid care work reflects a 'stalled revolution' (Hochschild & Machung, 2012) and an 'incomplete revolution' (Esping-Andersen, 2009) in gender norms and role transformation, i.e., both men and women become breadwinners and caregivers. The stalled revolution has negative implications

for work-family interaction and gender equality. First of all, since working women still have to shoulder a larger share of responsibility for care work and housework, they have the most condensed time schedule which may have serious consequences for their life quality and health. Research has found that when facing multiple demands, women, especially mothers, multitask more frequently than fathers to juggle work and family responsibilities. However, multitasking contributes to an increase in negative emotions, stress, and psychological distress (Offer & Schneider, 2011). Secondly, due to the heavy demands from home and gender norms regarding their caregiving role, women are more likely than men to work part-time or quit their jobs altogether (Brannen, 2000; Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Gerson, 2004; Glezer & Wolcott, 2000; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015e, 2016d), which contributes to the gender wage gap (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015d) and will in turn negatively influence women's lifelong economic well-being. Thirdly, since women are assumed to be the primary, if not the only caregivers, most work-family benefits at workplaces explicitly and implicitly target women; this may foster stereotypes against women, especially mothers, and hinder their promotion opportunities (Williams et al., 2006). On the other hand, this assumption may also discourage fathers in that employers may think fathers have no need or desire to take any family-related benefits and hence design these types of programs solely based on women's experiences and needs, which may not be a good fit for fathers. Additionally, due to this assumption, fathers who express the desire or have the need to take advantage of these benefits may be ridiculed or even discriminated against (Bailyn et al., 2000; Doherty et al., 1998; Kaufman, 2013; Williams et al., 2006). Thus, gender inequality resulting from the de facto or assumed

gendered division of labor at home could have negative effects on both men and women, although they are influenced differently.

In sum, the norms and practices of intensive parenting have added more burdens on contemporary working parents and may contribute to work-family conflict. The unequal distribution of unpaid care work at home introduces gender inequality into the work-family interface. It intensifies the work-family conflict employed women may experience, increases the likelihood of women working part-time or leaving the labor force resulting in their disadvantageous economic status, and denies employed men the equal opportunity to use work-family benefits and become more involved in their family lives. The phenomenon described in this subsection is complicated by the nature of the current workplace.

**Changed and unchanged nature of work.** The participation of a large number of women in the labor force has diversified the workforce, which suggests that the characteristics and needs of current workers would be very different from those of past counterparts. The growing acceptance of norms and practices of intensive parenting furthers the transformation in the life styles of many employees. Studies have shown that people now desire a more balanced life: women want careers and men want to build closer relationships with their children; in other words, people want to enjoy both work and family life in a harmonized way (Haas, Hwang, & Russell, 2000b; Kaufman, 2013; Ranson, 2012). The literature also indicates that both fathers and mothers want to work fewer hours for pay when their children are young (Bjornberg, 2000; Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000; Glezer & Wolcott, 2000; Haas et al., 2000b). Family responsibilities can also require workers to take some time off from work or to make adjustments in their



work path. However, this desire or need is often not supported well by most work organizations, which sets the foundation for work-family conflict.

In many respects, the structure and practices of workplaces have remained very traditional across countries. The underlying organizational culture has failed to keep pace with changes in the workforce to support employees with family responsibilities (Bowen, 2000; Orthner & Bowen, 1990; Schultheiss, 2006), since the assumptions about gender roles and separate spheres of work and family persist in many work settings (M. W. Sallee, 2012). Workers are still expected to leave their private matters in the private sphere (S. Lewis et al., 2007; Watanabe & Falci, 2016; Williams et al., 2006).

Changed work conditions that came about with economic globalization and new technology have worsened the situation. With the development of economic globalization and the 24/7 economy, working long hours is increasingly common in the U.S. (Cha, 2010; Meurs et al., 2008) and around the world (Hassan et al., 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014a). The typical American middle-income family worked an average of 11 hours more a week in 2006 than it did in 1979 (Williams & Boushey, 2010). Another source stated that American dual-earner parents together have worked 10 more hours a week since 1977 (Bond et al. 2002 as cited in Whitehead, 2008). In 2013, 83.2% of employed American men usually worked 40 or more hours per week and 91.2% of them worked 30 or more hours. Although women generally worked fewer hours, in 2013 66.2 % of employed American women worked 40 or more hours per week and 82.3 % worked 30 or more hours (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014a). Although long working hours gradually became a requirement at many workplaces in other

industrialized or developed countries, the U.S. no doubt is among the countries where the workers work the longer, if not longest, hours (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014a; Williams & Boushey, 2010), which likely results in work-family conflict.

Long working hours is more manifest for people who hold professional occupations such as managers, university faculty, lawyers, physicians, and so on (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004a, 2004b; Watanabe & Falci, 2016; Williams & Boushey, 2010). It is not uncommon for professional couples' total work hours to exceed 100 hours per week (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004a; Watanabe & Falci, 2016). The development of new technology that allows increased flexibility of where and when to work has exacerbated the situation (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Chandra, 2012; Hill et al., 2004; Meurs et al., 2008). The proportion of people, especially working parents, who bring work home has increased (Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000; Meurs et al., 2008). Accordingly, workloads have intensified, the boundaries between work and non-work have blurred, and family life has been interrupted (S. Lewis et al., 2007), which leads to increases in job pressures, overwork stress, and clinical depression among workers (Aumann & Galinsky, 2009; Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000) that in turn contribute to their perceived work-family conflict (Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010).

On the other hand, the global competitive economy has transformed the nature of work in many developed countries, including the U.S. Unionized manufacturing jobs have dramatically declined in these countries. The economy has transitioned into being service-based, which increases the number of people who work nonstandard hours, work multiple shifts, and are contingent workers (Whitehead, 2008; Yeandle, 2001). The

economic recessions of the 1980s, early 1990s and 2000s along with global competition have worsened job insecurity through downsizing, outsourcing, and mergers (Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000; Haas et al., 2000b; Whitehead, 2008). Although professionals and managers are not immune to this precarious work environment, non-professional and low-income workers are the most affected. Nonstandard work schedules and job insecurity inevitably complicate work-family interaction and may contribute to work-family conflict (Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998).

**Employers' and governments' responses.** As Amstad et al. (2011) and Beneria (2010) suggested, all together, the aforementioned trends will make combining work and family life a continuing challenge in the coming future. Although professional and non-professional workers have been impacted differently by the changing nature of work, to some extent they all face difficulty in reconciling work and family demands (Williams & Boushey, 2010). Meanwhile, support provided by employers for working parents to reconcile work and family responsibilities is not only inadequate (Bond, 2002, as cited in Haas & Hwang, 2007) but also declining during economic recessions (Kossek, Baltes, & Matthews, 2011). For instance, a survey conducted by the Society for Human Resource Management (2010) shows that some work-family support and benefits from employers, such as flextime and paid maternity leave, have been reduced or even eliminated since 2008. Substantial cuts in Human Resource budgets resulting from the recession, along with other factors (e.g., rising costs of benefits), continue to limit employers' ability to support working parents with caregiving and family-friendly benefits after 2011 (The Society for Human Resource Management, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). While the number of employers that provide supportive work-family benefits has gradually increased over

the past five years, the majority of employers have provided meager or no work-family benefits (The Society for Human Resource Management, 2015, 2017, 2018; Working Mother, 2018).

These current developments in work and family areas entail the need to address the challenge of work-family conflict as a contemporary policy issue (Scherer & Steiber, 2007) and have drawn the attention of the international community (Chandra, 2012; Haas, 2003; Moss & Deven, 2006; Naumann et al., 2013; Scherer & Steiber, 2007; Whitehead, 2008). However, statutory work-family policies that help workers reconcile work and family obligations remain extremely uneven across welfare states (Scherer & Steiber, 2007), since the existence, degree of generosity, and implications of work-family policies are deeply influenced by varied values and ideology about gender norms and the nexus among state, market and family across countries. Hence, many workers who live in countries where generous policies are not in place (e.g., the U.S.) are often left alone to address work-family conflict by themselves.

In these contexts, scholars have argued that a care crisis has emerged since women are no longer able to carry out the unpaid care work full-time, while men still do not take an equal share and public policy provisions have not developed accordingly to meet the needs (Beneria, 2010). This care crisis has negative consequences for children. Also, the incompatibility between an increasingly demanding family life and traditional but harsher work conditions as well as the lack of employer and public support have forced many mothers and few involved fathers to reduce their work hours or leave the labor force (Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Gerson, 2004; Kaufman, 2013). This contributes to the stagnation of mothers' labor force participation and employment rates, especially for

married mothers with preschoolers (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). With these contexts in mind, the paper next briefly reviews work-family conflict in the context of work-family interface research, which serves as the background to this research.

### **Work-Family Conflict in the Context of Work-Family Interface Research**

Due to the assumption of the separate spheres, the domains of work and family have historically been studied separately in the fields of sociology and psychology (Allard et al., 2011; Frone et al., 1992; Haas et al., 2000a; Kanter, 1977; Moen, 2011; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). An early statement on the interrelations of work and family was written by Robert and Rhona Rapoport (1965). Kanter (1977) further explored and encouraged research on the intersections of work and family systems. Despite the fact that researchers have acknowledged that work and family life influence each other (Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Frone et al., 1992), the division of work and family into separate and unrelated domains persists in scholars' thinking and research (Han & Moen, 1999). Therefore, the study of the work-family interface is a relatively new (Galinsky & Swanberg, 2000), but growing research area (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Gerson, 2004). In fact, due to increased diversity of workplaces and families, methodological innovations, and the growth of scholarly communities interested in the work-family nexus, scholarship on the work-family intersection expanded during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). This topic has been studied in various disciplines including psychology, sociology, business, family studies, and social work (Allen et al., 2000; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Chang, McDonald, & Burton, 2010; Hassan et al., 2010; Kossek et al., 2011; Pitt-Catsouphes, Kossek, & Sweet, 2006; Pitt-Catsouphes & Swanberg, 2006).

Historically, the work-family interface has been constructed in distinct ways at different times (Moen, 2011). During the 1960s and 1970s, feminist literature recognized it as the “double day” that mainly applied to women who needed paid work to help support their families, mostly working-class white women and minority women (Albelda, 2001), while the mainstream literature focused on the negative effect of maternal employment on child’s well-being (Moen, 2011). When the number of married women entering the labor force dramatically increased and the changes in the workplace began to occur, which brought up concerns about stress and burnout (Barnett & Gareis, 2006; Chang et al., 2010; Gerson, 2004; S. Lewis et al., 2007), the issue of balancing work and family roles began to emerge in the 1980s and was constructed as a women’s issue (Moen, 2011; Pitt-Catsouphes & Swanberg, 2006). The phrase of work-family conflict emerged accordingly in the same period as it is “one major outcome of the inability to balance the demands of work and family” (Kinnunen & Mauno, 1998, p. 158). Since then, most work-family researchers have been studying the relationship between work and family under the label of work-family conflict, also called work-family interference, examining its antecedents and consequences (Barnett & Gareis, 2006; Byron, 2005; Chang et al., 2010; Eby et al., 2005; Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991; Hassan et al., 2010; Kossek et al., 2011; MacDermid & Harvey, 2006; Pitt-Catsouphes & Christensen, 2004). In the 1990s, with the increasingly diversified workforce and gradual changes in gender roles, the work-family topic became more inclusive; it still focused on mothers, but also included fathers’ experiences (Moen, 2011). Since then, more inclusive constructs, such as work-life balance, work-life integration, or work-family fit, have been developed (S. Lewis et al., 2007; Moen, 2011). Yet, the majority of research that seems to put itself

under the label of balance or fit uses scales operationalizing conflict or interference to measure the construct (Chang et al., 2010), and much of the literature that talks about work-life still measures the construct using items with a family focus (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000; Sawyer, 2012; Williams, 2000). Other constructs emphasizing the positive side of work-family interface, such as work-family enhancement, have been introduced as an alternative to focusing only on the more negative concept of work-family conflict. However, as many individuals and families still struggle to juggle work and home, “the challenge associated with these constructs is for researchers to operationalize the core concepts in ways that resonate with the everyday experiences of working families” (Pitt-Catsouphes & Christensen, 2004, p. 129).

Work-family conflict is by no means a new issue. Work life and family life are also not inherently in conflict with one another. People, however, still vividly experience work-family conflict in daily life. As Bianchi and Milkie (2010) contended, work-family conflict remains common and its level has increased in recent years. Since it has enormous impact on individuals, families, organizations, and society, it remains important to study and address work-family conflict.

**Definition of work-family conflict.** The most frequently used definition of work-family conflict in the literature is Greenhaus and Beutell’s (1985) conceptualization. They defined work-family conflict as “a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role” (p. 77). They also identified three types of work-family conflict: time-based conflict, strain-based conflict, and behavior-based

conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Frone and colleagues (1992) extended the work of Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) and further defined work-family conflict as a two-directional concept: work interferes with family (WIF) and family interferes with work (FIW).<sup>5</sup>

Although the definition coined by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) as well as Frone et al. (1992) is the most commonly adopted one, researchers have criticized that work-family conflict has been overly operationalized as subjective or perceived psychological role conflict (Allen et al., 2000; Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007; Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007) and that objective work-family conflict or role conflict has been overlooked (Allen et al., 2000). To enhance our understanding, scholars have recommended examining objective work-family conflict (Casper et al., 2007; Foley & Powell, 1997; Kossek et al., 2011; Matthews, Bulger, & Barnes-Farrell, 2010).

To fully encompass this phenomenon, work-family conflict is defined more broadly in this research as objective and subjective incompatibility between work and family demands manifested especially in time and strain. It is also important to note that due to limited research on same-sex couples' work-family conflict experience (Sawyer, 2012), this research, including the definition of work-family conflict, has been built on heterosexual parents' experiences, which may be different from or not applicable to that of same-sex parents'.

---

<sup>5</sup> They are also called work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict. These terms (i.e., WIF, FIW, work-to-family conflict, and family-to-work conflict) are used interchangeably in this research.



As previously argued, work-family conflict is not gender-neutral but gender-related. Hence, the following section discusses the role gender plays in work-family interface research and how gender is defined in this research.

**Work-family conflict and gender.** Gender was discussed early with the issue of work-family interface, when the field of work and family began to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s (Pitt-Catsouphes & Christensen, 2004; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). As abovementioned, the work-family topic was first solely associated with mothers, but has become more inclusive to include fathers as well as men and women at different life stages. Gender still matters when discussing work-family conflict, since the change in gender roles has shaped work and family life (Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Gerson, 2004) and gender differences have continually been observed in work-family interactions. The first step to incorporating gender in studying work-family conflict is to define gender.

**Defining gender.** Although many still use gender and sex interchangeably, gender theorists differentiate gender from sex. Sex refers to the biological difference between male and female. Gender, on the other hand, refers to the socially constructed understanding of what it means to be a man and a woman in a given culture or society and across historical periods (Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). West and Zimmerman (1987) made further specific distinctions among sex, sex category, and gender. They suggest that all of them are socially constructed. According to West and Zimmerman (1987), sex is a decision made based on the socially agreed biological criteria (e.g., genitalia or chromosome) for classifying a person as a female or male; sex category stands as a proxy for one's sex and is achieved through application of sex criteria by displaying culturally agreed properties of naturally

and normally sexed persons in everyday life. Gender is the product of social interaction and manifested in the activity conducted according to the social expectations for attitudes, behaviors, and activities deemed normative and appropriate for one's sex category. Hence, gender is relational, that is, gender is not what we are, but something that we do in our interactions with others (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006; West & Zimmerman, 1987), and since what it means to be a woman or man may be different in different cultures and societies, gender is also cultural—a symbolic representation that is both imposed on and internalized by people through the socialization process (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006). Finally, gender is a critical principle of stratification in both work and family domains. In other words, gender is built into and shapes institutions that allocate labor, resources, and power (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006). Gerson (2004) further urges researchers to see gender as an institution that shapes our social life and influences the work-family interface. Like West and Zimmerman (1987) argued, it is important to make a distinction among these concepts to understand the essential meaning of being a gendered person in a given society. It is also crucial to analyze gender not merely as sex or an individual characteristic, but rather as an organizing principle or an institution. Doing so can reveal the gendered nature of work-family conflict and fundamentally address it.

### **Gaps in Literature**

There are a number of gaps in the work-family conflict knowledge base. This section briefly identifies and discusses gaps in the literature in the areas of theory, policy, and the studied populations.

As scholars have long criticized (Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Premeaux et al., 2007), most work-family conflict research has not been based on strong conceptual frameworks and that oftentimes theories are not even mentioned in the studies. Among studies that implicitly or explicitly used theories, they were usually developed based on a single theory (mostly role theory) (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Byron, 2005; Eby et al., 2005; Hassan et al., 2010; Kossek et al., 2011; Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Michel, Mitchelson, Pichler, & Cullen, 2010; Pitt-Catsouphes & Christensen, 2004; Premeaux et al., 2007; see also Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964), which can only provide simple explanations that fail to explain complex work-family interactions (Madsen & Hammond, 2005). In addition, the epistemological stance of most studies—the positivist paradigm—too readily accepts the roles and expectations structured within current work settings and society, which makes it harder, if not impossible, to fundamentally address work-family conflict. The theory and its underlying paradigm decide how we perceive and address the issue of interest and how we construct the research. Hence, it is imperative to develop more sophisticated theoretical frameworks and use alternative paradigms to guide research on work-family conflict.

Gaps are also found in the literature regarding policy. Social policies, along with sociopolitical contexts, set the condition for whether and how employers provide work-family support to address work-family conflict (Lambert & Haley-Lock, 2004; Moen & Chesley, 2008; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007). They also sway citizens' expectations for governmental intervention or private solutions to work-family conflict. Research has found that awareness of governmental provisions in

other countries increased citizens' sense of entitlement to expect more statutory support from their own country (S. Lewis & Smithson, 2001). It thus is important to conduct comparative policy studies, because this type of study not only can enhance the understanding of policies across contexts but also provide available and accessible information for social workers to advocate for more statutory support to address work-family conflict and promote gender equality. A number of comparative policy analyses of work-family policies have been published (Bambra, 2007; Beneria, 2010; Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Castles & Mitchell, 1992; Daly & Lewis, 2000; Gornick & Meyers, 2004; Haas, 2003; Knijn & Kremer, 1997; Korpi, 2000; Leira, 1998; J. Lewis, 1992, 1997; Moss & Deven, 2006; Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2010). But they have substantial limitations, e.g. analyzing only a single policy, focusing on a small number of countries, overlooking the gender implications of policies, disregarding policy regime's impact on care receivers' well-being, methodological issues, etc. (see Chapter Three for detailed discussion). More studies that overcome these limitations and provide more complete analyses are needed to expand the knowledge base of policies that address work-family conflict.

Finally, immigrants account for the increase in the U.S. population as well as employees in the labor force (Chiu & Rastogi, 2008; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Newburger & Gryn, 2009; Zong & Batalova, 2016). Given their work characteristics, caregiving responsibilities, and limited resources (Chiu & Rastogi, 2008; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Newburger & Gryn, 2009; Zong & Batalova, 2016), it is logical to think that immigrant working parents may also experience work-family conflict as their native counterparts do. But due to their migration and assimilation experiences as well as the influence of the

culture of their countries of origin, it would be reasonable to expect that immigrants may perceive and experience work-family conflict differently in comparison with natives. However, the work-family conflict literature has mainly focused on native, white, professional couples (Ford et al., 2007; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Matthews et al., 2010). It is hence imperative to study immigrants' work-family conflict to better serve this population and expand the understanding of work-family interaction and work-family conflict.

This research is developed to fill the aforementioned gaps and is introduced in the following section.

### **The Current Research**

This current research aims to fill the gaps and expand the knowledge base of work-family conflict in terms of theory, policy, and migrant populations. This research was broken down into three related studies and reported in three consecutive chapters of this dissertation, which are introduced below. The introduction of this research begins with discussing the researcher's epistemological stance.

**Epistemological stance of the researcher.** Considering the gender implications and gendered nature of work-family conflict articulated in the previous sections as well as the limitations of mainstream positivist research in fully addressing the issue, this research is developed within an alternative paradigm—critical realism whose goal in social science is to promote human freedom and emancipation from oppression (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Yurdak, 2015). The following is a brief introduction of this paradigm and its application to this research.

Critical realism is a paradigm that simultaneously embraces ontological realism as well as epistemological and methodological relativism (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; “Critical realism: The theory of critical realism,” n.d.; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Patomäki & Wight, 2000; Scott, 2007; Yardak, 2015), which makes critical realism compatible with post-positivist and critical theory paradigms (Fleetwood, 2013; Guba, 1990; Neuman, 2011). To some extent, critical realism also shares ground with positivism in its belief that there is a reality out there and it exists independent of human thought (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Maxwell, 2012). It also shares some assumptions with social constructionism (Fleetwood, 2013) and postmodernism (Maxwell, 2012), because of its belief that social structure is socially constructed and can be transformed by human agency and because of its skepticism toward “general laws,” anti-foundationalist stance, and relativist epistemology (Fleetwood, 2013; Maxwell, 2012). On the other hand, critical realism criticizes positivism, in terms of its reduction of ontology to atomistic, observable events, the use of theoretical instrumentalism for prediction, mistaking regularities and prediction as causality and explanation, and epistemological realism (Charlwood et al., 2014; Fleetwood, 2013; Maxwell, 2012). Critical realism also disagrees with constructionism and postmodernism over their ontological relativist stance (Charlwood et al., 2014; Fleetwood, 2013; Maxwell, 2012). In fact, critical realism intends to provide an alternative to positivism as well as constructionism and postmodernism (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009).

Critical realism vindicates the importance of discussing ontology and of distinguishing between ontology and epistemology (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011;

Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012; Scott, 2007). Roy Bhaskar, the initiator of critical realism, uses “intransitive” and “transitive” dimensions of knowledge to describe ontology and epistemology (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Yardak, 2015), which is the idea accepted by the proponents of critical realism. Ontologically, critical realists argue that an “intransitive” reality exists independent of human knowledge. But, unlike positivists, they do not think this reality is simply the combination of atomistic, observable events. Instead, critical realists contend that reality is an open stratified or layered system with causal powers (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; “Critical realism: The theory of critical realism,” n.d.; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012; Scott, 2007; Yardak, 2015). Specifically, reality comprises three strata: the empirical, the actual, and the real/causal (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012). The empirical stratum is the observable experiences or effects of actual events that have been generated by underlying structures, mechanisms, tendencies, or power. The constellation of actual events is the actual stratum of reality, and the unobservable structures, mechanisms, and power form the real or causal stratum of reality. In other words, this underlying real reality provides the conditions of possibility for the actual events and perceived and experienced phenomena (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; “Critical realism: The theory of critical realism,” n.d.; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012; Patomäki & Wight, 2000; Scott, 2007; Yardak, 2015). Hence, critical realists believe that in order to explain a phenomenon, researchers must reveal and illuminate the underlying mechanisms, structures, and power, such as norms and gender structures.

In addition, ontologically, critical realists believe that social structure and human agency are two constitutive elements of the social world. Human agents act purposefully and consciously or unconsciously interact with and thereby reproduce or transform the structures that enable and/or constrain their actions (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Houston, 2010; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). Thus, although social structures are ever-present conditions, they are socially constructed and therefore, not universal but applicable only in certain locations and times. Hence, critical realists argue that the purpose of the inquiry is to acquire a deep understanding of the historical and social context of phenomena, identify the underlying structures and mechanisms that produce them, and transform the structures that result in the oppression of humans in order to promote emancipation and human freedom (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Yardak, 2015).

Despite their ontological realism, epistemologically, critical realists hold a relativist stance. They regard the epistemological dimension as a “transitive” one that comprises efforts to represent the “intransitive” reality through the perceptions and theories that humans constructed (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Maxwell, 2012). All perceptions and theories about reality, however, are grounded in a particular worldview, and hence, all knowledge (i.e., the representation of reality) is partial, incomplete, and fallible. In other words, critical realists argue that knowledge is context-dependent and constructed in social and political processes (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Maxwell, 2012). Accordingly, knowledge is also subjective and historically transient, and it is the product of researchers’ position, perspective, and histories (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008).



However, critical realists oppose the idea of incommensurability (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). Rather, they argue that researchers can use rational judgment to determine which theory provides a more complete explanation of the phenomena (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012). Three criteria may inform this judgment. First of all, the researchers need to consider whether a theory offers the explanation that goes beyond those observable regularities and identifies the underlying structures, tendencies, power, and mechanisms (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). They also need to think about whether a theory takes into account both human agency and social structure through seeking the understanding of intentions and reasons for human actions and of rules, norms, and institutions that set the conditions for those actions (Houston, 2010; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). After all, the complete explanations of social phenomena cannot be reduced to the intentions of agents without reference to structural conditions, and vice versa (Scott, 2007). Finally, it is also important to examine whether a theory helps denaturalize the concepts of the structures, fosters critical awareness of its political effects, and eventually transforms them (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Lawson, 1999).

In accordance with their epistemological relativism, critical realists embrace methodological relativism and pluralism (Houston, 2010). They think direct observation and measurement is not the only way of obtaining knowledge. In some sense, critical realism bridges quantitative and qualitative studies (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). In fact, critical realists claim that both methods are important for providing explanations. Specifically, they believe that quantitative data are useful in showing regularities,

patterns, and associations that can serve as a start point for further exploring and uncovering the underlying causal structures and mechanisms (Charlwood et al., 2014; Houston, 2010). Comparatively, the use of data from qualitative research can help not only ascertain human agents' intentions, motivations, meanings, and reasons for their actions, but also identify causal mechanisms and processes to develop causal explanations (Charlwood et al., 2014; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012). Thus, some critical realists even advocate for mixed methods (Houston, 2010; Scott, 2007), because they believe that "the focus of inquiry ... is on human emancipation [and the m]ethods triangulation is seen as a means to this end" (Houston, 2010, p. 85).

Overall, critical realism takes a strong stance on ethics (Houston, 2010). It argues that the role of research and researchers is not value-free. Rather, it maintains that the explanation and understanding of social phenomena learned from social inquiry should lead to "a consideration of right conduct and the good life" (p. 74) and provide "direction as to how we should respond to those events" (p.77) (Houston, 2010). All in all, critical realism's ethical stance and its goal for combating oppression and pursuing human emancipation make it consistent with social work philosophy and values (NASW, 2008).

In the case of work-family conflict, mainstream positivist studies do not provide a complete explanation of work-family conflict. They mainly document the experienced or perceived work-family conflict and the correlations between work-family conflict and other variables. In other words, the inquiry only reaches the superficial layers of reality—the empirical (i.e., the observable experience of work-family conflict) and the actual strata (i.e., demanding but incompatible work and family roles or unfriendly organizational culture). The real underlying structures and mechanisms that produced the

experienced events are not identified. As a result, positivist studies also fail to transform the structures that generate work-family conflict and to fundamentally resolve work-family conflict. In contrast, with a critical realist stance, this dissertation research seeks to reveal the underlying structures and mechanisms that truly and causally result in work-family conflict and gender inequality and to empower people to take action to make changes.

Critical realism's epistemological and methodological relativism supports exploring different dimensions and layers of work-family conflict using diverse methods in an overarching study. Under the perspective of critical realism, this research consists of three distinct but related studies. The first study reviewed theories of work-family conflict. It then proposed an integrated-theoretical explanation of underlying gender assumptions and practices at organizational and societal levels that have laid the foundations for the occurrence of gendered work-family conflict. In line with the first study, the second study empirically examined and revealed underlying policy logics and mechanisms of cross-national work-family policies that either address or reinforce gender assumptions and practices contributing to work-family conflict and resulting gender inequality. The third study explored immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict as they transitioned from their countries of origin to the U.S. society.

By adopting critical realism with a comparative perspective and a gender lens, this dissertation research is more likely to construct knowledge that raises awareness and fosters actions to alter deeper structures and hence, radically address work-family conflict and related gender inequality. The following section further describes the three studies.

**Description of the three related studies.** This dissertation research consists of three related studies that respectively focus on theory critique and development, cross-national policy analysis and regime typology construction, as well as immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S. Each of the studies is briefly introduced below. For detailed information, refer to respective chapters (study 1: Chapter Two; study 2: Chapter Three; study 3: Chapter Four).

***Theory critique and development.*** Chapter Two is a literature-based theoretical analysis (Neuman, 2011) that critically examines theories of work-family conflict through critical realism and gender lenses. Based on an in-depth critique of current theoretical and empirical evidence, Chapter Two reports an integrated-theoretical framework informed by role theory, gendered organization theory, and the ecology of the gendered life course approach. This framework explains work-family conflict not only from multiple layers of the social world, but also at individual, organizational, and societal levels. I argue that this framework is better than a single theory to fully and transformatively understand and address gendered work-family conflict. The implications of this framework for the social work profession include: it can serve as a holistic theoretical model to enrich students' understanding of human-environmental interactions in the area of work-family interface; in terms of practice, it can guide social work interventions at micro, mezzo, and macro levels to alleviate working parents' work-family conflict, and finally, it can help advance research by taking up an alternative paradigm that helps uncover underlying causal structures and stimulates organizational and social change. By radically addressing work-family conflict, the social work

profession can help enhance the well-being of individuals, families, organizations, and society as a whole.

***Work-family policy ranking and regime typology.*** Chapter Three reports a comparative study that ranks OECD countries' statutory policies of parental leave, early childhood education and care (ECEC), and flexible work arrangement, in terms of their levels of supportiveness and gender equality based on the Supportiveness and Gender Equality Indices. This chapter shows that among 33 countries, Sweden ranks 1st based on both Indices, while the United States ranks 30th for Supportiveness and 29th for Gender Equality. Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey rank last for both Indices. A new typology of four policy regimes is further constructed based on a care-employment analytic framework that assesses how countries regard parents' dual roles of workers and caregivers, whether and how countries compensate caregiving, how childcare responsibility is distributed among the state, market, and family and between men and women within families, as well as gender gaps in employment outcomes, using secondary qualitative and quantitative data. This new set of regime types represents countries' varied abilities to help parents reconcile work and family demands, while promoting gender equality. According to research findings, among these four regime types, state-oriented caring regimes that challenge gendered opposition of paid work and unpaid care work through policy provisions are more likely to address work-family conflict and promote gender equality. One of the implications of this study is that in order to better support working parents, parental leave would best be well paid and equally shared between fathers and mothers motivated by incentives. An entitlement to ECEC and

flexible work arrangements has to be granted before or at the end of well-paid parental leave.

*Immigrants' experiences in the U.S.* Chapter Four is a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S. The mainstream work-family conflict literature has mainly focused on native-born, white, professional couples. Little is known about work-family conflict experienced by immigrants, who are often ethnic minorities and nonprofessionals with low-paying jobs. By conducting and reporting a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict, this chapter makes the following contributions: 1) organize, summarize, and assess current knowledge about immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict; 2) identify gaps in the knowledge base; 3) shed light on directions for future research, and 4) inform policy and practice. Immigrant workers across studies included in this systematic review have reported experiencing work-family conflict. Four categories of factors associated with immigrants' work-family conflict were identified: 1) work-domain factors, 2) family-domain factors, 3) health outcomes, and 4) immigration, acculturation, and gender roles. According to the findings of this review, in the work domain, job demands are positively associated with work-family conflict, while having job control and job support are negatively associated with work-family conflict. Similarly, more domestic work demands and economic responsibilities in the family domain have contributed to work-family conflict, whereas having domestic support for childcare and housework helped mitigate work-family conflict. Additionally, this review shows that work-family conflict has contributed to deteriorating physical and mental health outcomes among immigrants. Most importantly, this study reveals that immigration *per se* has uniquely shaped

immigrants' work-family interactions through the separation from family and community, the salience of employment, losing networks of social support, transitioning from collectivist cultures to an individualistic culture, and modified gender roles.

**Logical connection between chapters.** The three aforementioned studies and corresponding chapters are logically interrelated. The first study and Chapter Two develops an integrated-theoretical framework that explains work-family conflict at different layers and levels. This framework provides a foundation and a concept map for the other two studies and subsequent chapters. According to this framework, the role of statutory policies and their underlying assumptions as institutional convoys that can either address or reinforce work-family conflict and gender inequality is recognized and highlighted. As a result, it is important and meaningful to examine and compare work-family policies across countries and their implications for work-family conflict, which is the focus of the second study and Chapter Three. By examining policies across countries, Chapter Three not only provides insights into policy practice, but also offers empirical evidence to support or further refine the theoretical framework generated by Chapter Two.

Similarly, the theoretical framework provides the general context to position immigrants' work-family conflict experiences. On the other hand, the framework also indicates the possibility that the transition from the country/culture of origin to the receiving country/culture may affect how immigrants construct, perceive, and experience work-family conflict. Hence, this framework can serve as a culturally-sensitive approach to understanding immigrants' work-family interaction experiences. In turn, immigrants'

diverse experiences can help enrich the meaning of work-family conflict, improve policy interventions, and refine the theoretical framework.

All in all, theories help us understand the problem of interest and influenced populations as well as guide social work interventions and practice. The latter in turn advances the development and refinement of theories. Thus, the connection between chapters that address theory, policy interventions, and immigrants' experiences is not only logical but also self-evident.

**Ethical considerations.** Since this research does not directly involve human subjects, there is no discernible risk of harm concerning this research. But, it is still important to ensure that the research is ethical. To ensure that, the researcher has conducted herself in a professional and culturally competent manner as well as comply with social work Code of Ethics during the entire course of research (NASW, 2008).

Essentially, the researcher argues that conducting this research *per se* is ethical and compatible with social work values and mission, because conducting research regarding under-represented immigrant populations is to give voice back to them, which could be empowering. Through research, immigrants' experiences and needs are well-documented, and further studies and/or interventions can be developed accordingly to serve their actual needs. Additionally, the integrated-theoretical framework developed in this research pays attention to structural forces that create, contribute to, and address work-family conflict, which is congruent with social work ethics (NASW, 2008). Further, this research includes a cross-national policy comparison and analysis that manifests the socially constructed nature of work-family conflict and institutions that address or reinforce it as well as the importance of cultural influence (NASW, 2008).



Finally, research that addresses work-family conflict and gender inequality can help enhance human well-being, end oppression, and promote social justice, which is not only the mission of the social work profession (NASW, 2008), but also the aim of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The United Nations, 1948).

**Contributions.** This research contributes to the social work knowledge base and practice in several ways. Foremost, it provides an integrative theoretical framework that offers more complete explanations of and transformative insights into work-family conflict. This framework can further guide social work research and practice to more radically address work-family conflict at various levels.

Comparative policy research updates the understanding of work-family policies across countries, provides a new typology that richly depicts work-family policy regimes, and offers new tools and variables to guide future research. In addition, the findings of this research can help social workers learn from other countries and equip them with information to advocate for changes in policies at home.

Research on immigrants' work-family conflict highlights the importance of including immigrants' experiences in fully understanding work-family conflict. Further, it systematically assesses and presents accumulated knowledge to inform occupational social workers and social workers who work with immigrants. It also sheds light on meaningful directions for future research.

More detailed implications this research has for social work research, practice, policy, and education are discussed in the following chapters and in the conclusion.

## Chapter Two

### Critical Realist View of Work<sup>6</sup>-Family Conflict

#### Through a Gender Lens: An Integrated Theoretical Framework

Facing dramatically changed demographic trends and harsher working conditions due to economic globalization, working parents across countries perceive increased work-family conflict<sup>7</sup> (Hassan et al., 2010; Kaufman, 2013; Kelly et al., 2011; Moe & Shandy, 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007, 2013; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002; Sweet, 2014). Work-family conflict is also common among American parents as 70 percent of U.S. workers report experiencing such conflict (Kelly et al., 2011), due to increased time spent in both paid work and unpaid care work since the 1960s (Sayer et al., 2004; Williams & Boushey, 2010). Research shows that American married couples spend nearly 130 hours a week on paid and unpaid work combined; this amount of time has increased by about 10 hours since the mid-1960s (Bianchi et al., 2006).

Work-family conflict has “dysfunctional and socially costly effects on individual work life, home life, and general well-being and health” (Allen et al., 2000, p. 301). It also negatively affects the well-being of organizations and society as a whole, in terms of productivity and gender equality (Cha, 2010; Meurs et al., 2008). In order to alleviate work-family conflict, it is important to identify its causes. In order to answer this “Why”

---

<sup>6</sup> The value of unpaid work, including care work and housework usually conducted by women in families, is recognized and valued equally to paid work. For the sake of simplicity, however, the term ‘work’ in this paper is used to refer to paid work (i.e., employment), unless specified otherwise.

<sup>7</sup> Work-family conflict is defined as objective and subjective incompatibility between work and family demands manifested especially in time and strain. Due to lack of research (Sawyer, 2012) and limited space, this research focuses on heterosexual parents’ experience which may be different from or not applicable to that of same-sex parents’.

question, theories that tell us where to look for answers are essential; they stimulate ideas about the world (Payne, 2005), help us “understand what is, what is possible, and how to achieve the possible” (Turner, 1996, p. 2), and provide explanations for the problem in question (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2006; Sutton & Staw, 1995; Thyer, 2001; Whetten, 1989).

Although scholarship on the work-family interface has expanded during the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010), there is not only limited use of theory but also a lack of transformative theoretical perspectives in the mainstream work-family conflict literature. As scholars have long criticized (Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Premeaux et al., 2007), most work-family conflict research has not been based on strong conceptual frameworks; in fact, oftentimes theories are not even mentioned in published studies. Studies that implicitly or explicitly used theories usually relied on a single theory, mostly role theory (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Byron, 2005; Eby et al., 2005; Hassan et al., 2010; Kossek et al., 2011; Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Michel, Mitchelson, et al., 2010; Pitt-Catsouphes & Christensen, 2004; Premeaux et al., 2007); see also Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kahn et al., 1964). These studies provide only simple explanations that fail to account for complex work-family interactions (Madsen & Hammond, 2005). In addition, most studies’ epistemological stance is based on a positivist paradigm, which too readily accepts the roles and expectations structured within current work settings and society. This makes it harder, if not impossible, to fundamentally address work-family conflict.

According to current empirical findings, work-family conflict is not merely a women’s problem; both men and women experience work-family conflict (Allard et al., 2007, 2011; Eby et al., 2005; Fox et al., 2011; Frone et al., 1992; Madsen & Hammond,

2005; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010; Premeaux et al., 2007). However, they experience it differently (Byron, 2005) due to the influence of gender norms and decisions individuals make based on those norms. In general, although the difference is relatively small, women, especially mothers, who traditionally are assigned most family responsibilities, experience more work-family conflict than men do. Consequently, women's well-being is detrimentally compromised, and to cope, mothers are more likely to scale back work or quit their jobs altogether (Anxo et al., 2011; Cha, 2010; Chou et al., 2005; Kelly et al., 2011; Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; Stone, 2007; Webber & Williams, 2008; Xu, 2008; Yi & Chien, 2002; Zhou & Volkwein, 2004). This not only jeopardizes their economic security but also widens gender inequalities. Given the gender implications of work-family conflict, it is imperative to incorporate a gender lens in the analytic frameworks of research (Gerson, 2004). However, the majority of published studies have treated gender merely as an individual trait and a variable by using gender as a proxy for sex rather than adopting a gender lens that views gender as an institution.

This paper reports the results of a study that critically appraised theories in research on work-family conflict from the world view of critical realism by incorporating a gender lens. Based on the critique of theories and the studies derived from them, an integrated theoretical framework is proposed. This study not only reveals how work-family conflict has been studied, but also provides a more holistic and transformative understanding of work-family conflict that can guide researchers and practitioners to further examine and radically address the causes of work-family conflict.

This paper is organized into five sections. The first section describes the research methods used in this study. The second section briefly introduces critical realism and the

gender lens, followed by a section that critiques the three theories. A proposed integrated theoretical framework is subsequently discussed. Finally, the implications for social work practice, education, and research are addressed.

## **Methods**

The reported study is a literature-based theoretical analysis (Neuman, 2011). The primary literature search involved the IUPUI library metasearch tool that accesses at least 84 databases including Academic Search Premier (EBSCO). The search terms, “work-family,” “work-family conflict,” “WFC,” “FWC,” “theory,” and “model,” were used to identify the most relevant articles for work-family conflict theories. The Google Scholar search engine was also used to locate additional articles and working papers most relevant to the topic. The references cited in the articles were also reviewed. In total, 260 articles were reviewed; 77 articles that used and/or discussed theories in the studies were deemed to be relevant to theories of work-family conflict.

The theories reviewed below were selected from the 77 articles based upon the following criteria: 1) whether the theory is the most frequently used, hence dominant, theory; 2) the theory, though is not the most frequently used, can provide alternative insights into work-family conflict inquiry; 3) whether the theory is supported or recommended by empirical research, and 4) whether the theory is congruent with social work values and ethics (e.g., emphasizing achieving optimal well-being of individuals and society and social justice). According to these criteria, three theories, i.e., role theory (n=43), gendered organization theory (n=21), and ecology of the gendered life course approach (n=10), were identified for review and analysis.<sup>8</sup> For theoretical analysis,

---

<sup>8</sup> There are another three theories (i.e., the conservation of resources model, crossover theory, and border theory) that were mentioned respectively in the remaining three articles. Those theories were excluded from this analysis, because they were rarely used

critical realism offers criteria for the rational judgment of theories, while a gender lens “directs attention to the social structuring of inequality and provides a way to place individual work and family ‘problems’ in a social and cultural context” (Gerson, 2004, p. 165).

### **Critical Realism With a Gender Lens**

Critical realism is a paradigm that simultaneously embraces ontological realism as well as epistemological and methodological relativism (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; “Critical realism: The theory of critical realism,” n.d.; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Patomäki & Wight, 2000; Scott, 2007; Yardak, 2015). Its goal in social science is to promote human freedom and emancipation from oppression (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Yardak, 2015). Ontologically, critical realists argue that an “intransitive” reality exists independent of human knowledge. But, unlike positivists, they do not think this reality is simply the combination of atomistic, observable events. Instead, critical realists contend that reality is an open stratified or layered system with causal powers that shape events (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; “Critical realism: The theory of critical realism,” n.d.; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012; Scott, 2007; Yardak, 2015). Specifically, the reality is comprised of three strata: the empirical, the actual, and the real/causal (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012). The empirical stratum is the observable experiences or effects of actual events that have been generated by underlying structures, mechanisms, tendencies, or power (e.g., gender structures). The constellation of actual events is the actual stratum of reality which can also be empirically established, and pretty much in line with the worldview of role theory.

and the real/causal stratum is made up of the unobservable structures, mechanisms, and power. In other words, this latter stratum provides the conditions of possibility for the actual events and perceived and experienced phenomena (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; “Critical realism: The theory of critical realism,” n.d.; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Maxwell, 2012; Patomäki & Wight, 2000; Scott, 2007; Yardak, 2015). Hence, critical realists believe that in order to explain a phenomenon, researchers must reveal and illuminate the underlying mechanisms, structures, and power in social life, such as norms and gender structures.

Ontologically, critical realists believe that human agency and social structure are two constitutive elements of the social world. Human agents act purposefully and consciously or they can unconsciously interact with and thereby reproduce or transform the structures that enable and/or constrain their actions (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Houston, 2010; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). Thus, although social structures are ever-present conditions, they are socially constructed and, therefore, not universal but applicable only in certain locations and times. Hence, critical realists argue that the purpose of inquiry is to acquire a deep understanding of the historical and social contexts of phenomena, identify the underlying structures and mechanisms that produce them, and transform the structures that result in the oppression of humans in order to promote emancipation and human freedom (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Fleetwood, 2013; Houston, 2010; Yardak, 2015).

Despite their focus on ontological realism, epistemologically, critical realists hold a relativist stance. They regard the epistemological dimension as a “transitive” one that comprises efforts to represent the “intransitive” reality through the perceptions and

theories that humans construct about it (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Maxwell, 2012). All perceptions and theories about reality, however, are grounded in a particular worldview, and hence, all knowledge (i.e., the representation of reality) is partial, incomplete, and fallible. In other words, critical realists argue that knowledge is context-dependent and constructed within specific social and political processes (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Maxwell, 2012). Accordingly, knowledge is also subjective and historically transient, and is the product of researchers' position, perspective, and histories (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008).

