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Grandparents plus

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Grandparenting in Europe:

family policy and grandparents' role in providing childcare

CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION

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Across Europe increased life expectancy means it is now quite common for a child to grow up while their grandparents and even great-grandparents are alive. Grandparents have always provided financial, emotional and practical care and support to their children and grandchildren. However, this role has generally been taken for granted by families and governments, and grandparents have little recognition and few rights. Ageing populations, more mothers in the labour market and higher rates of divorce and relationship breakdown all indicate that the role grandparents play in family life is likely to become increasingly significant. In many countries austerity measures and cuts to public services are likely to lead to an expectation that grandparents will step in to fill care gaps for children and adults. Yet our understanding of grandparenting and how policy environments influence the role which grandparents play is limited. This research seeks to address this knowledge gap and inform debate on policy influencing the grandparental role.

Lower fertility and increased life expectancy mean that over the next two decades a fifth to a quarter of the population in many European countries will be aged over 65.[1] Population ageing is leading to increased emphasis on the health and well-being of older people, with an expectation that older men and women participate for longer in paid work. At the same time there is often an implicit assumption that older people will continue to play a vital caring role within their families. Grandparents are important providers of childcare, enabling mothers to enter or remain in paid work. They may also need to step in to take on the full-time role of raising grandchildren in difficult and distressing circumstances if parents are unable to do so, for example due to death, physical or mental health problems, drug or alcohol misuse, or imprisonment.

How far grandparents' informal caring roles can be combined with paid work is highly relevant for public policy, not only in relation to family and the labour market but also pensions and retirement, and for understanding inequalities across the life course. As we understand more about the role that grandparents play across Europe, we realise that it is important to implement social policies that help sustain these important, complex and potentially fragile social relationships.

This study examines international data from European countries on grandparenting from SHARE (Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe), ELSA (the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing) censuses and other data sources in addition to mapping data on parental and grandparental policies for leave and flexible work, family support from the state in the form of childcare and family benefits, retirement and adult care policies, and labour market, childcare and family cultures and structures, to address the following questions:

1. How do the living arrangements of grandparents vary within and across European countries and how have they changed over time?

2. How do the characteristics of grandparents vary across Europe in terms of age, living arrangements, socio-economic status, education, marital status, participation in paid work, retirement status and health?

3. How does the level of involvement of grandparents with their grandchildren vary across Europe in terms of contact, help and care? What characteristics of grandparents help to explain the diversity of arrangements?

4. How do family policies vary, and how are these variations in policy related to observed diversity in the levels of involvement of grandparents with their grandchildren?

[1] Commission of the European Communities 2005. Green paper, 'Confronting demographic change: a new solidarity between the generations.' Brussels.

Key findings

Our study shows that across Europe grandparents, and grandmothers in particular, are playing a major role in providing both intensive and occasional care for their grandchildren. 44% of grandparents in the 11 European countries[2] studied provide grandparental childcare without the child's parents present, while in Britain the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey showed that 63% of grandparents with a grandchild under 16 do so.[3]

Younger grandmothers who are fit, healthy and with younger grandchildren – the most likely to be providing care for their grandchildren – are the very women that governments across Europe are aiming to encourage to stay in paid work for longer, in order to increase productivity and pay for their own pensions, health and social care in later life. Their vital but invisible role in providing childcare, whether intensive, regular and/or occasional, is likely to conflict with their own ability to self-finance their old age, especially as widow's benefits in both state and employer pension schemes are eroded.

England and Wales, like the US, has experienced an increase in the prevalence of skipped-generation households – households consisting of grandparents and grandchildren but without the parents. This rose from 0.25% of adults aged 35 and over living in such households in 1981 to 0.42% in 2001. These households are likely to experience poverty and disadvantage. No other European country studied so far follows this pattern.

Our study shows considerable variations in the characteristics of grandparents across the European countries studied. English grandparents are relatively young, more likely to be in paid work and have more grandchildren on average than grandparents in the remaining 11 European countries. In England one in four (23%) grandparents aged 50 and over are in paid work, compared with an average of just one in seven across the other 11 countries studied. Only Denmark and Sweden have a higher percentage of working grandparents.

While overall grandparents in the European countries studied provide high levels of childcare, there are striking variations in the intensity and frequency of the care provided. In France, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands between 50% and 60% of grandparents provide some childcare compared with just 40% in the Southern European countries. However, regular and intensive grandparental childcare is more common in Southern Europe, with 20% of grandparents in Italy providing almost daily childcare compared with just 2% of grandparents in the Netherlands.

Across the European countries studied grandparents who are younger, with higher educational levels, in better health, and whose youngest grandchild is under age six are more likely to provide childcare.

Differences in the characteristics of grandparents in the different countries (such as age and marital status) explain some of the differences in grandparental childcare across the 12 European countries, however there are significant differences between countries too. The research finds that different family policy contexts are associated with varying patterns of grandparental childcare.

In countries such as Sweden and Denmark (and to a lesser extent, France) where parents are expected to work full-time, formal childcare is widely available, and there is generous maternity pay and support for mothers who stay home - grandmothers play a far more limited role in providing intensive childcare, but are still significantly involved in providing occasional and less intensive care for grandchildren.

In Portugal, Spain, Italy and Romania, where welfare payments to parents and mothers at home are limited, there is little formal childcare and few opportunities for mothers to work part-time, grandparents provide a great deal of intensive childcare for their grandchildren. Moreover, in these countries, mothers who do work often do so for 40 plus hours a week, and since there is little affordable formal childcare, there is greater reliance on intensive care by grandmothers. With the exception of Romania, in these countries there is less of a role for grandparents providing occasional or less intensive care without the parents present.

In the UK, Germany and the Netherlands where public support for families is varied but less universal, childcare coverage is patchy and often provided by the market rather than the state, and the norm is that women work part-time, grandparents generally play a middling role in both intensive childcare and occasional/less intensive childcare. In these countries a smaller proportion of those mothers in full-time work do so for long hours, leading to less reliance on intensive childcare by grandmothers. In the Netherlands, which has by far the highest proportion of mothers working part-time and very few mothers working full-time, and where formal childcare is widespread, there is very little intensive grandparental childcare by grandparents.

In general, countries with the lowest usage of formal childcare, Hungary, Portugal and Romania, have the highest percentages of grandmothers caring intensively for their grandchildren, and countries with the highest usage, Sweden and Denmark, have the lowest percentages of grandmothers providing intensive childcare.

In countries with higher percentages of older women in paid work there is less involvement of grandmothers in intensive childcare.

Given that grandmothers aged 50 to 69 who are not in paid work are the most likely to provide childcare, the plans of European governments to extend retirement ages and increase female labour force participation at older ages are likely to conflict with their role in providing childcare, and therefore has significant implications for labour market participation by younger mothers and for pension acquisition and the financial security of mid-life women.

[2] The 11 SHARE countries are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

[3] Wellard, S. 2011. Doing it all? Grandparents, childcare and employment: An analysis of British Social Attitudes Survey Data from 1998 and 2009. London: Grandparents Plus.

Grandparent-headed households: three-generation and skipped-generation households

The study looks at trends over time in the prevalence of adults living in grandparent households (both three-generation and households with the parents' generation absent) in England and Wales, France, West Germany, Romania and Portugal.

In England and Wales, France and West Germany there has been a decline in the percentage of adults aged 35 plus living in three-generation households. In England this declined from 3.3% in 1981 to 1.5% in 2001, the latest period for which data is available. In Romania, and also the US, there has been an increase over the same time frame.

In England and Wales, like the US, there has been an increase in skipped-generation households, from 0.25% of adults over 35 living in such households in 1981 to 0.42% in 2001. This most likely reflects the increase in kinship care (wider family members raising children) identified by Nandy and Selwyn's analysis of Census microdata.[4]

Both three-generation and skipped-generation grandparent households are associated with poverty and socio-economic disadvantage in all the countries studied.

Adults living in grandparent households are more likely to be women, divorced, widowed or separated, with lower educational levels, and economically inactive, and this is particularly marked for those in skipped-generation grandparent households.

Grandparent characteristics in 12 European countries

The study looks at the characteristics of grandparents aged 50 and over from the following countries:

- England and France
- Denmark and Sweden (Scandinavia)
- Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland (Western Europe)
- Spain, Italy and Greece (Southern Europe)

Percentage of older adults who are grandparents

In all 12[5] European countries studied the majority of women over 50 are grandmothers, ranging from 72% in Denmark to 53% in Switzerland. In most countries the majority of men over 50 are grandfathers, ranging from 62% in Belgium to 42% in Greece. In England 67% of women over 50 are grandmothers and 58% of men over 50 are grandfathers.

Overall the highest percentage of older adults who are grandparents are in Scandinavia and Belgium, followed by England and France, and the lowest are in Southern Europe. Higher rates of grandparents in Scandinavia and Belgium are likely to reflect both higher fertility among adult children and younger ages at childbearing.

Age, gender and marital status of grandparents

The youngest grandparents are in Denmark (mean age 67) and the oldest are in Greece (mean age 70). The highest percentage of working-age grandparents (50 to 64) is in Scandinavia, with Denmark at 50%. The lowest percentages are in Southern Europe, with around a third aged 50 to 64 in Spain and Italy. The percentage of working-age grandparents is relatively high in England (41%).

In all countries the majority of grandparents are women, ranging from 56% in Sweden and 57% in England to 61% in Greece.

Marital status as well as age and gender is likely to be a factor in whether grandparents provide childcare. The highest percentage of still-married grandparents is in the Netherlands, at 70%, with 69% in England. Grandmothers are more likely than grandfathers to be widowed in all countries.

Children and grandchildren

Even though in the Netherlands and Spain, grandparents have more children (a mean of almost 3.0) compared with 2.7 in England, **English grandparents have the most grandchildren – an average of 4.9 compared with 4.2 across the other countries studied.** The lowest numbers of grandchildren are in Germany and Austria (3.7) and Greece (3.8). English grandmothers have on average 5.2 grandchildren, and English grandfathers have 4.6 grandchildren, more than in any other country.

Grandparental involvement in children's lives is likely to depend on the number of grandchildren, and also their age. Among the European countries studied over half of grandparents have at least one grandchild under the age of 6. In the Netherlands, 40% of grandparents have a grandchild under age 3, compared with just 18% in Austria.

Sandwich generation grandparents

Grandparents in the Scandinavian countries and France show the highest percentages who are in the sandwich generation with at least one of their own parents still alive, at around 22%. The lowest is in Italy (12%). Relatively fewer grandparents in England are in the sandwich generation (15%). Our analysis includes all grandparents, not just those with grandchildren under the age of 16. Among these grandparents, as the BSA survey analysis shows, the percentage of grandparents with their own parents is much higher at 28%.

Education, economic activity and wealth

There is a wide range of educational levels across Europe, with over 80% of grandparents reporting a low educational level in Southern European countries compared with just

[4] Nandy, S., Selwyn, J., Farmer, E. and Vaisey, P. (2011) Spotlight on kinship care: Using Census microdata to examine the extent and nature of kinship care in the U.K., London: University of Bristol.
[5] 11 SHARE countries plus England

25% in Germany. On average across the 11 countries in SHARE 59% report a low educational level (56% in England), 28% a middle level (28% in England) and 13% a high educational level (16% in England).

Only in Sweden do grandmothers report higher levels of education than grandfathers. There is also wide variation in the percentage of grandparents in paid work, from 29% in the Scandinavian countries to 9% in Italy. **Almost one in four (23%) of English grandparents are in paid work, compared with the average across the 11 countries in SHARE of one in seven.**

Across Europe grandmothers are poorer than grandfathers, in part reflecting the fact that grandmothers tend to be older and are more likely to be widowed than grandfathers. The percentage of grandmothers who are in the poorest 20% of the wealth distribution for people over 50 ranges from 23% in Denmark to 32% in Germany, while for grandfathers those in the poorest 20% range from 16% in France to 24% in Italy.

Health and well-being

There is a wide range in the percentage of grandparents across the countries studied reporting their health as fair or poor, from just 12% of grandfathers and 16% of grandmothers in Sweden, to 45% of grandfathers and 48% of grandmothers in Germany. English grandparents rate their health better in comparison to the average across the 11 countries in SHARE, with 31% of grandfathers rating their health as fair or poor compared with the average of 38%. 30% of English grandmothers rate their health as fair or poor compared with the average of 44%.

English grandparents, along with those from Denmark, are least likely to report four or more depressive symptoms (18%) while Spanish, French and Italian grandmothers report particularly high levels (over 40%).

However, **English grandparents have the highest levels of health or disability-related limitation in activities in daily living across the study**, with almost one in four reporting one or more limitation, compared with 12% of grandmothers and 14% of grandfathers elsewhere.

Grandparents across Europe tend to have poorer rates of cognitive function than over 50s who are not grandparents, reflecting the fact that they tend to be older. After taking age into account, differences between countries in grandparents' cognitive functions are small.

Grandparental Childcare

The research shows a high level of grandparental involvement in childcare across Europe. 44% of grandparents in the SHARE countries have looked after a grandchild without the presence of the parents in the last 12 months. The highest level of grandparents providing any grandparental childcare is in the Netherlands and Denmark, with around 57% of grandparents looking after a grandchild in the past 12 months, and the lowest rates are in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Southern European countries, at around 40%.

In Britain, **the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey shows that 63% of grandparents with grandchildren under 16 reported that they had ever looked a grandchild in the last 12 months**, compared with 50% elsewhere in Europe who had provided some type of care for a grandchild under 16 without the parents present.[6]

11% of grandparents across the 11 countries in SHARE provided daily or almost daily care, ranging from 20% in Italy and Greece to 2% or lower in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands.

The BSA survey shows that 19% of grandmothers and 14% of grandfathers in Britain with grandchildren under 16 reported providing 10 hours a week or more of childcare for one or more of their grandchildren. 6% of all grandparents in Britain with a grandchild of any age looked after a grandchild in the past week, averaging 30 hours a week.

Who are the grandparents providing childcare?

The analysis found that grandparents providing childcare are likely to be female, younger, with a partner, with a higher educational level and in higher wealth quintiles, and with better health and younger grandchildren. Overall grandparental childcare is associated with socio-economic advantage and being younger.

Which parents are more likely to receive childcare from a grandparent?

Parents[7] in northern European countries are more likely to have a child looked after by grandparents than those in Austria, Switzerland and southern European countries.

However, for regular childcare the situation is the reverse: parents in Scandinavian countries are least likely to have their children regularly looked after by grandparents, while parents in Italy, Greece and Belgium are most likely to have children looked after regularly.

Mothers, especially those who have never been married are more likely to have a child looked after by grandparents. The younger the parent the more likely it is that their child is looked after regularly by grandparents.

Parents whose youngest child is under six are more likely to have a child looked after by a grandparent. Overall 55% of parents whose youngest child is aged between nought and two receive grandparental childcare for their children, 59% of those whose youngest child is aged three to five, and 48% of those whose youngest child is aged six to 11. Only 11% of parents whose child is aged 12 or older receive grandparental childcare. Parents who live closer to grandparents are more likely to have their child looked

[6] Hank, K. & Buber, I. 2009. Grandparents caring for their grandchildren findings from the 2004 Survey of Health, Ageing, and Retirement in Europe. Journal of Family Issues, 30, 53-73.

[7] Please note that we do not have a representative sample of parents in SHARE. What we do have are the selected characteristics of up to four adult children given to us by the older person. We know which of the adult children the older person identifies as being a parent and we also know whether these parents have been identified (that is by their older mother or father) as being given grandparental childcare.

after by a grandparent. 38% of parents who live within five kilometres of a child's grandparent received grandparental childcare, compared with 20% of those who live more than 100 km away.

Overall a higher percentage of mothers who work part-time have a child looked after by a grandparent than those who work full-time. However the pattern varies across countries.

For mothers, overall a higher percentage of those in paid work receive grandparental childcare compared with those who are not in paid work, however the reverse is true for mothers in Scandinavia where those who are not in paid work receive more help from grandparents than those who are.

Family policy and patterns of grandparenting

The report considers the extent to which differences in the ways that grandparents care for grandchildren across Europe might be accounted for by differences in family and childcare policy, as well as related work and childcare settings and cultural attitudes. Countries differ markedly in the extent to which women and mothers participate in paid labour and the extent to which people have access to and use formal childcare. Cultural factors also shape different preferences and norms for childcare, with variation across Europe in beliefs about what is best for families and children.

This element of the research focuses on care by grandmothers, since grandfathers rarely provide childcare in the absence of parents without grandmothers present. Outcomes are examined in eleven countries, selected for this analysis to provide clear examples of countries with different policy environments, labour force and childcare structures and varying family, care and work cultures: Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Across Europe there is increased participation in the labour market by women and mothers, with all countries providing some support for leave from paid work and childcare. Nevertheless, significant gender differences remain. Unstable and inflexible labour markets and underfunded or fragmented childcare are factors which push mothers to find alternative forms of care, or to leave paid work or work fewer hours in order to care for their children.

We have developed a framework for cross-country data analysis to examine the relationships between family and care policy and outcomes, labour market structures and participation (especially of mothers), and family and gender cultures. The objective is to analyse political, cultural and employment settings in different countries that help explain the level and intensity of grandmaternal childcare. Across the three spheres of "policies", "labour markets" and "family and gender cultures" we explored a raft of approximately 250 indicators for each of the eleven countries on all kinds of parental and non-parental leave, cash benefits, childcare and elder care and retirement policies, as well as data on female labour market participation and attitudinal data. We classify policies according to the extent to which the state encourages or assumes a role for grandparents. We used a qualitative constant comparative method suggested by existing theoretical understanding of family policy and labour markets to examine which variables (indicators) were associated with each other and how, and how these associations and interactions varied between countries. We then used this analysis to cluster our countries according to similarities and differences between them on these indicators, and in the ways that these indicators were associated with each other. We then considered these clusters in detail, narrowing down our variables to those that seemed most important in explaining how and why grandparental care varied from country to country.

Findings from the policy analysis

Our analysis indicates that there is a close relationship between the family and care policy context and the likelihood that grandmothers are providing intensive childcare. In terms of constellations of policies, we found that our countries clustered into three groups. In the first group, exemplified by Sweden and Denmark, the Scandinavian countries, and to a lesser extent, France, the state organises and provides childcare, there is no assumption that grandparents will provide care and all transfers and benefits are available only to parents. In these countries where both parents expect to work full-time, formal child care is well provided and there are good maternal benefits, fewer grandmothers provide intensive childcare.

In the second group, there is an assumption that grandparents will provide care – the southern and eastern European countries studied fall into this group. In Hungary, Portugal and Spain, this assumption is explicit, but Italy and Romania are also considered part of this group since policy vacuums leave a childcare gap that in practice can only be filled by grandparents – the assumption that they will provide care is implicit. In these countries there are few part-time jobs, limited formal childcare and only limited in-kind family benefits, and more grandmothers provide intensive childcare.

In a third group of countries public support is varied but less universal, childcare coverage is patchy and provided more by the market than the state, and women are more likely to work part-time. Here grandparents play a moderate role in both intensive childcare and occasional/less intensive childcare. The UK, Germany and the Netherlands are examples of these countries, although the Netherlands, for the reasons given below, has very low percentages of grandmothers providing intensive childcare.

The family and care policy environments are however only one part of the picture. The pattern of female labour force participation in a country is associated with childcare by grandmothers, independently of the policy context. Long working hours for mothers and little institutional childcare mean more grandmothers providing intensive childcare. In countries where a high percentage of mothers with young children do not work, those mothers who do work are particularly reliant on intensive grandmother childcare. Also, lower labour force participation among women aged 50 to 64 is associated with more intensive grandmother childcare.

Use of formal childcare for young children is inversely related to intensive childcare by grandmothers. Furthermore, in those countries where maternal care for pre-school children is the preferred norm, childcare patterns suggest that grandmothers are regarded as the best care substitute for those mothers who work in the paid labour market.

Finding from the multivariate analysis: Grandparental characteristics associated with childcare

We used a wide variety of multivariate techniques as appropriate to investigate which individual and country-level characteristics are related to grandparental childcare. Such analyses have several advantages. They permit us to explore the relationship of each characteristic in relation to grandparental childcare while taking into account the potentially confounding influence of other characteristics. For example, in our descriptive analyses we found significant differences in the percentage of grandparents in paid work across countries; such differences may help to explain variations in grandparental childcare. However, we also know that this is confounded with age, that is, an older grandparent is less likely to be in paid work. Thus we need to know whether it is being in paid work or age (or both) that is driving the relationship to grandparental childcare. Our presentation of analyses in the following sections considers these questions with respect to all of the characteristics discussed so far.

Intensive, non-intensive and no childcare provision

First, we present our findings for the three types of grandparental childcare simultaneously, that is intensive grandparental childcare, non-intensive grandparental childcare, and no grandparental childcare. This is because we want to understand the relative importance of grandparent characteristics for each level of care and how they relate to each other. We used a generalised ordinal logit model (in our case with partial proportional odds).

Multivariate analysis shows that the grandparents most likely to provide any (intensive and non-intensive) childcare are female, young, married, retired, and in the higher wealth quintiles. Married grandparents are more than one and half times as likely to provide any grandparental childcare as unmarried (i.e, never married, widowed or divorced) grandparents. Grandparents with lower levels of education are significantly less likely to provide any childcare; however, they are more likely than those with high educational levels to provide intensive grandparental childcare.

Grandparents with several grandchildren are significantly more likely to provide any grandparental childcare than those with just one grandchild, but having more than one grandchild is not significantly associated with providing intensive grandparental childcare. Grandparents with a youngest grandchild between the ages of three and five (in comparison to ages one to two) are the most likely to be providing any grandparental childcare. Grandparents whose youngest grandchild is aged over six are significantly less likely to be providing care in comparison to grandparents with a youngest grandchild between ages one and two.

Grandparents with better cognitive function are more likely to provide any type of grandparental childcare but the effect is greater for more intensive care. A similar pattern is found when severity of health or disability related functional limitations are considered.

We used our model to examine whether different policy environments still retain some explanatory power once we have taken into account the extent to which the personal characteristics of grandparents differ across countries. Multivariate analysis shows that even when we account for the widely varying characteristics of grandparents across Europe, different national policy contexts are still associated with different levels of grandparental childcare. For example, Danish and Swedish grandparents (which fall into our category of countries where no grandparental care is assumed by the policy context) are significantly more likely to provide some grandparental childcare, but significantly less likely to provide intensive grandparental childcare than those countries with more neutral policy regimes towards grandparental childcare, such as Germany

Grandparents in countries that fall into our category of having policy contexts that assume grandparental childcare, (e.g. Spain, Italy and Greece) are less likely to provide some grandparental childcare but more likely to provide intensive grandparental childcare than countries with more neutral policy regimes, like Germany.

Grandparents in the countries where the policy context is relatively neutral toward grandparents (i.e. Germany, the Netherlands, Austria and Belgium), fall into a middle group when considering the provision of intensive childcare – providing more than in the Scandinavian countries but less likely to provide intensive care than those countries where policy assumes a grandparental role. In the provision of any care, there is a much more even picture across all the countries studied, with grandparents quite similar across the SHARE countries in providing at least some care for their grandchildren. However this analysis does show that Germany and Austria are similar to Italy and Spain with a lower likelihood that grandparents will provide some care, while grandparents in the Netherlands and Belgium have the highest likelihood of grandparents helping out with care at least some of the time.

Intensive childcare provision

Multivariate logistic regression analysis was conducted to explore which grandparental characteristics are associated with intensive grandparental childcare – i.e. daily or at least 30 hours a week of care. Characteristics considered were gender, age, marital, employment and health status and number of grandchildren.

Grandmothers are one and a half times more likely to provide intensive grandparental childcare than are grandfathers. Younger grandparents, and those who are married or cohabiting are also more likely to be providing intensive grandparental childcare.

Grandparents with lower educational levels and retired grandparents are more likely to provide intensive grandparental childcare. Retired grandparents are one and a half times more likely to provide intensive childcare than those grandparents in paid work (even taking age into account). Wealth and the number of grandchildren are

not significantly associated with providing intensive grand parental childcare.

Among the various health indicators considered, functional limitations and cognitive function are significantly (and negatively) associated with the provision of intensive grandparental childcare. **Grandparents without health or disability related limitations are almost twice as likely as those with such conditions to be providing intensive childcare.** However there is no significant relationship between self-rated health and providing intensive childcare.

Our policy context classifications help us to a large extent to understand the hierarchy of countries when considering the extent to which grandparents provide intensive childcare for their grandchildren even after taking account of other differences in grandparents' characteristics across countries. Grandparents in Sweden and Denmark (in our classification of countries where policies assume no grandparental care) for example were only around half as likely as grandparents in England to provide intensive childcare. England, the Netherlands, and Switzerland are quite similar to each other in the provision of intensive grandparental childcare, whereas the likelihood of grandparents providing intensive childcare in France, Germany, Austria and Belgium is between one and a half and three times as high as in England. With the exception of France, these latter countries are all classified into our middle group of neutral countries; Spain, Italy and Greece stand out however as having much higher likelihood of grandparents providing intensive care – three to five times higher than in England, countries where policies assume grandparental care.

Multilevel analyses taking country indicators into account

So far, analyses above considered the different policy contexts and their relationship to different levels of grandparental childcare. In this model we examined whether it is the policy context or the cultural and institutional factors which these contexts produce and reflect that has more explanatory power in explaining variation in grandparental childcare, again taking into account the variation in individual characteristics of grandparents across Europe. We find that considering the policy context groupings does get us a long way in understanding grandparental childcare, but we can explain even more of the variation when we look at the extent to which differences in the cultural-contextual factors across European countries are related to grandparental childcare (while still taking grandparental characteristics into account). We use multilevel logistic regression models to look at intensive grandparental childcare, taking four key country-level variables into account: the percentage of mothers aged 25-49 who are not in paid employment and the percentage of women aged 50-64 in paid work, capturing the two-generation structure of the labour market; the percentage of individuals who strongly agree with the statement that "pre-school children suffer with a working mother" capturing societal attitudes towards care and gender; finally, the percentage of children under the age of three who are enrolled in formal childcare, used as an indicator of the use of formal childcare.

