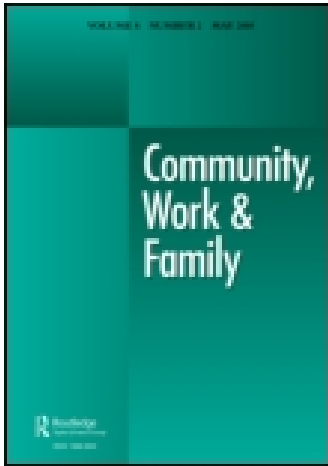


This article was downloaded by: [b-on: Biblioteca do conhecimento online UL]
On: 01 July 2015, At: 02:18
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Community, Work & Family

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccwf20>

Leave policies in Southern Europe: continuities and changes

Anna Escobedo^a & Karin Wall^b

^a Department of Sociology and Organisational Analysis, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain

^b Institute of Social Sciences (ICS), University of Lisbon, Lisboa, Portugal

Published online: 23 Apr 2015.



CrossMark

[Click for updates](#)

To cite this article: Anna Escobedo & Karin Wall (2015) Leave policies in Southern Europe: continuities and changes, *Community, Work & Family*, 18:2, 218-235, DOI: [10.1080/13668803.2015.1024822](https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2015.1024822)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2015.1024822>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms &

Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Leave policies in Southern Europe: continuities and changes

Anna Escobedo^{a*}  and Karin Wall^b 

^a*Department of Sociology and Organisational Analysis, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain;* ^b*Institute of Social Sciences (ICS), University of Lisbon, Lisboa, Portugal*

(Received 11 November 2014; accepted 17 February 2015)

This contribution addresses the challenge of reviewing Southern European welfare states by analysing how developments in leave policies are generating common or divergent trends across Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece. These societies offer a mixture of family patterns and family policies. Over the last decade they have developed significant work–family arrangements both in terms of parental leave and early education childcare services. The four countries have been moving in the direction of longer paid leave and the promotion of paternal leave, allowing for family diversity and new gender-equality incentives. Besides these common trends, the four countries also reveal differences enabling them to shift towards alternative leave models, such as the one-year gender-equality-oriented model or the choice-oriented leave model. However, for the time being, taking into account take-up rates and the impact of the economic crisis, the four countries conform to what we have characterised as an ‘extensible early return to work’ leave model. Leave policies are reviewed in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain mainly between 2004 and 2014, drawing on data from the Annual Reviews of the Leave Policies and Research Network, Eurostat and the OECD Family Database.

Keywords: parental leave; leave models; work–family; gender equality; Southern Europe; welfare states

En este artículo se aborda el reto de examinar los estados de bienestar del Sur de Europa, mediante el análisis del desarrollo de las políticas de licencias parentales en Portugal, España, Italia y Grecia. Estas sociedades ofrecen una combinación de modelos familiares y de articulación entre vida laboral y familiar. En la última década se han desarrollado significativamente los usos y políticas tanto de licencias parentales como de servicios de atención y educación infantil. Los cuatro países han experimentado una extensión de los periodos de licencia parental retribuida y del uso paterno de estos dispositivos, generando nuevos incentivos para la igualdad de género. Además de estas tendencias comunes, los cuatro países revelan importantes diferencias entre ellos, que les permitirían evolucionar hacia modelos alternativos de políticas de licencias parentales, tales como el ‘modelo de un año de licencia parental bien retribuida orientado a la igualdad de género’, o el ‘modelo de licencia parental orientado a la elección entre distintos modos de crianza’. Sin embargo, dado el impacto de la crisis económica y el uso de las licencias parentales, de momento los cuatro países se ajustan a lo que hemos caracterizado como ‘modelo de licencia parental extensible orientado a la pronta reincorporación al trabajo’, dotando a los progenitores de más opciones para alargar las licencias parentales ya sea a tiempo completo o parcial. Se analiza la evolución de las licencias parentales en Grecia, Italia, Portugal y España, principalmente entre 2004 y 2014, a partir de los Anuarios de la Red internacional de Investigación

*Corresponding author. Email: anna.escobedo@ub.edu

sobre Políticas de Licencias Parentales, datos de Eurostat y de la base de datos sobre Familia de la OCDE.

Palabras claves: licencias parentales; modelos de políticas de licencias parentales; conciliación laboral y familiar; igualdad de género; Sur de Europa; Estados de bienestar

Introduction

Previous comparative analysis of developments in family policies in industrialised countries has shown that, in spite of common trends and some long-standing broad geographical and welfare patterns, policy changes have varied sufficiently across countries to maintain or even increase divergence in welfare regimes (Gauthier, 2002; Thévenon, 2011). But due to the complexity of pathways and processes, the well-known typology of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999), despite its usefulness in highlighting differences across policy regimes, is not always clearly visible in leave systems and service provision. As a conceptual tool ‘welfare regime’ fails to fully identify and understand variations within and across groups of countries (Korpi, 2000; Moss & Deven, 2006). Cross-national studies of leave policies and practices have, therefore, proposed additional concepts (e.g. leave policy models), working with more complex clustering of countries and typologies, which do not necessarily overlap with those in welfare state literature (Ray, Gornick & Schmitt, 2010; Wall, 2007).

In order to be able to situate and discuss the changing nature of leave policies in Southern European countries, this article draws on comparative work on the diversity of leave policies, undertaken before the economic crisis, in 2006–2007. Using data for 22 European countries on leave systems, gender equality in leave, early childhood services and maternal employment patterns, the study proposed seven empirically based ideal types to describe leave policy models at that time (Wall & Escobedo, 2013).

Emphasis on gender equality, promotion of mothers’ employment, support for dual-earner couples and full-time day care services was found to have shaped a first well-known model: the *one-year leave gender-equality-orientated* model in which both mothers and fathers are encouraged to combine full-time work and care for very young children (Sweden, Iceland, Denmark and Slovenia were closely associated with this model). However, when gender equality and the promotion of women’s employment interacted with a process of change underlining the need for new and diverse options, the rationale of leave policy was seen to be more connected to *parental choice*, a model where the state aims to provide support for working parents both through longer paid leaves for home-based care and high availability of services for those on shorter leave (France, Finland, Norway and Belgium were more associated with this model).

Both these leave policy models contrasted sharply with the *mother-centred* model in which the main policy driver was supporting home-based care by mothers during the first years of the child’s life, irrespective of whether this encourages or discourages gender equality and fathers’ involvement in care. However, processes of change seemed to be pulling these countries into two rather different models. Some were enacting a *long leave mother-centred model* emphasising homecare, low availability of services and the male breadwinner model when children are young (e.g. Hungary, Czech Republic, Estonia and Poland). While others were moving towards a more *balanced mother-centred* model by offering a shorter one-year well-paid leave as well as expansion of father’s entitlements and

a gradual increase in services (e.g. Germany and Austria); however, they could not be considered as ‘parental choice’ countries since their pathway was still strongly associated with some key characteristics of the mother-centred model.

