

The Economic Consequences of Family Policies: Lessons from a Century of Legislation in High-Income Countries

Claudia Olivetti

(Boston College and NBER)

Barbara Petrongolo

(Queen Mary University, CEPR and CEP (LSE))

Abstract

We draw lessons from existing work and our own analysis on the effects of parental leave and other interventions aimed at aiding families. The outcomes of interest are female employment, gender gaps in earnings and fertility. We begin with a discussion of the historical introduction of family policies ever since the end of the nineteenth century and then turn to the details regarding family policies currently in effect across high-income nations. We sketch a framework concerning the effects of family policy to motivate our country- and micro-level evidence on the impact of family policies on gender outcomes. Most estimates of the impact of parental leave entitlement on female labor market outcomes range from negligible to weakly positive. The verdict is far more positive for the beneficial impact of spending on early education and childcare.

Keywords: parental leave, childcare, family policies, gender gaps.

JEL: J13; J16; J18.

Among the most remarkable changes in the labor markets of high-income nations during the past century have been the rise in the female workforce and the narrowing of gender gaps in schooling and earnings. At the same time, government mandates and firm policies regarding families expanded. In some cases, legislation was preceded by great economic change, as when the spread of industrialization in the nineteenth century led to calls for restrictions on female work. Other legislation resulted from social and political change, as occurred during the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Demographic change also played a role as nations have sought to address declining fertility or when dictatorships desired to increase population. By the early twentieth century, most high-income countries have put

within-country variation in intervention, exploiting internationally consistent data on a variety of labor market outcomes. This approach has the advantage of considering an array of policy interventions and interdependencies among them, as well as general equilibrium effects of the policies. But such measurement is invariably coarse and the identification of the causal impacts of interest can be problematic. Since we will use some estimates based on country level data, we will need to emphasize these limitations throughout our discussion.

The micro-level approach evaluates the causal impact of specific policies within a country by combining rich micro data with variation from natural experiments, such as the lengthening of leave policy or the provision of paid leave. The approach generally considers just one policy intervention at a time, but detailed characterization of the institutional environment allows for more meaningful comparisons.

We draw lessons here from existing work and our own analysis on the effects of parental leave and other interventions aimed at aiding families. The outcomes of interest are female employment, gender gaps in earnings and fertility. We begin with a discussion of the historical introduction of family policies ever since the end of the nineteenth century and then turn to the details regarding family policies currently in effect across high income nations. We sketch a framework concerning the effects of family policy to motivate our country micro-level evidence on the impact of family policies on gender outcomes.

leave, followed by France, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain and Greece in the early 20th century.¹

The emphasis in early legislation was mostly about protecting physically weaker workers from extreme working conditions, and concerns for the health of mothers and children typically led to bans on female employment within a few weeks of birth. Mandated leave was only sporadically accompanied by job protection or income support. Unions often latched onto such special provisions for women in order to lobby for a shorter workweek for men (Goldin 1988). In 1919, the International Labor Organization advocated maternal rights to 12 weeks' leave from work around the time of birth, combined with job protection and partial income support. While maternal leave was ratified in most member countries, job and income protections did not become the norm until much later in the 20th century.²

In the 1950s, the design of family policies across Europe emphasized traditional gender roles, and explicitly protected women in their capacities as wives and mothers. During World War II, women in countries with high rate of male mobilization had filled jobs in male-dominated sectors like manufacturing, transportation, and military industries. Despite these developments, or sometimes as a response to them, family policy legislation in some European countries often seemed designed to re-affirm women's household roles. For example, some countries extended leave rights without granting job protection (Ridm 1998, and references therein), which can be interpreted as encouraging women to take leave, while raising uncertainty about the ability to return to work in a similar position.

The late 1960s and 1970s brought important changes in maternity leave provisions and set the basis for wider selection of modern family policies. The sharp rise in female labor market participation generated greater demands for maternity leave provisions as a way to reconcile careers and motherhood. Countries that had adopted maternity leave earlier often extended these provisions substantially, while other countries like Canada and Australia introduced such provisions. Most high-income countries combined leave periods with job protection and increased income support during employment breaks. Sweden was the first country to introduce explicit paternity leave rights in 1974, allowing mother and father to share six months of parental leave. Other European countries started to supplement maternity leave available to mothers around the time of childbirth, with parental leave available to both parents during a child's early years (as reported in the OECD Family

¹See Wilkander, Kessler, Harris and Lewis (1995).

