



FAMILY POLICIES IN ROMANIA WITHIN THE EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK¹

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Abstract: *Despite attempts to harmonize social policies, EU countries differ greatly in the support they provide. Social policies have different traditions that emerged and developed in different social and historical contexts, so there are considerable differences in terms of resources, organization and coverage. As a result, family policies are even more heterogeneous than is suggested by the standard welfare state regimes.*

Despite the fact that it was one of the few expansionary welfare areas from the European Union in the last years, family policy is characterized by a small degree of institutionalization. This paper studies the cross-country differences of state family support, using secondary data analysis on statistical indicators and legislative or formal documents information. The accounted types of support are financial transfers, leave entitlements, and provision of services. The study analyzes the specific features of these instruments and how they merge to form a more or less comprehensive policy package, with a special focus on Romania. The results reveal a scarcity model of family policy, with a familialisation trend doubled by the passive and rather reactive support.

Keywords: *models of social policies, family policies, leave entitlements, childcare*

Social policies at EU level

Despite attempts to harmonize social policies, EU countries differ greatly in the support they provide. Employment policies are always mentioned as a central element in social policies, but social measures almost never played a major stake in economic policies. Social policy has been rather sidelined from the beginning of the common EU policies. Moreover, after the financial crisis, social policy is built around a rather economic vision in which key elements are “social security”, “pensions”, “labor

¹ **Acknowledgements.** This paper is made and published under the aegis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy as a part of a programme co-funded by the European Union within the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development through the project for Pluri and interdisciplinary in doctoral and post-doctoral programmes, project Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/141086.

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market”, “and structural reforms”. “Social Europe” has not progressed much since the advent of this goal (Ferrera, 2005; Barbier, 2012a). “Social justice”, “redistribution” and “social protection” have always hit the barrier of the national implementation level, remaining rather metaphors in general political discourse than political realities. The main target of the social programs – reducing poverty – is still very difficult to reach and the success of the implemented measures is rather limited.

Social policy at the EU level can be seen more as a political discourse rather than a set of programs with actual results. Social spending at EU level is negligible compared with the national ones, the authority of political decisions being placed almost exclusively at national level. The innovative Open Method of Coordination of the late 1990s is a matter of political speech, without effective power of coordination (Barbier, 2012b). The very concept of social policy in its traditional sense seems inappropriate when applied at European level, with a rather vague and “elastic” meaning (Barbier, 2012b). We are facing a paradoxical situation: “policy without politics” at European level and “politics without policy” at the national level (Schmidt, 2006:5). Social policies continue to be implemented by each country, despite EU regulatory efforts, and so path dependency and cultural differences lead to different design of the policies.

Great diversity in social and family policies

The modern state has consolidated a number of social functions as an instrument of development (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1995). In spite of commonalities, there are considerable differences between countries in terms of resources, organization and coverage. Social policies have different traditions, that emerged and developed in different social and historical contexts (Flora, Heidenheimer 1995; Pfau-Effinger 1999). Even within the same country, social policies can bring together different measures, partly incoherent, as adaptive responses to problematic situations.

Simplifying, we can divide the classical models of social policy in two opposite orientations: an institutional redistributive model with universal social services and generous benefits versus a minimalist model, with targeted and residual benefits. The classification is more theoretical, whereas empirical studies reveal the difficulty of treating social policy as a coherent and unified body.

Before the EU admission of the countries from Central and Eastern Europe, the most common classification was in 4 distinct classes: the northern, the continental, the Anglo-Saxon and the Mediterranean ones (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Ferrera, 1996; Bonoli, 1997; Ferrara, 1998). The classification corresponds not only to models of social policy, but also to specific geographic areas, dividing Europe into regions politically and spatially coherent. This classifications originate from the ones developed by Esping Andersen in 1990, based on the degree of decomodification, the redistributive impact of social benefits and services and the degree of private sector involvement in the provision of benefits (Esping-Andersen 1990: 22). The Social Democratic Europe (Nordic countries) has universal and homogeneous social programs, aiming the independence and social equality of individuals together with a decent standard of living. The Liberal Europe (Anglo-Saxon countries) encourages individualism based on the labour market and on the welfare schemes developed by

market principles. Social benefits are usually granted based on means testing and target the poor. The Conservative Europe (continental and Mediterranean countries) has highly differentiated insurance programs by occupational status, social benefits being provided according to the contribution to insurance schemes. The Southern European countries are considered part of the conservative regimes but the emphasis placed on family make them to be considered as a different model (Ferrera 1996; Esping-Andersen 1990).