The *short leave part-time mother* policy model was connected to female part-time work during active motherhood, with some increase in service provision to support working parents, even if usually attended on a part-time basis (e.g. UK, the Netherlands, Ireland and Switzerland). Lastly, developments in Southern Europe during the first years of the twenty-first century were described through two main models: a *short leave modified male-breadwinner model*, which still conformed partially to the male breadwinning pattern (Italy, Spain and Greece), with female and maternal employment rates below EU averages; and an *early return to full-time work* model emphasising the promotion of gender equality and support for full-time dual earner parents connected to high maternal employment rates and growing availability of full-time day care services (Portugal).

Starting from this conceptual framework, this article explores and compares developments in leave policies, especially since 2004, in four Southern European countries: Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece. As in other Western countries, the protection and definition of working parents’ rights has changed significantly during the last decades. While policies introduced after the Second World War were largely based on a male-breadwinner model, post-1980s’ policies have recognised the increase in maternal employment, the growing diversity of work/family arrangements and working parents’ needs for state support in caring for young children. Policy developments have promoted longer periods of paid leave and day care facilities as well as encouraging fathers’ involvement in childcare through more gender-neutral entitlements (Deven & Moss, 2002; Escobedo, 2014; Kamerman & Moss, 2009).

This broad analysis raises two questions. First, are developments in leave policy making for change or continuity in the so-called Southern European welfare regime? Welfare state literature has underlined the specific nature of the welfare state in this region of Europe, defining it as ‘rudimentary’ (low state support for families), ‘familialistic’ (strong family obligations and informal networks compensating for weak state provision) and, even, referring to a regional ‘Latin-rim’ model based on low levels of services and a traditional view of family solidarity, female employment and the care of young children (Ferrera, 1996; Flaquer, 2000; Leibfried, 1992; Naldini, 2003; Saraceno, 1994; Wall, Aboim, Cunha, & Vasconcelos, 2001). Recent political and social discourse about the impact of the recent crisis on families and social policies has seen the re-emergence of the idea of a common geopolitical pathway impacting on contemporary Southern Europe (Petmesidou & Guillén, 2014; Therborn, 2013).

Second, have recent developments resulted in cross-national convergence or divergence? And if convergence, towards which other leave policy models, for example, towards a gender-equality one-year-leave model (e.g. Sweden), a long leave mother-centred model (e.g. Austria), a short leave part-time mother model (e.g. UK) or a more choice-oriented model (e.g. France)?

To explore these research questions, it is essential first to place analysis of leave policies and practices within a broader economic and social context: changing work–family patterns, the economic crisis and how it is affecting employment and state support, and other policies which are closely entangled with leave arrangements such as service provision for children below age three. To set the scene, therefore, we begin by comparing recent changes in work–family patterns and maternal employment in the four countries. The main part of the article consists of an analysis of leave policy developments: we

discuss common trends, go on to explore key turning points in leave policy pathways in each country and then summarise leave regulations and take-up rates in the four countries. In the last section we draw on the implications of the analysis for the research issues underlined above.

Work and family patterns and impacts of the crisis

Over the last decade Southern European countries have moved away from the male-breadwinner and housewife as a reference point, both in terms of household patterns and policy models. The new dominant pattern for families with young children is the dual-earner household with work–family balance relying on short well-paid leaves, early education and care services and informal care arrangements within kinship networks. The economic crisis has further weakened the male breadwinner model, boosting employment (or search for employment) among women in middle age groups and worsening working conditions for all. This section reviews the labour force, fertility and childcare comparative indicators showing these trends.

Underpinning these changes are higher female educational levels; the post-modernisation of family values and patterns, particularly among younger cohorts, and including support for public childcare provision (Calzada & Brooks, 2013; Moreno & Mari-Klose, 2013); changing policies related to family and gender equality; the diversification of family forms, in particular increasing divorce (above the EU average in Portugal and Spain since 2006); male employment insecurity; and escalating housing costs in the last decade, particularly affecting young families. Even though ‘male-breadwinner and housewife’ remains a significant family pattern, it no longer corresponds to ideal preferences and is often associated with low educational attainment and lack of employment opportunities.

In 2008, parental employment in couple households with under 15s in the three Mediterranean countries was converging towards the EU25 average – 63% dual earning, with one parent part-time in 18% couple households (OECD, 2014). Around 52–56% of couple households were dual earners, with 20% and 17% in Italy and Spain, respectively, having one parent employed part time, but only 6% in Greece. In marked contrast, Portugal approaches Northern Europe with 73% of dual-earner couples, though only 7% worked part-time. When we focus on employment patterns in couples with children under three years old (among younger and more educated cohorts of mothers), dual earning in 2008 in the four Southern countries was above the 50% average for the EU25.

Since 2008, the economic crisis has further undermined the ‘male-breadwinner and housewife’ model in Southern Europe, especially fall-out from the housing bubble. High pre-crisis paternal employment rates (92–97%) in households with children under six years old have dropped to 74% (Spain), 82% (Greece), 85% (Portugal) and 87% (Italy). By 2013, one father in six had lost his employment in Spain and Greece (especially less educated fathers, in the construction sector), and 1 in 14 in Portugal and Italy (own calculations, based on LFS Eurostat Data 2007–2013). But the corresponding maternal employment rates (in households with children under 6) have remained stable: around 75% in Portugal, 57–60% in Spain, 53–55% in Italy, and decreasing from 55 to 50% in Greece. As a result, the number of households with only the mother employed has grown and Spanish research shows that new work–family household configurations are producing more egalitarian sharing of childcare tasks (Flaquer, Moreno, & Escobedo, 2014). Furthermore in this context of high male unemployment, more women are searching for jobs to compensate for

the loss of male wages and female activity rates in the 25–54 years age group have reached 82% in Spain, near the Portuguese rate of 86%, 75% in Greece and 67% in Italy.

It is also worth mentioning that the proportion of lone mothers in paid employment in Greece, Italy and Spain is noticeably higher (around 20 percentage points) than that of partnered mothers, in contrast to other EU countries (OECD, 2014). Lone parents have to engage in paid work as public benefits for lone parents are scarce and low.

Turning to fertility trends, total fertility rates (TFR) in Southern European countries have been low since the 1990s and clearly below EU averages during the last decade, particularly when we focus on native-born women. There were slight recoveries during the economic upturn of the mid-2000s, enhanced by immigration flows and their higher fertility patterns, except in Portugal which has had a continuous decline since 2000. But since 2008, the number of births and TFR have declined in all four countries. Averages mask an important trend: higher fertility among employed women in Greece, Spain and Portugal (data for Italy are not available). The most striking example is Spain, where employed women increased their TFR from 1.5 to 1.9 between 2007 and 2011, while non-employed women's TFR decreased from 1.23 to 0.8 (Lanzieri, 2013: table 5).

