Framing public policy from an intrahousehold gendered perspective. The cases of the UK, Australia and Germany since the mid-nineties.

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Aims

- Exploring changes in family-related policies over last 15 years
- Effects of policy changes on intra-household inequalities in
 - Access to income (direct financial support)
 - Division of roles (work and care incentives)
- Four areas
 - Childcare services
 - Parental leave
 - Flexible working
 - Tax-benefit support

Policy effects on IH inequalities

- 1) Effect on **individual access** to resources, within intact couples but also after separation;
 - Cash and tax support to carers/lower earners
 - Financial support to lone carers
 - = Valuing 'gendered specialisation' (familialism)
- Effect on caring and earning roles (known to improve individuals' relative power and access to resources within the household);
 - Work and care incentives (second earner, childcare costs)
 - = Valuing equal sharing (autonomous individuals)
- 3) Effect on gender **inequality** more generally in **society**
 - Jobs / pay / care work / gender norms

Employment indicators 1997-2007

	Australia		Germany			UK			
	1997	2002	2007	1997	2002	2007	1997	2002	2007
Male employment rate	77%	78%	81%	73%	71%	75%	75%	76%	77%
Female employment rate	60%	63%	67%	56%	59%	64%	63%	65%	66%
Empl. rate of mothers of child<6y	44%	45%	48%	50%	57%	60%	56%	57%	56%
Incidence of male part-time employment	15%	12%	12%	4%	6%	8%	8%	9%	10%
Incidence of female part- time employment	41%	39%	38%	31%	35%	39%	41%	40%	38%
Gender pay gap (FT)	15%	15%	15%	24%	26%	25%	25%	23%	21%
Usual weekly hours men		41.4	40.7		40.6	40		42.8	41.8
Usual weekly hours women		30.7	30.9		31.4	30.2		31.1	31.4
% PT women involuntary		26.2	24.7		9.3	16.3		5.6	6.5
% PT men involuntary		42	36.9		30.7	27.9		40.3	41.2

Parental leave and working time

- 1. Access to income (mothers)
 - Paid leave (replacement rates)
 - Job protection
 - Danger is entrenched gender roles if support only to mothers
- 2. Equal sharing caring/earning
 - Paid leave for both parents (individual right)
 - Flexible work for both (equal take-up)
 - Well paid/protected
 - Reduction in full-time hours for all
- E.g. Hegewisch and Gornick (2011); Moss (2011) on PL
- E.g. Hegewisch (2009); Himmelweit (2008) on WT

Childcare and cash support

- 1. Access to income
 - Subsidising childcare services (tax credits)
 - Cash for care (at home)
 - But benefit income not as valued as earnings
- 2. Equal sharing caring/earning
 - May sustain gender roles if cash for care is gendered
 - Work disincentive for second earner: joint taxation (including joint means-testing of benefits)
- De Henau et al. (2007); Himmelweit and Sigala (2004) (CC)
- De Henau et al. (2010); Bennett and Sutherland (2011) (TB)

Policy changes 1996-2012

- All: welfare to work (conditionality and incentives) / 'family' choice
- Australia
 - Lib-Cons: activation policies but one-earner incentives
 - Labor: no big changes except for parental leave (relaxing strength of second-earner trap)
- Germany
 - Red-Green Coalition: activation policies but more consideration for gender equality
 - Grand Coalition: Major changes in childcare and parental leave
- > UK
 - New Labour: activation policies with child poverty reduction
 - Lib-Dem Coalition: same but welfare reform and cuts

Parental leaves

Г					
	UK (<2010)		AU (<2007)		GE (<2005)
	 Low paid job-protected 	-	No statutory	_	100% earnings
	maternity leave		paid parental		replacement
	 Introduction of two 		leave but		maternity leave (14
	weeks low paid paternity		provided by		wks)
	leave		some	-	Low paid individual
	 Additional paternity 		employers		parental leave
	leave (conditional)	-	Introduction of		(flexible but low take
	 Unpaid individual 		lump sum baby		up by fathers)
	parental leave with very		bonus (for all	-	No specific paternity
	low take-up		mothers of new		leave
			born)		
		_	paid parental	_	Shorter earnings-
Then			leave		related parental
Th					leave and 2 daddy
					months ⁸