Most studies classify the former socialist countries into a single category, treating them in bulk, although neither their transition process to the capitalist market, nor their history before 1989 was not identical. Romania was ranked in all typologies as part of the former communist bloc. But the socialist countries had to opt for various protection actions, as punctual responses to social problems that appeared in the transition to a capitalist society, so that can be considered hybrid arrangements, with a variety of interim solutions (Kovacs, 2002; Tomka, 2006). After joining the EU, under pressures to harmonize policies, social options have become closer to old models (Wisniewski, 2005). The latest typologies place Romania in the category of countries with high social inequality along with Italy, Spain, Portugal, Latvia, Lithuania and Bulgaria (Knogler and Lankes, 2012). In Romania the state social intervention was modest, complementary and compensatory with the economy; active employments policies have not proven to be capable of significantly compensating the deficit of employment opportunities. For 25 years Romania has had a sinuous poverty path corresponding to the dynamic of the economy (Zamfir, 1995; Zamfir, 2001).

Family policies have gained a great importance in Europe over the last decades due to important challenges such as ageing, heterogeneity of families or work and family reconciliation. Despite that these challenges have made it one of the few expansionary welfare areas, family policy is characterized by a small degree of institutionalization (Family Platform, 2010).

Family policies are more heterogeneous than is suggested by the standard welfare state regimes. The attempts to categorize the family support did not strictly reproduce the categories of countries derived from the well-established classification of welfare state regimes or from previous cross-country comparisons of family policies (Gornick, Meyers, and Ross 1997; Gauthier 2002). Moreover, current studies indicate that in recent developments and reforms of family-support policy, some countries have switched to more mixed forms of support in order to achieve additional objectives. For example, Thevenon (2011) finds 5 types of family welfare: the Nordic countries (based on substantial help to combine work and family for parents with young children), the Anglo-Saxon countries (focused on support for poor families, single parents, and households with preschool children), Southern Europe (with very limited assistance), Continental European countries (with an intermediate position between the above patterns, France being the positive “outlier” with high public spending on families with children and high support for working mothers) and Eastern Europe (with policies in transition).

Former communist countries put down the individualistic and de-familialisation option, previously imposed by the communist state, and “tried to reintroduce the traditional

familisation regime [...] moving back toward the path of re-familisation” (Saxonberg & Sirovatka, 2006: 186). Typically, the obligations of extended families are strong, while state responsibilities are weak and, revealing the lack of coherency of the family policies and a “legacy of social dissatisfaction with state intervention in family life” (Appleton & Byrne, 2003: 217). Recent and local studies place Romania in the non-interventionist category based especially on the recent austerity policy drive delivered cuts in the benefits (Stănescu I., 2014)

Policy aims and research dimensions in analyzing family policies

Family-support policies have a large range of goals that are difficult to categorize. Because of its intersectional character, they gathered objectives from different areas, related to income maintenance, labour market, education, health, social care, and so forth. I choose to resume the large variety of the possible objectives in three categories, as following:

- *Income maintenance*: this aim is typically addressed by allocating economic benefits to the most disadvantaged families or certain categories of families considered to be more vulnerable (single parents, large families, low-income families) (Maitre, Nolan, and Whelan 2005).
- *Provision of a work-family balance*, especially for women: parental leave after birth with guaranteed security of income and employment; childcare services, flexible working hours for parents with young children; incentives to work for the parents through the tax system and so on.
- *Support for childhood development, especially in early life*: compensating the cost of children, benefits to families aiming to alleviate the gap in standards of living between the families with children and the ones without children. A special focus comes on children’s enrolment in formal childcare and education, thus a large variety of care and educational services are developed.