²In Appendix Table A1, available online with this paper at <http://jea.org>, we report a summary of early legislation based on a comparative study published by the US Department of Labor's Bureau of Children's Bureau (Harris 1919).

Database ÒPF 2.5 Annex: detail of change in parental leave by country)changes, together with the decline in the manufacturing sector and the weakening of trade unions, contributed to eroding the male breadwinner model in most high income countries.

The United States

Family Policies in OECD Countries

At present, all high-income industrialized countries have in place paid maternity leave rights (with the exception of the United States where this is unpaid) and provide some support, in cash or kind, for child care. Table 1 provides a snapshot of some key family policies in a recent cross-section of developed economies, including the US, Canada, Australia, Japan and 11 large European countries. The indicators reported are obtained from the OECD Family Database and Social Expenditure database and refer to the latest available year, between 2011 and 2015.

Countries are organized in decreasing order of duration of job-protected leave provisions for mothers, which is reported in column 1. This includes maternity leave and the maximum job-protected parental leave available to mothers for home care of children, whether or not income support is also included. For simplicity we will refer to this variable as parental leave. The median parental leave is about 60 weeks, with very wide variation across countries, summarised by a standard deviation of almost exactly one year. Germany, France, Spain and Finland have leave entitlements above three years, followed by Norway and Sweden with around 20 months of entitlement. At the other extreme, the United States has 12 weeks of parental leave. While this figure refers to federal entitlements, there are currently 25 states that have expanded in some way or another upon federal legislation. Interestingly, cross-country variation in parental leave rights is much wider than in other labor market institutions such as the unemployment benefit replacement ratio and the tax wedge. And, as we will discuss later, wider than in gender employment outcomes.

Variation in maternity leave provisions around the time of childbirth, shown in column 2, is modest in comparison, with most countries ranging between 14 and 22 weeks. As shown in column 3, on average about one-third of this time must be taken before birth. The ban that some countries have on working during late pregnancy are likely a vestige of

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³ Table A2, available online with this paper at <http://jep.org> 041 Te2 0 Td s

early legislation, from a time when a larger share of jobs, like many manufacturing jobs of the past, were physically strenuous.

In all countries except the United States a substantial portion of parental leave is paid as shown in column 4. Leave benefits are usually funded by combination of)

other side if family policies effectively ease continuity of employment for mothers, and their enhanced labor market attachment is incorporated into employers' beliefs, the extent of statistical discrimination (if any) against women would be reduced, with beneficial effects on labor demand for women.

In a competitive labor market with imperfect substitution in inputs, the change in the gender wage ratios as a result of family policies is theoretically ambiguous, depending on the relative shifts in labor supply and labor demand and the context in which such shifts occur. For example, if equal pay legislation effectively prevents a fall in female wages, policies that would raise the cost of hiring women may lead to a fall in female employment at constant wages. Similar effects are to be expected in the presence of union contracts or

along these and other dimensions. Wage effects may be mitigated or even reversed whenever continuous labor market attachment and labor market experience is highly valuable in the presence of search frictions, high returns to actual labor market experience and feedback mechanisms onto employers' beliefs. On the other hand, theories of gender statistical discrimination suggest that these policies might backfire by reinforcing employers' beliefs and social norms regarding women's comparative advantage in childcare and home production more generally.

Cross-Country Evidence

Given wide international variation in family policies, several papers have compared institutions and gender labor market outcomes across high-income

parental leave rights and lead simultaneously to both extended rights and higher female employment rates.

The general approach in Ruhm (1998) has been extended by later work to cover more recent years, a wider set of countries, and a richer set of institutions. Thøven and Solaz (2012) broadly confirm Ruhm's findings on a cross-section of 30 countries observed between 1970 and 2010. Using data on a sample of 17 high-income OECD countries for 1990-2010, Blau and Kahn (2013) find that gender gaps in both employment and wages shrink with parental leave rights, the generosity of benefits, the right of part-time work, and equal treatment legislation (although only the effects of the latter two are statistically significant). The authors conclude that the expansion of these policies outside the United States is an important factor behind weaker female employment growth in the United States in the early 1990s, relative to other OECD countries. Cipolletti, Patacchini, and Vallanti (2014) find evidence of heterogeneous policy effects by showing that female participation of medium- and highly-educated women is more responsive to family-oriented policies as measured by a synthetic index encompassing parental leave, family subsidies and elderly subsidies than participation of less-educated women.