Finally, how are small children cared for? Figure 1 shows the evolution of main childcare arrangements for the under 3s in Southern Europe, between 2005 and 2012, drawing on three categories used in the EU-SILC: exclusive parental care, formal childcare and other types of arrangements including informal childcare within family networks or provided by childminders. In 2012, on average in the EU25 half of under 3s were at home with one of their parents (51%), one in four were in formal childcare (28%) and one in four in other types of arrangements (29%). Although Southern European countries are often defined as having familialistic welfare regimes, exclusive parental care is far below the EU average in Portugal (26%) and Greece (35%), near average in Italy (48%) and average in Spain (52%); while informal arrangements are well above in Greece (52%), Portugal (50%) and Italy (43%), and appear far below in Spain (15%).

One reason for low levels of exclusive parental care and the relatively high use of formal and informal childcare is the absence of well-paid parental leave schemes. But other factors are at play. Research in Spain suggests that paternal unemployment and parental shift-working explain part of the growth since 2005 of exclusive parental care (+8 p.p.), at the expense of informal arrangements (–9 p.p.), on the other hand a 2012 survey estimates that 66% of dual-earner households with under 3s rely on grandparents informal care on daily or weekly basis (Meil & Rogero-García, 2014). In Greece, parental care has decreased (12 p.p.), while formal childcare (+13 p.p.) and informal arrangements (+4 p.p.) have grown. Portugal follows a rather stable pathway with a small increase in both formal and informal childcare. In Italy, the decrease in exclusive parental care (–5 p.p.) and formal childcare (–4 p.p.) seems offset by more informal arrangements (+10 p.p.).

Despite a small decrease in formal childcare in Spain, provision remains above the EU25 average (36%, in spite of a 3 p.p. decrease), as it does too in Portugal (34%, steadily growing +4 p.p.). But it is below average in Italy (21%) and Greece (20%). In spite of the crisis and austerity measures, formal provision in Greece has grown from 7% of children under three years old in 2005 to 20% in 2012, thanks to a state programme 'Reconciliation between Family and Working Life' that between 2008 and 2013 has subsidised childcare places for preschool children, as well as care facilities for school-aged children (Hatzivarnava-Kazassi & Karamessini, 2014).

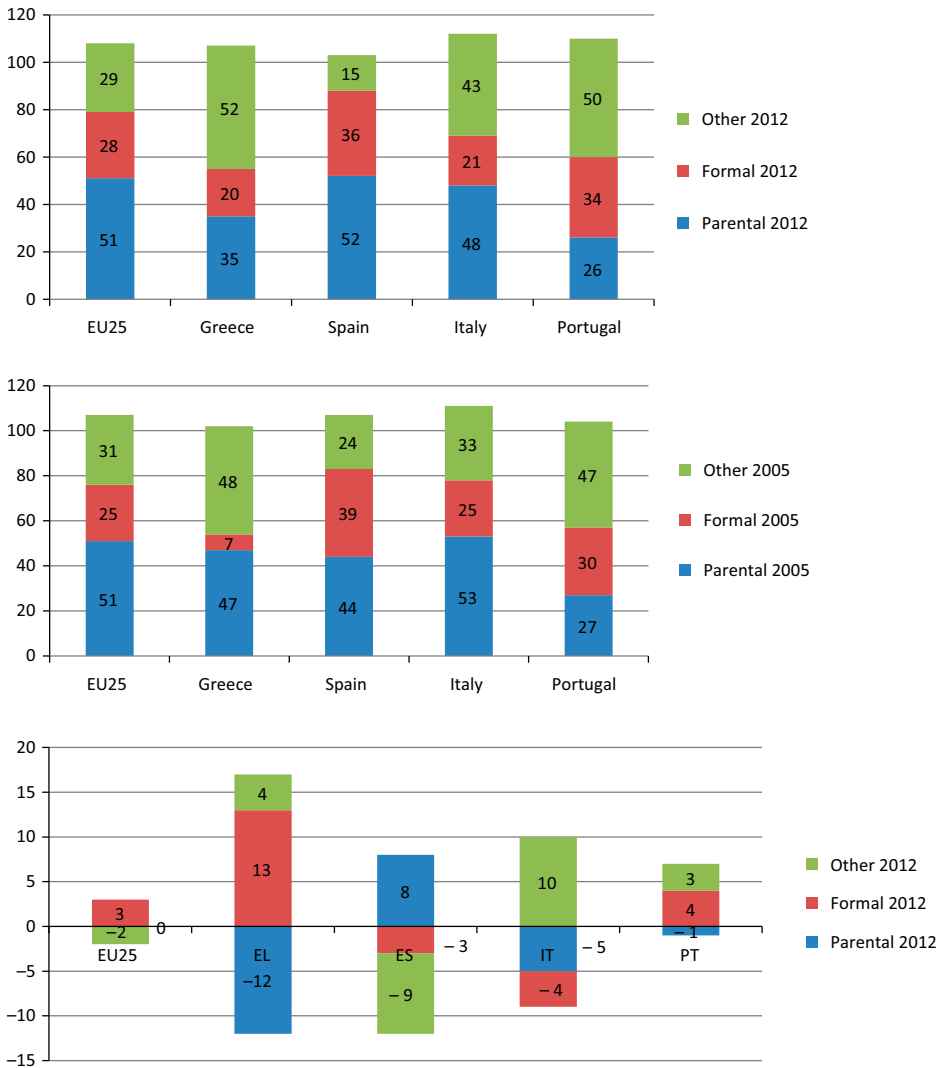


Figure 1. Under 3s childcare arrangements change between 2012 and 2005 in Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and EU25. Source: own calculations from Eurostat SILC data.

The pathway of leave policies in the four countries

There have been significant developments in leave policies in Southern Europe in the 2000s, accompanying increased maternal employment, and positively influenced by EU policies in the fields of employment, social policy and gender equality (Wall & Escobedo, 2009). After the implementation of the 1996 Directive on Parental leave, the more rudimentary leave systems of the 1990s (characterised by well-paid maternity leaves, nursing working time reductions after maternity leave and basically unpaid parental leave) have evolved in the four countries with the following common trends:

- Maternity leave has become more generous, and now guarantees a better coverage for the self-employed and basic schemes for employed women with previous restrictions regarding eligibility;
- A move away from unpaid to paid parental leave schemes with the introduction or extension of low benefits (either flat rate or earnings-related) in Italy, Portugal, Greece and in some Spanish regions;
- The extension of paternity and parental leave;
- Greater individualisation of leave entitlements, emphasising the role of fathers and their equal rights and responsibilities as carers;
- ‘Nursing breaks’ in the form of paid working time reductions (1–2 hours per day) can be transferred to the father, and more flexibility has been introduced, for example, in Greece and Spain with the option of converting them into full-time paid leave periods;
- More flexible work–family arrangements allowing for more options and choice in the use of leave arrangements;
- Increasing recognition of family diversity, including adoption and fostering; multiple births; lone parenthood, divorce and family reconstitution; same-sex couples; or specific health-related problems.