Critical realists oppose the idea of incommensurability (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). Rather, they maintain that researchers can use rational judgment to determine which theory provides a more complete explanation of phenomena (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012). Three criteria may inform this rational judgment. First, researchers need to consider whether a theory offers an explanation that goes beyond those observable regularities and identifies the underlying structures, tendencies, power dynamics, and mechanisms (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). Second, they need to think about whether a theory takes into account both human agency and social structure through seeking the understanding of intentions and reasons for human actions and of rules, norms, and institutions that set the conditions for those actions (Houston, 2010; Patomäki & Wight, 2000). After all, complete explanations of social phenomena cannot be reduced to the intentions of agents without reference to structural conditions, and vice versa (Scott, 2007). Third, it is important to examine whether a theory helps to denaturalize social structure, fosters critical awareness of its political effects, and



suggests ways to eventually transform them (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Lawson, 1999).

In accordance with their epistemological relativism, critical realists embrace methodological relativism and pluralism (Houston, 2010). Critical realism bridges quantitative and qualitative studies (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009) and critical realists claim that both methods are important for providing explanations. Some critical realists advocate the use of mixed methods (Houston, 2010; Scott, 2007).

Critical realism also takes a strong stance on ethics (Houston, 2010), arguing that the role of research and researchers is not value-free. On the contrary, it contends that the explanation and understanding of social phenomena learned from social inquiry should lead to “a consideration of right conduct and the good life” (p. 74) and provide “direction as to how we should respond to those events” (p.77). All in all, critical realism’s ethical stance and its goal for combating oppression and pursuing human emancipation make it compatible with the philosophy and values of social work (NASW, 2008).

In the case of work-family conflict, critical realism can be used to reveal the underlying structures and mechanisms that truly and causally result in work-family conflict and related gender inequality, and it can also be used to empower people to take action to make changes. I argue that work-family conflict is gendered, since its rise is linked to the changing dynamics of gender fueled by increased labor force participation of women, with historical roots in the assumption and practice of the separate spheres of work and family. Critical realism recognizes gender structures as one type of underlying mechanism that has causal power accounting for inequality and oppression (Fleetwood, 2013). Hence, it is helpful and reasonable to use critical realism to guide inquiries into

work-family conflict. It is also useful to examine work-family conflict through a gender lens that sees gender as an institution and that encourages researchers to “reject a conception of work-family dilemmas as individual problems,” because, as argued by Gerson (2004), “although work-family conflicts are experienced in intensely personal ways, they have institutional sources” (p. 165). A gender lens is compatible with critical realism. In fact, I believe that critical realism combined with a gender lens is more likely to construct knowledge that raises awareness and fosters actions to alter deeper structures and hence, radically address gendered work-family conflict and resulting gender inequality.

### **A Critical Realist Critique of Work-family Conflict Theories Through a Gender Lens**

In this section, the tenets of critical realism and the aforementioned three criteria for rational judgment are used in combination with a gender lens to critique the selected theories starting with role theory. A snapshot of the resulting theory comparison is presented in Table 1.

**Critique of role theory.** Although many studies on work-family conflict rarely explicitly use a specific theory (Madsen & Hammond, 2005; Premeaux et al., 2007), role theory<sup>9</sup> is the most frequently used in building the foundation of work-family conflict research (Madsen & Hammond, 2005). In fact, the commonly used conceptualization of work-family conflict has been derived from this theory as developed by Greenhaus and

---

<sup>9</sup> Madsen and Hammond (2005) suggested distinguishing role conflict theory from role theory. But role conflict is actually one of the concepts in broader role theory (Davis, 1996; Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2006) and many researchers use role conflict theory and role theory interchangeably (Madsen & Hammond, 2005). Hence, in this paper, the distinction between the two is not made and role theory is used throughout the paper.

Beutell (1985). Based on the work of Kahn et al. (1964), Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined work-family conflict as “a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role” (p. 77). They also identified three types of work-family conflict: time-based conflict, strain-based conflict, and behavior-based conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Frone and colleagues (1992) extended the work of Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) and further defined work-family conflict as a two-directional concept: work that interferes with family (WIF or WFC) and family that interferes with work (FIW or FWC).

Mainstream work-family conflict studies were built on this role-theory-informed conceptualization and were mainly grounded in the positivist paradigm evident in the fact that the overwhelming majority of studies were quantitative and predictive research with hypothesis or model testing, along with some meta-analytic studies (Casper et al., 2007; Eby et al., 2005; Kossek et al., 2011). Although role theory is influenced by both structural functionalism and symbolic interactionism (Davis, 1996; Robbins et al., 2006), its functional perspective side is more prominent in the existing work-family literature. The functionalism emerges from the tradition of positivism (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), and symbolic interactionism, in fact, also partly embraces a positivist view (Robbins et al., 2006). Hence, there is congruence between role theory and the positivist epistemological stance that most work-family conflict research has adopted. This line of research has explored the antecedents, moderators, and outcomes of work-family conflict. On the whole, researchers have found that the domain-specific antecedents (e.g.,

demands, stressors, resources, etc.) tend to relate to WFC and FWC respectively, while general work-family conflict and both directions of work-family conflict negatively affect domain-specific, cross-domain, and overall individual well-being and behaviors.

Research has also found direct and indirect, positive reciprocal relations between WFC and FWC (Byron, 2005; Eby et al., 2005; Frone et al., 1992; Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997; Hill et al., 2004; Matthews et al., 2010; Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2005).

Some demographic variables, such as marital status, age, and gender, have been identified as moderators (Carlson, Grzywacz, & Kacmar, 2010; Hill et al., 2008; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Matthews et al., 2010; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010).

In general, mainstream studies have provided an overall understanding of work-family conflict as stated above. However, their underlying world view of positivism regards the nature of social reality as “stable preexisting patterns or order which can be discovered” (Neuman, 2011, p. 119). Accordingly, they inevitably reduce the phenomenon of work-family conflict to what is observable and measurable and try to understand it by identifying and testing the regularities and relationships between work-family conflict and other variables. Consequently, mainstream role-theory-informed studies investigate only the empirical and actual layers of the phenomenon without revealing the underlying causal structures that set the conditions for the existence of work-family conflict. In other words, they accept work-family conflict as it is, without exploring the underlying structures and forces that really cause work-family conflict.

Mainstream research also considers gender simply as an objective fact—sex or an individual characteristic and, hence, a variable—ignoring the socially constructed nature of gender and its power as an organizing and allocating institution. The positivist view of

gender hinders researchers from uncovering the gendered mechanisms that create the fundamental base for work-family conflict. For instance, research that holds this view of gender tends to take the norms of separate spheres of work and family as well as gendered division of labor, on which most organizations are based and that contribute to gendered work-family conflict, as given rather than challenge or transform them.

In sum, role theory helps to define work-family conflict as a type of role conflict, but it does not explain how and why the dividing roles were designed in such an incompatible way in the first place, nor does it suggest transformative solutions. In fact, role theory and its derived research seem to readily accept the roles and expectations constructed within work settings and society which makes it harder, if not impossible, to fundamentally address work-family conflict. As Agger (1991) criticized, positivist theories and research tend to uncritically accept the status quo rather than transforming it. Therefore, according to the three criteria for rational judgement on theories (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008; Maxwell, 2012), the insights provided by role theory and aligned research are not complete nor sufficient to explain and radically reduce work-family conflict.

**Critique of gendered organization theory.** Gendered organization theory has mostly been used to explain the gendered “organizational logic” of workplaces, which impacts organizational culture and work practices (Acker, 1990, p. 147) and influences how organizations respond to employees’ work-family interactions and the extent to which employees’ family lives are taken into account in workplaces (Britton, 2000). This theory reveals the fundamental mechanisms embedded in the organizations that contribute to work-family conflict, by regarding gender as “a foundational element of

organizational structure and work life, present in its process, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power” (Britton, 2000, p. 419). By analyzing underlying gendered structures and interactions embedded in work organizations, this theory uncovers that seemingly gender-neutral workplace norms and practices are actually gendered and can result in work-family conflict and systematically disadvantageous outcomes for women and caregivers.

According to this theory, in most organizations, the content of a job is abstractly described based on the criteria of knowledge, skills, behaviors, performance expectation, effort, and working conditions and a belief that whoever can fit the job description may get the job. As Acker (1990) argued, this seemingly gender-neutral organizational logic is inherently gendered by assuming whoever fills the abstract job should be a “disembodied worker who exists only for the work” (p.149) and who has no outside obligations or desires that may interfere with the job. This logic is mutually reinforced by the longstanding societal belief in the separate spheres of work and family and the resulting gendered division of labor (Ely & Meyerson, 2000b; Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002; Rutherford, 2001). This logic fosters an organizational culture with the norms of work centrality and the ideal worker— those who can fully devote their time and energy to paid work without interference from any other aspects of life including family or community obligations (Bailyn & Harrington, 2004; Kelly, Ammons, Chermack, & Moen, 2010; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002; M. W. Sallee, 2012; Williams, 2000). The organizational logic and a disembodied worker are actually gender-loaded and virtually constructed based on men’s life experiences and from a male body. Hence, the nature of the gendered organization is masculine (Acker, 1990; Billing, 2000).

According to Kelly et al. (2010), “living up to the ideal worker norm is an important way to enact masculinity” (p. 283). Working long hours and being constantly on call is a form of proof of being an ideal worker and one way that employees exhibit masculinity (Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002).

Thus, it is unsurprising that there is no room within masculine organizations for caring values, human reproduction, and caregiving responsibilities that are traditionally associated with femininity and women. Family responsibilities are often hidden in work organizations. Whoever wants to have a successful career would not discuss family needs publicly and explicitly at workplaces, and those, primarily mothers and increasingly fathers, who have to meet acute family needs usually face coworkers’ resentment or are penalized for not being a disembodied ideal worker (Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Kaufman, 2013; Kelly et al., 2010; Noonan & Corcoran, 2004; Watanabe & Falci, 2016). Evaluation of commitment and competence is also influenced by the ideal worker norm and masculine organizational logic as commitment and competence are commonly gauged by the number of hours worked (Bailyn & Harrington, 2004; Brannen & Lewis, 2000; Cahusac & Kanji, 2014; Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Kelly et al., 2010; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). It is, therefore, reasonable to argue that gendered organizations give rise to work-family conflict.

This theory is useful because it explains the real or causal structures and mechanisms that contribute to work-family conflict and related gender inequality at the organization level; its key concepts have been supported by evidence from various studies (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002; Rutherford, 2001; M. W. Sallee, 2012). Findings of previous action research that aimed to change those gendered

organizational assumptions and structures have been documented. This line of research has discovered that it is important but very difficult to keep the gender narrative going within the change efforts (Ely & Meyerson, 2000a; Kelly et al., 2010; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Without a gender focus in these efforts, the assumptions about the separation between work and family as well as norms and practices of gendered organizations cannot be challenged. As a result, these change efforts cannot fundamentally reduce work-family conflict and gender inequality. Hence, more work is needed to develop narratives or strategies that keep the gender focus at the forefront of change efforts (Ely & Meyerson, 2000a).

Overall, gendered organization theory meets two out of three criteria for rational judgement of theories. Specifically, this theory puts emphasis on structural influences. It helps identify and denaturalize the underlying gendered structures and mechanisms embedded in work organizations that contribute to work-family conflict. This theory, hence, is useful for stimulating ideas to transform gendered organizations. However, this theory overlooks the dimension of human agency. Additionally, since this theory mainly focuses on the organization level, it cannot explain mechanisms at other levels of social structure, such as the family or societal level. Thus, this theory alone does not provide a complete explanation for work-family conflict.

**Critique of ecology of the gendered life course approach.** The ecology of the gendered life course approach examines work-family conflict by analyzing the human development process with a focus on adult development through a gender lens. While based on three prevailing theories of human development, including ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 2005), the life span (Baltes & Baltes, 1990), and the life course (Elder



Jr., 1998; Levinson, 1986), as well as a socialization perspective (Levinson, 1986), this approach challenges the mainstream theories' assumption of the generic development process that operates in the same way for most people (Moen & Chesley, 2008; Moen, Kelly, & Magennis, 2009). In this approach, gender is viewed as an institution of allocating labor, resources, and power that results in gendered adulthood and work-family conflict (Han & Moen, 1999; Moen & Chesley, 2008; Moen et al., 2009). This approach explains how time (age), gender, social convoys, institutional convoys, social processes, and human agency interactively weave a gendered ecology where we live and that creates gendered work-family conflict. Mainly, this approach challenges outdated assumptions and stereotypes about work, careers, and gender and argues for newer, more open and flexible "institutional arrangements for structuring the work-family interface for both men and women at all life course and career stages" (Han & Moen, 1999, p. 98).

Specifically, the ecology of the gendered life course approach regards adult development as the dynamic process of interaction between individuals and their psychosocial environments (contexts/ecologies) (Moen et al., 2009). It recognizes human agency but also contends that human agency is always constrained by the contexts available to them (Moen et al., 2009). This approach points out two types of contexts that shape the adult life course: social convoys and institutional convoys. Social convoys indicate linked lives (Elder Jr., 1994, 1995, 1998), a web of relationships in which most people live. Individuals' social convoys can change in size, provide supportiveness, and bring strain over the adult course, which may either reduce or accentuate the level of work-family conflict a person experiences. Individuals' choices made in response to work-family conflict are also shaped by this web of relationships (Moen et al., 2009).

Institutional convoys refer to the organizational, cultural, and societal expectations, norms, rules, regulations, and policies that introduce opportunities, resources, or obstacles for people to enter and exit roles (Moen et al., 2009).

This approach further posits that age and gender are not only biological characteristics, but also social and historical forces that are built into these institutional convoys and determine the appropriate social roles for women and men, as well as the expectations, rules, and policies about the time, timing, and duration of those roles at different ages and life stages (Moen et al., 2009). Rooted in these contexts, the life course, hence, is virtually an age-graded, lock-step, and gendered institution, taking on a “rule-like status in social thought and action” (Moen & Chesley, 2008, p. 97), which can intensify work-family conflict and gender disparities as people move through the adult years (Moen & Chesley, 2008; Moen et al., 2009; Moen & Sweet, 2004). The age-graded and gendered life course is reproduced through the processes of socialization, allocation, and strategic selection (Moen & Chesley, 2008; Moen et al., 2009), operating within the social and institutional contexts permeated with outdated gender and age “scripts” (Moen et al., 2009, p. 383) and the career mystique built on men’s life experience and the breadwinner-homemaker model (Moen et al., 2009; Moen & Roehling, 2005).

Moen and Sweet (2004) as well as Moen et al. (2009) argued that the current institutional convoys, including statutory and organizational policies, workplace culture and practices, and gender norms, continually maintain inflexible career paths that cannot keep up with the changes occurring in the world, because, they argued, they were mainly developed for a workforce that fit the age-and gender-graded career pathway of continuous full-time schooling, employment, and retirement and the mythical men-

breadwinner and women-homemaker family structure. But, the current competitive global economy, the changed nature of work, the converging roles that men and women have at work, and the increasing diversity in the family structure have de facto de-standardized people's life course (Yeandle, 2001).

As policies and practices fail to keep pace with the changing realities of work and family life, a "structural lag" has emerged, a concept developed by Matilda White Riley to indicate the fundamental mismatches between people's needs and institutional convoys (Han & Moen, 1999; Moen & Chesley, 2008; Moen & Sweet, 2004; Yeandle, 2001). This structural lag not only contributes to work-family conflict but also reproduces gender inequality. In order to reduce structural lag and work-family conflict, this approach argues for transforming and reconstructing the outdated beliefs and assumptions about lock-step life course, age- and gender-graded career paths, and gender roles as well as corresponding policies and practices (Han & Moen, 1999; Moen & Sweet, 2004). The transformative institutional convoys should reorganize the rhythms of work to make it compatible with caregiving, community engagement, and other responsibilities (Moen, 2011; Yeandle, 2001) in a way that diminishes gender inequality in distributing labor, resources, and power.

Based on the three critical realist criteria for rational judgment of theories, the ecology of the gendered life course approach provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding and studying work-family conflict. First of all, it emphasizes the impact of historical and social context on the occurrence of work-family conflict (Moen & Chesley, 2008). Underscoring structural influences helps direct change efforts to identify and transform the institutional mechanisms that produce work-family conflict, which not only

has a better chance to fundamentally solve the problem, but also avoids further burdening already-stressed individuals or families by attributing the responsibility solely to them. Also, this approach explicitly incorporates gender in its analysis and recognizes gender as an institution that organizes our life course and affects our “choices” by allocating available opportunities and constraints in line with scripted gender roles (Moen & Chesley, 2008). By acknowledging the influence of gender, this approach explores the underlying mechanisms that contribute to gendered work-family conflict and resulting gender inequality. Doing so, this approach helps explain why work-family conflict and gender inequality occur and hence, helps point out possible directions for change (e.g., rewriting gender scripts, questioning gendered, lock-step life course, etc.).

Although this approach recognizes structural constraints, it also acknowledges human agency and people’s capacity for change (Moen & Chesley, 2008). Actually, it is because of this agency that more and more people’s lives play out differently, which in turn builds the case that we should question unfitting institutional convos and call for structural transformation. In addition, this approach stresses the interdependence between linked lives and the influence of this interdependence on the work-family interface. By paying attention to human agency, linked lives, and structural influence simultaneously, this approach is able to capture the complexities of work-family interaction across individuals’ and families’ life course (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Han & Moen, 1999; Levinson, 1986; Moen, 2011; Moen & Chesley, 2008). Finally, the time component of this approach reminds us that due to their dynamic and socially constructed nature, social and institutional convos can change over time and across cohorts, as does work-family conflict.

All in all, this approach provides new and rich insights for understanding work-family conflict and related gender inequality, but it is not without limitations. For instance, although some concepts of this approach (e.g., linked lives) may help explore work-family conflict at individual and family levels, it mainly focuses on discussing norms and mechanisms at the societal level. This approach does not explicitly explain how gender norms and mechanisms work at the organizational level to make contemporary organizations operate in a way that gives rise to gendered work-family conflict. According to Houston (2010) critical realism posits that the social world includes many interconnecting systems (e.g., individual, family, organization, etc.) with their own particular generative mechanisms. A theory that mainly addresses one or only a few systems may not provide a complete understanding of the social world. Given the fact that the existence of work-family conflict can be attributed to mechanisms at various levels, the ecology of gendered life course approach alone is not sufficient to explain and address it.

**A comparison of three theories.** By utilizing critical realist tenets and a gender lens in the critique of theories, I found that each of the three theories has its own merits and shortcomings. Role theory does not meet critical realism's three judgmental criteria, but it is the theory most frequently used in empirical studies. Knowledge accumulated based on role-theory-informed studies can still provide a foundational understanding of work-family conflict. Gendered organization theory meets two criteria (see Table 1) and is useful in explaining underlying mechanisms at the organizational level that contribute to work-family conflict. The ecology of the gendered life course approach, on the other hand, satisfies all three criteria but mainly discusses underlying structures and

Table 1

*Comparisons of Three Theories Used to Explain Gendered Work-Family Conflict*

	<b>Role theory</b>	<b>Gendered organization theory</b>	<b>Ecology of the gendered life course approach</b>
<b>Application to work-family conflict</b>	Defines work-family conflict as a role conflict	Identifies gendered organizational mechanisms that give rise to work-family conflict	Posits that gendered ecology and processes operating in it jointly create a rule-like, gendered, lock-step life course institution that sets conditions for work-family conflict
<b>Type of study and methods used</b>	Quantitative studies: surveys, modeling, & meta-analyses	Mostly qualitative study: action research, case study, ethnomethodology, interviews, focus group, etc.; theoretical review	Both quantitative and qualitative studies: surveys, comparative studies, interviews, life story, etc.; theoretical review & literature review
<b>Level of analysis</b>	Mostly individual level	Mainly organizational level	Mainly societal level
<b>Judgment criterion* 1. Go beyond empirical and actual layers; identify the underlying structures, power, and mechanisms</b>	Unmet	Met	Met
<b>Judgment criterion 2. Emphasize dual foci of structure and human agency</b>	Unmet	Partially met	Met
<b>Judgment criterion 3. Denaturalize social structures &amp; stimulate transformative solutions</b>	Unmet	Met	Met

Note. Author’s analysis. \* The three judgment criteria were derived from the ideas of Al-Amoudi and Willmott (2008, 2011), Houston (2010), Lawson (1999), Maxwell (2012), and Patomäki and Wight (2000).

mechanisms at the societal level. Putting all three theories together can provide a more complete explanation of gendered work-family conflict. Hence, a multi-theoretical perspective that explores three layers and various systems of social reality (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Madsen & Hammond, 2005) was used to develop a holistic theoretical view of work-family conflict.

### **Holistic View of Work-family Conflict: An Integrated Theoretical Framework**

Under the critical realist worldview, a theoretical framework that integrates insights informed by role theory, gendered organization theory, and the ecology of gendered life course approach was developed for studying gendered work-family conflict (see Figure 1). This integrated framework can be used with critical realist research and is in concert with critical realist retrodution reasoning—“the inference from a description of some phenomenon to a description of something that produces it or is a condition for it” (Houston, 2010, p. 82)—in that it explicates work-family conflict, from describing observed patterns of regularities to discovering what might produce them. This process is symbolized as an arrowheaded line to the right of the framework (see Figure 1).

In this framework, a model formed in the first/surface rectangle describes the relationships between work-family conflict and other variables found in the mainstream studies derived from role theory. This model indicates that mainstream research explores work-family conflict at the empirical layer where research captures observable and measurable work-family conflict as the outcome of actual events represented by work and family demands, stressors, resources, and outcomes at the actual layer. Although research has identified patterns and regularities between these events and experienced work-family conflict, the real mechanisms behind these events are yet to be identified

(and typically are not the subject of role theory). Hence, the explanation of work-family conflict informed by role theory is incomplete. The other two theories provide further insights into the mechanisms that produce the phenomenon of work-family conflict.

The second rectangle represents the organization-level mechanisms and structures (e.g., gendered organizational logic, assumptions about separate spheres, ideal worker norm, masculine hegemony, and gendered commitment and competence). These mechanisms and structures produce the actual events and set the conditions for work-family conflict at the causal layer of organizational context, as identified by gendered organization theory and related studies.

Informed by the ecology of the gendered life course approach and aligned studies, the outer rectangle is the causal layer of social ecologies/contexts. The ecologies/contexts consist of societal-level structures and mechanisms (e.g., age-and gender-graded institutional convoys, social convoys, gender norms, career mystique, social policies, gendered allocation, and so on) that foster gendered organizations and the resulting events that contribute to work-family conflict. This framework also recognizes constrained human agency and strategic choices people usually make which can either reinforce or challenge causal mechanisms embedded in institutional convoys at both organizational and societal levels. Finally, this framework emphasizes the influence of time and suggests that how, to what extent, and in what contexts people experience work-family conflict may change over time or vary across different cohorts.

Altogether, this integrated theoretical framework could provide a more complete and holistic understanding of work-family conflict, by offering explanations for its occurrence from not only three layers of the social world, but also at individual,



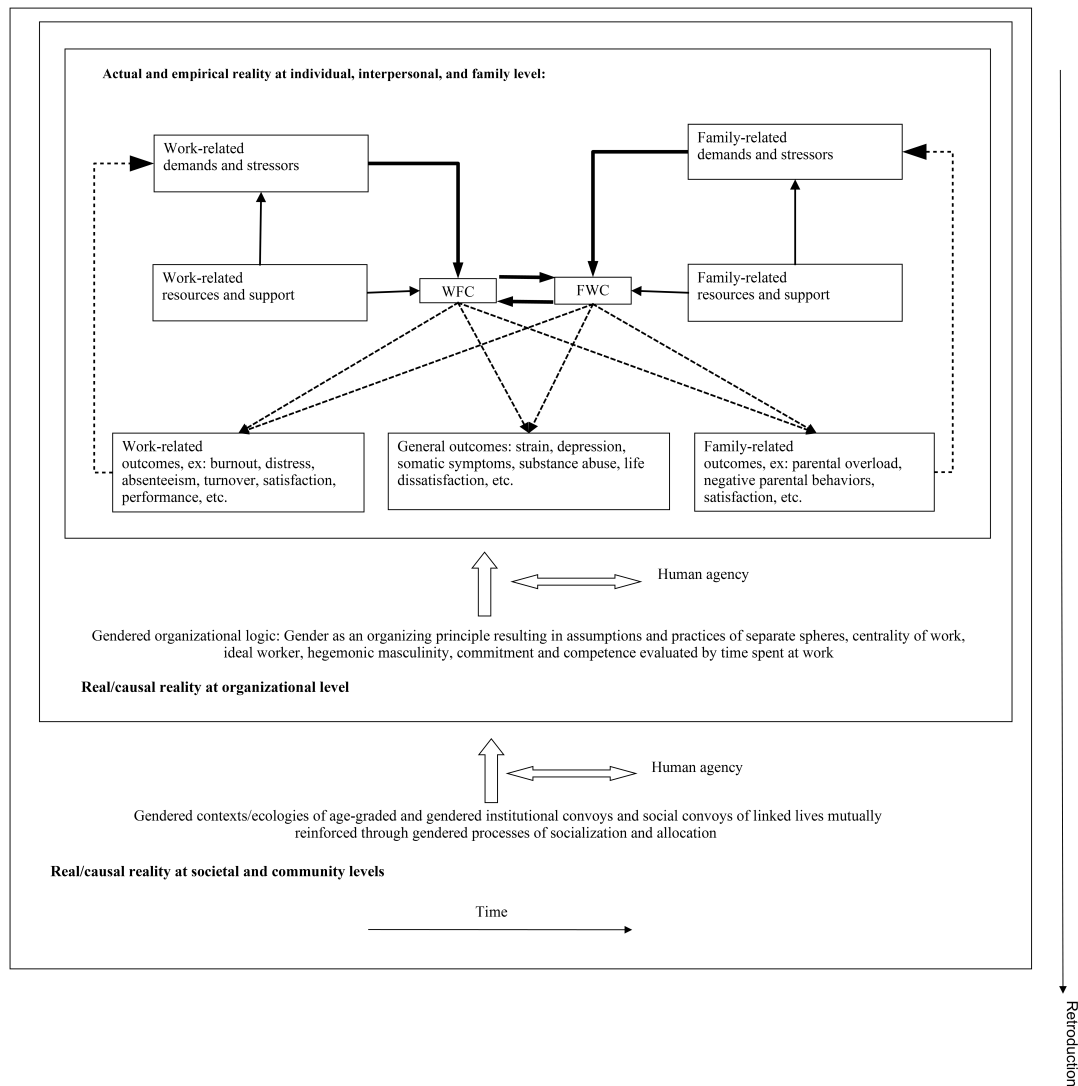


Figure 1. Integrated-theoretical framework for studying work-family conflict. Within the rectangles, WFC stands for work-to-family conflict and FWC stands for family-to-work conflict.

- ➡ indicates a positive relationship;
- indicates a negative relationship;
- ⋯➤ indicates both a positive and a negative relationship are possible;
- ➡ indicates causal influence;
- ↔ indicates the influence of human agency.

organizational, and societal levels (Houston, 2010). This integrated theoretical framework is congruent with critical realism (Maxwell, 2012), the person-in-environment perspective in social work (Pitt-Catsouphes & Swanberg, 2006) as well as social work values and ethics (NASW, 2008; Robbins et al., 2006). This framework can guide transformative research on work-family conflict and also point out directions for future practices and change efforts at organizational and societal levels.

### **Implications and Discussion**

Work-family conflict is not solely a women's issue. Both men and women experience work-family conflict. It has detrimental effects on the well-being of individuals, families, organizations, and society (Allen et al., 2000; Maertz & Boyar, 2011). Hence, it is an issue that concerns all individuals, families, organizations, and society as a whole. Demographic trends in families and the labor force, the competitive global economy, and an aging society together will make combining work and family life a continuing challenge for many individuals and families (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Byron, 2005; Chang et al., 2010; Emslie & Hunt, 2009).

While work-family conflict should not be framed solely as a women's issue, it does have gender implications. Work-family conflict *per se* is gendered because its occurrence can be attributed to the assumption and persistent practice of separate spheres of work/public/men and family/private/women/caregivers in families, workplaces, and social policies. Consequently, work-family conflict unfairly constrains women from achieving in the workplace and men from fully participating in the family (Bailyn et al., 2000). By adopting both a gender lens and critical realism in critiquing theories of work-family conflict, this analysis proposes an integrated-theoretical framework that explains

gendered structural contexts and mechanisms that set the conditions for the existence of work-family conflict.

Theories are essential to enhance social workers' understanding of work-family conflict and to guide practice and research to radically address it. This study contributes to the social work knowledge base by offering a holistic and transformative theoretical understanding of work-family conflict. The proposed integrated-theoretical framework has important implications for social work practice, education, and research.

In terms of social work practice, this framework can guide practice at different levels. At the individual level, the framework suggests helping working parents by providing social support, resources, coping skills training, and so on to reconcile work and family responsibilities. This framework also emphasizes the importance of a system-level approach (e.g., changing work conditions, organization culture, workplace policies, and statutory policies) to fundamentally alleviate work-family conflict. For instance, at the organizational level, it is important not only to develop and implement workplace work-family policies, but also to identify and transform the underlying assumptions, structures, and culture that produce work-family conflict and gender inequality.

Only when organizations realize that separate spheres and the ideal worker norm are unrealistic or even harmful and take into account workers' obligations and needs from family or other aspects of life in the work design, can work-family conflict be radically addressed (Bailyn et al., 2000). Therefore, occupational social workers need to raise awareness of the gendered assumptions and practices within workplaces and to work with their partner organizations to redesign work and foster new cultures that can help reduce work-family conflict and allow workers to enjoy both their work and family lives. But, as

informed by this framework, organizations exist within social contexts. Hence, social workers could use this framework to understand and examine organizational policies and practices within their national sociopolitical and public policy contexts (Brannen & Lewis, 2000; Moen & Chesley, 2008). Further, social workers can help to bring about changes at policy and societal levels to alleviate work-family conflict.

With respect to social work education, work-family conflict is mostly researched in the fields of business, economics, human resources, and organizational behavior and psychology (Amstad et al., 2011; Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2006). Considering its prevalence and detrimental effect on human well-being, it is vital to incorporate knowledge about work-family conflict into social work education. This framework can help broaden social work students' understanding of work-family conflict, in terms of its causes, consequences, gender implications, and possible interventions that can alleviate or even eliminate it. This framework can be a theoretical model that helps students learn how to intervene not only at the individual level but also at organizational and societal levels.

In regard to research, this framework can guide research to provide full explanations by exploring the complexities of work-family conflict at different layers, over time, and in different contexts as scholars have recommended (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Madsen & Hammond, 2005). As critical realists have argued (Charlwood et al., 2014; Houston, 2010), research conducted at the empirical and actual layers to identify patterns and regularities among variables is still important, since it can help point out the directions for further examining the deeper structures and mechanisms at the causal layer. Research that can reveal and change structures or institutional

contexts (e.g., organizational and societal culture and norms) that contribute to work-family conflict is much needed (Kossek et al., 2011). The proposed framework can guide this endeavor and has implications for research methods. Uncovering the underlying causal structures that produce work-family conflict and stimulating transformative changes warrant different methods of inquiry that include ways to surface these structures and make them discussable and actionable (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Action research is one such method (Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002) whose philosophy is congruent with critical realism's tenets and retrodution inference (Houston, 2010), on which this framework was based. In fact, this framework can guide both quantitative and qualitative studies as well as mix-method research to comprehensively examine work-family conflict at and across different layers of the social world and social levels.

The proposed framework, however, is still limited in that it draws on work-family conflict studies that mainly focused on native, white, heterosexual, professional couples (Ford et al., 2007; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Matthews et al., 2010). In other words, it may not be useful to describe and explain the work-family conflict of same-sex couples, immigrants, ethnic minorities, and nonprofessionals. Hence, it may need to be modified further to be more inclusive by incorporating diverse populations' work-family interaction experiences.

## Chapter Three

### Ranking Work-Family Policies Across OECD Countries:

#### Implications for Work-Family Conflict and Gender Equality

##### Background

In the face of dramatically changed demographic trends and harsher working conditions resulting from economic globalization, working parents across countries perceive increased work-family conflict<sup>10</sup> (Hassan et al., 2010; Kaufman, 2013; Kelly et al., 2011; Moe & Shandy, 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007, 2013; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002; Sweet, 2014). Work-family conflict has “dysfunctional and socially costly effects on individual work life, home life, and general well-being and health” (Allen et al., 2000, p. 301). It also negatively affects the well-being of organizations and society as a whole, in terms of productivity and gender equality (Cha, 2010; Meurs et al., 2008). Work-family conflict may negatively affect children’s well-being as well through lower quality parenting behaviour, higher family stress, less family satisfaction, and so forth (Allen et al., 2000; Amstad et al., 2011; Cooklin et al., 2015).

Work-family policies have been developed to help working parents address work-family conflict. It is not only an effort made by a single country, but an effort adopted by the international community. For decades, the European Union (EU) has been concerned with work-family conflict and gender equality. The EU has strived for promoting the reconciliation of work and family life and increasing female labor force participation

---

<sup>10</sup> Work-family conflict is defined as objective and subjective incompatibility between work and family demands manifested especially in time and strain. By using this term, however, I do not indicate that work and family responsibilities are inherently in conflict but, rather, highlight detrimental effects and institutional causes of the experienced incompatibility between work and family demands that can and should be addressed.

through directives and work-family policies (Chandra, 2012; Haas, 2003; Moss & Deven, 2006; Naumann et al., 2013). Similarly, other international organizations, such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations (UN), and the World Bank, are also concerned with these issues (Adema, 2012; Moss & Deven, 2006; Naumann et al., 2013; Whitehead, 2008). Internationally, the most common work-family policies that are implemented to help employees reconcile work and family demands include leave policies (i.e., maternity leave, paternity leave, and parental leave), early childhood education and care policy (ECEC), out-of-school-hours care services, flexibility policies (e.g., breastfeeding break, flexibility in deciding when to start and finish daily work, reduced working hours, part-time work, condensed work weeks, etc.), and tax policy (Blau et al., 2014; Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Kaufman, 2013; Moss & Deven, 2006; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007, 2014n).

Although various work-family policies have been developed to help working parents reconcile work and family obligations, the supportiveness level of policies varies across countries, which not only differentiates whether countries help working parents address work-family conflict, but also reflects assumptions underlying policies that either reinforce or address gender inequality. Furthermore, since work-family conflict and related gender inequality have a negative impact on child well-being, work-family policies as interventions are also likely to influence child outcomes. Research has found that policies that support working parents by giving them time to be with their children while securing their jobs and income or that provide affordable, good quality child care when parents are at work can not only address work-family conflict and gender

inequality, but also maintain or even increase children's well-being. Three types of policies that can have such effects and are consistently recommended by researchers are job-protected paid leave, flexible work arrangements, and publicly subsidized good quality ECEC (Berger, Hill, & Waldfogel, 2005; Brooks-Gunn, Han, & Waldfogel, 2010; Engster & Stensöta, 2011; Ruhm, 2000, 2004).

This current research examines how work-family policies are designed across OECD countries in terms of the generosity and the coordination among three types of policies (i.e., parental leave, ECEC, and flexible work arrangement) and gender equality measures in policy schemes. Countries are scored and ranked based on their policy designs. A new typology of four policy regimes is further constructed based on a care-employment analytic framework that assesses how countries regard parents' dual roles of workers and caregivers, whether and how countries compensate caregiving, how childcare responsibility is distributed among the state, market, and family and between men and women within families, as well as gender gaps in employment outcomes. This new set of regime types represents countries' varied abilities to help parents reconcile work and family demands. This comparative analysis not only allows for a better understanding of the link between policy regimes and daily lives (Zimmerman, 2013) but also provides available and accessible information for parents and social workers to advocate for more statutory support to address work-family conflict while promoting gender equality and child well-being.

**Previous efforts to compare and typologize work-family policies and gaps.**

Work-family conflict is the product of the tension between employment and caregiving, as it is a result of incompatible, competing demands from paid work and unpaid care



work caused by dated but embedded assumptions of separate spheres of work and family, gendered division of labour, and an ideal worker norm in workplaces and social policies (J. Lewis, 1992, 1997; Rhona Rapoport et al., 2002). Consequently, work-family conflict is gendered and has implications for gender equality. To understand how well countries address work-family conflict and related gender inequality, it is essential to uncover underlying logic in policies about paid work and unpaid care work.

Feminist scholars began to examine the tension between employment and caregiving in the 1980s and 1990s, when they started incorporating gender into welfare state research. Since then, comparative analyses of work-family policies have proliferated to explicitly examine the role of unpaid caregiving in citizens' daily lives and the relationship among unpaid caregiving, paid work, and welfare (Bambra, 2007; Beneria, 2010; Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Castles & Mitchell, 1992; Daly & Lewis, 2000; Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Haas, 2003; Knijn & Kremer, 1997; Korpi, 2000; Leira, 1998; J. Lewis, 1992, 1997; Lokteff & Piercy, 2012; Moss, 2012; Moss & Deven, 2006; Ray et al., 2010). A body of research has focused on comparing the generosity of parental leave designs indicated by both benefit levels and benefit duration across countries (e.g., Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Haas, 2003; Ray et al., 2010). Some researchers further explored the extent to which parental leave designs are gender egalitarian by implementing measures in policies (e.g., non-transferable leave entitlement and other incentives for men to take leave) that address a gendered division of labor in unpaid care work (e.g., Ray et al., 2010). This previous research on parental leave has revealed a consistent finding that among high-income industrialized countries, Nordic countries, especially Sweden, have provided more generous and gender egalitarian leave

policies. These studies have increased understanding of varied leave policy designs across nations and their implications for gendered division of labor in unpaid caregiving and women's disadvantage in paid work. However, the vast majority of these studies compared only two dimensions of policy schemes—benefit levels and duration—without consideration of eligibility requirements and flexibility in the use of leave in policy rules that would affect the coverage of policy and parents' actual use of leave (Boushey, 2011; Ray et al., 2010; Ruhm, 2011).

Efforts have also been taken to re-examine welfare states by researching gender and care dimensions of welfare regimes through reviewing and comparing work-family policies. In so doing, some scholars (e.g., Daly & Lewis, 2000; Haas, 2003; J. Lewis, 1992) have created new typologies of welfare regimes that are different from the one developed by Esping-Andersen (1990). For instance, Lewis (1992) identified three types of welfare regimes, including strong male-breadwinner states, modified male-breadwinner states, and weak male-breadwinner states, by analyzing the relationship among unpaid care work, paid work, and welfare in Ireland, Britain, France, and Sweden. Haas (2003) also developed a typology of care policy models consisting of four care models (i.e., privatized, family-centered, market-oriented, and valued care models) based on comparative analyses of 15 EU countries' leave policies. Many of these studies (e.g., Daly & Lewis, 2000; Haas, 2003; J. Lewis, 1992), however, have not introduced the methodology they used in their studies or developed their typologies theoretically rather than empirically, as criticized by Bambra (2007). Additionally, some of them focused on a single type of work-family policy, that is, leave policy (Haas, 2003; Moss & Deven, 2006). Although leave policy is an important measure that can help parents reconcile

paid work and unpaid family obligations, this type of policy alone is insufficient to address caring needs and work-family conflict. Also, a single policy alone cannot sufficiently represent countries' institutional responses to the tension arising from the interface between work and family. The validity of regime typologies developed based on the analysis of only one type of policy would be compromised as well. Without taking into account other types of work-family policies and the coordination level between them and leave policy, these studies could not fully assess welfare states' efforts to provide a coordinated policy system that allows parents more leeway to choose preferred methods (e.g., taking leave or using public child care) to reconcile caregiving and employment demands.

Other researchers have expanded their analyses to include other types of policies, such as ECEC, working time regulations, etc. (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Knijn & Kremer, 1997; Leira, 1998; J. Lewis, 1992). But much of this research did not systematically assess or quantify the coordination level among policies, studied only a small number of countries, and did not develop new regime typologies (Bambra, 2007; Castles & Mitchell, 1992; Gálvez-Muñoz, Rodríguez-Modroño, & Domínguez-Serrano, 2011; Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Knijn & Kremer, 1997; Korpi, 2000; Leira, 1998; Moss & Deven, 2006). Many of them used Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology as the framework to examine leave policy, ECEC, and working time policies in particular countries from the same welfare regime (e.g., Leira, 1998) or compared these policies across few selected countries of the Social Democratic regime, Conservative regime, and Liberal regime (e.g., Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Knijn & Kremer, 1997). They found that Social Democratic countries are more likely to have

generous policies to support parents' dual roles of caregivers and workers, while Conservative and Liberal countries are substantially lagging (Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Knijn & Kremer, 1997). Although the findings of this line of research are generally in accordance with those of the aforementioned studies of Daly and Lewis (2000), Haas (2003), and Lewis (1992) concerning Social Democratic/Scandinavian countries, the findings of this line of research regarding other countries are different from those of the latter. Alternative typologies, especially the one developed by Haas (2003), further differentiated countries of the Conservative and Liberal welfare regime types constructed by Esping-Andersen (1990) by taking into account gender and unpaid care work that were overlooked in Esping-Andersen's research (O'Connor, 1993, 1996; Orloff, 1993; Ray et al., 2010).

The welfare regime studies of work-family policies have offered new understandings of how countries can be categorized differently based on their varied work-family policy designs. Various categorizations of countries not only reflect their distinct assumptions about paid work, unpaid care work, gender relations and the state's role in providing care that either address or reinforce gender inequality, but also differentiate countries' abilities to reconcile parents' competing demands of unpaid caregiving and paid work. These studies have not only established the concept that caring is an important social and policy dimension that needs to be examined in comparative policy studies, but also developed the earner-carer model (see Fraser, 1994; Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Ray et al., 2010) that recognizes and values men's and women's engagement in both paid work and unpaid caregiving. Researchers have envisioned that a society that views both employment and caregiving as social rights

(Knijn & Kremer, 1997; Leira, 1998; J. Lewis, 1997) and that supports and encourages men and women to be both the earners and carers through policies would be the society that can better address work-family conflict while promoting gender equality. Previous studies have given valuable insights into the topic, but their limitations (e.g., overlooking eligibility and flexible use rules in leave policy, developing new welfare regime typologies based only on a single type of policy, focusing on only a few countries, lacking a clear methodology, relying on a typology that fails to capture gender and caring dimensions, etc.) leave substantial gaps in the comparative literature on work-family policies and regime typology. This current research aimed to fill these gaps.

**The current research.** This research adopts a policy regime perspective to map the governing arrangements (May & Jochim, 2012) for reconciling parents' work and family obligations and promoting gender equality across OECD countries. Through describing policy values, ideas, principles, and institutional arrangements manifested in public actions and policy designs, a policy regime perspective provides a useful way to conceptualize distinct typologies to classify empirical similarities and differences among countries (Lange & Meadwell, 1991, as cited in Ebbinghaus, 2012; Kaufmann, 2006; May & Jochim, 2012; Pfau-Effinger, 2005). In other words, a regime typology approach is a way of backward mapping the governing arrangements that characterize the whole system by examining components of welfare provisions, such as policy designs, outcomes, etc., as suggested by several scholars (Arts & Gelissen, 2002; Castles & Mitchell, 1992; Ebbinghaus, 2012; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Guo & Gilbert, 2007; May & Jochim, 2012). Accordingly, this research compares two components of welfare states, that is policy designs and parents' caregiving and employment patterns (i.e., outcomes)

that can be empirically and theoretically viewed as a reflection of countries' policy schemes and ideologies about gender roles and the roles of the state, market, and family in providing care. Specifically, countries' policy designs are measured and compared by two indices developed in this research, while parents' caregiving and employment patterns are captured by indicators retrieved from the OECD family database. Results are then theoretically interpreted by the Care-Employment Analytic Framework formed in this research.