A few papers have exploited the staggered introduction of parental leave rights across geographies within a country. Bau (2003) focuses on the partial state-level adoption of leave rights in the United States under the Family and Medical Leave Act in 1993, and fails to detect any significant impact of leave rights on employment or wages of mothers. Using a similar approach, Han et al. (2009) detect detrimental employment effects of parental leave and welfare benefits, and positive effects of childcare spending, for single mothers and the less-skilled. Baker and Milligan (2008) finds that the introduction of leave rights in Canadian provinces delays return to work for mothers shortly after birth, but eases returns to the pre-birth employer.

Below we complement existing cross-country evidence by bringing together data on 30 countries that are currently in the OECD. Figure 1 summarizes evidence on female employment in these countries since the 1970s (or the 1980s where earlier data are not available). The employment rate is measured as the number of individuals aged 25-54 who are employed, divided by the relevant population. Countries are ranked in ascending order of female employment in the 2010s, ranging from 28% in Turkey to 79% in Iceland. The average employment rate in the sample is currently 60%, with a standard deviation of 10%. The US female employment rate of 62% is just above the sample average. Scandinavian countries rank towards the top of the chart, followed by most English-speaking countries,

while southern European countries and lower income countries rank towards the bottom. In relative terms, there is much wider variation in parental leave rights across these countries

correlation with the fertility rate. None of the policy variables are significantly correlated with the gender earnings gap.

We have explored these correlations further, looking at different groups of women. When we differentiate relevant outcomes across three skill groups—below secondary education, secondary education, and tertiary education—the results show that only for the less skilled are female earnings higher in countries with flexible working arrangements. On the other hand, correlations with employment outcomes are consistent across the skill distribution.⁸

We next look at the impact of family policies on gender outcomes and their evolution over time, and controlling for country and year fixed effects while bearing in

from our working sample countries without available information on the replacement ratio, which happen to have systematically lower rates of union density than the rest of the countries.¹ In other words, the results of column 6 are obtained on a sample of countries with a lower average incidence of binding union contracts than those of column 5, and thus provide evidence of a more sizeable wage response to policy in a context in which wages are relatively more flexible. Overall, coefficients on parental leave denote a stronger effect on earnings gaps in column 6 than on employment gaps in column 4, which implies that wage gaps are also closing for a wide range of parental leave durations.

Column 6 also shows evidence of a relatively strong effect of early years spending on closing earnings gaps, which is larger than the corresponding effect on employment gaps in column 4. By the same logic, this implies that wage gaps are predicted to shrink with childhood spending.

In columns 7 and 8, we show that the effect of parental leave on fertility is also non-monotonic, but quantitatively this is negligible throughout, independent of the specification used, consistent with Shimōs (2014) finding that fertility decisions are not much responsive to parental leave unless leave is also adequately paid. Early childhood spending has a sizeable correlation with raising fertility, with one extra percentage point of GDP spending associated with 0.2 extra children per woman. The results reported in column 9 are overall consistent with Adema, Ali and ThŽvenon’s (2014) findings that public spending on family benefits and the duration of paid child-related leave for mothers is significantly associated with an increase in the total fertility rate.

In Table 4, we consider heterogeneous policy effects by educational attainment. The sample size is 1,720 (educatr) in 2008.5e

resulting insignificant reductions in female employment and earnings during the first three years after birth, but only minor effects beyond three years. While fertility effects are stronger for women with below-median pre-birth earnings, the short-term reduction in earnings is larger for high-wage than low-wage women. Later Austrian reforms of 1996 and 2000 shortened and extended, respectively, entitlement to replacement benefits, leaving job-protected leave unchanged, and Dalive et al. (2013) estimate that longer cash benefits significantly delay return to work of mothers when leave is job-protected, but less so once job protection has expired.

Germany enacted five major expansions in maternity leave coverage between 1979 and 1993, which led to gradual and staggered extensions in job-protected leave from 2 to 36 months, and in the time of receipt of cash benefits from 2 to 24 months. Schoenberg and Ludsteck (2014) find that extension of coverage at short durations leads to small delays in return to work, and extension at long durations leads to larger delays, but it has almost no effect on employment rates and earnings for women more than three years after childbirth. However, extensions of cash benefits beyond the job protection period do produce significant long-run employment and earnings losses for affected mothers, which suggests a role for job guarantees in avoiding long-lasting negative effects of benefit extensions.