Other objectives – like the pro-natalistic one or the protection of women from gender discrimination and domestic violence, the protection of other vulnerable groups like elderly or other dependants – are less explicit and less common, being a subject of debate. However, I consider that *alleviating the demographic imbalance* – even if it is not a stated goal for most of the countries, represents the foundation and the stake of the family policy. Population aging due to the persisting low fertility rates represents a major concern for the most European countries because of the long-term consequences for social and economical development and for the sustainability of the welfare state itself. Raising fertility has rarely been an explicit policy objective, but it is considered as a positive potential and implicit result of the support offered by other objectives.

Taking into account these categories of objectives, I opt for the following areas of analyzing European family policies: public expenditures, leave policies, childcare and educational services.

I look at cross-country differences in state family support using the Mutual Information System on Social Protection Database, the Council of Europe Family Policy Database, and the OECD Family database. The types of support accounted for are financial transfers, leave entitlements, and provision of services. I analyzed the specific features of these instruments and studied how they merge to form a more or less comprehensive policy package, with a special focus on Romania. At the beginning of the investigation I identify the regulatory frameworks of the family policies, sorting out the declared policy objectives in EU states.

Regulatory frameworks and stated policy objectives

Regulatory frameworks did not represent an interest topic in family policy research even though there are significant differences between countries.

The Nordic and Anglo-Saxon countries have less family policy explicitness, being more preoccupied by the child protection and individual protection in general. The Mediterranean and Post-Socialists countries (Romania also) have more policy explicitness, the protection of the family unit being usually written in the constitutional law. Moreover, there is a great variety in the legal recognition of family diversity, from the Nordic countries which put the same sex marriages on the same position with heterosexual marriage, to the Mediterranean and Post Socialist countries where this form of family is not yet recognized.

There is a growing trend of institutionalisation of family policies. Even though measures may be drawn up and implemented by several departments, in the majority of countries (21 out of the 28 EU members) family policy is coordinated by a single institution (on a regular basis a Ministry). Furthermore, 7 countries (Austria, Germany, Luxembourg, Malta, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) have the name “family” in the title of the designated ministries. Only in 7 countries (Belgium, Croatia, Denmark, France, Ireland, Netherlands and the United Kingdom), the institutional framework for family policy is inter-ministerial, having various institutions involved in policy design and implementation (annex, Tabel 1) .

The Council of Europe family policy database reveals that there is a great variety in policy objectives, but common trends can be identified. Based on the information provided by the ministries responsible for family affairs, the most common objectives for national family policies are: 1) financial support for families, 2) reconciliation of work and family life (in the aspect of gender imbalance) and 3) service provision for children. Other frequent objectives encountered are legislation and other measures for the protection of children in general (namely children in Institutions) and parenting support (annex, Table 2). The reconciliation of work and family life in the aspect of care for dependant people and measures for the protection of women are less common. For the protection of women only Romania and Germany have a specific objective.

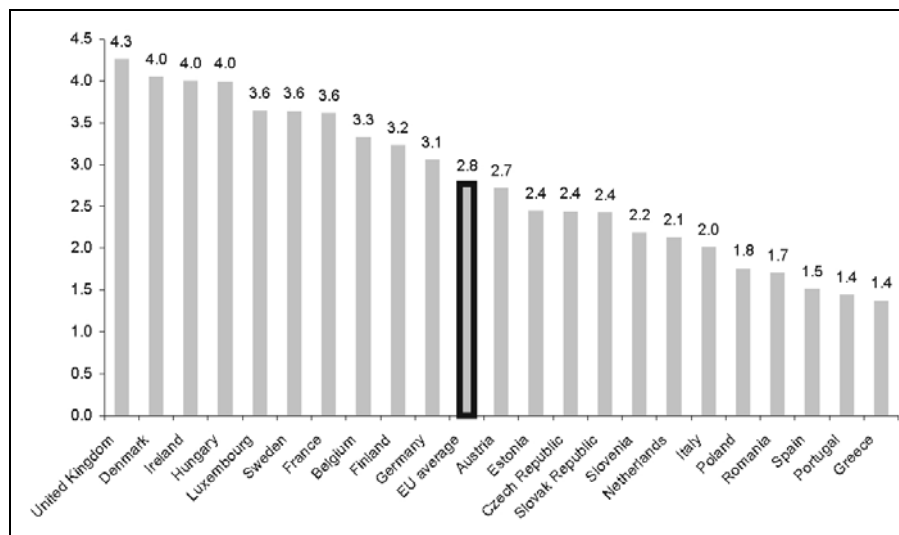
Romania has an interesting pattern compared to the European trend: it is clearly oriented on financial aid (financial support especially for poor families, but also for families in general or specific types of families) and at-risk groups – children (in institutions) and women. The majority of European countries have also the objective of