In agreement with Fraser (1994) and Gornick and Meyers (2004), this research assumes the equal importance of caregiving and employment in a citizen's<sup>11</sup> life and argues that a desirable welfare regime should pursue inclusive citizenship by recognizing the citizens' right to time to give care and the right to receive care in an ungendered way that emphasizes the simultaneousness of being a citizen-worker and citizen-caregiver (Knijn & Kremer, 1997). Accordingly, the Care-Employment Analytic Framework informed by the earner-carer model examines the extent to which countries move toward inclusive citizenship through assessing and comparing how countries help parents care for their children without sacrificing their (especially mothers') employment through the provisions of leave, ECEC, and flexible work arrangement policies. Specifically, this analytic framework consists of the care and employment dimension. The care dimension adopts the ideas of Daly and Lewis (2000), Knijn and Kremer (1997), and Lewis (1997) to examine the caring elements of a policy regime by investigating whether caregiving is

---

<sup>11</sup> The term of citizen rather than a more inclusive word (e.g., residents) is used in this study because the latter does not accurately reflect the fact that policies in many countries may not be open to non-citizen residents and/or undocumented workers. Whether work-family policies should be available to non-citizen residents and undocumented workers is also contingent on countries' respective immigration policies and is beyond the scope of this study.

seen as a public or private responsibility, whether caregiving is paid, whether caregiving is viewed as the rights of caregivers and care receivers, whether parents are given the right to make an autonomous choice about using or not using non-parental, formal childcare, and how care responsibility is distributed among state, market and family as well as between men and women. The employment dimension examines whether caregiving contributes to financial dependence of caregivers (especially mothers) through interrupting and repressing their employment participation (Zimmerman, 2013).

Building on the literature, this research contributes to the field by filling the aforementioned gaps. First of all, this study takes eligibility and flexibility of leave policy into analyses and compares not only the generosity of three types of work-family policies, but also the coordination level among them across a larger set of countries. Secondly, the current study incorporates a gender dimension by examining gender equality measures in policy designs and how well countries value and support parents' dual roles of workers and caregivers. Thirdly, this research compares policies more precisely by systematically quantifying their level of generosity and coordination as well as the extent to which policies are designed to promote gender equality, using indices developed for this research. Fourthly, this research develops a new set of regime types that highlights countries' similarities and differences in policy designs and empirical patterns of using ECEC services and informal care, gendered employment outcomes, and fathers' use of leave. Through this systematic and empirical comparison of countries' policy designs and outcomes, the current research identifies directions for further improvement in order to better address work-family conflict, promote gender equality, and enhance child well-being.

## Methods

**Countries of comparison, policies, procedure, and sources of data.** This research is a cross-sectional comparative policy study that compared work-family policies that are applicable as of 2014 across OECD countries (n=33; Chile and Latvia were excluded due to unavailability of most data). Specifically, statutory parental leave policy,<sup>12</sup> ECEC,<sup>13</sup> and flexibility policy<sup>14</sup> were reviewed.

A multi-stage approach was employed to conduct this research. A database containing rules of parental leave policy (see Appendix A), ECEC (see Appendix B and C), and flexibility policy (see Appendix D) in OECD countries was first created for further analysis. Then, two Indices were developed to rank policy designs across countries in terms of their supportiveness level and effort level of promoting gender equality. Finally, the Care-Employment Analytic Framework was constructed for further comparison and to identify a typology of work-family policy regimes.

---

<sup>12</sup> Statutory parental leave policy in this study is the policy that grants a job-protected leave of absence for employed parents, which is supplementary to specific maternity and paternity leave periods and often can only be taken after the end of maternity leave. Parental leave is usually considered as a care measure to give parents the opportunity to take time off work to spend time caring for a young child (Moss, 2014). This study focuses mainly on parental leave in the analysis because parental leave is theoretically available to both parents while being designed so differently across countries in terms of eligibility, duration, payment, flexibility in the use of leave, and incentives to encourage more equal shares of leave between parents, which can demonstrate countries' varied efforts to support parents to reconcile work and family demands while promoting gender equality.

<sup>13</sup> The formal government-regulated services provided by someone other than parents and informal caregivers (e.g., grandparents, other relatives, nannies, etc.) outside of the child's home (Naumann, McLean, Koslowski, Tisdall, & Lloyd, 2013). In general, ECEC includes center-based day care, family day care, and pre-school early education programs (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Flexibility policy concerns the flexibility in work arrangements that allow employed parents to adjust their work schedule and work places to reconcile work and family obligations. The approaches to flexibility in work arrangements include breastfeeding break, flexibility in time to start and finish daily work, reduced hours, part-time work, etc. (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007, 2014h).



Data used in this research, including the policy data, were from various sources, including the OECD databases (e.g., family, employment, and income distribution databases), government official websites, country notes published by the International Network on Leave Policies and Research, OECD and government reports, and peer-reviewed journal articles.

**Measures.** As mentioned previously, three measures were constructed in this research to measure, rank, and typologize work-family policies across OECD countries. These measures, including the Supportiveness Index (SI), the Gender Equality Index (GEI), and the Care-Employment Analytic Framework, are described below.

***Supportiveness Index (SI).*** The SI measures the level of generosity and comprehensiveness of work-family policies in terms of the provisions of parental leave policies and the coordination with ECEC and flexibility policies. The Supportiveness Index is composed of six indicators, including eligibility, length of leave, payment, flexible use of parental leave, ECEC coordination, and flexible work coordination. Each indicator was measured on a 5-point scale presented in Table 2. A higher value represents a higher level of each indicator, except for eligibility.

*Eligibility.* Eligibility is the requirement that a working parent needs to meet to be eligible for taking parental leave. The requirements may include resident status, employment status, insurance status, working hours, one year of continual employment, company size, etc. The fewer requirements stipulated for eligibility, the greater the number of parents covered by the policy, i.e., a more supportive policy (Boushey, 2011; Ruhm, 2011). Hence, this indicator was reverse-coded: countries having fewer eligibility requirements were given a higher value. For instance, countries (e.g., Finland, Sweden,

Slovak Republic, etc.) that have universal entitlement (i.e., all employees or all residents are eligible) were scored as 4, while countries (none in this research) that have four or more requirements for eligibility would be scored as 1. But countries (i.e., Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey) that do not have statutory parental leave were scored as 0.

*Length of leave.* Length of leave indicates how long an eligible parent can take time off work to care for a child. Empirically, countries' length of leave can be categorized into the following groups: no leave granted (i.e., Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey; scored as 0), 3 months or less (i.e., Iceland and the United States; scored as 1), 4 to 12 months (e.g., Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland, Greece, Ireland, etc.; scored as 2), 13 to 24 months (i.e., Austria, Denmark, South Korea, and Sweden; scored as 3), and more than 24 months (i.e., Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Spain; scored as 4). Generally, granting 4 to 12 months of leave becomes a common practice among countries. Hence, countries falling into this category were given a score of 2 as a midpoint, while countries granting less or more than this length were scored toward two polar opposites on the scale.

*Payment.* Payment is the compensation for the time parents take to care for children and was assessed based on whether the entire leave duration is paid and the level of compensation. Specifically, if a country's whole leave duration is paid, it was coded as fully paid; otherwise, it was coded as partially paid. If a country's compensation is mostly (i.e., half or more of duration) at high flat rate (€1,000/month or \$1,342.45/month) or 66% of earnings or more, it was coded as high rate compensation as suggested by researchers (Moss, 2014); otherwise, it was coded as low rate compensation. If a country does not grant leave or does not compensate the leave, it was coded as no leave or no

payment. Accordingly, countries were categorized and scored from 0 (no leave or no payment, e.g., Spain, Greece, Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, etc.) to 4 (fully paid mostly at high rate, e.g., Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Slovenia, Estonia, etc.).

*Flexible use of parental leave.* Flexible use of parental leave indicates whether the policy allows parents to take leave in different ways. More options to take leave flexibly give parents more leeway to make their arrangements to reconcile work and family responsibilities. Therefore, countries with more flexibility options were considered more supportive and scored higher. Overall, there are 7 types of flexibility granted in policies across countries (e.g., taking full-time or part-time leave, taking leave in one block of time or several blocks, transferring leave to a non-parent caregiver, taking leave at any time until the child reaches a certain age, etc.). Countries with no leave or no flexibility allowed were scored as 0 (i.e., Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey), while countries with 5 to 6 types of flexibility granted (i.e., Sweden, Germany, Norway, Slovenia, Belgium, and Iceland) were scored as 3 and countries with all 7 types of flexibility available (none in this research) would be scored as 4.

*ECEC coordination.* ECEC coordination indicates the integration level between parental leave and ECEC policy, which was examined based on 1) whether ECEC entitlement is granted at or before the end of leave, regardless of compensation level; 2) whether ECEC entitlement is granted at or before the end of well-paid leave (i.e., leave that is paid for half or more of duration at high flat rate); and 3) the length of gap that occurs when ECEC entitlement is not granted at or before the end of leave and well-paid leave. If no gap or a smaller gap (i.e., less than 12 months) exists between leave and

ECEC entitlement, a higher level of policy integration is indicated, which would better help parents address work-family conflict. Empirically, countries' leave and ECEC policy integration levels were scored from 0 (i.e., no leave or no ECEC entitlement in Canada, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Slovak Republic, Switzerland, the United States, and Turkey) to 4 (i.e., an ECEC entitlement with no gap between ECEC and leave as well as between ECEC and well-paid leave in Sweden, Germany, Finland, Norway, Slovenia, and Denmark).

*Flexible work coordination.* Finally, flexible work coordination indicates the integration between parental leave policy and flexibility policy, which was assessed based on whether parents are granted an entitlement to flexibility in work arrangements after the leave ends and the number of options available to them. Countries that grant parents entitlements to more options of flexible work arrangements after the end of leave were considered as having a higher policy integration level. In this study, countries were categorized and scored as follows: with no leave or no flexible work arrangement entitlement (scored as 0, e.g., the United States), granting only breastfeeding break entitlement (scored as 1, e.g., Estonia), with additional entitlement to deciding when to start and finish daily work (scored as 2, e.g., Iceland), granting additional reduced work hours and/or part-time work entitlement (scored as 3, e.g., Sweden), and having additional entitlement to reduced work hours, protected and prorated part-time work, and/or other types of flexible work arrangements (scored as 4, e.g., Belgium).

A composite score was produced by summing up all scores obtained from the aforementioned indicators for each country. This composite score can range from 0 to

24. A higher score means a higher level of supportiveness in terms of generosity and comprehensiveness of work-family policies.

***Gender Equality Index (GEI)***. GEI reflects the level of policy effort a country has made to promote gender equality. It is formed of the aforementioned six indicators and an additional seventh indicator of equal-share-promoting effort that indicates how many measures in the policy encourage fathers' use of leave to promote gender equality (see Table 2). Arguably, the existence of comprehensive work-family policy *per se* could be seen as an effort to enhance gender equality because, as revealed by research, women have experienced higher levels of work-family conflict and faced economic disadvantages due to traditionally assigned caregiver roles. Hence, enacting work-family policies that can help reduce work-family conflict and strengthen women's attachment to employment (Ruhm, 2011) may actually promote gender equality. In fact, studies have found that comprehensive statutory work-family policies that provide generous paid leave and ECEC services help promote gender equality through increasing mothers' job retention and female labour participation rates as well as reducing the gender wage gap (Datta Gupta, Smith, & Verner, 2008; Lefebvre & Merrigan, 2008; Misra & Strader, 2013; Pylkkänen & Smith, 2003). Hence, it is theoretically and empirically reasonable to include the above six indicators that measure the generosity and comprehensiveness of work-family policies in this GEI Index to gauge the level of policy effort countries have made to promote gender equality. These six indicators were measured in the same way as previously discussed. The additional indicator of equal-share-promoting effort assesses direct methods countries take to encourage equal share of leave between parents. It was measured using a 5-point scale based on the number and/or type of progressive or

extra incentives (e.g., transferrable individual entitlement of leave or compensation, non-transferrable individual entitlement of leave or compensation, bonus leave, bonus compensation, father's quota of leave or compensation, etc.) designed to increase fathers' use of leave and share of childcare. Countries that use a more progressive incentive (i.e., non-transferrable individual entitlement) or more types of incentives were rated with a higher score.

I argue that these seven indicators together can better capture the variability in countries' underlying policy logic and, hence, more accurately differentiate countries' effort and ability to promote gender equality through a net of work-family policies. For instance, when looking at the indicator of equal-share-promoting effort alone without taking into account the first six indicators, Finland would be considered to be making less policy efforts than the United States to promote gender equality as Finland grants family entitlement to leave with no additional incentives to encourage fathers' use of leave, while the United States grants non-transferrable individual entitlement. However, studies have shown that the provision of payment (especially payment at high rate) in leave policy increases fathers' use of leave (Appelbaum & Milkman, 2011; Bygren & Duvander, 2006; Houser & Vartanian, 2012; S. Lewis & Smithson, 2001) and that statutory ECEC services have positive effects on mothers' labor participation and earnings (Lefebvre & Merrigan, 2008; Misra & Strader, 2013; Pylkkänen & Smith, 2003). Thus, Finland's high generosity and comprehensiveness level of work-family policies (e.g., providing well-paid leave and an ECEC entitlement with no gap between ECEC and leave) measured by the first six indicators can actually reflect its higher level of policy effort and ability to promote gender equality relative to the United States where

neither statutory paid leave nor ECEC is granted. On the other hand, without taking into account the seventh indicator of equal-share-promoting effort, countries with a similar generosity and comprehensiveness level of work-family policies cannot be further differentiated based on whether they have additional incentives in place to promote gender equality through encouraging more equal share of leave and childcare between parents.

In other words, the GEI consisting of all seven indicators can better evaluate the level of effort made to enhance gender equality that is manifested in the designs of work-family policies as a whole across countries. A composite score was generated by summing up all scores obtained from all seven indicators of the GEI for each country. This composite score ranges from 0 to 28. A higher score indicates greater efforts to promote gender equality through work-family policies.

***The Care-Employment Analytic Framework.*** As discussed previously, this two-dimensional framework, informed by the works of feminist welfare state scholars (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Knijn & Kremer, 1997; J. Lewis, 1997; Zimmerman, 2013), further compares countries in terms of how they regard and distribute care responsibility between state, market, family, and fathers and mothers as well as whether their work-family policies support parents providing care to their children without sacrificing their careers and income.

*The dimension of care.* The dimension of care examines whether a policy regime regards care as a private matter or part of citizenship that warrants government support through collective effort; whether a policy regime grants citizens the right to time for care and the right to receive care; whether a policy regime values care enough to provide

Table 2

*Indicators and Scale of Supportiveness Index and Gender Equality Index*

Indicators	Scale
Eligibility	0= no leave entitlement 1= 4 or more requirements to meet to be eligible 2= 2 to 3 requirements to meet to be eligible 3= 1 requirement to meet to be eligible 4= universal entitlement (e.g. all employees or all residents are eligible)
Length of leave	0= no leave entitlement 1= 3 months or less 2= 4 to 12 months 3= 13 to 24 months 4= more than 24 months
Payment	0= no leave or no payment 1= partially paid, mostly at low rate (< 66% of earning) 2= fully paid, mostly at low rate 3= partially paid, mostly at high rate (> 66% of earning) 4= fully paid, mostly at high rate
Flexible use of parental leave	0= no leave or no flexibility allowed 1= allow 1 to 2 types of flexibility in the use of leave 2= allow 3 to 4 types of flexibility in the use of leave 3= allow 5 to 6 types of flexibility in the use of leave 4= allow 7 types of flexibility in the use of leave
ECEC coordination	0= no leave or no ECEC entitlement 1= have ECEC entitlement with gaps between leave and ECEC as well as between well-paid leave and ECEC 2= have ECEC entitlement with no gap between leave and ECEC but with gaps larger than 12 months between well-paid leave and ECEC 3= have ECEC entitlement with no gap between leave and ECEC but with gaps equal to or less than 12 months between well-paid leave and ECEC 4= have ECEC entitlement with no gap between leave and ECEC as well as between well-paid leave and ECEC
Flexible work coordination	0= no leave or no flexible working arrangement entitlement 1= only breastfeeding break entitlement 2= additional flexible working arrangement entitlement, i.e. deciding when to start and finish daily work 3= additional reduced working hours and/or part-time work entitlement 4= additional reduced working hours, protected and prorated part-time work, and/or other types of entitlement



Indicators	Scale
Equal share promoting effort	0= no leave or no measure to promote gender equality 1= transferrable individual entitlement of leave or benefits or mixed entitlement introduced 2= transferrable individual entitlement of leave or benefits or family entitlement plus bonus or father's quota of leave or benefits introduced 3= non-transferrable individual entitlement of leave and benefits introduced 4= non-transferrable individual entitlement or father's quota plus bonus leave or benefits introduced

*Note.* Created by the author.

payment; whether a policy regime allows citizens latitude in deciding whether to give care; and how a policy regime distributes care responsibility among state, market and family as well as between fathers and mothers. This care dimension is indicated by the following indicators: 1) the policy's supportiveness level measured by the SI; 2) gender equality level of policy measured by the GEI; 3) types of ECEC (i.e., public, private, or mixed); 4) attendance rates at ECEC services for young children under three; 5) the proportion of young children under three cared for by informal caregivers (e.g., grandparents, relatives, neighbours, nannies, etc.); 6) the proportion of children under three not using formal and informal childcare arrangements during a typical week (i.e., indicating parental care); and 7) fathers' use of leave. Data for indicators 3 to 7 were retrieved from the OECD family database information available in 2014. Higher SI scores, a higher portion of public ECEC, and higher ECEC attendance rates indicate that a policy regime is more likely to see care as part of citizenship that warrants government support through collective effort, grants citizens the right to time for care and the right to receive care, values care enough to provide compensation or financial support, allows citizens latitude in deciding whether to give care by themselves or use formal ECEC

services, and emphasizes the state's responsibility to provide care. Higher GEI scores and higher fathers' leave use indicate that a policy regime is more likely to encourage an equal share of caregiving between parents and promote gender equality. On the other hand, a higher level of indicators 5 and 6 represents that a policy regime is more likely to view care as a private matter and places care responsibility largely on the market and families.

*The employment dimension.* The employment dimension examines whether a policy regime supports or encourages citizens, especially women (traditionally assigned caregivers), to be workers and caregivers/parents simultaneously. This dimension is indicated by female employment rates, maternal employment rates for children under the age of 15 (that can be further broken down as employment rates of mothers with children under three, between three and five and between six and 14), employment patterns in couple families with children under three years of age (i.e., three family types including sole-breadwinner/one full-timer, one-and-a-half/one full-timer and one part-timer, or dual-earner/two full-timers family<sup>15</sup>), gender gap in employment rates regardless of whether they are working part-time or full-time, and gender gap in full-time equivalent (FTE) rates, that is, the difference between men and women if they are working full-time (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014b). Data for these indicators were retrieved from the OECD family and employment databases, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and country notes published by the International Network on

---

<sup>15</sup> Since this study aims at assessing whether policies support caregiving without parents, especially mothers, sacrificing their jobs and promote gender equality through encouraging more equal shares of childcare between parents, I purposefully chose to focus on these three family types within couple families with children under three that usually require more time for caregiving to highlight varied gendered divisions of labor within couple families that are likely to be associated with varied provisions of work-family policies across countries.

Leave Policies and Research available in 2014. Higher levels of female employment rates, higher employment rates of mothers with children under and above age three, and higher rates of dual-earner families as well as smaller gender gaps in employment rates and in FTE rates would indicate that a policy regime is more likely to support or encourage citizens, especially caregivers, to be workers and parents simultaneously without sacrificing their employment.

***Typology construction.*** Scores of the SI and the GEI and descriptive statistics obtained from the Care-Employment Analytic Framework indicators as well as informed and theory-driven judgement were used together to identify and construct a typology of OECD countries based on their characteristics of policy designs and care and employment outcomes/patterns. Specifically, countries were first broadly classified into four tier groups based on their respective scores for the SI. The first tier group countries (e.g., Sweden) generally have the most generous and well-coordinated work-family policies, while the fourth tier group (e.g., Turkey) has the least generous and coordinated policies. These clusters were then further analyzed, verified, and refined through reviews of countries' scores and statistics of the GEI and care-employment indicators as well as research reports on their work-family policy development. Consequently, the emerging typology reflects both quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (theoretical) characteristics that converge and differentiate countries<sup>16</sup> (see Table 3).

---

<sup>16</sup> Some countries (e.g., Norway, Iceland, Slovenia, Korea, etc.) did not have data available in 2014 for every care-employment indicator (which is coded as NA for the indicator with no data in Table 3). Most countries, however, have data for all indicators, and the aforementioned countries are also deemed to have sufficient indicators that do have available data for consideration. Therefore, these countries and the indicators with missing data are still included for comparison.

Countries that are characterized by the most generous and well-coordinated policies, largely publicly funded and managed ECEC, high ECEC attendance rates, very low informal care rates, low to somewhat moderate parental care rates, relatively high fathers' leave use, very high female employment, high maternal employment, small gender gap in employment, small to moderate gender gap in FTE, and generally dual-earner family type were classified as the state-oriented caring policy regime, which recognizes caregiving as part of citizenship and helps parents give care without sacrificing their employment. Countries that are characterized by various combinations of caregiving from the state, parents, extended family members, and the market were identified as having a mixed caring policy regime. Based on the proportion of care responsibility taken by the state, market, and family, respectively, indicated by the generosity level of policies, types of ECEC and rates of using ECEC, informal care or parental care, as well as employment outcomes, these countries were further categorized into three subgroups: mixed state and extended family care, mixed state and maternal care, and private care with supplementary government support.

Countries that are characterized by using market means to address care needs indicated by the least generous and coordinated policies and mainly private or mixed types of ECEC, moderate to high ECEC attendance rates, moderate to high informal care, moderate to high female employment, low to moderate maternal employment, and generally large gender gaps in employment were considered as having a market-oriented caring policy regime. Finally, countries characterized by the least generous policies, very low ECEC attendance rates, lowest female employment, lowest maternal employment,

and largest gender gaps in employment were classified as having a family-oriented caring policy regime (see Table 3).

The construction of a typology is a reiterative process and does not aim to create types that represent a perfectly clear-cut distinction among countries. Rather, this typology reveals a spectrum of the complicated and dynamic nexus of the state, market, and family in providing care as well as resulting patterns of caregiving and employment within and across countries. The approach used in this research provides simplicity in comparing and classifying countries without losing complexity and diversity within and across countries, though admittedly, the regime typology approach implies a trade-off: it provides a bird's eye view of regimes' contours. In other words, this approach enhances an understanding of the big picture rather than the detailed characteristics of various social programs (Arts & Gelissen, 2002; Ebbinghaus, 2012; Esping-Andersen, 1990). However, this macro comparative understanding should be sufficient to reveal the socially constructed nature of policy regimes and to offer knowledge to support or guide change efforts that aim to improve work-family policies to better support working parents, promote gender equality, and increase positive child outcomes.

Table 3

*Typology of Policy Regimes and Regimes' Characteristics of Policy Designs and Caregiving and Employment Patterns/Outcomes*

Regimes	Country	SI	GEI	Tier	Father use of leave rate	Types of ECEC	ECEC attendance rate (0-2 years)	ECEC attendance rate (3-5 years)	Informal care (child <3)	No childcare arrangement indicating parental care (child <3)	Female employment rate	Maternal employment rate (child < 15)	Maternal employment rate (child <3)	Maternal employment rate (child 3-5)	Maternal employment rate (child 6-14)	Gender gap in employment rate	Gender gap in FTE employment rate	Family type	
State-oriented	Sweden	21	25	1	77	Public	47	93	1.5	49	82	80	72	81	76	6	11	Dual-earner	
	Norway	18	20	1	45	Public	54	96	4.3	51	NA	NA	44	NA	NA	5	19	NA	
	Denmark	14	15	2	48	Public	66	94	0.6	27	83	84	72	78	78	7	15	NA	
	Iceland	14	15	2	89	Public	56	96	2.2	39	86	85	NA	84	87	5	16	NA	
<b>Values care by offering generous public policy provisions; grants citizens the right to give and receive parental care and have autonomous choice in whether to give parental care; care is compensated; promotes gender equality, and is overall on the way towards a dual-earner/dual-caregiver model</b>																			
Mixed	Mixed state and extended family care	Slovenia	18	18	1	NA	Public	42	86	40.9	42	81	84	76	86	82	7	10	Dual-earner
		Belgium	15	18	2	26	Public	39	99	20.9	42	72	71	62	73	77	11	26	Dual-earner
	<b>Sees caregiving and receiving as part of citizenship that warrants government support for the right to time for care and the right to receive care; care is valued and compensated; autonomous choice is granted; care responsibility is still not equally distributed between men and women; informal care and extended family care is somewhat prominent</b>																		
	Mixed state and maternal care	Finland	19	19	1	9	Public	28	73	1.3	75	81	77	52	76	76	5	9	Sole-bread & dual
		Germany	21	23	1	2	Public	23	94	14.5	62	78	67	53	65	73	11	30	One-and-a-half earner
		Austria	15	17	2	13	Mixed	14	82	20	72	80	74	66	68	82	13	29	One-and-a-half earner
		Estonia	16	16	1	2	Public	24	90	31.8	60	76	63	22	78	85	5	9	Sole-breadwinner
		Hungary	16	16	1	2	Public	11	87	31.6	64	67	52	6	62	71	12	13	Sole-breadwinner
		Korea	13	16	2	2	Public	51	83	28	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	23	26	NA
		France	12	14	3	3	Public	48	100	18	50	77	73	58	69	79	9	18	Three types equally
Luxembourg		8	11	4	NA	Public	46	87	29	42	71	68	73	56	69	16	30	Sole-breadwinner	
<b>Mothers still take major responsibility for childcare with generally great governmental support; equal distribution of care work between men and women is not actively encouraged. To some extent, care is seen as part of citizenship; citizens are granted the right to give and receive care and have autonomous choice, but citizens mainly choose maternal care for young children due to societal values</b>																			
Private care with supplementary government support	Spain	13	16	2	NA	Public	39	99	20	49	64	59	55	57	61	12	20	Sole-bread & dual	
	Italy	10	14	4	NA	Public	24	96	32	51	59	55	53	51	57	22	33	Sole-breadwinner	
	Poland	12	14	3	NA	Mixed	7	60	30	65	70	66	54	67	74	14	18	Sole-bread & dual	
	Greece	11	14	3	NA	Public	11	48	53	47	58	57	49	55	61	22	25	Sole-breadwinner	
	Slovak Republic	11	11	3	3	Public	3	72	11	87	69	57	19	63	79	15	17	Sole-breadwinner	
	Czech Republic	14	15	2	2	Mixed	4	79	35	64	75	57	21	80	89	17	20	Sole-breadwinner	
<b>Emphasizes private care from mothers and extended family members with supplementary government support and some market support; equal distribution of care responsibility between men and women is not stressed; caregiving is not highly valued and compensated; autonomous choice is limited</b>																			
	Portugal	14	17	2	52	Mixed	46	84	25	34	73	76	68	78	76	10	13	Dual-earner	

Table 3 (contd.)

*Typology of Policy Regimes and Regimes' Characteristics of Policy Designs and Caregiving and Employment Patterns/Outcomes*

Regimes	Country	SI	GEI	Tier	Father use of leave rate	Types of ECEC	ECEC attendance rate (0-2 years)	ECEC attendance rate (3-5 years)	Informal care (child <3)	No childcare arrangement indicating parental care (child <3)	Female employment rate	Maternal employment rate (child < 15)	Maternal employment rate (child <3)	Maternal employment rate (child 3-5)	Maternal employment rate (child 6-14)	Gender gap in employment rate	Gender gap in FTE employment rate	Family type
<b>Market-oriented</b>	Japan	10	14	4	2	Private	26	90	NA	NA	66	53	30	48	66	24	38	Sole-bread & dual
	Ireland	10	13	4	2	Mixed	29	79	14	59	66	57	59	53	60	8	24	NA
	Australia	10	12	4	44	Mixed	33	80	24	50	70	62	NA	49	74	14	30	Sole-breadwinner
	New Zealand	9	9	4	NA	Private	37	94	NA	NA	75	62	42	61	78	13	28	Sole-breadwinner
	Israel	8	11	4	NA	Private	NA	87	NA	NA	69	66	60	68	69	8	17	NA
	Canada	7	7	4	61	Mixed	NA	47	NA	NA	78	73	65	70	79	7	17	NA
	Netherlands	11	14	3	60	Mixed	61	95	52	26	79	78	76	76	77	11	40	One-and-a-half earner
	United Kingdom	11	14	3	NA	Mixed	42	93	32	46	76	64	57	61	73	11	28	Three types equally
	United States	4	7	4	NA	Mixed	43	67	33	51	70	62	54	74	69	11	16	Dual-earner
	Switzerland	0	0	4	NA	Mixed	NA	47	NA	NA	78	70	58	62	77	14	40	Three types equally
<b>Emphasizes market means to address care needs and does not actively encourage equal distribution of care work between men and women; does not see caregiving and care receiving as part of citizenship; care is not compensated; low autonomous choice in providing care</b>																		
<b>Family-oriented</b>	Mexico	0	0	4	NA	Public	8.3	89	NA	NA	51	42	44	68	93	37	40	NA
	Turkey	0	0	4	NA	Mixed	NA	27	NA	NA	28	26	18	21	24	43	46	Sole-breadwinner
<b>Regards care as exclusively mothers' responsibility with meager, if any, policy support and does not pursue gender equality. Caregiving or receiving is not part of citizenship but merely family's or mother's duty; no autonomous choice to not give parental care</b>																		

*Note.* Author's analysis based on the data from Moss (2014), OECD (2010, 2014b, 2014c, 2014e, 2014f, 2014g, 2014h, 2014j, 2014k, 2014l, 2014m), and the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014a, 2014b, 2014d).

## Results

**Ranking OECD countries: Supportiveness level and gender equality.** Based on the SI, 33 OECD countries scored from 0 to 21. Sweden and Germany have the highest score of 21 and rank 1st, while the United States has a score of 4 and ranks 30th. Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey have a score of 0 and rank last as presented in Figure 2. Based on the GEI, 33 OECD countries scored from 0 to 25 with Sweden ranking 1st and the United States scoring 7 and ranking 29th. Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey again rank last with a score of 0 on this index, as shown in Figure 3.

***The first tier group.*** OECD countries are further divided into four tier groups based on the results of the SI and the GEI. Sweden, Germany, Finland, Norway, Slovenia, Estonia, and Hungary are in the first tier group, which is characterized by having the most generous and comprehensive work-family policy system that provides a high level of supportiveness (scoring from 16 to 21 and ranking 1st to 6th on the SI) to help working parents fulfill responsibilities in both work and family domains. These countries have relatively few requirements for eligibility and thus can cover more employed parents. They provide longer paid leave periods and allow flexibility in the use of leave. More importantly, the leave policy scheme in these countries is well coordinated with ECEC entitlement and flexible work time entitlement (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014h, 2014i). In that case, it is more likely for parents in these countries than those in others to enroll a child in ECEC around the end of entitled paid leave and to be able to request flexible work arrangements when needed. The policy systems in these countries are more likely to help reduce work-family conflict. When factoring in the equal-share-promoting effort



indicator, two countries, i.e., Estonia and Hungary, fall out from the first tier group because they do not provide any measure to promote gender equality (Korintus, 2014; Pall & Karu, 2014). Germany becomes the 2<sup>nd</sup> rank due to a moderate incentive measure, whereas Sweden remains at the 1<sup>st</sup> rank because it has the policy packages with the most measures to enhance the possibility that fathers take leave. Norway has a higher score for this indicator and hence is advanced on rank, while Finland and Slovenia gain no point for this indicator since they mainly provide family entitlement which is shared by parents, usually with mothers taking most, if not all of the leave period.

***The second tier group.*** Eight countries, including Belgium, Austria, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, the Czech Republic, Korea, and Spain, are in the second tier group. This group of countries has work-family policy systems that provide a moderate to generous level of supportiveness (scoring from 13 to 15 and ranking 8th to 14th on the SI) to help working parents reconcile work and family obligations. Although most countries in this group have similar scores for eligibility and length of leave as those of their counterparts in the first tier group, they allow fewer types of flexibility in the use of leave and less generous payment for leave (e.g., no payment in Spain and partial or low-rate payment in most countries). The leave policy schemes in these countries are also less coordinated with ECEC and flexible work time entitlement. Many countries (e.g., Belgium, Austria, Portugal, Iceland) have gaps between ECEC and leave while some countries (e.g., the Czech Republic) do not provide these entitlements at all (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010, 2014h, 2014i). When it comes to the gender equality measure in the leave policy scheme, Denmark, Iceland, and the Czech Republic have a lower score of 15 on the GEI, since they provide a mixed

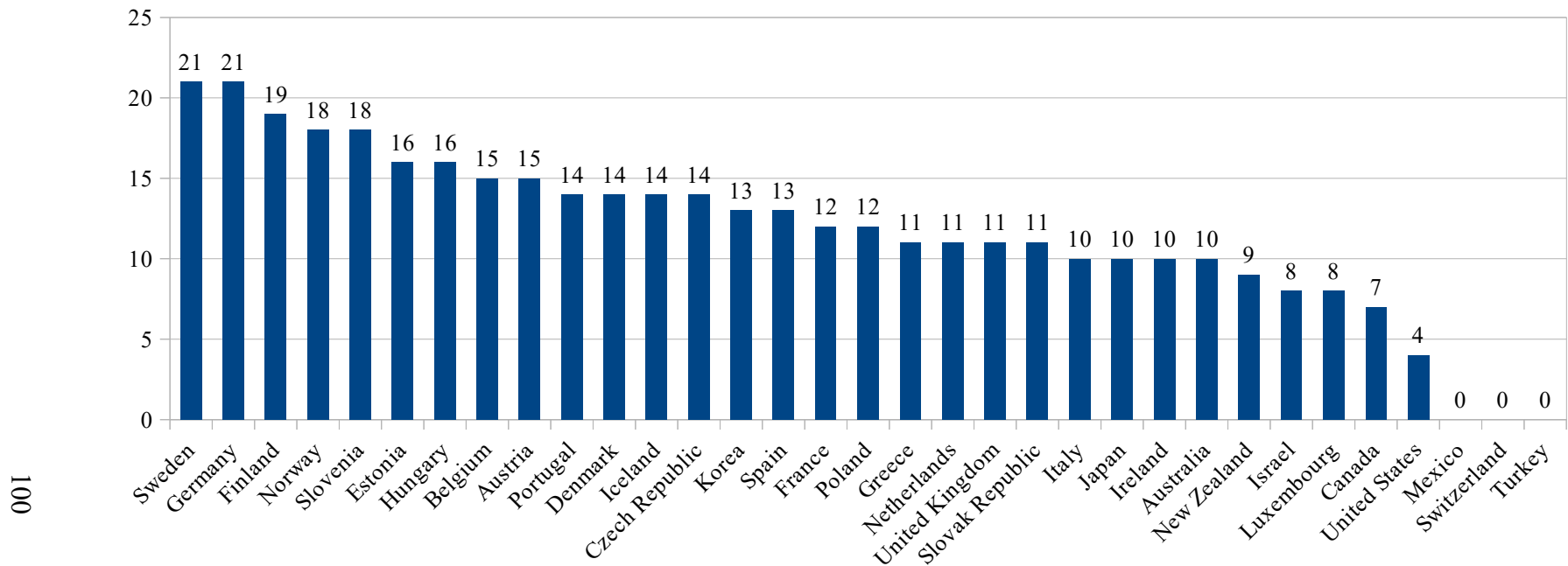
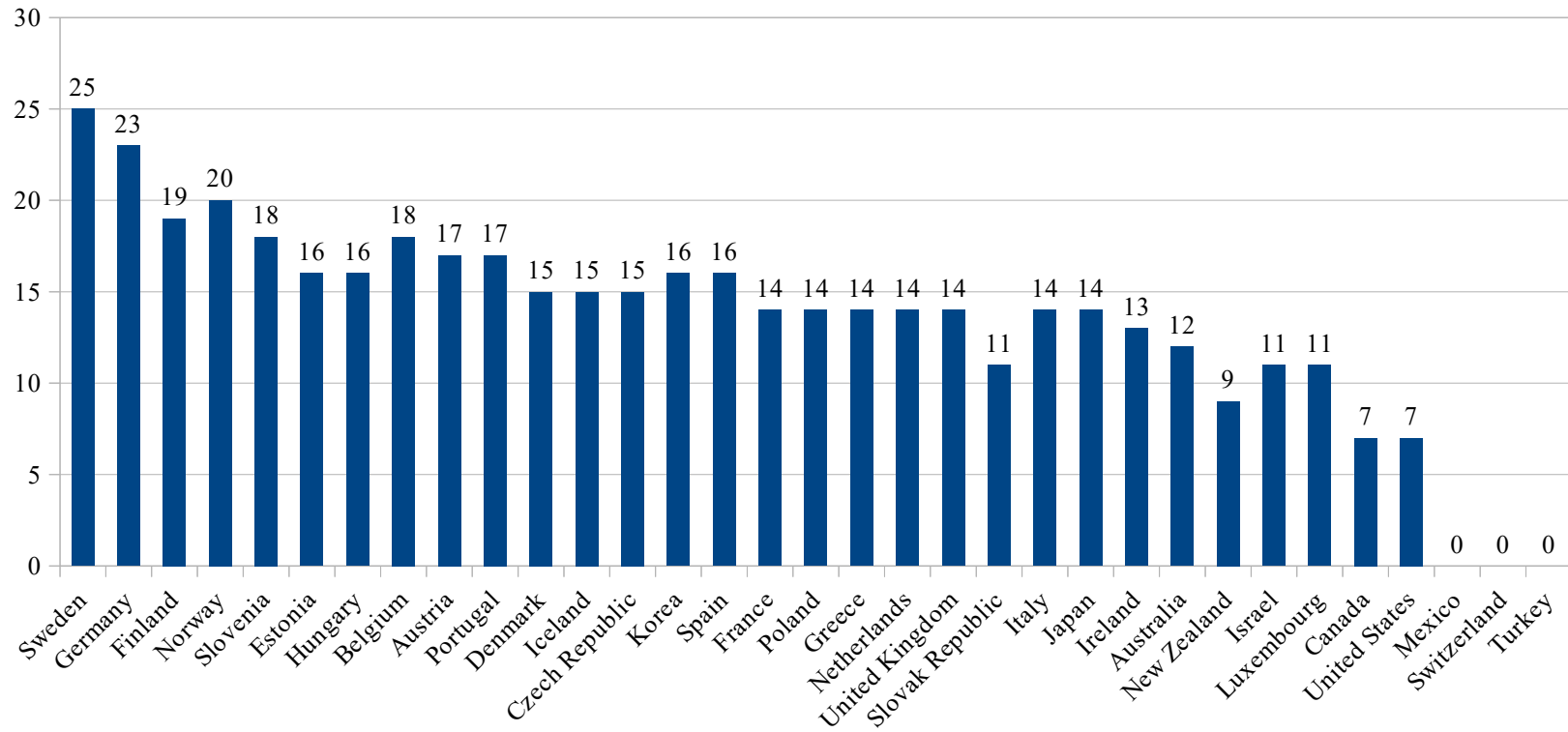


Figure 2. Supportiveness Index results. The supportiveness level of work-family policies across OECD countries. Author's analysis is based on the data from Moss (2014) and OECD (2010, 2014h, 2014j).



*Figure 3.* Gender Equality Index results. The gender equality level of work-family policies across OECD countries. Author's analysis is based on the data from Moss (Moss, 2014) and OECD (2010, 2014h, 2014j).

entitlement of leave and benefits without sufficient incentive measures to encourage parents sharing the leave period more equally, though Denmark has an industrial collective agreement that introduces paid fathers' quota of parental leave (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j). Belgium, Portugal, Korea, and Spain have higher scores on the GEI as they introduce a non-transferrable individual entitlement of leave and benefits (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j).

*The third tier group.* France, Poland, Greece, the Netherlands, the UK, and the Slovak Republic are clustered in the third tier group. Generally, these countries have a meagre to moderate work-family policy scheme (scoring from 11 to 12 and ranking 16th to 18th on the SI) compared to their counterparts in the first two tiers. Although they have similar scores for eligibility and length of leave as those of the first-tier and second-tier countries, most countries in the third tier do not provide payment for leave taken (e.g., Greece, the Netherlands, and the UK) or provide only meager wage replacement (e.g., France) (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j). The countries in this group also have less coordination among parental leave, ECEC, and flexible work arrangement entitlements. When taking into account gender equality, findings show that these countries generally provide some measure or incentive to motivate parents to share leave equally except for the Slovak Republic where there is no measure of encouraging fathers to take leave (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j). Hence, the Slovak Republic falls into the fourth group when gender equality measures are taken into consideration.

*The fourth tier group.* The United States is classified into the fourth tier group along with 11 other countries, including Italy, Japan, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Luxembourg, Canada, Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey. The countries in this group have the least comprehensive or least generous policies with scores ranging from 0 to 10 and ranking 22nd to 31st on the SI. Three countries, i.e., Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey, do not have statutory parental leave entitlement. Among the remaining nine countries, one, the United States, has only a short leave period of three months; four (i.e., Ireland, New Zealand, Israel, and the United States) have no payment for the leave taken. Additionally, these countries have the least integrated policy system, as only four countries (i.e., Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and Luxembourg) have ECEC entitlements, but with gaps, and six countries (i.e., Italy, Japan, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and Israel) have flexibility policy entitlements (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j). When it comes to gender equality, among countries that have statutory parental leave, most have moderate to progressive measures (e.g., non-transferrable individual entitlements of leave, father's quota, bonus leave, or all of them) to encourage parents to share leave more equally. New Zealand and Canada are two exceptions. They do not have any particular measure to motivate fathers to take leave (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j).

**Reconciling care and employment: A typology of policy regimes.** Based on the four tier groups built on countries' scores on the SI and GEI as well as countries' characteristics of childcare arrangements, fathers' use of leave, female and maternal employment, employment patterns in couple families with children under three years of

age, and the gender gap in employment captured by the indicators of the care-employment analytic framework, I further constructed a typology of four policy regimes.

*State-oriented caring policy regime.* Nordic countries, particularly Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland, demonstrate a state-oriented caring regime that is characterized by high levels of supportiveness and gender equality in work-family policy designs, high ECEC attendance rates, larger fathers' share of leave, high female and maternal employment rates, and a dual-earner/dual-caregiver model (Fraser, 1994; Gornick & Meyers, 2004; Misra, Moller, & Budig, 2007). These countries emphasize governmental intervention and usually adopt a universal approach to social provision. Their aim is to promote employment of mothers and equal share of care labor in households (Beneria, 2010).

A gender dimension has been added to the measures used in these countries, especially Sweden and Norway, as early as in the 1970s (Hirdman, 1994, as cited in Bjornberg, 2000; Haas, 2003). Since the mid-1970s, policies in Norway and Sweden have recognized citizens' dual roles of workers and parents through expanded entitlements to maternity, paternity and parental leave (Leira, 1998). Norway and Sweden also introduced father's quota of leave in the 1990s to promote equal sharing between parents in caring for young children (Leira, 1998), though Denmark and Iceland show somewhat moderate progress in terms of sharing care responsibility (Moss & Deven, 2006). Overall, these four countries provide generous leave provisions in terms of length of leave and payment. Most of them also provide statutory entitlement to flexible work arrangements.

Work-family policies in these countries grant parents the right to time for care and grant children the right to receive care from parents. Parental care is viewed as a form of labour and is valued enough to be compensated. They also reconcile parents' right to autonomous choice not to provide care and children's right to receive quality care by granting ECEC entitlements around or even before the end of paid parental leave and by spending considerable amount of public funding to provide quality services (Ruhm, 2011). Therefore, in these countries, care responsibility is distributed between the state and family with the greatest degree of governmental support, which is evident in that the attendance rates at ECEC programs for children under age three in these countries are generally high (47%-66%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014l); the proportion of children under age three cared for by informal childcare providers is low (0.6%-2.2%); and the proportion of this age group of children with no usual formal and informal childcare arrangements is relatively low (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014m).

The ratio of fathers to mothers using parental leave in these countries, especially Iceland (89%) and Sweden (77%), are much higher than those of most OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k). Accordingly, women, including mothers with young children in these countries, are encouraged to participate in paid work. Hence, in these countries not only are female (25-54 age cohort) employment rates very high; the employment rates of mothers with children under three years of age are also quite high (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f). Consequently, the gender gaps in employment in these countries are generally small (less than 10%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

Development, 2014g, 2015e). Although the gender gap in the FTE rates in these countries are slightly larger, which indicates some women work part-time (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e), the most common employment pattern in couple families with children under three years of age is dual-earner, specifically two full-timers (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014e). In sum, the state-oriented caring policy regimes value unpaid care work and paid work simultaneously, and they are willing to invest in policies that help working parents reconcile work and family obligations and transform gender norms by encouraging a more equal distribution of care labor between men and women.