These models show that policies and cultural-structural factors all shape the extent to which grandparents provide intensive childcare in European countries. In particular, certain country characteristics seem to provide arrangements in which grandparents are more likely to engage intensively in providing intensive childcare, even when all the variation in grandparents' characteristics is taken into account. The extent to which mothers in a country are not in the paid labour force is associated with the degree of policy focus on providing formal, affordable childcare, particularly for very young children. Similarly, in countries where mothers are expected to stay at home to care for their families there is also a belief that pre-school children would suffer with working mothers. In such 'pro family care' countries, opportunities for young mothers (aged 25 to 49) to work flexible hours also tend to be limited; mothers who do work in countries where the normative expectation is to stay at home to care for their families tend to work full-time. Hence, mothers who work in such countries need the co-operation of grandparents, and grandmothers in particular. However, the availability of grandmothers to offer such help is reduced in countries where employment rates for women 50 to 64 are comparatively high.

Conclusions

Our analysis indicates that across Europe grandparents are playing a major role in providing childcare for grandchildren.

We have found that in countries where formal childcare is limited and benefits for families and stay at home mothers are not generous, grandparents are providing intensive levels of childcare. In Italy and Greece for example almost a quarter of grandparents look after their grandchildren, without the parents there, for around 30 hours a week, and more than one in five grandmothers are providing almost daily care. In these countries there are fewer opportunities for mothers to work part-time, and those mothers who are in work tend to work full-time.

On the other hand in countries where there is extensive provision of formal childcare, generous maternity and family benefits and support for stay-at-home mothers, grandparents are much less likely to be providing intensive childcare, but much more likely to be providing occasional care without the parents present.

In France, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands up to 60% of grandparents provide some childcare, and in Britain the figure is 63% for those with a grandchild under 16. In these countries mothers are much more likely to be working, and grandparents are acting as a 'reserve army' of care. In many instances grandparents are likely to be providing care to support working mothers, for example, during school holidays and when children are ill and in other family emergencies, or providing less intensive regular childcare to complement formal childcare.

Across all countries our analysis shows that grandparents who provide childcare tend to be younger, healthier, married and to have higher educational levels, and also to classify themselves as retired. These are the very women whom governments across Europe are seeking to keep longer in the labour market to grow our economies in response to ageing populations, with fewer younger workers entering the labour market and an increased life expectancy. This conflict between grandmothers' role in providing childcare and increased participation in paid work both to protect their own retirement incomes and to grow our economies has major implications for the future paid employment of mothers of young children, as well as for their own financial security in later life.

As our populations age the role of grandparents in family life is likely to become even more significant. Already, 17% of grandparents across Europe are in the sandwich generation with their own parents still alive. As life expectancy increases further this percentage is likely to increase. Younger grandparents, most likely to have younger children and grandchildren are of course more likely to still have a parent alive. In Britain, 28% of grandparents with a grandchild under 16 have a parent still alive, six in 10 are still working and nearly eight in 10 are providing some care for grandchildren. This group of grandparents is already under pressure to provide work and care up and down the generations. Austerity programmes leading to cuts in provision for both elder and childcare risk putting yet more pressure on these younger grandparents. Policymakers need to consider the implications for the future financial security of this mid-life generation, as well as the implications of work, care and retirement policies for those in mid-life on younger working parents.

When we consider the experiences of other countries in Europe it is clear that the UK faces a stark choice. We can either prioritise grandmothers remaining in the labour market for longer and thus supporting their own retirement, but acknowledge that over time this is likely to create a care gap for working parents, largely impacting on mothers' employment; or we can invest in universal, affordable formal childcare which will meet, at least in part, that emerging childcare gap and retain both older women and working mothers in the labour market. A third, and arguably the least attractive option would be to decide to reverse the trend for working longer and rely heavily on our ageing population to provide the childcare. Doing so would create an even bigger pensions and care funding gap for older generations and would quickly prove to be unsustainable.

Introduction

1.1 Overview

Across Europe increased life expectancy means that it is now quite common for a child to grow up while their grandparents and even great grandparents are living. Our ageing populations, and other demographic changes such as more mothers in the labour market and higher levels of relationship breakdown, indicate that grandparents are likely to play an increasingly significant role in family life. The austerity measures and cuts to public services being implemented in many countries in response to the current international financial crisis are likely to lead to a greater expectation that grandparents will step in to fill the care gap. Yet our knowledge and understanding of grandparenting, and how different policy environments influence the role which grandparents play is limited. This research seeks to address this significant gap in our knowledge, and to inform debate about the policy issues surrounding the grandparental role.

Our main focus is on grandparenting in terms of engagement in childcare. We recognise that there are other important aspects of grandparenting which we were not able to explore in detail here (e.g. support for parents by looking after children in their presence, gifts to help young adult grandchildren get a start in life, go to university or buy a property, etc.). In addition to childcare, we also examine intergenerational co-residence in this report, as this is likely to involve childcare, for example in the case of grandparents co-residing with adolescent or young adult grandchildren. However, we recognise that this also may capture households where co-residence may be due to the older person's need for support. In this report we also briefly touch on some of the more complex aspects of grandparenting, for example, with respect to the 'sandwich' generation, that is those with potential commitments across generations such as grandparents with their own parents alive (see Chapter 5).

All countries in Europe face population ageing, the result of declining fertility and increasing life expectancy. Within the next fifteen to twenty years, a fifth to a quarter of the population in many European countries will be aged 65 and over (Commission of the European Communities, 2005). An ageing population is placing greater emphasis on improving health and well-being at more advanced ages. As retirement ages are put forward, older people are expected to participate in paid work for longer, but at the same time also to undertake critical roles in caring for children and adults. The question of how far these two activities can or should be pursued simultaneously and how far they must be regarded as alternatives is highly relevant to policy formulation, and yet this informal contribution is usually unpaid and unrecognised in policy. Understanding the role of grandparents in supporting and maintaining families is an important element of the evidence base, not only for family and labour market policies, but also for pension and retirement policies, and for understanding inequalities across the lifecourse.

1.2 Aims and objectives

Our project investigates variations across Europe in the diversity of grandparents, how grandparents contribute to childcare, and how policies are related to patterns of grandparenting (with particular reference to childcare). We are grateful for the support of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation which enabled us to carry out a scoping study in January–April 2010. This study revealed that despite its growing importance as a matter of policy, there is little research examining what grandparenting looks like across Europe, or how policies and contextual-structural factors in different European countries influence grandparenting. Grandparents have always provided financial, emotional and practical care and support to their children and grandchildren, and this support has generally been taken for granted by families, communities and governments alike. Grandparents are particularly important where they become the primary carers for their grandchildren in difficult and distressing circumstances because the child's parents are unable to do so (for example, due to death, physical or mental health problems, drug or alcohol misuse or imprisonment), or when the parents are still very young. They are also important as informal providers of childcare enabling mothers to enter the paid labour force – a specific policy aim across the European Union. As we learn more about the grandparental role around Europe, we realise that to achieve caring and productive societies, it is important to implement social policies that help to sustain these important, complex and potentially fragile social relationships. The role and contribution of grandparents is currently little acknowledged in policy and the law accords grandparents few rights.

By comparing different European countries, we can develop a clearer understanding of what types of family policies help to support the family including the extended family, and in what circumstances. To do this, we address the following questions:

1. How do the living arrangements of grandparents vary within and across European countries and how have they changed over time?

2. How do the characteristics of grandparents vary across Europe in terms of age, living arrangements, socio-economic status, education, marital status, participation in paid work, retirement status and health?

3. How does the level of involvement of grandparents with their grandchildren vary across Europe in terms of contact, help and care? What characteristics of grandparents help to explain the diversity of arrangements?

4. How do family policies vary, and how are these variations in policy related to observed diversity in the levels of involvement of grandparents with their grandchildren?

1.3 Datasets and methodology

We used a wide variety of data sources to address the research questions including samples of census responses, the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA), and SHARE (Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe). In addition, we used data from Eurostat, the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), the European Social Survey (ESS), Eurobarometer and other national and international

sources, as well as published work on maternal, parental and other child-related benefits and leave, to inform the policy analysis. Consequently, the geographical scope of the study varies as it was not possible to address all the research questions using the same set of countries (for more information on data sources see Appendix B).

For the first research question, we examine patterns of co-residence between grandparents and grandchildren over time (with or without the parents being present) in 5 European countries and the US using: the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS) for France, Portugal, Romania and the US, the ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS) for England and Wales, and the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) for West Germany. The IPUMS offers samples of census data which have been cleaned (that is, checked for anomalies) and harmonised. These countries were selected because they had compatible data over three decades and because they allowed grandparents and grandchildren to be identified within households.

For the second and third research questions, we investigate the characteristics of grandparents and grandparents' involvement with their children (addressing the second and third research objectives) across 12 European countries using the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA) and the Survey of Ageing, Health and Retirement (SHARE) which includes Austria, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, France, Denmark, Greece, Switzerland, and Belgium. Both surveys are based on people aged 50 and over and their partners and are comparable. We use the first wave of data collected in 2002/03 for ELSA and 2003/4 for SHARE. ELSA has information on close to 12,000 people and SHARE's sample size in this wave was 29,917 people aged 50 and over (ranging from 1,707 in Denmark to 3,193 in France).

These data sources permit the detailed study of grandparenthood and grandparenting as they ask respondents whether they have grandchildren and how many and whether they regularly or occasionally looked after their grandchild(ren) (without the children's parents being present). So far, only limited analysis on this topic has been carried out and published (Albertini et al., 2007, Hank and Buber, 2009). While studies show considerable variation in grandparental childcare across countries, few have considered both contextual characteristics (such as the policy environment) as well as individual ones (Igel and Szydlik, 2011, Jappens and van Bavel, 2011). Even the few studies that have taken contextual factors into account use mostly broad indicators of country-level factors (for example, expenditure on families), consider this issue from the parents' rather than the grandparents' perspective; and have largely not taken cultural factors into account (Igel and Szydlik, 2011, Jappens and van Bavel, 2011). Our analysis in this report examines both individual-level characteristics and country-level indicators capturing family and labour market cultures and structures (from the perspective of both parents and grandparents) to explain variations across Europe in grandparental childcare. See Appendix B for our detailed methodology.

The final research question addresses the policy strand of the study and consists of two steps; the policy analysis itself and a combination of the policy and demographic analysis. The first step, the policy analysis, involves 11 European countries using three criteria: first, geographical spread; second, representation of different types of welfare regimes and of economic characteristics; and third, inclusion in most cross-national data sources. Thus, the countries chosen for this analysis are: Sweden, Denmark, The Netherlands, Germany, France, the UK, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Hungary and Romania.

Drawing on data from national ministries of work and family together with international policy sources such as MISSOC (Mutual Information System on Social Protection) and the International Network on Leave Policies and Research (INLPR), this analysis draws on established methodologies for studying family policy across Europe, influenced in particular by the approach advocated by the EU Government Expert Group on Demographic Issues (2009).[8] In previous studies family policies have not been analysed according to their implications for grandparental childcare and intergenerational relations; the analytical focus has almost always been on mothers' paid employment. We used desk- and internet- based research to map family policy across three spheres for each European country studied: (i) parental policies, (ii) child benefits, family allowances and childcare services and (iii) policies impacting directly on grandparents as entitled persons. Our policy mapping has been checked with the project's advisory group of European experts (see Appendix A). As expected this mapping reveals that countries cluster into regimes of grandparental childcare, reflecting different family cultures, national policies and other country-specific contexts. This novel analytical approach to European family policy increases our understanding of the relationship between family policy and family structure.

In the second step, we feed our policy analysis into the demographic models which involve ELSA and SHARE in two ways. First, we add country controls to the multivariate analysis to capture the extent to which variation in demographies of grandparenting across Europe remains related to the nation state itself, even after individual and family characteristics are taken into account. Second, we use our policy mapping to group countries into categories reflecting different policy regimes regarding their probable impact on grandparental care. These categories are represented by key indicators which are then used in the statistical models to investigate the relative importance of family policy within a country to its grandparenting demography of care and therefore to inter-generational relations across Europe. This analysis also reveals which policy regimes are associated with which demographic patterns, which is of critical interest to policymakers and lobby groups.

Thus we do not evaluate specific family policies within each European country (which would require very thorough evaluation research to examine the circumstances before and after the introduction of a specific policy) but rather we consider how the general framework of family policy within each country relates to grandparenting. In this type of research precise timing of small policy changes becomes less important, as it is the overall pattern of convergence over a number of policy spheres that becomes the most important unit of analysis. Welfare regime research over the last twenty

[8] Towards a Framework for Assessing Family Policies in the EU.

years has shown that broad policy patterns change very slowly within nation states, even if there are changes to individual policies. However, we use our advisory group of European experts to capture whether there have been very substantial shifts in family policy regimes since the demographic data were collected and to ensure that these are taken account of in the analysis.

1.4 Report outline

Chapter 2 presents a brief update of the literature in this area (as well as any key references) since the publication of our scoping study in 2010 (Glaser et al., 2010). Chapter 3 focuses on our analyses of the prevalence of grandparent households in selected European countries and the US between the 1980s and 2000s. Chapter 4 describes grandparent characteristics across the 12 European countries in ELSA and SHARE. Chapter 5 presents parent characteristics in the 11 European countries in SHARE. Chapter 6 describes our analysis of grandparent policy regimes and their relationship to intensive grandparental care. Chapter 7 discusses the relationship between the grandparent policy regimes, country-level cultural-structural indicators and grandparental childcare. Finally in Chapter 8 we summarise and discuss the policy implications of our results.

2 Summary (and Brief Update) of Literature Review

A thorough review of the literature contributing to knowledge of this research topic was carried out in the earlier scoping study and has been published separately (Glaser et al., 2010). To summarise:

Grandparents are likely to become more significant in family life as populations age

- During most of the 20th century western societies have experienced a series of rapid socio-demographic changes. Improvements in survivorship mean that three-generation families are no longer an exception (Post et al., 1997, Watkins et al., 1987). The number of grandparents in England has doubled over the past 50 years (Department of Health, 2009). A child under age 5 born in the first half of the 19th century was likely to have just two grandparents alive but this rose to 3.5 grandparents alive by 2010 (Murphy, 2011). Children today have at least three living grandparents for most of their childhood (Murphy, 2011).
- Other changes, such as the growth in mothers' paid employment and rises in divorce and step-families, are causing a considerably increased need for extra-parental child care, in which grandparents can play a major role (Wheelock and Jones, 2002, Herlofson and Hagestad, 2012).
- Dutch research investigating changes in the provision of childcare for two cohorts of grandparents between 1992 and 2006 showed a significant increase in grandparents providing care for the children of an adult daughter (Geurts et al., submitted). Among the possible reasons for this change was the higher labour force participation of mothers and increases in lone parenthood (Geurts et al., submitted).

Co-residence between grandparents and grandchildren

- Recent work by Nandy and colleagues (2011) using microdata from the 2001 UK censuses estimated that the number of children living with relatives but without their biological parents (that is in 'kinship care' as inferred from co-residence[9]) was approximately 173,000; the proportion of such children had doubled between 1991 and 2001.
- There is a lack of evidence about families headed by grandparents in Europe, although evidence from the UK suggests that grandparents form the largest group among family and friends awarded kinship care of children (Farmer and Moyers, 2008, Nandy et al., 2011).
- Increasing co-residence between grandparents and grandchildren in the US (from 3.2% in 1970 to 5.5% of children by 2003) suggests a rise in the share of grandparents raising or helping to raise grandchildren; especially significant is the rise in skipped-generation households; those comprising grandparents living with their grandchildren without the child's parents (Casper and Bryson, 1998, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999, U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).
- Our work in this report suggests a smaller but notable similar rise in skipped-generation households in England and Wales. In the UK and the US a range of reasons for this rise have been suggested including parental neglect or abuse, drug or alcohol misuse, and mother's imprisonment or death (Goodman and Silverstein, 2001, Jendrek, 1993, Nandy et al., 2011) – illustrating the vital social role that grandparents are playing. It has also been suggested that in Europe the rise in intergenerational households containing a grandparent may be linked to rising poverty (Lyberaki and Tinios, 2005).
- Nandy and colleagues also found greater poverty to be associated with children living in households with relatives other than their birth parents (most often with a grandparent) (Nandy et al., 2011). This is in line with studies in the US which have also found poverty to be greater in skipped-generation households (Mutchler and Baker, 2004). This was also found to be the case in European countries such as Portugal, where skipped-generation households are more likely to be found in the bottom of the income distribution in comparison to other households with co-resident grandparents (Albuquerque, 2011).

Grandparents providing help to families

- Research shows that in northwest Europe and the US there is frequent contact between older parents and their adult children; however there is less involvement in regular transfers of financial and social support than in southern Europe (Albertini et al., 2007).
- This is partly due to the greater availability of state support in the former countries including welfare benefits, public housing, eldercare and childcare, as well as to different cultural norms.
- Most transfers are down the generations, with financial and practical support provided by older parents to their adult children and grandchildren. It is only when grandparents reach the age of 75 or older that they are more likely to receive than to give help (Albertini et al., 2007, Attias-Donfut et al., 2005).
- Analysis of Europe-wide data shows that older people with more resources, for example those with a partner, or with higher levels of wealth or educational attainment are more likely to provide help, while those who are in poor health or single are less likely to provide support (Albertini et al., 2007). There is also a gender difference, in line with the role of women as perceived 'kinkeepers': women are more likely to provide assistance and help in comparison to men (Albertini et al., 2007).

Grandparenting and family breakdown

- Rises in divorce and step-families means that the role of grandparents in families is likely to increase as studies have shown the importance of grandparental involvement at times of family breakdown (Dench and Ogg, 2002).
- On the one hand, studies have found that

[9] What in the US literature are considered skipped-generation households.

grandparents are more likely to provide help with care of grandchildren if the parents are separated than if they are together (Dench and Ogg, 2002).

- On the other hand, there is increasing evidence to suggest that paternal grandparents are less likely than maternal grandparents to be involved in care of grandchildren after their child's divorce or separation (Hank and Buber, 2009, Herlofson and Hagestad, 2012, Igel and Szydlik, 2011).
- In addition, higher divorce rates across all generations (including middle and older generations) mean that grandparents themselves are more likely to experience divorce or to have experienced it in the past (Brown and Lin, 2012). Divorced grandparents, or those who have previously been divorced and since remarried, tend to have fewer contacts with their grandchildren, take part in fewer shared activities with them, and say they feel less close to their grandchildren than grandparents who have never been divorced (King, 2003) . This probably reflects less close relationships between older people who have ever experienced divorce and their adult children.
- These negative effects are stronger for grandfathers and paternal grandparents, probably reflecting fathers' loss of contact with their children following divorce (King, 2003).
- The likely increase in future numbers of divorced older people may have negative implications for the closeness of future generations of grandchildren and grandparents. However, as divorce and separation become more common it is likely that the effects on family relations may also change.

Grandparents providing childcare

- Around 40% of parents with children under 16 in the 2009 Childcare and Early Years Survey reported using informal care (that is, care outside any regulated or formalised system) (Rutter and Evans, 2011). Among those using informal childcare, grandparents are the most common providers of such care, enabling parents more easily to reconcile work and family responsibilities (Rutter and Evans, 2011).
- It is estimated that in Britain there are currently 14 million grandparents (Wellard, 2011). From the grandparents' perspective we also know that the majority play an important role in looking after grandchildren. For example, nearly two thirds (63%) of grandparents in Britain with grandchildren under 16 provide some grandparental childcare and 17% provide at least 10 hours a week (Wellard, 2011) .
- Evidence also shows that over half of grandparents in selected European countries provide childcare to a grandchild under the age of 16 (Albertini et al., 2007, Ware et al., 2002, Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011). However, there are striking differences across Europe in the frequency of grandparental childcare.
- In Italy, Spain and Greece roughly 40% of grandparents who provide any grandparental childcare are regularly looking after a grandchild younger than 16 (that is almost weekly or more often), compared with 20% of their counterparts in France, Denmark, Sweden, France, and the Netherlands (Albertini et al., 2007, Ware et al., 2002, Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011).
- On the other hand, more grandparents provide childcare for a grandchild younger than 16 in Sweden, France, the Netherlands and Denmark (around 60%) than in the southern European countries where this is just over 50% of grandmothers and 40% of grandfathers (Albertini et al., 2007, Ware et al., 2002, Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011).
- The literature investigating factors associated with grandparental childcare is particularly extensive in the US. Gender, age, marital status, health, education, and employment have all been shown to be significantly associated with grandparental childcare (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005).
- Recent studies in Europe have begun to examine the socio-economic and demographic characteristics associated with grandparental childcare from a comparative perspective. Such studies show that younger, healthier, and financially better-off grandparents are more likely to provide any as well as regular grandparental childcare (Albertini et al., 2007, Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011).
- This is in contrast to much of the US literature which shows that grandparents with 'primary care' responsibilities for grandchildren (many of whom are co-resident) or who undertake intensive grandparental roles are often among the most disadvantaged (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005). For example, they are more likely to be black, female and living on low incomes or below the poverty line (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005). Half of all US grandmothers providing intensive childcare live in the same household as their grandchild.
- This difference between Europe and the US is most likely due to the different definitions of 'intensive' childcare used. In the US data are routinely collected on whether grandparents have a 'primary responsibility' for raising a grandchild, whereas to our knowledge no survey in Europe collects these data. In Europe intensive grandparental childcare usually refers to a less intensive form of childcare than that measured in the US.
- US studies that have investigated grandmothers providing childcare (rather than primary care) also find that, for example, they are younger, healthier, report higher educational levels, and are more likely to be married and to live with their spouse (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998). These findings are more in line with the European studies suggesting that when studies are not restricted to very intense grandparenting the availability of material and personal resources partly conditions the giver's ability to provide assistance (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998).
- In Europe studies that have explored grandparental childcare have especially looked at the relationship between grandparents' participation in paid work and care. For instance, grandmothers aged 50 to

65 in paid work were found to be less likely to be providing regular grandparental childcare (Zamarro, 2011). This finding is consistent with other European evidence (Albertini et al., 2007, Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011).

- Grandchild characteristics have also been found to be important: Igel and Szydlik (2011) found grandparents are more likely to provide any grandparental childcare for children aged 4 to 6, whereas intensive grandparental childcare is more likely for children under 3 years of age.

Grandparenting and mothers' participation in paid work

- The focus of recent European studies has been on the importance of the intergenerational link and grandparental childcare in particular with regard to mothers' labour force participation. These studies have shown that for some countries mothers are more likely to engage in paid work when grandparents are providing grandparental childcare (Arpino et al., 2010, Ware et al., 2002, Wistow and Hardy, 1999).

Contextual-structural factors as explanations for patterns of grandparenting across Europe

- While recognising that European countries differ in terms of policies and cultural-contextual structures (that is with respect to welfare state provision, demographic and socio-economic behaviours and family norms) few studies have attempted to directly measure how these factors influence the role grandparents play in family life.
- Some authors have suggested that the greater reliance on substantial grandparental support in southern Europe is related to the lower availability of formal childcare (Albertini et al., 2007). Welfare state systems have thus been pointed to as an important factor for understanding the extent and intensity of intergenerational relations.
- To date research has found two country-level factors in particular to be significantly associated with grandparental childcare: public childcare provision and family norms. Igel and Szydlik (2011) (also using SHARE data) found that cross-national differences in public expenditure on childcare and other family services (families and maternity and parental leave) showed a significant association with grandparental childcare: where public expenditure on childcare was higher, grandparental childcare was less likely (Igel and Szydlik, 2011).
- Jappens and Van Bavel 2012 examined the association between family norms in a country and the provision of grandparental childcare. While they also found the supply of formal childcare to be important, their work showed a significant association between country-level attitudes and grandparental childcare. For example, grandparental childcare was more common in those European regions with more conservative attitudes toward gendered family roles (Jappens and van Bavel, 2011).

3 Trends in Prevalence of Grandparent Households: Selected European Countries and the US

In this chapter our aim is to examine how residence in grandparent households (that is, households that include a grandparent-grandchild dyad) by middle-aged and older adults varies across particular European countries and how its prevalence has changed over time. Given the important role that grandparents play in family life, a better understanding of grandparent households is likely to shed new light on a key aspect of grandparental childcare: co-residence with grandchildren as a proxy for kinship care (Lewis et al., 2008, Nandy et al., 2011). However, as we include households with young adult grandchildren we recognise that not all grandparents in these households are necessarily providing care for grandchildren.

In the US as grandparents are more frequently involved in childcare arrangements involving co-resident care, data is routinely collected on whether grandparents have 'primary responsibility' for raising a grandchild (Fuller-Thomson et al., 1997). 'Custodial households' can be identified where living with a grandchild is combined with a grandparent acting as primary carer (Mutchler and Baker, 2004). These studies have shown that the vast majority of co-resident grandparents whether in three-generation or skipped-generation households have primary care responsibilities (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001). To our knowledge, no national surveys in Europe or the U.K. collect these data but the practice of 'kinship care' is generally inferred from co-residence (Nandy et al., 2011)

Therefore, we study adults aged 35 and over and investigate trends in the likelihood of living in a grandparent household between the 1980s and 2000s in England and Wales, France, West Germany, Portugal, Romania and the United States.[10] We also identify the socio-economic and demographic characteristics associated with variations in such household residence. A distinction is made between 'three-generation households' (comprising grandparents and grandchildren, with at least one of their parents) and 'skipped-generation households' (consisting of grandparents and grandchildren but without the parents) (Casper and Bryson, 1998, Mutchler and Baker, 2004). The data sources used are the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS), the Office for National Statistics' Longitudinal Study for England and Wales (LS), and the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP).[11]

3.1 Evidence of trends

As summarised in Chapter 2, in England, Wales and Scotland using 1991 and 2001 census data, Nandy and colleagues (2011) showed an increase in kinship care from the perspective of children under the age of 18 (that is children living in households where no parent is present) (Nandy et al., 2011). Similar trends are also apparent in the US. For instance, the US shows evidence of increasing co-residence between grandchildren and grandparents suggesting a rise in the share of grandparents raising or helping to raise grandchildren (Casper and Bryson, 1998, U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

3.2 Characteristics of grandparent households

As stated in Chapter 2, grandparents living in households with their grandchildren are more likely to be in poverty when compared to other grandparents (Albuquerque, 2011, Casper and Bryson, 1998, Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Minkler, 1999, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005, Mutchler and Baker, 2004). In addition our earlier report showed that grandparents in these household types in the US are more likely to female, African American, and less educated (Glaser et al., 2010). It should be noted, however, that children in mother-only households are usually worse off economically than those in households where a grandparent co-resides (Mutchler and Baker, 2009).