financial aid for families, but the second interest is in the reconciliation of work and family life and the provision of services. Hence, if the EU pattern in family policy objectives is less passive, considering the focus on work/life balance and services provision, the Romanian policy is just reactive, focusing on the passive support of money and on the protection of at-risk groups.

Expenditures on family support

The highest expenditures on family benefits are shared by the UK together with Denmark, Ireland and Hungary, all of them have a share of 4% of GDP or more. Romania is among the poorest, with only 1.7% of GDP spending, reaching only 60% of the EU average.

Chart 1. Public spending on family benefits, in percent of GDP, 2011



Source: OECD Family database

If the EU is spending an average of 557 PPS per capita on the family social protection, Romania is at a third – 181 PPS, ranking the second lowest in the EU (surpassed only by Latvia).

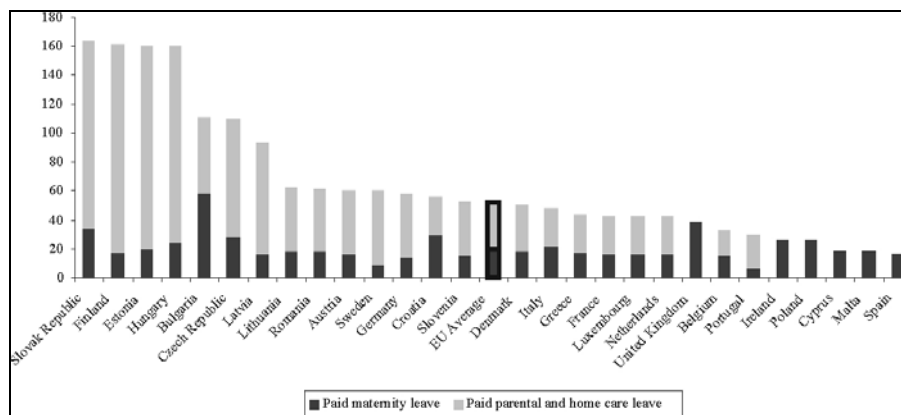
Romania differs from the former socialist countries which in all classifications are usually grouped together. Most of them have much bigger financial efforts: Hungary over two times higher and the others set around 2.5% of GDP. Besides Romania, only Poland has family expenditures below 2% of its GDP. The similarity with the Mediterranean model is obvious, having a level of expenditures comparable with Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Leave policies

Leave policies are between the most investigated areas of family policy research. There is vast disparity in the structure, length and payments, but some common trends can be identified though (Family Platform, 2010):

- Introducing a short paternity leave in addition to short health oriented maternity leaves
- Introducing non transferable periods for each parent within parental leaves (partners' months or "daddy months") on the basis of a more equal share of work and family balance between both parents.

Chart 2. Paid maternity and parental leave in EU Member States (in weeks), 2014



Source: OECD Family database

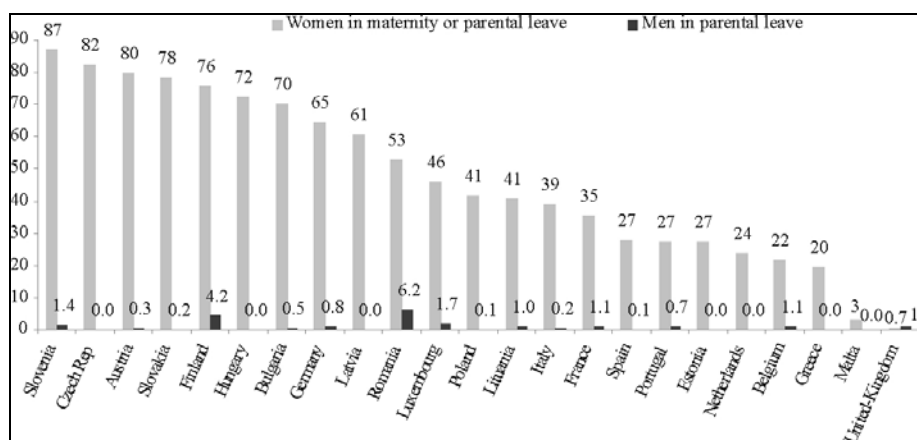
Maternity leave varies from 59 weeks in Bulgaria to only 6 weeks in Portugal, with an EU average of 20 weeks. Romania offer 18 weeks, being around average, in the dominant category of countries which provide a paid leave of 16-20 weeks (half of the countries are in this category).