***Market-oriented caring policy regime.*** Ten countries, including Japan, New Zealand, Israel, Ireland, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, the UK, the United States, and Switzerland, represent a market-oriented policy regime that regards care work as a private matter requiring private solutions instead of governmental interventions. These countries are characterized by preference for market-oriented provision, meager and non-universal benefits, or means-tested benefits when programs do exist (Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Misra et al., 2007). In general, these countries provide meager work-family policies indicated by their scores on the Supportiveness Index and the Gender Equality Index. As a result, parents in these countries have to rely mainly on market means to address childcare needs and work-family conflict issues, which not only enhances inequalities between families through deepening the burdens of low-income families but also contributes to unequal care distribution between fathers and mothers within households. When a market solution is insufficient, unavailable, or unaffordable,



care responsibilities remain within the families (Beneria, 2010), which means mothers or informal caregivers, such as grandparents (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014m), have to take responsibility for care work. Unequal shares of childcare between men and women result in gender inequality in employment outcomes. For instance, in the United States, 36% of women (versus 6% of men) with children under six are not in the labor force (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014b); 16% of women (versus 5% of men) with children under six work part-time (U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014b); the gender gap in employment among people ages 15-64 years old is moderate (11%), and the gender gap in FTE is moderate (16%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e). Other countries in this type of regime share similar patterns with the United States.

Because of limited governmental support, parents tend to use market means to care for children. Without progressive interventions, when market means cannot cover all care needs, care responsibility would be more likely to fall on the shoulders of mothers, which is reflected in the repressed employment rates of mothers with young children (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f). It also results in a higher gender gap in both employment rates and FTE rates (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e) in comparison to Nordic countries, with Japan having even lower maternal employment rates and a higher gender gap in employment and FTE rates. This is perhaps due to the influence of traditional culture, conservative family norms, and negative attitudes toward the role of state in providing childcare (Esping-Andersen, 1997; Jappens & Van Bavel, 2011; Lokteff &

Piercy, 2012; Weinraub, 2015). The Netherlands, however, has higher female and maternal employment rates than its counterparts (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f), because Dutch parents frequently use privately-run ECEC services for children under three (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014l) and because the Netherlands intends to address work-family conflict issues by encouraging parents to work part-time (Haas, 2003). Since part-time work is common in the Netherlands, policies that do not penalize part-timers in terms of wages, promotions, and fringe benefits have been developed (Beneria, 2010). But women's disproportionate taking of part-time jobs to fulfil family responsibility *per se* still represents a form of gender inequality (Beneria, 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015e).

Overall, policies of this type of regime reflect a view that does not see giving and receiving care as part of citizenship but merely as a private matter; hence, giving and receiving care are neither supported nor compensated through collective efforts. These policy regimes also do not support parents' autonomous choice to not give care because most of them do not stipulate ECEC entitlements and most ECEC services available to children under three are privately-run, which may not be affordable to all parents. With the state's marginal involvement, care responsibility is left to the negotiation between the market and family, and without active measures, the task of negotiating or picking up the care work not covered by the market is often left to mothers. Although governments in these countries recently encouraged employers to help employees through family-friendly workplace practices, such as flexible work time arrangements (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014h), these kinds of practices are currently

not the norm and are usually only available to a rather small group of employees. Thus, in these countries, working parents have to manage work-family conflicts mostly on their own, and, while doing so, gender equality is compromised.

*Family-oriented caring policy regime.* Mexico and Turkey fall into a family-oriented policy regime. Mexico and Turkey grant only three to four months of non-transferrable maternity leave and do not have paternity or parental leave, which indicates that, in these countries, care is regarded as exclusively a mother's responsibility. Although Mexico has publicly-funded-and-managed ECEC services for children, the attendance rate is extremely low (8.3%) for children under three. There are no available data regarding the attendance rate for children under three in Turkey, but the attendance rate for Turkish children above three is low (27%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010, 2014l). Since the attendance rate for this age group of children is usually high across countries, it is reasonable to estimate that the attendance rate for children under three in Turkey is probably much lower. The absence of parental leave and low attendance rates at ECEC services in these countries suggest that it is families, especially mothers, taking responsibility for childcare. This claim seems supported by the employment patterns of women and mothers in these countries.

According to OECD (2014d), Mexican and Turkish women have the lowest labour force participation rates (47.8% and 33.7%, respectively) among OECD countries. Mexico and Turkey also have the lowest female employment rates (51% and 28%, respectively) and low employment rates for mothers with children under three (44% and 15%, respectively) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f). Mexico has higher maternal employment (69%) for mothers with children aged three to

five, which may be attributable to higher attendance (89%) at ECEC programs for this age group of children, while Turkey still has the lowest maternal employment rates for this group (around 21%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f, 2014l). Accordingly, the gender gap in both employment and FTE are very high (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e). With limited support from the government, child care is mainly provided by families, particularly mothers, in countries with this type of regime. On balance, this policy regime does not regard care as part of citizenship but as a family's, or mother's, responsibility. Hence, parents' right to time for care is not fully recognized. Though children's right to receive care is partly supported through the implementation of paid maternity leave and childcare services, in the long run, it is achieved at women's, specifically mothers', expense. Care labor is not equally distributed between men and women. Women's paid work is not recognized nor encouraged in this policy regime. Arguably, in this regime, work-family reconciliation is maintained mainly through a men-breadwinner and women-housewife family model in which fathers sacrifice time with children and mothers sacrifice career advancement. Gender equality, in terms of employment equality, is not clearly pursued in this regime.

***Mixed caring policy regime.*** The remaining countries demonstrate mixed models of policy regimes where various combinations of caregiving from the state, parents, extended family members, informal caregivers, and the market have formed, which further classifies these countries into three subgroups.

***Mixed state and extended family care.*** The first subgroup, which includes Slovenia and Belgium, manifests mixed responsibility of the state and extended family

for childcare with greater work-family policy support that encourages maternal employment (Merla & Deven, 2014; Stropnik, 2014). ECEC services in these countries are predominantly publicly provided (Naumann et al., 2013; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010). The attendance rates for children under three are above the OECD average and for children above three are not only above the OECD average but are also more than 85% in both countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014l). Parents in these countries also use some form of unpaid informal care mainly provided by extended family members or friends. The use of other types of childcare is unusual in both countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014m).

Slovenia and Belgium also have flexible work time arrangement entitlements (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014h). This subgroup of countries, to some extent, sees caregiving and receiving as part of citizenship that warrants government support for the right to time for care and the right to receive care. The time parents use to care for children is also valued and compensated. Countries in this type of regime also grant parents the right to autonomous choice to not give care by providing ECEC entitlements and mainly public services.

Overall, policies in these countries support parents to reconcile paid work and unpaid care work. Women and mothers are encouraged to participate in paid work, which is reflected in their relatively high female labor force participation, high female employment, and high employment for mothers with children both under and above three (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014d, 2014f). The prevalence of dual-earner families with children under and above three in both countries

further verifies this trend (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014e). However, care responsibility is still not equally distributed between men and women with fathers' lower use of leave, which partly contributes to gender gaps in employment rates and gender gaps in FTE rates in Slovenia and Belgium (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e).

*Mixed state and maternal care.* The second subgroup consisting of Finland, Germany, Austria, Estonia, Hungary, Korea, France, and Luxembourg generally shows mixed responsibility of the state and mothers for childcare with moderate to generous work-family policy support. Finland is the only Nordic country that is classified in this subgroup. According to Lammi-Taskula (2008), Finland has a long tradition of full-time employment of women, and policies that support the reconciliation of work and family have been in place since the 1960s. A men-breadwinner family was never firmly established, while a “wage-worker motherhood” emerged before the 1990s (Lammi-Taskula, 2008, p. 135). However, a deep economic recession in the mid-1990s contributed to the emergence of a new gender contract that questions maternal employment. The employment rates of mothers with children under school age decreased from 76% in 1989 to 61% in 1997 (Haataja & Nyberg, 2006, as cited in Lammi-Taskula, 2008) and currently remain at a similar level (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f).

Since then, many Finnish families have moved from a dual-earner model towards a male-breadwinner model (Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Moss, 2014). Finnish leave policies support maternal care at least for children under three. In combination with home care leave, families can have 36 months of paid leave, but the leave and payment are both

family entitlement without incentives to encourage fathers to take leave. As a result, mothers take most leaves while few fathers use the leave (Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k). Hence, care work is not equally distributed between fathers and mothers in Finland. Although there is an ECEC entitlement in Finland and the services are mainly publicly-funded-and- managed and available to children under three around the end of well-paid leave, the attendance rates for children both under and above three are not high and are well below OECD averages. Clearly, in Finland childcare is commonly regarded as mothers' job; current policies do not redistribute care responsibility between men and women (Haas, 2003; Lammi-Taskula, 2008). This "maternalist" assumption (Connell, 1990, as cited in Moss & Deven, 2006, p. 277) embedded in policies and practices jeopardizes gender equality at least in terms of employment outcomes.

Germany, Austria, and France provide long job-protected leaves, around three years per child in Germany and France and two years in Austria (Blum & Erler, 2014; Fagnani, Boyer, & Thévenon, 2014; Haas, 2003; Moss & Deven, 2006; Rille-Pfeiffer & Dearing, 2014). But Austria offers only a low flat rate of payment (Rille-Pfeiffer & Dearing, 2014); Germany provides high wage replacement but only for partial leaves, while France grants a low-rate payment for partial leaves (Blum & Erler, 2014; Fagnani et al., 2014), indicating the somewhat low status of caregiving in these countries.

Although some forms of incentives have been introduced in leave policies to encourage fathers to share care in these three countries, the use of leave by fathers is still very low (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k), indicating that mothers still take on major responsibility for childcare. Accordingly, the maternal

employment rates of mothers with children both below and above three are moderate, around OECD averages (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k), and men-breadwinner families with children under three are common in these three countries (Moss, 2014).

Estonia and Hungary have relatively generous parental leave, but the leave is entirely a family entitlement, and there is no incentive measure in their policies to encourage fathers to use the leave (Korintus, 2014; Pall & Karu, 2014). Accordingly, fathers in Estonia and Hungary rarely use the leave (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k). Thus, although the Estonian and Hungarian governments see child care as part of citizenship that requires collective efforts to grant parents the right to time to give care and value caregiving to some extent to compensate it mostly with high-rate wage replacement, the policies reflect the belief that mothers should be the primary caregivers. There is no encouragement of equal distribution of care responsibility between fathers and mothers in families. The attendance rates for children under three in Estonia and Hungary are quite low due to a shortage of formal ECEC program slots and preference for maternal care for young children (Korintus, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010, 2014l; Pall & Karu, 2014). Consequently, Estonia has very low employment rates of mothers with children under three, and Hungary has the lowest rate among OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f). Unsurprisingly, the sole-breadwinner model is predominant in families with children under three (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014e).



Since the 1990s, South Korea has experienced demographic changes, including a decrease in male wages, an increase in women's labor force participation, low fertility rates, and a decline in the sole-breadwinner family form. Hence, Korean policy has gradually moved from "extensive familialism" to a "modified familialism" model that includes government intervention to help families with care responsibilities (Peng, 2010, as cited in Beneria, 2010, p. 1519). Specifically, Korea grants parents an individual entitlement of 12 months of leave with low-rate wage replacement (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014j). But because of meager compensation and the lack of incentives, Korean fathers rarely use the leave (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k), resulting in unequal distribution of care responsibility between men and women within families. On the other hand, Korea provides publicly-funded-and-managed ECEC services for children under and above three (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010), which may somewhat relieve families, particularly mothers, of some care demands and encourage mothers to work. Overall, the Korean female labor force participation is still quite low among OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014d), and, hence, the gender gap in employment rates in Korea is much higher than in most countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e).

Luxembourg has a shorter leave and compensates the time parents take to care for children with a flat-rate wage replacement. Although the leave is an individual entitlement, there is no incentive to redistribute care work between men and women. When both parents apply for the leave, the mother has priority (Zhelyazkova, Loutsch, &

Valentova, 2014). Clearly, compared to fathers, mothers are regarded as the primary caregivers. In Luxembourg, there is a gap between ECEC entitlement and the end of leave (Zhelyazkova et al., 2014), but the ECEC services available to children under and above three are mainly publicly funded and managed (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007, 2010). With a combination of leave and childcare provisions, in spite of shouldering the majority of care responsibility, mothers are still able to participate in paid work, which is evident in relatively- higher employment of mothers with children under three in Luxembourg (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f). However, gender gaps in both employment and FTE are still quite high in Luxembourg (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e), partly attributable to the unequal share of childcare between men and women.

This subgroup of countries treats care as a joint public and private responsibility. Parents are granted the right to take paid time off to care for children and are able to use mainly publicly-funded-and-managed childcare services. Nevertheless, governments in this subgroup do not promote equal distribution of care work between men and women. Care work is generally considered as mothers' jobs but with government support. Though women are encouraged to participate in paid work, mothers usually scale back labor force participation. In other words, governments in this subgroup somewhat help parents reconcile work and family responsibilities, but fathers and mothers may experience work-family conflicts differently due to the unequal share of unpaid care work.

*Private care with supplemental government support.* The third subgroup consisting of Spain, Italy, Poland, Greece, the Slovak Republic, and the Czech Republic demonstrates a policy regime that emphasizes private care from mothers and extended family members with supplementary government support. Equal distribution of care responsibility between men and women is not stressed in the policies of most of these countries. Spain has moved from a patriarchal society to a society where gender equality has become an important goal. Since the 1990s, the number of women who entered the labor market has increased significantly (Beneria, 2010). However, childcare in Spain is still seen as mothers' responsibility, with help from extended family members, instead of fathers' or public responsibility that warrants collective intervention. Although Spain offers a lengthy parental leave (around three years from birth), the leave is not paid, which indicates the low status of caregiving. There is no incentive in place to encourage fathers' use of leave. Fathers in general rarely use the leave (Escobedo, 2014). Spain has an ECEC entitlement starting at three years old and provides public services for children under and above three, but the attendance rates for children under three are just around the OECD average (Escobedo, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014). Accordingly, employment rates of mothers with young children in Spain are moderate and also just around the OECD average (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f).

In response to EU directives, Greece developed parental leave in the 1990s (Haas, 2003). Greek parental leave has remained meager: unpaid, three months of leave per parent with no incentive to encourage fathers to use the leave (Kazassi & Karamessini, 2014). Comparatively, the Czech Republic, Italy, Poland, and the Slovak Republic

provide longer leaves, generally with low-rate payments except for the Czech Republic which offers 70% of previous earnings (Addabbo, Giovannini, & Mazzucchelli, 2014; Gerbery, 2014; Kocourková, 2014; Michoń, Kotowska, & Kurowska, 2014). The leaves in these four countries are family entitlements. Although Italy and Poland provide some measures to encourage fathers' use of leave, low payments may discourage fathers from actually taking leave. In general, fathers in the Czech Republic, Italy, and the Slovak Republic rarely use the leave (Addabbo et al., 2014; Gerbery, 2014; Kocourková, 2014). Moreover, Italy and the Slovak Republic do not have an ECEC entitlement. Although Greece, the Czech Republic, and Poland have an ECEC entitlement, there is a gap between ECEC entitlement and the end of leave (Addabbo et al., 2014; Gerbery, 2014; Kazassi & Karamessini, 2014; Kocourková, 2014; Michoń et al., 2014).

The attendance rates at ECEC services for children under three are very low in these countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014l). Therefore, mothers and extended family members usually have to take major responsibility for childcare (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014m). As a result, in these countries, employment rates of mothers with young children are low (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f), and gender gaps in employment and FTE are higher than in most OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014g, 2015e). On average, policies of this subgroup of countries reflect the belief that care work is a private responsibility that should be predominantly taken by mothers and extended family members. Governments provide only supplemental assistance. The redistribution of caregiving between men and women at home is also not a major concern of these

governments, though some progress has slowly been made in Spain, Italy, and Poland. The sole-breadwinner is the most common pattern in couple families with children under three (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014e). Caregiving in this subgroup of countries is not highly valued and tends to be divided along gender lines. Parents have to use private solutions to address work-family conflict issues at the expense of gender equality.

Portugal is the only country in the mixed caring policy regime that cannot be further placed in any identified subgroup. In Portugal, working parents rely on moderate to generous public work-family policy provisions, extended family members, and the market to address childcare needs. The Portuguese government provides three months of leave per parent with low-rate wage replacement (Wall & Leitão, 2014). Leave is an individual entitlement. No extra incentive is adopted to encourage fathers to use leave, but the ratio of fathers to mothers using leave in Portugal (52%) is much higher than that (3%) of the last subgroup (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014k). Portugal grants an ECEC entitlement, but it starts from five years old. Hence, there is a gap between the end of leave and the ECEC entitlement (Wall & Leitão, 2014). Also, the ECEC provisions for children under three are mainly privately-run. But the attendance rates at ECEC programs for children under and above three are higher than OECD averages (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014l).

Using formal ECEC services and informal caregivers (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014m) has facilitated high employment rates of mothers with children under three (68%) and above three (79%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014f) as well as a high prevalence of dual-

earner families with children under three in Portugal (Moss, 2014; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014e). The Portuguese government also grants parents the right to request flexible work time arrangements. Thus, overall, the Portuguese government recognizes citizens' right to time for care but the short length of leave and relatively meager compensation for the leave parents take to care for children indicate that caregiving is not highly valued. With government support, parents still have to rely on extended family members and the market to address childcare needs and work-family conflict issues, which makes Portugal a mixed caring policy regime with a combination of caregiving from the state, extended family members, parents, and the market.

### **Discussion and Implications**

This study's findings are generally consistent with those of previous studies but also add new insights into comparative analyses of work-family policies and welfare state regimes. For instance, with regard to the generosity of parental leave policy designs, this research similarly presents that France and Spain provide the lengthiest parental leave, regardless of payment, as in previous studies (e.g., Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Haas, 2003; Ray et al., 2010). By comparing a larger number of countries, this research additionally identifies that Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovak Republic provide as many months of parental leave as France and Spain. When considering whether parental leave is paid, Sweden is consistently recognized as the most generous country by this research and previous studies (e.g., Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Haas, 2003; Ray et al., 2010). On the other hand, joined by Mexico and Turkey,

Switzerland remains the least generous country in terms of the length of the unpaid and paid parental leave as found in this research.

By taking into account additional dimensions of parental leave policy designs, including eligibility, flexibility in the use of leave, and coordination with ECEC and flexible work arrangement entitlements, this study further shows that Sweden and Germany have not only the most generous but also well-coordinated work-family policies, while the United States, Switzerland, Mexico, and Turkey have the least generous and coordinated ones. With respect to the level of effort made in policy designs to promote gender equality, Sweden scored highest in this study, which is similar to existing studies (e.g., Gornick & Meyers, 2003, 2004; Haas, 2003; Ray et al., 2010), followed closely by Germany, Norway, and Finland.

Moreover, through utilizing a regime perspective to compare countries' governing arrangements (May & Jochim, 2012) for addressing work and family reconciliation, this study created a new typology. This new typology classifies 33 OECD countries into four main policy regime types based on their varied abilities to help parents to be both earners and caregivers simultaneously that are manifested in their policy designs and aggregative caregiving and employment outcomes. Compared to solely focusing on one component of welfare regimes—the generosity of parental leave policy designs—this typology provides deeper and broader understandings of countries' distinct characteristics of policy schemes and citizens' caregiving and employment patterns that reflect underlying ideologies about gender roles, unpaid care work, and the respective roles the state, market, and family should play in providing care to young children.

This research is different than the previous typology studies concerning work-family interface and policies (i.e., Haas, 2003; J. Lewis, 1992) in that it includes more types of policies and more countries and examined patterns of caregiving and employment more clearly and systematically. Due to the aforementioned factors and different analysis, the current study categorizes and names countries differently than Haas (2003) and Lewis (1992) did. However, there is obvious compatibility and consistency across three typologies created in this study and in the studies of Haas (2003) and Lewis (1992), as illustrated in Table 4. In particular, it seems safe to say that across comparison frameworks and over time, Sweden is the only country persistently classified in a regime type (i.e., weak male-breadwinner state, valued care model, and state-oriented caring

Table 4

*Comparison of Three Typologies*

<b>Lewis (1992)</b>	<b>Haas (2003)</b>	<b>Current research</b>
<b>Focus</b>		
Examines how far countries have moved from the male-breadwinner model	Examines the extent to which statutory parental leave policy across countries contributes to the ideal of valued care	Examines the extent to which countries value care as part of citizenship and promote earner-caregiver model by comparing three types of work-family policies and aggregative caregiving and employment outcomes
<b>Typologies and Countries</b>		
<b>Strong male-breadwinner states.</b> <u>Countries: Ireland and Britain</u>	<b>Privatized care model</b> that distributes care work primarily to mothers or extended family members. <u>Countries: Greece, Italy, Portugal, &amp; Spain</u>	<b>Family-oriented caring policy regime</b> that sees care as exclusively mothers' responsibility with meager, if any, policy support and does not pursue gender equality in terms of promoting women and mothers employment and equal share of caregiving between parents. <u>Countries: Mexico &amp; Turkey</u>



Lewis (1992)	Haas (2003)	Current research	
		<b>Mixed caring policy regime</b>	<b>Private care with supplementary government support caring policy regime</b> that emphasizes private care from mothers and extended family members with supplementary government support & men are main breadwinners. <u>Countries: Greece, Italy, Spain, Poland, Czech Republic, &amp; Slovak Republic</u>
<b>Modified male-breadwinner states.</b> <u>Country: France</u>	<b>Family-centered care model</b> that somewhat recognizes women's paid work but still views men as main breadwinner. <u>Countries: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, &amp; Luxembourg</u>		<b>Mixed state and maternal caring policy regime</b> that sees care as part of citizenship and grants citizens the right to give care and have autonomous choice through generally great governmental support, but citizens mainly choose maternal care for young children due to societal values. <u>Countries: Austria, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Korea, &amp; Luxembourg</u>
(contd.)	(contd.)	(contd.)	<b>Mixed state and extended family caring policy regime</b> that sees caregiving as part of citizenship that warrants government support for the right to time for care; mothers' employment is boosted by generous policies and informal and extended family care. <u>Countries: Belgium &amp; Slovenia</u>
	<b>Market-oriented care model</b> that holds strong traditional values concerning gender roles and regards mothers as main caregivers. <u>Countries: Ireland, the Netherlands, &amp; the United Kingdom</u>		<b>Market-oriented caring policy regime</b> that emphasizes market means to address care needs and does not actively encourage equal share of care work between genders and is characterized by the coexistence of male-breadwinner, one-and-a-half-breadwinner, & dual-earner family types. <u>Countries: Australia, Canada, Ireland, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, &amp; the United States</u>

Lewis (1992)	Haas (2003)	Current research
<b>Weak male-breadwinner states.</b> <u>Country: Sweden</u>	<b>Valued care model</b> that makes efforts to integrate women into the labor market and provide generous policies to support working parents. <u>Countries: Sweden, Denmark, &amp; Finland</u>	<b>State-oriented caring policy regime</b> that values and compensates care by offering generous public policy provisions; grants citizens the right to give parental care and have autonomous choice in whether to give parental care; promotes gender equality, and is overall on the way towards a dual-earner/dual-caregiver model. <u>Countries: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, &amp; Iceland</u>

*Note.* Comparisons made by the author based on the findings of the current research, Haas (2003) and Lewis (1992).

regime) that values care, promotes women’s employment, encourages a more equal share of caregiving between parents, and facilitates the ideal of earner-caregiver model with generous and coordinated statutory work-family policy schemes. Most countries that are included in all three studies remain in similar positions across three typologies over time, which reveals their relatively stable governing arrangements for addressing the relationship between paid work and unpaid care work (see Table 4). I, however, argue that the typology developed by the current research is a more valid and updated one that not only encompasses the essential elements included in the other two typologies, but also better distinguishes nuances among countries in their efforts to help parents address work-family conflict while promoting gender equality. Specifically, by taking more types of policies and caregiving and employment outcomes into consideration, this new typology categorizes countries into clusters that can more precisely reflect a spectrum of the complicated and dynamic nexus of the state, market, and family in providing care and resulting patterns of caregiving and employment within and across countries (see Table 3 and Table 4).

Work and family life are inextricably connected. Policies and programs that address work-family conflict must acknowledge this interface to support both men and women in achieving their aspirations in paid work and unpaid care work as well as negotiating relationships on the basis of an equal footing in both the home and the workplace. Work-family policies that reinforce the presumption that women alone are responsible for care work and men's main role is breadwinner feed gender inequality. Also, since these types of policies assume separate spheres of work and family, they do not fundamentally address work-family conflict. Policy that promotes dual-earner/dual caregiver is perhaps the fundamental solution to work-family conflict and gender inequality. It does so by feminizing the male life course (Esping-Andersen, 2009) and making women's current life patterns of combining paid work and unpaid work the norm (Fraser, 1994; Williams, 2000) through dismantling the gendered opposition between paid work and unpaid care work as well as gendered separate spheres of work and family. As the Swedish Ministry of Labour stated in 1990, "[t]o make it possible for both men and women to combine parenthood and gainful employment, a new view of the male role and a radical change in the organization of working life are required" (as cited in Fraser, 1994, p. 613) to help citizens integrate various dimensions of life. It has been a long time since this statement was made. However, among countries reviewed in this article, only a few countries—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland—identified as a state-oriented caring regime have implemented work-family policies that are close to this goal.

In other policy regime types, working parents have to manage work-family conflict mostly on their own, and, while doing so, gender equality is compromised. For example, countries in the family-oriented policy regime (i.e., Mexico and Turkey) regard

care as exclusively mothers' responsibility and maintain work-family reconciliation through a men-breadwinner and women-housewife family model in which fathers sacrifice time with children and mothers sacrifice career advancement. Due to limited governmental support, parents in the market-oriented regime (e.g., the United States) tend to use market means to care for children. When market means cannot cover all care needs, care responsibility is more likely to fall on the shoulders of mothers. The mixed policy regime, on the other hand, has a policy generosity level that falls between the state-oriented policy regime as well as market-oriented and family-oriented regimes, with within-group variations. Specifically, Slovenia and Belgium in the subgroup mixed state and extended family caring regime have a governmental support level that is closest to that of the state-oriented regime. Parents' work-family reconciliation and maternal employment are supported by generous policy provisions and extended family members. The subgroup, private care with supplementary government support caring policy regime, has a governmental support level similar to that of market-oriented and family-oriented regimes. As a result, parents in this regime have to use private solutions to address work-family conflict issues at the expense of gender equality. Finally, the mixed state and maternal caring policy regime shows mixed responsibility of the state and mothers for childcare with moderate to generous work-family policy support. Governments in this regime to some degree help parents reconcile work and family responsibilities, but fathers and mothers may experience work-family conflict differently due to the unequal share of unpaid care work.

Compared to other regime types, policies in the state-oriented caring regime might also benefit child well-being, in terms of child health and child poverty. Research

has found that well-designed and well-coordinated work-family policies that can better address work-family conflict and promote gender equality will also enhance child health, economic, and overall well-being through increased parental care and fathers' involvement in child's early years as well as via increased parental income generated by boosted parental employment (Brooks-Gunn et al., 2010; Haas & Hwang, 2008; Marsiglio et al., 2000; Misra & Strader, 2013; O'Brien et al., 2007; Staehelin, Berteau, & Stutz, 2007; Tanaka, 2005; Tomlinson, 2011). Statistics provided by the OECD (2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2016b, 2016a, 2016c, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c) also show that countries in the state-oriented caring regime (i.e., Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Denmark) have lower rates of infant mortality, low birth weight, and child poverty than most countries in other regime types, including the U.S. and the U.K. Hence, it is logical to expect and hypothesize that being a member country and/or work-family policy designs in the state-oriented caring regime will significantly predict the best child outcomes or increase child well-being. However, this research does not directly examine child well-being across policy regimes and does not test the effects of policies and policy regimes on child well-being. Further research is needed to determine the effects of work-family policies and welfare regime types on child outcomes.

As with all research, this study has limitations. When ranking and creating a new typology of work-family policy regimes, countries' historical, cultural, political, economic, and social contexts were not sufficiently considered in the analysis due to limited time and resources. Additionally, other important factors (e.g., national income level) that would affect countries' willingness and abilities to invest in more supportive work-family policies were not being taken into account. Therefore, the findings of this

study should be understood cautiously. Accordingly, this typology of policy regimes can be further refined by taking into consideration countries' historical and social contexts as well as by adding more indicators, such as the amount of social expenditure in proportion to GDP, financing structure, available hours and quality of ECEC, and so on.

Considering an increase in perceived work-family conflict by employees across countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013), it is time for countries to upgrade their work-family policies to assist parents to address work-family conflict and promote gender equality. Employees, especially women, in many countries, including the United States, have expressed the desire and support for more generous and supportive public work-family policies to help them reconcile work and family demands (Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Boushey, 2010; Smith & Kim, 2010) (Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Boushey, 2010; Smith & Kim, 2010). This support from citizens can provide needed momentum for advocating for more supportive work-family policies, such as highly paid parental leave, ECEC entitlements that start at an early age, and flexible work arrangements. To encourage parents to share childcare more equally, support maternal employment, and promote gender equality, incentives have to be designed into policies. Lewis and Smithson (2001) found that citizens' awareness of governmental provisions in other countries would increase their sense of entitlement to more statutory work-family support from their own countries. Therefore, it is hoped that this article would provide concerned citizens and social workers with a learning and practice tool to raise awareness of more generous and coordinated work-family policies in other countries that would motivate them to call for more support in their respective home countries. In countries where cultural norms prefer maternal care with limited

statutory policy support, hopefully, this article would invite public discussion and policy debate on the influence of unsupported caregiving on child well-being and human rights of women in terms of their status in the workplace and in the home.

## Chapter Four

### Immigrants' Experiences of Work-Family Conflict in the U.S.:

#### A Systematic Review

##### Background and Objectives

Work-family conflict literature has mainly focused on native, white and professional couples (Ford et al., 2007; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Matthews et al., 2010; Rudolph, Michel, Harari, & Stout, 2014). Little is known about whether immigrants (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Grzywacz, Quandt, Arcury, & Marín, 2005; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) or nonprofessionals, who are often immigrants (Casper et al., 2007; Chang et al., 2010; Chiu & Rastogi, 2008; Foley & Powell, 1997; Matthews et al., 2010; Newburger & Gryn, 2009) experience work-family conflict differently. Thus, research on immigrant families is needed to fill this gap (Lero & Lewis, 2008). As the first step to expand the knowledge base of work-family conflict and to better understand the experiences of under-researched immigrant populations, this chapter reports a systematic review of literature to find out what is known, and what is not, about immigrants' experiences of work-family interaction, specifically the work-family conflict.

According to data released by the Census Bureau, there were 42.4 million immigrants<sup>17</sup> in the U.S. in 2014, which accounts for 13.3 percent of or about one out of eight U.S. residents (Camarota & Zeigler, 2015; Zong & Batalova, 2016). This number

---

<sup>17</sup> This research uses the Census Bureau's definition to define immigrants as anyone who is not a U.S. citizen at birth but lives in the U.S. now as naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, legal residents on temporary visas (i.e., international students and international/foreign workers), and unauthorized immigrants (United States Census Bureau, 2013; Zong & Batalova, 2016). Although "foreign born" and "immigrant" are used interchangeably to refer to persons without U.S. citizenship at birth (Zong & Batalova, 2016), this research uses the term of immigrant(s) consistently throughout the paper to refer to this population.



hit a record, the highest percentage in 104 years, and represented an increase of 2.4 million immigrants since July 2010 (Camarota & Zeigler, 2015). The overall immigrant population continues to grow, as the most recent data shows that there were 44.5 million immigrants residing in the U.S. in 2017 (Zong, Batalova, & Burrows, 2019).

These immigrants came from various countries. Specifically, the majority (around 60%) came from Mexico, India, China, the Philippines, El Salvador, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala (Zong & Batalova, 2016; Zong et al., 2019). Approximately 51 percent of immigrants to the U.S. were female, and the median age of immigrants was 43.5 years, compared to 35.9 years for the native born in 2014 (Zong & Batalova, 2016). The native born are on average younger because most children of immigrants are born in the U.S. and are mostly under age 18 (Zong et al., 2019). Around 50 percent (20.9 million) of the immigrants aged 5 and older were considered Limited English Proficient (LEP)<sup>18</sup> (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Additionally, 29 percent (10.5 million) of the immigrants aged 25 and older had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 30 percent of native-born adults, while 30 percent of immigrants lacked a high school diploma or General Educational Development (GED) certificate, compared to 10 percent of their native-born counterparts in 2014 (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Notably, the percentage of immigrants with a college degree was much higher (47 percent) among the newcomers, those who entered the U.S. between 2012 and 2017 (Zong et al., 2019). The difference in language proficiency and educational attainment among immigrants suggests diverse experiences of their employment.

---

<sup>18</sup> The term Limited English Proficient (LEP) refers to any person aged 5 and older who reported speaking English “less than very well,” as classified by the U.S. Census Bureau (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Immigrants have historically made up a sizeable part of the U.S. labor force. In 2007, around 16 percent (23.9 million) of the civilian labor force was immigrants (Newburger & Gryn, 2009), and in 2014, immigrants accounted for nearing one in five of the civilian labor force (Zong & Batalova, 2016), which still held true in 2017 (Zong et al., 2019). For those who are 16 and older, the labor force participation rate (66.9%) among immigrants was also higher than that (64.4%) among natives in 2007 (Newburger & Gryn, 2009). In accordance with their educational attainment distribution, immigrant workers hold jobs at the top and bottom of the skill spectrum (Newburger & Gryn, 2009). But compared to their native-born counterparts, immigrants, especially non-citizen immigrants, are disproportionately employed in nonprofessional, low-skilled, unstable, and hence low-wage jobs (Chiu & Rastogi, 2008; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Newburger & Gryn, 2009; Zong & Batalova, 2016; Zong et al., 2019), because employers tend to turn to the immigrant labor pool to fill jobs that are unattractive to natives (Chiu & Rastogi, 2008). Limited English proficiency, having credentials obtained abroad, and lacking citizenship also contribute to immigrants' disproportionate concentration in nonprofessional, low-skilled, and low-wage jobs (Batalova, Fix, & Bachmeier, 2016).

Most immigrants have caregiving responsibilities. The majority (77.2 percent) of immigrant households were family households (e.g., with child care responsibility). More than half of them (57%) were led by married couples, while 6.1 and 14.1 percent of them were led by single fathers and single mothers, respectively (United States Census Bureau, 2014a). According to Zong and Batalova (2016), 17.5 million children aged 18 and younger lived with at least one immigrant parent, which accounted for 25 percent of the 69.9 million children under age 18 in the United States in 2014. However, among

immigrant families, 18.6 percent lived below the poverty threshold (United States Census Bureau, 2014b) and around half of children of immigrants lived in poverty (Zong & Batalova, 2016).

Taking into account the aforementioned work characteristics, caregiving responsibility, and limited resources, it is logical to think that immigrant workers may also experience work-family conflict as their native counterparts do. But due to their migration and assimilation experience as well as the influence of the culture of their countries of origin, it would be reasonable to expect that immigrants may perceive and experience work-family conflict differently in comparison with natives, even those who share similar cultural backgrounds.

In fact, among minority groups, immigrants perhaps are the most vulnerable population. They usually face multiple challenges, due to separation from families, lack of social support, acculturation and assimilation stress, or even discrimination based on the intersection of race, ethnicity, immigrant status, religion, and class (Glick, 2010; Lero & Lewis, 2008; Napholz & Mo, 2010; Raghuram, Luksyte, Avery, & Macoukji, 2010). Therefore, albeit diversity within immigrants, when encountering work-family conflict, they in general may have the least resources to overcome such challenges. Also, immigrants may hold different cultural assumptions about work, family, and gender roles, and they are disproportionately employed in nonprofessional and low-skilled jobs (Chiu & Rastogi, 2008; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Newburger & Gryn, 2009). As a result, they are likely to construct and experience work-family conflict very differently from native-born, white, and professional adults who are the most frequently studied in the work-family literature.

Given the increasing number of immigrants in the U.S., it is imperative to study immigrants' work-family conflict to better serve this population and expand the understanding of work-family interaction and work-family conflict. Although ample studies have been conducted on immigrant families, most focus on acculturation issues (Glick, 2010). Little is known about work-family conflict experienced among immigrants (Glick, 2010; Grzywacz et al., 2007, 2005). Thus, as Glick (2010) suggested, more research on immigrants' work-family conflict is needed to add new insights to the knowledge base. It is, however, argued that before a meaningful, well-crafted study can be developed, updated cumulative knowledge about this phenomenon of interest needs to be systematically visited and summarized.

A systematic review method is perhaps the best way to accomplish this endeavor. To my knowledge, there is no systematic review that has been conducted on this topic. Thus, by conducting and reporting a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict, this paper makes the following contributions: 1) organize, summarize, and assess current knowledge about immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict; 2) identify gaps in the knowledge base; 3) shed light on directions for future research, and 4) inform policy and practice.

## **Method**

**Search strategy and process.** A systematic and extensive literature search was conducted using a midwest university's metasearch tool and a west-coast university's WorldCat that together access 84 electronic databases, including Academic Search Premier (EBSCO), Business Source Premier (EBSCO), JSTOR, ProQuest Central, PsycARTICLE, PsycINFO, PubMed, Social Work Abstracts, Social Service Abstracts,

Sociological Abstracts, and SocINDEX with Full Text. Google Scholar search was also conducted. Boolean operators (i.e., and; or) and the following combination of search terms were used to search for literature: "immigrant," "foreign-born," "work family conflict," "work family," "work and family," "work-to-family," "family-to-work," "family-friendly policy," "work-family policy," or "child care," "childcare," "maternity leave," "paternity leave," "parental leave," "flexible work," "flextime," "telecommuting," and "compressed workweek". In addition, the following journals that frequently publish research on work and family, gender, and immigrants as well as bibliographies of articles were hand-searched for relevant literature: *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Community, Work & Family*, *Feminist Economics*, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, and *Labor Studies Journal*. Only studies published between 2000 and 2018 were included.

During the initial search, 8,579 articles were located (3,016 through 84 library electronic databases, 979 through Google Scholar, and 4,584 through journal and bibliographies of articles). The following three inclusion criteria were then used to screen and select the eligible articles: a) studies should focus on or relate to immigrant populations that include all foreign-born persons who are naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, legal residents on temporary visas (i.e., international students and international/foreign workers), and unauthorized immigrants in the U.S.; b) articles should report research on immigrants' work-family conflict; c) articles should report primary, data-based studies that reported quantitative and/or qualitative findings.

A document level screening was first conducted using the three inclusion criteria to screen the titles, keywords, and abstracts of the identified articles (Denyer & Tranfield,

2009; Littell & Maynard, 2015; Maynard & Littell, 2016), and 106 articles were retained for a review of full texts to further determine their eligibility. After applying the same three inclusion criteria, six articles were identified as eligible for the systematic review (see Appendix E for the detailed list of these articles). Figure 4 illustrates the selection process for the articles included in this review. The entire process of eligibility screening was well-documented and verified by a second reviewer<sup>19</sup>.

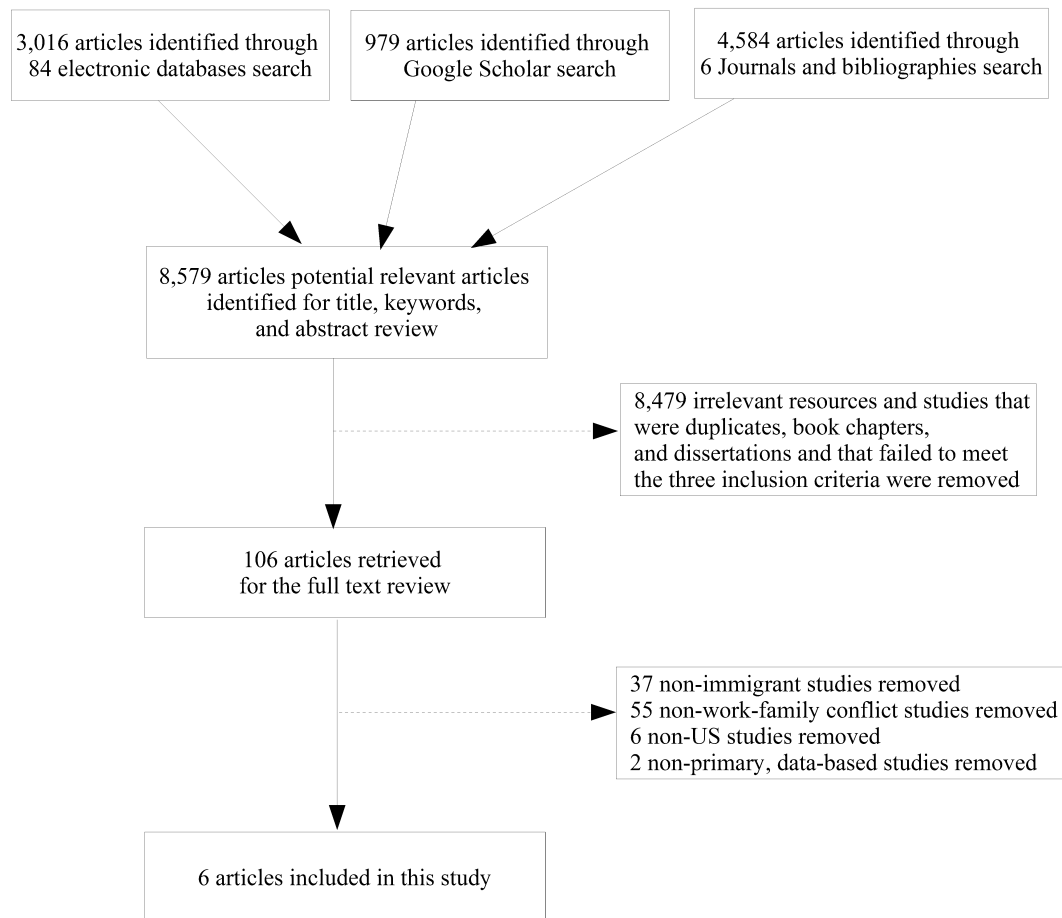


Figure 4. Flow chart of literature search and selection process.

<sup>19</sup> The second reviewer is a Ph. D. student of Political Science at Claremont Graduate University, who has been trained in the systematic review method.

**Overview of literature included.** Among the six studies included in this systematic review, two were mixed-method studies using in-depth interviews and structured survey interviews with Hispanic immigrants. Out of the remaining four studies, one study was a cross-sectional survey that compared immigrant and non-immigrant Hispanics, while the other three were qualitative studies using either semi-structured or in-depth interviews—one with low-income Asian immigrant women, one with migrant Latinas, and one with international tenure-track and tenured faculty fathers. Table 5 summarizes the characteristics of the six empirical studies included in this review.

**Data synthesis method.** A framework synthesis method (Snilstveit, Oliver, & Vojtkova, 2012) was used to synthesize quantitative and qualitative findings from the included literature. First of all, a tentative antecedent-outcome framework of work-family conflict from previous studies (e.g., Amstad et al., 2011; Byron, 2005; Frone et al., 1992) was followed to identify antecedents and outcomes of immigrants' work-family conflict in the included literature. New categories of themes were subsequently identified and refined through the iterations of reviewing the included studies (i.e., amending the framework). As a result, a refined framework that consists of four categories was formed to organize and synthesize the findings extracted in this review.

## **Results**

Among the six reviewed studies, half (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rodriguez et al., 2016; Rudolph et al., 2014) clearly conceptualized work-family conflict as an inter-role conflict that can be affected by demands and resources at work and family domains based on the conceptualization developed by previous

Table 5

*Empirical Studies of Work-Family Conflict Among Immigrants in the U.S., 2000-2018 (n=6)*

<b>Authors</b>	<b>Research methods</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Countries of origin</b>	<b>Receiving state</b>	<b>Years in the US</b>	<b>Key findings related to work-family conflict</b>
Grahame (2003)	Qualitative institutional ethnography using interviews	Asian immigrant women	7	Not reported	China and Vietnam	Not reported	Not reported	Family domain factors: domestic demands, economic responsibilities, and domestic support; gendered and unequal division of household work
Grzywacz, Quandt, Arcury, & Marín (2005)	Pilot study using mixed research design: qualitative in-depth interviews and quantitative structured interviews	Mexican immigrants	22; 150	Poultry processing, service, and manufacture	Mexico	NC	< 5 years	Antecedent: separation from family due to immigration; outcomes: Perceived stress, anxiety, and depressive symptoms; gender differences
Grzywacz, Arcury, Marín, Carrillo, Burke, Coates, & Quandt (2007)	Mixed research design: qualitative in-depth interview and quantitative survey	Hispanic immigrants	26; 200	Poultry processing	Mexico and Guatemala	NC	75% of participants = or > 5 years; 15% < 5 years; 10 % not specified	Antecedents: physical and psychological demands at work; outcomes: anxiety and depressive symptoms; gender differences



Table 5 (contd.)