Norway enacted a series of seven expansions in paid maternity leave, which nearly doubled from 18 weeks in 1977 to 35 weeks in 1992. Dahl et al. (2016)

Schmitz, 2014) Raute (2015) investigate fertility effects of the 2007 German reform and finds sizeable fertility gains for women with above-median earnings and older women.¹²

While most high-income countries currently have in place leave provisions for fathers, their relatively recent introduction, as well as their more limited uptake, imply that the evaluation of their effects on female outcome is still in its infancy.¹³

The Canadian province of Québec introduced child-care subsidies for four year-olds in 1997, combined with wider availability and high quality of services. LeFebvre and Merrigan (2008) find a sizeable impact of this scheme on maternal employment. This finding is consistent with the theoretical predictions of the human capital model.

disincentive effects on the participation rate of married men, consistent with the fact that the EITC raises average taxation on the secondary earner's earnings. Hotz and Scholz (2003), Nichols and Rothstein (2016), and references in the paper offer detailed discussion of the effects of the EITC on work, poverty, health and family outcomes.

recent estimates find positive effects up to 1 year and negative effects ~~after that~~ widespread extensions to leave rights in most countries ~~have~~ ~~shiftable~~ shifted the focus of later studies based on micro data towards variations in parental leave at much longer durations, up to three years. Thus, it might be possible that the availability of some job protection, relative to no protection at all, would ensure continuity of employment and discourage transitions out of the labor market, while further extensions would simply delay return to work without further gains in employment. Third, cross country studies often

The United States has been an outlier in the adoption of family policies across high-income countries since the turn of the twentieth century. As Goldin and Mitchell argue in this symposium, the female labor force participation in the US has evolved a pattern with very high rates of employment early in the life cycle, but sharply declining with motherhood, which is being progressively delayed. The cross-country and micro-level evidence has not found an overall strong connection between maternity leave and female labor force participation. But possibly the relatively short leave entitlements available to mothers in the United States contributes to this life cycle pattern of delay in motherhood, with persistently low rates of participation while women are in their 30s and 40s.

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Appendix: Variable definitions

1. Institutions

Maximum job-protected leave available to mothers, regardless of income (weeks) the maximum number of weeks of employment-protected parental leave available to mothers, regardless of income support. This is the sum of weeks of maternity leave, parental leave and home care. countries where the entitlement to parental leave lasts up until the point at which the child reaches a certain age (as is the case in Germany, for example, where one parent is permitted to leave until the child's third birthday), any weeks of maternity leave that can be

- ! !"# \$"%& : The "average payment rate" refers to the proportion of previous earnings replaced by the benefit over the length of the paid leave entitlement for a person earning 100% of average national (2014) earnings. If this covers more than one period of leave at two different payment rates then a weighted average is calculated based on the length of each period. In most countries

2. Outcomes

Employment to population ratio by gender is from the OECD Labor database. The employment rate refers to the number of people employed divided by the relevant population. The employed are defined as those who work for pay or profit for at least one hour a week, or who have a job but are temporarily not at work due to illness, leave or industrial action. Data are for men and women aged 25-54 and are available for the period 1970-2014.

http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R

Employment to population by gender and educational attainment is obtained from the OECD Employment database. This indicator shows the employment to population ratios by education, grouped in three categories: below upper secondary, upper secondary-tertiary, or tertiary. The employment rates are computed as a percentage of the population aged 25-64.

ac 18.44 0 9.998

Figure 1: Evolution of Female Employment Rates: 1970s to 2010s



Notes: The figure reports average employment rates for women aged 25–54, by decade. The employed are defined as those who work for pay or profit for at least one hour a week, or who have a job but are temporarily not at work due to illness, leave or industrial action. We report female employment since the 1970s or the earliest available decade.