Our earlier report also showed that three-generation households are less likely to fall below the poverty line than skipped-generation households (Mutchler and Baker, 2004). Furthermore grandparents in multi-generation households are also more likely to be younger than those in skipped-generation households, and both grandparents are more likely to be present in the latter. In skipped-generation households grandchildren are more likely to be older in comparison to multi-generation households (Mutchler and Baker, 2004).

3.3 Evidence for Europe

As mentioned in Chapter 2 there is a lack of evidence about grandparent households in Europe, although recent work showed an increase in the rise of three-generation grandparent households in Portugal (Albuquerque, 2011). Nevertheless few studies have examined the characteristics of grandparent households in Europe (Albuquerque, 2011, Hank and Buber, 2009, Smith Koslowski, 2009).

3.4 Reasons for caregiving and policies

Grandparents may take on the role of a parent, either legally or informally, for a range of reasons including (as mentioned in Chapter 2) parental neglect or abuse, drug or alcohol misuse and a mother's imprisonment or serious illness or death (Nandy et al., 2011). In the UK, the increase in kinship care in the 1990s is thought to be due to growing problems with parental substance misuse, rising imprisonment, and increasing use of formal kinship care since the introduction of the Children Act 1989 and reinforced by subsequent legislation (Nandy et al., 2011). In the US recent policy changes have also greatly contributed to enhancing the role of grandparents in childcare. For example, following the decline of licensed foster homes in the US in the 1980s and 1990s placing children with relatives (often grandparents) reflected a major policy shift (Berrick, 1998, Smith and Beltran, 2001). As a result not only is kinship care increasing in the US, but in some states nearly as many children are being placed in kinship as in foster care (Berrick, 1998, Smith and Beltran, 2001). It is also important to note that in Europe it has been suggested that the rise in intergenerational households containing a grandparent may also be linked to rising poverty (Lyberaki and Tinios, 2005).

[10] Analysis of trends in grandparent households for the other countries in our study was not possible given the lack of appropriate data.
[11] More information on these datasets can be found in Appendix B.

3.5 Summary

In the UK there was a rise in the number of children growing up with grandparents in kinship care households in the 1990s (Nandy et al., 2011). In the US there was a similar increase; however, this involved both household types, that is those where three generations are living together, and those where the parent is absent or unable to fulfil their parental role and the grandparent is the primary caregiver. Grandparents (and therefore grandchildren) in these latter household types are more likely to be in poverty than other grandparents.

Grandparents may take on the role of a parent, either legally or informally, for a range of reasons including parental neglect or abuse, drug or alcohol misuse and mothers' imprisonment or death (Nandy et al., 2011). Evidence from the UK suggests that grandparents form the largest group among family and friends awarded formal kinship care of children (Nandy et al., 2011). However, there is generally a lack of evidence about families in grandparent households in Europe (Nandy et al., 2011) although there is some evidence to suggest that rises in intergenerational households including a grandparent may be a response to poverty rather than issues relating to parental problems (Lyberaki and Tinios, 2005).

3.6 Grandparent households: Prevalence and characteristics

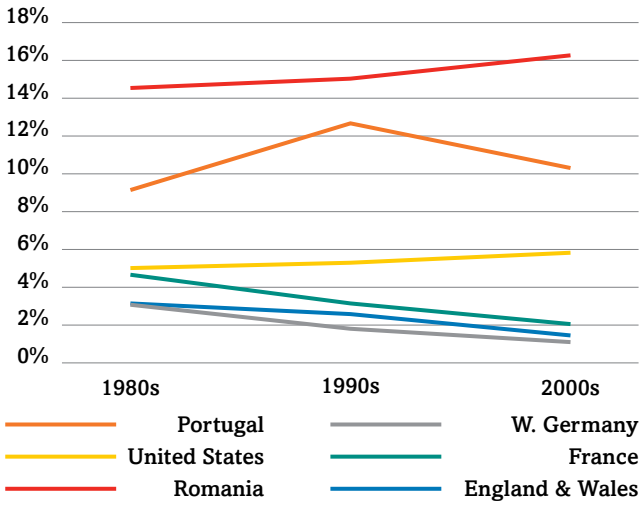
First, we report on trends over time in the prevalence of adults living in grandparent households (that is three-generation and skipped-generation households). As noted above, the European countries studied in answering this question are England and Wales, France, West Germany, Romania and Portugal.[12]

We distinguish between 'three-generation households' (comprising grandparents and grandchildren, with at least one of their parents) and 'skipped-generation households' (consisting of grandparents and grandchildren but without the parents). There is no limit on the numbers either of grandparents or of grandchildren in a single household, although the number of grandparents is unlikely to exceed four. The grandchildren can be of any age; where a grandchild is aged (for example) over 20 it may well be that care and support between grandparent(s) and grandchild is mutual rather than solely from the older to the younger generation. The presence of other people in the household besides grandparent-parent-grandchild triads is ignored; their numbers are in any case relatively small.

Figure 3-1 and Figure 3-2 show the percentage of people aged 35[13] and older residing in three-generation households. These people may be grandparents, parents, grandchildren (in a few cases) or indeed other resident relatives or friends. With the exception of Romania, and to a lesser extent Portugal, the other European countries studied (that is England and Wales, France, and West Germany), show a decline in the percentage of adults aged 35 and older residing in three-generation grandparent households. In England & Wales this percentage declined from 3.3% in 1981 to 1.5% in 2001. Nevertheless, there were over a million people in three-generation grandparent households in England and Wales in 2001 (the latest census date for which data is currently available). By contrast in the US there was a rise in three-generation households.

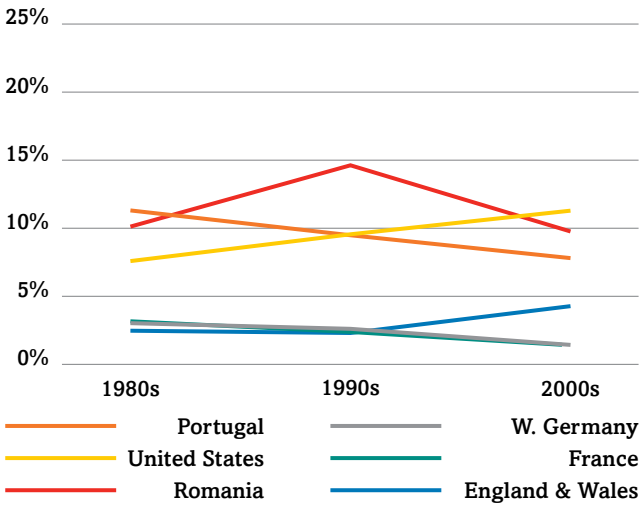
However, England and Wales, like the US, shows an increase in the prevalence of skipped-generation households. In England & Wales this rose from 0.25% of adults aged 35 and over living in such households in 1981 to 0.42% in 2001. Overall, there are around 155,000 people in skipped-generation households in 2001. No other European country studied so far follows this pattern.

Figure 3-1 Percentage of people aged 35 and over residing in three-generation grandparent households: Selected European countries and the US, 1980s–2000s



Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

Figure 3-2 Percentage of people aged 35 and over residing in skipped-generation grandparent households: Selected European countries and the US, 1980s–2000s



Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

[12] France, Romania and Portugal are the countries with suitable data for 3 time points in IPUMS.

[13] We also undertook this analysis for individuals aged 40 and over and found few differences.

Table 3-1 shows the percentage of people aged 35 and over in three-generation grandparent households by selected characteristics. It may seem counter-intuitive to study a characteristic of a household (the presence of three generations) by examining the personal characteristics of its adult residents, but it is considered that well-being, social advantage and social disadvantage are better identified at the individual level than at the household level. This is especially the case when the main data source is censuses, as these rarely ask questions about income or wealth; the main indicator of household advantage is often housing tenure and this shows marked national variations which are not directly associated with social advantage at any level.

Three-generation grandparent households (as the US literature shows) are generally associated with socio-economic disadvantage, being more prevalent among women, older people, those in the lower educational groups, those who are either not in the labour force or unemployed, as well as those born abroad. For example in England and Wales in 2001, 1.7% of women aged 35 or over lived in a three-generation household compared with only 1.3% of men of a similar age; and while 1.4% of married people lived in such a household, the percentage rose to 2.9 for widows and widowers (Table 3-1).

Table 3-2 shows the characteristics of adults aged 35 and over in skipped-generation grandparent households, that is those which include at least one grandparent-grandchild dyad without the child's parent being present (although other people, for example a grandparent's sibling, could be present in the household). For example, among those aged 35 and over who have less than a primary education in the US in 2000 2.4% are in a skipped-generation household in comparison to 0.4% of those with a University education (Table 3-2). Again these suggest socio-economic disadvantage; they include a higher likelihood where the home is not owner-occupied, whereas for three-generation households the reverse was shown.

Table 3-3 shows an analysis of households rather than of people (unlike Tables 3-1 and 3-2); households are categorised as three-generation or skipped-generation, with other (non-grandparent) households omitted. The table shows the type of headship of the two different grandparent household types (that is either headed by the grandparent or the parent), whether both grandparents are present in the household and the age of the youngest grandparent. The figures for West Germany should be interpreted with caution as the number of households (the base for the percentages) is small. For example, with the exceptions of France and West Germany, three-generation households are more likely to be headed by grandparents than by parents. Overall, both grandparents are more likely to reside in skipped-generation than in three-generation households, where grandmothers only are more likely to be present; for example in France in 2001, 66.6% of skipped-generation households were headed by two grandparents while the percentage was 32.9 for three-generation households. Moreover, it is more common to find a young grandparent in a three-generation household than in a skipped-generation household. Generally, differences between grandparent households in the characteristics shown have remained stable over time.

The characteristics of grandchildren in three and skipped-generation households are shown in Table 3-4 which shows the numbers and ages of grandchildren by household type. In general, skipped-generation households are more likely to have only one grandchild compared to three-generation households. Further, three-generation households are more likely to have a grandchild under the age of 6. As found in Nandy and colleagues (2011) older grandchildren are more common in skipped-generation households.

Table 3-1 Percentage of people aged 35 and over residing in three-generation households by selected characteristics, weighted data.

	England and Wales			France			West Germany			Portugal			Romania			USA		
	1981	1991	2001	1982	1990	1999	1984	1994	2004	1981	1991	2001	1977	1992	2002	1980	1990	2000
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex																		
Male	3.0	2.4	1.3	4.3	2.8	1.8	2.8	1.8	0.9	8.4	11.6	9.2	13.3	14.1	15.3	4.2	4.4	5.0
Female	3.5	3.0	1.7	5.2	3.6	2.4	3.4	2.0	1.4	9.7	13.8	11.3	15.8	16.1	17.2	5.8	6.1	6.7
Age																		
35-44	3.1	2.5	1.1	4.0	2.6	1.8	2.4	1.4	0.8	7.4	11.3	9.4	12.8	13.2	14.9	4.6	4.6	5.7
45-54	3.8	3.3	1.7	5.2	3.6	2.1	4.5	2.4	1.6	9.1	12.7	10.3	12.9	15.9	15.3	6.1	6.4	6.2
55-64	2.9	2.8	1.7	3.9	3.2	2.2	1.8	2.4	1.0	9.5	12.1	9.5	15.0	15.1	18.7	4.9	6.2	6.4
65-74	2.6	2.1	1.6	4.5	2.9	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.0	9.7	12.7	9.8	18.1	15.7	17.2	4.3	4.6	5.9
75-84	4.2	2.4	1.6	7.1	4.5	2.5	4.9	1.7	1.2	12.0	17.4	13.4	21.4	18.6	15.9	5.2	4.3	4.8
85 plus	6.1	3.4	1.8	9.5	6.7	4.0	11.1	0.9	1.6	14.3	22.6	19.7	23.2	20.3	17.2	7.2	5.1	4.8
Marital Status																		
Never-married	0.8	0.8	0.5	2.3	2.0	1.6	0.0	0.3	0.5	6.8	7.3	8.3	7.9	7.9	11.2	3.4	5.0	6.1
Married	2.9	2.6	1.4	4.3	2.9	1.9	2.9	2.0	0.9	8.2	11.0	8.9	12.9	14.3	15.4	4.2	4.4	5.0
Divorced/Separated	3.8	2.7	1.8	3.7	2.8	2.0	2.2	0.6	1.4	12.9	15.2	13.4	12.9	11.7	14.5	7.4	7.5	7.6
Widowed	6.3	4.5	2.9	9.0	6.2	4.1	5.6	2.7	2.9	15.7	25.2	20.2	25.6	22.2	22.6	9.0	8.2	9.0
Education																		
Less than primary	na	na	na	5.8	4.6	3.3	na	na	na	9.4	13.5	11.5	16.1	18.7	21.5	10.5	13.8	19.0
Primary	3.1	2.7	1.7	4.5	3.0	2.0	3.6	2.4	1.6	7.2	11.0	9.4	13.6	15.7	18.2	6.2	7.8	9.6
Secondary	2.7	2.0	1.2	2.8	2.0	1.5	2.4	1.2	0.7	6.2	9.5	7.3	10.3	11.2	13.2	4.2	4.9	5.7
University	2.5	1.8	1.0	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.1	0.8	5.4	6.9	5.3	10.6	9.2	8.0	2.7	2.5	3.0
Employment status																		
Employed	3.0	2.5	1.3	4.4	2.8	1.8	2.9	1.9	0.9	8.1	11.5	9.1	13.4	14.0	14.6	4.7	4.9	5.2
Unemployed	3.8	3.1	1.7	3.6	3.4	2.6	2.3	2.2	1.1	8.7	12.0	10.0	na	15.6	14.9	6.4	8.1	9.0
Not in labour force	3.5	2.9	1.7	5.2	3.7	2.4	3.4	1.9	1.4	9.9	13.9	11.5	16.6	16.3	17.6	5.5	5.7	6.7
Country of birth																		
Born abroad	6.1	6.5	4.1	5.1	4.3	3.5	2.9	3.1	2.5	10.1	13.8	10.1	13.3	14.3	13.9	8.3	10.4	13.3
Native	3.0	2.3	1.2	4.7	3.1	1.9	3.1	1.8	0.9	9.1	12.7	10.3	14.6	15.2	16.3	4.7	4.7	4.7
Housing tenure																		
Owned home	3.6	2.8	1.6	5.9	3.8	2.3	5.3	2.9	1.3	9.8	13.4	10.8	16.4	16.6	16.7	5.1	5.2	5.7
Not owned home	2.8	2.3	1.4	2.9	2.2	1.7	0.9	0.9	1.0	8.2	11.5	8.7	8.2	7.7	8.9	4.8	5.6	6.4

Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

Table 3-2 Percentage of people aged 35 and over residing in skipped-generation households by selected characteristics, weighted data.

	England and Wales			France			West Germany			Portugal			Romania			USA		
	1981	1991	2001	1982	1990	1999	1984	1994	2004	1981	1991	2001	1977	1992	2002	1980	1990	2000
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex																		
Male	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.9	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.9
Female	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.7	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.3
Age																		
35-44	*	*	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3
45-54	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.9	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.9
55-64	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.2	1.8	1.5	1.1	1.9	2.4	1.3	1.1	1.6	2.1
65-74	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.3	2.5	2.0	1.7	1.9	3.0	1.9	1.5	1.8	2.1
75-84	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.3	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	2.6	2.1	1.2	1.5	1.6
85 plus	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	2.2	0.3	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.1	1.5	1.7
Marital Status																		
Never-married	*	*	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8
Married	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.9	0.7	1.0	1.4	0.9	0.7	0.8	1.0
Divorced/Separated	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.3	1.0	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.9	1.2
Widowed	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.2	1.3	1.0	0.2	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.4	2.5	1.8	1.5	2.0	2.3
Education																		
Less than primary	na	na	na	0.4	0.3	0.3	na	na	na	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.2	2.3	1.8	2.3	2.7	2.4
Primary	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.3	1.0	1.1	2.0	2.4
Secondary	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.8	1.1
University	*	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4
Employment status																		
Employed	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.8
Unemployed	0.2	0.2	*	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.4	na	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.9	1.1
Not in labour force	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.6	2.3	1.4	1.1	1.5	1.7
Country of birth																		
Born abroad	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	1.4	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.9	1.2	0.6	0.7	0.7
Native	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.1	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.2
Housing tenure																		
Owned home	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.7	1.6	1.0	0.7	1.0	1.1
Not owned home	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.2

*Note: England and Wales: percentage cannot be shown because it is based on fewer than 10 cases (in a 1% sample)
Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

Table 3-3 Characteristics of grandparents in the household, grandparent households (three and skipped-generation), row percentages, weighted

Country	Grandparent Household Type	Year	Household headship		Skipped-generation households		Grandparent(s) in household			Age of youngest grandparent			
			Grandparent	Parent	Grandparents and grandchildren only	Other(s) present	Grandmother only	Grandfather only	Grandmother and grandfather	Under 50	50-59	60-69	70+
England & Wales	Three-generational	1981	53.5	46.5			52.0	15.4	32.6	14.1	18.5	21.4	46.0
		1991	60.1	39.9			47.4	12.5	40.1	20.6	21.4	21.1	36.9
		2001	47.7	52.3			44.5	10.2	45.3	20.3	22.2	21.1	36.4
	Skipped-generational	1981			85.7	14.3	43.8	7.6	48.6	4.3	22.9	39.8	33.1
		1991			90.0	10.0	44.7	6.6	48.7	6.4	20.6	39.5	33.5
		2001			95.7	4.3	45.5	6.0	48.6	6.2	24.4	32.8	36.6
France	Three-generational	1982	19.1	80.9			58.4	13.3	28.4	4.1	16.0	22.1	57.9
		1990	24.1	75.9			56.4	11.9	31.7	6.1	17.2	25.8	51.0
		1999	25.2	74.8			56.0	11.1	32.9	7.3	18.0	25.7	49.1
	Skipped-generational	1982			92.0	8.0	31.0	2.3	66.7	1.4	20.4	39.8	38.4
		1990			94.7	5.3	26.6	2.6	70.8	1.5	15.6	42.0	41.0
		1999			96.5	3.5	30.2	3.2	66.6	1.5	9.6	37.8	51.1
West Germany	Three-generational	1984	22.6	77.4			62.4	15.5	22.2	4.3	11.0	11.6	73.1
		1994	41.8	58.2			60.0	7.7	32.3	1.6	24.4	21.8	52.2
		2004	52.1	47.9			65.6	6.2	28.2	6.3	14.0	34.9	44.8
	Skipped-generational	1984			100.0	0.0	79.3	0.0	20.8	0.0	19.6	40.6	39.8
		1994			100.0	0.0	64.6	0.0	35.4	0.0	0.0	11.1	88.9
		2004			100.0	0.0	29.9	0.0	70.1	0.0	0.0	31.9	68.1
Portugal	Three-generational	1981	64.8	35.2			40.8	10.5	48.7	7.6	26.6	30.5	35.3
		1991	49.5	50.5			50.8	11.6	37.7	4.5	18.6	31.8	45.1
		2001	53.3	46.7			52.4	11.0	36.7	5.7	15.0	27.6	51.7
	Skipped-generational	1981			81.7	18.3	39.8	3.4	56.8	2.4	19.2	42.0	36.4
		1991			88.6	11.4	37.9	4.6	57.6	1.5	14.3	43.6	40.6
		2001			89.7	10.3	42.0	3.3	54.8	1.9	13.8	36.5	47.9
Romania	Three-generational	1977	43.0	57.0			48.3	9.2	42.5	8.5	23.8	35.1	32.7
		1992	71.1	28.9			42.6	8.6	48.8	8.0	27.4	33.9	30.8
		2002	78.2	21.8			44.5	9.5	46.1	7.1	24.0	36.3	32.6
	Skipped-generational	1977			82.8	17.2	28.7	5.1	66.2	7.3	28.4	39.8	24.5
		1992			81.2	18.8	36.4	6.4	57.2	2.4	21.4	44.5	31.8
		2002			73.9	26.1	44.8	7.4	47.8	2.2	14.9	35.8	47.1
USA	Three-generational	1980	59.7	40.3			54.7	10.3	35.1	18.4	26.7	25.8	29.2
		1990	69.9	30.1			52.1	8.7	39.2	21.7	26.9	27.0	24.5
		2000	67.3	32.7			51.3	10.2	38.5	22.1	27.8	24.2	26.0
	Skipped-generational	1980			82.0	18.0	44.6	5.8	49.6	4.7	0.5	38.7	36.2
		1990			83.8	16.2	47.9	5.4	46.8	7.1	20.9	34.8	37.2
		2000			79.5	20.5	45.9	6.2	48.0	8.6	26.3	31.1	34.1

Note: The number of three-generation and skipped-generation households in each sample is shown in Appendix Table C-1.
Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

Table 3-4 Characteristics of grandchildren in the household, grandparent households (three and skipped-generation), row percentages, weighted

Country	Grandparent Household Type	Year	Number of grandchildren			Age of youngest grandchild		
			One	Two	Three or more	0-5	6-17	18+
England and Wales	Three-generational	1981	54.7	30.3	15.1	35.8	46.7	17.6
		1991	60.8	27.1	12.2	49.0	32.6	18.4
		2001	65.4	24.9	9.7	42.9	39.5	17.7
	Skipped-generational	1981	87.4	10.7	*	4.8	51.0	44.3
		1991	89.6	8.2	2.2	7.6	40.3	52.1
		2001	90.0	7.7	2.4	7.0	45.2	47.8
France	Three-generational	1982	48.9	31.4	19.7	29.7	49.2	21.0
		1990	55.7	29.1	15.2	34.0	39.6	26.4
		1999	59.0	28.3	12.7	39.0	37.0	23.9
	Skipped-generational	1982	85.0	12.0	3.1	9.2	62.8	28.1
		1990	85.7	11.7	2.7	8.7	50.5	40.9
		1999	86.9	11.1	2.0	5.8	43.7	50.5
West Germany	Three-generational	1984	47.9	38.8	13.3	23.1	42.8	34.1
		1994	53.6	38.3	8.0	30.5	49.1	20.4
		2004	59.5	29.8	10.7	23.3	50.8	25.9
	Skipped-generational	1984	76.7	23.3	0.0	11.8	57.6	30.7
		1994	89.6	10.4	0.0	0.0	24.4	75.6
		2004	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Portugal	Three-generational	1981	52.2	30.5	17.4	58.3	33.9	7.8
		1991	49.9	34.9	15.2	39.4	44.9	15.7
		2001	57.5	32.8	9.7	35.8	39.5	24.7
	Skipped-generational	1981	73.6	18.3	8.2	22.5	58.3	19.2
		1991	75.4	18.1	6.5	16.1	53.8	30.1
		2001	77.1	17.4	5.5	12.6	45.5	41.8
Romania	Three-generational	1977	49.1	34.8	16.1	52.9	36.0	11.1
		1992	50.3	32.9	16.8	52.2	35.8	12.1
		2002	57.4	32.2	10.4	43.1	42.9	14.1
	Skipped-generational	1977	86.5	11.2	2.3	33.9	39.7	26.4
		1992	80.8	15.9	3.3	19.2	45.5	35.3
		2002	84.5	12.7	2.8	10.7	40.5	48.8
USA	Three-generational	1980	54.3	27.8	17.9	49.8	38.8	11.5
		1990	56.2	27.7	16.1	53.6	34.9	11.6
		2000	55.9	28.1	15.9	52.4	37.1	10.6
	Skipped-generational	1980	77.3	15.7	7.0	12.8	48.6	38.6
		1990	77.1	15.8	7.2	15.9	42.5	41.7
		2000	74.8	17.2	8.0	17.9	48.4	33.7

*England and Wales: percentage cannot be shown because it is based on fewer than 10 cases (in a 1% sample)
Note: The number of three-generation and skipped-generation households in each sample is shown in Appendix Table C-1.
Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

3.7 Grandparent characteristics and household type

Our aim is to describe trends and differences in adults aged 35 and over residing in grandparent households across the countries considered, taking into account key socio-economic and demographic characteristics of individuals. Therefore, the characteristics considered are: gender, marital status, educational attainment, employment status and whether foreign-born. These socio-economic and demographic characteristics have all been identified as key determinants of three-generational co-residence in previous studies. Thus using multivariate analysis (multinomial logistic regression),[14] we investigate trends over time in adults aged 35 and over residing in grandparent households taking into account differences in the individual-level characteristics across countries.

The models[15] show clear trends in adults residing in grandparent households. In England and Wales (and the US) adults living in skipped-generation households have increased since the 1980s (this holds even when basic demographic characteristics such as sex, age and marital status are taken into account in order to control for differences in the composition of the population). England & Wales is the only European country studied that shows a rise in the likelihood of people aged 35 and over being in a skipped-generation household.

In England & Wales, unlike in the US, the prevalence of adults aged 35 and over living in three-generation grandparent households declined over the same period. However, the prevalence of adults in this age group residing in three-generational households showed a significant increase in Portugal and Romania (that is, from the 1980s to 2000s). For Germany and France adults living in both types of grandparent households declined over the time period considered.