Paid parental and home care leave varies from 144 weeks in Finland to 17 weeks in Belgium, several countries not offering such a benefit at all (UK, Ireland, Poland, Cyprus, Malta, Spain). Romania has 10 weeks above the EU average, showing greater support.

Cumulating both types of leave, the most generous countries are Slovakia, Finland, Estonia and Hungary with a length of over 3 years of paid leave. Romania is slightly above average, but it can be placed in the dominant category with a length of 42-62 weeks (half of the countries are in this category).

There are 2 aspects for which Romania exceeds the majority of European countries: the payment rate for parental care and the father's involvement in childcare (see annex, table 3). Romania pays 85% of the previous earnings for the parental leave, being surpassed only by Lithuania (100%) and Slovenia (90%). The proportion of men in parental leave (6.2%) is at huge distance from the rest of the countries (with values below 1%). Only Finland has a notable value of 4.2%; Luxembourg (1.7%) or Slovenia (1.4%) being the other countries above 1%.

Chart 3. Proportion of employed parents with a child under age 1 on leave, 2011



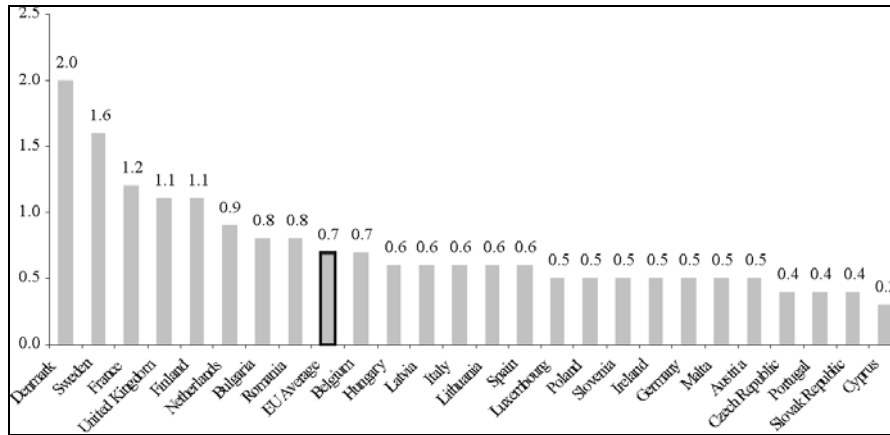
Source: OECD Family database

Leave policies put into debate the classical categorization of countries and especially the socialist block of countries, which have very diverse positions. Considering the leave structure, the lengths and the imbursements, Romania belongs to the category of countries with bigger efforts. It is not the most generous, but is above the EU average at all indicators and does not have any similarities with the Southern very austere model, as in the case of public expenditures.

Care services

Childcare has been one of the crucial family policy issues in the EU during the last years. There is plenty of research of the childcare services on comparative grounds. Common trends are: increasingly introducing the legal entitlements for childcare and making the last pre-school year compulsory and free of charge, but these expansionary efforts vary between strong, moderate and virtually non-existent (Family Platform, 2010).