*Empirical Studies of Work-Family Conflict Among Immigrants in the U.S., 2000-2018 (n=6)*

Authors	Research methods	Participants	N	Industry	Countries of origin	Receiving state	Years in the US	Key findings related to work-family conflict
Rudolph, Michel, Harari, & Stout (2014)	Quantitative: cross-sectional survey design	Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic Americans	89; 169	Not reported	Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Dominica, Peru, Argentina, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Belize, El	FL	Not reported	Antecedents: perceived organizational social support and perceived supervisor social support
Sallee & Hart (2015)	Qualitative case study design; semi-structured interview + demographic questionnaire	Asian and Hispanic immigrant fathers living with at least one child no older than 21	16	Academia (tenured and tenure-track faculty at 2 research universities)	Brazil, China, India, Japan, S. Korea, Mexico, Taiwan, and Vietnam	Not reported	5-31 years; averagely, 13.78 years	Work domain factors: job demand (long hours) and job control (flexibility) Family domain factors: greater involvement and responsibilities as fathers
Rodriguez, Trejo, Schiemann, Quandt, Daniel, Sandberg, & Arcury (2016)	Qualitative; semi-structured, in-depth interviews	Migrant Latina workers with at least one child under 12	20	Service, production, and retail and office support	Mexico and another non-specified Latin American country	NC	Averagely, 13 years	Work domain factors: job demand, job control, and job support Family domain factors: domestic demands, economic responsibilities, gendered and unequal division of household work, domestic support Outcomes: deteriorating physical and mental health

studies (i.e., Frone et al., 1992, 1997; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), which have their roots in role theory, the demand perspective, and the scarcity of resources hypothesis. The other three studies (Grahame, 2003; Grzywacz et al., 2005; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) did not specifically and explicitly adopt this conceptualization, but their reports of immigrants' challenging work-family interactions appear to be consistent with this conceptualization. Work-family conflict was reported to be experienced by immigrant workers in all studies. Through iterative reviews of these empirical studies, four categories of factors associated with work-family conflict were identified: 1) work-domain factors, 2) family-domain factors, 3) health outcomes, as well as 4) immigration, acculturation, and gender roles.

**Work domain factors of work-family conflict.** Out of the six reviewed studies, four explored relationships between work-domain factors and work-family conflict. Job demands, job control, and job support are three work-domain factors that were frequently identified to be associated with work-family conflict in these four studies. Specifically, one mixed-method study (Grzywacz et al., 2007) and one qualitative study (Rodriguez et al., 2016) on Latino immigrants working in the poultry processing, service, and retail and office support industries have found that physical demands (i.e., repetitive physical movements as eviscerating chickens or packing and sorting products as well as excessive workloads) and psychological demands (i.e., pressure of fast-paced work and skill variety) of work were associated with elevated work-family conflict, especially the work-to-family conflict. Another qualitative study on international (Asian and Hispanic) faculty fathers (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) has also found that long hours generally required by the tenure-track academic career sacrificed fathers' time with their families.

With regard to job control, a qualitative study on Latina immigrants working in the service, production, and retail and office support industries (Rodriguez et al., 2016) reported that having limited control over one's work schedule increased the challenge of combining work and family responsibilities faced by these Latina immigrants. Another qualitative study with Asian and Hispanic immigrant faculty fathers (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) somewhat corroborated this finding. The flexibility these fathers have, as faculty, in scheduling some of their work time and locations helped them reconcile work and family life (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015).

Two reviewed studies explored the relationship between support at work and work-family conflict. Specifically, a cross-sectional survey that compared Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic Americans (Rudolph et al., 2014) reported that perceived work social support is an important predictor of work-family conflict for both immigrant and non-immigrant Hispanics. This study (Rudolph et al., 2014) showed that higher levels of work social support, including perceived organizational social support and perceived supervisor social support, were in general associated with reduced levels of work-family conflict. Further, a higher level of perceived organizational social support decreased the level of work-to-family conflict, while a higher level of perceived supervisor social support lessened the level of family-to-work conflict (Rudolph et al., 2014). The findings of a qualitative study with Latinas (Rodriguez et al., 2016) were somewhat in line with this quantitative survey study, as this qualitative research has reported that lack of support, or even hostility, from supervisors and coworkers at work increased the stress these Latina workers felt and made it harder for them to attend to their family responsibilities. On the other hand, this qualitative study revealed that emotional and

tangible support from their supervisors and coworkers, albeit rare and minimal, was helpful for them to manage work and family obligations (Rodriguez et al., 2016).

In sum, according to the aforementioned studies (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rodriguez et al., 2016; Rudolph et al., 2014; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015), higher levels of job demands, including physical demands, psychological demands, and long work hours are associated with higher levels of work-family conflict experienced among Hispanic and Asian immigrants working across industries. However, having job control, in terms of having control over one's work schedule, and receiving social support from organizations, supervisors, and/or coworkers help to alleviate work-family conflict.

**Family domain factors of work-family conflict.** Among the six reviewed studies, three qualitative studies (Grahame, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2016; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) explored family-domain factors that might contribute to or alleviate work-family conflict. Three factors that were common themes identified across these three studies include domestic work demands (e.g., childcare, housework, etc.), economic responsibilities, and domestic support. Participants in two studies with Latinas and Asian immigrant women (Grahame, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2016) mentioned that demanding childcare and/or other family tasks—such as cleaning, cooking, and so forth—keep their schedule hectic, and they have to find a way to juggle between the unpaid domestic work responsibilities, the paid work, and/or the job training, because they carry most, if not all, household responsibilities at home. Asian and Hispanic immigrant fathers in another qualitative study (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) also reported that although their wives shoulder most childcare and housework responsibilities, greater involvement as fathers in

childcare is expected and needed in their families, which makes them feel challenged at times to manage their demanding academic work simultaneously.

Participants in two studies with Latinas and Asian immigrant women (Grahame, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2016) regarded economic responsibilities as part of their family responsibilities as their additional income would help their family survival and provide their children with better home environments. In order to fulfill their economic responsibilities in their families, some women started enrolling in school and/or entering job training programs in addition to having their paid work as well as childcare and housework duties, which makes juggling between already hectic schedules of paid work and unpaid care work even harder for them (Grahame, 2003).

On the whole, according to the aforementioned studies (Grahame, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2016; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015), domestic work demands and economic responsibilities have contributed to work-family conflict experienced by the study participants. On the other hand, the three qualitative studies also reported that receiving support from their spouses and members of their extended families (e.g., grandparents) as well as other informal support (e.g., babysitters) with childcare and housework helped them to better reconcile work and family responsibilities.

**Health outcomes of work-family conflict.** Only three reviewed studies (Grzywacz et al., 2007, 2005; Rodriguez et al., 2016) examined outcomes of work-family conflict, and all of them focused on physical and/or mental health consequences associated with work-family conflict. A qualitative study with Latina workers in the service, production, retail, and office support industries (Rodriguez et al., 2016) identified the negative influence of work-family conflict on physical health outcomes (i.e., chronic

or severe pain, high blood pressure, and other chronic health conditions) as well as mental health outcomes (i.e., mood instabilities, frustration, stress, and depression) among the majority of the interviewed Latina workers. Work-family conflict prevented these Latina workers from taking care of the needs of their family and children, which resulted in the compromised health of their families (Rodriguez et al., 2016). The finding of the negative impact of work-family conflict on immigrant workers' mental health is further supported by two quantitative studies. For instance, one mixed-method study with Mexican immigrants working in the poultry processing, the service, and the manufacturing industries (Grzywacz et al., 2005) reported that a higher level of work-family strain was associated with a higher level of perceived stress, anxiety and depression. Another mixed-method study with Hispanic immigrants working in the poultry processing industry (Grzywacz et al., 2007) also found a weak positive relationship between work-family conflict, specifically work-to-family conflict, and anxiety and depressive symptoms.

**Immigration, acculturation, and gender roles.** Out of the six reviewed studies, one mixed-method study with Mexican immigrants (Grzywacz et al., 2005) identified immigration *per se* as a contributor to work-family conflict due to the separation from family and community. The other studies discussed the influence of immigration on immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict that was exerted through the salience of employment, losing a network of social support, transitioning from collectivist cultures to an individualistic culture, and slowly changing gender roles (Grahame, 2003; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rodriguez et al., 2016; Rudolph et al., 2014; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). Specifically, two studies (Grahame, 2003; Grzywacz et al., 2007) reported that in order to

ensure the survival of their families in a new country, immigrant workers considered employment a priority and viewed it as an extension of their family responsibilities. Therefore, they (particularly immigrant men) expected their family to accommodate their job and did not think that their job interfered with their family life (Grzywacz et al., 2007), although they (particularly immigrant women) did report experiencing work-family conflict or difficulties in reconciling work and family duties in both studies (Grahame, 2003; Grzywacz et al., 2007).

Two (Grahame, 2003; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015) studies pointed out that losing existing social support to immigration contributed to work-family conflict experienced by immigrants. Most immigrants left their extended families behind when they moved to the U.S. As a result, they lost a network of social support (e.g., family members, friends, etc.) in their countries of origin, which makes immigrants vulnerable to work-family conflict in the new country. In the U.S., they do not have the support and resources they would have had for childcare and housework if they stayed in their country of origin (Grahame, 2003; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015).

Upon migration, immigrants were caught between two cultures—the culture of origin and the culture of the receiving country—that affected their experiences of work-family conflict. Three of the six reviewed studies categorized immigrants' cultures of origin (i.e., Hispanic and Asian cultures) as collectivist<sup>20</sup>, and the American culture as individualistic<sup>21</sup> (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rudolph et al., 2014; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015).

---

<sup>20</sup> In a collectivist culture, individuals live in extended networks where people share responsibility to care for one another throughout the life span. Usually, gender roles in this type of culture are more divided, aligned with the assumption of separate spheres of work and family, characterized by gendered divisions of labor (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rudolph, Michel, Harari, & Stout, 2014; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015).

<sup>21</sup> In an individualistic culture, individuals are expected to care for themselves and their immediate families and gender roles tend to be more egalitarian (Grzywacz et al.,

Two of the studies conducted with Hispanic immigrants (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rudolph et al., 2014) found that Hispanic immigrants tend to retain their collectivist culture orientation while acculturating to the individualistic culture in the U.S., which influenced their attitude towards work-family interactions and their response to social support at work. For instance, one of these two studies (Grzywacz et al., 2007) reported that immigrant Hispanic men saw little connection between their work and family and hence, they did not think their work could interfere with their family life. The other study (Rudolph et al., 2014) revealed that when dealing with work-family conflict, Hispanic immigrants were more responsive to collective forms of social support (i.e., organizational support), rather than individualistic forms of support (i.e., supervisor support) at work compared to U.S.-born Hispanics.

Asian and Hispanic immigrant faculty fathers in another study (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015), however, were found to adjust their work-family arrangements when transitioning from their original collectivist cultures to the individualistic culture in the U.S. Specifically, acculturating to the individualistic culture and a lack of extended family support in the U.S. led these faculty fathers to modify their notions about gender roles and become more engaged at home (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). For example, these fathers reported that they would change their work schedule or reduce their work hours to have more time with their family and that they were more involved in childcare than they might have been if they had stayed in their home countries. But many of these fathers admitted that although they have adopted a slightly different gender role and parenting behavior than their counterparts in their home countries, they continued to rely on gendered divisions of labor, that is, their wives performed most of the childcare and

---

2007; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015).



housework at home, to better reconcile their work and family obligations (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). Two studies conducted with Asian and Hispanic immigrant women (Grahame, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2016) also reported that some husbands provided more support for childcare and housework than they used to in their home countries, but these immigrant women still took most responsibility for unpaid domestic work, even when they work outside of the home.

Acculturation and losing networks of support upon migration might have contributed to slightly changed gender roles among immigrants. Gender roles shaped by immigrants' collectivist cultures of origin, however, mostly remained intact, which might partially explain the gender differences in work-family conflict and health outcomes found in two studies. One study with Mexican immigrants (Grzywacz et al., 2005) found that men experienced a slightly higher level of work-family strains caused by the separation from family and community. Nearly half of the interviewed men left their spouse and children behind in Mexico in order to fulfil their breadwinner role by finding a better job in the U.S. Another study with Hispanic immigrants (Grzywacz et al., 2007) reported that women experienced higher levels of work-to-family conflict, anxiety, and depressive symptoms than men, likely due to gendered and unequal divisions of household work.

## **Discussion**

Work-family conflict was reported to be experienced by Asian and Hispanic immigrant workers across studies identified in this systematic review. Through this systematic review of the literature, four categories of factors associated with immigrants' work-family conflict were identified: 1) work-domain factors, 2) family-domain factors,

3) health outcomes, and 4) immigration, acculturation, and gender roles. Work-domain factors were frequently examined in the reviewed literature. Higher levels of job demands were often found to be associated with higher levels of work-family conflict (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rodriguez et al., 2016; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015), while having job control and social support at work helped alleviate work-family conflict (Rodriguez et al., 2016; Rudolph et al., 2014; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). Similarly, more domestic work demands and economic responsibilities in the family domain contributed to work-family conflict, whereas having domestic support from spouses and/or other family members for childcare and housework helped mitigate work-family conflict (Grahame, 2003; Rodriguez et al., 2016; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). Furthermore, work-family conflict was found to be negatively associated with physical and mental health outcomes among immigrants (Grzywacz et al., 2007, 2005; Rodriguez et al., 2016). These findings were in general consistent with previous studies conducted with non-immigrants (e.g., Amstad et al., 2011; Byron, 2005; Frone et al., 1992; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010), which suggests that the antecedent-outcome and the demand-support frameworks of work-family conflict adopted in the mainstream literature are broadly useful for understanding immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S.

Nevertheless, immigration has uniquely shaped immigrants' work-family experiences. Specifically, separating from families and losing networks of social support upon migration put strains on immigrant workers and their families and made them vulnerable to work-family conflict (Grahame, 2003; Grzywacz et al., 2005; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). Although the necessity of employment for their family survival in a new society has led both immigrant men and women to regard their paid work as the

extension of their family responsibilities (Grahame, 2003; Grzywacz et al., 2007), the reviewed studies showed that the collectivist cultural beliefs of gender roles held by Hispanic immigrants resulted in gender differences in these immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict. Hispanic immigrant women reported higher levels of work-family conflict and resulting anxiety and depression than men (Grzywacz et al., 2007). This gender discrepancy can be explained by gendered, unequal divisions of labor commonly present in Hispanic immigrants' families where women shouldered most childcare and household work and, hence, felt more challenged in combining work and family responsibilities (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Rodriguez et al., 2016). Another related explanation is that Hispanic immigrant men believed that fulfilling their breadwinner role is fulfilling their family responsibilities and thus, did not think their job could interfere with their family life (Grzywacz et al., 2007). Asian immigrants also performed gendered divisions of labor at home (Grahame, 2003; M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). However, none of the reviewed studies investigated gender differences in Asian immigrants' work-family conflict. Further research is needed to find out whether similar gender discrepancies occur in Asian immigrant families.

Acculturating to the individualistic culture in the U.S. along with losing networks of social support for child care and housework upon immigration, however, did push some Asian and Hispanic immigrant men to slightly change their beliefs about gender roles and take a more active and engaged role in childcare (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). These men also reported experiencing challenges in reconciling work and parenting. It is unclear why changing gender roles occurred for some immigrant men but not others. It might be because of the influence of occupations and the degree of acculturation

(indicated by the number of years lived in the U.S.), as immigrant men who modified their gender roles were working in a high-paying professional occupation (i.e., tenured or tenure-track faculty at research universities) and generally had lived longer in the U.S. (M. Sallee & Hart, 2015). Further research is needed to examine the effects of occupations and acculturation levels on immigrant men's beliefs about gender roles and work-family interactions.

Immigrant Hispanics and non-immigrant Hispanics responded differently to two forms of social support at work. Immigrant Hispanics were more responsive to the collective form of support (i.e., organizational support), while non-immigrant Hispanics were more responsive to the individualistic form of support (i.e., supervisor support) (Rudolph et al., 2014). This finding was aligned with the research hypotheses—informed by the Effects of Culture on Role Behavior model—that immigrant Hispanics would retain their collectivist culture and prefer collective forms of support, whereas non-immigrant Hispanics would have acculturated to the U.S. individualistic culture and prefer individualistic forms of support (Rudolph et al., 2014). It would be interesting to find out whether this difference would remain or diminish when these immigrant Hispanics live in the U.S. for a longer time.

As with all research, this systematic review has limitations. Only a small number of eligible studies were located throughout the extensive literature search regarding immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S. Also, although the studies included in this review covered immigrants from various countries of origin and various occupations, they only focused on either Hispanic immigrants or Asian immigrants, and all of them used nonprobability sampling methods with half of them using small samples.

Thus, caution should be used in generalizing findings to all immigrants in the U.S. Secondly, since clear distinctions between immigrants with different countries of origin were not made in most reviewed studies, it was not possible to determine if work-family conflict was experienced differently within the Asian immigrant group and within the Hispanic immigrant group. Thirdly, personal sociodemographic factors, including immigrant status (e.g., naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents/Green Card holders, legal residents on temporary visas, etc.), were not reported in most studies in this review. It was impossible to examine the effects of these factors on immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict. Finally, because all of the reviewed studies were cross-sectional, how immigrants' acculturation levels might influence their work-family conflict experiences over time could not be investigated.

Nevertheless, in the main, this systematic review offered important implications for practice and research. As discussed above, having job control (especially having flexibility in deciding one's work schedule) and social support at work helped reduce work-family conflict. Hence, it would be helpful to provide immigrant workers with more autonomy and flexibility in determining their work schedule. In addition, efforts can be made to develop supervisor support and organizational support at workplaces to help immigrants reconcile their work and family duties. It might also be helpful to develop culturally appropriate social support systems in communities to provide immigrants (especially immigrant women) with practical and emotional support with childcare and housework.

Further research is needed to better understand and address work-family conflict among immigrants. Although existing antecedent-outcome and the demand-support

frameworks of work-family conflict adopted in the mainstream literature (Amstad et al., 2011; Byron, 2005; Frone et al., 1992; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010) are generally applicable to immigrants' experiences, they need to be modified by taking into account factors related to immigration to fully capture immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict. For instance, it would be meaningful to examine how different kinds of immigrant status and various acculturation levels might affect immigrants' work-family interactions and related gender implications using quantitative methods with larger samples and/or longitudinal research designs. It is also important to consider diversity (e.g., different countries of origin, varied socioeconomic status, etc.) within immigrant groups with similar cultural heritages (e.g., within Hispanic immigrants). All of the included studies focused on either Hispanic or Asian immigrants' experiences. More studies are warranted to explore work-family conflict among immigrants from other regions, such as Africa, Middle East, and Europe, as well as from individualistic cultures. Further research is needed as well to find out whether gender discrepancies found among Hispanic immigrants would similarly occur in Asian or other ethnic immigrant families. Moreover, studies are needed to identify specific types of supervisor support and organizational support that may be helpful in reducing work-family conflict among immigrants and to evaluate whether these types of support are equally effective across various ethnic groups. Finally, personal sociodemographic factors, such as occupations, the number of children, age of youngest child, spousal employment, and so forth, which were found to be associated with work-family conflict in previous non-immigrant studies (Byron, 2005; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010) could be examined in future studies with immigrants.

Given that immigrants, especially Hispanic and Asian immigrants, are fast growing in the U.S. population and workforce (Zong & Batalova, 2016; Zong et al., 2019), it is important to understand their experiences of work-family conflict. Upon migration, immigrants have to arrange their work and family life differently in order to survive and thrive in a new society, which is likely to affect their work-family interactions. This study has identified what is known, and what is unknown, about immigrants' work-family conflict in the U.S. More studies are needed to further understand and better serve immigrants' needs in relation to work-family conflict.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Conclusion**

Work-family conflict is not solely a women's issue. Instead, it concerns all individuals, families, organizations, and society as a whole. But work-family conflict does contain gender implications. Shortly speaking, work-family conflict unfairly constrains women to achieve in the workplace and men to engage in the family (Bailyn et al., 2000).

Demographic trends in the family and labor force, the competitive global economy, and the aging population will continue to make combining work and family life a challenge for many individuals and families in coming years (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Byron, 2005; Chang et al., 2010; Emslie & Hunt, 2009). This dissertation research seeks to fill the gaps in the literature identified in Chapter One in order to expand the knowledge base of work-family conflict in the areas of theory, policy, and immigrant populations. This research was broken down into three studies and reported in three consecutive chapters.

In summary, Chapter Two (the first study) is a literature-based theoretical analysis (Neuman, 2011) that critically examined theories of work-family conflict through critical realism and gender lenses. Based on an in-depth critique of current theoretical and empirical evidence, this chapter reports an integrated-theoretical framework informed by role theory, gendered organization theory, and the ecology of the gendered life course approach. This framework explains work-family conflict not only from multiple layers of the social world, but also at individual, organizational, and societal levels. I believe this framework is better than a single theory to fully and transformatively understand and



address gendered work-family conflict. The implications of this framework for the social work profession include: it can serve as a holistic theoretical model to enrich students' understanding of human-environmental interactions in the area of work-family interface; in terms of practice, it can guide social work interventions at micro, mezzo, and macro levels to alleviate working parents' work-family conflict, and finally, it can help advance research by taking up an alternative paradigm that helps uncover underlying causal structures and stimulates organizational and social change. By radically addressing work-family conflict, the social work profession can help enhance the well-being of individuals, families, organizations, and society as a whole.

Chapter Three (the second study) reports on a comparative study that ranks OECD countries' statutory policies of parental leave, early childhood education and care (ECEC), and flexible work arrangements, in terms of their levels of supportiveness and gender equality based on the Supportiveness and Gender Equality Indices. This chapter showed that among 33 countries, Sweden ranks first based on both indices, while the United States ranks 30th for Supportiveness and 29th for Gender Equality. Mexico, Switzerland, and Turkey rank last for both Indices. A new typology of four policy regimes is further constructed based on a care-employment analytic framework that assesses how countries regard parents' dual roles of workers and caregivers, whether and how countries compensate caregiving, how childcare responsibility is distributed among the state, market, and family and between men and women within families, as well as gender gaps in employment outcomes, using secondary qualitative and quantitative data. This new set of regime types represents countries' varied abilities to help parents reconcile work and family demands, while promoting gender equality. According to

research findings, among these four regime types, state-oriented caring regimes that challenge gendered opposition of paid work and unpaid care work through policy provisions are more likely to address work-family conflict and promote gender equality. One of the implications of this study is that in order to better support working parents, parental leave would best be well paid and equally shared between fathers and mothers motivated by incentives. An entitlement to ECEC and flexible work arrangements has to be granted before or at the end of well-paid parental leave.

Chapter Four (the third study) is a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S. The mainstream work-family conflict literature has mainly focused on native-born, white, professional couples. Little is known about work-family conflict experienced by immigrants, who are often ethnic minorities and nonprofessionals with low-paying jobs. By conducting and reporting a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict, this study makes the following contributions: 1) organize, summarize, and assess current knowledge about immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict; 2) identify gaps in the knowledge base; 3) shed light on directions for future research, and 4) inform policy and practice. Immigrant workers across studies included in this systematic review have reported experiencing work-family conflict. Four categories of factors associated with immigrants' work-family conflict were identified: 1) work-domain factors, 2) family-domain factors, 3) health outcomes, and 4) immigration, acculturation, and gender roles. According to the findings of this review, in the work domain, job demands are positively associated with work-family conflict, while having job control and job support are negatively associated with work-family conflict. Similarly, more domestic work demands and economic responsibilities

in the family domain have contributed to work-family conflict, whereas having domestic support for childcare and housework helped mitigate work-family conflict. Additionally, this review shows that work-family conflict has contributed to deteriorating physical and mental health outcomes among immigrants. Most importantly, this study reveals that immigration *per se* has uniquely shaped immigrants' work-family interactions through the separation from family and community, the salience of employment, losing networks of social support, transitioning from collectivist cultures to an individualistic culture, and modified gender roles.

The following are the implications of this dissertation research for social work research, practice, policy, and education.

### **Implications for Research**

This dissertation has several implications for research. First of all, the integrated-theoretical framework proposed in the first study can better guide future research on work-family conflict. The relationships between work and family are complex and may change over time or across different spaces. Hence, a singular theory or simple explanation is not enough to completely grasp this issue (Madsen & Hammond, 2005). This framework can provide complex and full explanations by exploring the complexities of work-family conflict at different layers, over time, and in different contexts as scholars have recommended (Al-Amoudi & Willmott, 2008, 2011; Madsen & Hammond, 2005).

As critical realists (Charlwood et al., 2014; Houston, 2010) have argued, research conducted at the empirical and the actual layers to identify patterns and regularities among variables is still important, since such research can help point out directions for further examining the deeper structures and mechanisms at a causal layer. In addition,

research that can reveal and change structures or institutional contexts (e.g., organizational and societal culture and norms ) that contribute to work-family conflict is also much needed (Kossek et al., 2011). The reported framework can be the foundation for research at all layers of social reality, which also has implications for methodology—both quantitative and qualitative research designs can and should be used to appropriately explain work-family conflict at different layers. Only knowledge gained from exploring the combination of experiences, actual events, and underlying structures and mechanisms can provide more complete explanations of work-family conflict. The reported integrated-theoretical framework can help reach this end.

The new typology of work-family policy regimes reported in Chapter Three provides an updated inventory of work-family policies across OECD countries as well as a regime map that describes countries' varied institutional characteristics and efforts in addressing the needs to reconcile work and family responsibilities while promoting gender equality. By taking more types of policies as well as aggregate caregiving and employment outcomes into account, this study provides a more valid and updated typology than previously available. Therefore, the findings of this study can serve as the base for further research. For instance, the validity of the developed typology can be further tested using more advanced statistical procedures, such as cluster analysis, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), etc. Moreover, results obtained from indices developed by this study as well as countries' membership (e.g., members of the state-oriented regime) in typology can be used as independent variables to test the influence of policy or national contexts on actual levels of work-family conflict and gender equality. Additionally, policy regimes can serve as structural contexts in qualitative research to

explore in depth immigrants' experiences of the transition from the institutional contexts of the country of origin to those of the receiving country, the impact of this transition on their construction and perception of work-family conflict, and their use of strategies and work-family benefits. In the main, the second study contributes to the knowledge base by updating our understanding of work-family policies across countries, providing a new typology that better depicts work-family policy regimes, and offering tools and variables to expand future research.

Finally, the third study systematically reviews the literature regarding immigrants' work-family conflict experiences in the U.S. This review contributes to the knowledge base by assessing, integrating, and presenting what is known about work-family conflict among this population. Given the increasing number of immigrants in the U.S. population and labor force (Zong et al., 2019), it is imperative to further study immigrants' work-family conflict to better serve this population and expand the understanding of work-family interactions and work-family conflict. Based on this review, meaningful directions for future research are clearly identified.

First of all, although existing antecedent-outcome and the demand-support frameworks of work-family conflict adopted in the mainstream literature (Amstad et al., 2011; Byron, 2005; Frone et al., 1992; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010) are found generally applicable to immigrants' experiences, they need to be modified by taking into consideration factors related to immigration in order to fully capture immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict. For instance, it would be meaningful to examine how different kinds of immigrant status and various acculturation levels might affect immigrants' work-family interactions and related gender implications temporarily and

over time using quantitative methods with larger samples and/or longitudinal research designs. In addition, it is important to consider diversity (e.g., different countries of origin) within immigrant groups with similar cultural heritages (e.g., within Hispanic immigrants). Further research is also needed to find out whether gender discrepancies found among Hispanic immigrants would similarly occur in Asian or other ethnic immigrant families. Moreover, studies are needed to identify specific types of supervisor support and organizational support that are helpful in reducing work-family conflict among immigrants and to evaluate whether these types of support are equally effective across various immigrant ethnic groups. Finally, personal sociodemographic factors, such as occupations, number of children, age of youngest child, spousal employment, and so forth, which were found to be associated with work-family conflict in previous non-immigrant studies (Byron, 2005; Michel, Kotrba, et al., 2010) could be examined in future studies with immigrants.

### **Implications for Practice and Policy**

In terms of implications for social work practice, the reported integrated-theoretical framework can be used to guide practice at different levels. At the individual level, this framework suggests helping working parents by providing social support, resources, coping skill training, and so forth to reconcile work and family responsibilities. This framework, however, also emphasizes the importance of systematic level approaches (e.g., changing work conditions, organization culture, workplace policies, and national policies) to addressing work-family conflict. For instance, at the organizational level, it is not only important to develop and implement workplace work-family policies, but also necessary to identify and transform the underlying assumptions, structures, and

culture that contribute to work-family conflict and gender inequality. Only when organizations realize that separate spheres and the ideal worker norm is unrealistic or even harmful and take into account workers' obligations and needs from family or other aspects of life in the work design, can work-family conflict be effectively addressed (Bailyn et al., 2000). Therefore, occupational social workers need to raise awareness of the gendered assumptions and practices within workplaces and to work with their partner organizations to redesign work and to foster a new culture that can help reduce work-family conflict to allow workers to enjoy both work and family lives. But, as informed by this integrated-theoretical framework, organizations do not exist without social context. Hence, social workers could use this framework to understand and examine organizational policies and practices within their national sociopolitical and public policy contexts (Brannen & Lewis, 2000; Moen & Chesley, 2008). Further, social workers can spearhead efforts to bring about changes at the policy and societal level.

According to Colby (2013), social policy "is envisioned to be a powerful tool that can realize the aspirations of an entire society as well as the dreams and ideals embraced by a local community group, family, or individuals" (p. 9). In general, social policies create a social environment where we live and that shapes our daily life experiences, influences our decisions to enter or exit the labor market, and structures gender roles and the gendered division of labor within households (Doherty et al., 1998; Gerson, 2004; Smithson & Stokoe, 2005). Policies not only set the condition for whether and how employers provide work-family support to address work-family conflict (Lambert & Haley-Lock, 2004; Moen & Chesley, 2008; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007), but also sway people's expectations for governmental intervention

or private solutions to work-family conflict. Specifically, statutory work-family policies, along with economic and labor market factors, influence workers' sense of entitlement to work-family support from employers, which in turn affects their request for and use of workplace benefits (Kossek, Lewis, & Hammer, 2010; Lambert & Haley-Lock, 2004; S. Lewis & Haas, 2005; S. Lewis & Lewis, 1997; S. Lewis & Smithson, 2001). Over time, this sense of entitlement may also affect organizational values and expectations (Haas & Hwang, 2009). By critically comparing work-family policies across OECD countries, this research identifies the most generous and well-designed policies as well as their underlying assumptions. Doing so reveals the socially constructed nature of policies and regimes, which not only helps social workers learn from other countries but also gives us inspiration to transform existing structures and institutional arrangements to better address work-family conflict and promote gender equality.

Finally, a systematic review of immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S. helps enhance our understanding of immigrants' unique needs in the interface between work and family. Accordingly, social workers can develop corresponding, culturally competent interventions to assist immigrants to reconcile work and family obligations. Specifically, according to the findings of this research, it would be helpful to provide immigrant workers with more autonomy and flexibility in determining their work schedule at workplaces. In addition, social support at work, especially organizational support, can be developed to help immigrants reconcile their work and family duties. It might also be helpful to develop culturally appropriate social support systems in communities to offer immigrants (especially immigrant women) practical and emotional support for childcare and housework.



## **Implications for Education**

As mentioned in the previous sections of this dissertation, working parents across countries have perceived increased work-family conflict. Increased work-family conflict has a negative impact on the well-being of individuals, families, and organizations manifested in lower marital and family satisfaction, lower life satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, poor physical and psychological health, lower organizational commitment, lower job satisfaction, higher work absenteeism, tardiness, and greater intentions to turnover (Allen et al., 2000; Maertz & Boyar, 2011). However, work-family conflict is mostly studied in the field of business, human resources, and organizational behavior and psychology (Amstad et al., 2011). It is less likely to be taught in the social work education curriculum. Considering its prevalence and detrimental effect on human well-being, it is vital to incorporate knowledge about work-family conflict into social work education.

This research can contribute to this effort by first providing an integrated-theoretical framework based on studies conducted in various disciplines. This framework can help broaden social work students' understanding of work-family conflict, in terms of its causes, consequences, gender implications, and possible interventions. This theoretical model can help students learn how to intervene not only at the individual level but also at organizational and societal levels.

Employees, especially women, in the U.S. and many countries have also expressed the desire and support for more generous and supportive public work-family policies to help them reconcile work and family demands (Bolzendahl & Olafsdottir, 2008; Boushey, 2010; Smith & Kim, 2010). This support from citizens can provide

needed momentum for advocating for more supportive work-family policies. The findings of the comparative policy research can help infuse additional knowledge into curriculum to equip students with competency for such endeavor. For instance, discussing this research can foster students' ability to:

1) distinguish the similarities and differences in the provisions of work-family policies across OECD countries,

2) identify policies' underlying assumptions regarding separate spheres of work and family, roles of state, market, and family in providing care, as well as gender roles,

3) classify various types of policy regimes based on their generosity level, degree of promoting gender equality, and performance in supporting care and employment, as well as

4) analyze the implications of policy regimes for work-family conflict and gender equality, and develop the strategies for making changes in existing policies to better address work-family conflict and promote gender equality.

Furthermore, this research can increase students' knowledge about immigrant families' needs and facilitate them to locate or conceive corresponding interventions to better serve this population.

In sum, considering dramatically changed demographic trends and harsher working conditions resulting from economic globalization, it is reasonable to anticipate that working parents will continue to experience work-family conflict unless proper interventions are in place to address fundamental causes of work-family conflict. This dissertation reveals that institutional convoys (e.g., work-family culture and policies) can either mitigate or reinforce work-family conflict by changing or perpetuating societal

assumptions about gender roles and about the roles the state, market, and family should play in providing childcare. I believe, by advocating and implementing a more supportive and well-coordinated work-family policy system, a society can better address work-family conflict while promoting gender equality. That is because such policy system can not only help families navigate work-family conflict with policy provisions, but also foster a social culture that views both employment and caregiving as social rights and that supports and encourages men and women to be both the earners and carers. Therefore, it is hoped that this dissertation would serve as a learning and practice resource for social workers to tackle work-family conflict and to advocate for more supportive work-family culture and well-designed and coordinated work-family policies.

### Appendix A: Parental Leave Policy Across OECD Countries

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Australia	A). Parental leave provided in Fair Work Act. B). Paid personal/carer leave: all permanent employees can take up to 10 days leave per year to care for an ill or injured member of immediate family or household, attend one's own illness, or deal with unexpected family emergency. C). All employees including casuals can take up to 2 days unpaid carer's leave for each permissible occasion if paid personal leave has not been exhausted	Employees with permanent position and provide 12 months continuous service with the same employer, prior to leave. Casual employees are also eligible for the entitlements if they have been engaged on a regular and systematic basis for at least 12 months and have a reasonable expectation of continuing regular employment	12 months leave <b>per parent (individual entitlement)</b> with a limit of 24 months per employed couple (but the second 12 months is subject to employer agreement).	Parental leave pay, a <b>family</b> entitlement that initially goes to the mother and is <b>transferrable</b> to the father or other primary caregiver, is paid for 18 weeks in the first 12 months at the level of the national minimum wage (currently €425 per week or €11 per hour) since the 1/1/2011; the payment is <u>funded from general revenue</u> . The rest of leave is unpaid	Although only one parent is entitled to access unpaid parental leave at any particular time, the exception allowing some flexibility is that the parent who is not in the primary carer role can take concurrent unpaid leave for up to 80 weeks during the 12 months following the birth or adoption, and this leave may be taken in separate periods at any time during the 12 months	A 'Dad and Partner Pay' was introduced in 2013. For births or adoptions after 1 January 2013, a father (or the mother's partner) may be entitled to up to <b>2 weeks of "Dad and Partner Pay"</b> paid at the national minimum wage and this payment must be taken while on unpaid parental leave and is <b>non-transferrable</b>

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Austria</b>	<b>A).</b> Parental leave (Elternkarenz). <b>B).</b> Family leave: to care for sick children and other family members <b>C).</b> Family hospice leave: to care for seriously ill family members and children <b>D.)</b> Other unpaid and non-statutory leaves for personal/family reasons	All employees	<b>A).</b> Until the child reaches 2 years. This entitlement is <b>per family</b> and hence can be taken by one parent or both on an alternating basis. Each parent has the possibility to postpone 3 months of leave, to use up to the child's 7th birthday or school entry at a later date. <b>B).</b> 2 weeks leave for children and 1 week for family members a year per employee. <b>C).</b> Up to 6 months for family members or up to 9 months leave for children. <b>D).</b> 2 to 12 months	<b>A).</b> A Childcare benefit is available to all families who meet the eligibility conditions, whether or not parents take Parental leave. Parents can choose among 5 payment options: 4 flat-rate and 1 income-related (include <b>Bonus</b> payment month if both parents apply). The payment is funded by the <u>State, employers, and SI.</u> <b>B).</b> Full earnings replacement. <b>C).</b> Unpaid but low-income families can claim subsidies and <b>D).</b>	If the leave is taken by both parents on an alternating basis, the whole period can be divided into a maximum of 3 parts alternating between parents, with each part at least 2 months). Both parents cannot take leave at the same time except for 1 month the first time they alternate leave; in that case Parental leave ends 1 month earlier (i.e. 1 month before the child's 2nd birthday)	The government proposed the 'evaluation' of an obligatory 'Papa Monat' (month of leave for fathers), not an actual implementation in Dec. 2013

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Belgium	<p><b>A).</b> Parental leave (Ouderschapsverlof / Congé parental). <b>B).</b> Time Credit system (Tijdskrediet / Crédit temps) in private sector and career breaks in public sector: to care for a child younger than 8 years (for a disabled child up to 21 years), to provide palliative care, to care for a severely ill relative and/or to do a training course. <b>C).</b> Full-time or part-time paid leave to care a seriously ill family member. <b>D).</b> Full-time or part-time paid leave for palliative care. <b>E).</b> Foster parents can take paid leave to fulfill administrative and legal requirements. <b>F).</b> Unpaid urgent reasons leave (force majeure) to deal with unexpected or sudden circumstances</p>	<p><b>A).</b> All employees who have worked for 1 year with their present employer during the last 15 months and who have, or expect to have, parental responsibility for a child. Otherwise, the employer can grant this benefit by agreement to the employee. Self-employed are not eligible. <b>B).</b> 2 years of employment with the same employer</p>	<p><b>A).</b> 4 months per parent per child and it's <b>individual entitlement.</b> <b>B).</b> One year and can be extended to 36 months by collective agreement. <b>C).</b> Full-time leave: 1 to 12 months; part-time leave: up to 24 months. <b>D).</b> 2 months. <b>E).</b> 6 days. <b>F).</b> 10 days a year</p>	<p><b>A).</b> €707.08 per month net of taxes (€786.78 before taxes) <u>funded by SI</u> which is financed by employer, employees, and state. <b>B).</b> Payment varies by age, civil status, and years of employment but the maximum for a full-time break is approximately €641 per month <u>funded by SI</u> which is financed by employer, employees, and state. The payment of <b>C), D), and E)</b> is the same as for <b>A).</b> <b>F)</b> is unpaid.</p>	<p><b>A).</b> Allow flexibility in use. For instance, both parents can take leave at the same time or leave may be taken full time, half-time over 8 months or 1 day a week, over 20 months. Parents of disabled children can take leave until their child's 21st birthday. The benefit is higher for lone parents who reduce their employment. Job protection for all types of leave.</p>	<p><b>Individual</b> paid entitlement (<b>non-transferrable</b>) of 4 months leave</p>

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Canada	<b>A).</b> Parental leave (congé parental) <b>B).</b> Compassionate care leave to care for or arrange care for a sick child or a family member who is at significant risk of death	<b>A).</b> For leave: an employee must have been employed by the same employer for a minimum that ranges from 13 weeks to 12 months. All but one jurisdiction require this employment to be continuous. Some types of employees and employment are excluded. For payment benefits: a parent must have worked for 600 hours in the last 52 weeks or since their last Employment Insurance claim. <b>B).</b> Must have worked 600 hours in the last year and weekly earnings must decrease by	<b>A).</b> 35 to 37 weeks in most jurisdictions for one parent or shared between two parents. If both parents are eligible, they are entitled to combined parental leave of up to 37 weeks but not exceeding a combined maximum of 35 weeks in jurisdictions where leave is an entitlement per family. In all jurisdictions except the Yukon parents can take leave at the same time <b>B).</b> 8 weeks within a 26-week period	<b>A).</b> Up to 35 weeks <u>per family</u> at 55% of average insured earnings up to an earnings ceiling of €363 per week <u>funded by EI</u> which is financed by employers and employees. Low-income families who have a net income less than €17,414 per year are eligible for a family supplement up to a maximum of 80% of insurable earnings <b>B).</b> Up to 6 weeks <u>funded by EI</u>	All jurisdictions require that Maternity leave and Parental leave be consecutive if both are taken by the mother and the maximum number of weeks of leave that are allowed – including post-natal Maternity leave and Parental leave – for one person in almost all jurisdictions is 52 weeks. There are variations across provinces and some offer better provisions than the federal gov	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Czech Republic</b>	<p><b>A).</b> Parental leave (rodicovska dovolena).</p> <p><b>B).</b> Leave to care for an ill child under 10 or a seriously ill child or relative</p>	<p>There are no special requirements; however, each parent has to ask for formal approval of the employer. For children under two years, payment of Parental benefit is conditional on parents not using a publicly-funded ECEC service for more than 45 hours a month. There is no limitation on service use for older children</p>	<p><b>A).</b> Both parents can take leave until the child's 3rd birthday (3 years) <b>B).</b> A parent can take no more than 9 days in one block of time, but there is no limit regarding the frequency of taking leave; parents are allowed to alternate with each other during the course of taking leave to care for a sick child</p>	<p><b>A).</b> A Parental benefit (rodicovsky prispevek) is a family entitlement. Various options, until the child is 24 to 48 months old. If taking 24 months, it's at 70% of previous monthly earnings, with a ceiling of €419 per month; if taking 48 months, it has a ceiling of €255 per month. The maximum payable amount for the whole period is €8,013. The benefit is funded by <u>general taxation.</u></p> <p><b>B).</b> At 60% of earnings up to a ceiling of €31 per</p>	<p>Leave is an <b>individual</b> entitlement, but the benefit is <b>family</b> entitlement (only one parent is entitled to the benefit) and is available to all eligible families regardless of taking leave or not. The benefit is <b>transferrable</b> to others who provide day care for the child</p>	



Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Denmark	<b>A).</b> Parental leave (Forældreorlov). <b>B).</b> Paid leave (the right through agreements) to care for a sick kid.	All employees who have at least worked for 120 hours in 13 weeks prior to the leave. Workers with temporary contracts are excluded only if they are not eligible for unemployment benefit. Self-employed workers who have professional activity on a certain scale for at least six months within the last 12 month period, of which one month immediately precedes the paid leave	<b>A).</b> 32 weeks per parent until the child is 48 weeks old, but each family can only claim 32 weeks of paid leave. <b>B).</b> 1 day for private workers; 2 days for public workers	Daily cash benefits based on former earnings up to a ceiling of €546 per week before taxes for full-time employees and self-employed; the benefit is funded by the <u>state</u>	Leave is an <b>individual</b> entitlement but the benefit is <b>family</b> entitlement because a family can only claim totally 32 weeks of paid leave. It is possible to return to work on a part-time basis, with a reduced benefit payment spread over this extended period of leave	From 2007, the <b>industrial sector</b> (representing 7,000 employers nationwide including production, service, knowledge and IT) introduced a paid <b>father's quota</b> in Parental leave. The entitlement was up to 11 weeks Parental leave with payment. 4 weeks of this Parental leave with pay is for the father, 4 weeks for the mother and 3 weeks for the parents to share - the weeks for the mother and the father respectively were quotas and lost if not used