In the European countries studied (as in the US) grandparent households (whether three-generation or skipped-generation) are associated with socio-economic disadvantage. In general, the odds of residing in such households are greater among women, the unmarried (that is the widowed, divorced or separated), those with lower educational levels, the economically inactive (both unemployed and retired) and being born abroad.

Moreover, among adults aged 35 and over in skipped-generation households the odds of being female, married, in the lower educational groups, and economically inactive or unemployed are higher than for those in three-generation households. Those who were born abroad in the selected European countries studied are more likely to be in both three-generation and skipped-generation grandparent households in comparison to other households.

3.8 Summary

In line with previous studies, our results show increases in the prevalence of those aged 35 and over living in grandparent households in the US since the 1980s. All the European countries studied (that is England and Wales, France, and Germany) with the exception of Romania, and to a lesser extent Portugal, show a decline in the percentage of people aged 35 and older residing in three-generation grandparent households. However England and Wales, like the US, shows an increase in the prevalence of skipped-generation households.

[14] See Appendix C for further details.
[15] See Appendix C Table C-2 for further details.

4 Investigating Grandparent Characteristics in 12 European Countries

The previous chapter investigated how grandparent households vary across selected European countries and changes in the prevalence of these households over time. This chapter considers which grandparental characteristics may help to explain the diversity of grandparental childcare arrangements across 12 European countries using the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA) and the Survey of Ageing, Health and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). Although the countries are examined individually, for ease of reading and (to some extent) interpretation they will be considered in four groups. These groups will be referred to using names which are intended purely as labels and not, in any sense, as definitions:

- England and France
- Scandinavia (Denmark and Sweden)
- Western Europe (Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland)
- Southern Europe (Spain, Italy, Greece).

First, we describe grandparent characteristics in terms of age, sex, number of children, number of grandchildren (and age of youngest grandchild), marital status, education, participation in paid work (including retirement status) and wealth. We also examine differences in these characteristics across countries adjusting for age (age-adjusted models are presented in Appendix E). Second, we examine variations in the health and well-being of grandparents across the 12 European countries. Third, we investigate the character of grandparenting across Europe – including the intensity and type of care that is provided. Last, we look at how grandparent characteristics are related to grandparental childcare patterns.

4.1 Prevalence of grandparenthood

We begin by examining variations in the percentage of older people who report being a grandparent across our selected European countries. Throughout this report when we refer to older people, we mean those aged 50 and over.

As expected, the majority of respondents in our 12 European countries report being a grandparent[16] (that is, having grandchildren of any age). England and France are among the countries with the highest percentages of grandparents (62% and 63% respectively) with only slightly higher percentages in the Scandinavian countries and also Belgium (around 65% to 67%); the Southern European counties show lower levels of grandparenthood, for example 53% in Italy.[17] The greater prevalence of grandparents in England and France is likely to reflect both (a) higher fertility among the adult children of grandparents in these two countries; (b) younger ages at childbearing in comparison, for example, to delayed childbearing among the adult children of Italian grandparents and (c) high life expectancy levels such as in France (for example, where the average life expectancy is 82 in comparison to 79 in Denmark) which means higher chances of surviving to grandparenthood (U.S. Census Bureau).

The odds of being a grandparent, when adjusted for the age structure of the country's population over 50 years, show a similar pattern and all countries except France and Austria have significantly different odds to England.[18]

Figure 4-1shows that the distribution across countries is similar for men and women, but in all countries women aged 50 or more have a greater likelihood of being grandparents than do their male peers. In England 58% of men are grandfathers and 67% of women are grandmothers. One reason for this difference between the sexes is likely to be age gaps between marital partners: if men marry women younger than themselves, the women become grandparents at a younger age than the men. Another reason may be greater survival by women to an age where their children are having children in their turn; this conjecture is born out by the particularly marked difference between percentages of grandfathers and grandmothers in countries such as France where the female life expectancy is markedly better than male (an average difference of around 6 years compared with, for example, 2 years in the UK) (Gjonca et al., 2005).

The odds of being a grandfather or a grandmother follows the same patterns as for grandparents in general, that is generally higher odds in England compared to Western and Southern Europe (with few exceptions, see Table D-1 in Appendix D for full details).

4.2 Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics

In this section we examine variations across our European countries in some of the key characteristics of older grandparents: their age and gender. We also go on to investigate variations in other important demographic and socio-economic characteristics such as numbers of children and grandchildren (and ages of grandchildren), marital status, education, main activity status, and wealth.

4.2.1 Age

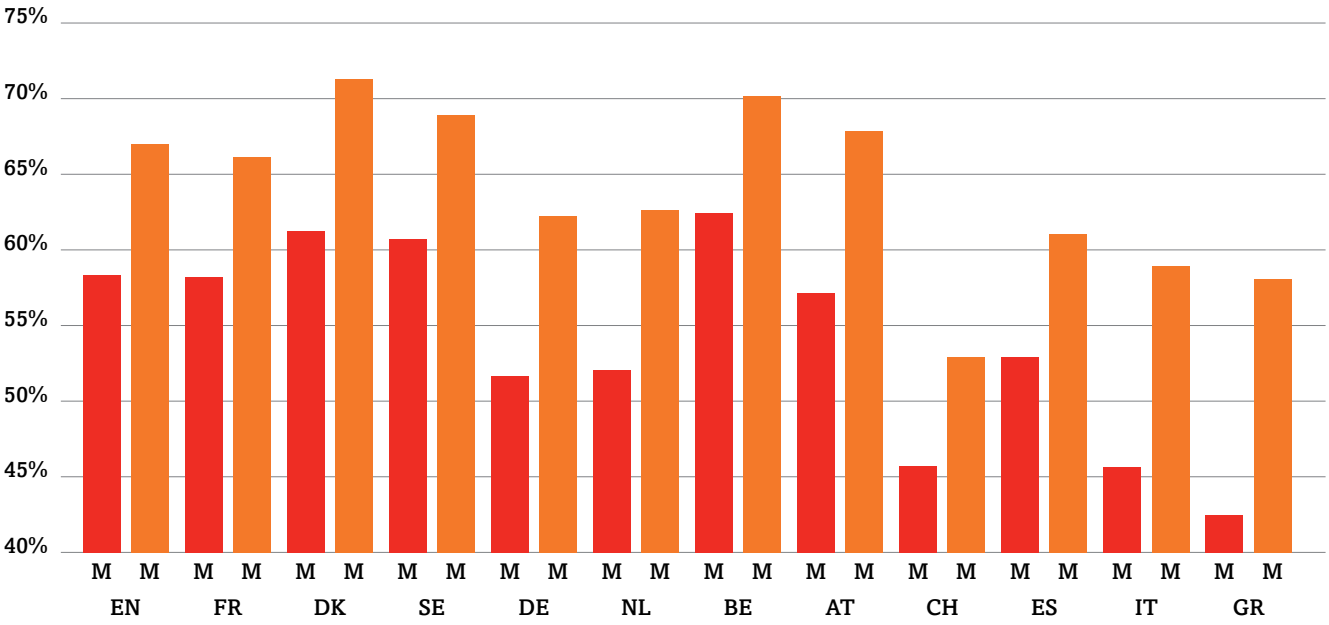
Table 4-1 shows the mean and median ages of grandparents. The mean age of grandparents ranges from 67 in Denmark to 71 in Greece, with England at 68 years. Grandparents are significantly older in the Southern European countries and Switzerland in comparison to England and significantly younger in Austria and Denmark (results not shown).

Examining age differences by gender we see a similar pattern across countries. Looking at the mean ages, grandfathers are slightly younger than grandmothers but the median ages show the reverse tendency, possibly suggesting that the mean age for grandmothers has been raised by a minority who survive to extreme old age.

There is considerable variation across the 12 European countries in the percentage of grandparents who are of working age that is in the 50-64 year old age group as

[16] Any respondent who had at least one grandchild was coded as a 'grandparent'.
[17] See Appendix D, Figure D-1 for further details.
[18] See Appendix D, Table D-1 for further details.

Figure 4-1 Percentage of older adults who are grandparents by gender and country



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table 4-1 Mean and median age of grandmothers and grandfathers by country

		EN	FR	DK	SE	DE	NL	BE	AT	CH	ES	IT	GR
Grandfathers	Mean	67.5	67.0	66.1	67.4	67.7	67.2	67.5	66.0	68.7	69.5	69.3	71.1
	Median	67.0	66.0	65.0	67.0	67.0	67.0	67.0	65.5	69.0	69.0	68.0	70.0
Grandmothers	Mean	68.3	68.2	66.8	68.4	68.2	67.9	68.8	67.8	69.8	69.6	69.4	69.6
	Median	67.0	66.0	64.0	65.0	66.0	65.0	67.0	66.0	68.0	69.0	66.0	70.0
Grandparents	Mean	67.9	67.8	66.5	68.0	68.3	67.6	68.3	67.1	69.4	69.5	69.3	70.2
	Median	67.0	66.0	65.0	66.0	67.0	66.0	67.0	66.0	69.0	69.0	67.0	70.0

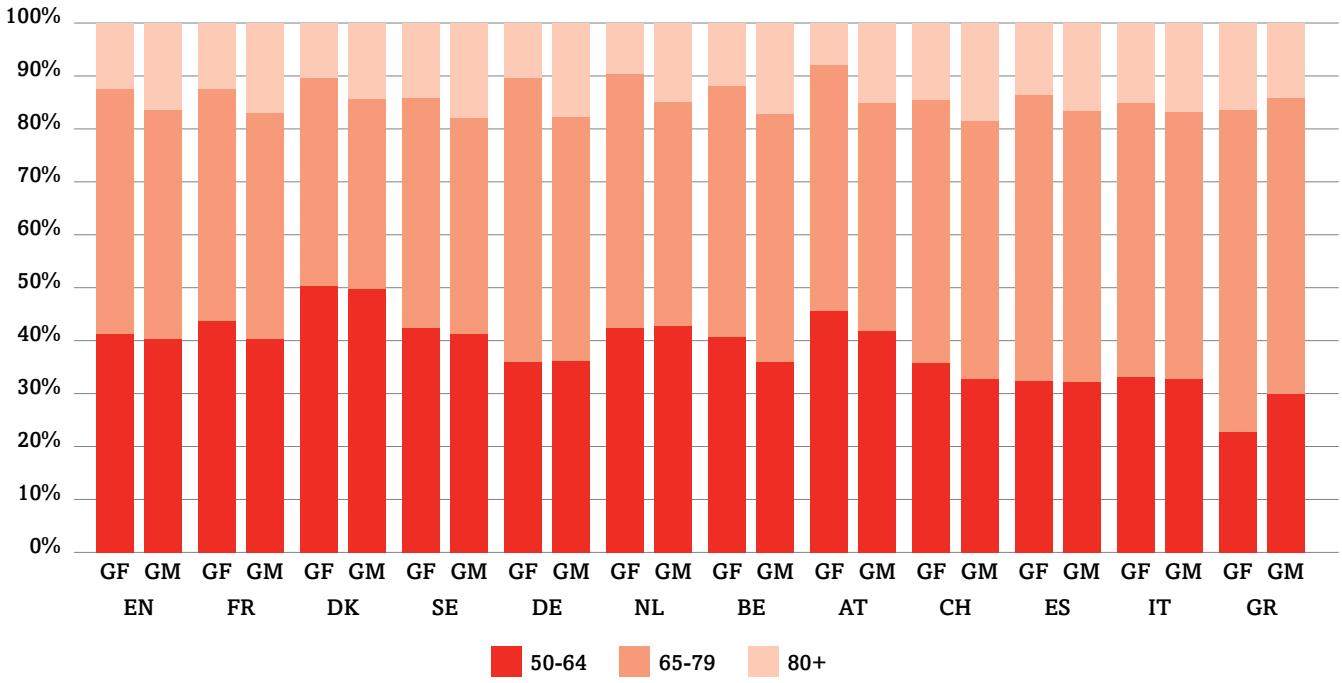
Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data only apply to MEAN values, whereas for the median un-weighted data were used.

compared to the age group 65 years and over.[19] England has a relatively high percentage of grandparents in this age group (41%), as do France and the Scandinavian countries (with Denmark at 50%) as well as the Netherlands and Belgium. The Southern European countries show lower percentages with around one third in Spain and Italy.[20] Examining the odds ratios reveals that Switzerland and Germany, as well as the Southern European countries, have a significantly lower share of their grandparents in the 50-64 year age group than England.[21]

Figure 4-2 shows the same data by gender. In most countries the percentage of grandmothers who are aged 80 years or over is greater than the percentage of grandfathers. For both grandfathers and grandmothers the odds of grandparents being in the working age group are higher in England and Denmark than in the other countries considered (results not shown).

[19] We recognise that there is considerable variation in statutory retirement ages across European countries but here we use the widely accepted cut-off of age 65.
[20] See Appendix D, Figure D-2 for further details.
[21] See Appendix D, Table D-2 for further details.

Figure 4-2 Age profile of grandparents by gender and country



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data. GF =grandfathers, GM=grandmothers.

4.2.2 Gender

Figure 4-3 shows the gender profile of grandparents: as expected the majority are women. For example, in England 57% of all grandparents are women. There is little variation by country in the percentage, which ranges from 56% in Sweden to 61% in Italy and Greece. The odds of being a grandmother rather than a grandfather are between1.1 and 1.2 times higher in Germany, Italy and Greece in comparison to England (results not shown).

4.2.3 Family structure

Children and Grandchildren

The involvement of grandparents in grandparental childcare is going to depend on both the number and ages of grandchildren, which in turn are influenced by the number of children. The mean number of children among grandparents ranges from a low of 2.3 in Greece to a high of almost 3.0 in the Netherlands and Spain, with 2.7 in England.[22] There is no obvious geographical grouping.[23]

The mean number of children for grandfathers and grandmothers is shown in Table 4-2. Similar country patterns are apparent whether grandfathers or grandmothers are considered separately.

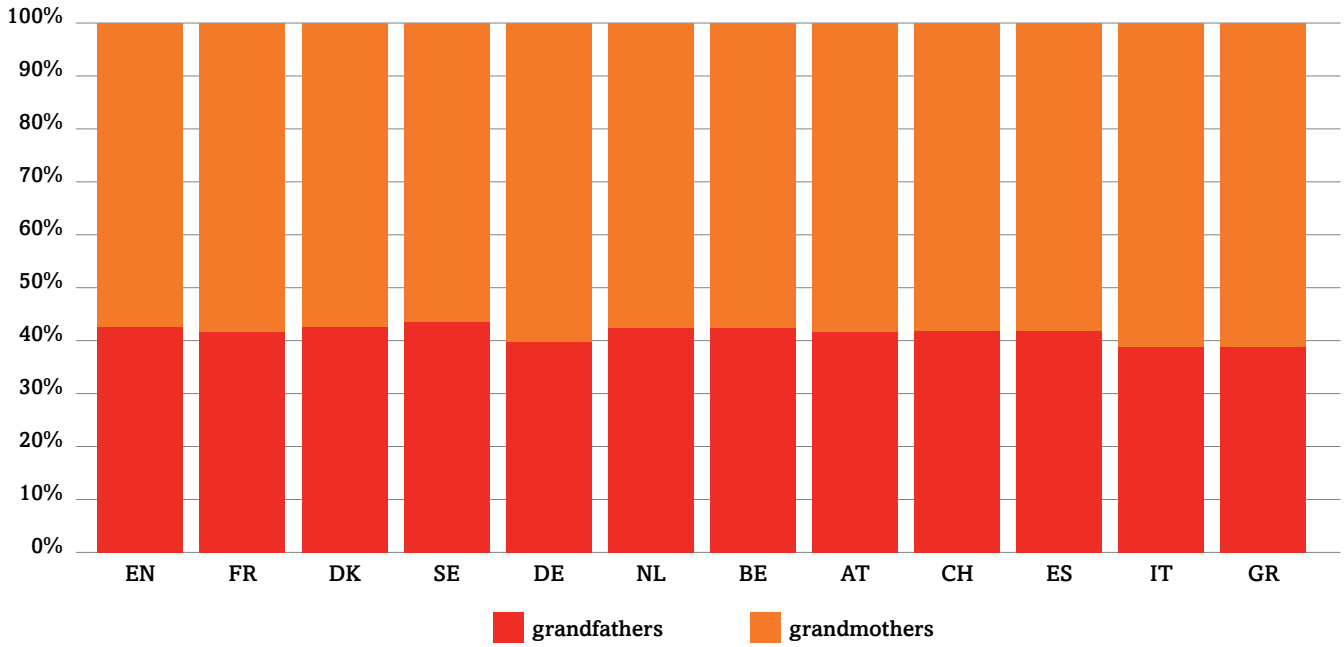
Even though Dutch and Spanish grandparents report significantly more children than their English counterparts, English grandparents report the most grandchildren of all the countries studied. The overall mean number of grandchildren in England is 4.9[24] in comparison to 4.2 for grandparents in the other countries studied. The Southern European countries show among the lowest numbers of grandchildren with Greece at 3.8, but Germany and Austria are even lower at 3.7.[25] Apart from England, the highest mean numbers of grandchildren are found in France and the Netherlands[22]; the other countries show means which are significantly lower than that found in England, even when the age structure of the grandparent population is taken into account.[25] For example, English grandparents report on average one extra grandchild in comparison to Italian, German and Greek grandparents.[25]

As is the pattern overall, Table 4-2 shows that English grandfathers and grandmothers report more grandchildren than the average in the other 11 European countries. For example, English grandfathers report an average of 4.6 grandchildren compared to 3.7 across the other European countries (ranging from 3.2 in Germany to 4.2 in the Netherlands). Similarly, English grandmothers report on average 5.2 grandchildren compared to 4.0 among grandmothers in the other countries (ranging from 3.4 in Germany to 4.7 in the Netherlands).

[22] See Appendix D, Table D-3 for further details.
[23] See Appendix D, Table D-4 for further details.

[24] Respondents in ELSA were asked about the number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren whereas respondents in the SHARE were asked about grandchildren only. As only around 16% of grandparents in SHARE also had great-grandchildren (and from the Gender and Generations Surveys we know that grandparents in Sweden, Norway, Germany and France have on average 2.5 great-grandchildren), we adjusted the SHARE data in order to make it more comparable with ELSA. Thus, for SHARE grandparents who stated that they had great-grandchildren we added 2.5 to the number of grandchildren reported. Even taking this adjustment into account, the mean number of grandchildren in England is higher in comparison to the SHARE average.
[25] See Appendix D, Table D-5 for further details.

Figure 4-3 Gender profile of grandparents by country, SHARE



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table 4-2 Mean number of children and grandchildren (and 95% confidence intervals), by gender and country (analyses restricted to grandparents only)

		Mean number of children	Mean number of grandchildren	N
EN	Grandfathers	2.77 (2.72; 2.82)	4.58 (4.42; 4.73)	3,124
	Grandmothers	2.69 (2.65; 2.74)	5.19 (5.03; 5.36)	4,156
FR	Grandfathers	2.78 (2.66; 2.90)	4.11 (3.77; 4.45)	780
	Grandmothers	2.74 (2.63; 2.85)	4.64 (4.29; 4.99)	1,073
DK	Grandfathers	2.71 (2.61; 2.81)	3.94 (3.69; 4.19)	466
	Grandmothers	2.63 (2.54; 2.72)	4.35 (4.10; 4.60)	605
SE	Grandfathers	2.77 (2.68; 2.86)	4.17 (3.40; 4.94)	936
	Grandmothers	2.62 (2.53; 2.70)	4.29 (3.73; 4.84)	1,122
DE	Grandfathers	2.37 (2.27; 2.45)	3.20 (2.99; 3.41)	744
	Grandmothers	2.36 (2.26; 2.45)	3.42 (3.25; 3.59)	946
NL	Grandfathers	2.93 (2.73; 3.12)	4.19 (3.82; 4.56)	773
	Grandmothers	3.00 (2.81; 3.19)	4.71 (4.28; 5.13)	948
BE	Grandfathers	2.56 (2.46; 2.66)	3.88 (3.62; 4.12)	1,057
	Grandmothers	2.63 (2.53; 2.72)	4.36 (4.09; 4.64)	1,325
AT	Grandfathers	2.49 (2.35; 2.63)	3.25 (2.98; 3.52)	454
	Grandmothers	2.43 (2.27; 2.60)	3.59 (3.21; 3.97)	680
CH	Grandfathers	2.57 (2.42; 2.73)	3.97 (3.24; 4.70)	218
	Grandmothers	2.63 (2.47; 2.79)	4.08 (3.81; 4.35)	260
ES	Grandfathers	3.04 (2.89; 3.18)	3.72 (3.44; 4.01)	587
	Grandmothers	2.95 (2.82; 3.08)	4.21 (3.92; 4.50)	851
IT	Grandfathers	2.67 (2.52; 2.82)	3.53 (3.23; 3.83)	570
	Grandmothers	2.69 (2.52; 2.87)	3.80 (3.47; 4.13)	805
GR	Grandfathers	2.31 (2.23; 2.40)	3.67 (3.01; 3.72)	495
	Grandmothers	2.32 (2.25; 2.39)	3.76 (3.44; 4.07)	809
Tot SHARE	Grandfathers	2.65 (2.60; 2.71)	3.66 (3.54; 3.77)	7,051
	Grandmothers	2.63 (2.58; 2.68)	4.00 (3.89; 4.11)	9,414

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table 4-3 Mean age of women at the birth of their first child and the total fertility rate (TFR), by country -selected years (1960, 1970, 1995)

		UK	FR	DK	SE	DE	NL	BE	AT	CH	ES	IT	GR
First child	1970	n.a.	24.4	23.8	25.7	24.0	24.8	24.3	n.a.	25.3	26.6	25.0	25.0
	1995	28.3	28.1	27.4	27.2	27.5	28.4	27.3	25.6	28.1	28.4	28.0	26.6
TFR	1960	2.72	2.74	2.54	2.20	2.37	3.12	2.54	2.69	2.44	2.86	2.41	2.28
	1970	2.43	2.48	1.95	1.94	2.03	2.57	2.25	2.86	2.10	2.90	2.43	2.39
	1995	1.70	1.78	1.67	2.14	1.45	1.62	1.62	1.90	1.59	1.36	1.36	1.39

Source: OECD (2011), OECD Family Database, OECD, Paris. www.oecd.org/social/family/database

Differences across countries in the number of children and grandchildren are a reflection of variations in the timing of past fertility. In Europe, birth rates have been at a low level for around 3 to 4 decades (for example, in France, Germany and Italy). While fertility began to decline in Southern European countries later than in Northern and Western Europe, since the 1980s fertility levels in these countries (and in Eastern European countries such as Romania) are among the lowest in the world (Coleman 1996).

By contrast, Northern and Western Europe – now a relatively high fertility zone – never experienced really low fertility (Coleman 1996). For example, having fewer children among German grandparents reflects low fertility levels in the 1960s (see Table 4-3); by comparison, fertility in the UK in the 1960s was relatively high.

The adult children of the grandparents in our study would have been having their own children in the late 1980s and 1990s (that is, having the respondents' grandchildren). This was a time of especially low fertility; particularly for Southern European countries (see Table 4-3). Low fertility, in combination with late ages at first birth, results in fewer grandchildren among Italian grandparents, for example, when compared to their English counterparts.

Age of youngest grandchild

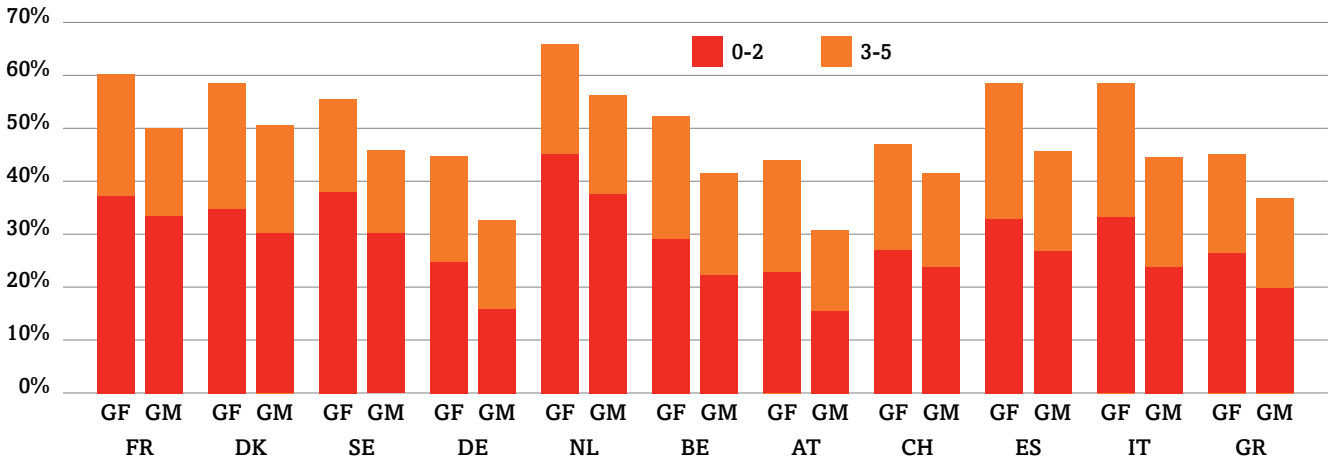
Grandparent involvement depends not only on the number of grandchildren but on their ages. As previous studies suggest, grandparental help is particularly important for those with school-age children (usually defined as children under 16 years of age). Among grandparents in the 11 European countries studied, more than one in four had at least one grandchild under the age of three, and over half had at least one grandchild under the age of six. The percentage of grandparents reporting a grandchild under the age of three ranges from a low of around 18% in Austria to a high of 41% in the Netherlands, with France also relatively high at 34%.[26] The Scandinavian countries also have a relatively high likelihood of reporting a grandchild under the age of three, while the lowest likelihoods are found in the Western European countries apart from the Netherlands. We do not have data on this question for England, but we suggest that England may have a similar profile to France in this respect, because on many other grandparenting demographics France and England are similar.