Chart 4. Expenditure on childcare as a percent of GDP, 2011

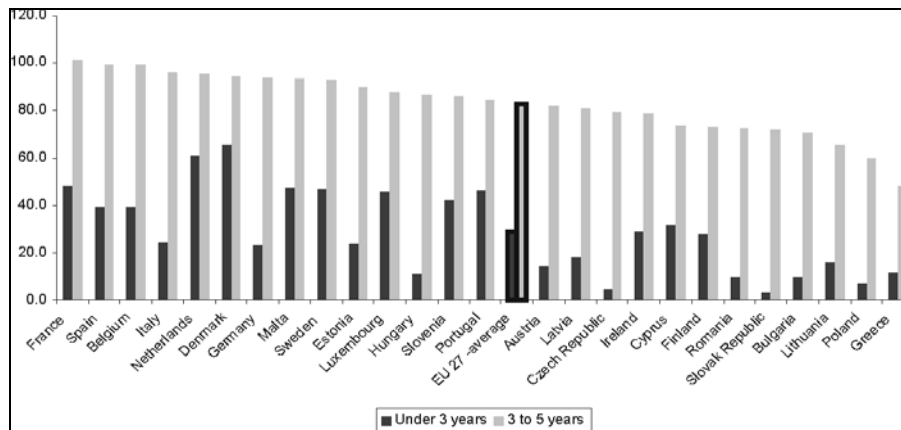


Source: OECD Family database

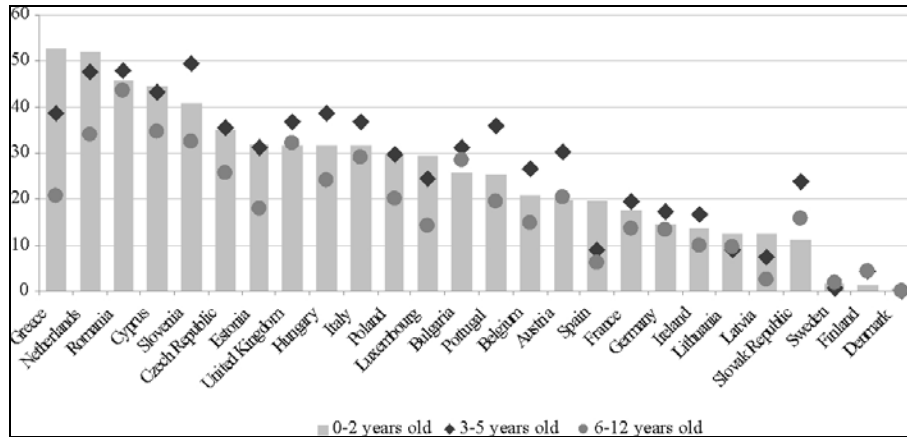
Denmark and Sweden have the greatest expenditure on childcare at quite a big distance from the other countries. France, UK and Finland have also made some financial efforts with over 1% of GDP. Romania has a slightly above average position with 0.8% of GDP expenditures and surpasses the former socialist countries (except Bulgaria which has the same level of expenditure).

Despite the financial effort, the participation in formal care is one of the poorest in EU. Only 10% of the children under the age of 3 are enrolled in crèches or kindergartens, three times lower compared to the EU average. For children of 3-5 years the participation rate is 73%, still below EU average, but not at the same distance.

Chart 5. Participation rate in childcare and pre-school services among children aged 0-5 years, 2010



Source: OECD Family database

Chart 6. Use of informal childcare arrangements during a typical week by children's age, 2011

Source: OECD Family database (using EU-SILC 2011)

Former socialist countries are typically placed below EU average, confirming the “re-familialisation” trend in opposition with their past. The explanations for this tendency are related to cultural changes (growing influence of religion, re-valorization of family and traditional values) but also to the lack of state involvement. In many cases children are staying home with their parents, grandparents or other relatives as a strategy of adaptation to the lack of resources and services. Over 40% of the Romanian children, no matter what age they have, are involved in informal care arrangements.

Conclusions

Considering the 4 aspects (regulatory frameworks, expenditures with family policies, leave entitlements and childcare services) the classical typologies of social policies are not entirely confirmed. The most coherent group is the Southern countries, with the lowest state support. The most difficult group to agree on is the former socialist countries, with the greatest variations in the solutions they provide. Romania itself has an incoherent situation, with a conservative regulatory framework, a lack of financial effort and a scarcity of childcare services but with pretty generous leave policies.

Overall, we can say that Romania, as some of the former socialist countries, has moved to a “familialisation” regime (Saxonberg & Sirovatka, 2006). The Romanian family is protected by the constitutional law; many benefits are dedicated to the family unit, not to individuals, the state policy generally encourages the classical nuclear family unit as base for the protection system. The familialisation trend is doubled by the passive support option. The main objectives in family policy are the financial aid (especially for poor families) and the protection of at-risk groups (children without families and vulnerable women).