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Estonia	Parental leave (lapsehoolduspuhkus, 'childcare leave')	All families are eligible for both benefits (Fathers are eligible for parental benefit when their child has reached 70 days of age).	Until the child reaches 3 years, per family	2 types of benefit are available to all eligible <b>families</b> , whether or not parents take Parental leave: <b>a). Parental benefit</b> is paid at 100% of average earnings for 435 days from the end of Maternity leave, with a ceiling of €2,378/month. The minimum benefit paid to working parents is the minimum wage, €355 per month. <b>b). Childcare benefit</b> is a flat-rate payment of €38/month, paid from the end of payment of parental benefit	Both leave and benefits are <b>family</b> entitlements. Both types of benefit are funded from <u>general taxation</u> . Leave can be taken non continuously. Parents can work after birth; the parental benefit is reduced if the income earned exceeds the level of benefit, but the maximum reduction of benefit is 50%. <u>Leave and childcare benefit</u> are <b>transferrable</b> to actual non-parental caregiver	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Adoption leave (lapsendamispuhkus)		70 days of adoption leave per child for parents adopting a child under 10 years	100% of average earnings, with no ceiling, funded from <u>general taxation</u>	Adoptive parents are eligible for Parental leave for a child under 3 years, and qualify for parental benefit and childcare benefit	
	Leave to care for a sick child under 12 years old		Up to 14 calendar days per episode of illness	80% of earnings funded from <u>general taxation</u>		
	Leave for a parent of child with disabilities		1 day per month	100% earnings replacement funded from <u>general taxation</u>		
	Leave for a parent with a child under 14 years old		10 working days per year	Unpaid		
	Supplementary period of holiday		<b>a)</b> 3 days per year for a parent raising 1 or 2 children under 14 years <b>b)</b> 6 days per year for a parent raising a child under 3 years, or 3 or more children under 14 years	A flat-rate payment of €17 per day funded from <u>general taxation</u>		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Finland</b>	Parental leave (vanhempainvapaa/föräldradedighet)	All parents are eligible (entitlement based on residence)	158 working days (about 26.3 weeks) <b>per family</b> to be taken after the end of maternity leave.	75% of annual earnings for the first 30 days of leave up to €55,498 with a lower percentage for higher earnings. The remaining leave is paid at 70% of earnings up to €36,071, with a lower percentage for higher earnings; minimum allowance is at €598 per month. <u>Funded by Sickness insurance</u> financed by employers, employees, and state taxation.	The leave is a <b>family</b> entitlement. Leave can be taken <u>part time</u> . Benefit payment is half of the benefit for full-time leave. The benefit is <b>transferrable</b> to actual caregiver	New proposal will go through parliament in 2014; the proposal will divide current Home care period into <b>one-year-non-transferrable quota</b> for mother and father respectively

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Home care leave (hoitovapaa/ vårdledighet)	All parents are eligible (entitlement based on residence)	Can be taken from the end of Parental leave until a child's 3rd birthday per family	A home care allowance (kotihoidon tuki) consists of a basic payment of €341.06 a month, with an additional €102.11 for every other child under three years and €65.61 for every other pre-school child over three years and a means- tested supplement (up to €182.52 a month); financed from <u>municipal</u> <u>taxation</u> with a <u>state subsidy</u> of 33% of the costs	This allowance can be paid to any parent on leave or not, as long as the child is not in publicly provided/funded childcare service; seems like a <b>family</b> entitlement	

<b>Country</b>	<b>Statutory type</b>	<b>Eligibility</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Pay/Payment</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Paid father quota</b>
	temporary childcare leave (tilapäinen hoitovapaa/tillfällig vårdledighet)	Parents of children under 10 years old	up to 4 days of leave per parent to care for a sick child	Payment is dependent on collective agreements, but is often at full earnings for 3 or 4 days at a time	There are no limits on how often parents can take leave for this purpose during the course of a year. A parent with joint custody who does not live with a child is entitled to the leave	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
France	Parental leave (Congé parental)	For Leave: all employees who have worked at least 1 year for their employer before the birth of a child. For payment: parents who have 3 children must have worked for 2 out of 5 years preceding the birth; 2 children, 2 out of 4 years; 1 child, for 2 years without break	Until the child reaches 3 years old. When a child is seriously ill or disabled, parental leave can be extended by a year. Leave is an <b>individual</b> entitlement.	<b>a)</b> A childcare allowance (Complément de libre choix d'activité, CLCA, Childrearing benefit): a flat-rate payment of €572.81/month to all eligible <b>families</b> with parents on leave or not; if 2+ children, for 3 years; if only 1 child, for 6 months. <b>b)</b> <b>Another benefit</b> , COLCA is available to large family (3 or more children) at a flat rate payment of € 819.14/month for 1 year on condition that one parent stops working	Leave is <b>individual</b> entitlement but payment is <b>family</b> entitlement. Both CLCA and COLCA are paid by the local <u>Family Allowance funds</u> (Caisse des allocations familiales, CAFs) which are part of social security system and <u>financed by employers</u> . Parents may <u>work</u> between 16 and 32 hours/week while taking leave but the payment will be reduced	<b>Incentive/Bonus:</b> If having 2+ children, 6 months are reserved to non-primary carer parent to receive the remaining period of childcare allowance; if having 1 child, both parents have to take leave to receive another 6 months of payment

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a seriously ill or disabled child under 20 years old (Allocation journalière de présence parentale, AJPP)	Every employee with at least 1 year of employment with an employer	Up to 3 years	The allowance is paid for a maximum of 310 days over the 3 years period, and the level of the allowance depends on the duration of work in the enterprise and on the family structure	A similar period of leave is possible for employees who need to care for a relative at the end of life, either a child or a parent living in the same house	
	A unpaid leave (Congé de présence parentale) to care for a sick child under 16 years old	Every employee	3 days per year	Unpaid	Statutory duration of leave is a minimum and most collective agreements have special arrangements	



Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Germany	Parental leave (Elternzeit)	For Leave: all employed parents. For parental benefit: all parents not employed more than 30 hours a week	Up to 3 years after childbirth.	Parental benefit (Elterngeld): 67% of a parent's mean net earnings during the 12 months before birth for 12 months ( <b>+2 if both parents take at least 2 months of leave</b> ) with ceiling of €1,800/month; the minimum payment of €300 for parents without prior income. Low income supplement: for every €2 of monthly earnings below €1000, their benefit increases by 0.1%. Funded from general	Both leave and benefit are <b>family</b> entitlements. The benefit is paid to all eligible families, wether or not parents take leave. The benefits paid during the 8 weeks of obligatory Maternity leave after childbirth are included in the 12 (+2) parental benefit period, actually reducing the actual benefit period available to both parents to 10 (+2) months. Can <u>work part-time</u> with reduced benefits	No father quota but have bonus

<b>Country</b>	<b>Statutory type</b>	<b>Eligibility</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Pay/Payment</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Paid father quota</b>
	Leave to care for a sick child under 12 years old		Up to 10 days of leave. The maximum annual leave period that may be taken per family is 25 days	80 per cent of earnings with no ceiling paid by health insurance		
	Leave to care for a sick dependent relative		Up to 10 days of short-term leave if that person has an unexpected illness, and 6 months of long-term care leave	Unpaid		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Greece	<p><b>A).</b> Parental leave (Γονική Άδεια Ανατροφής). <b>B).</b> Leave to care for a sick child or a dependent family member. <b>C).</b> Leave for visiting child's school. <b>D).</b> Leave for parents of children with disability. <b>E).</b> Leave for parents of children with regular medical attention. <b>F).</b> Leave for parents of hospitalized children. <b>G).</b> Leave for single-parents caring for children. <b>H).</b> Alternative use of reduced hours as leave for the care of children (part of flexible working arrangement scheme), with the employer's agreement</p>	All employees who have completed one year's continuous or non-continuous employment with their present employer	<p><b>A).</b> 4 months per child for each parent, which may be taken up to the time the child turns 6 years old. Leave must be taken non-continuously between the birth of current and next children. <b>B).</b> Up to 6 days per year per parent if having 1 child; up to 8 days if having 2 children, and up to 14 days if having more than 3 children. <b>C).</b> 4 days/year per child. <b>D).</b> 1 hour/day. <b>E).</b> 10 days/year. <b>F).</b> 30 day/year. <b>G).</b> 6-8 days/year. <b>H).</b> 3.75 months after maternity leave</p>	<p><b>A), B), D), and F)</b> are Unpaid; <b>C), E), G), and H)</b> are paid by the employer. <b>H)</b> is paid with full earning replacement.</p>	Parental leave is an <b>individual</b> entitlement that <b>cannot be transferred</b>	The National General Collective Labour Agreement signed in late March 2014, specifies that a working father has an independent right in the use of alternative use of reduced hours as leave for the care of children (childcare leave).

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Hungary	Three types of parental leave and benefits: <b>A). GYES</b> (Gyermekgondozási segély, childcare allowance) . <b>B). GYED</b> (Gyermekgondozási díj). <b>C). GYET</b> (Gyermeknevelési támogatás)	<b>A).</b> For all parents; <b>B).</b> For parents living with the child and has been employed at least for 365 days within the 2 years before the birth of the child and insured. <b>C).</b> For parents with three or more children	<b>A). GYES:</b> For non-insured parents, until the child reaches 3rd birthday; For insured parents, from the end of GYED (child's 2nd birthday) until the child's 3rd birthday. <b>B). GYED:</b> from the end of the Maternity leave to child's 1st birthday is the entitlement only for mothers; from the child's 1st birthday to 2nd birthday for either of parents. <b>C). GYET:</b> the period between the 3rd and 8th birthday of the youngest child	<b>A). GYES</b> and <b>C). GYET:</b> a flat-rate benefit equal to the amount of the minimum old-age pension, €94 per month, funded from <u>general taxation</u> . <b>B). GYED:</b> 70% of average daily earnings up to a ceiling of 70% of twice the minimum daily wage €467 per month, <u>funded by National Health Insurance Fund financed by employers, employees, and general taxation</u>	GYES, GYED, GYET are <b>family</b> entitlements except for GYED up to the child's 1st birthday which is <b>mother's entitlement</b> . Taking <b>A)</b> and <b>B)</b> , parents can't work till child's 1st birthday; can then work full-time still receiving the full benefits and access public childcare. <b>A)</b> can be <b>transferred</b> to grandparents who care for the child at home. A parent taking <b>C)</b> can work less than 30 hours/week or unlimited hours if the work is done at home	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a sick dependent		The length depends on the age of the child: under 1 year, unlimited; 12-35 months, up to 84 days per child per year; 36-71 months, 42 days; 6 to 12 years, 14 days. Single parents are entitled to a double period of leave	A sickness benefit is paid at 50 or 60% of earnings up to a ceiling	Leave is a <b>family</b> entitlement	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Iceland	Parental leave (fæðingarorlof, birth leave, parents' joint rights)	All parents	12 weeks (3 months); can be divided between the parents as they like. For multiple births, the leave increases by 3 sharable months for each additional birth; it can be extended by 3 months if the child suffers from a serious illness; can be increased if the child has to stay in hospital more than 7 days after the birth by that amount of time up to 4 months	Each parent is entitled to economic compensation based on his or her labour market situation and previous earnings: 80% of average earnings of a 12-months period ending 6 months before birth up to a ceiling of 2,389/month. The min. payment of €382-€875 to a non-working parent or parent working various length of part-time hours. Students: a flat-rate payment of €875; <u>funded by the Maternity/Paternity Leave Fund,</u>	The total of 9 months leave (covering Maternity, Paternity and joint rights) can be used until 24 months after the birth. Leave can be taken in one uninterrupted or interrupted period. The leave can be taken on part-time or full-time basis and parents can be on leave together	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Childcare leave (Foreldraorlof, parental leave)	All parents	4 months of <b>non-transferrable</b> leave <b>per parent</b> until child reaches 8 years of age	Unpaid	This is <b>individual non-transferrable</b> entitlement	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Ireland</b>	<b>A).</b> Parental leave <b>B).</b> Carer's leave: to provide full-time care for a dependent <b>C).</b> Force majeure (unexpected circumstances) leave	<b>A).</b> All employees who have completed 1-year continuous employment with their present employer <b>B).</b> All employees with 12-months continuous service	<b>A).</b> 18 weeks per parent (including same-sex partners) per child. Leave may be taken up to the child's 8th birthday, and up to 16 years in the case of children with disabilities and serious illness. Leave may be taken flexibly in separate blocks of a min. of 6 continuous weeks or more favourable terms subject to employer's agreement <b>B).</b> 13-104 weeks which can be taken flexibly <b>C).</b> 3 days leave in any 12 consecutive months, up to a	<b>A).</b> Unpaid <b>B).</b> Unpaid but employees may work up to 10 hours a week while on leave with certain income limits. Also, an employee on leave may be entitled to a means-tested carer's benefit. <b>C).</b> Paid	<b>A).</b> Leave is <b>individual non-transferrable</b> entitlement, except where parents who work for the same employer in which case they can transfer a maximum of 14 weeks of their Parental leave entitlement to the other parent, subject to the employer's agreement. Both parents can take leave at the same time	



<b>Country</b>	<b>Statutory type</b>	<b>Eligibility</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Pay/Payment</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Paid father quota</b>
<b>Israel</b>	Parental leave (Hufshat Leida, birth leave)	Parents are eligible to a leave period no longer than a quarter of the length of their employment with the current employer, up to a leave of 1 year for 4 years of employment	Up to 1 year after childbirth per parent	Unpaid	Parents can take the leave at the same time. Parents can only take their own allotted sick leave to attend to dependents' sickness or other care needs	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Italy	Parental leave (Congedo Parentale)	All employed parents, except domestic workers and home helps	<p><b>Individual</b> entitlement for 6 months maximum for each parent, <b>extended to 7 for the father if the father claims at least 3 months.</b></p> <p>In this case, 11 months maximum in total per child to be claimed by the couple. Otherwise, 10 months total max. for the couple.</p> <p>Self-employed workers are generally entitled to 3 months, which can be taken only during the 1st year after child's birth</p>	<p>30% of earnings when leave is taken for a child under 3 years; unpaid if taken when a child is 3 to 8 years, unless annual earnings are under approximately 2.5 times the minimum earnings (€16,294.85= 6,517.94*2.5 in 2014) in which case parents are entitled to 30% of earnings, <u>funded from SI financed by employers and employees</u></p>	<p><b>Individual non-transferrable</b> entitlement. Parents can take leave at the same time. From the end of Maternity leave until 11 months after the birth, mothers (but not fathers) can exchange their Parental leave for vouchers of €300/month for use in reducing childcare costs</p>	At least 6 months+ bonus

<b>Country</b>	<b>Statutory type</b>	<b>Eligibility</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Pay/Payment</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Paid father quota</b>
	Leave to care for dependents or family members (even if not co-resident) in serious needs	All employees	2 years over the course of the entire working life to care for a child and 3 days a month to care for a relative with disabilities	100% of earnings funded by SI financed by employers and employees	parents cannot take this leave at the same time	
	Leave to care for a child	All employees	Without limit to care for a child under 3 years; 5 days a year per parent to care for a child aged 3 to 8 years	Unpaid		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Japan	Parental leave (Ikuji kyugyo, childcare leave)	<p><b>Leave:</b> employed parents on a fixed-term contract when they have been employed by the same employer for at least a continuous 1 year; and they are likely to be kept employed after the day on which a child reaches 1 year old.</p> <p><b>Payment:</b> parents who are covered by Employment Insurance and have contributed to insurance for at least 12 months in 2 years prior to leave and have worked for 11 or more days in those months</p>	<p>Leave can be taken by each parent until a child is 12 months old; <b>leave can be extended to 14 months for one of the parents if both parents take some of the leave;</b> a parent already on leave can extend leave up to 18 months where (1) the child needs care for a period of two weeks or more due to injury, sickness, etc., or (2) admission to a childcare centre has been requested but denied for the time being</p>	<p>67% of earnings <u>for the first 180 days</u>, up to a ceiling of €3,054 with min. payment of €332 a month and max. payment of €2,046 per month; <u>then</u> 50% of earnings with min. payment of €248 a month and max. payment of €1,527 per month. The average monthly earnings of permanent full-time female employees in 2013 was €1,801. <u>Funded from the Employment Insurance system,</u> financed by</p>	<p>Leave is <b>individual</b> entitlements. Both parents can take leave at the same time, with both receiving benefit payments if they are both covered by Employment Insurance</p>	bonus leave

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Korea	Short-term family care leave: to care for a child under age 6 if a child is ill, injured, or needing a health examination	All employed parents	Up to 5 days a year per parent or up to 10 days a year per parent if there are 2 or more children of this age	Unpaid		
	Family care leave: to constantly care for a seriously ill or disabled child, spouse, parent, or dependent family member	All employees	Up to 93 days	40% of earnings		
	Parental leave		12 months per parent	40% of normal income with a minimum of €365.26 and a maximum at 730.53 per month.	<b>Individual</b> right. Parents have to use it consecutively. 15% of the parental leave payment is paid in a lump sum when the employee returns to the same employer and works for more than 6 months	12 months

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Luxembourg</b>	<b>A).</b> Parental leave (congé parental) <b>B).</b> Leave to care for a sick child	<b>A).</b> All employees are eligible if they have worked for at least 1 year with the same employer (for at least 20 hours per week), and if they take care of their child at home <b>B).</b> parents with children younger than 15 years old	<b>A).</b> 6 months per parent <b>B).</b> 2 days of leave per year per child (congé pour raisons familiales). Leave may be extended to 4 days under certain circumstances (e.g. disabled child) and up to 52 weeks in a reference period of 104 weeks for a very serious and exceptional illness defined by law	<b>A).</b> A flat-rate payment of €1,778 per month funded by the <u>general taxation</u> <b>B).</b> Paid <u>funded by National Health Fund (La Caisse nationale de santé)</u>	Leave is an <b>individual</b> entitlement. Parents may take 12 months leave on a half-time basis, subject to their employer's agreement, in which case the benefit paid is halved. Parents can't take leave at the same time. The first parent who takes the leave must take it following Maternity leave, except in the case of single parents. The second period of leave may be taken by the other parent until the child is 5 years old	6 months
<b>Mexico</b>	No statutory entitlement					

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Netherlands	<p><b>A).</b> Parental leave (ouderschapsverlof) <b>B).</b> Short-term leave to care for a sick child living at home, a sick partner or parent <b>C).</b> Long-term leave to care for a child, partner, or parent with life-threatening illness <b>D).</b> A reasonable amount of time/emergency leave to take care of exceptional personal circumstances</p>	<p><b>A).</b> All employees who have completed 1 year's continuous employment with their present employer <b>B).</b> and <b>C).</b> All employees but an employer can refuse if business interest might be seriously harmed <b>D).</b> All employees</p>	<p><b>A).</b> 26 times the number of working hours per week per parent per child <b>B).</b> Up to 10 days a year <b>C).</b> Up to 6 times their working hours per week to be taken part-time; can be take full-time or less hours/week for a longer period of time with the employer's agreement <b>D).</b> Varies. A few hours to a few days</p>	<p><b>A).</b> Unpaid. But all parents taking Parental leave are entitled to a tax reduction of €4.24 an hour for each hour of leave. This tax reduction is offered until 2015 <b>B).</b> 70% of earnings paid by <u>the employer</u> <b>C).</b> Unpaid <b>D).</b> 100% of earnings paid by <u>the employer</u></p>	<p><b>A).</b> Leave is an <b>individual, non-transferable</b> entitlement. Leave has to be taken part time; full-time is only possible when the employer agrees. Leave can be taken until a child is 8 years old; parents can take leave at the same time; leave can be taken in 2 or 3 blocks of time</p>	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
New Zealand	Parental leave (extended leave)	Employees who have worked for the same employer for at least 12 months, for an average of 10 hours a week, and at least 1 hour in every week or 40 hours in every month, in the 12 months immediately before the expected due date or the date a parent assumes the care of a child under 6 years old they intend to adopt	Up to 52 weeks leave may be taken in the 12 months after birth, including any Maternity ('paid parental') leave taken; Paternity ('paternity/partner') leave is additional. The leave has been taken before a child reaches 1 year of age or before 1 year after parents assumed the care of a child they intend to adopt	Unpaid	Leave is a <b>family</b> entitlement and hence can be shared by parents. They can take leave at the same time or consecutively. Leave is taken as continuous leave and can be started following Maternity, Paternity/partners leave or after a period of return to work	
	Sick leave to care for a sick child or attend to one's own sickness	All employees after the first 6 months of continuous employment	Up to 5 days per year	100% of earnings with no ceiling paid by the employer		



Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Norway	Parental leave (Foreldrepengeperioden, parental money period)	All employees who have employed for 6 of the last 10 months prior to birth and earned at least half the basic national insurance benefit payment over the previous year	3 weeks before birth + 46 or 56 weeks, depending on payment level, post-natal period: of post-natal period, 14 weeks are for mothers (this and 3 weeks before birth are under maternity leave), 14 weeks for fathers (fedrekvoten or 'father's quota'), and the remaining 18 or 28 weeks can be shared by both parents	Varies if period is 49 weeks : pay is 100% of earnings; 59 weeks: pay is 80% of earnings up to maximum €60,313 a year. Non-employed women receive a one-off payment of €4,316; paid by the <u>general taxation</u>	The remaining 18 or 28 weeks is <b>family</b> entitlement. A parent or parents take all or part of parental money period with part-time work and hence can prolong the period of parental money. For family entitlement leave, there is also a requirement that the mother has returned to employment or study for the father to take leave	14 weeks: for the father's quota, there is no requirement that mothers go back to work, but the mother must have been employed for 6 of the last 10 months prior to birth
	Leave to care for a child	All employed parents	1 year of leave per parent after parental money period	Unpaid		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a sick child under 12 years old or 15 years old if they have more than 2 children; for severely or chronically sick children, there are extended rights to leave until the child is 18 years old		Up to 10 days per child per year; single parents have the right to 20/30 days a year	Leave is paid by the employer at the same rate as sickness benefit		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Poland	Parental leave (urlop wychowawczy, childcare leave)	Employees with a work record of at least 6 months	36 months until a child reaches years of 5; 34 months is a <b>family</b> entitlement, with <b>individual</b> entitlement of 1 month for the mother and another month for the father	A parental allowance of €97 per month is paid if monthly household income per capita does not exceed €139. The basic payment is for 24 months, but the period can be extended to 36 months where there is more than 1 child or to 72 months if a child is disabled; <u>funded from general taxation</u>	Include <b>individual, non-transferrable family</b> entitlement. Parents can take leave together for up to 4 months. During the leave, parents may be employed and claim parental allowance, if working does not prevent them from caring for their children	1 month individual entitlement for the father
	Leave to care for a family member	All employees	Up to 14 days per year	80% of earnings		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a child up to 8 years old (14 years old if the child is disabled or chronically ill) in the case of an unforeseen closure of a nursery school, kindergarten, or school or in the case of the illness or childbirth of the spouse who is the main carer	All employees	Up to 60 days	80% of earnings		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Portugal</b>	Additional parental leave (licença parental complementar, formerly parental leave)	All employed parents, with 6 months insurance contributions	3 months per parent	25% of average earnings for 3 months for each parent, but only if taken immediately after the Initial Parental leave (Maternity leave). Payment can only be made to one parent at a time, which means parents can't take paid leave at the same time	Leave and payment is an <b>individual</b> entitlement. Leave may be taken up to the child's 6th birthday. Leave can be taken with flexibility: a) on a full-time basis for 3 months; b) on a half-time basis for a period of 12 months per parent, or c) on an alternating basis, i.e. working half-time and full-time up to a maximum of 3 months full-time per parent	3 months

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Childcare leave (licença para assistência a filho, formerly Special parental leave)	All employed parents whoes additional parental leave has been taken	One of the parents can take up to 2 years leave on a full-time basis; extended to 3 years when there is a third or subsequent child	Unpaid	This leave is <b>family</b> entitlement and can only be taken by 1 parent who must prove that the other partner is employed or incapable of working.	
	Leave to care for a disabled or chronically ill child (licença para assistência a filho com deficiência ou doença crónica)	All employed parents	One of the parents can take up to 6 months; may be extended to 4 years	65% of earnings, with a maximum payment per month equivalent to 2 times the amount of IAS (2 x €419.22)	This leave is <b>family</b> entitlement	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a sick child under 12 years old	All employed parents	Up to 30 days per year; plus 15 days per year for a child above 12 years old	65% of earnings	This leave is <b>family</b> entitlement and divided between parents as they choose. Leave and payment are increased by 1 day for every second and subsequent child; if the child under the age of 12 years is in hospital care, this entitlement lasts for as long as the child is in hospital	
	Leave to care for a spouse, parent, grandparent, and sibling	All employees	Up to 15 days per year	Unpaid	<b>individual</b> entitlement	
	Leave to care for a severely disabled or chronically ill spouse	All employees	Up to 15 days per year	Unpaid	<b>individual</b> entitlement	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave taken by grandparents to care for a sick grandchild	All employees	They may take the same number of days parents are entitled to or take the remaining days that parents have not taken from their leave entitlement	Unpaid		



Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	<p><b>A).</b> Parental leave (rodičovská dovolenka)</p> <p><b>B).</b> Leave to care for a sick child and relative at home or to take care of a child under 10 years old for other reasons (e.g. if the school is closed)</p>	<p>Parents who are Residents or have status of temporary stay in the Slovak Republic and provide regular care for at least 1 child up to the age of 3 years or 6 years in the case of a child with a long-term health problem or disability</p>	<p><b>A).</b> Until the child reaches 3 years.</p> <p><b>B).</b> Up to 10 days of leave per episode</p>	<p><b>A).</b> A Parental allowance (rodičovský príspevok) of €203.20 per month is available to all eligible families whether or not they take the leave; funded from <u>general taxation</u> <b>B).</b> Earning-related benefit (Ošetrovné) with a low ceiling, which is paid for a maximum of 10 calendar days</p>	<p>Leave and allowance are <b>family</b> entitlements. Parents can work full time or part time while receiving parental benefit</p>	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Slovenia	Parental leave (starševski dopust)	All insured parents + parents who have been insured for at least 12 months in the last 3 years preceding the leave	260 calendar days (about 37 weeks)	90% of average earnings of previous 12 months for parents earn €763.06/month or more up to a ceiling of 2.5 times the average wage (€3,050/month); 100% for parents earn less than €763.06/month; 55% of the min. wage (€434.03/month) for those have insured period less than 12 months. For parents who are not insured at the time of leave but who have been insured for at least 12 months in the last 3 years	Payments are partly funded from <u>Parental Leave Insurance</u> financed by <u>employers and employees</u> and the remaining is funded from <u>general taxation</u> . Leave is a <b>family</b> entitlement before 1 September 2014. Parents can take leave with flexibility, and the leave can be extended under certain circumstances. The leave can be <b>transferred</b> to a person who actually nurses and cares for a child	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for an ill spouse and child	All insured persons	7 working days of leave may be taken for each episode of illness per family, but 15 working days may be taken for a child under 7 years old or for a moderately, severely or very severely disabled child. Due to the health condition of the sick family member, the leave may be extended to 14 and 30 working days, respectively, or longer in extreme cases (up to 6 months)	80% of average earnings of the previous 12 months. The payment cannot be lower than the guaranteed wage (around €238) or higher than the wage which the person would receive if he/she were working		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Spain	Parental leave (Excedencia por cuidado de hijos)	All employees. But the employees on temporary contracts can only claim leave that is shorter than their contract period. Unemployed and self-employed workers are not eligible	Each parent is entitled to take leave until a child reach 3 years of age	Unpaid. But, since 2011 all employees taking leave are credited with social security contributions for the whole period, which affects pension accounts, health cover and new Maternity or Paternity leave entitlements	Leave is an <b>individual</b> right. During the first year, return to the same job position is protected; after the first year, job protection is restricted to a job of the same category	
	Leave to care for a seriously ill child or for other family reasons	All employees	2 days per worker per event and the leave can be extended to 4 days if travelling is required for work	Paid by <u>the employer</u>		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a seriously ill child under 18 years old who is in hospital or in need of continuous treatment at home	All employed parents fulfilling contributory requirements (at least 180 days in the previous 7 years, or 360 days during working life)	Full-time or part-time leave	Paid at 100% of regulatory basis from <u>sickness insurance</u>	The leave is an <b>individual</b> entitlement but parents can't take at the same time	
	Leave to care for a dependent relative due to illness, disability, accident, or old age	All employees	Up to 2 years of leave	May receive payment if co-resident, which varies depending on region of residence, level of dependency, and household income		

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
Sweden	Parental leave (föräldraförsäkring)	For paid leave: all parents but in order to get paid at 77.6% parents should have had an income over €25 a day for 240 days prior to the expected due date or adoption. A parent remains qualified to the same level of leave if an additional child is born or adopted within 30 months of the birth or adoption of an earlier child	<b>A).</b> Each parent is entitled to take leave until the child is 18 months old <b>B).</b> 480 days of leave; 60 days are reserved for each parent and can't be transferred (mother's quota, mammamånader and father's quota, pappamånader). Of the remaining 360 days, 180 days are reserved for each parent but are transferrable; if days are transferred from one parent to another, the parent giving up his or her days must sign a consent form	<b>A).</b> Unpaid <b>B).</b> For eligible parents: 390 days paid at 77.6% of earnings up to a ceiling of €48,834 per year and the remaining 90 days paid at a flat rate payment of €20 a day; for non-eligible parents: €25 a day for 480 days. <u>Funded by Swedish Social Insurance financed by the employers; the state will cover any shortfall</u>	<b>A).</b> Unpaid leave is an individual entitlement <b>B).</b> The paid leave is a <b>family</b> entitlement. <b>C).</b> A Gender Equality Bonus applies to the period of earnings-related leave and is used as an incentive for families to share leave more equally between parents after the quota months (270 days). <b>Both parents receive €5 tax free per day for every day they use the leave equally to a maximum of €1,485 tax free.</b>	Yes, 60 days+ bonus through tax reduction

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Temporary Parental leave (tillfällig föräldrapenning) for a child under 12 years old, and for children aged 12 to 15 years with a doctor's certificate (to care for sick children or to stay home with children if the regular caregiver is sick)	All employess who are eligible in Social Insurance System	120 days per child per year; 60 of these days can be used to stay home with children if the regular caregiver is sick.	77.6% of earnings with a ceiling of €36,625 per year	This is a <b>family</b> entitlement. Since 2001, this leave can be <b>transferred</b> to an eligible person outside the family. If a child under 19 years old is sick or functionally disabled for more than 6 months, parents can apply for a <b>care allowance (vårdbidrag)</b> and receive a maximum of €12,236 per year	
<b>Switzerland</b>	No statutory entitlement for parental leave.				There is some indication that a minority of companies in the private sector grant employees unpaid Parental leaves	

Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
	Leave to care for a sick child with medical certificate	All employed parents	3 days per illness episode	There is a salary payment but is not mandatory	This leave is a family entitlement because only one parent should benefit from this provision	
<b>Turkey</b>	No statutory entitlement for parental leave					
<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>A).</b> Parental leave <b>B).</b> Leave to deal with unexpected or sudden emergencies affecting a dependent and to make necessary longer term arrangements	All employees who have completed 1 year's continuous employment with their present employer and who have or expect to have parental responsibility for a child	<b>A).</b> 18 weeks per parent per child up to the child's 5th birthday <b>B).</b> Undefined reasonable amount of time off work	<b>A)</b> and <b>B)</b> are unpaid	Leave is an <b>individual, non-transferrable</b> entitlement. Only 4 weeks of leave may be taken in any 1 calendar year, unless an employer agrees otherwise; in other words, the 18 weeks cannot be taken in one continuous period of time	



Country	Statutory type	Eligibility	Duration	Pay/Payment	Notes	Paid father quota
<b>United States</b>	Family and medical leave	Employees who work for a employer with more than 50 employees and who have worked for that employer for at least 12 months and for at least 1,250 hours over the preceding 12 months	Up to 12 weeks per parent in a 12-month period for childbirth; to care for a newborn, newly adopted or foster child; to care for a seriously ill spouse, parent, or child; for a serious health condition of the employees that makes them unable to work for more than 3 consecutive days	Unpaid	But 5 states (California, Hawaii, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island) and Puerto Rico provide partial payment compensation. Some employers also provide certain payment compensation	

*Note.* Legislation as applicable in April 2014, except in Turkey and Mexico where information refer to the situation as in April 2012 and Korea where information refers to the situation as in June 2008 (but the currency exchange is based on exchange rate in December 2014). Chile has been ruled out from this comparison due to lack of available, updated information of various types of leave policies. Sources. The information was collected and adapted from data of OECD (2014j), Country Notes in Moss (2014), and government websites.

## Appendix B: Typology of Early Childhood Education and Care Services across OECD

	Centre-based care		Family day care		Pre-school		Compulsory school	
Public*								
Private**								
Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Australia	Accredited centres and family day care available part-time (20hrs) or full-time (up to 50hrs)				Reception/ pre-school classes, with primary school (full-time, out-of-school-hours care also provided).		Compulsory schooling	
Austria	<i>Tagesmutter</i> (FDC) and <i>Krippen</i> (centre-based), Part-time (25hrs)		<i>Kindergarten</i> , (part-time, 25hrs). Out of school care provision under development.				Compulsory schooling	
Belgium	<i>Kinderdagverblijf</i> (centre-based crèches) and FDC; <i>Crèche</i> (centre-based) and <i>gardiennes encadrées</i> (FDC)		<i>Kleuterschool</i> (starts at age 2 and a half), part-time or full-time, with out-of-school-hours care; <i>École maternelle</i> , part-time or full-time, with out-of-school-hours care				Compulsory schooling	
Canada	Centre-based and family day care				Junior Kindergarten Ontario	Kindergarten /Maternelles in Québec	Compulsory schooling	
Cyprus <sup>1,2</sup>	Centre-based day care (day Nurseries/Day Care Centres) Family day care (childminders), provided by the public, private and community sector.				Pre-school - compulsory		Compulsory schooling	
			Kindergartens (Νηπιαγωγεία) provided by the public, private and community sector					
Czech Rep	<i>Crèche</i> (centre-based care), FT		<i>Materska skola</i> (state kindergarten)				Compulsory schooling	
Denmark	<i>Dagpleje</i> (FDC) and <i>Vuggestuer</i> ( <i>Crèche</i> ) full-time (>32hrs)		<i>Børnehaver</i> (kindergarten) full-time (>32hrs)				Compulsory schooling	
	<i>Adlersintegreret</i> (age-integrated facility) full-time (>32hrs)				<i>Børne-haver</i> (>32hrs)			
Finland	<i>Perhepäivähoito</i> (FDC) and <i>Päiväkoti</i> (municipal early development centres), full-time (<50hrs)				<i>Esiopetus</i> pre-school		Compulsory schooling	
France	<i>Crèche</i> (centre-based care) and <i>Assistant maternelles</i> (FDC), FT		<i>Ecole maternelle</i> (pre-school)				Compulsory schooling	
Estonia	Creche (centre-based care) full-time basis		Pre-school and nursery schools, full-time basis				Compulsory schooling	
Germany	<i>Krippen</i> (centre-based <i>Crèche</i> )		Kindergarten (pre-school)				Compulsory schooling	
Greece	<i>Vrefonipiaki stahmi</i> (crèche for children <2.5 and nursery school for >2.5)				<i>Nipiagogeia</i> (kindergarten)		Compulsory schooling	
Hungary	<i>Bölcsöde</i> ( <i>Crèches</i> ), full-time (40hrs)		<i>Ovoda</i> (kindergarten)				Compulsory schooling (at age 6 by law, but in practice many start at age 7)	
Iceland	Day-care centres and “day mothers”(FDC)				Pre-school		Compulsory schooling	
Ireland	Regulated FDC and nurseries (centre-based)				ECCE, Early Start and Infant school (pre-school) with primary school		Compulsory schooling	
					Pre-school playgroups			
Israel <sup>3</sup>	Centre-based care and Family day care				Kindergartens and some Centre-based care and Family day care		Compulsory schooling	
Italy	<i>Asili nidi</i> ( <i>Crèches</i> ) part-time (20hrs) and full-time (<50hrs)		<i>Scuola dell'infanzia</i> (pre-school)				Compulsory schooling	

	Centre-based care		Family day care		Pre-school		Compulsory school	
Public*								
Private**								
Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Japan	Centre-based care		Family day care		Kindergartens		Compulsory schooling	
Korea	Childcare centres		Kindergartens		Hakwon (pre-school)		Compulsory schooling	
Luxembourg	<i>Crèche (centre-based care) and Tagesmutter (FDC)</i>		Enseignement pre-scolaire (pre-school)				Compulsory schooling	
Malta	Centre-based (private and public) care and Family day care		Pre-school				Compulsory schooling	
Mexico	<i>Educación inicial (centre-based care)</i>		<i>Educación preescolar (pre-school) - compulsory</i>				Compulsory schooling	
Netherlands	<i>Gastouderopvang (FDC), Kinderopvang (child care centres) and Playgroups</i>		Group 1, with primary school				Compulsory schooling (group 2 onwards)	
New Zealand	Child care centres and some home-based services (FDC)		Community-based Kindergarten, Playcentres				Compulsory schooling	
Norway	<i>Barnehage (kindergarten)</i> , including rural familiebarnehage (FDC), full-time (40 hrs) and open kindergarten (barnehage)						Compulsory schooling	
Poland	Nurseries		Pre-school/ Nursery schools				Compulsory schooling	
Portugal	<i>Crèche familiare (FDC) and centre-based Crèches</i>		Jardins de infância (pre-school)				Compulsory schooling	
Slovak Rep	Nursery schools (public and private)		Kindergarten				Compulsory schooling	
Spain	<i>Educación Preescolar (Centre-based)</i>		<i>Educación infantil (Pre-school)</i> , with primary school				Compulsory schooling	
Sweden	<i>Forskola (pre-school) full-time, 30 hours, some Familiedaghem (FDC) particularly in rural areas.</i>						<i>Forskole-klas (pre-school, PT)</i> Compulsory schooling	
Switzerland	Crèche. Krippen, varies across cantons (centre-based)		Pre-school, mandatory in some cantons.				Compulsory schooling	
Turkey	Crèche		Ana Okullari (kindergartens)				Compulsory schooling	
UK	Nurseries, child minders and playgroups		Playgroups and nurseries, Early years education (three and four year olds are entitled to 12.5 hours of free early education)		Reception class with primary school		Compulsory schooling	
US	Child care centres and FDC		Educational programmes, incl. pre-school, kindergartens (public and private), Head Start programs.				Compulsory schooling	

Source: The table was obtained from the family database of the OECD (2010).

**Appendix C: ECEC Entitlement, Children's Age, and Its Coordination  
with Parental Leave across OECD Countries**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Entitlement</b>	<b>Start of ECEC entitlement</b>	<b>Gaps (months) between leave and ECEC entitlement</b>	<b>Gaps (months) between well-paid<sup>1</sup> and ECEC entitlement</b>
<b>Australia</b>	* PT	5 years old	36	x
<b>Austria</b>	* PT/OB	5 years old	36	58
<b>Belgium</b>	**	2.5 years old	No gap	26
<b>Canada</b>	No entitlement to ECEC			
<b>Chile</b>	NA			
<b>Czech Republic</b>	*	5 years old	24	29
<b>Denmark</b>	**	6 months old	No gap	No gap
<b>Estonia</b>	* [#3 years]	18 months old	No gap	18
<b>Finland</b>	**	end parental leave	No gap	No gap
<b>France</b>	*	3 years old	No gap	33
<b>Germany</b>	**[# <sup>2</sup> ]	1 year old	No gap	No gap
<b>Greece</b>	* PT	5 years old	40 to no gap	48-54
<b>Hungary</b>	*[#3 years]OB	birth	No gap	12
<b>Iceland</b>	No entitlement to ECEC			
<b>Ireland</b>	* PT	3.25 years old	21	x
<b>Israel</b>	No entitlement to ECEC			
<b>Italy</b>	No entitlement to ECEC			
<b>Japan</b>	No entitlement to ECEC			
<b>Korea</b>	NA			
<b>Luxembourg</b>	* PT	3 years old	22	34
<b>Mexico</b>	NA and no parental leave			
<b>Netherlands</b>	* PT	4 years old	33	45
<b>New Zealand</b>	* PT	3 years old	24	33
<b>Norway</b>	**	12 months old	No gap	No gap
<b>Poland</b>	* PT	6 years old	24	60
<b>Portugal</b>	*	5 years old	24	54
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	No entitlement to ECEC and no well-paid leave			
<b>Slovenia</b>	**	end parental leave	No gap	No gap

Country	Entitlement	Start of ECEC entitlement	Gaps (months) between leave and ECEC entitlement	Gaps (months) between well-paid <sup>1</sup> and ECEC entitlement
<b>Spain</b>	*	3 years old	No gap	31
<b>Sweden</b>	**	12 months old	No gap	No gap
<b>Switzerland</b>	No entitlement to ECEC			
<b>Turkey</b>	NA and no parental leave			
<b>United Kingdom</b>	* PT	3 years old	16	35
<b>United States</b>	No entitlement to ECEC and no paid leave			

*Notes.* 1. well-paid leave means that the leave is paid for half or more of duration of leave at high flat rate (€ 1,000/month or more) or at 66% of earnings or more. 2. In Germany, the entitlement does not specify hours per day or per week; in Western Germany many services still offer only on a part-time basis while in Eastern Germany the full-time opening has remained as the norm. \* means entitlement but only from 3 years old or older; \*\* means entitlement from below 3 years old. x means there is no well-paid leave. NA means the information is non-available. PT means entitlement is for 20 hours a week or less. OB means attendance is obligatory. # means there is an obligation to provide a place, but this obligation cannot be met due to the shortages of provision; this shortage usually applies to children under 3 years old, and the bracketed figure indicates when the entitlement can usually be met in practice. *Source.* The information was collected, adapted, and calculated based on the data from Moss (2014).