When age differences across the countries are taken into account the pattern remains similar except that the high likelihood found in Denmark is reduced.[27]

Figure 4-4 shows the prevalence of having at least one grandchild between ages 0-2 and 3-5 among grandfathers and grandmothers. Differences in the age of the youngest grandchild across countries are similar whether we are looking at all grandparents or separately at grandfathers and grandmothers.

[26] See Appendix D, Figure D-3 for further details.
[27] See Appendix D, Table D-6.

Figure 4-4 Percentage of SHARE grandfathers and grandmothers with youngest grandchild aged 0-2 or 3-5 years, by country (SHARE grandparents)



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; own calculations. Weighted Data

Table 4-4 Percentage distribution of marital status among grandmothers and grandfathers by country

	Grandfathers				Grandmothers			
	Married	Widowed	Other	Tot	Married	Widowed	Other	Tot
EN	82.3 (2,549)	10.8 (343)	6.9 (202)	3,124	59.8 (2,535)	30.7 (1,196)	9.5 (424)	4,155
FR	82.9 (643)	7.8 (58)	9.3 (70)	772	56.5 (615)	32.3 (324)	11.2 (125)	1,064
DK	73.2 (340)	10.8 (53)	15.7 (72)	466	56.1 (338)	27.9 (171)	16.0 (96)	605
SE	76.5 (807)	10.0 (57)	13.4 (71)	936	57.8 (831)	26.6 (177)	15.7 (114)	1,112
DE	82.4 (667)	11.5 (48)	6.1 (30)	745	51.5 (641)	38.4 (237)	10.2 (70)	948
NL	82.8 (692)	11.3 (54)	5.9 (26)	772	60.0 (708)	29.2 (171)	10.8 (68)	947
BE	84.0 (887)	9.1 (101)	6.9 (55)	1,058	60.8 (856)	29.5 (351)	9.7 (118)	1,325
AT	83.2 (379)	9.7 (43)	7.2 (32)	454	45.8 (321)	39.8 (259)	14.3 (100)	680
CH	82.9 (181)	10.2 (23)	6.9 (14)	218	58.5 (156)	32.8 (80)	8.7 (23)	259
ES	83.1 (526)	13.4 (52)	3.5 (10)	588	55.0 (558)	40.8 (266)	4.2 (29)	853
IT	84.7 (516)	13.0 (36)	2.2 (8)	560	53.7 (565)	42.8 (221)	3.5 (18)	805
GR	84.9 (415)	13.2 (71)	2.0 (9)	495	50.7 (396)	45.1 (379)	4.2 (34)	809
SHARE	82.8 (6,054)	11.0 (596)	6.2 (412)	7,062	54.4 (5,985)	37.1 (2,636)	8.5 (795)	9,416

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data

Marital status

The availability of other kin and spouses, and whether or not grandparents' own parents are still alive, are also important factors. As expected, the majority of grandparents are married. The highest percentage, 70%, is found in the Netherlands, with 69% in England.[28] Once age is taken into account, the only statistically significant differences from the high level of married grandparents in England are found in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Austria and Greece.[29]

Table 4-4 shows the distribution of marital status[30] for both grandfathers and grandmothers by country. Not surprisingly, in all the countries grandmothers are less likely to be married and more likely to be widowed than are grandfathers. Among grandfathers, around 82% are married, 11% are widowed and the remaining are in the 'other' category, that is never married, divorced or separated. For both grandfathers and grandmothers, the relatively low likelihood of being married in the Scandinavian countries is matched by a higher likelihood of being in the 'other' category, and this is also true for Austria; the Southern European countries, by contrast, show noticeably high percentages of grandfathers and especially of grandmothers who are widowed.

There are variations in marital status by country when grandfathers and grandmothers are considered separately. For example, only among grandfathers in Denmark and Sweden are the odds of being married lower than in England (and only in Greece are they higher) even when age is taken into account (results not shown). Among grandmothers, English grandmothers are significantly more likely to be married than their French, Danish, German, Austrian, Italian and Greek counterparts (results not shown).

Living Parents

There has been considerable debate about the 'sandwich generation': the middle generation that is often caught between obligations to older and younger family members. As expected given sex differences in longevity, grandparents are more likely to have their own mother alive than their father. The Scandinavian countries show particularly high percentages and France highest of all, with 21% of grandparents still having a living mother. Grandparents in the Southern European countries are the least likely to have either a mother or a father alive. Even after controlling for age differences across countries, English grandparents are significantly less likely to have a living parent than their counterparts in France, the Scandinavian countries, and Austria and Belgium (results not shown).

Table 4-5 Percentage of grandparents whose mother and father were still alive, by country

	Mother alive	Father alive	Any parent alive
England	13.1	4.9	15.2
France	21.1	7.0	22.5
Denmark	19.0	6.3	21.3
Sweden	20.1	7.9	23.1
Germany	14.0	4.5	15.4
The Netherlands	13.0	4.9	15.0
Belgium	17.1	5.9	19.5
Austria	16.8	6.0	18.8
Switzerland	13.5	4.6	15.2
Spain	11.8	4.1	13.6
Italy	10.8	3.8	12.2
Greece	11.5	4.2	13.4
Total SHARE	14.9	5.1	16.6

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data

[28] See Appendix D, Figure D-4.
[29] See Appendix D, Table D-7.
[30] Married includes "first or other marriages" and "living together with partners". Other includes "never married", "divorced" or "separated".

4.2.4 Education

This section looks at the socio-economic status of grandparents. The socio-economic characteristics of grandparents are important as previous work has shown that intensive involvement in grandparental care (often defined as being a primary caregiver) is largely associated with socio-economic disadvantage. For example, in the US literature poorer grandparents are more likely to be considered a grandchild's primary caregiver (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005). Thus, in this section we consider differences across countries in educational attainment, economic activity status, wealth and home ownership among grandparents.

Educational systems vary widely across Europe. In order to create comparable educational categories across the countries considered we followed standard practice by using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED-97). By using this approach we are able to categorise grandparents into low, middle and high education groups.[31]

Overall the distribution of education among English grandparents is broadly similar to grandparents in continental Europe: 56% of English grandparents report a low level of education, 28% a middle level and 16% a high level. Similarly, 59% of grandparents in the other European countries report a low educational level, 28% a middle educational level and 13% a high educational level.[32]

However, variations across countries are remarkable. Most noticeably, over 80% of grandparents in the Southern European countries report a low educational level compared to less than 25% in Germany. Even accounting for age differences across countries, grandparents in England are significantly more likely to report the lowest educational level than grandparents in Denmark, Sweden, Germany, and Austria.[33]

Table 4-6 shows that that grandfathers report higher levels of education than grandmothers in all the countries studied except Sweden. However, the range of values across countries was higher for grandfathers than for grandmothers. For example, among grandfathers, the percentage of those in the lowest education group ranges from around 85% in Italy and Spain to only 9% in Denmark (in comparison to 53% in England). Among grandmothers however, the range is from 36% in Denmark to 92% in Spain; thus at least a third of grandmothers is in the lowest category for education, irrespective of which country is studied.

[31] More details on the ISCED-97 International Standard Classification of Education are available at http://www.uis.unesco.org/TEMPLATE/pdf/isced/ISCED_A.pdf

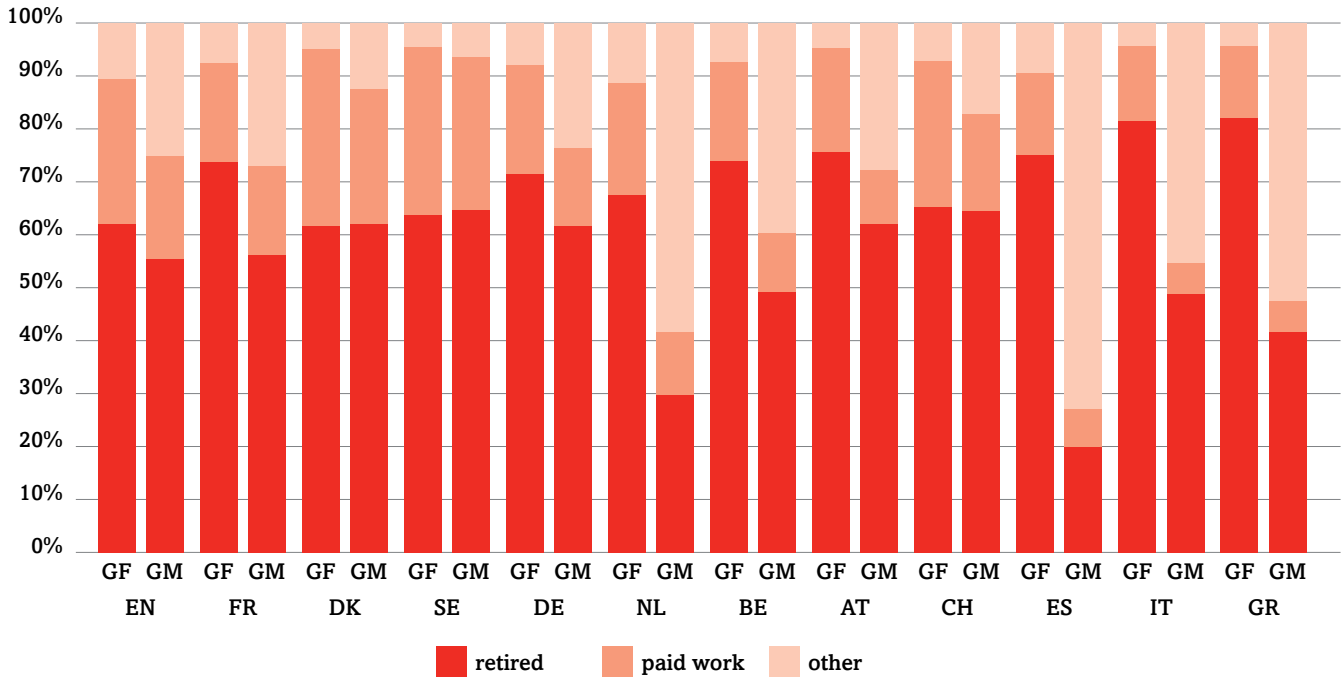
[32] See Appendix D, Figure D-5.
[33] See Appendix D, Table D-8 for further details.

Table 4-6 Percentage distribution of level of education (ISCED-97) among grandparents, by gender and country

		Low	Mid	High	Tot
EN	Grandfathers	52.9 (1,632)	25.4 (789)	21.7 (692)	3,113
	Grandmothers	58.2 (2,352)	29.9 (1,278)	11.9 (515)	4,145
FR	Grandfathers	51.8 (399)	31.7 (244)	15.6 (122)	772
	Grandmothers	65.9 (687)	23.7 (263)	9.8 (108)	1,065
DK	Grandfathers	17.0 (81)	53.0 (245)	29.0 (135)	466
	Grandmothers	38.6 (235)	38.7 (233)	22.4 (135)	605
SE	Grandfathers	58.7 (552)	16.9 (152)	22.9 (220)	936
	Grandmothers	58.3 (623)	17.2 (203)	23.1 (279)	1,122
DE	Grandfathers	8.7 (61)	59.0 (448)	31.7 (232)	745
	Grandmothers	35.7 (315)	49.7 (482)	14.2 (149)	951
NL	Grandfathers	54.9 (413)	24.3 (191)	19.6 (158)	773
	Grandmothers	70.9 (663)	18.1 (177)	8.7 (86)	947
BE	Grandfathers	49.3 (536)	24.9 (266)	24.8 (245)	1,058
	Grandmothers	58.8 (789)	23.0 (310)	18.0 (222)	1,325
AT	Grandfathers	22.4 (101)	52.3 (240)	25.1 (112)	453
	Grandmothers	48.2 (321)	37.9 (262)	13.6 (95)	680
CH	Grandfathers	50.1 (109)	18.6 (40)	27.9 (62)	218
	Grandmothers	67.0 (172)	18.6 (49)	10.0 (27)	259
ES	Grandfathers	86.1 (515)	6.3 (32)	7.2 (37)	588
	Grandmothers	92.3 (795)	4.0 (36)	3.5 (22)	857
IT	Grandfathers	83.7 (476)	10.8 (55)	5.5 (29)	560
	Grandmothers	88.6 (719)	8.5 (65)	2.5 (20)	807
GR	Grandfathers	78.8 (385)	14.1 (76)	6.8 (33)	495
	Grandmothers	88.1 (711)	8.5 (73)	3.0 (23)	810
Tot SHARE	Grandfathers	50.1 (3,629)	31.3 (1,989)	18.5 (1,385)	7,003
	Grandmothers	65.0 (6,026)	25.3 (2,149)	9.7 (1,164)	9,339

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data.

Figure 4-5 Employment distribution of grandparents, by gender and country



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data

4.2.5 Main activity status

Economic activity status is determined using grandparents' self-reports of their status based on a series of pre-defined categories.[34] Those who identified themselves as being either employed or self-employed are considered to be in 'paid work'. More English grandparents are in paid work than the average across the other European countries: close to 1 in 4 grandparents in England compared with about 1 in 7 elsewhere. Only in the Scandinavian countries are more grandparents in paid work (29%) than in England (23%); by comparison, only 9% of grandparents in Italy are in paid work and the other Southern European countries showed similarly low levels.[35] These differences persist even when age is taken into account.[36]

Figure 4-5 shows the percentages of grandmothers and grandfathers in paid work, retired and in 'other' categories by country. The percentage of grandfathers in paid work ranges from a low of 14% in Italy to a high of 34% in Denmark (27% in England); among grandmothers, the percentage ranges from a low of 6% in Italy and Greece to a high of over a quarter in the Scandinavian countries (20% in England). Gender differences are apparent in most countries apart from those in Scandinavia, but are particularly marked in the Netherlands as well as in the Southern European countries.

Taking age into account reveals very strong differences between countries in the likelihood of grandparents being in paid work; almost all countries show odds ratios significantly different to those found in England, and the ratios are more extreme for grandmothers than for grandfathers.[36]

4.2.6 Wealth

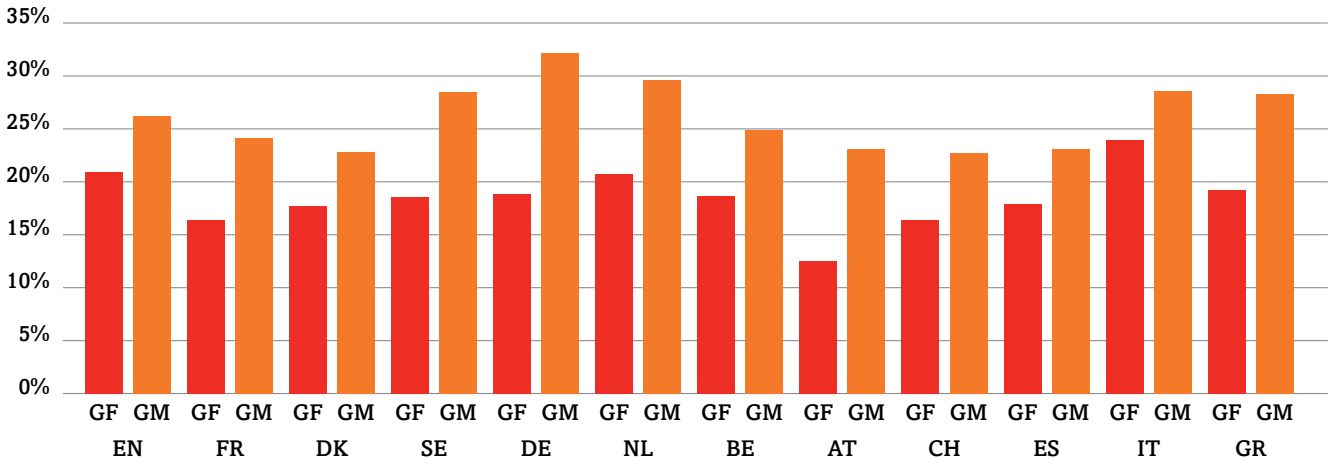
We hypothesise that differences in grandparent involvement across Europe may reflect access to resources among grandparents. In both ELSA and SHARE, older people are asked detailed questions about their finances and wealth. While the questions used to assess wealth are slightly different in ELSA and SHARE, we use the comparable wealth measure available in the harmonised dataset created by the RAND Corporation in the US (a research and development not-for-profit organisation).

The wealth measure in the dataset produced by RAND captures the net value of total wealth at the couple or individual level.[37] This measure is a combination of the net value of: the primary residence, other properties owned, non-housing financial wealth (such as stocks, bonds and saving accounts), and business assets (including shares) (Lee et al., 2011). The measure does not include pension wealth. Each quintile represents 20% or one fifth of couple or individual units of analysis ('benefit units') for all sample members aged 50 or over.

Close to one quarter of grandparents overall are in the bottom 20% of the wealth[38] distribution that is among the poorest, meaning grandparents are disproportionately

[34] SHARE and ELSA respondents were asked to self-assess their current job situation, describing it using six mutually exclusive answers: 'retired', 'employed or self-employed (including working for family business)', 'unemployed', 'permanently sick or disabled', 'homemaker' or 'other'.
[35] See Appendix D, Figure D-6 for further details.
[36] See Appendix D, Table D-9 for further details.
[37] For SHARE respondents, income and wealth from household members in addition to the older couple or individual are not considered. For ELSA respondents, the wealth variable is constructed at the benefit unit level.
[38] Defined here as the net value of the primary residence, other properties owned, non-housing financial wealth (such as stocks, bonds and saving accounts) and business assets (including shares).

Figure 4-6 Percentage of grandparents in the lowest 20% of the wealth distribution for people aged 50 and over, by gender and country



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data.

poor among people aged 50 and over. The percentage of grandparents in the bottom 20% of the wealth distribution ranges from 18-21% in France, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland and Spain, (that is, not really different in terms of income distribution to the older population as a whole in those countries) to almost 27% in Italy and Germany, with no obvious geographical pattern.[39] The percentage for grandparents in England is 24%. Adjusting for age makes little difference to the odds ratios.[40]

Figure 4-6 shows the percentage of grandfathers and grandmothers by country who are in the bottom 20% of the wealth distribution. The percentage of grandfathers who are among the poorest 20% ranges from a low of 16% in France to a high of 24% in Italy; among grandmothers, percentages range from 23% in Denmark and France to 32% in Germany. Since the wealth distribution is calculated without regard to gender, it is to be expected that grandmothers will be more disadvantaged than grandfathers because they are likely to be older and more of them will be widowed than their male counterparts.

4.3 Health and well-being

A key strength of ELSA and SHARE lies in the wealth of information collected on health and well-being (we use measures based on self-reports). Here we focus on self-rated general health, depressive symptoms, cognitive function, and disability (defined as functional limitations in activities of daily living). These health conditions were chosen as being the most relevant for grandparental childcare.

As the majority of those aged 50 and over are grandparents in the countries considered, the health profile of grandparents is generally consistent with the general health profile of older people found in the wider literature (Crimmins et al.):

4.3.1 Self-reported health

Among the over 50s, 30% of English grandparents rated their health as being fair or poor, compared to around 40% of grandparents overall. The highest percentages – that is the countries whose grandparents reported the worst health – are found in the Southern European countries and also in Germany, with 49% of Italian grandparents reporting only fair or poor health; this follows a well-documented pattern of worse reported subjective health in Southern European countries in spite of higher life expectancies. There is no other obvious geographical pattern. After taking age into account, the lowest percentages (that is the best health) are reported in Sweden and Switzerland; both are significantly different from those pertaining to England.[41]

Table 4-7 presents self-rated health, depressive symptoms, cognitive function and disability for grandfathers and grandmothers by country. With respect to self-rated general health the pattern by country discussed above for all grandparents holds even when grandfathers and grandmothers are considered separately: those in Southern Europe generally rated their general health as being worse in comparison to their Northern and Western European counterparts, though this difference is more marked among grandmothers than among grandfathers. Gender differences in countries other than in Southern Europe are small, with grandmothers slightly more likely than grandfathers to report 'fair' or 'poor' health everywhere except England.

Even when age is taken into account, odds ratios by gender once again reflect a consistent pattern: English grandmothers and grandfathers are less likely to rate their health as 'fair or poor' in comparison to their Southern European (as well as French and German) counterparts (results not shown).

4.3.2 Depressive symptoms

The SHARE and ELSA questionnaires include a module focusing on psychological health. Depressive symptoms are measured using the EURO-D (a 2-item scale in

[39] See Appendix D, Figure D-7 for further details.
[40] See Appendix D, Table D-10 for further details.
[41] See Appendix D, Table D-11 for further details.

Table 4-7 Percentages of grandparents with self-rated health (SRH) reported as fair or poor, who had four or more depressive symptoms and who are in the lowest quintile of the cognitive function, by gender and country

	SRH as fair or poor		Depressive Symptoms		In lowest quintile of cognitive function	
	Grandfathers	Grandmothers	Grandfathers	Grandmothers	Grandfathers	Grandmothers
EN	31.2 (969/3,075)	29.6 (1,217/4,094)	12.8 (384/3,019)	22.1 (888/4,033)	23.1 (723/3,124)	27.3 (1,075/4,156)
FR	37.9 (298/780)	38.4 (400/1,078)	30.4 (236/781)	42.8 (461/1,087)	21.7 (167/780)	23.7 (240/1,078)
DK	28.6 (135/466)	28.0 (170/605)	14.0 (66/466)	20.9 (126/605)	22.4 (109/466)	21.6 (132/605)
SE	11.6 (110/936)	15.8 (161/1,122)	13.4 (126/936)	26.7 (286/1,122)	23.6 (232/936)	24.6 (218/1,122)
DE	44.9 (324/744)	47.6 (420/949)	16.1 (108/742)	31.9 (273/951)	21.8 (152/745)	30.6 (258/948)
NL	30.3 (233/773)	32.6 (282/948)	16.0 (119/773)	28.3 (247/948)	25.4 (191/773)	25.6 (207/948)
BE	26.0 (278/1,059)	29.3 (384/1,326)	16.1 (171/1,058)	32.4 (422/1,326)	20.3 (223/1,058)	25.4 (317/1,326)
AT	29.8 (131/455)	35.6 (236/680)	11.0 (49/455)	27.0 (180/680)	20.9 (97/454)	24.5 (158/680)
CH	19.5 (41/218)	22.3 (58/260)	16.4 (35/218)	24.8 (63/260)	26.9 (61/218)	27.8 (69/260)
ES	40.2 (256/589)	53.2 (463/855)	24.5 (149/591)	50.3 (437/857)	18.5 (112/589)	26.8 (227/30.1)
IT	41.0 (227/561)	53.2 (408/807)	30.3 (156/561)	45.2 (350/807)	24.3 (129/560)	30.1 (218/805)
GR	36.3 (180/495)	47.0 (379/810)	20.2 (104/496)	39.4 (335/810)	26.9 (140/495)	31.1 (264/809)
SHARE	38.0 (2.213/7,074)	44.0 (3,361/9,434)	22.4 (1,317/7,074)	38.4 (3,180/9,434)	22.2 (1,613/7,074)	27.7 (2,308/9,434)

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data.

SHARE) and the CES-D[42] (an 8-item scale in ELSA). These measures collected information on whether respondents experienced any depressive symptoms, such as restless sleep or being unhappy. Both scales are consistent and validated instruments to assess depression symptomatology (Prince et al., 1999). In SHARE and ELSA, respondents who report four or more symptoms out of 12 in the EURO-D and out of 8 in the CES-D are considered to score above the threshold for depression (Dewey and Prince, 2005).

As shown in Table 4-7, Danish and English grandparents are the least likely (at 18%) of the countries studied to report four or more depressive symptoms. The Southern European countries and France showed markedly higher rates than the rest, with 40% of Spanish and Italian grandparents identified with depressive symptoms; perhaps the factors which lead the Southern European grandparents to report poor health are also operating when they are asked about depressive symptoms. The pattern does not change when age is taken into account.[41]

Table 4-7 shows the percentage of grandmothers and grandfathers who report depressive symptoms. We see similar patterns by country for grandfathers and grandmothers to those for grandparents overall, although Austrian grandfathers are even less likely to report depressive symptoms (at 11%) than their counterparts in England or Denmark. Grandmothers in all countries are more likely than grandfathers to report four or more depressive symptoms, but the gender difference is particularly marked in the Southern European countries with as many as 50% of Spanish grandmothers reporting depressive symptoms. Even when age is taken into account the pattern by gender remains similar to the pattern for grandparents overall (results not shown).

[42] CES-D, another standard measure of depression, is collected in both surveys; however, in SHARE a drop-off questionnaire was used to collect this information. Unfortunately, as the response rate to the drop-off questionnaire was fairly low much of the information on the CES-D is missing.

4.3.3 Cognitive function

A measure of cognitive function is included in ELSA and SHARE. Respondents are asked several questions to assess their 'orientation in time', 'word recall, 'verbal fluency' and 'numeracy' skills.[43] Combining the scores of all these tests, a cognitive index is calculated as the sum of both the "Memory Index" (that is, the sum of 'orientation in time' and 'word recall') and the "Executive Index" (that is, the sum of 'verbal fluency' and 'numeracy').[44] Cognitive index scores for all persons aged 50 and over are then divided into quintiles by country so that we can see the percentage of grandparents whose total cognitive index score is in the lowest quintile.