Leave entitlements are the positive aspects within the Romanian family policy, being quite generous in lengths and imbursement. In addition, men are involved in parental leave at the highest rate in the EU. This data could be a sign of a better work life balance and gender equality, but other indicators say the opposite. Men are involved in parental leave as a strategy of adaptation to the lack of resources and services.

The “familialisation” development indicates in fact a scarcity in the model of policy. Not only does the state recognize and reinforce, through legislative and policy measures, the traditional family values, but it also places a greater responsibility on it.

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ANNEX

Table 1. Institutional Framework of Family Policies, 2014

	Main coordinating institution	Various institutions
Austria	Federal Ministry of Family and Youth	
Belgium		Federal public service Social Security, National Office for social security, Institute for Sickness and Invalidity Insurance, Federal Agency for Child Benefits the child benefits funds
Bulgaria	Ministry of Labour and Social Policy	
Croatia		Ministry of Social Policy and Youth + Ministry of Health
Cyprus	Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance	
Czech Republic	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	
Denmark		Ministry of Children, Gender Equality, Integration and Social Affairs + Ministry of Employment
Estonia	Ministry of Social Affairs	
Finland	Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	
France		Ministry of Labour, Work and Social Dialogue + Ministry of Finance and Public Accounts + Ministry of Social Affairs and Health
Germany	Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth	
Greece	Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Welfare	
Hungary	Ministry of Human Resources	
Ireland		Department of Social Protection + Department of Health
Italy	Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	
Latvia	Ministry of Welfare	
Lithuania	Ministry of Social Security and Labour	
Luxembourg	Ministry for Families, Integration and the Greater Region	
Malta	Minister for the Family & Social Solidarity	
Netherlands		Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment + Ministry of Health, Welfare & Sport
Poland	Ministry of Labour and Social Policy	
Portugal	Ministry of Solidarity, Employment and Social Security	
Romania	Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Protection and Elderly	
Slovakia	Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family	
Slovenia	Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities	
Spain	Ministry of Employment and Social Security	
Sweden	Ministry of Health and Social Affairs	
United Kingdom		Department for Work and Pensions + Department for Business, Innovation and Skills + HM Revenue & Customs

Source: Author's classification based on MISSOC – Mutual Information System on Social Protection, Organisation of Social Protection Country-specific Tables, <http://www.missoc.org/MISSOC/INFORMATIONBASE/COUNTRYSPECIFICDESCS/ORGANISATION/organisationSocialProtection2014.htm>

Table 2. Family Policy Objectives across EU Member States

Countries	Pro-natalist objective	Financial support			Reconciliation of work and family			Service provision			Strengthening family		Legislation and other	
		poor families	families in general	large families	specific types of families	reconciliation / gender imbalance	father's role	care for dependents	for children	for elderly	parenting	domestic violence	protection of children (namely in institutions)	protection of women
Austria		X				X			X		X			
Belgium	X			X		X			X		X			
Bulgaria	X	X				X			X		X		X	
Croatia	X					X			X		X		X	
Cyprus		X		X		X			X		X		X	
Czech Republic						X			X		X		X	
Denmark		X		X		X			X		X		X	
Estonia	X	X				X			X		X		X	
Finland		X				X			X		X		X	
France		X		X		X			X		X		X	
Germany		X				X			X		X		X	
Greece	X	X				X			X		X		X	
Hungary	X	X				X			X		X		X	
Ireland		X		X		X			X		X		X	
Italy	X	X				X		X	X		X		X	
Latvia	X	X				X			X		X		X	
Lithuania	X	X				X			X		X		X	
Luxembourg			X			X			X		X		X	
Malta						X			X		X		X	
Netherlands		X				X			X		X		X	
Poland		X			X	X			X		X		X	
Portugal	X	X		X		X			X		X		X	
Romania	X	X		X		X			X		X		X	
Slovak Republic	X	X		X		X			X		X		X	
Slovenia	X	X				X		X	X		X		X	
Spain		X				X			X		X		X	
Sweden		X		X		X			X		X		X	
United Kingdom		X		X		X			X		X		X	
Sum	12	18	15	5	13	23	12	4	25	8	15	8	16	2
		51				39			31		23		18	