Leave policies have evolved in the four countries in the direction of promoting the involvement of fathers in leave and cautiously extending the leave period available for families. In 2014, all four countries have four to six months of well-paid leave, with extended leave options afterwards (either providing partial compensation for earnings, or allowing protected working time reductions as a form of part-time parental leave). Next we examine recent leave policy developments in each country and then compare current leave regulations and benefits across the four countries as well as the take-up rates of the main leave entitlements.

Major turning points and recent developments in leave policies in each country

Italy

The Italian parental leave, formulated as early as 1977 as a family entitlement of six months paid at 30% of previous earnings, was reformulated in 2000 (OECD, 2012). It became an individual entitlement of six months per parent, up to a ceiling of 10 months per family, with an 11th bonus month for fathers using at least three months, that can be taken in very flexible spells until the child is three years old (or 8, but then unpaid) (Naldini & Saraceno, 2008). Public sector employees receive full payment during the first 30 days of their parental leave. Some occupational sectors and companies also provide other additional leave benefits to their employees in the framework of collective agreements or family-friendly company policies (Mazzucchelli, 2011). Since 2006, financial legislation mentions that the law on Parental leave is due to be revised with the aim of increasing payment and flexibility. Since 2010 some regions and local initiatives have experienced with additional allowances to support father’s use of parental leave. On the other hand, new legislation opens the possibility of using parental leave on an hourly basis, leaving the implementation of the measure to collective agreements. Finally, in 2013, one day of compulsory and paid paternity leave was introduced (Addabbo, Giovannini, & Mazzucchelli, 2014).

Portugal

Leave policies after the transition to democracy rejected previous gender cultural models and introduced a focus on state responsibilities to support a full-time dual-earner model, leading to a gradual but steady increase in parents' entitlements to paid leave schemes, in public and publicly subsidised childcare services and in gender-equality incentives. Over the last 15 years, three landmarks stand out in leave policy developments. In 1999 (Socialist party in government), a major reform of the leave system introduced an individual entitlement to parental leave (three months for each parent, unpaid), five working days of fully paid paternity leave to be taken after the birth of the child and an additional 15 daddy days of fully paid parental leave to be taken after paternity or maternity leave; work-time reduction of two hours per day up to the child's first birthday, to be taken by either parent or shared (e.g. one hour per parent) and entitlement to 30 days of paid leave to care for a sick child were maintained. The 2003–2004 reform (centre-right wing coalition in government) introduced two main changes: the five-day paternity leave became mandatory and more flexibility was introduced both in the use of maternity leave (four months at 100% or five months at 80% of previous earnings) and of unpaid parental leave (to be used on a full-time basis or a half-time basis for a period of 12 months). Lastly, in 2009 (Socialist party in government) a new set of reforms was put into place, largely inspired by the Swedish system of one main type of parental leave: maternity leave was renamed 'initial parental leave', with the first six weeks after birth reserved for the mother, while the rest can be shared between both parents; a 'sharing bonus' of one month of extra initial parental leave became available if the father takes at least 30 continuous days or two periods of 15 days alone when the mother returns to work; paternity leave (now called 'fathers'-only leave') was increased to 20 working days at 100% of earnings, of which 10 are mandatory; and each parent became entitled to three additional months of 'complementary parental leave' (former unpaid parental leave) paid at 25% of previous average earnings if taken immediately after the initial parental leave (payment can only be made to one parent at a time). There have been no major changes in leave regulations and benefits since 2009, but heavy cutbacks were introduced in family benefits, other allowances affecting families with children and in tax relief; programmes promoting the expansion of services have been suspended since 2011, but coverage rates have not declined due to changes in norms (more children allowed per room in crèches) and the decline in fertility.

Spain

Work–family policies in Spain have focused on stimulating maternal early return to work, gender-sharing and more recently paternal use of leaves. After a legislative revision of leave policies in 1999, which increased the possibilities for mothers to transfer leave entitlements to fathers, a conservative government (1996–2004) introduced in 2003 a hundred-euro per month tax benefit for employed mothers with a child under 3. This benefit is incompatible with full-time parental leave, which in general terms means a complete employment break, and it is perceived as a relevant benefit, in a context where family benefits are scarce.

At state level there has been no proposal to modernise the obsolete unpaid parental leave scheme. Instead of that, showing a disparity of criteria around leave policies, there has been a trend of diversification in additional leave benefits in some regions and within the public sector, which is acting as a family-friendly employer at state level, in some regions and municipalities. Between 2000 and 2013, 7 out of 17 regional governments –

Comunidades Autónomas – introduced flat-rate benefits to support the use of parental leave or parental working time reductions, often with specific small incentives to father's use. However, these regional tax-funded benefits have been reduced or abolished since 2009, as a consequence of the fiscal crisis which has particularly affected regional and local public accounts. In 2014, the only remaining benefits are in the Basque Country (€271.25 per month for mothers or fathers) and La Rioja (€250 per month, but restricted to families with an annual income below €40,000) (Escobedo, Meil, & Lapuerta, 2014; Lapuerta, 2013).

In 2007, leave policy was reformulated within gender-equality legislation (Socialist party in government 2004–2011). Paternity leave was extended from 2 to 15 days, with a commitment to reach one month in 2011 (yearly postponed in the context of public cuts). The reform also made unpaid working time reductions for caring purposes more flexible and affordable: allowing a reduction from one hour per day to half working time, for either parent up to the eighth year (12th year from 2014 onwards). Unpaid leave to care for dependants was also extended and made more flexible. In 2011, a fully paid leave scheme to take care of seriously sick children was introduced.

Since 2011, conservative governments both at state and regional levels have introduced severe cuts in the public funding of infant's schools (*crèches*) for children under 3, interrupting a long trend of expansion of publicly funded services under educational guidelines (particularly between 2007 and 2011). A rather contested education state law (*LOMCE*) passed in 2013, paves the way for the de-regulation of the 0–3 early educational stage (defined as such within a pedagogical reform in 1990) leaving its regulation exclusively at regional level. Meanwhile, the preschool stage 3–5 remains stable with its nearly universal coverage and, in spite of cuts, much more continuous public funding.

Greece

Leave policies and regulations in Greece are very dependent on collective bargaining and employers' funding, generating a dual public and private sector leave system. Entitlements are remarkably more developed and generous in the public than in the private sector. The latter follows with delay the policy innovation in the public sector.