Overall, 25% of grandparents are in the lowest quintile by cognitive scores which means that grandparents aged 50 or over are more likely than non-grandparents aged 50 or over to have cognitive problems. This result is predictable since grandparents are likely to be older on average than non-grandparents. More interesting is a cross-national comparison of grandparents and here, when we control for age differences across countries, the odds of English grandparents reporting poor cognition (that is more likely to report being in the bottom 20% of cognitive function) are only higher than Spanish, French and Belgian grandparents. Otherwise no significant differences are found once age is taken into account.[41]

Table 4-7 shows the percentage of grandmothers and

[43] Orientation in time is assessed by standard questions about the date (day, month, year) and the day of the week. Memory is assessed by means of a verbal learning and recall test, in which 10 common words are presented orally to the participant who is then asked to remember them immediately and after a short delay. Verbal fluency is assessed by naming as many different animals as possible in one minute. Finally, numerical ability is tested by means of problems requiring simple mental calculations based on real-life situations.

[44] There were a few differences between ELSA and SHARE in how the cognitive function questions were asked. For example, SHARE employed only one list for the word learning and recall task whereas ELSA used four. Moreover, for the numeracy test in SHARE respondents were asked to choose possible answers from a card (which was not the case in ELSA); in addition, there were differences in the number and routing of questions.

grandfathers who are in the bottom 20% of cognitive function. Differences between the sexes are less marked than is the case for depressive symptoms and differences between countries are modest. Once age is controlled for, English grandfathers are significantly more likely to be in the bottom 20% of cognitive function compared to their Spanish counterparts; and English grandmothers are more likely to be in the bottom 20% in comparison to their Swedish, French and Danish counterparts (results not shown).

4.3.4 Functional limitations

Limitation in Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) includes activities[45] older people reported any difficulty with for at least three months because of a physical, mental, emotional or memory problem. English grandparents are more likely to report functional limitations such as with mobility in comparison to grandparents in the SHARE countries. This finding has also been well documented in the literature (Crimmins et al., 2011). For example, 24% of English grandparents report one or more ADL limitations, compared with 13% of grandparents in the other European countries, with percentages ranging from a low of 10% in Denmark and the Netherlands to a high of 15% in Italy. The odds of grandparents in England reporting at least one ADL limitation are between 2.1 and 3.2 times higher than in Italy and the Netherlands respectively, even when taking age into account.[41]

Table 4-8 shows the percentage of grandmothers and grandfathers who report at least one limitation in ADL. We see similar patterns by country for grandfathers and grandmothers as we do for grandparents as a whole. Even accounting for age differences, both English grandfathers and grandmothers are significantly more likely to report ADL limitations than their SHARE counterparts (result snot shown).

Table 4-8 Percentages of grandparents with one or more ADL limitations, by gender and country

	1 or more ADL limitations	
	Grandfathers	Grandmothers
EN	23.3 (727/3,077)	25.0 (1,004/4,092)
FR	13.9 (109/781)	12.5 (127/1,087)
DK	10.7 (58/466)	10.1 (49/605)
SE	9.5 (85/936)	12.9 (120/1,122)
DE	11.1 (111/742)	13.7 (110/951)
NL	7.4 (56/773)	11.3 (87/948)
BE	9.8 (108/1,058)	17.0 (203/1,326)
AT	8.5 (38/455)	12.3 (78/680)
CH	6.7 (14/218)	13.1 (33/260)
ES	11.9 (82/591)	15.3 (155/857)
IT	13.1 (67/561)	16.4 (120/807)
GR	8.4 (44/496)	14.4 (124/810)
SHARE	11.6 (723/7,074)	14.1 (1,221/9,434)

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data.

[45] The activities considered for the ADLs were the following: 'dressing, including putting on shoes and socks', 'walking across a room', 'bathing or showering', 'eating, such as cutting up your food', 'getting in or out of bed', 'using the toilet, including getting up or down'.

4.4 Grandparental childcare

Grandparents in SHARE are asked whether they have regularly or occasionally looked after their grandchildren without the parents' presence during the 12 months prior to interview. If they did so, grandparents are then asked which grandchild they looked after and the frequency of the task (i.e. whether they did so almost daily, weekly, monthly or less often). In ELSA, all respondents are asked whether they looked after anyone in the past week, and if so, whether the person they looked after was their grandchild and for how many hours in the past week was care provided. Previous analyses using SHARE were restricted to care provided to grandchildren aged 15 or younger (Hank and Buber, 2009). Our analyses are not restricted by the grandchild's age; that is, we consider care given to grandchildren of any age.

Almost 44% across the 11 SHARE countries had looked after a grandchild without the presence of the parents in the past 12 months.[46] Similar to findings from earlier studies, the highest prevalence of any grandparental childcare is found in the Netherlands and Denmark where around 57% of grandparents looked after a grandchild in the past 12 months, whereas the lowest levels (around 40%) are found in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and in the Southern European countries (Hank and Buber, 2009). In Britain using data from the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) we know that 63% of grandparents reported that they had ever looked after a grandchild under age 16 (Wellard, 2011). This is comparable to over 50% of grandparents Hank & Buber's study who provide some type of care for a grandchild under 16 during a 12 month period (Hank and Buber, 2009).

As previous studies have noted, grandparents in Northern European countries are more likely to provide any care whereas those in Southern European countries are more likely to provide higher intensity of care (Hank and Buber, 2009). For example, among those grandparents who looked after a grandchild (or grandchildren) in the past 12 months, 11% across the 11 European countries studied provided almost daily care; however, this ranges from a high of 20% in Italy and Greece (that is one in five grandparents) to a low of 1% or 2% in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands (that is one or two in 100 grandparents).

Among those who looked after a grandchild on a daily basis, the number of hours of care averages around 6 hours per day; ranging from a low of 4-5 hours a day in the Scandinavian countries and Germany to a high of 8 hours a day in France. Grandparents who looked after a grandchild at least monthly did so for on average 21 hours in a typical month, with figures ranging from 12 hours among Italian grandparents to 35 hours in France.[47]

Table 4-9 shows the percentage of grandmothers and grandfathers who looked after a grandchild by the frequency of care and by country. The pattern described above for all grandparents is similar to that for grandmothers and grandfathers when considered separately: those in Northern European countries are generally more likely to report providing any grandparental

[46] Appendix D, Table D-12 for full details.
[47] Appendix D, Table D-13 for full details.

Table 4-9 Percentages of grandfathers and grandmothers looking after grandchildren, by frequency, gender and country

			REGULAR HELP		OCCASIONAL HELP	
		Not looked after GC	Almost daily	Almost every week	Every month	Less often
FR	Grandfathers	52.3	4.7	11.8	11.1	20.1
	Grandmothers	49.4	6.9	15.9	8.9	18.9
DK	Grandfathers	47.4	0.7	12.3	19.3	20.4
	Grandmothers	41.5	1.6	15.7	21.2	20.0
SE	Grandfathers	56.5	1.8	10.6	13.2	17.9
	Grandmothers	49.2	2.4	13.7	14.8	20.0
DE	Grandfathers	59.9	6.5	13.8	7.8	12.0
	Grandmothers	59.8	8.3	13.8	8.8	9.2
NL	Grandfathers	42.2	2.3	21.4	13.3	20.8
	Grandmothers	43.3	2.3	24.6	12.8	16.9
BE	Grandfathers	46.5	8.7	22.4	10.2	1213
	Grandmothers	47.0	9.9	21.6	10.7	10.9
AT	Grandfathers	57.6	7.3	14.4	9.6	11.2
	Grandmothers	60.4	7.8	15.5	7.7	8.6
CH	Grandfathers	62.7	3.4	12.9	8.7	12.3
	Grandmothers	59.6	7.6	17.7	5.9	9.3
ES	Grandfathers	62.6	16.5	9.7	5.2	6.1
	Grandmothers	58.2	16.7	10.2	6.6	8.4
IT	Grandfathers	67.3	16.6	9.5	2.9	3.7
	Grandmothers	58.3	21.7	10.8	3.4	5.9
GR	Grandfathers	56.4	18.7	13.2	5.9	5.8
	Grandmothers	53.5	20.5	12.8	5.9	7.3
All SHARE countries	Grandfathers	58.1	9.1	12.7	8.1	12.0
	Grandmothers	55.2	11.4	14.1	8.0	11.3

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; own calculations. Weighted Data

childcare than their counterparts in Southern European countries; however, once daily care is considered both grandmothers and grandfathers in Southern European countries like Italy report higher levels of care. Between 33% (Italy) and 58% (the Netherlands) of grandfathers in the 11 European countries studied looked after grandchildren whereas among grandmothers percentages range between 40% (Austria, Germany, Spain, Italy and Switzerland) and 58% (Denmark and the Netherlands). However, when daily childcare is considered, percentages range between 1% (Denmark) and 19% (Greece) among grandfathers, and between 2% (Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands) and 22% (Italy) among grandmothers. In most countries the gender difference in likelihood of providing any grandparental childcare is small, but in the Scandinavian countries and Italy there is a larger difference, with grandmothers more likely to care than grandfathers.

ELSA does not collect similar information to that gathered in SHARE on grandparental childcare (there is also no information on the amount of care given). As mentioned above, however, the 2009 BSAS did collect this information for Britain. This survey showed that among all grandparents with grandchildren under 16 years of age, 19% of grandmothers and 14% of grandfathers provide intensive grandparental childcare, that is at least 10 hours a week (for more details see (Wellard, 2011)).

In ELSA, 6% of all grandparents (regardless of the age of their grandchildren) looked after a grandchild in the past week (Table 4-10). The number of hours of care provided by such grandparents averaged around 30 hours a week (with a median of 15). We argue that this measure is broadly comparable to intensive care in SHARE (defined as at least daily care or care for at least 15 hours a week, about 3 hours a day for 5 days a week). For example, in the Netherlands 7% of grandparents provided daily care which is broadly comparable to the figure of 6% of ELSA respondents who looked after a grandchild in the past week (and using this measure of 'intensive childcare' the mean and median hours of care are similar for English compared to Dutch grandparents).

Consequently, in some of our models in Chapter 7 the 6% of English grandparents reporting providing care in the past week to a grandchild is used to capture intensive grandparental childcare to grandchildren of any age (in the BSAS 17% of grandparents with grandchildren under 16 provide care for 10 or more hours a week). As mentioned above, a broadly comparable measure of intensive care in SHARE is care on a daily basis or for at least 15 hours a week.

Table 4-10 Percentage (and absolute number) of grandparents providing intensive childcare, and mean (and median) number of hours of childcare provided, by country

	%	N	Mean (median)
England (ELSA)	6.1	445/7,280	30.0 (15.0)
France	10.1	179/1,774	31.1 (24.0)
Denmark	3.2	33/1,048	29.6 (20.0)
Sweden	4.0	82/2,045	31.2 (15.5)
Germany	11.3	189/1,670	24.7 (20.0)
The Netherlands	7.6	129/1,707	29.4 (20.0)
Belgium	15.5	360/2,322	29.4 (20.0)
Austria	12.7	144/1,131	28.3 (20.0)
Switzerland	8.5	40/471	31.7 (24.0)
Spain	18.1	252/1,396	30.4 (25.0)
Italy	24.2	327/1,348	26.6 (25.0)
Greece	24.2	310/1,284	33.7 (30.0)
Tot SHARE	12.6	2,045/16,196	29.3 (22.0)

Sources: ELSA, 2002/3; SHARE, 2004/5. Unweighted data.

4.4.1 Grandparental childcare and associated characteristics

Table 4-11 shows associations between the grandparental childcare and the various grandparent characteristics discussed in this chapter. In line with earlier studies, grandparents who are female, younger, with a partner and with higher educational levels, in paid work, in the higher wealth quintiles, with younger grandchildren and in better health are the most likely to undertake grandparental childcare. Most of these characteristics will generally represent social and economic advantage. It is fair to say, therefore, that grandparental childcare is more associated with socio-economic advantage than with disadvantage, which does not confirm the US findings on the characteristics of grandparents who are primary carers (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005). However, being the primary carer is a role confined to a minority of caring grandparents in any country. Nevertheless, our findings are in line with US studies that have looked at more general levels of grandparental childcare as these also show greater advantage to be associated with more general levels of grandparental childcare (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998).

4.5 Summary

- England and France are among the countries with the highest percentages of grandparents (around 64%), with only slightly higher percentages in the Scandinavian countries and Belgium; the Southern European countries show lower levels of grandparenthood, for example just 53% in Italy.
- England ranks among the countries with the highest percentage of grandparents in the working age group similar to France, Sweden, the Netherlands (as well as Austria and Belgium). Only in Denmark is the percentage of grandparents in the working age group higher than in England.
- Even though Dutch and Spanish grandparents report significantly more children than their English counterparts, English grandparents have the most grandchildren among all SHARE countries.
- Among grandparents, more than one in four grandparents across the 12 European countries studied has at least one grandchild under the age of three, and over half have at least one grandchild under the age of six.
- As expected, the majority of grandparents are married: 69% in England and 66% in the other European countries.
- Close to one quarter of grandparents in ELSA and in the SHARE countries are in the bottom 20% of the wealth distribution that is among the poorest, meaning grandparents are disproportionately poor in relative terms (but they are also older). The percentage of grandparents in the bottom 20% of the wealth distribution ranges from 18-21% in France, Denmark, Austria, and Spain (that is, not really different in terms of income distribution to the population as a whole in those countries) to almost 27% in Italy and Germany.
- English grandparents are more likely to be in the bottom 20% of the wealth distribution than grandparents in France, Denmark, Switzerland and Spain. This relationship holds even when differences in the age of grandparents across countries are taken into account.
- More English grandparents are in paid work than the average across the SHARE countries: close to one in four grandparents are in paid work in England compared with about one in seven grandparents in the other European countries. 23% of grandparents in England are in paid work; only in Denmark and Sweden are more grandparents in paid work (29%). In comparison, only 9% of grandparents in Italy are in paid work.
- As the majority of those aged 50 and over are grandparents in the countries considered, the health profile of grandparents is generally consistent with the general health profile of older people in Europe found in previous studies.
- English grandparents are less likely to report (i) poor or fair health (in comparison to good or very good health); (ii) four or more depressive symptoms; and (iii) lower cognitive function in comparison to their Southern European counterparts. In general, the health profile of English grandparents is similar to Danish grandparents (but worse than the Swedish). However, English grandparents are more likely to report functional limitations in comparison to grandparents in all the other countries studied. Our findings on variations in health across the European countries studied reflect well-documented patterns.

Table 4-11 Distribution of grandparental childcare by socio-demographic, economic, health indicators: only SHARE countries (row percentages)

Variables	% No care (N)	% Occasional care (N)	% Regular care (N)	P value
Grandfathers	58.1 (3,749)	20.2 (1,671)	21.7 (1,573)	<0.001
Grandmothers	55.2 (4,581)	19.3 (2,212)	25.5 (2,544)	
50-59	39.0 (1,223)	28.2 (1,202)	32.8 (1,250)	<0.001
60-69	42.5 (2,206)	25.4 (1,734)	32.1 (1,947)	
70+	74.8 (4,901)	11.4 (947)	13.9 (920)	
Not Married	70.5 (2,922)	13.4 (765)	16.1 (726)	<0.001
Married	49.0 (5,408)	22.9 (3,118)	28.1 (3,391)	
Education: LOW	60.8 (5,377)	15.1 (1,824)	24.1 (2,366)	<0.001
Education: MIDDLE	51.7 (1,864)	24.5 (1,168)	23.8 (1,075)	
Education: HIGH	46.2 (1,024)	30.0 (863)	23.8 (638)	
Retired	61.4 (5,475)	17.2 (1,995)	21.4 (2,130)	<0.001
In paid work	41.4 (1,003)	30.5 (1,073)	28.1 (776)	
Other	53.3 (1,848)	18.8 (815)	27.9 (1,210)	
Other wealth quintiles	53.2 (6,316)	21.5 (3,299)	25.3 (3,442)	<0.001
In lowest wealth quintile	67.4 (2,014)	13.2 (584)	19.4 (674)	
1 grandchild	53.8 (1,401)	20.3 (680)	25.9 (778)	<0.001
2/3 grandchildren	50.0 (2,628)	21.5 (1,481)	28.5 (1,707)	
4/5 grandchildren	54.3 (1,732)	22.2 (905)	23.5 (885)	
6+ grandchildren	64.2 (2,012)	17.1 (783)	18.7 (711)	
Age youngest: 0	44.5 (403)	23.9 (325)	31.6 (279)	<0.001
Age youngest: 1-2	36.3 (1,180)	27.7 (1,142)	35.7 (1,414)	
Age youngest: 3-5	38.9 (1,339)	26.7 (1,263)	34.6 (1,387)	
Age youngest: 6-11	52.5 (1,366)	23.7 (777)	23.8 (711)	
Age youngest: 12+	85.9 (3,670)	6.6 (344)	7.5 (296)	
No ADL limitations	53.4 (6,951)	20.8 (3,604)	25.8 (3,848)	<0.001
1+ ADL limitations	75.8 (1,379)	11.9 (279)	12.3 (269)	
Not depressed	53.7 (5,785)	21.3 (3,065)	25.0 (3,091)	<0.001
Depressed	62.3 (2,545)	15.9 (821)	21.8 (1,026)	
SRH>= good	50.5 (4,970)	23.3 (2,955)	26.2 (2,919)	<0.001
SRH= poor or fair	64.7 (3,360)	14.4 (928)	20.9 (1,198)	
Other cognitive quintiles	50.4 (5,895)	22.6 (3,511)	27.0 (3,671)	<0.001
Lowest Cognitive	78.3 (2,435)	8.8 (372)	12.9 (446)	

This table shows the percentage and absolute number of grandparents who provided no care, occasional or regular care by various independent variables. P values for categorical variables are calculated with Chi-squared tests for the entire variable. Source: SHARE, 2004/05; weighted data – own calculations.

5 Investigating Parent Characteristics: SHARE

5.1 Describing family data in SHARE

The previous chapter described in some detail the characteristics of grandparents and variations in these characteristics across 12 European countries. In this chapter we examine the characteristics of grandparents' adult children, i.e the parents of the children the grandparents are looking after (the vast majority of those who have children are adults). As stated in Chapter 4 we do not have detailed information on children and grandchildren for ELSA (such as their marital and main activity status); however, as previously suggested we hypothesise that England has a similar profile to France.

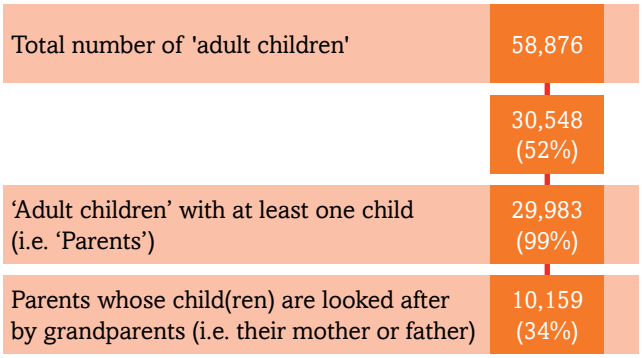
In SHARE, all grandparents in the sample are asked whether they looked after grandchildren and, if so, to which adult child this grandchild belonged. In contrast, detailed information on adult children's characteristics (that is age, marital and employment status) is collected from only one person per household (in the case of married or cohabiting grandparents only one person is designated as the 'main family (MN) respondent'). Box 1 summarises the family-related questions asked in the first wave of the SHARE survey. We decided to assign the characteristics of the adult children provided by the main family respondent to his/her spouse and/or partner.[48] Detailed information regarding the adult child's marital status, main activity status and proximity to older parents is provided for up to four children.[49]

The tables that follow in this chapter focus on those adult children (both biological and non-biological[50]) who have at least one child of their own and whose characteristics have been provided by the main family (MN) respondent (in the case of grandparent respondents living with a spouse or partner).

Before describing grandparents' children's characteristics some definitions are useful. In our report, older people who have 'children who themselves have children' are referred to as '**grandparents**'. Older people's children are referred to as '**adult children**'; if these adult children have at least one child, they are referred to as '**parents**'. Finally, the children of the 'parents' are the '**grandchildren**'.

The tree-diagram in Figure 5-1 shows the total number of adult children we have information for and, if they have children of their own, whether they are looked after by a grandparent.[51] Among the 29,983 parents in SHARE around a third had a child looked after by a grandparent.

Figure 5-1 Tree diagram describing adult children in SHARE



The tree reads from the top to the bottom. Note: the word 'parents' identifies adult children who have at least one child; (+) the availability of information includes the characteristics of parents and whether their own children are looked after by a grandparent. NOTE: the total number of parents whose child(ren) are looked after by grandparents is higher than the total number of grandparents who said they look after any of their grandchildren (8,045). This is because while around 76% of grandparents only look after the grandchildren of one child, a further 20% look after grandchildren of two 'parents'.

Table 5-1 shows the percentage of parents (for whom information is available)[52] who have a child that is (or children who are) looked after by a grandparent (that is by an older mother or father). This percentage ranges from 28% in Spain to 42% in the Netherlands, with Austria, Switzerland and the Southern European countries showing the lowest levels. Thus, similar to the pattern found among grandparents described in Chapter 4 (and in line with previous studies), any grandparental childcare is more common in Northern European countries such as the Netherlands, and less common in Southern European countries like Italy (Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011).

However, when regular childcare is considered the reverse is the case: this type of care is more common in Southern than in Northern European countries. This pattern was also found in Chapter 4 and is once again consistent with earlier work. Around 9% of parents have a child that is looked after regularly by a grandparent in Sweden and Denmark compared to about 1 in 5 parents in Italy, Greece and Belgium.

[48] Failing to do so, information on roughly 5,200 grandparents would be lost. Assigning values to both partners is a fairly 'safe' option: in most countries, more than 90% of the main family (MN) respondents declared that all their children were natural children (i.e. biological children with their current partner or spouse) with peaks of around 97% among Italian and Spanish respondents. Denmark and Sweden are the countries with the highest percentage of main family respondents who report foster, adopted or step-children (18% and 22% respectively).

[49] Questions about children are only asked of at most four children. 94% of main family (MN) respondents have no more than four children. Where there are more than four children, the CAPI programme selects four children in ascending order by year of birth, and then by geographical proximity. The first four children are then selected. When all sorting variables are equal, the CAPI programme chooses a child at random.

[50] Non-biological children include foster, adopted and stepchildren.

[51] It is important to remember that as the information on grandparental childcare comes from the grandparent we only know whether parents are receiving childcare from either their older mother or father (but not their mother or father-in-law).

[52] Please note that we do not have a representative sample of parents in the SHARE. What we do have are the selected characteristics of up to four adult children given to us by the older person. We know which of the up to four adult children the older person identifies as being a parent and we also know whether these parents have been identified (that is by their older mother or father) as being given grandparental childcare.

Box 1. Family related questions in SHARE

SHARE 'main family respondents' (MN) are asked the following questions in the 'children' module.

- How many children do you have that are still alive? Please count all natural children, fostered, adopted and stepchildren (including those of your husband/your wife/your partner)

If the number of children is greater than 0, the MN respondent is then asked the following:

- Is this child a natural child/Are all these children natural children of your own (and your current spouse or partner)?

If the child is not (not all the children are) natural, for up to four selected children, the MN respondent is then asked (depending on whether they live on their own or they live with their partner/spouse):

- Is (child name):
  - **a.** A child of your own (and your current partner)
  - **b.** A child of your own (from a previous relationship)
  - **c.** A child of your current partner (from a previous relationship)
  - **d.** An adopted child
  - **e.** A foster child

Moreover, the MN respondent is asked the marital status, the occupation, the number of children and the frequency of contact of up to four selected children. Finally, two questions about grandchildren are asked to the MN respondent:

- How many children –if any –does (child name) have?

And in case the selected four children happened to have no children (whereas the unselected did), the main family respondent is also asked:

- How many grandchildren do you (and your husband/wife/partner) have altogether?

Finally, ALL SHARE respondents (i.e. not only the main family respondent) are asked questions about family support and whether they looked after grandchildren. If the respondents had at least one grandchild, they were asked

- During the last twelve months, have you regularly or occasionally looked after your grandchild/ (your grandchildren) without the presence of the parents?

If they did, respondents are asked from which of their adult children was the grandchild and respondents could select any of their natural, fostered, adopted or stepchildren. Similarly, for each adult child's children, respondents are asked to provide the frequency and hours of care.

- From which of your children is the grandchild/(are the grandchildren) you have looked after?
- On average, how often did you look after the child(ren) of (child name) in the last twelve months? Was it...
  - **a.** Almost daily
  - **b.** Almost every week
  - **c.** Almost every month
  - **d.** Less often
- About how many hours did you look after the child(ren) of (child name) on a typical day/in a typical week/in a typical month/in the last twelve months?

Table 5-1 Absolute number of parents by whether they have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by country (row percentages)

	Not looked after	Looked after occasionally	Looked after regularly	Total
France	2,405 (66.7)	766 (21.3)	433 (12.0)	3,604
Denmark	1,285 (62.5)	598 (29.1)	174 (8.5)	2,057
Sweden	2,600 (66.6)	954 (24.4)	350 (9.0)	3,904
Germany	1,929 (67.5)	480 (16.8)	448 (15.7)	2,857
Netherlands	1,858 (57.7)	826 (25.6)	537 (16.7)	3,221
Belgium	2,818 (62.4)	756 (16.8)	940 (20.8)	4,514
Austria	1,361 (70.4)	269 (13.9)	302 (15.6)	1,932
Switzerland	603 (71.4)	114 (13.5)	128 (15.1)	845
Spain	2,099 (74.5)	286 (10.2)	432 (15.3)	2,817
Italy	1,755 (72.2)	151 (6.2)	523 (21.5)	2,429
Greece	1,621 (70.1)	223 (9.6)	469 (20.3)	2,313
Total SHARE	20,334 (66.7)	5,423 (17.8)	4,736 (15.5)	30,493

Source: SHARE 2004/05; own calculations. Unweighted data.

The following sections describe 'parent'[52] characteristics. We first distinguish between those who have a child who is (10,159) and who is not (19,824) looked after by a grandparent (that is an older mother or father). Second, among the 10,159 parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, we distinguish those who have at least one child that is looked after regularly by a grandparent in comparison to those who do not (that is those who are only receiving occasional as opposed to regular care).