Sources: OECD Employment Database,
http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R, 2016.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>country</i>	Maximum job-protected leave for mothers (weeks)	Total maternity leave (weeks)	Pre-birth leave (% maternity leave)	Total <i>paid</i> leave available to mothers (weeks)	Average Payment Rate for Mothers (% of average, 2014, national earnings)	Total paid leave available to father (% total paid leave for both parents)	Early childhood education and care (%GDP)	Accumulate days off /vary start/end of daily work (% companies)
Spain	166	16	63	16	100	12	0.6	34.07
France	162	16	38	42 / 110	44.7	40 / 33	1.2	54.29
Germany	162	14	43	58	73.4	13	0.5	62.00
Finland	161.03	17.5	29	161.03	26.5	5	1.1	86.05
Norway	91	13	23	91	50.0	10	1.2	.
Sweden	85	15.6	45	60	63.4	14	1.6	74.18
United Kingdom	70	52	21	39	31.3	5	1.1	46.83
Greece	60.33	43	19		0	31 0 Td (19)aSe2c2(19)aSe2c2(19) 50.4m		50.0

		Employment	Earnings
Maximum weeks of job-protected leave available to mothers	0.188	-0.385	

Table 3: Family friendly policies and women's outcomes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Female employment rate		Employment gap		Earnings gap		Fertility rate	
Maximum weeks of job-protected leave	0.113*** (0.019)	0.063** (0.029)	-0.050*** (0.018)	0.023 (0.022)	-0.011 (0.033)	-0.210*** (0.033)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Maximum weeks squared/100	-0.078*** (0.010)	-0.062*** (0.014)	0.043*** (0.010)	0.012 (0.011)	0.016 (0.016)	0.108*** (0.016)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001** (0.001)
Percentage of total leave that is paid		-0.037*** (0.008)		0.029*** (0.006)		0.006 (0.008)		0.002*** (0.000)
Average payment rate		-0.036*** (0.011)		0.027*** (0.008)		0.012 (0.019)		0.000 (0.000)
Early childhood education and care		3.613*** (0.903)		-1.587*** (0.564)		-2.852** (1.258)		0.270*** (0.024)
Constant	43.955*** (1.561)	47.007*** (2.016)	41.954*** (1.913)	37.892*** (2.497)	44.709*** (0.936)	52.367*** (1.144)	2.810*** (0.117)	1.753*** (0.057)
R-squared	0.914	0.921	0.931	0.944	0.943	0.967	0.718	0.692
<i>Mean of dependent variable</i>	<i>54.8</i>	<i>55.1</i>	<i>20.6</i>	<i>21.0</i>	<i>23.4</i>	<i>23.7</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>1.7</i>
Observations	1,026	667	1,026	667	545	340	1,325	806
Time period	1970-2014	1970-2010	1970-2014	1970-2010	1970-2013	1970-2010	1970-2014	1970-2010
Number of countries	30	22	30	22	30	22	30	22

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All specifications include country and year effects. The average payment rate is from the Max Planck Institute's Comparative Family Policy Database (Gauthier, 2011). It's computed as a weighted average of payment rates for maternity leave, parental leave and childcare leave with weights given by the length of each leave type. The cash benefits are expressed as a percentage of the average female wage in manufacturing. See notes to Table 1 and 3 for all other variables definitions and sources. Percentage of total leave that is paid is the ratio of total paid leave available to mothers to maximum weeks of job-protected weeks (paid/unpaid) available to mothers.

Table A1: Pre-1969 trends in maternity leave legislation

Country	Year	Maternity Leave (weeks)		Mandated (Y/N)		Job-Protection	Paid	Source of payment
		Post-birth	Total	Pre-birth	Post-birth	(Y/N)	(Y/N; %)	
<i>Panel A: 1870 - 1940</i>								
Austria	1985	4	.		Y	.	.	
	1988	4	.		Y	Y	Y	
	1917	6	.		Y	Y	Y; 60%	Employer (1/3); insured person (2/3)
Belgium	1889	.	4		N	.	.	
Denmark	1892	.	1.1		N	.	Y	Voluntary sickness societies subsidized by the State
	1901	4	.	.		Y	.	
	1915	1.4	.	.		Y	Y	National Government
	1933	.	2		Y	.	Y	National Government
Finland	1917	4	.	.	.	.	.
	1919	6	.	.	.	.	.
	1922	6	.	.	.	Y	.	
	1937	6	.	.	.	Y	Y	Maternity allowance
France	1909	.	8	.	.	Y	N	
	1913	4	8	.	Y	Y	Y	Mutual aid societies (subsidized by the national or local Government); Ministry of Education for teachers maternity leave.
Germany	1878	3	.	.	Y	N	.	
	1900	6	.	.	Y	N	Y	
	1908	6	8	Y	Y	N	Y	Employer (1/3); insured person (2/3); persons who insure voluntarily must pay the entire cost of their insurance.
	1924	6	14	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Greece	1910	.	.	Y	.	.	N	
	1921	6	12	N	Y	Y	Y	Public funds or insurance
Italy	1902	4	.	.	Y	.	N	
	1910	4	.	.	Y	Y	Y	Employee and owner of establishment pay half and half; the National Government also adds support
	1934	6	10	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Mexico	1917	4	4	N	Y	.	Y; 100%	
Netherlands	1889	.	4	Y	.	.	.	
	1913						Y; 100%	Compulsory sickness insurance: one-half paid by the employer and one-half by the insured person
	1919	8	10	Y	Y	.	.	