In the private sector, paternity leave was introduced in 2000 (two days paid by employers), while paid maternity leave increased to the presently available 17 weeks. In 2004, nursing breaks could be converted to 3.75 months of paid leave, with the employer's agreement (nursing leave is provided at a maximum of one hour per day for two years or two hours per day for one year fully paid by employers). Being initially a mother's entitlement transferable to the father, it has become in 2014 a family entitlement that the father can use, but only if the mother works. The option to use in blocks of time these nursing working time reductions exists since 1999 in the public sector, in a much more generous version, allowing for nine months fully paid per family leave which is broadly used at the end of maternity leave mainly by mothers. In 2008, a six-month period of special maternity employment-protected leave for mothers is introduced in the private sector, to be used as extension of the maternity leave after the use of compactable nursing leave, or before it if used as nursing working time reduction. This leave has been paid at the minimum wage by the Manpower Employment Organisation up to now (2014), but funding is uncertain at present. On the other hand, it has been also affected by the cut of the minimum wage which in 2012 was lowered by 22% (32% for people under 25; Hatzivarnava-Kazassi, 2014).

In 2012, a new law on parental leave transposes the EU Directive 2010/18 on Parental leave to the national legislation, so that the individual unpaid parental leave is extended from 3.5 to 4 months in the private sector (while it is 24 months per parents who are public employees), to be taken until a child is six years old (instead of 3.5 years as in the past). It also introduces special leave to cover the unplanned and serious needs of parents whose children suffer from serious illness needing regular therapy or hospitalisation (Hatzivarnava-Kazassi & Karamessini, 2014; OECD, 2012).

Current policies and take-up rates

Table 1 summarises leave regulations and benefits in Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal in 2014, focusing on the essential features of the leave systems in the four countries.

Even though Italy, Greece and Portugal have extended partially paid entitlements up to one year, in practice well-paid entitlements (above the ‘survival’ ceiling set by the EC at over two-thirds of previous earnings) are restricted in the four countries from four to six months for the general employed population. As there is a compulsory pre-maternal leave period of one month in Italy and two months in Greece, the minimum well-paid post-natal period is reduced to four months both in Italy and in Spain, and to two months in the Greek private sector. This creates the context for a dominant maternal pattern of early return to work, accentuated by the economic crisis and the rise in male unemployment and employment precariousness in Southern European countries.

The maternal early return to (mostly full-time) work is softened by nursing leaves, derived from historical breastfeeding leaves in the four countries. These have become working time reductions, which have become more transferable to fathers and even independent of the initial maternal employment situation. They are quantitatively important in Italy, Portugal and Greece, meaning a two-hour fully paid daily working time reduction during the first year; in Greece (and also Spain, with its less generous one-hour reduction up to nine months afterbirth), these reductions can be converted to full-time leave, thus extending the well-paid post-natal leave period. For example, this allows Greek public sector employees to benefit in practice from one year of well-paid leave, while in the private sector it allows for an extension of the short period of well-paid post-natal leave (Hatzivarnava-Kazassi, 2014).

Unfortunately, as this measure is paid by the employer in the four countries, there is no data to quantify its impact. This would help explain the high rates of employed mothers with children under the age of 3 actually at the workplace and the low rates on leave according to the 2011 European Labour Force Survey (**Figure 2**): 3.5% in Greece, 5.8% in Spain, 6.6% in Portugal and 8.3% in Italy, compared with an average of 13.5% among OECD countries or 26.8% in Sweden. Even though it is possible to extend leave at low payments, in practice parents basically use well-paid and job-protected leave periods.

Paternity leave now exists in all four countries. However, a substantial amount of individualised, non-transferable and well-paid days only exists in Portugal (20 working days, plus a daddy month bonus) and Spain (15 days), compared with only two days in Greece and one in Italy. Meanwhile, the four countries have introduced more transferability and flexibility in initial maternal leave entitlements, allowing for more gender sharing, particularly in contexts of maternal self-employment, usually associated with patterns of shared use; and in the individualised low-paid parental leave entitlements, especially in Italy with a bonus father month.

Table 1. Leave regulations and benefits for parents in Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal in 2014.

Countries 2014	Maternity leave/initial parental leave	€	Paternity leave/fathers- only parental leave	€	Parental leave			Total post-natal paid leave
					Total length	€	Who in family?	
Italy	Five months (1 before)	80% (100% PS + CA)	One day	100%	10 months Up to 12 months (two nursing hours working time reduction)	30% (PS: one month 100%) 100% paid by employers	Six per parent (max 10 mths, 11 if fathers use 4) Per family	14 months (4 mths: 80%, 10 mths 30%, paid work-time reduction first year)
Greece Public sector	Five months (2 before)	100%	Two days paid by employer	–	48 months Nine months	Unpaid (if ≥ third child, three months paid) 100% (Alternative use of paid nursing hours)	24 months per parent Per family	12 months (100%)
Greece Private sector	Four months (2 before) More than six months (special leave)	100% Min. Wage funded by Manpower Employment Organisation	Two days paid by employer	100%	Eight months 3.75 months (in block if employer agrees)	Unpaid Paid 100% by Employers (Alternative use of paid nursing hours)	Four months per parent Per family	12 months (5.75 months: 100%)
Spain	Four months (16 weeks)	100% max. € 3230/ mth	15 days	100% max. € 3230/ mth	Up to 36 months per parent (until child is 3) Up to child is 12 flexible part-time parental leave Up to 9–12 months (1 h working time reduction or 2–4 extra weeks of leave)	Unpaid (flat rate in some regions) Unpaid (supplements in some regions) (100% paid by employer)	Individual (any benefit is per family) Individual (any benefit is per family) Per family	Five months (100% with ceiling)
Portugal	Five months + one month bonus if gender sharing (daddy month) Up to 12 months (two nursing hours working time reduction)	80% (or 4 + 1 at 100%) 100% paid by employer	20 days (10 compulsory)	100%	Six months: +24 months special leave	25% Unpaid	Three months x parent per family	11 + 1 months (5 + 1 month: 80%)

Note: The nursing leave, or 2 h working time reduction in Portugal is a paid family entitlement that the parents can share, if the mother does not breastfeed, otherwise the entitlement is exclusive for the mother and lasts as long as the mother breastfeeds.

PS, public sector; CA, collective agreements.

Sources: Addabbo et al. (2014); Hatzivarnava-Kazassi, and Karamessini, (2014); Escobedo et al. (2014); Wall and Leitao (2014).