5.2 Parent demographic and socio-economic characteristics

5.2.1 Age

Figure 5-2 shows the age profile of parents[52] by whether or not they have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by country. As expected those parents who have a child who is looked after by a grandparent are likely to be younger. Overall, 69% of parents who have a child who is looked after by a grandparent are under age 39, in comparison to 31% of those whose children are not looked after by a grandparent. In particular, between 65% (Italy, Spain and Greece) and 74% (the Netherlands) of parents who have a child who is looked after by grandparents who are aged 16-39.

Table 5-2 shows the percentage of parents[52] within each age group who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (that is on an almost daily or weekly basis). This table is restricted to those parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent. In general, the younger the parent, the more likely it is that a child is regularly (as opposed to occasionally) looked after by a grandparent. Overall, 53% of such parents aged 16-29 have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent compared to 42% of parents aged 40 and over.

Country differences in the percentage of parents having a child that is regularly looked by a grandparent are noticeable across all age groups; for example, 24% of parents aged 30-39 in Denmark have a child who is regularly looked after by a grandparent in comparison to 81% in Italy. Similarly, among parents aged 40 or over 19% have a child who is regularly looked after by a grandparent in Denmark compared to 70% in Italy.

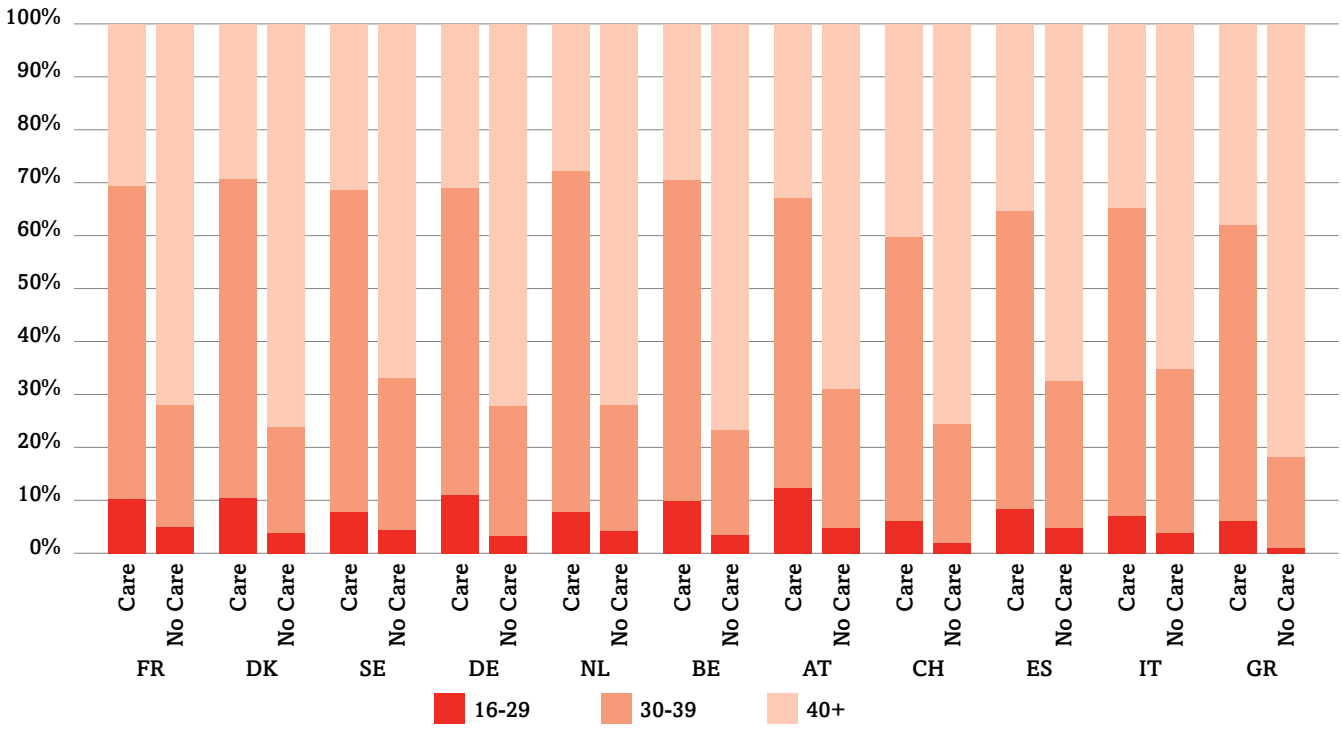
The higher levels of grandparental childcare among older parents in Southern European countries reflects in large measure different trends in fertility patterns discussed in Chapter 4 (and in particular postponed childbearing see Table 4-3).

Table 5-2 Percentages of parents (and absolute numbers) who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent) within each age group and by country

	16-29	30-39	40+
FR	37.5 (39/104)	36.3 (218/601)	28.7 (85/296)
DK	26.9 (18/67)	23.7 (107/451)	19.3 (40/207)
SE	35.5 (33/93)	27.0 (201/745)	23.9 (85/355)
DE	58.1 (50/86)	48.1 (253/526)	45.7 (127/278)
NL	47.4 (46/97)	42.8 (353/720)	29.9 (97/325)
BE	60.8 (93/153)	59.3 (576/972)	44.2 (196/443)
AT	59.7 (37/62)	56.6 (176/311)	44.1 (78/177)
CH	64.3 (9/14)	50.0 (56/112)	52.9 (45/85)
ES	72.0 (36/50)	59.9 (226/377)	59.5 (141/237)
IT	80.9 (34/42)	81.3 (300/369)	70.3 (156/222)
GR	80.0 (36/45)	69.4 (267/385)	62.6 (149/238)
SHARE	53.0 (431/813)	48.2 (2,733/5,674)	41.9 (1,199/2,863)

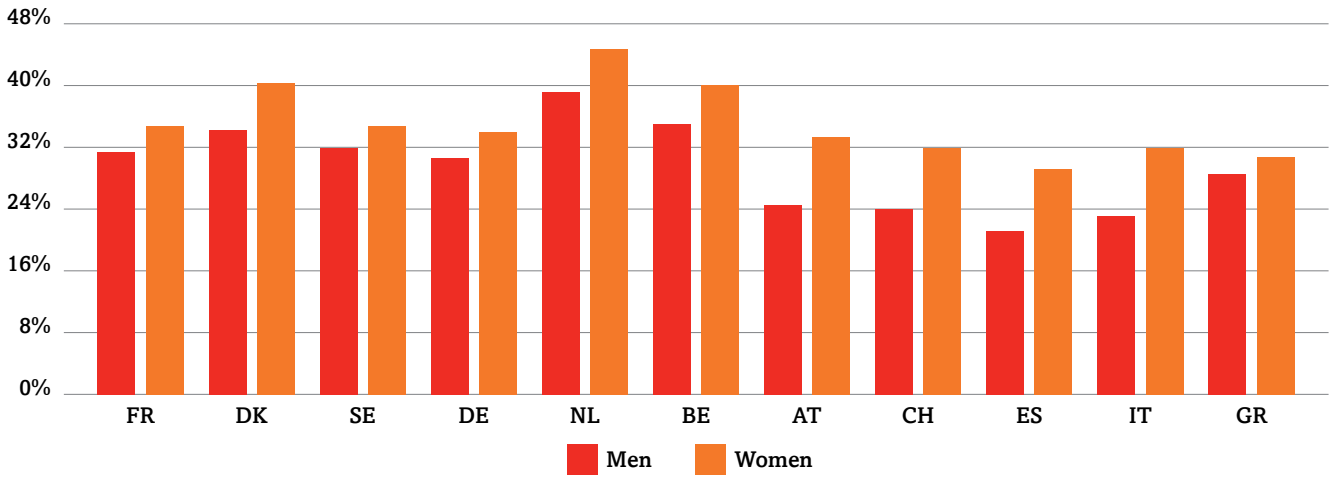
Source: SHARE, 2004/05. Own Calculations. Unweighted data. Analyses limited to parents who had their child(ren) looked after grandparents.

Figure 5-2 Age profile of parents by whether they have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by country



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; own calculations. Unweighted data.

Figure 5-3 Percentages of parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by gender and country



SHARE, 2004/05. Own calculations, unweighted data. Base: all parents.

5.2.2 Gender

Figure 5-3 shows the percentage of parents[52] who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent by sex. Overall, 31% of fathers and 36% of mothers have a child that is looked after by a grandparent and a higher percentage for women is found in every country.

Table 5-3 presents the percentage of fathers and mothers[52] with a child who is looked after by a grandparent on a regular basis (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent). Overall, among parents who receive grandparental childcare, 42% of fathers and 50% of mothers have a child that is looked after by a grandparent on a regular basis (and mothers have a higher likelihood in every country of having a child who is looked after by a grandparent except in Germany and Switzerland). The gender difference varies by country but is particularly strong in Spain, where 46% of fathers but 70% of mothers benefit from grandparental childcare. This may reflect gender differences in care, that is, in some countries grandparents may be more likely to provide grandparental childcare for a daughter than a son.

5.2.3Family structure

Children

As expected (fertility trends were discussed earlier in Chapter 4) parents have on average 1.98 children; the Southern European countries are in the lower group with Italy the lowest of all at 1.77), and the Scandinavian countries along with France, the Netherlands and Switzerland in the higher group (2.14 in Sweden).

Age of youngest child

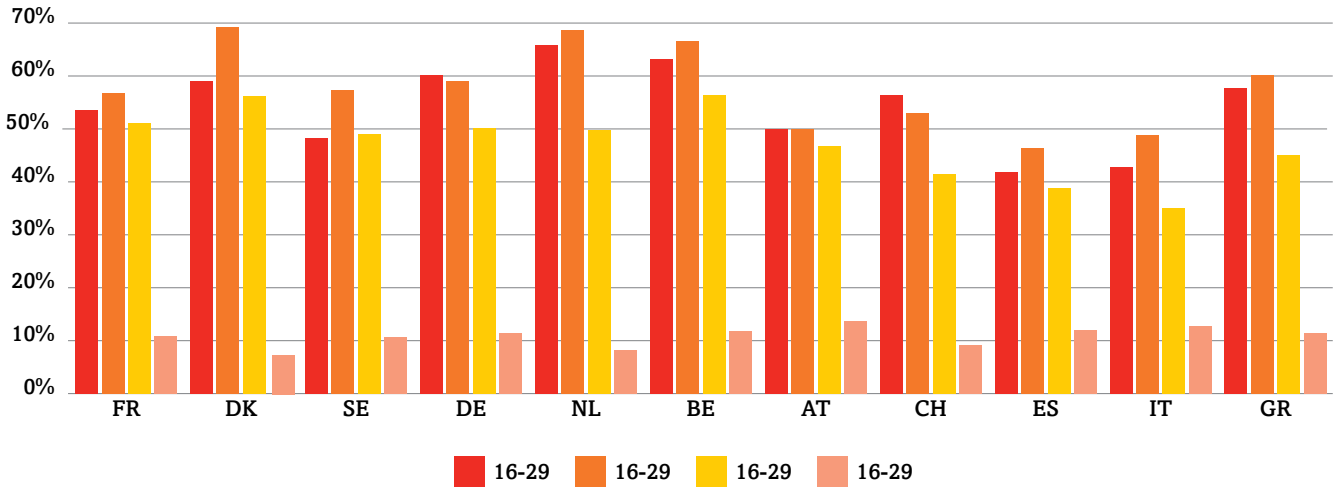
Figure 5-4 presents the percentage of parents[52] who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent by the age of the youngest child and by country. As expected, parents whose youngest child is under six years old are much more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent in comparison to those whose youngest child is aged 12 or older. Overall, 55% of parents whose youngest child is aged 0-2 receive grandparental childcare, as do 59% of parents whose youngest child is aged 3-5 and 48% of those whose youngest child is age 6-11. Only 11% of parents whose youngest child is aged 12 or older receive any grandparental childcare. The pattern does not vary greatly between countries.

Table 5-3 Percentage of parents (and absolute numbers) who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent), by gender and country

	Fathers		Mothers	
	%	N	%	N
France	30.7	166/538	40.1	261/651
Denmark	21.5	71/330	23.2	103/443
Sweden	22.6	128/566	30.2	224/742
Germany	50.8	201/396	45.8	246/537
The Netherlands	34.7	206/593	42.9	332/774
Belgium	52.3	381/729	57.3	547/954
Austria	48.0	106/221	55.6	199/358
Switzerland	53.6	45/84	51.6	80/155
Spain	45.6	129/284	69.5	298/429
Italy	74.2	190/256	79.4	332/418
Greece	64.7	196/303	69.7	271/389
SHARE	42.3	1,820/4,303	49.5	2,893/5,850

Source: SHARE 2004/05. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Analyses restricted to parents who received grandparental childcare, i.e. whose child(ren) are looked after by grandparents.

Figure 5-4 Percentage of parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by age of the youngest child and country



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all parents.

Table 5-4 presents regular, as opposed to any, grandparental childcare, again by the age of the youngest child (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent). Overall, close to half of all parents receiving any grandparental childcare whose youngest child is aged six or under have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent.

The differences across countries follow a consistent pattern regardless of the age of the youngest child: grandchildren are most likely to be regularly looked after by a grandparent in Southern European countries and least likely in the Scandinavian countries. For example, around 80% of parents in Italy with children under six receive regular grandparental childcare (among those receiving any grandparental childcare) this is in comparison with just 25% among their counterparts in Denmark (Table 5-5).

Marital status

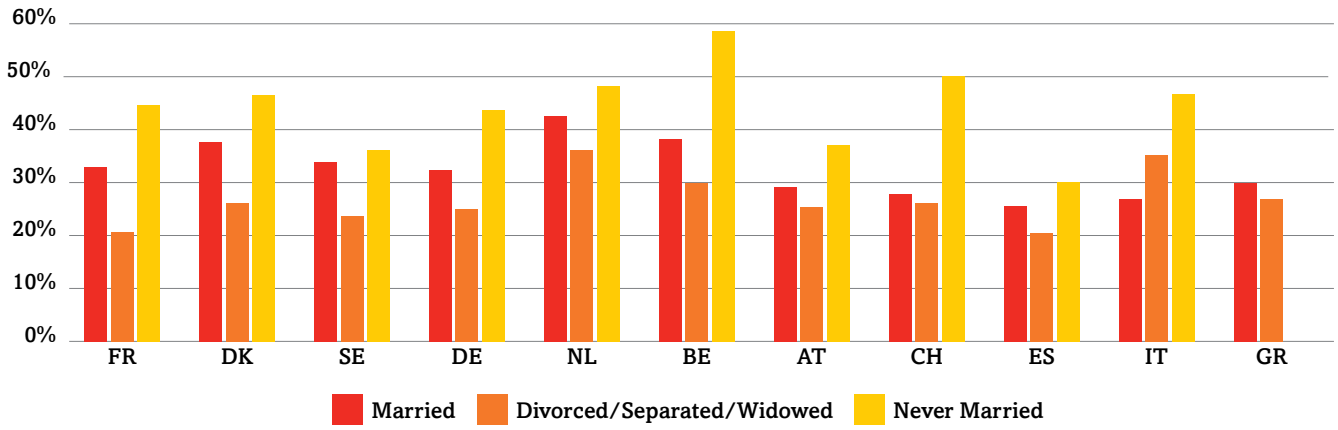
Figure 5-5 shows the percentage of parents[52] who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent by marital status. Overall, the percentage of parents receiving grandparental childcare is higher among the never married at 44% in comparison to 33% of those who are married or living with a partner, and 27% of those who are separated, divorced or widowed. Similar patterns by marital status are observable in all countries with the exception of Italy – it is the only country where divorced/separated parents are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent in comparison to married parents. There is greater variation between countries in the percentages of never-married children receiving grandparental childcare than among the married or divorced/separated, perhaps because never-married parents are relatively few in number.

Table 5-4 Percentages (and absolute numbers) of parents who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent), by the age of the youngest child and country

	0-2	3-5	6-11	12+
FR	37.3 (140/375)	37.0 (115/311)	36.8 (132/359)	31.4 (44/140)
DK	24.4 (54/221)	24.8 (53/214)	20.3 (56/276)	18.0 (11/61)
SE	30.9 (122/395)	26.5 (83/313)	25.6 (115/449)	20.5 (30/146)
DE	51.4 (125/243)	48.3 (102/211)	46.1 (150/325)	48.3 (70/145)
NL	45.1 (253/561)	40.0 (146/365)	33.7 (117/347)	21.2 (18/858)
BE	61.4 (277/451)	60.0 (278/463)	49.7 (267/537)	47.7 (102/214)
AT	60.4 (67/111)	51.6 (63/122)	53.9 (118/219)	45.3 (53/117)
CH	67.7 (44/65)	55.2 (32/58)	44.0 (37/84)	41.4 (12/29)
ES	60.7 (108/178)	65.2 (116/178)	59.6 (124/208)	58.6 (65/111)
IT	77.0 (137/178)	80.5 (165/205)	78.4 (145/185)	72.6 (74/102)
GR	75.3 (137/182)	70.2 (120/171)	68.6 (133/194)	53.6 (75/140)
Tot	49.5 (1,464/2,960)	48.8 (1,273/2,611)	43.8 (1,394/3,183)	42.9 (554/1,290)

Source: SHARE 2004/05. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Analyses restricted to parents who received grandparental childcare, i.e. whose child(ren) are looked after by grandparents.

Figure 5-5 Percentage of parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by marital status and country



Source: SHARE 2004/05. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all parents. Notes: given that only between 1% and 3% of parents are widowed, they are grouped together with the separated/divorced. Also, in Switzerland the total number of 'never married' is less than 30 so caution in interpretation is necessary; In Greece, no parents were reported to be never married.

With regard to regular care (as opposed to any care), among parents who have any children that are looked after by a grandparent, there are no significant differences between those who are married and unmarried in the percentage who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent. The percentage is roughly equal at around 46% (results not shown).

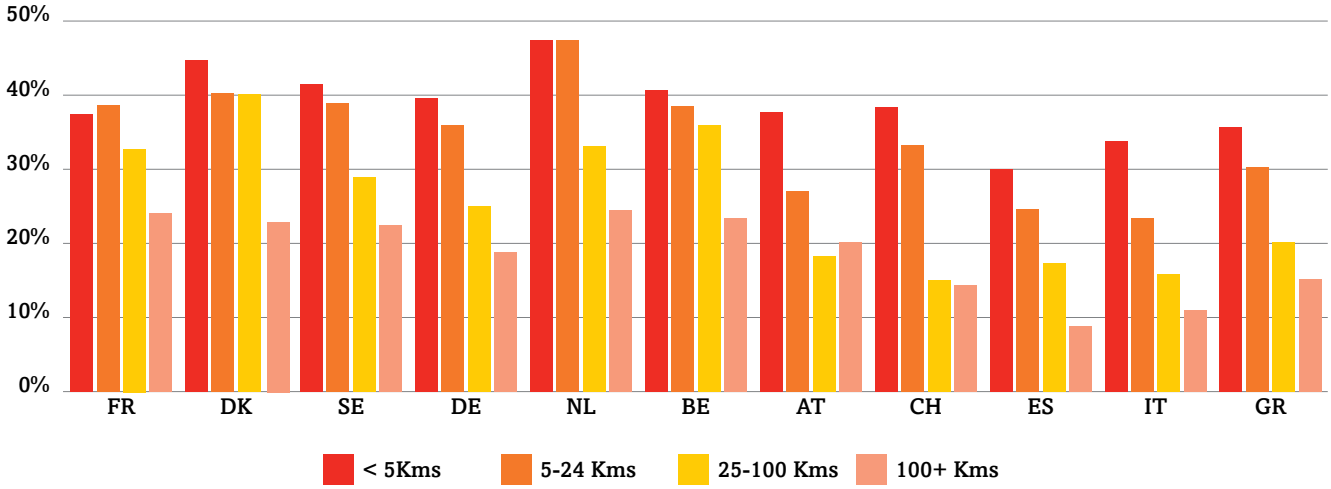
Table 5-5 presents this percentage for fathers and mothers. For mothers, in nearly every country the percentage who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those receiving any grandparental care) is higher for the unmarried than for the married though the extent of the difference varies. We may conjecture that this is related to the likelihood that children whose parents do not co-reside will live with the mother rather than the father, thus increasing the mother's need for regular grandparental help. For fathers, on the other hand, the balance between the married and unmarried varies by country; however, numbers in these categories are often small making interpretation difficult.

Table 5-5 Percentage of parents who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent), by marital status, gender and country

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried
FR	31.7 (135/426)	27.8 (31/112)	38.6 (184/477)	44.3 (77/174)
DK	23.8 (57/240)	15.6 (14/90)	20.3 (62/306)	30.2 (41/136)
SE	22.3 (113/506)	25.0 (15/60)	30.1 (190/631)	30.0 (33/101)
DE	52.1 (163/313)	46.3 (38/82)	43.4 (186/429)	55.6 (60/108)
NL	34.8 (188/540)	34.0 (18/53)	42.3 (287/679)	47.9 (45/94)
BE	52.5 (326/621)	51.0 (51/100)	57.7 (467/809)	54.9 (79/144)
AT	46.8 (88/188)	55.2 (16/29)	54.3 (132/243)	58.3 (67/115)
CH	50.7 (35/69)	71.4 (10/14)	53.9 (70/130)	40.0 (10/25)
ES	43.5 (114/262)	68.2 (15/22)	68.7 (270/393)	77.8 (28/36)
IT	73.6 (176/239)	82.4 (14/17)	78.1 (292/374)	90.9 (40/44)
GR	66.3 (187/282)	42.9 (9/21)	68.3 (248/363)	88.5 (23/26)
SHARE	42.9 (1,582/3,686)	38.5 (231/600)	49.4 (2,388/4,834)	49.7 (503/1,012)

Source: SHARE, 2004/05. Own Calculations. Unweighted data. Analyses restricted to parents who receive grandparental childcare, that is those who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent. Note: in Austria, Spain, Italy, Greece and Switzerland the total number of unmarried fathers and/or mothers is less than 30 so caution in interpretation is necessary.

Figure 5-6 Percentage of parents who have a child(ren) that is looked after by a grandparent, by distance to the grandparent's home and by country



Source: SHARE 2004/05. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all parents.

5.2.4 Distance

Figure 5-6 shows the percentage of parents[52] (for whom we have information) who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent by the distance to the grandparent's home and by country. As expected, parents who live closer their own parents are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent.[53] Overall, 38% of parents who live within five kilometres of a child's grandparent have a child that is looked after by a grandparent compared to just 20% of parents who live more than 100 kilometres away. This ranges from 30% to 47% of parents living within five kilometres (Spain and the Netherlands respectively) in contrast to just 8% (Spain) and almost 25% (France and the Netherlands) of parents where the child's grandparent lives more than 100 kilometres away. The difference between the percentages for greatest and least proximity varies across countries; in Belgium for example it is less than 20 percentage points, and this might reflect the relatively small area of that country, in that unless a Belgian child moves to another country, even at over 100 km from his/her parents the distance will not be great. But this conjecture receives little support from the data for other countries.

Table 5-6 shows the percentage of parents who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent) by the distance to the grandparent's home and by country. Once again, the smaller the distance the more likely they are to have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent. Overall, 63% of parents living within five kilometres of a grandparent's home have a child that is regularly looked after compared to less than 17% of parents living more than 25 kilometres away (among those parents who have any children looked after by a grandparent). There are variations in the pattern across countries. For example the difference in percentage points between the likelihood of regular care at less than five kilometres distance and at five to 25 kilometres distance is relatively small in the Southern European countries and greatest in France and Germany; evidently regular grandparental childcare and very close proximity are more closely associated in those countries. Again, in the Southern European countries, the difference in percentage points between five to 25 kilometres distance and over 25 kilometres distance is considerable.

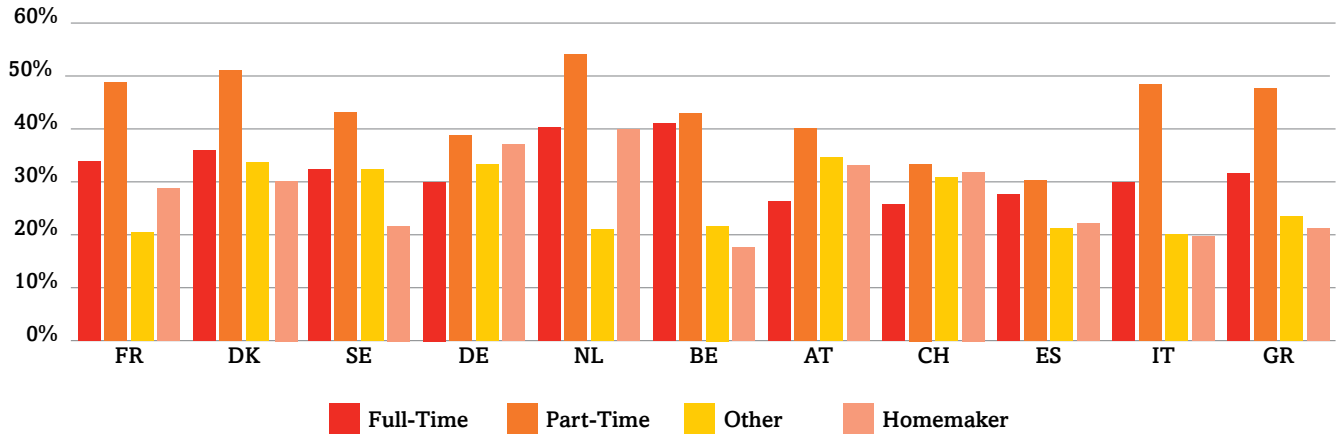
Table 5-6 Percentage (and absolute number) of parents who have a child that is regularly looked after by their grandparents (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent), by distance to the grandparents' home and country

	< 5km	5-25 Km	+25 Km
France	60.0 (250/417)	35.4 (120/339)	14.1 (62/440)
Denmark	39.1 (97/248)	22.0 (54/192)	8.2 (23/280)
Sweden	42.2 (208/484)	21.7 (79/364)	14.3 (66/395)
Germany	67.1 (316/471)	42.6 (110/258)	11.2 (23/205)
The Netherlands	51.4 (362/704)	34.5 (140/406)	14.2 (38/267)
Belgium	66.8 (544/814)	54.6 (293/537)	27.9 (93/333)
Austria	64.2 (215/335)	46.8 (66/141)	24.5 (26/106)
Switzerland	67.3 (74/110)	47.1 (40/85)	25.6 (11/43)
Spain	66.4 (354/533)	58.5 (69/118)	11.8 (8/68)
Italy	85.1 (421/495)	74.4 (90/121)	21.7 (13/60)
Greece	77.8 (357/459)	63.5 (87/137)	23.7 (23/97)
SHARE	63.1 (3,198/5,070)	41.7 (1,148/1,604)	16.4 (386/2,360)

Source: SHARE, 2004/05. Own Calculations. Unweighted data. Analyses restricted to parents who received grandparental childcare, i.e. whose child(ren) are looked after by grandparents.