**Appendix D: Flexibility Statute/Policy across OECD Countries**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Statutory</b>	<b>Eligibility</b>	<b>Provision</b>	<b>Notes/Protection</b>
<b>Australia</b>	One of the 10 National Employment Standards in Fair Work Act 2009 and Fair Work Amendment Act 2013	employees with caring responsibilities, parents or guardians of children who are school age or younger, employees with a disability, employees aged 55 years or over and employees experiencing family violence or caring for a family or household member who is experiencing family violence	flexible working arrangements	An employer must respond to a request within 21 days and may refuse the request only on 'reasonable business grounds'. While examples of 'reasonable business grounds' are provided in the legislation these do not limit what might be included. The request is ultimately not enforceable by any third-party body. National laws prohibit direct and indirect "discrimination based on family responsibility" in dismissal.
<b>Austria</b>	Yes	<b>A).</b> The employees who work for the employers with more than 20 employees and if they have been continuously employed with their present employer for at least 3 years, and if they have children born after 1 July 2004. <b>B).</b> The employees with the employers with less than 20 employees	Reduced working hours: <b>A).</b> They are entitled to work part-time until the child's 7th birthday with the right to return to full-time job, or to change working hours within the day without reducing the total number of working hours. <b>B).</b> May enter into an agreement on part-time work with the employer to the child's 4th birthday.	Job protection is provided. Protection against dismissal ends 4 weeks after the child's fourth birthday. Part-time workers are eligible for prorated benefits

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
<b>Belgium</b>	Yes	<b>A).</b> All private sector employees (except managerial staff in companies with less than 10 employees) with minimum service of 12 months, as long as no more of 5% of total workforce are on "career break". <b>B).</b> Firms with 10 or more employees (smaller firms: requires employer approval); employee must have been employed by firm of previous 15 months.	<u>Reduced working hours:</u> <b>A).</b> Employees are entitled to reduce working hours by one-fifth (one day or two half days per week) for up to 5 years (6 years in public sector), or by half for one year. <b>B).</b> Each parent has right to 3 months full-time or 6 months part-time or 15 months at 80% of time for parental leave before child is 4 years old (8 if child is disabled).	Part-time workers are eligible for prorated benefits. The number of hours worked may not exceed normal limits by more than 65 hours, without immediate compensatory rest being granted. Flexible working week schemes normally require sectoral collective agreement.
<b>Canada</b>	No general statutory entitlement to part-time work or other modification of working time arrangements. A limited number of collective agreements provide for the reduction of working hours, flexi-time, and job sharing.			Exception: In the federal and Québec jurisdictions, a pregnant woman or nursing mother may ask her employer to temporarily modify her duties or to assign her to another position, if continuation of her present duties puts her health or that of her unborn child or nursing infant at risk
<b>Czech Republic</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
<b>Denmark</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			
<b>Estonia</b>	Yes		Breastfeeding mothers with a child under 18 months can take either a half an hour breastfeeding break every 3 hours or a 1 hour break per day. The state compensates the breaks 100% with the exception of mothers who receive parental benefit for raising a child. Funded from <u>general taxation</u>	
<b>Finland</b>	Flexible care allowance (joustava hoitoraha/flexibel vårdpenning)	Parents who have children under 3 years old and <b>work shorter hours</b> than is normal in the respective field after taking parental leave	If a parent has weekly working hours at maximum 30 hours or 80% of the normal full-time hours, an allowance of €162.09/month is provided; if a parent work a weekly working hours of max. 22.5 hours or 60% of the normal full-time hours, an allowance of €243.13/ month is provided	
	Reduced working hours (partial childcare leave, osittainen hoitovapaa/partiell vårdledighet)	A working parent who has been working for the same employer for at least 6 months during the past 12 months	A eligible parent can take partial childcare leave from the end of Parental leave until the end of the child's 2nd year at school. A partial home care allowance (osittainen hoitoraha) of €97.67 a month is provided.	Parents should negotiate the working hours with the employer, and the employer can refuse only if the reduced working hours would lead to serious disadvantages for the organization – in that case, working hours must be a max. of 30 hours a week. Both parents can take partial childcare leave during the same period, but cannot take



Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
				leave during the same time in the day
<b>France</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			Employees in the public sector are entitled to work part time for family reasons. The ‘family tax credit’ (Crédit d’impôt famille, CIF), introduced in 2004, is a financial incentive provided to companies to encourage them to develop family-friendly initiatives for their employees. The CIF promises that 25% of related expenses are deductible from taxes paid by the company up to a ceiling of €500,000 per year and per company
<b>Germany</b>	Yes	Since 2001, every employee in a firm with at least 15 employees and an employment duration of 6 months has the right to demand a part-time job.	Reduced working hours: part-time job	The employer has the right to reject the demand if the firm has no possibilities to change the work organization. The part-time worker has no entitlement to return to full-time work.
<b>Greece</b>	Yes	A working parent	Reduced working hours: Parents can work 1 hour less for up to 30 months after Maternity leave, with full earnings replacement, which can be taken as: 2	The National General Collective Labour Agreement signed in late March 2014, specifies that a working father

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
			hours less/day for the first 12 months and 1 hour less/day for another 6 months; or, with the employer's agreement, in block(s) of time of equal time value within the 30 months period after Maternity leave. The latter is actually considered as another leave titled 'alternative use of reduced hours as leave for the care of children'; paid and funded by the employer	has an independent right in the use of alternative use of reduced hours as leave for the care of children (childcare leave).
<b>Hungary</b>	Yes		Mothers are entitled to two one-hour breaks per day for breastfeeding until a child is 6 months old; and to one one-hour break until a child is 9 months old. The number of hours is doubled in the case of twins.	
<b>Iceland</b>	Yes		Employers are required by the Act on Equal Status and Equal Rights of Women and Men to make the necessary arrangements to enable men and women to balance family life and work in case of serious or unusual family circumstances.	
<b>Ireland</b>	Yes		Breastfeeding mothers are entitled to adjust their working hours or, if breastfeeding facilities are provided at work, to take breastfeeding breaks up until the child is 6 months old. On return from parental leave, an employee may request a change in their working hours or pattern. Employers must consider such a request but are not required	

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
			to grant it	
<b>Israel</b>	Yes		During the first four months after the end of the Maternity leave, mothers employed full time and who are breastfeeding are entitled to one hour absence from work, in addition to break times defined by law	
<b>Italy</b>	Yes	Employees (mothers and fathers) who have parental responsibility for a child under 6 years or a disabled child under 18 years have a legal right to apply to their employers to work flexibly (e.g. to reduce their working hours). Employers have a legal duty to consider these requests and may refuse them only where there is a clear business ground for doing so... [and must give] a written explanation explaining why	Until a child is 12 months old, <b>women</b> who are employees are entitled to work reduced hours (1 hour less per day if working 6 hours a day or less; 2 hours less per day if working longer) for breast feeding, with full earnings compensation. <b>Fathers</b> are entitled to use this benefit in certain conditions, for example: if the mother is self-employed or freelancer; if the mother opts not to use it; if the mother is not employed; or if the father has sole custody of the child. Home helps, domestic workers and autonomous workers are not entitled to reduced hours, but in this case too the father can work reduced hours	
<b>Japan</b>	Yes		Women with a child under 12 months are entitled to unpaid breaks of at least 30 minutes twice a day; breaks are not specifically for breastfeeding, but can be used for other purposes, e.g. leaving early	

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
			<p>to pick up children from childcare centers. Until a child reaches the age of 3 years, parents have the right to reduce their normal working hours to 6 hours per day. Until a child reaches the age of three years, parents have the right to reduce their normal working hours to six hours per day. There is no payment for working reduced. Employers may not require an employee with a child below age of 6 to work more than 24 hours per month or 150 hours per year of overtime, or work night shifts, i.e. between 22 pm and 05 am if the employee requests not to work these hours</p>	
<b>Korea</b>	Yes		<p>Flexible working time: The 2003 Labor Standards Act introduced the 40-hour working week, that applies to all workplace with 50 employees or more. Extended hours can be agreed within certain limits. Others with a child under 1 year of age can be allowed to extend working hours for a maximum of 2 hours a day (6 hours per week), while other employees can extend working hours until a maximum of 12 hours. Pregnant women are not allowed to extend working hours.</p>	
<b>Luxembourg</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			
<b>Netherlands</b>	Yes (under the	All employees who have	Reduced working hours: The right to	Many workers in the

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
	Working Hours Adjustment Act)	completed 1 year's continuous employment with their present employer	increase or decrease their working hours. However, the employer can refuse to grant the request if the interests of the business or service might be seriously harmed; and the law only applies to employers with 10 or more employees	Netherlands work part time. It is clear that part-time work is very popular (and for women even almost natural). Although the Working Hours Adjustment Act (WAA) is not irrelevant, it serves more to establish norms that are already in practice than to promote part-time work
<b>New Zealand</b>	Yes (The Employment Relations Act 2000)	Employees who have the care of another person and have been employed by their employer for a minimum of 6 months	Reduced working time: Have the right to request a variation to their hours of work, days of work or place of work.	Employers have a duty to consider a request and are able to refuse a request on one or more of the recognized business grounds or if it conflicts with a collective employment agreement
<b>Norway</b>	The Work Environment Act	All employed parents	Reduced working hours: <b>A).</b> Breastfeeding mothers have the right to breastfeeding breaks of up to 1 hour per day, without payment. But collective agreements ensure pay in many sectors <b>B).</b> Parents have a right to part-time work to care for children until children are 10 years old	
<b>Poland</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			
<b>Portugal</b>	Yes (leave to breastfeed or to feed, dispensa para	All employed parents	Up to 2 hours 'nursing' leave per day during the first year after birth, with no reduction of earnings. In cases of multiple births, leave is increased by 30 minutes for every	This leave can be <b>family</b> entitlement if the mother does not breastfeed the child

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
	amamentação e aleitação)		child. Where mothers are actually breastfeeding, the 2 hours reduction can last for as long as the child is breastfed	
	Reduced working hours to care for a disabled or chronically ill child under age of 1	All employed parents	One of the parents (as long as the other is employed) may also apply for a 5-hour reduction in the working week	This is a <b>family</b> entitlement
	Leave to go to child's school	All employed parents	Up to 4 hours leave per school term to go to their children's school until children reach 18 years of age, with no reduction of earnings	This is an <b>individual</b> entitlement
	Leave to attend to adoption-related meetings	All employed parents	Adopting parents are entitled to miss work (up to 3 times)	This is an <b>individual</b> entitlement
	Leave to attend to pre-natal appointments	All employed fathers	Fathers are entitled to leave work (up to 3 times) to accompany their spouses in pre-natal appointments	This is an <b>individual</b> entitlement
	Flexible working schedule for an employee with family responsibilities	All employed parents	Parents with children under 12 years old (no age limit in the case of a child who is chronically ill or disabled living in the same household) have right to choose, within certain limits, when to start and finish daily work, as long as the normal weekly hours of work are fulfilled	Both parents are entitled to this flexible working schedule. This is an <b>individual</b> entitlement
	Part-time work for an employee	All employed parents	When there are children under 12 years old (no age limit in case of a chronically ill or	

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
	with family responsibilities		disabled child living in the same household), one of the parents (or both for alternative periods of time) is entitled to part-time work after taking Additional Parental leave. Part-time work may be extended up to 2 years (3 years in the case of third and subsequent child, 4 years in the case of chronically ill or disabled child)	
<b>Slovak Republic</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			
<b>Slovenia</b>	Breastfeeding break	Mothers who work full-time	the right to a break during working time lasting not less than 1 hour a day	
	Part-time work for parents who care for a child under 3 years old or a child under 18 years of age with a severe physical disability or a moderate or severe mental disability		The right to work part time. The hours worked must be equal to or longer than half full-time working hours. There is no payment, but social security contributions based on the proportional part of the minimum wage are paid for the hours not worked.	
	Part-time work for parents who care for 2 children		Parents may extend the right to work part time, with social security contributions paid based on the minimum wage for the hours not worked, until the younger child reaches the age of 6 years	

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
<b>Spain</b>	Yes (One hour of absence)	Employed mothers	During the first 9 months after the child's birth, employed mothers are entitled to 1 hour of absence during the working day without loss of earnings, which is <b>paid by the employers</b> (permiso de lactancia, originally to support breastfeeding). All employed mothers can consolidate this reduction in working time as <b>full-time leave</b> , thus in practice extending their Maternity leave 2 to 4 weeks	If both parents are working, the mother can <b>transfer</b> this right to the father or partner
	Reduced working day	Working parents	A working parent can reduce his/her working day by between 1/8 and 1/2 of its normal duration to care for a child under 12 years old or to look after a disabled child (reducción de jornada por guarda legal). Employees may decide, within their usual work schedule, the extent and period of the working time reduction. It is defined as an <b>individual right</b> , and there is <b>no payment</b> , but workers taking this part-time leave are credited with up to 2 years full-time social security contributions	
<b>Sweden</b>	Yes	A). Employed parents B). Employees with at least 6 months tenure (or 12 months in last 24 months prior to birth) C). Employees with at least 6 months tenure (or 12 months in last 24 months	Reduced working hours: A). Parents have the right to reduce their normal working time by up to 25% until the child reaches 8 years of age or complete the 1st grade of school; there is <b>no payment</b> for reduced working hours. B). Possible unpaid reduction in hours for parents of children up to 2nd grade. C). Flexible working	B). Right to return to full-time job at the end of the period. C). Derogations from working time rules generally allowed by collective agreements.



Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
		prior to birth)	hours: Employer should accommodate employee wishes for reduced hours.	
<b>Switzerland</b>	Yes	Employed mothers	During the child's first year, the time employed mothers spent breastfeeding on the company's site is considered as work time and half of the time spent breastfeeding out of the company's site is considered as work time	There is no statutory entitlement to reduced or flexible working hours for employed parents, but employer must take into account of an employee's family responsibility (with children up to 15 or relatives in need of care) when setting work and rest times. Some collective labor agreements specifically include the right to reduced working hours for parents and there is some indication that a significant proportion of companies allow flexible working hours
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Yes	Employees who have worked for the employer continuously for 26 weeks before applying and who have parental responsibility for a child aged 16 and under, a disabled child under 18 years or who care for a spouse, partner, civil	Employees have a legal right to apply to their employers to work flexibly (e.g. to reduce their working hours or work flexi-time). Employers have a legal duty to consider these requests and may refuse them only where there is a clear business ground for doing so and must give a written explanation explaining why	

Country	Statutory	Eligibility	Provision	Notes/Protection
		partner, relative or other adult living with them		
<b>United States</b>	No statutory flexible working arrangement			Some unions have won the right to reduced working time on a temporary basis so that workers can take care of family needs. The Fair Labor Standard Act guarantees part-time workers the minimum wage. No legal protections with regard to pay equity, benefits or job conditions.

*Note.* Legislation as applicable in April 2014, except in Korea where information refers to the situation as in June 2008. Chile,

Mexico, and Turkey have been ruled out from this comparison due to lack of available, updated information of flexibility statute.

Sources. The information was collected and adapted from data of OECD (2014h), Country Notes in Moss (2014), and government websites.

### Appendix E: List of Included Articles on Work-Family Conflict

- Grahame, K. M. (2003). For the family: Asian immigrant women's triple day. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 30(1), 65–90.
- Grzywacz, J. G., Arcury, T. A., Marín, A., Carrillo, L., Burke, B., Coates, M. L., & Quandt, S. A. (2007). Work-family conflict: Experiences and health implications among immigrant Latinos. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(4), 1119–1130.
- Grzywacz, J. G., Quandt, S. A., Arcury, T. A., & Marín, A. (2005). The work–family challenge and mental health: Experiences of Mexican immigrants. *Community, Work and Family*, 8(3), 271–279.
- Rodriguez, G., Trejo, G., Schiemann, E., Quandt, S. A., Daniel, S. S., Sandberg, J. C., & Arcury, T. A. (2016). Latina workers in North Carolina: Work organization, domestic responsibilities, health, and family life. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 18, 687–696. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-015-0314-x>
- Rudolph, C. W., Michel, J. S., Harari, M. B., & Stout, T. J. (2014). Perceived social support and work-family conflict: A comparison between Hispanic immigrants and non-immigrants. *Cross Cultural Management*, 21(3), 306–325. <https://doi.org/10.1108/CCM-01-2013-0002>
- Sallee, M., & Hart, J. (2015). Cultural navigators: International faculty fathers in the U.S. Research University. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 8(3), 192–211. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039042>

## References

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*(2), 139–158.
- Addabbo, T., Giovannini, D., & Mazzucchelli, S. (2014). Italy country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 178–191). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Adema, W. (2012). Setting the scene: The mix of family policy objectives and packages across the OECD. *Children and Youth Services Review, 34*, 487–498. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.10.007>
- Agger, B. (1991). Critical theory, poststructuralism, postmodernism: Their sociological relevance. *Annual Review of Sociology, 17*, 105–131.
- Al-Amoudi, I., & Willmott, H. (2008). *Critical realism's epistemological relativism: Lost in dissemination?* Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/668024/Critical\\_Realisms\\_Epistemological\\_Relativism\\_Lost\\_in\\_Dissemination](https://www.academia.edu/668024/Critical_Realisms_Epistemological_Relativism_Lost_in_Dissemination)
- Al-Amoudi, I., & Willmott, H. (2011). Where constructionism and critical realism converge: Interrogating the domain of epistemological relativism. *Organization Studies, 32*(1), 27–46.
- Albelda, R. (2001). Welfare-to-work, farewell to families? US welfare reform and work/family debates. *Feminist Economics, 7*(1), 119–135. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545700110048092>

- Aldous, J. (1969). Occupational Characteristics and Males' Role Performance in the Family. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 31(4), 707–712.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/349312>
- Allard, K., Haas, L., & Hwang, C. P. (2007). Exploring the paradox: Experiences of flexible working arrangements and work-family conflict among managerial fathers in Sweden. *Community, Work & Family*, 10(4), 475–493.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13668800701575135>
- Allard, K., Haas, L., & Hwang, C. P. (2011). Family-supportive organizational culture and fathers' experiences of work–family conflict in Sweden. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 18(2), 141–157. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2010.00540.x>
- Allen, T. D., Herst, D. E., Bruck, C. S., & Sutton, M. (2000). Consequences associated with work-to-family conflict: A review and agenda for future research. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5(2), 278–308.
- Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (2009). (Post-) positivism, social constructionism, critical realism: three reference points in the philosophy of science. In M. Alvesson & K. Sköldberg (Eds.), *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. Retrieved from [http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/28039\\_02\\_Alvesson\\_2e\\_Ch\\_02.pdf](http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/28039_02_Alvesson_2e_Ch_02.pdf)
- Amstad, F. T., Meier, L. L., Fasel, U., Elfering, A., & Semmer, N. K. (2011). A meta-analysis of work–family conflict and various outcomes with a special emphasis on cross-domain versus matching-domain relations. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 16(2), 151–169.

- Anxo, D., Mencarini, L., Pailhé, A., Solaz, A., Tanturri, M. L., & Flood, L. (2011). Gender differences in time use over the life course in France, Italy, Sweden, and the US. *Feminist Economics*, *17*(3), 159–195.
- Appelbaum, E., & Milkman, R. (2011). *Leaves that pay: Employer and worker experiences with paid family leave in California*. Retrieved from Center for Economic and Public Research Publication website: <http://50.87.169.168/OJS/ojs-2.4.4-1/index.php/EPRN/article/download/1909/1906>
- Arts, W., & Gelissen, J. (2002). Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *12*(2), 137–158.
- Aumann, K., & Galinsky, E. (2009). The state of health in the American workforce: Does having an effective workplace matter. *New York, NY: Families and Work Institute*. Retrieved from <http://familiesandwork.org/site/research/reports/HealthReport.pdf>
- Bailyn, L., & Harrington, M. (2004). Redesigning work for work-family integration. *Community, Work & Family*, *7*(2), 197–208. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880042000245470>
- Bailyn, L., Rapoport, R., & Fletcher, J. K. (2000). Moving corporations in the United States toward gender equity: A cautionary tale. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 167–179). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Baltes, P. B., & Baltes, M. M. (1990). Psychological perspectives on successful aging: The model of selective optimization with compensation. In P. B. Baltes & M. M.

- Baltes (Eds.), *Successful aging: Perspectives from the behavioral sciences* (pp. 1–34). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bambra, C. (2007). “Sifting the wheat from the chaff”: A two-dimensional discriminant analysis of welfare state regime theory. *Social Policy & Administration*, *41*(1), 1–28.
- Barker, D., & Feiner, S. F. (2009). *Liberating economics: Feminist perspectives on families, work, and globalization*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Barnett, R. C., & Gareis, K. C. (2006). Role theory perspectives on work and family. In M. Pitt-Catsouphes, E. E. Kossek, & S. A. Sweet (Eds.), *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 209–221). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Mahwah.
- Batalova, J., Fix, M., & Bachmeier, J. D. (2016). *Untapped talent: The cost of brain waste among highly skilled immigrants in the United States*. Retrieved from Migration Policy Institute, New American Economy, and World Education Services website: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/untapped-talent-costs-brain-waste-among-highly-skilled-immigrants-united-states>
- Beneria, L. (2010). Globalization, women’s work, and care needs: The urgency of reconciliation policies. *North Carolina Law Review*, *88*, 1501.
- Berger, L. M., Hill, J., & Waldfogel, J. (2005). Maternity leave, early maternal employment and child health and development in the US. *The Economic Journal*, *115*(501), F29–F47.
- Bianchi, S. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(3), 705–725.

- Bianchi, S. M., Robinson, J. P., & Milke, M. A. (2006). *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life, The*. Retrieved from <https://muse.jhu.edu/books/9781610440516?auth=0>
- Billing, Y. D. (2000). Organisational cultures, families, and careers in Scandinavia. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: International perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 213–222). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bjornberg, U. (2000). Equality and backlash: Family, gender, and social policy in Sweden. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 57–75). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Blau, F. D., Ferber, M. A., & Winkler, A. E. (2014). *The economics of women, men, and work* (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Blum, S., & Erler, D. (2014). Germany country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 137–144). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Bolzendahl, C., & Olafsdottir, S. (2008). Gender group interest or gender ideology? Understanding US support for family policy within the liberal welfare regime. *Sociological Perspectives*, *51*(2), 281–304.  
<https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2008.51.2.281>
- Boushey, H. (2010). *It's time for policies to match modern family needs: New polling data shows widespread support for an agenda to address work-family conflict*.



Retrieved from Center for American Progress website:

[https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/03/pdf/work\\_survey.pdf](https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/03/pdf/work_survey.pdf)

- Boushey, H. (2011). The role of the government in work-family conflict. *The Future of Children, 21*(2), 163–190.
- Bowen, G. L. (2000). Workplace programs and policies that address work-family and gender equity issues in the United States. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: International perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 79–98). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Brannen, J. (2000). Mothers and fathers in the workplace: The United Kingdom. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 29–42). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Brannen, J., & Lewis, S. (2000). Workplace programmes and policies in the United Kingdom. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: International perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 99–116). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Britton, D. M. (2000). The epistemology of the gendered organization. *Gender & Society, 14*(3), 418–434.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Brooks-Gunn, J., Han, W.-J., & Waldfogel, J. (2010). First-year maternal employment and child development in the first seven years. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 75*(2), 1–147.
- Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis*. London, UK: Heinemann.
- Bygren, M., & Duvander, A.-Z. (2006). Parents' workplace situation and fathers' parental leave use. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68*(2), 363–372.
- Byron, K. (2005). A meta-analytic review of work–family conflict and its antecedents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 67*(2), 169–198.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2004.08.009>
- Cahusac, E., & Kanji, S. (2014). Giving up: How gendered organizational cultures push mothers out. *Gender, Work & Organization, 21*(1), 57–70.
- Camarota, S. A., & Zeigler, K. (2015). *U.S. immigrant population record 42.4 million in 2014: Asian, Sub-Saharan African, and Middle Eastern immigrant populations grew most since 2010*. Retrieved from Center for Immigration Studies website: [http://cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/imm-pop-record-sept\\_2.pdf](http://cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/imm-pop-record-sept_2.pdf)
- Carlson, D. S., Grzywacz, J. G., & Kacmar, K. M. (2010). The relationship of schedule flexibility and outcomes via the work-family interface. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 25*(4), 330–355.
- Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K. M., & Williams, L. J. (2000). Construction and initial validation of a multidimensional measure of work–family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 56*(2), 249–276.

- Casper, W. J., Eby, L. T., Bordeaux, C., Lockwood, A., & Lambert, D. (2007). A review of research methods in IO/OB work-family research. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(1), 28–43.
- Castles, F. G., & Mitchell, D. (1992). Identifying welfare state regimes: The links between politics, instruments and outcomes. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration, 5*(1), 1–26.
- Cha, Y. (2010). Reinforcing separate spheres: The effect of spousal overwork on men's and women's employment in dual-earner households. *American Sociological Review, 75*(2), 303–329.
- Chandra, V. (2012). Work–life balance: Eastern and western perspectives. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 23*(5), 1040–1056.
- Chang, A., McDonald, P., & Burton, P. (2010). Methodological choices in work-life balance research 1987 to 2006: A critical review. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 21*(13), 2381–2413.
- Charlwood, A., Forde, C., Grugulis, I., Hardy, K., Kirkpatrick, I., MacKenzie, R., & Stuart, M. (2014). Clear, rigorous and relevant: Publishing quantitative research articles in work, employment and society. *Work, Employment & Society, 28*(2), 155–167.
- Chiu, M., & Rastogi, S. (2008). *Immigrant women's labor force integration: Human capital and family characteristics*. Retrieved from United States Census Bureau website: <http://www.census.gov/library/working-papers/2008/demo/2008-Chiu-Rastogi-01.html>

- Chou, W.-C. G., Fosh, P., & Foster, D. (2005). Female managers in Taiwan: Opportunities and barriers in changing times. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 11(2), 251–266.
- Colby, I. C. (2013). Social welfare policy as a form of social justice. In I. C. Colby, C. N. Dulmus, & K. M. Sowers (Eds.), *Social work and social policy: Advancing the principles of economic and social justice* (pp. 1–19). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Cooklin, A. R., Westrupp, E., Strazdins, L., Giallo, R., Martin, A., & Nicholson, J. M. (2015). Mothers' work–family conflict and enrichment: Associations with parenting quality and couple relationship. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 41(2), 266–277. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cch.12137>
- Critical realism: The theory of critical realism. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.markfoster.net/jccc/critical-realism-jccc.pdf>
- Daly, M., & Lewis, J. (2000). The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 51(2), 281–298.
- Datta Gupta, N., Smith, N., & Verner, M. (2008). The impact of Nordic countries' family friendly policies on employment, wages, and children. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 6(1), 65–89.
- Davis, L. V. (1996). Role theory and social work treatment. In F. J. Turner (Ed.), *Social work treatment: Interlocking theoretical approaches* (4th ed). New York: Free Press.
- DeBord, K., Canu, R. F., & Kerpelman, J. (2000). Understanding a work-family fit for single parents moving from welfare to work. *Social Work*, 45(4), 313–324.

- Denyer, D., & Tranfield, D. (2009). Producing a systematic review. In D. A. Buchanan & A. Bryman (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational research methods* (pp. 671–689). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (Taiwan). (2015). LìNián HūnYīn ZhuàngKuàngBié LáoDòngLì CānYǔLǜ [Labor force participation rate by marital status: 1993-2014] [Governmental database]. Retrieved from Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (Taiwan) website:  
[http://win.dgbas.gov.tw/dgbas04/bc4/manpower/year/year\\_t1-t23.asp?table=10&ym=1&yearb=82&yearc=103&out=1](http://win.dgbas.gov.tw/dgbas04/bc4/manpower/year/year_t1-t23.asp?table=10&ym=1&yearb=82&yearc=103&out=1)
- Doherty, W. J., Kouneski, E. F., & Erickson, M. F. (1998). Responsible fathering: An overview and conceptual framework. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 60, 277–292.
- Ebbinghaus, B. (2012). Comparing welfare state regimes: Are typologies an ideal or realistic strategy. *European Social Policy Analysis Network*, 120. Edinburgh, UK.
- Eby, L. T., Casper, W. J., Lockwood, A., Bordeaux, C., & Brinley, A. (2005). Work and family research in IO/OB: Content analysis and review of the literature (1980–2002). *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 66(1), 124–197.
- Elder Jr., G. H. (1994). Time, human agency, and social change: Perspectives on the life course. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57(1), 4–15.
- Elder Jr., G. H. (1995). The life course paradigm: Social change and individual development. In P. Moen, G. H. Elder Jr., & K. Luscher (Eds.), *Examining lives*

*in context: Perspectives on the ecology of human development*. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1995-98394-003>

- Elder Jr., G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development*, 69(1), 1–12.
- Ely, R. J., & Meyerson, D. E. (2000a). Advancing gender equity in organizations: The challenge and importance of maintaining a gender narrative. *Organization*, 7(4), 589–608.
- Ely, R. J., & Meyerson, D. E. (2000b). Theories of gender in organizations: A new approach to organizational analysis and change. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 22, 103–151.
- Emslie, C., & Hunt, K. (2009). ‘Live to work’ or ‘work to live’? A qualitative study of gender and work–life balance among men and women in mid-life. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 16(1), 151–172.
- Engster, D., & Stensöta, H. O. (2011). Do family policy regimes matter for children’s well-being? *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 18(1), 82–124.
- Escobedo, A. (2014). Spain country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 277–290). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). The three political economies of the welfare state. *International Journal of Sociology*, 20(3), 92–123.

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1997). Hybrid or unique?: The Japanese welfare state between Europe and America. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 7(3), 179–189.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *Incomplete revolution: Adapting welfare states to women's new roles*. Malden, MA: Polity.
- Fagnani, J., Boyer, D., & Thévenon, O. (2014). France country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 131–136). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Fleetwood, S. (2013). *What is (and what isn't) critical realism?* Seminar presentation presented at the CESR Seminar Series, Department of HRM, Bristol Business School, Britain. Retrieved from <http://www2.uwe.ac.uk/faculties/BBS/BUS/Research/CESR/What%20CR%20is%20and%20is%20not.pdf>
- Fletcher, J. K., & Bailyn, L. (2005). The equity imperative: Redesigning work for work-family integration. In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and life integration: Organizational, cultural, and individual perspectives* (pp. 171–189). Mahwah, N.J.: Psychology Press.
- Foley, S., & Powell, G. N. (1997). Reconceptualizing work-family conflict for business/marriage partners: A theoretical model. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 35, 36–47.

- Ford, M. T., Heinen, B. A., & Langkamer, K. L. (2007). Work and family satisfaction and conflict: A meta-analysis of cross-domain relations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(1), 57–80. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.1.57>
- Fox, M. F., Fonseca, C., & Bao, J. (2011). Work and family conflict in academic science: Patterns and predictors among women and men in research universities. *Social Studies of Science, 0306312711417730*.
- Fraser, N. (1994). After the family wage: Gender equity and the welfare state. *Political Theory, 22*(4), 591–618.
- Frone, M. R. (2000). Work–family conflict and employee psychiatric disorders: The national comorbidity survey. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 85*(6), 888.
- Frone, M. R., Russell, M., & Cooper, M. L. (1992). Antecedents and outcomes of work–family conflict: Testing a model of the work–family interface. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77*(1), 65–78.
- Frone, M. R., Yardley, J. K., & Markel, K. S. (1997). Developing and testing an integrative model of the work–family interface. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 50*(2), 145–167.
- Galinsky, E., & Swanberg, J. E. (2000). Employed mothers and fathers in the United States: Understanding how work and family life fit together. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 15–28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.



- Gálvez-Muñoz, L., Rodríguez-Modroño, P., & Domínguez-Serrano, M. (2011). Work and time use by gender: A new clustering of European welfare systems. *Feminist Economics*, 17(4), 125–157.
- Gerbery, D. (2014). Slovak Republic country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 265–269). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Gerson, K. (2004). Understanding work and family through a gender lens. *Community, Work & Family*, 7(2), 163–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880042000245452>
- Gerstel, N., & Sarkisian, N. (2006). Sociological perspectives on families and work: The import of gender, class, and race. In M. Pitt-Catsouphes, E. E. Kossek, & S. A. Sweet (Eds.), *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 237–265). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Mahwah.
- Glezer, H., & Wolcott, I. (2000). Conflicting commitments: Working mothers and fathers in Australia. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 43–56). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Glick, J. E. (2010). Connecting complex processes: A decade of research on immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 498–515.
- Goldin, C. D. (1990). *Understanding the gender gap: An economic history of American women*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gornick, J. C., & Meyers, M. K. (2003). *Families that work: Policies for reconciling parenthood and employment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Gornick, J. C., & Meyers, M. K. (2004). Welfare regimes in relation to paid work and care. In J. Z. Giele & E. Holst (Eds.), *Changing life patterns in Western industrial societies* (pp. 45–67). Netherlands: Elsevier Science Press.
- Grahame, K. M. (2003). For the family: Asian immigrant women's triple day. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 30(1), 65–90.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 76–88.
- Grzywacz, J. G., Arcury, T. A., Marín, A., Carrillo, L., Burke, B., Coates, M. L., & Quandt, S. A. (2007). Work-family conflict: Experiences and health implications among immigrant Latinos. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(4), 1119–1130.
- Grzywacz, J. G., Quandt, S. A., Arcury, T. A., & Marín, A. (2005). The work–family challenge and mental health: Experiences of Mexican immigrants. *Community, Work and Family*, 8(3), 271–279.
- Guba, E. G. (1990). *The paradigm dialog*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Guo, J., & Gilbert, N. (2007). Welfare state regimes and family policy: A longitudinal analysis. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16(4), 307–313.
- Guterk, B. A., Searle, S., & Klepa, L. (1991). Rational versus gender role explanations for work-family conflict. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(4), 560.
- Haas, L. (2003). Parental leave and gender equality: Lessons from the European Union. *Review of Policy Research*, 20(1), 89–114.
- Haas, L., & Hwang, C. P. (2000). Programs and policies promoting women's economic equality and men's sharing of child care in Sweden. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international*

- perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 133–161). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Haas, L., & Hwang, C. P. (2007). Gender and Organizational Culture Correlates of Companies' Responsiveness to Fathers in Sweden. *Gender & Society, 21*(1), 52–79. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206295091>
- Haas, L., & Hwang, C. P. (2008). The impact of taking parental leave on fathers' participation in childcare and relationships with children: Lessons from Sweden. *Community, Work and Family, 11*(1), 85–104.
- Haas, L., & Hwang, C. P. (2009). Is fatherhood becoming more visible at work? Trends in corporate support for fathers taking parental leave in Sweden. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers, 7*(3), 303–321.
- Haas, L., Hwang, C. P., & Russell, G. (Eds.). (2000a). *Organizational change & gender equity: International perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Haas, L., Hwang, P., & Russell, G. (2000b). Introduction. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 1–9). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Han, S.-K., & Moen, P. (1999). Work and family over time: A life course approach. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 562*(1), 98–110.
- Hassan, Z., Dollard, M. F., & Winefield, A. H. (2010). Work-family conflict in East vs Western countries. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 17*(1), 30–49.

- Heymann, J., Earle, A., & Hanchate, A. (2004). Bringing a global perspective to community, work and family: An examination of extended work hours in families in four countries. *Community, Work & Family*, 7(2), 247–272.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880042000245506>
- Hill, E. J., Jacob, J. I., Shannon, L. L., Brennan, R. T., Blanchard, V. L., & Martinengo, G. (2008). Exploring the relationship of workplace flexibility, gender, and life stage to family-to-work conflict, and stress and burnout. *Community, Work and Family*, 11(2), 165–181.
- Hill, E. J., Yang, C., Hawkins, A. J., & Ferris, M. (2004). A cross-cultural test of the work-family interface in 48 countries. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(5), 1300–1316.
- Hochschild, A., & Machung, A. (2012). *The second shift: Working families and the revolution at home*. Penguin.
- Houser, L., & Vartanian, T. (2012). *Pay Matters: The Positive Economic Impacts of Paid Family Leave for Families, Businesses and the Public*. Retrieved from Center for Women and Work at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey website: <http://smlr.rutgers.edu/paymatters-cwwreport-january2012>
- Houston, S. (2010). Prising open the black box: Critical realism, action research and social work. *Qualitative Social Work*, 9(1), 73–91.
- Jacobs, J. A., & Winslow, S. E. (2004a). Overworked faculty: Job stresses and family demands. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596(1), 104–129.

- Jacobs, J. A., & Winslow, S. E. (2004b). The academic life course, time pressures and gender inequality. *Community, Work & Family*, 7(2), 143–161.
- Jappens, M., & Van Bavel. (2011). Regional family norms and child care by grandparents in Europe. *Demographic Research*, 27, 85–120.  
<https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2012.27.4>
- Kahn, R. L., Wolfe, D. M., Quinn, R. P., Snoek, J. D., & Rosenthal, R. A. (1964). *Organizational stress: Studies in role conflict and ambiguity*. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1965-08866-000>
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Work and family in the United States: A critical review and agenda for research and policy*. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=zh-TW&lr=&id=6H-6AwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=work+and+family+in+the+United+States&ots=o3hdmiJHTF&sig=izRrdFWERviq9n0wEbHzp4wNIuA>
- Kaufman, G. (2013). *Superdads: How Fathers Balance Work and Family in the 21st Century*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kaufmann, F.-X. (2006). *Varianten des Wohlfahrtsstaats: Der deutsche Sozialstaat im internationalen Vergleich [Variants of the welfare state: The German welfare state in an international comparison]*. (S. Shi, Trans.). Taipei, Taiwan: Chu Liu Book Company. (Original work published in 2003).
- Kazassi, E. H., & Karamessini, M. (2014). Greece country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 145–153). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)

- Kelly, E. L., Ammons, S. K., Chermack, K., & Moen, P. (2010). Gendered challenge, gendered response confronting the ideal worker norm in a white-collar organization. *Gender & Society, 24*(3), 281–303.
- Kelly, E. L., Moen, P., & Tranby, E. (2011). Changing workplaces to reduce work-family conflict schedule control in a white-collar organization. *American Sociological Review, 76*(2), 265–290.
- Kerber, L. K. (1988). Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place: The rhetoric of women's history. *The Journal of American History, 9*–39.
- Kinnunen, U., & Mauno, S. (1998). Antecedents and Outcomes of Work-Family Conflict Among Employed Women and Men in Finland. *Human Relations, 51*(2), 157–177. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679805100203>
- Knijn, T., & Kremer, M. (1997). Gender and the caring dimension of welfare states: Toward inclusive citizenship. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society, 4*(3), 328–361.
- Kocourková, J. (2014). Czech Republic country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 97–101). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Korintus, M. (2014). Hungary country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 154–159). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)

- Korpi, W. (2000). Faces of inequality: Gender, class, and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 7(2), 127–191.
- Kossek, E. E., Baltes, B. B., & Matthews, R. A. (2011). How work–family research can finally have an impact in organizations. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 4(3), 352–369.
- Kossek, E. E., Lewis, S., & Hammer, L. B. (2010). Work–life initiatives and organizational change: Overcoming mixed messages to move from the margin to the mainstream. *Human Relations*, 63(1), 3–19.
- Kossek, E. E., & Ozeki, C. (1998). Work-family conflict, policies, and the job-life satisfaction relationship: A review and directions for organizational behavior-human resources research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83(2), 139–149.
- Lambert, S. J., & Haley-Lock, A. (2004). The organizational stratification of opportunities for work-life balance: Addressing issues of equality and social justice in the workplace. *Community, Work & Family*, 7(2), 179–195.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880042000245461>
- Lammi-Taskula, J. (2008). Doing fatherhood: Understanding the gendered use of parental leave in Finland. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers*, 6(2), 133–148.
- Lawson, T. (1999). Feminism, realism, and universalism. *Feminist Economics*, 5(2), 25–59.
- Lee, Y.-S., & Waite, L. J. (2005). Husbands' and wives' time spent on housework: A comparison of measures. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(2), 328–336.

- Lefebvre, P., & Merrigan, P. (2008). Child-care policy and the labor supply of mothers with young children: A natural experiment from Canada. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 26(3), 519–548.
- Leira, A. (1998). Caring as social right: Cash for child care and daddy leave. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 5(3), 362–378.
- Lenhoff, D. R., & Bell, L. (2002). *Government support for working families and for communities: Family and medical leave as a case study*. Retrieved from National Partnership for Women & Families website:  
<http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/work-family/fmla/fmla-case-study-lenhoff-bell.pdf>
- Lero, D. S., & Lewis, S. (2008). Assumptions, research gaps and emerging issues: Implications for research, policy and practice. In K. Korabik, D. S. Lero, & D. L. Whitehead (Eds.), *Handbook of work-family integration: Research, theory, and best practices* (pp. 371–397). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.
- Levinson, D. J. (1986). A conception of adult development. *American Psychologist*, 41(1), 3–13.
- Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the development of welfare regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3), 159–173.
- Lewis, J. (1997). Gender and welfare regimes: Further thoughts. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 4(2), 160–177.
- Lewis, S. (2000). Organisational change and gender equity: Case studies from the United Kingdom. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change*



*& gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 181–195). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Lewis, S., Gambles, R., & Rapoport, R. (2007). The constraints of a ‘work–life balance’ approach: An international perspective. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(3), 360–373.
- Lewis, S., & Haas, L. (2005). Work-life integration and social policy: A social justice theory and gender equity approach to work and family. In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and life integration: Organizational, cultural, and individual perspectives* (pp. 349–374). Mahwah, N.J.: Psychology Press.
- Lewis, S., & Lewis, J. (1997). Work, family and well-being. Can the law help? *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *2*(2), 155–167.
- Lewis, S., & Smithson, J. (2001). Sense of entitlement to support for the reconciliation of employment and family life. *Human Relations*, *54*(11), 1455–1481.
- Lin, I.-H. (2018). Ranking Work-Family Policies across OECD Countries: Implications for Work-Family Conflict, Gender Equality, and Child Well-being. *Social Work & Society*, *16*(1). Retrieved from <https://www.socwork.net/sws/article/view/539>
- Littell, J. H., & Maynard, B. R. (2015, January). *Systematic review methods: The science and practice of research synthesis*. Presented at the The Society for Social Work and Research 19th Annual Conference, New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/270894099\\_Littell\\_Maynard\\_2015\\_Systematic\\_review\\_methods\\_The\\_science\\_and\\_practice\\_of\\_research\\_synthesis](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/270894099_Littell_Maynard_2015_Systematic_review_methods_The_science_and_practice_of_research_synthesis)

- Lokteff, M., & Piercy, K. W. (2012). ““Who cares for the children?””Lessons from a global perspective of child care policy. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 21(1), 120–130. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-011-9467-y>
- Looze, J. (2015). *The effects of children, job changes, and employment interruption on women’s wages* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts - Amherst). Retrieved from [https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1303&context=dissertations\\_2](https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1303&context=dissertations_2)
- MacDermid, S. M. (2005). (Re)Considering conflict between work and family. In E. E. Kossek & S. J. Lambert (Eds.), *Work and Life Integration: Organizational, Cultural, and Individual Perspectives* (pp. 19–40). Mahwah, N.J.: Psychology Press.
- MacDermid, S. M., & Harvey, A. (2006). The work-family conflict construct: Methodological implications. In M. Pitt-Catsouphes, E. E. Kossek, & S. A. Sweet (Eds.), *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 567–586). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Mahwah.
- Madowitz, M., Rowell, A., & Hamm, K. (2016). *Calculating the hidden cost of interrupting a career for child care* (pp. 1–25). Retrieved from Center for American Progress website: <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/17091517/ChildCareCalculator-methodology.pdf>
- Madsen, S., & Hammond, S. (2005). The complexification of work-family conflict theory: A critical analysis. *Tamara Journal for Critical Organization Inquiry*,

- 4(2). Retrieved from  
<http://www.crow.kozminski.edu.pl/journal/index.php/tamara/article/view/247>
- Maertz, C. P., & Boyar, S. L. (2011). Work-family conflict, enrichment, and balance under “levels” and “episodes” approaches. *Journal of Management*, 37(1), 68–98.
- Marsiglio, W., Amato, P., Day, R. D., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Scholarship on fatherhood in the 1990s and beyond. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 1173–1191.
- Matthews, R. A., Bulger, C. A., & Barnes-Farrell, J. L. (2010). Work social supports, role stressors, and work–family conflict: The moderating effect of age. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 76(1), 78–90.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *A realist approach for qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- May, P. J., & Jochim, A. E. (2012). Policy regime perspectives: Policies and governing. *2012 APPAM Fall Research Conference*. Presented at the Annual research conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Baltimore, MD.
- Maynard, B. R., & Littell, J. H. (2016, January). *Conducting a systematic review: A step-by-step introduction*. Presented at the The Society for Social Work and Research 20th Annual Conference, Washington, D.C. Retrieved from  
<https://sswr.confex.com/sswr/2016/webprogram/Session7608.html>
- Merla, L., & Deven, F. (2014). Belgium country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 66–72). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)

- Mesmer-Magnus, J. R., & Viswesvaran, C. (2005). Convergence between measures of work-to-family and family-to-work conflict: A meta-analytic examination. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 67*(2), 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2004.05.004>
- Meurs, J. A., Breaux, D. M., & Perrewé, P. L. (2008). The family and HRM in North America: How demographic and social changes are shifting the way work–family issues are managed by organizations and employees. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 19*(8), 1455–1471.
- Michel, J. S., Kotrba, L. M., Mitchelson, J. K., Clark, M. A., & Baltes, B. B. (2010). Antecedents of work–family conflict: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 32*(5), 689–725. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.695>
- Michel, J. S., Mitchelson, J. K., Pichler, S., & Cullen, K. L. (2010). Clarifying relationships among work and family social support, stressors, and work–family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 76*(1), 91–104.
- Michoń, P., Kotowska, I. E., & Kurowska, A. (2014). Poland country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 234–241). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Misra, J., Moller, S., & Budig, M. J. (2007). Work—Family Policies and Poverty for Partnered and Single Women in Europe and North America. *Gender & Society, 21*(6), 804–827. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243207308445>

- Misra, J., & Strader, E. (2013). Gender pay equity in advanced countries: The role of parenthood and policies. *Journal of International Affairs*, 67(1), 27–41.
- Moe, K. S., & Shandy, D. J. (2010). *Glass ceilings and 100-hour couples: What the opt-out phenomenon can teach us about work and family*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Moen, P. (2011). From “work–family” to the “gendered life course” and “fit”: Five challenges to the field. *Community, Work & Family*, 14(1), 81–96.
- Moen, P., & Chesley, N. (2008). Toxic job ecologies, time convoys, and work-family conflict: Can families (re)gain control and life course “fit”? In K. Korabik, D. S. Lero, & D. L. Whitehead (Eds.), *Handbook of work-family integration: Research, theory, and best practices* (pp. 95–122). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.
- Moen, P., Kelly, E., & Magennis, R. (2009). Gender strategies: Socialization, allocation, and strategic selection processes shaping the gendered adult life course. In M. C. Smith & N. DeFrates-Densch (Eds.), *Handbook of research on adult learning and development* (pp. 378–411). New York: Routledge.
- Moen, P., & Roehling, P. (2005). *The career mystique: Cracks in the American dream*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Moen, P., & Sweet, S. A. (2004). From “work-family” to “flexible careers”: A life course reframing. *Community, Work & Family*, 7(2), 209–226.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880042000245489>
- Moss, P. (2012). Parental leaves and early childhood education and care: From mapping the terrain to exploring the environment. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34, 523–531. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.10.018>

- Moss, P. (Ed.). (2014). *10th International review of leave policies and related research 2014*. Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Moss, P., & Deven, F. (2006). Leave Policies and Research: A cross-national overview. *Marriage & Family Review, 39*(3–4), 255–285. [https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v39n03\\_03](https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v39n03_03)
- Napholz, L., & Mo, W. (2010). Attribution of importance to life roles and their implications for mental health among Filipino American working women. *Health Care for Women International, 31*(2), 179–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07399330903342215>
- National Association of Social Workers [NASW]. (2008). Code of Ethics. Retrieved from NASW website: <http://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/code.asp>
- Naumann, I., McLean, C., Koslowski, A., Tisdall, K., & Lloyd, E. (2013). Early childhood education and care provision: International review of policy, delivery and funding. *Final Report*. Retrieved from [http://www.research.ed.ac.uk/portal/files/12434956/Early\\_Childhood\\_Education\\_And\\_Care\\_Provision.pdf](http://www.research.ed.ac.uk/portal/files/12434956/Early_Childhood_Education_And_Care_Provision.pdf)
- Neuman, W. L. (2011). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (7th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Newburger, E., & Gryn, T. (2009). *The foreign-born labor force in the United States: 2007* (No. 10). Washington, D.C.: United States Census Bureau.