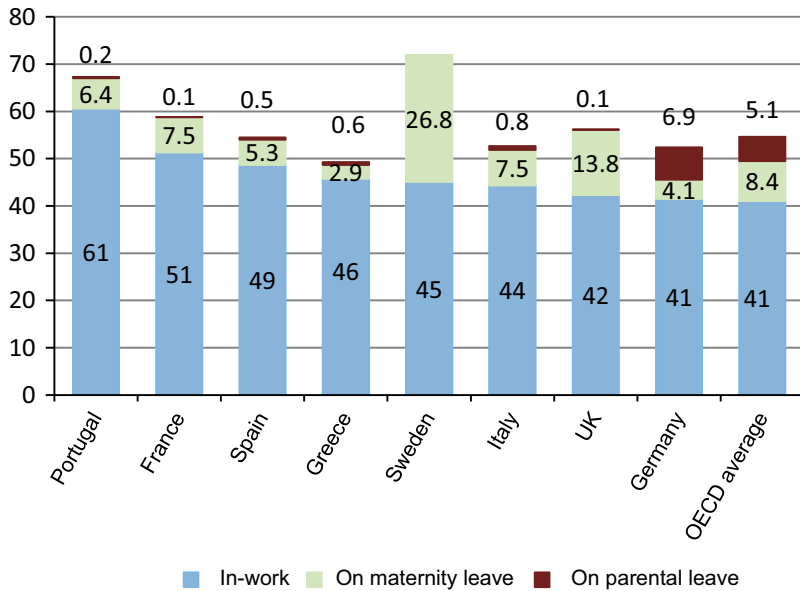


Figure 2. Employment and leave rates (%) for mothers with children under three years, in selected countries, 2011.

Sources and notes: OECD Family Database Chart LMF1.2.D, based on European Labour Force Surveys (ELFS). Countries are ranked by decreasing in-work maternal employment rates. In some countries parents on some of the parental leave schemes are considered inactive.

Finally, paid schemes for parents with sick children now exist in Portugal, Italy, Spain and in the Greek public sector (unpaid in the Greek private sector), which are crucial for the work and family articulation after parental leave.

Table 2 gives an overview of the 2011 take-up rates (from national sources). When available, data show high take-up of well-paid leaves, both for mothers and fathers. When rates are estimated in relation to the potentially entitled groups (e.g. excluding non-employed parents), take-up is around 80% of the employed population; otherwise when calculating coverage in relation to births, it varies between 67% and 84% for maternity

Table 2. Take-up rates of maternity leave, paternity leave and Parental Leave in relation to births of the year 2011–2012.

	Mater leave/initial PL	Paternal leave	Parental leave	% male PL users
Greece	–	–	–	–
Spain 2011	67% (80%)	57% (74–77%)	7.2%	4.5%
Italy 2011	70%	–	54%	11%
Portugal 2012	84% (22.4% with sharing bonus)	58–68% (69–81%)	2.8%	17–22.4% for the initial PL

Source and notes: country notes in the 2013 and 2014 International Reviews of Leave Policies and Research (Moss, 2014). It is measured as a percentage of users in relation to births of the year. The figures on brackets refer to estimation in relation to the employed or eligible group. Portuguese data exclude important groups as civil servants and bank employees.

leave, reflecting maternal employment rates in each country, or between 60% and 70% for paternity leave in Spain and Portugal.

In Portugal, 24% of the Initial Parental leave in 2013 benefited from the sharing bonus, meaning that the father took at least 30 days of leave alone, usually the last month of the initial parental leave, when the mother went back to work, a rate that has slowly increased from 20% since its introduction in 2009. Around half of families take the initial parental leave fully paid for four months and the other half for five months paid at 83% of earnings. However, in those families using the gender-sharing bonus, the majority (58%) opt for the longer leave, indicating a preference towards six months well-paid leave even though with slightly lower earnings compensation (Wall & Leitao, 2014). On the other hand, the additional parental leave (paid at 25% of earnings when taken immediately after the Initial Parental leave) has a very low take-up (3.3% in 2013) despite increasing since its introduction in 2010 and having a significant 17% of male users.

In Italy, the low paid (30% of earnings) parental leave is estimated to be used by half of families (54% in relation to the new born, with 11% male users) revealing the importance of the 30 days full payment in the Italian public sector and other supplements in sector or company agreements.

In Spain, the very flexible although unpaid working time reductions (or part-time parental leave) has been used by 2.6% of the fathers and 28.4% of the mothers less than 40 years old, according to a 2012 survey on the social use of parental leave (Escobedo et al., 2014).

Little is known on how the economic crisis has changed the use of leave among precarious working parents in Southern European countries. Spanish research indicates that they have lower take-up rates for most leave schemes, either because they do not meet contributory requirements (for example, if they work in the informal economy) or because job guarantees do not work well within temporary employment (Lapuerta, Baizán, & González, 2011). In Spain, the absolute number of leave users has shrunk as a combined effect of the decreasing number of births, reduced employment and falling contributory unemployment that qualifies for leave benefits. On the other hand, take-up rates for paternity leave, estimated in relation to potential male users, have increased from 64% in 2008 to 77% in 2011, while the gender sharing of maternity leave only grew from 1.27% to 1.65% , showing the importance of the introduction of an individualised and well-paid paternal entitlement since 2007 (Flaquer & Escobedo, 2014). On the other hand, as take-up is negatively associated to temporary and part-time employment (Romero-Balsas, Muntanyola-Saura, & Rogero-García, 2013), the positive trend might also be explained as the loss of male employment is affecting first of all the most precarious, unstable and informal employment (e.g. in the construction sector).

Analysis and conclusions

Leave arrangements for mothers and fathers have improved in the last decade and play an important role in South European countries, as in other European countries, both in terms of protecting female employment, granting parental time to care for babies and more recently promoting paternal involvement in childcare (Meil, 2013).

In spite of the crisis, the improvements consolidated in the last decade in the Southern European statutory leave systems remain in place at the end of 2014. One reason is that social security expenditure on leave has been auto-regulated by the sharp decrease in births during the recession years, a reduction in the population entitled to benefits as

unemployment has risen and falling minimum wages have pushed benefits down. A second reason is that leave policies are supported by a broad political spectrum and backed by EU social policies since the early 1990s, including European directives on maternity protection and parental leave, childcare recommendations and gender equality and employment guidelines. Finally, most improvements in statutory and social security-funded leave benefits have been rather gender neutral and austere – even before the crisis, and have been broadly interpreted as much needed measures to adapt or remodel familialistic welfare states institutions to the new dominant family values and patterns of dual earning (León & Pavolini, 2014; Naldini & Jurado, 2013).

Meanwhile, sector, regional or local benefits have become more vulnerable to austerity measures. Most of the regional tax-funded and flat-rate benefits in Spain have been cut, while the Greek special private sector maternity leave benefit paid by the Manpower Employment Organisation is at high risk. However, cuts have been even heavier in other fields of family policy, such as child benefits or the public funding of childcare services. Even though these latter cuts have translated into reductions in quality, such as increasing ratios, and increases in fees, rather than reducing provision, reflecting how post-modern Southern European familialism is positively associated with support for public childcare provision, as well as long-standing traditions (particularly in Italy and Spain) of popular reform movements for early childhood education.