Working time

UK (<2010)	AU (<2007)	GE (<2005)
 48 h max. week (with individual opt-out) Introduction of right to request flexible working (extended) 	 Individual WT agreements Protection of carers from discrimination (NSW and VA) 	 48 h max. week (no individual opt-out) Right to request change to hours after period of leave Creation of poor quality mini-jobs
	 Introduction of right to request flexible working 	

Then

Childcare

	UK (<2010)		AU (<2007)		GE (<2005)	
-	Private provision	-	Private provision	-	Public provision	
-	Means-tested		(Subsidies)	-	Extensive free part-	
	subsidies (WTC)	-	Means-tested		time coverage for	
-	Limited tax rebates		childcare benefit		over 3s	
-	Free part-time pre-		for all and tax	-	Low coverage for	
	school education for		relief for working		under 3s in the	
	all 3-4yr olds		families		West, relatively high	
					in the East	
-	Austerity measures:			-	Increase in direct	
	Reduction in working				public funding of	
	and childcare tax				childcare places for	
	credit payments				under 3s (target	
					33% in 2013)	

Then

Tax-benefit systems

	UK (<2010)		AU (<2007)		GE (<2005)
_	Universal child	-	Individual taxation	-	Universal child
	benefit	-	Means-tested		benefit
-	Individual taxation		family tax benefit	-	Joint taxation of
_	Means-tested tax		for each child		married couples
	credits	-	Stricter activation		(income splitting)
-	Stricter activation		conditions for		
	conditions for benefits		benefits		
-	Austerity measures:			-	Increase in direct
	child benefit frozen				public funding of
	and withdrawn from				childcare places for
	families with a higher				under 3s (target
	earner				33% in 2013)
-	Universal Credit				

Then

AETR of second earner on full-time job at 67% AW

	(100+67)% AW, 2 c			(100+0)% AW, 2 c			
	AU	GE	UK	AU	GE	UK	
Gross earnings	167	167	167	100	100	100	
Family Benefits	6.8	8.9	6.9	17.7	8.9	6.9	
Income Tax	-37.6	-31.9	-27.7	-24.0	-11.5	-17.5	
SSC	0.0	-34.8	-14.7	0.0	-20.8	-9.2	
Total Net Income	136	109	131	97	76	80	
Net tax burden	18%	35%	21%	3%	24%	20%	
AETR to 67% w/o cc	41%	51%	24%				
Childcare fee	-44.7	-16.0	-47.8	0	0	0	
Childcare relief	15.1	6.9	4.7	0	0	0	
Tax reduction	16.4	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	
Net cost of cc	-13.3	-9.1	-43.1	0	0	0	
Net income (- cc cost)	123	100	88	97	76	80	
Net tax burden	26%	40%	47%	3%	24%	20%	
AETR to 67% w/ cc	61%	65%	88%			12	

Source: Own calculations based on OECD Benefits and Wages report (2005 figures)

Effects of changes

- One-and-a-half earner model in all three countries
 - Family-centred parental leave (even new German system)
 - Family-centred tax-benefit system (work disincentive for second earner when childcare costs are taken into account)
 - AU, UK through joint means-testing of child-related benefits
 - GE through joint taxation (income split)
 - Germany's childcare policy is promising and attempt to increase fathers' take-up of parental leave too but more to be done

Conclusion

- Big changes in policies but little consideration of gender inequality, let alone intra-household inequalities
- Ideology of choice everywhere, mostly family choice (intrahousehold decisions are a private matter)
- Many policies reinforce traditional gender roles rather than counteract them be it through second earner work disincentive, lack of focus on paternal care and cash for carers
- So limited attempt to direct cash to lower earner/main carer but no consideration of long-term effects on gender roles

Ideal: direct cc services, individual tax, more progressive, uni CB, individual PL, reduced FT working hours