Source: Council of Europe Family Policy Database, http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/Comparative%20table_Family%20Policy%20Objectives.pdf

Table 3. Summary of paid leave entitlements. Full-rate equivalent paid maternity, parental and father-specific leave, in weeks, 2014

	Paid maternity leave (weeks)	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent paid maternity leave	Paid parental and home care leave available to mothers	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent paid parental and extended leave available to mothers	Total paid leave for mothers	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent total paid leave for mothers	Paid leave reserved for fathers	Average payment rate (%)	Full-rate equivalent paid leave reserved for fathers
Austria	16.0	100.0	16.0	44.0	56.4	248	60.0	68.0	49.8	8.7	56.4	4.9
Belgium	15.0	65.0	9.4	17.3	20.3	3.5	32.3	40.1	13.0	19.3	25.7	5.0
Bulgaria	58.6	50.0	52.7	51.9	43.1	22.3	110.4	68.0	75.0	2.1	90.0	1.9
Croatia	30.0	100.0	30.0	26.0	34.4	8.9	56.0	69.5	38.9	8.7	34.4	3.0
Cyprus	18.0	75.3	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.0	75.3	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Czech Republic	28.0	70.0	19.6	82.0	44.2	36.3	110.0	50.8	55.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Denmark	18.0	53.3	9.6	32.0	53.3	17.1	50.0	53.3	26.7	2.0	53.3	1.1
Estonia	20.0	100.0	20.0	140.3	46.2	64.9	160.3	52.9	84.9	2.0	100.0	2.0
Finland	17.5	78.4	13.7	143.5	20.1	288	161.0	26.4	42.6	9.0	70.7	6.4
France	16.0	100.0	16.0	26.0	18.4	4.8	42.0	49.5	20.8	28.0	24.2	6.8
Germany	14.0	100.0	14.0	44.0	47.0	20.7	58.0	59.8	34.7	8.7	47.0	4.1
Greece	17.0	75.4	12.8	26.0	40.7	10.6	43.0	54.4	23.4	0.4	100.0	0.4
Hungary	24.0	70.0	16.8	136.0	39.3	53.5	160.0	43.9	70.3	1.0	100.0	1.0
Ireland	26.0	34.7	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.0	34.7	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italy	21.7	80.0	17.4	26.0	30.0	7.8	47.7	52.7	25.2	0.2	100.0	0.2
Latvia	16.0	80.0	12.8	78.0	50.8	39.6	84.0	55.7	52.4	1.4	80.0	1.1
Lithuania	18.0	100.0	18.0	44.0	100.0	44.0	62.0	100.0	62.0	4.0	100.0	4.0
Luxembourg	16.0	100.0	16.0	26.0	39.1	10.2	42.0	62.3	26.2	26.4	40.0	10.6
Malta	18.0	86.6	15.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.0	86.6	15.6	0.4	100.0	0.4
Netherlands	16.0	100.0	16.0	26.0	18.1	4.7	42.0	49.3	20.7	26.4	19.3	5.1
Poland	26.0	100.0	26.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.0	100.0	26.0	2.0	100.0	2.0
Portugal	6.4	100.0	6.4	23.7	58.9	14.0	30.1	67.6	20.4	21.3	54.2	11.5
Romania	18.0	85.0	15.3	43.0	85.0	36.6	164.0	82.0	51.9	1.0	100.0	1.0
Slovak Republic	34.0	65.0	22.1	130.0	23.6	30.7	62.1	32.2	52.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Slovenia	15.0	100.0	15.0	37.1	80.0	33.4	52.1	92.9	48.4	2.1	90.0	1.9
Spain	16.0	100.0	16.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.0	100.0	16.0	2.1	100.0	2.1
Sweden	8.6	77.6	6.7	51.4	72.1	37.1	60.0	72.9	43.7	10.0	18.9	1.9
United Kingdom	39.0	30.9	12.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	39.0	30.9	12.1	2.0	20.2	0.4
Average	19.65	82.65	14.95	32.35	37.83	17.19	52.00	68.19	32.15	6.63	61.50	2.82

Source: OECD Family database