Going back to the initial research questions, we can observe a definite common trend towards more state provision in leaves and services in the four countries, revealing a move away from ‘rudimentary’ welfare state traits. Leave policies have overall become more generous between 2004 and 2014, better integrated in labour regulation, more gender-equality oriented and definitely intertwined with service provision for young children. There is also a trend towards introducing options that allow for a longer leave period (beyond the well-paid four to six months), even if weakly compensated, pointing to a potential shift towards a model of parental leave lasting between 6 and 12 months, with flexible part-time leave options. So rather than a pure ‘early return to work’ our conclusion is that in the last decade the model has evolved towards an ‘extensible early return to work’.

This evolving model means that a growing number of parents in Southern Europe have nowadays the option of extending paid leave at home up to one year after the child’s birth. But, on the other hand, take-up rates indicate that parents mainly opt for shorter better paid full-time leave, with some part-time parental leave afterwards (for example, the paid working time reductions, particularly during the first year of the child’s life). Furthermore, mothers and fathers have access to some paid leave to care for sick children and to unpaid work flexibility during childhood (up to 3 years afterbirth in Portugal, 6 years in Greece, 8 in Italy and 12 in Spain), which facilitates the emerging articulation between leave and early education and care services (or subsequent school schedules), in a context where full-time dual earning has become the dominant pattern.

Moving from commonality to divergence, the analysis shows some sharp differences in the pathways and leave systems of the four countries. Portugal and Spain have a more consistent development in their gender-equality orientation and in the expansion of early childhood education and care for children under three years old. But the two countries clearly differ in relation to part-time work and part-time leave, with Spain paving the way for more part-time work–family arrangements than Portugal. Spain has a less generous system, offering flexible unpaid part-time parental leave during childhood instead of extending paid parental leave; it also has less extended hours and less subsidised childcare services, and a labour market that generates higher rates of part-time jobs for both mothers and fathers.

Portugal has consolidated its differential trajectory with high rates of full-time dual earning, which are amongst the highest in Europe. In spite of the policy improvements in 2009, the low use of the low-paid part of parental leave shows that the scheme is not affordable for Portuguese families, and also that earnings-related benefits have a stronger gender-equality effect than flat-rate benefits. The 24% gender sharing of Portugal's well-paid earnings-related scheme is high compared to the gender sharing of flat-rate parental leave benefits, as in the case of France with 3.5% of male users in 2011, among whom 70.3% use it part-time (Boyer, Nicolas, & Robert, 2013). The workings of the new system suggests that if earnings compensations were to become more generous, following the use patterns of the well-paid part of the initial parental leave, Portugal would easily shift to the typology of 'one-year gender-equality-oriented leave'.

Italy reveals the absence of major and consistent leave reforms over the last decade and appears less gender-equality oriented (Naldini & Saraceno, 2008). The 2013 one-day paternity leave in Italy is a symbolic measure, which does not mean it may not have an impact as such. Meanwhile, the one-month parental leave bonus for fathers introduced in 2000, upon condition of previously using three months of low-paid parental leave, does not seem realistic if we take into account international experience on men's use of parental leave (Eydal & Rostgaard, 2015; Haas & Rostgaard, 2011).

Greece has moved towards more state provision and a longer paid leave, from six months to one year, increasingly articulated with an expansion of publicly funded childcare services. The country has been identified elsewhere as an unexpected generous and gender egalitarian case, when analysing leave policy designs among 21 high-income countries (Ray et al., 2010). But drawing conclusions is difficult, due to the dual public and private sector schemes, the funding structure of the Greek system relying heavily upon employers, as well as the absence of take-up data for the dual schemes. The public sector has evolved to a fully paid one-year leave, widely used by mothers (it would be valuable to know to what extent fathers use it). Meanwhile, for the private sector much depends on whether employees use the option of extending maternity leave by converting working time reductions into a block of 3.75 months fully paid leave; whether they use the six-month extension of maternity leave paid at minimum wage; and whether the funding of this measure will be restructured, instead of abolished.

In summary, the proposed 'extensible early return to work' leave model characterises the common traits found in the four Southern European leave and childcare systems. Despite a context of severe austerity and public cuts, the welfare states in these countries can no longer be considered as rudimentary, at least with respect to work/family policies. In fact, their leave systems are more regulated and generous than among the English-speaking countries, and less gender-biased than in countries that keep to a mother-centred leave model, whilst formal early childhood services are expanding for children under 3 and extensive for children above 3, particularly in Spain, Italy and Portugal.

Notes on contributors

Anna Escobedo, PhD in Sociology, is an Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Organisational Analysis of the University of Barcelona (UB). Her research focuses on comparative social policy, family and social change, with emphasis on the work-life balance; the relationship between formal and informal work; care work and care services. She is founder member and regular contributor to the Annual Reviews of the International Network on Leave Policies and Research (LP&R).

Karin Wall, PhD in Sociology, is Research Professor at the Institute for Social Sciences, University of Lisbon (ICS-UL). She coordinates the Observatory on Families and Family Policies at ICS and has worked since 1995 as an expert on family policies in Europe. Her research focuses on family policies, changing family forms and interactions, family and the lifecourse, migrant families, gender and the conjugal divisions of paid and unpaid work. She is currently conducting comparative cross-national research on parental leave policies, men's changing roles and identities in family life, and the impact of the crisis on public policies affecting families and children's lives.