- Noonan, M. C., & Corcoran, M. E. (2004). The mommy track and partnership: Temporary delay or dead end? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596, 130–150.
- O'Brien, M., Brandth, B., & Kvande, E. (2007). Fathers, work and family life: Global perspectives and new insights. *Community, Work and Family*, 10(4), 375–386.
- O'Connor, J. S. (1993). Gender, class and citizenship in the comparative analysis of welfare state regimes: Theoretical and methodological issues. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 44(3), 501–518.
- O'Connor, J. S. (1996). Citizenship, welfare state regimes and gender stratification. *Current Sociology*, 44(2), 48–77.
- Offer, S., & Schneider, B. (2011). Revisiting the gender gap in time-use patterns multitasking and well-being among mothers and fathers in dual-earner families. *American Sociological Review*, 76(6), 809–833.
- Organisation 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#page1](http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/babies-and-bosses-reconciling-work-and-family-life_9789264032477-en#page1)
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2010). PF 4.1: Typology of childcare and early education services [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website: <http://www.oecd.org/social/family/41927983.pdf>

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2013). *How's life? 2013: Measuring well-being*. Retrieved from OECD website:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201392-en>

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014a). Incidence of employment by usual weekly hours worked [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD employment database website: [http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

[DataSetCode=LFS\\_SEXAGE\\_I\\_R#](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014b). Incidence of full-time and part-time employment: Common definition. [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD labor force statistics website: [http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

[DataSetCode=LFS\\_SEXAGE\\_I\\_R#](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014c). Incidence of full-time and part-time employment: National definitions [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD labor force statistics website: [http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

[DataSetCode=LFS\\_SEXAGE\\_I\\_R#](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014d). Labor force statistics by sex and age: Indicators [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD labor force statistics website: [http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

[DataSetCode=LFS\\_SEXAGE\\_I\\_R#](http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R#)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014e). LMF 1.1: Children in families by employment status [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:



[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF\\_1\\_1\\_Children\\_in\\_families\\_by\\_employment\\_status\\_Jul2014.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF_1_1_Children_in_families_by_employment_status_Jul2014.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014f). LMF 1.2: Maternal employment rates [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF1\\_2\\_Maternal\\_Employment\\_Sep2014.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF1_2_Maternal_Employment_Sep2014.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014g). LMF 1.6: Gender differences in employment participation [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD

family database website: <http://www.oecd.org/social/family/database>

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014h). LMF 2.4: Family-friendly workplace practices [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database

website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF2\\_4\\_Family\\_friendly\\_workplace\\_practices\\_Sep2014.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF2_4_Family_friendly_workplace_practices_Sep2014.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014i). LMF 2.5: Time use for work, care and other day-to-day activities [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD

family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF2\\_5\\_Time\\_use\\_of\\_work\\_and\\_care.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/LMF2_5_Time_use_of_work_and_care.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014j). PF 2.1: Key characteristics of parental leave systems [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD

family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF2\\_1\\_Parental\\_leave\\_systems.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF2_1_Parental_leave_systems.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014k). PF 2.2: Use of childbirth-related leave by mothers and fathers [Databases]. Retrieved from

OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF2\\_2\\_Use\\_of\\_leave\\_benefits\\_by\\_mothers\\_and\\_fathers\\_Aug2014.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF2_2_Use_of_leave_benefits_by_mothers_and_fathers_Aug2014.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014l). PF 3.2: Enrolment in childcare and pre-schools [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF3\\_2\\_Enrolment\\_in\\_childcare\\_and\\_preschools.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF3_2_Enrolment_in_childcare_and_preschools.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014m). PF 3.3: Informal childcare arrangements [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF3\\_3\\_Informal\\_childcare\\_arrangments\\_Sep2014.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF3_3_Informal_childcare_arrangments_Sep2014.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014n). PF 4.3: Out-of-school-hours care services [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website: [http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF4\\_3\\_Out-of-school\\_hours\\_care\\_Sep2014.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF4_3_Out-of-school_hours_care_Sep2014.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2015a). CO1.1: Infant mortality [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO\\_1\\_1\\_Infant\\_mortality.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO_1_1_Infant_mortality.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2015b). CO1.3: Low birth weight [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO\\_1\\_3\\_Low\\_birth\\_weight.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO_1_3_Low_birth_weight.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2015c). CO2.2: Child poverty [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/CO\\_2\\_2\\_Child\\_Poverty.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/CO_2_2_Child_Poverty.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2015d). Employment:

Gender wage gap [Databases]. Retrieved from Social protection and well-being:

Gender website: <http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54751#>

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2015e). LMF 1.6: Gender differences in employment outcomes [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF\\_1\\_6\\_Gender\\_differences\\_in\\_employment\\_outcomes.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF_1_6_Gender_differences_in_employment_outcomes.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016a). CO1.1: Infant mortality [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/social/family/CO\\_1\\_1\\_Infant\\_mortality.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/social/family/CO_1_1_Infant_mortality.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016b). CO1.3: Low birth weight [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/social/family/CO\\_1\\_3\\_Low\\_birth\\_weight.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/social/family/CO_1_3_Low_birth_weight.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016c). CO2.2: Child poverty [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/CO\\_2\\_2\\_Child\\_Poverty.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/CO_2_2_Child_Poverty.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016d). LMF1.6: Gender differences in employment outcomes [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF\\_1\\_6\\_Gender\\_differences\\_in\\_employment\\_outcomes.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF_1_6_Gender_differences_in_employment_outcomes.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017a). CO1.1: Infant mortality [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO\\_1\\_1\\_Infant\\_mortality.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO_1_1_Infant_mortality.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017b). CO1.3: Low birth weight [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO\\_1\\_3\\_Low\\_birth\\_weight.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/family/CO_1_3_Low_birth_weight.pdf)

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017c). CO2.2: Child poverty [Databases]. Retrieved from OECD family database website:

[http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/CO\\_2\\_2\\_Child\\_Poverty.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/CO_2_2_Child_Poverty.pdf)

Orloff, A. S. (1993). Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states. *American Sociological Review*, 58(3), 303–328.

Orthner, D. K., & Bowen, G. L. (1990). The organization family: A question of work and family boundaries. *Marriage & Family Review*, 15(3–4), 15–36.

[https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v15n03\\_02](https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v15n03_02)

Pall, K., & Karu, M. (2014). Estonia country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 112–116). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/)

[2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)

Parker, K. (2015). Women more than men adjust their careers for family life. Retrieved from Pew Research Center website:

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/10/01/women-more-than-men-adjust-their-careers-for-family-life/>

Parker, K., & Wang, W. (2013). *Modern parenthood: Roles of moms and dads converge as they balance work and family* (pp. 1–68). Retrieved from Pew Research Center website: <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/03/14/modern-parenthood-roles-of-moms-and-dads-converge-as-they-balance-work-and-family/>

Patomäki, H., & Wight, C. (2000). After postpositivism? The promises of critical realism. *International Studies Quarterly*, 44(2), 213–237.

Payne, M. (2005). *Modern social work theory* (3rd ed.). Chicago, IL: Lyceum.

Pew Research Center. (2015). *Raising kids and running a household: How working parents share the load* (p. 23). Retrieved from Pew Research Center website: [https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2015/11/2015-11-04\\_working-parents\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2015/11/2015-11-04_working-parents_FINAL.pdf)

Pfau-Effinger, B. (2005). Culture and welfare state policies: Reflections on a complex interrelation. *Journal of Social Policy*, 34(1), 3–20.

Pitt-Catsoupes, M., & Christensen, K. (2004). Unmasking the taken for granted. *Community, Work & Family*, 7(2), 123–142.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1366880042000245434>

Pitt-Catsoupes, M., Kossek, E. E., & Sweet, S. A. (2006). *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Mahwah.

Pitt-Catsoupes, M., & Swanberg, J. E. (2006). Connecting social work perspectives to work-family research and practice. In M. Pitt-Catsoupes, E. E. Kossek, & S. A.

- Sweet (Eds.), *The work and family handbook: Multi-disciplinary perspectives and approaches* (pp. 327–359). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Mahwah.
- Premeaux, S. F., Adkins, C. L., & Mossholder, K. W. (2007). Balancing work and family: A field study of multi-dimensional, multi-role work-family conflict. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *28*(6), 705–727.
- Pylkkänen, E., & Smith, N. (2003). *Career interruptions due to parental leave: A comparative study of Denmark and Sweden* (No. 1). Retrieved from OECD Publishing website: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/048564246616>
- Raghuram, A., Luksyte, A., Avery, D. R., & Macoukji, F. (2010). Does your supervisor stress you out? How support influences sex differences in stress among immigrants. *Journal of Career Development*, *000*(00), 1–19.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845310377499>
- Ranson, G. (2012). Men, paid employment and family responsibilities: Conceptualizing the ‘working father.’ *Gender, Work and Organization*, *19*(6), 741–761.
- Rapoport, Rhona, Bailyn, L., Fletcher, J. K., & Pruitt, B. H. (2002). *Beyond work-family balance: Advancing gender equity and workplace performance* (1st ed). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Rapoport, Robert, & Rapoport, R. (1965). Work and family in contemporary society. *American Sociological Review*, 381–394.
- Ray, R., Gornick, J. C., & Schmitt, J. (2010). Who cares? Assessing generosity and gender equality in parental leave policy designs in 21 countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *20*(3), 196–216.

- Rille-Pfeiffer, C., & Dearing, H. (2014). Austria country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 58–65). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Robbins, S. P., Chatterjee, P., & Canda, E. R. (2006). *Contemporary human behavior theory: A critical perspective for social work*. Boston, MA: Pearson/A&B.
- Rodriguez, G., Trejo, G., Schiemann, E., Quandt, S. A., Daniel, S. S., Sandberg, J. C., & Arcury, T. A. (2016). Latina workers in North Carolina: Work organization, domestic responsibilities, health, and family life. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 18*, 687–696. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-015-0314-x>
- Rudolph, C. W., Michel, J. S., Harari, M. B., & Stout, T. J. (2014). Perceived social support and work-family conflict: A comparison between Hispanic immigrants and non-immigrants. *Cross Cultural Management, 21*(3), 306–325. <https://doi.org/10.1108/CCM-01-2013-0002>
- Ruhm, C. J. (2000). Parental leave and child health. *Journal of Health Economics, 19*(6), 931–960.
- Ruhm, C. J. (2004). Parental employment and child cognitive development. *Journal of Human Resources, 39*(1), 155–192.
- Ruhm, C. J. (2011). Policies to assist parents with young children. *The Future of Children, 21*(2), 37–68.
- Rutherford, S. (2001). Organizational cultures, women managers and exclusion. *Women in Management Review, 16*(7/8), 371–382.

- Sallee, M., & Hart, J. (2015). Cultural navigators: International faculty fathers in the U.S. research university. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 8(3), 192–211.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039042>
- Sallee, M. W. (2012). The ideal worker or the ideal father: Organizational structures and culture in the gendered university. *Research in Higher Education*, 53(7), 782–802. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-012-9256-5>
- Sawyer, K. B. (2012). *Heterosexual Bias in the Measurement of Work-family Conflict for Same-sex Couples* (Dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University). Retrieved from <https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/paper/16197/13382>
- Sayer, L. C., Bianchi, S. M., & Robinson, J. P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(1), 1–43.
- Scherer, S., & Steiber, N. (2007). Work and family in conflict? The impact of work demands on family life. In D. Gallie (Ed.), *Employment regimes and the quality of work* (pp. 137–178). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schultheiss, D. E. P. (2006). The interface of work and family life. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 37(4), 334–341.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.37.4.334>
- Scott, D. (2007). Resolving the quantitative–qualitative dilemma: A critical realist approach. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 30(1), 3–17.
- Smith, T., & Kim, J. (2010). *Paid sick days: Attitudes and experiences*. Retrieved from National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago website:



<http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/work-family/psd/paid-sick-days-attitudes-and-experiences.pdf>

- Smithson, J., & Stokoe, E. H. (2005). Discourses of work–life balance: Negotiating ‘genderblind’ terms in organizations. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 12(2), 147–168.
- Snilstveit, B., Oliver, S., & Vojtkova, M. (2012). Narrative approaches to systematic review and synthesis of evidence for international development policy and practice. *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 4(3), 409–429.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19439342.2012.710641>
- Squirchuk, R., & Bourke, J. (2000). From equal employment opportunity to family-friendly policies and beyond: Gender equity in Australia. In L. Haas, C. P. Hwang, & G. Russell (Eds.), *Organizational change & gender equity: international perspectives on fathers and mothers at the workplace* (pp. 117–132). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stahelin, K., Berteau, P. C., & Stutz, E. Z. (2007). Length of maternity leave and health of mother and child—A review. *International Journal of Public Health*, 52(4), 202–209.
- Stone, P. (2007). *Opting out?: Why women really quit careers and head home*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Stropnik, N. (2014). Slovenia country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 270–276). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)

- Sutton, R. I., & Staw, B. M. (1995). What theory is not. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40, 371–384.
- Sweet, S. A. (2014). *The work-family interface: An Introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tanaka, S. (2005). Parental leave and child health across OECD countries. *The Economic Journal*, 115(501), F7–F28.
- The Society for Human Resource Management. (2010). *2010 Employee benefits: Examining employee benefits in the midst of a recovering economy*. Retrieved from <https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/news/hr-news/documents/10-0280%20employee%20benefits%20survey%20report-fnl.pdf>
- The Society for Human Resource Management. (2011). *2011 Employee benefits: Examining employee benefits amidst uncertainty*. Retrieved from [https://www.shrm.org/ResourcesAndTools/hr-topics/benefits/Documents/2011\\_Emp\\_Benefits\\_Report.pdf](https://www.shrm.org/ResourcesAndTools/hr-topics/benefits/Documents/2011_Emp_Benefits_Report.pdf)
- The Society for Human Resource Management. (2012). *2012 Employee benefits: The employee benefits landscape in a recovering economy*. Retrieved from [https://www.shrm.org/ResourcesAndTools/hr-topics/benefits/Documents/2012\\_EmpBenefits\\_Report.pdf](https://www.shrm.org/ResourcesAndTools/hr-topics/benefits/Documents/2012_EmpBenefits_Report.pdf)
- The Society for Human Resource Management. (2013). *2013 Employee benefits: An overview of employee benefits offerings in the U.S.* Retrieved from [https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/documents/13-0245%202013\\_empbenefits\\_fnl.pdf](https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/documents/13-0245%202013_empbenefits_fnl.pdf)

The Society for Human Resource Management. (2014). *2014 employee benefits: An overview of employee benefits offerings in the U.S.* Retrieved from The Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM) website: [https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/Documents/14-0301%20Benefits\\_Report\\_Exec%20summ.pdf](https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/Documents/14-0301%20Benefits_Report_Exec%20summ.pdf)

The Society for Human Resource Management. (2015). *2015 Employee benefits: An overview of employee benefits offerings in the U.S.* Retrieved from <https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/Documents/2015-Employee-Benefits.pdf>

The Society for Human Resource Management. (2017). *2017 Employee benefits: Remaining competitive in a challenging talent marketplace.* Retrieved from <https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/Documents/2017%20Employee%20Benefits%20Report.pdf>

The Society for Human Resource Management. (2018). *2018 Employee benefits: The evolution of benefits.* Retrieved from <https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/Documents/2018%20Employee%20Benefits%20Report.pdf>

The United Nations. (1948). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved September 5, 2015, from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

Thyer, B. A. (2001). What is the role of theory in research on social work practice? *Journal of Social Work Education, 37*(1), 9–25.

- Tomlinson, J. (2011). Gender equality and the state: A review of objectives, policies and progress in the European Union. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22(18), 3755–3774.
- Turner, F. J. (Ed.). (1996). *Social work treatment: Interlocking theoretical approaches* (4th ed). New York: Free Press.
- United States Census Bureau. (2013). About foreign-born population [Government website]. Retrieved from United States Census Bureau website:  
<http://www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about.html>
- United States Census Bureau. (2014a). Table 1.3 Household type by nativity and U.S. citizenship status of the householder-2012 [Governmental database]. Retrieved from Current Population Survey - March 2012 Detailed Tables website:  
<http://www.census.gov/population/foreign/data/cps2012.html>
- United States Census Bureau. (2014b). Table 3.14 Poverty status among foreign-born families by family type and world region of birth of the householder-2011 [Governmental database]. Retrieved from Current Population Survey - March 2012 Detailed Tables website:  
<http://www.census.gov/population/foreign/data/cps2012.html>
- U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2014a). Employment characteristics of families—2013. Retrieved from U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics website:  
<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/famee.pdf>
- U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2014b). Table 5. Employment status of the population by sex, marital status, and presence and age of own

- children under 18, 2012-2013 annual averages. Retrieved March 16, 2015, from U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics website:  
[http://www.bls.gov/news.release/famee.t05.htm#cps\\_fm\\_pchld.f.3](http://www.bls.gov/news.release/famee.t05.htm#cps_fm_pchld.f.3)
- U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2014c). *Women in the labor force: A databook* (Government Report No. Report 1049; pp. 1–106). Retrieved from U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics website:  
[http://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/cps/womenlaborforce\\_2013.pdf](http://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/cps/womenlaborforce_2013.pdf)
- U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2014d). *Women in the labor force: A databook* (Government Report No. Report 1052; pp. 1–107). Retrieved from U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics website:  
<http://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/cps/women-in-the-labor-force-a-databook-2014.pdf>
- Walker, S. K., & Reschke, K. L. (2004). Child care use by low-income families in rural areas: A contemporary look at the influence of women's work and partner availability. *Journal of Children & Poverty, 10*(2), 149–167.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1079612042000271585>
- Wall, K., & Leitão, M. (2014). Portugal country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 242–250). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)
- Watanabe, M., & Falci, C. D. (2016). A demands and resources approach to understanding faculty turnover intentions due to work–family balance. *Journal of Family Issues, 37*(3), 393–415. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X14530972>

- Webber, G., & Williams, C. (2008). Part-time work and the gender division of labor. *Qualitative Sociology*, 31(1), 15–36.
- Weinraub, M. (2015). Essay review: Child care in America: Research and policy directions. *Social Service Review*, 89(4), 727–745.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125–151.
- Whetten, D. A. (1989). What constitutes a theoretical contribution? *Academy of Management Review*, 14(4), 490–495.
- Whitehead, D. L. (2008). Historical Trends in Work-Family: The Evolution of Earning and Caring. In K. Korabik, D. S. Lero, & D. L. Whitehead (Eds.), *Handbook of work-family integration: research, theory, and best practices* (pp. 13–36). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.
- Williams, J. C. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J. C., Alon, T., & Bornstein, S. (2006). Beyond the “chilly climate”: Eliminating bias against women and fathers in academe. *Thought & Action, Fall*, 79–96.
- Williams, J. C., & Boushey, H. (2010). *The three faces of work-family conflict: The poor, the professionals, and the missing middle*. Retrieved from [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2126314](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2126314)
- Working Mother. (2018). 2018 Working Mother 100 best companies. Retrieved from <https://www.workingmother.com/working-mother-100-best-companies-2018>
- World Bank. (2014). World Development Indicators: Labor force structure. Retrieved from The World Bank website: <http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/2.2>

- World Bank. (2015). Labor force participation rate, female [Databases]. Retrieved from  
The World Bank: Data website:  
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS>
- Xu, Y. J. (2008). Gender disparity in STEM disciplines: A study of faculty attrition and turnover intentions. *Research in Higher Education, 49*(7), 607–624.
- Yardak, S. (2015). *Revisiting poverty: The role of four philosophy of science perspectives in studying poverty*. Retrieved from  
[http://www.academia.edu/12186408/Revisiting\\_Poverty\\_The\\_Role\\_of\\_Four\\_Philosophy\\_of\\_Science\\_Perspectives\\_in\\_Studying\\_Poverty](http://www.academia.edu/12186408/Revisiting_Poverty_The_Role_of_Four_Philosophy_of_Science_Perspectives_in_Studying_Poverty)
- Yeandle, S. (2001). Balancing employment and family lives: Changing life-course experiences of men and women in the European Union. In V. W. Marshall, W. R. Heinz, H. Kruger, & A. Verma (Eds.), *Restructuring work and the life course* (pp. 142–158). Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=zh-TW&lr=&id=uvolbfQWNgC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=Restructuring+work+and+the+life+course&ots=zMmLj7Azt0&sig=ntrfFJJEbDrnT6ingIbpfzSmG1s>
- Yi, C.-C., & Chien, W.-Y. (2002). The linkage between work and family: Female's employment patterns in three Chinese societies. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 33*(3), 451–474.
- Zhelyazkova, N., Loutsch, M., & Valentova, M. (2014). Luxembourg country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *10th International review of leave policies and research 2014* (pp. 205–211). Retrieved from [http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual\\_reviews/2014\\_annual\\_review\\_korr.pdf](http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Annual_reviews/2014_annual_review_korr.pdf)

- Zhou, Y., & Volkwein, J. F. (2004). Examining the influences on faculty departure intentions: A comparison of tenured versus nontenured faculty at research universities using NSOPF-99. *Research in Higher Education, 45*(2), 139–176.
- Zimmerman, M. K. (2013). Theorizing inequality: Comparative policy regimes, gender, and everyday lives. *The Sociological Quarterly, 54*(1), 66–80.
- Zong, J., & Batalova, J. (2016). Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States. Retrieved from MPI: Migration Policy Institute website: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org>
- Zong, J., Batalova, J., & Burrows, M. (2019). Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States. Retrieved from MPI: Migration Policy Institute website: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states>



# Curriculum Vitae

I-Hsuan Lin

## Areas of Interest and Expertise

Gender and Women's Studies, Work-Family (paid work-unpaid caregiving) Interface, Work-Life Equality, Work-Family Conflict, Comparative Policy Analysis, Welfare State Typology, Aging, Older Adults' Civic Engagement, Advance Care Planning, End-of-Life Care, Poverty and Homelessness, Instrument Development and Validation, Social Work Education Outcomes

## Education

- PhD August 2019  
School of Social Work  
Indiana University, Indianapolis, IN, USA  
*Minor: Women's Studies*  
Dissertation: "Work-Family Conflict and Gender Equality: Theory Development, Responses of Policy Regimes, and Immigrant Experiences"  
Committee: Margaret E. Adamek (Chair), Kathy Lay, Lynn S. Duggan, and Linda L. Haas
- MSW August 2018  
School of Social Work (MSW Direct Online)  
Indiana University, Indianapolis, IN, USA
- MBA January 2004  
Institution of Communication Management  
National Sun Yat-Sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan  
Thesis: "Feminist pedagogy and media literacy education: An action research"  
Chair: Ping Shaw
- BA June 2000  
Department and Graduate Institute of Library and Information Science  
National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan  
*Elective Minor: Social Work*

## **Further Education**

2006                      Credit Program for Certification of Social Work Specialist  
Chinese Culture University, Taipei, Taiwan

## **Licensure and Certification**

2008-Present            Licensed Clinical Social Worker, Taiwan  
November 2018        Completion of Culturally Responsive Teaching Learning  
Community, Credits for the Center for Integration of Research,  
Teaching, and Learning (CIRTL) Associate Badge  
July 2018                Certificate of Completion of Instructor e-Orientation for Online  
Program  
Indiana University School of Social Work  
February 2017        Certificate of Introduction to Systematic Review and  
Meta-Analysis  
Johns Hopkins University on Coursera  
July 2014                Certificate of Completion of Preparing Future Faculty Program  
Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

## **Academic Appointments**

August 2019-            Assistant Professor  
The College of Saint Rose, School of Mathematics and Sciences,  
Department of Social Work  
August 2018-            Adjunct Professor  
December 2018        Indiana University School of Social Work  
August 2012-            Adjunct Professor  
December 2016        Indiana University School of Social Work  
August 2010-            Doctoral Research Assistant  
June 2012                Indiana University School of Social Work  
August 2002-            Teaching Assistant  
January 2003            National Sun Yat-Sen University, Institution of Communication  
Management  
August 2000-            Graduate Research Assistant  
August 2002            National Sun Yat-Sen University, Institution of Communication  
Management

## Teaching Experience

Undergraduate level (face-to-face courses)

Spring 2014            ***Instructor***  
Fall 2013                SWK-S 102 Understanding Diversity in a Pluralistic Society  
Fall 2012                Indiana University School of Social Work  
(Enrollment: 24; 27; 29)

Spring 2014            ***Instructor***  
Spring 2013            SWK-S 372 Statistical Reasoning in Social Work  
Indiana University School of Social Work  
(Enrollment: 22; 20)

Graduate level (face-to-face & online courses)

Fall 2018                ***Instructor***  
SWK-D 502 Research I (Online Program Course)  
Indiana University School of Social Work (Enrollment: 26)

Fall 2014-  
Fall 2016  
(7 Quarters &  
1 semester)            ***Instructor***  
SWK-D 623 Practice Research Integrative Seminar (Online  
Program Course)  
Indiana University School of Social Work  
(Enrollment: 14; 11; 8; 21; 20; 19; 9; 12)

Fall 2013                ***Instructor***  
SWK-S 502 Research I  
Indiana University School of Social Work (Enrollment: 19)

Spring 2013            ***Instructor***  
SWK-S 623 Practice Research Integrative Seminar  
Indiana University School of Social Work (Enrollment: 11)

Fall 2010                ***Guest Speaker***  
SWK-S 501 Professional Social Work at the Masters Level:  
An Immersion  
Indiana University School of Social Work

## Online Course Design Experience

Fall 2017                ***Content Expert*** for Online Course Redesigning  
SWK-D 623 & D624 Practice Evaluation, Part I and II  
Indiana University School of Social Work

2013 *Content Expert* for Online Course Building  
SWK-D 623 Practice Research Integrative Seminar  
Indiana University School of Social Work

### **Research Experience**

- May 2019- *Co-Researcher*  
Multidisciplinary theories on gender wage gap and policies:  
Appraisal with ecosystem and feminist perspectives, Indiana  
University School of Social Work
- August 2016- *Researcher*  
Critical realist view of work-family conflict through a gender lens:  
The development of an integrated theoretical framework  
(PI: Dr. Margaret E. Adamek), Indiana University School of Social  
Work (IRB Approved, Exempt)
- August 2016- *Researcher*  
Immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S.:  
A systematic review (PI: Dr. Margaret E. Adamek), Indiana  
University School of Social Work (IRB Approved, Exempt)
- May 2014- *Researcher*  
Ranking Work-Family Policies across OECD Countries:  
Implications for Work-Family Conflict, Gender Equality, and  
Child Wellbeing (PI: Dr. Margaret E. Adamek), Indiana  
University School of Social Work (IRB Approved, Exempt)
- August 2011- *Researcher*  
May 2014  
Measuring Generalist Practice Skills in Social Work: Instrument  
Development and Validation (PI: Dr. Cathy King Pike), Indiana  
University School of Social Work (IRB Approved, Exempt)
- May 2012- *Researcher*  
June 2012  
Feminist Theory and Social Work: A comprehensive literature  
review  
(PI: Dr. Kathy Lay), Indiana University School of Social Work
- January 2012- *Researcher*  
May 2012  
Gender and Work in China since 1949 (PI: Dr. Linda Haas)  
Indiana University School of Social Work
- August 2011- *Doctoral Research Assistant*  
June 2012  
Social Work Values Inventory (PI: Dr. Cathy King Pike),  
Indiana University School of Social Work

- August 2011-  
April 2012                    **Researcher**  
The Civic Engagement of Older Adults in Indianapolis:  
Influence of Individual, Community, and Social Factors  
(PI: Dr. Hea-Won Kim), Indiana University School of Social Work  
(IRB Approved, Exempt)
- January 2011-  
May 2011                    **Doctoral Research Assistant**  
Infidelity and Betrayal (PI: Dr. Kathy Lay), Indiana University  
School of Social Work
- August 2010-  
December 2010            **Doctoral Research Assistant**  
Women Recovery (PI: Dr. Kathy Lay), Indiana University,  
School of Social Work
- August 2002-  
January 2004              **Researcher**  
Master Thesis: Feminist pedagogy and media literacy education:  
An action research (PI: Dr. Ping Shaw), National Sun Yat-Sen  
University Institution of Communication Management
- August 2000-  
August 2002               **Graduate Research Assistant**  
Media Content Analysis: Taiwanese Political Talk Show  
(PI: Dr. Ping Shaw), National Sun Yat-Sen University, Institution  
of Communication Management

## **Practice/Work Experience**

- 2018                            **MSW Intern**  
Inland Valley Hope Partners, Pomona, CA, USA  
--- Provided direct services to individuals and families  
experiencing homelessness (e.g., intake screenings, assessment,  
supervised case management, supervised housing navigation  
services, referrals, etc.)  
--- Provided indirect services (e.g., Homeless Management  
Information System (HMIS) data entry, updated client case  
notes, developed and implemented program evaluation surveys,  
conducted analyses of housing service delivery systems and  
housing policies in Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties,  
raised awareness of issues of affordable housing and  
homelessness by organizing and hosting a community dialogue,  
advocated more funding for affordable housing and supportive  
services through writing and disseminating policy white paper,  
provided educational information on Housing First Model,  
trauma-informed care, and self-care, assisted with the Walk for  
the Hungry and Homeless event, etc.)

2008-2010

***Social Service Administrator***

Division of Welfare Services for Women and Child Care Centers,  
Department of Social Welfare, Taipei City Government, Taiwan

- Reviewed and provided subsidies for low-income single mothers and/or parents and their families (Caseload: 60-100, on average)
- Offered referrals to other services (e.g., mental health, housing, etc.)
- Reviewed and decided grant applications for NPOs that serve women and single-mother and/or single-parents families
- Supervised the operation of Single-Parents Centers and Women Centers
- Developed policies that support single-parent families
- Organized events for International Women's Day (e.g., Film Festival)

2006-2007

***Interim Executive Director/Director-General***

Taipei Warm Life Association for Women, Taipei, Taiwan

- Managed the organization including personnel and finance
- Developed and evaluated educational and recreational programs for women, single mothers, and their families
- Raised funds for the organization (US \$17,000 raised in 2007)
- Promoted public relationships through issuing news releases and holding press conferences
- Advocated laws and policies on behalf of single mothers and their families
- Provided law consultation for women and single mothers
- Facilitated support groups for single mothers

2004-2006

***Director***

Department of Organization, Awakening Foundation, Taiwan

- Supervised the operation of a civic law consultation hotline
- Developed, implemented, and managed volunteer programs to train and supervise hotline volunteers
- Organized and supervised a Women Action Troupe to put on plays about various women and gender issues per year
- Wrote grant proposals and secured US \$14,300 for the department, including my own salary, per year
- Advocated laws and policies that promote gender equity
- Gave public speeches

2005

***Field Instructor of Social Work Practicum***

Department of Social Work, National Taiwan University, Taiwan

- Instructed and supervised social work students in the field placement

- 2004 ***Field Instructor of Social Work Practicum***  
 Department of Social Welfare, Chinese Culture University, Taiwan  
 --- Instructed and supervised social work students in the field placement
- 2003-2004 ***Contractual Executive Administrator***  
 Library for Her Story, Women's Center, Social Affairs Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government, Taiwan (Operated by Kaohsiung Women Awakening Association)  
 --- Managed the Library and two part-time employees  
 --- Developed and implemented consciousness-raising activities (e.g., book clubs, movie clubs, workshops, seminars, conferences, etc.)  
 --- Organized and executed gender-related culture events (e.g., Art exhibitions, history exhibitions, etc.)  
 --- Collected and managed historical data and materials about women and gender issues  
 --- Developed and wrote grant proposals and secured US \$ 40,000 operational funds per year  
 --- Promoted public relationships through issuing news releases and holding press conferences
- 2002-2003 ***Facilitator***  
 Feminist Movie Club,  
 Kaohsiung Association for Promotion of Women's Rights, Taiwan  
 --- Facilitated the discussion of gender-related issues implied by movies  
 --- Raised gender consciousness among participants
- 2000-2001 ***Journalist***  
*Electronic Commerce Times*,  
 National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan

## **Professional Service**

Manuscript review

- 2018-present ***Reviewer***  
 Journal of Human Rights and Social Work
- 2016 ***Reviewer***  
 Perspectives on Social Work Journal (PSW)
- 2015 ***Reviewer***  
 Perspectives on Social Work Journal (PSW)
- 2015 ***Abstract Reviewer***  
 2016 BPD Annual Conference

Course building

2015

***Contributor***

Foundation Committee-D623 Small Group Meeting  
Indiana University School of Social Work

**Community Service**

September 2018-

***Vice President***

The Third White Tower Subchapter, Buddha's Light International  
Association Los Angeles Chapter, CA, USA

- Enrich Asian Americans' cultural identities through cultural events
- Facilitate Asian immigrants to cope cultural shock and acculturation through providing social support and information about life in the US
- Introduce Asian cultures and Humanistic Buddhism to local communities
- Apply tenets of Humanistic Buddhism to serving local communities via promoting education, raising gender equality, providing emergency relief and medical services, and supporting environmental sustainability

July 2016-Present

***Volunteer***

The Social Care Group of Buddha's Light International  
Association, Los Angeles Chapter, CA, USA

- Develop recreational programs to meet the needs of older adults
- Visit convalescent centers and nursing homes
- Provide recreational activities and company to older adults and patients

March-June 2018

***Volunteer***

Claremont Homeless Advocacy Program, Claremont, CA, USA

- Brought food and had breakfast and conversations with individuals experiencing homelessness on Sunday mornings

September-  
December 2017

***Volunteer***

Inland Valley Hope Partners, Pomona, CA, USA

- Took intake phone calls
- Made referrals
- Conducted eligibility phone screenings for shelter applicants
- Served walk-in clients and/or guests
- Completed whatever duties assigned to me (e.g., reorganized food pantry, reorganized shelter closets, data entry, administrative tasks, etc.)



- December 24 2016     ***Volunteer***  
Pasadena Ronald McDonald House, CA, USA  
--- Cooked a brunch for kids and their families at the house  
--- Delivered the collected donations to the house and its resident families
- 2006-2016           ***Consultant***  
Awakening Foundation, Taiwan  
--- Advised hotline and volunteer programs  
--- Advised lobbying for gender equality laws and policies
- 2012                 ***Volunteer***  
IUPUI Spring International Student Orientation, IN, USA  
--- Assisted international student with registration
- 2009                 ***Volunteer***  
Department of Social Welfare, Taipei City Government, Taiwan  
--- Distributed disaster relief funds and provisions
- 1997-1998          ***Volunteer***  
Chung Yi Social Welfare Foundation (formerly Private Chung Yi Orphanage)  
--- Provided assistance in implementing nutrition programs for infant orphans  
--- Looked after preschool age homeless children
- 1996-1999          ***Member and Volunteer***  
Caring Club, National Taiwan University, Taiwan  
--- Developed and implemented winter and summer programs for school-aged rural children  
--- Developed and implemented companion programs for children in foster system  
--- Developed and implemented visiting and companion programs for kids with cancer

**Program Grant Awarded and Fund Raised**

\$17,000 (USD) raised. 2007.

Fundraising Event. Interim Executive Director.  
Taipei Warm Life Association for Women.

\$14, 300 (USD). 2006.

Civic Law Hotline Operation and Volunteer Training (Department Director at Awakening Foundation).

Department operation and personnel grant awarded by United Way.

\$14,300 (USD). 2005.

Civic Law Hotline Operation and Volunteer Training (Department Director at Awakening Foundation). Department operation and personnel grant awarded by United Way.

\$40,000 (USD). 2004.

Annual Operation Plan for Library for Her Story, Women's Center, Kaohsiung City (Executive Administrator acting on behalf of Kaohsiung Women Awakening Association).  
Library operation, events, and personnel grant awarded by Social Affairs Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government, Taiwan.

### **Scholarships Awarded**

June 2018	IUSSW Travel Fellowship, Indiana University (US \$1,000)
November 2016	IUSSW Travel Fellowship, Indiana University (US \$1,000)
January 2016	IUSSW Travel Fellowship, Indiana University (US \$1,000)
2014	Travel Fellowship, Graduate Office, Indiana University (US \$800)
2010-2012	Graduate Research Assistantship, Indiana University (US \$57,614)
2010-2012	Studying Abroad Scholarship, Ministry of Education, Taiwan (US \$32,000)
2000-2002	Graduate Research Assistantship, National Sun Yat-Sen University

### **Awards Received**

2018	The Volunteer of the Year for the Housing and Administration Offices, Inland Valley Hope Partners, Pomona, CA, USA
2017	The Volunteer of the Year for the Social Care Group, Buddha's Light International Association, Los Angeles Chapter, CA, USA
2014	Excellence in Teaching Award, Indiana University School of Social Work
2013	Esprit Award, Indiana University School of Social Work Ph.D. Program
2008	Champion, Level 3 Senior Examination for the Civil Service in Social Administration, Ministry of Examination, Taiwan (Champion among 1,015 exam-takers)
2005	Excellence in Volunteer Supervision in Taiwan, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan
2005	Excellence in Volunteer Supervision in Taipei, Taipei City Government, Taiwan

## **Honor Awarded**

- 2018- Invited membership to join Phi Alpha Honor Society (based on excellent academic performance)
- 2016- Invited membership in Golden Key International Honour Society (based on excellent academic performance)

## **Professional Membership**

- 2017- Association for Gerontology Education in Social Work
- 2017- Chinese American Coalition for Compassionate Care
- 2017- National Association of Social Workers
- 2016- Council on Social Work Education
- 2016- Work and Family Researchers Network
- 2014- Society for Social Work and Research
- 2014 The Association of Baccalaureate Social Work Program Directors

## **Publications (Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles)**

- Yi, E., & **Lin, I-H.** (2019). Multidisciplinary theories on gender wage gap and policies: Appraisal with ecosystem and feminist perspectives. Abstract accepted for inclusion in *Advances in Social Work: Gender Bias in Employment, Implications for Social Work and Labor Studies*.
- Lin, I-H.** (2018). Ranking work-family policies across OECD countries: Implications for work-family conflict, gender equality, and child well-being. *Social Work & Society, 16*(1). Retrieved from <https://www.socwork.net/sws/article/view/539>

## **Articles Submitted/Under Review**

- Lin, I-H.**, Haas, L., & Adamek, M. (2019). Critical realist view of work-family conflict through a gender lens: An integrated theoretical framework.
- Lin, I-H.** & Lin, P.-S. (2019). Immigrants' experiences of work-family conflict in the U.S.: A systematic review.

## **Articles in Progress**

- Lin, I-H.** (in preparation). Typologizing work-family policy regimes: Implications for work-family conflict, gender equality, and children well-being.
- Lin, I-H.** (in preparation). Effects of membership in different work-family policy regimes on aggregate child well-being.

Pike, C., **Lin, I-H.**, & Son, H. (in preparation). Measuring generalist practice skills in social work: Instrument development and initial validation.

Son, H., **Lin, I-H.**, & Kim, H. (in preparation). The effects of individual, community, and social factors on civic engagement of older adults.

### **International Conference Presentations**

**Lin, I-H.** (2013, August). Gender and work in China since 1949. *IUAES2013 World Congress: Evolving Humanity, Emerging Worlds*, The University of Manchester, Manchester, Britain.

### **National Conference Presentations**

**Lin, I-H.** (2018, June). Critical realist view of work-family conflict through a gender lens: An integrated theoretical framework. *2018 Work and Family Researchers Network Conference*, Washington, DC.

**Lin, I-H.** (2018, June). How well countries do in addressing work-family conflict and promoting gender equality: Ranking work-family policies across OECD countries. *2018 Work and Family Researchers Network Conference*, Washington, DC.

**Lin, I-H.** (2016, November). Ranking OECD countries' work-family policies: Implications for work-family conflict and gender equality. *The Council on Social Work Education 62<sup>nd</sup> Annual Program Meeting (APM)*, Atlanta, GA.

**Lin, I-H.** (2016, January). Ranking work-family policies across OECD countries: Implications for work-family conflict and gender equality. *The Society for Social Work and Research 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Washington, DC.

**Lin, I-H.**, Son, H., & Pike, C. (2014, March). Development and validation of the Generalist Practice Skills Inventory (GPSI). *2014 Annual Conference for the Association of Baccalaureate Social Work Program Directors*, Louisville, KY.

Son, H., **Lin, I-H.**, & Kim, H. (2014, March). Community opportunity, social support, and civic engagement of older adults. *2014 Annual Conference for the Association of Baccalaureate Social Work Program Directors*, Louisville, KY.

**Lin, I-H.**, Son, H., & Pike, C. (2014, January). Measuring generalist practice skills in social work: Instrument development and initial validation. *The Society for Social Work and Research 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, San Antonio, TX.

### **Regional Presentations**

**Lin, I-H.** (2014, April). International comparative analysis of work-family balance policies. *The 18th Annual PhD Spring Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

- Lin, I-H.** (2013, April). Gender and work in transitional China. *The 17th Annual PhD Spring Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.
- Lin, I-H., Son, H., & Pike, C.** (2013, April). Measuring generalist practice skills in social work: Instrument development and validation. *The 17th Annual PhD Spring Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.
- Lin, I-H., & Son, H.** (2012, May). Civic engagement activities in Indianapolis. *Senior Group*, Martin Luther King Center, Indianapolis, IN.
- Chen, H., **Lin, I-H., & Son, H.** (2012, April). The civic engagement of older adults in Indianapolis: Influence of individual, community, and social factors. *The 16th Annual PhD Spring Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.
- Lin, I-H.** (2012, April). The impact of welfare reform and TANF on economic well-being of impoverished single mothers: The evidence-based analysis. *The 16th Annual PhD Spring Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.
- Lin, I-H.** (2011, April). The failure of policy to eliminate poverty of single mother families: A critical, historical, and value analysis. *The 15th Annual PhD Spring Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

#### **Invited Presentations**

- Abram, K., & **Lin, I-H.** (2018, August). Our House Shelter. *Los Angeles County Community Action Board Meeting*, El Monte, CA.
- Lin, I-H.** (2016, September). Online teaching strategies: The experience of teaching a graduate level course in Indiana University. *Faculty Development Workshop: Teaching Excellence Series*, National Open University, Taipei, Taiwan.