Country	Year	Post-birth	Total	Pre-birth	Post-birth	Job-Protection	Paid	Source of payment
						(Y/N)	(Y/N; %)	
Norway	1892	6	.	.	Y (4 weeks)	.	N	.
	1909	6	.	.	Y	Y	Y;60%	Compulsory sickness insurance paid by: (1) The insured, 60%; (2) the employer, 10%; (3) the local government, 10%; (4) the National Government, 20%.
	1915	6	10	N	Y	Y	Y	Add voluntarily insurance paid by: (1) The insured, 70%; (2) the local government, 10%; (3) the National Government, 20%.
Poland	1924	10	12	N	.	.	Y; 100%	.
Spain	1900	.	.	.	.	Y	.	.
	1907	6	.	.	Y	Y	.	.
Sweden	1891	4	.	.	Y	.	N	.
	1937	6	12	Y	Y	Y	N	.
Switzerland	1877	>=6	8	N	Y	.	N	.
	1914	6	.	.	N	Y	Y	Dues of the members and the subsidy of the Federal Government
	1920	6	8	Y	Y	Y	Y	.

Country	Year	Maternity Leave (weeks)		Mandated (Y/N)		Job-Protection (Y/N)	Paid (Y/N; %)	Source of payment
		Post-birth	Total	Pre-birth	Post-birth			
France	1946	4	14	.	Y	Y	Y	Mutual aid societies (National or local Government); Teacher's maternity leave annual budget of the ministry of education
Germany	1968	8	14	Y	Y	Y	Y	Social security system and employers
Ireland	1952	.	12	.	.	.	Y	Maternity allowance
	1968	.	12	.	.	.	Y	Compulsory insurance & Maternity allowance
Iceland	1946						Y	.
	1954				N			.
Italy	1950	8	20 (industry); 16 (agriculture); 14 (other)	Y	Y	Y	Y; 80% of earnings in private sector; lump-sum in agriculture	.
Japan	1947	5	.	.	Y	Y	.	.
Netherlands	1966	8	10	Y	Y	.	Y	.
Norway	1956	6	12	N	Y	Y	.	.
Portugal	1963	.	8.6	.	.	.	Y; 100%	Maternity reserve funds
	1966	.	8.6	.	.	Y	Y; 100%	Maternity reserve funds
Spain	1966						Y; 75%	Social security system
Sweden	1955	.	24	.	.	.	Y	.
	1963	.	24	.	.	.	Y; 80%	.
Turkey	1950	3	6	Y	Y	.	Y	.
	1967	3	6	Y	Y	.	Y; 66%	.
UK	1948	.	13	.	.	N	Y	Maternity allowances
	1953	.	18	.	.	N	Y	Maternity allowances

Sources: Harris (1919) and OECD Family Database, "PF2.5 Annex: Detail of Change in Parental Leave Policy," www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>country</i>	Maximum job-protected leave for mothers (weeks)	Total maternity leave (weeks)	Pre-birth leave (% maternity leave)	Total <i>paid</i> leave available to mothers (weeks)	Average Payment Rate for Mothers (% of average, 2014, national earnings)	Total paid leave available to father (% total paid leave for both parents)	Early childhood education and care (%GDP)	Accumulate days off /vary start/end of daily work (% companies)
Poland	203.67	26	8	52	80	4	0.5	43.97
Spain	166	16	63	16	100	12	0.6	34.07
Slovak Republic	164	34	24	164	32.0	0	0.4	54.49
Czech Republic	162	28	21	110	51.1	0	0.4	59.64
France	162	16	38	42 / 110	44.7	40 / 33	1.2	54.29
Germany	162	14	43	58Slovak Republic	164	34	24	164