ORCID

Anna Escobedo  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2461-5053>

Karin Wall  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6452-8352>

References

- Addabbo, T., Giovannini, D., & Mazzucchelli, S. (2014). Italy country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *International review of leave policies and research 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/
- Boyer, D., Nicolas, M., & Robert, M. J. (2013). Les pères bénéficiaires du complément de libre choix d'activité [Fathers receiving the French parental leave allowance]. *L'e-ssentiel*, p. 131.
- Calzada, I., & Brooks, C. (2013). The Myth of Mediterranean familism: Family values, family structure and public preferences for state intervention in care. *European Societies*, 15, 514–534. doi:10.1080/14616696.2013.836402
- Deven, F., & Moss, P. (2002). Leave arrangements for parents: Overview and future outlook. *Community, Work & Family*, 5, 237–255. doi:10.1080/1366880022000041766
- Escobedo, A. (2014). Conciliating parent's labor and family life. In A. Ben-Arieh, F. Casas, I. Fronès, & J. E. Korbin, (Eds.), *Handbook of child well-being. Theories, methods and policies in global perspective* (pp. 2153–2172). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Escobedo, A. Meil, G., & Lapuerta, I. (2014). Spain country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *International review of leave policies and research 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social foundations of postindustrial economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eydal, G. B., & Rostgaard, T. (2015). *Fatherhood in the Nordic welfare states. Comparing policies and practices*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Ferrera, M. (1996). The 'Southern Model' of welfare in social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 6(1), 17–37.
- Flaquer, L. (2000). Is there a Southern European model of family policy? In A. Pfenning & T. Bahle (Eds.), *Families and family policies in Europe. Comparative perspectives*. Frankfurt and New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Flaquer, L., & Escobedo, A. (2014). Licencias parentales y política social de la paternidad en España [Parental leave and the social politics of fatherhood in Spain]. *Cuadernos de Relaciones Laborales* [Journal of Industrial and Labour Relations], 32(1), 69–99. doi:10.5209/rev_CRLA.2014.v32.n1.44714
- Flaquer, L., Moreno, A., & Escobedo, A. (2014, July 13–19). *Changing family models: Emerging new opportunities for fathers in Catalonia (Spain)?* Paper presented at RC06 on Family Research, XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology, Yokohama.
- Gauthier, A. H. (2002). Family policies in industrialized countries : Is there convergence? *Population*, 57, 447–474.
- Haas, L., & Rostgaard, T. (2011). 'Fathers' rights to paid parental leave in the Nordic countries: Consequences for the gendered division of leave. *Community, Work & Family*, 14, 177–195. doi:10.1080/13668803.2011.571398
- Hatzivarnava-Kazassi, E. (2014). Politics, policies and gender: The case of parental leaves. In Th Anthopoulou, Chr Bakavos & M. Stratigaki (Eds.), *Family, gender and immigration in contemporary Greece* (pp. 169–205). Athens: Gutenberg [The book is in Greek].

- Hatzivarnava-Kazassi, E. H., & Karamessini, M. (2014). Greece country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *International review of leave policies and research 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/
- Kamerman, S. B., & Moss, P. (Eds.). (2009). *The politics of parental leave policies: Children, parenting, gender and the labour market*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- 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 and Society*, 7(2), 127–191. doi:10.1093/sp/7.2.127
- Lapuerta, I. (2013). Do regional policies influence the use of parental leave? *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* [Spanish Journal of Sociological Research], 141, 29–60.
- Lapuerta, I., Baizán, P., & González, M. J. (2011). Individual and institutional constraints: An analysis of parental leave use and duration in Spain. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 30, 185–210. doi:10.1007/s11113-010-9185-y
- Lanzieri, G. (2013). Towards a ‘baby recession’ in Europe? *Eurostat Statistics in Focus*, 13/2013.
- Leibfried, S. (1992). Towards a European welfare state: On integrating poverty regimes into the European community. In Z. Ferge, J. Kolberg, (Eds.), *Social policy in a changing Europe* (pp. 245–279). Colorado, CO: Campus Verlag/Westview Press.
- León, M., & Pavolini, E. (2014). ‘Social investment’ or Back to ‘familism’: The impact of the economic crisis on family and care policies in Italy and Spain. *South European Society and Politics*, 19, 353–369. doi:10.1080/13608746.2014.948603
- Mazzucchelli, S. (2011). *Reconciling family-work: The role of corporate citizenship*. Saarbrücken: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.
- Meil, G. (2013). European men's use of parental leave and their involvement in child care and housework. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, XLIV, 557–570.
- Meil, G., & Rogero-García, J. (2014). Abuelos y padres en el cuidado de los niños [The Role of Spanish grandparents and fathers in childcare in Spain]. en: *Cuaderno de Relaciones Laborales* [Journal of Industrial and Labour Relations], 32(1), 49–67.
- Moreno, L., & Mari-Klose, P. (2013). Youth, family change and welfare arrangements: Is the South still so different?. *European Societies*, 15, 493–513. doi:10.1080/14616696.2013.836400
- Moss, P. (2014). *International review of leave policies and research 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/
- Moss, P., & Deven, F. (2006). Leave policies and research a cross-national overview. *Marriage & Family Review*, 39, 255–285. doi:10.1300/J002v39n03_03
- Naldini, M. (2003). *The family in the Mediterranean welfare states*. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.
- Naldini, M., & Jurado, T. (2013). Family and welfare state reorientation in Spain and inertia in Italy from a European perspective. *Population Review*, 52, 343–353.
- Naldini, M., & Saraceno, C. (2008). Social and family policies in Italy: Not totally frozen but far from structural reforms. *Social Policy & Administration*, 42, 733–748. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9515.2008.00635.x
- OECD. (2012). Historical background PF 2.5 annex: Detail of change in parental leave by country. OECD family database.
- OECD. (2014). OECD family database. Retrieved from www.oecd.org/social/soc/oecdfamilydatabase.htm
- Petmesidou, M., & Guillén, A. M. (2014). Can the welfare state as we know it survive? A view from the crisis-ridden south European periphery. *South European Society and Politics*, 19, 295–307. doi:10.1080/13608746.2014.950369
- 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, 196–216. doi:10.1177/0958928710364434
- Romero-Balsas, P., Muntanyola-Saura, D., & Rogero-García, J. (2013). Decision-making factors within paternity and parental leaves: Why Spanish fathers take time off from work. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 20, 678–691.
- Saraceno, C. (1994). The ambivalent familism of the Italian welfare state. *Social Politics*, 1(1), 60–82.
- Therborn, G. (2013). Where are the PIGS? Still a southern European welfare regime? *European Societies*, 15, 471–474. doi:10.1080/14616696.2013.838021

- Thévenon, O. (2011). Family policies in OECD countries: A comparative analysis. *Population and Development Review*, 37(1), 57–87.
- Wall, K. (2007). Leave policy models and the articulation of work and family in Europe: A comparative perspective. In P. Moss & K. Wall (Eds.), *International review of leave policies and related research 2007* (pp. 25–43). London: UK department of trade and industry Research series n° 80.
- Wall, K., Aboim, S., Cunha, V., & Vasconcelos, P. (2001). Families and informal support networks in Portugal: The reproduction of inequality. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 11(3), 213–233. doi:10.1177/095892870101100302
- Wall, K., & Escobedo, A. (2009). Portugal and Spain: Two pathways in Southern Europe. In S. Kamerman & P. Moss (Eds.), *The Politics of parental leave policies* (pp. 207–226). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Wall, K., & Escobedo, A. (2013). Parental leave policies, gender equity and family well-being in Europe: A comparative perspective. In A. Moreno Minguez (Ed.), *Family Well-Being* (pp. 103–129). London: Social Indicators Research Series, Springer. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-4354-0_6
- Wall, K., & Leitao, M. (2014). Portugal country note. In P. Moss (Ed.), *International review of leave policies and research 2013*. Retrieved from http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/