[53] As this is cross-sectional data we cannot establish cause and effect. That is, parents who live closer to grandparents may receive more help with childcare because they are closer or it may be that the need for childcare has resulted in parents living near grandparents.

Figure 5-7 Percentage of parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by main activity status and country



Source: SHARE 2004. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all parents. Note: full-time employment combines 'in full-time employment' and 'self-employed'; 'other' includes 'unemployed', 'in vocational training/ retraining/ education', 'in retirement or early retirement', 'permanently sick or disabled', 'parental leave' and 'other'. Finally, 'homemaker' is defined as 'looking after home or family' in SHARE.

5.2.5 Main activity status

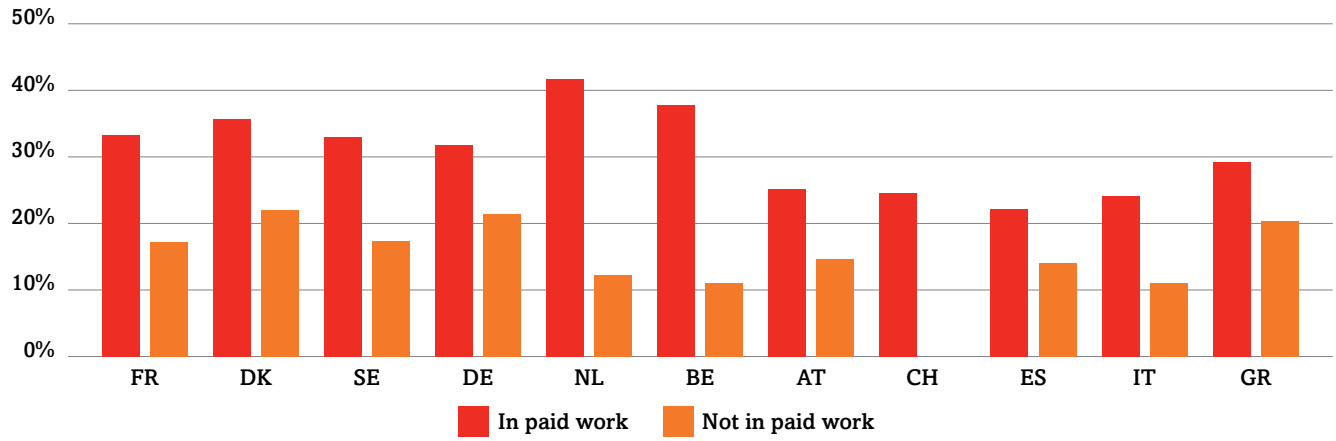
As with grandparents, economic activity status is determined using a set of pre-defined categories.[54] Those who are identified as being either employed or self-employed are considered to be in 'paid work'.

Figure 5-7 shows the percentage of parents[52] who have a child or children looked after by a grandparent, by their main activity status and by country. Overall, a higher percentage of parents who are part-time workers, at 45%, have a child that is looked after by a grandparent compared to 33% of those in full-time employment,[55] and 27% of those who classify themselves as homemakers or fall into the 'other' category.[56]

The percentage of parents in full-time employment ranges from 26% in Austria and Switzerland to 41% in Belgium; among parents who are employed part-time this figure ranges from 30% in Spain to around 55% in the Netherlands. In general, more parents who are part-time workers have a child that is looked after by a grandparent; however, the pattern across countries varies. For example, in Austria, Germany and Switzerland the lowest likelihood of grandparental care is found among parents in full-time work, whereas in the Scandinavian and Southern European countries and in Belgium, the lowest prevalence of grandparental care is found among homemaker parents. This contrast suggests variation in reasons for grandparental childcare or its absence.

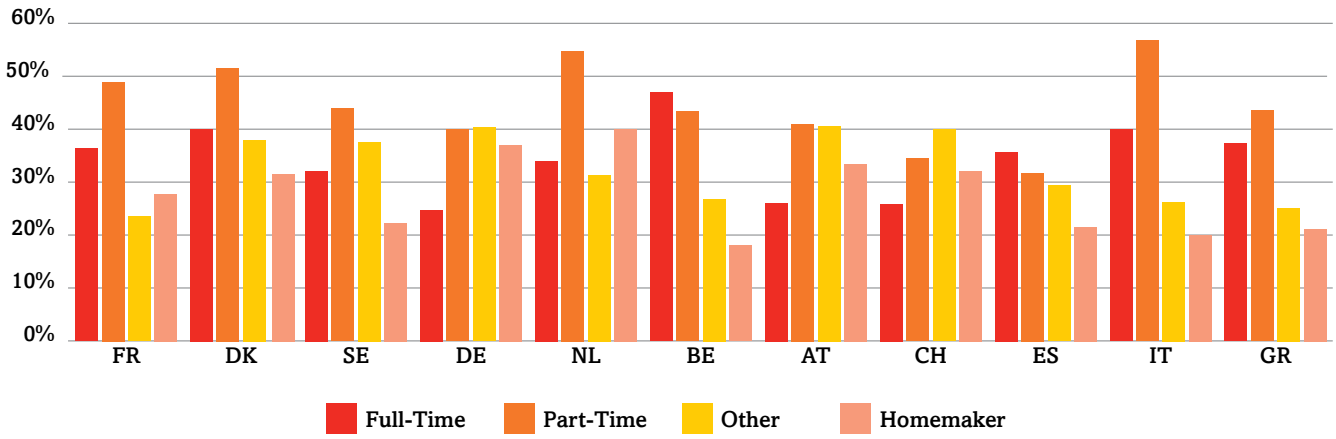
[54] SHARE and ELSA respondents are asked to self-assess their current job situation, choosing one of six mutually exclusive categories: 'retired', 'employed or self-employed (including working for family business)', 'unemployed', 'permanently sick or disabled', 'homemaker' or 'other'.
[55] Full-time comprises also self-employed parents.
[56] The category 'other' includes 'unemployed', 'in vocational training/ retraining/ education', 'in retirement or early retirement', 'permanently sick or disabled', 'parental leave' and 'other'.

Figure 5-8 Percentage of fathers who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by main activity status and country



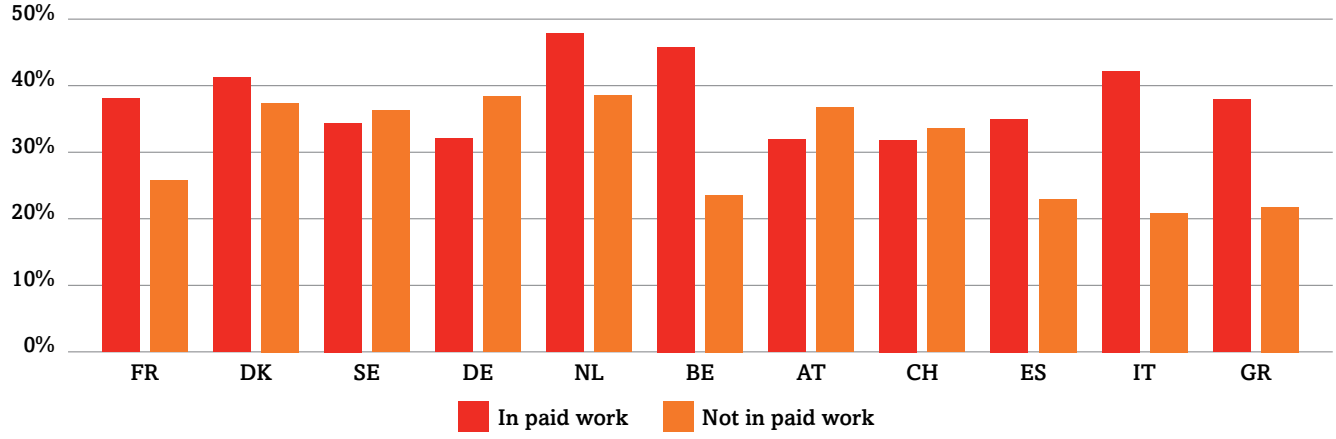
Source: SHARE 2004. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all fathers. Note: 'In paid work' combined 'full-time employment', 'part-time employment' and 'self-employed'; 'Not in paid work' includes all the other categories. Switzerland has less than 30 fathers not in paid work.

Figure 5-9 Percentage of mothers who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent, by main activity status and country



Source: SHARE 2004. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all mothers. Note: full-time employment combines 'in full-time employment' and 'self-employed'; 'other' includes 'unemployed', 'in vocational training/ retraining/ education', 'in retirement or early retirement', 'permanently sick or disabled', 'parental leave' and 'other'. Finally, 'homemaker' is defined as 'looking after home or family' in SHARE. Switzerland has less fewer than 30 mothers in the full-time or other categories.

Figure 5-10 Percentage of mothers who have a child(ren) that is looked after by a grandparent, by abbreviated main activity status and country



Source: SHARE 2004. Own calculations. Unweighted data. Base: all mothers. Note: 'In paid work' combined 'full-time employment', 'part-time employment' and 'self-employed'; 'Not in paid work' includes all the other categories. Switzerland has less than 30 mothers not in paid work.

Figure 5-8 and Figure 5-9 show the percentage of fathers and mothers who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent by their main activity status and by country. As the majority of all fathers are in full-time employment (90%), we did not distinguish between the different categories of paid work. Variations in employment patterns for women across Europe are well-documented: fewer women in Southern European countries are in full-time employment in comparison to their Northern and Western European counterparts (Trifiletti, 1999, Thévenon, 2011). However, among those who are employed, full-time work is more common in Southern than in Northern and Western Europe. (Trifiletti, 1999, Thévenon, 2011).

Overall among fathers, 32% of those in paid work have a child that is looked after by a grandparent in comparison to fewer than 16% of those not in paid work (Figure 5-8). The percentage of fathers in paid work who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent ranges from 22% in Spain to 42% (the Netherlands), and between 11% in Italy and 22% Denmark and Germany among those fathers not in paid work. Thus, fathers in paid work are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent than those who are not. This may, of course, suggest that the fathers not in paid work are undertaking childcare themselves; it is also possible that those in this group are less likely to have young or school-age children, or less likely to co-reside (and therefore be responsible for arranging childcare) with the children they have.

Among mothers in part-time employment (Figure 5-9), 46% have a child that is looked after by a grandparent in comparison to 37% of mothers in full-time employment. Within most countries this pattern generally holds, that is, mothers in part-time employment are more likely to have a child looked after by a grandparent than those in full-time employment (with the exceptions of Spain and Belgium). There is little other consistency to be seen in the relative likelihood across activity categories of receiving grandparental childcare.

Figure 5-10 shows the percentage of mothers who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent distinguishing only by whether or not they are in paid work. Overall, 39% of mothers in paid work have a child that is looked after by a grandparent compared to fewer than 29% of those who are not in paid work. Some of the percentage differences between working and non-working mothers are small, but those in the Southern European countries, France and Belgium are quite substantial and in all these countries, mothers in paid work are more likely to have grandparental childcare

Turning to the question of regular care, Table 5-7 shows the percentage of fathers and mothers who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent by whether or not they are in paid work (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent). Among fathers there are no differences by whether or not they are in paid work (and in any case, numbers not in paid work are too small to rely upon). In almost every country, mothers in paid work are more likely than fathers in paid work to be receiving regular grandparental childcare; this is in line with existing findings that parents more often help daughters than sons (Tomassini and Glaser, 2003), but we may also take into account that grandparental childcare is associated with part-time work and part-time work is associated with women rather than men.

Turning to mothers, in every country a higher percentage of those in paid work than of those not in paid work receive grandparental childcare; this is perhaps to be expected but it is interesting to note that the reverse is true in the Scandinavian countries. The difference between those in paid work and those not in paid work is small except for the substantial difference in the Netherlands (48% of those in paid work, 27% of the remainder) and the somewhat less substantial differences in France, Belgium and Italy.

Fathers and mothers in the Southern European countries who receive any grandparental childcare are more likely to have a child that is regularly looked after regardless of whether they are in paid work or not in comparison to the Northern and Western European countries.

Table 5-7 Percentage of mothers and fathers who have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent (among those who have any children looked after by a grandparent), by whether or not in paid work, and by country

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Paid work	Not in paid work	Paid Work	Not in paid work
FR	30.2 (154/510)	42.9 (12/28)	42.6 (222/521)	30.0 (39/130)
DK	21.2 (66/311)	26.3 (5/19)	22.3 (79/354)	27.3 (24/88)
SE	22.9 (124/542)	16.7 (4/24)	28.5 (165/579)	35.4 (57/161)
DE	50.6 (183/362)	54.5 (18/33)	48.9 (159/325)	41.0 (87/212)
NL	34.7 (201/580)	38.5 (5/13)	48.4 (280/578)	26.7 (52/195)
BE	52.2 (364/698)	56.5 (13/23)	59.5 (483/812)	44.7 (63/141)
AT	47.6 (100/210)	57.1 (4/7)	58.3 (137/235)	50.4 (62/123)
CH	54.2 (45/83)	-	55.9 (52/93)	45.2 (28/62)
ES	45.0 (121/269)	53.3 (8/15)	71.2 (195/274)	66.5 (103/155)
IT	71.1 (183/247)	77.8 (7/9)	83.0 (239/288)	71.5 (93/130)
GR	65.2 (187/287)	60.0 (9/15)	72.6 (193/266)	63.4 (78/123)
Tot	42.2 (1,728/4,099)	45.7 (85/186)	51.0 (2,204/4,325)	45.1 (686/1,520)

Source: SHARE, 2004/05. Own Calculations. Unweighted data

5.3 Summary

- A key finding is that, regardless of parental characteristics (such as marital or main activity status), parents in Southern European countries, such as Italy and Spain, are more likely to have a child that is regularly looked after by a grandparent than their counterparts in Northern and Western European countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark and France.
- As expected, parents with younger children (who tend to be generally younger parents) are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent. However, in some countries parents who have a youngest child aged 3-5 are more likely to have a child looked after by a grandparent (and indeed regularly looked after by a grandparent) than parents whose youngest child is aged 0-2. This is the case in Spain and Italy; in France there is no difference in the percentage of parents who have a child that is looked after by a grandparent among parents with a youngest child aged 0-2 and 3-5, and in Germany parents with a youngest child aged 0-2 are the most likely to have a child looked after by a grandparent.
- Never-married parents in comparison to married parents are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent. However, there are few differences, in the percentage of married and unmarried parents who have a child looked after by a grandparent.
- In general, mothers are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent (that is their own older mother or father) than fathers. Overall, mothers in part-time work are more likely to have a child that is looked after by a grandparent compared to those in full-time paid work.

6 Family Policy in Europe and Grandparenting

6.1 Family policy and patterns of Grandparental Childcare

So far in this report, we have explored differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of grandparents across selected European countries. A key aim has been to explore how these differences may account for variations in grandparental childcare by examining how many grandparents there are, how many grandchildren, their ages and so on. In this chapter we turn to consider the extent to which differences in the ways that grandmothers care for grandchildren across Europe (in the absence of the children's parents) might be accounted for by differences in family and care policy, as well as related work and childcare settings and cultural attitudes. Countries differ markedly, for example, in the extent to which women and mothers participate in paid labour and the extent to which people have access to and use formal childcare. Cultural factors also help us to understand that individuals within a country have different preferences and norms for childcare, with variation across Europe in beliefs about what is best for families and children.

In this chapter we consider how all these factors help to explain grandmothers' involvement in grandparental childcare. We focus on grandmaternal care, since it is seldom the case that grandfathers provide childcare in the absence of parents without grandmothers present. We have considered these outcomes in 11 countries: Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. These countries were selected as they provide clear examples of countries with different policy environments, labour force and childcare structures and varying family, care and work cultures.

6.1.1 Family Policies and Grandparents

As described in Chapter 2, we are seeing an increasing recognition of the social practice of grandparental care and what this means for families. Research is beginning to focus on grandparents – grandmothers especially – as one of the main providers of care to grandchildren (Aassve et al., 2011, Hank and Buber, 2009, Igel and Szydlik, 2011, Zamarro, 2011, Attias-Donfut and Arber, 2000, Anttonen et al., 2003, Herlofson and Hagestad, 2012). Nevertheless, the family policy literature and analysts of family policy across Europe have been slow to recognise the role of grandparents or grandmothers.

The importance of understanding how family policies differ across Europe has been increasingly recognised over the last twenty years or so as governments and policy makers strive to understand patterns of women and especially mothers, working (Mätzke and Ostner, 2010, Wheelock and Jones, 2002, Knijn and Saraceno, 2010, Leitner, 2003). In the context of women's and mothers' work, many family policy analysts and commentators have noted substantial differences between, for example, the social democratic states of Scandinavia, the more politically free market states such as the United Kingdom, the states where large corporations or the public sector provides welfare through employment, such as Germany or France, or the more family based countries of the southern Mediterranean (Esping-Andersen, 1990, Esping-Andersen, 1999, Bonoli, 1997). Furthermore, the labour market participation of men and women clearly influences the ways families organise work and care, and vice versa – the organisation of care influences the extent to which men and women participate in the labour market (Leira, 1992, O'Connor et al., 1999, Pfau-Effinger, 2005, Hantrais, 1999). However, despite many grandparents, especially grandmothers, being below the state pension age, working and care patterns of grandparents for grandchildren, and the social and economic impacts of these patterns, have been largely ignored in family policy research and literature.

Family responsibilities, childcare organisation and cultural traditions of family and care are accordingly quite diverse across the European countries. One of the great social changes across Europe has been the increased labour market participation of women and mothers, particularly in light of population ageing (OECD, 2002, OECD, 2007a). However, great gender differences in employment persist, with women often employed in poor quality, temporary and part-time jobs, and persistent gender pay gaps (see for example Lewis et al., 2008, O'Connor et al., 1999). One policy response across Europe has been development of childcare services and parental leave policies which aim to balance family and work responsibilities (Knijn and Saraceno, 2010). With mothers increasingly in the labour market, and associated higher demands for childcare and greater strains on mothers, families need new childcare arrangements. Mismatched family and work responsibilities mostly come from unstable, precarious and inflexible labour markets that severely disadvantage mothers and children, but also underfunded, exclusive and fragmented childcare services (OECD, 2011, Pfau-Effinger, 2011). The lack of childcare services pushes mothers to find alternative forms of childcare, or they may have to leave their employment, or work fewer hours, to look after their children. Yet again, the place of grandparental care in these practices is little noted or understood (Gardiner, 2000, Le Bihan and Martin, 2004, OECD, 2007b).

As discussed above, most of the analysis of paid work and childcare has focussed exclusively on mothers with young children in both nuclear and lone-parent families. However, childcare provision and mothers' participation in paid work have been shown to be insufficient in explaining patterns of childcare (Kremer, 2007). Yet in these fields of study, the position of grandmothers has been largely invisible and ignored in theory, policy and empirical research; and little consideration has been given to the importance of grandmaternal employment and grandmaternal care for women's (and in particular for mothers) continued participation in paid work.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the increase in life expectancy has led to more generations being likely to be living at the same time, so that three-generation families are more common than ever before (Murphy, 2011). Such changes have the potential to transform family relationships by creating new arrangements for the provision and receipt of care, including childcare (Hagestad, 2006). We have seen the emergence of a small number of recent studies comparing care practices between countries, for example

considering how obligations to care vary between countries (Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008, Saraceno and Keck, 2010), or how institutional settings promote or discourage transfers of care between family members (Larsen and Hadlow, 2003, Leitner, 2003, Bolin et al., 2008, Anttonen et al., 2003). However, in these studies, care is considered as care between two generations, with the middle generation seen as having the pivotal role in intergenerational relationships either upwards (to their parents) or downwards (to their children). This view of family care diminishes the role played by grandparents. We suggest rather, that to understand family childcare organisation, we need to think of the consequences of the labour market, care systems and cultural expectations on at least three (if not four) generations.

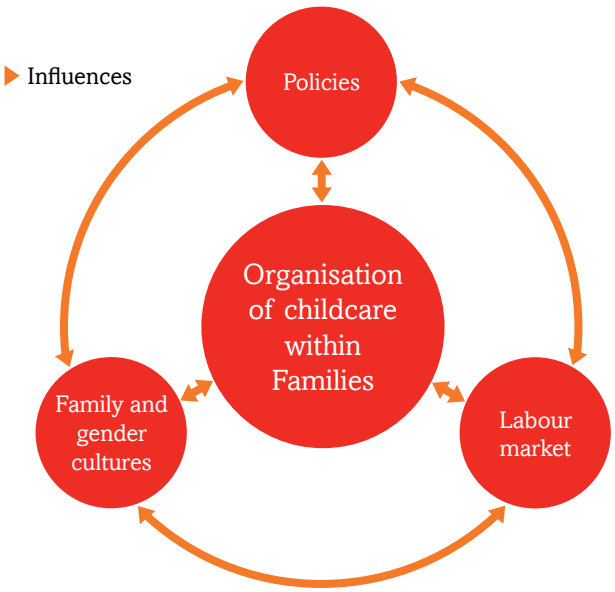
6.1.2 Framework for Analysis

Following the approach developed in the discussion above, in this section we present the framework that we have used for analysing our cross-country data. We examine the complex relations between family and care policy prescriptions and outcomes, labour markets, and family and gender cultures across 11 European countries. The principal objective is to analyse the different political, cultural and employment country settings that help to explain the level and intensity of grandparental childcare in the absence of parents. To this end, we take into account the labour market participation of mothers and grandmothers and attitudes toward childcare responsibilities.

We first aim to identify 'family' policies that might affect the extent to which grandparents (especially grandmothers) provide childcare for their grandchildren. We consider however that policies usually included as 'family' policies, such as maternity policies, benefits and childcare, cannot be considered in isolation. In each country, a raft of policies must be considered (see Table 6-1), including for example, retirement and adult care policies, which interact with each other to create, for each country, a unique policy environment for families across generations to organise work and care.

In this context, the extent to which it is possible for mothers of young children to stay at home to look after their children, or undertake paid work in each country is part of the picture for understanding grandmaternal childcare. However, even similar policies might have different impacts in different countries, because of variations in culture and norms across countries. What is acceptable in one country might not be considered acceptable in another. For example, formal childcare might be available to working mothers and benefits provided for its use, but in one country there may be strong antipathy towards institutional childcare, or, people may feel that childcare is acceptable as long as it is not used for long hours, leading to differences in practice between countries. It is only by understanding these contexts for policies that we can comprehend how the policy environment really reflects, and supports (or fails to support), grandparental childcare. In assessing these social and cultural contexts, we look at individual and social rights conferred by policies, but also at how they operate in practice and how the practice relates to cultural factors. A graphical representation of this analytical framework is shown below in Figure 6-1.

Figure 6-1 Framework for understanding grandparental care of grandchildren



In each of the three spheres of 'Policies', 'Labour Markets', and 'Family & Gender Cultures', we look at a raft of indicators and consider their relationships with each other, and with the organisation of childcare within the family. In particular in this chapter, we pay attention to the extent of intensive grandmaternal care of children, each day or for more than 30 hours a week, which we consider the most likely case to reveal the most significant impacts of policies and cultures on both generations – mothers and grandmothers. We have collected approximately 250 indicators for each of the 11 countries in the study, which measure policies, structural frameworks (labour market, child care, pensions, long-term care) and cultural factors. These reflect how people live their lives in those countries and show the wider social organisation of work, family, retirement and care in that country. These indicators are shown in Table 6-1, and are organised into (1) policy; (2) family cultures and structures; and (3) labour market cultures and structures. It is anticipated that the data collected for each indicator will in due course be available as an open web source (GPlus website). The reference year for the data is 2008, although in particular cases (shown) the data might refer to a different year.

We have undertaken a qualitative analysis of these factors, using constant comparative methods to consider similarities and differences between countries and how these relate to variations in grandmaternal childcare.

In our analysis, which follows, we first consider the logic behind constellations of family policies (often referred to as 'policy logics'): what do the policies suggest governments might expect those living in that country to do? To determine this, we consider childcare, elderly care and family policies along with retirement policies. We have included all kinds of parental and non-parental leave for care, cash benefits and available formal services. Apart from the institutional characteristics of each of the selected policies, we have collected data related to policy outcomes such as 'childcare usage of different age groups' or 'the percentage of individuals aged 65 and over in institutional care'. We consider that these indicators are a reflection of policy and societal environments, creating the setting for intergenerational relations.

Table 6-1 Indicators for policies, family & gender cultures and structures, labour market cultures and structures

Policies	Family and Gender Cultures and Structures	Labour Market Cultures and Structures
– Maternity, Paternity and Parental Rights – Leave to care for a sick child – "Family Friendly" Labour Market Policies – Child benefits – Childcare and education entitlements and services – Retirement policies – Long-term care policies	– Attitudes to childcare – Gender role attitudes – Satisfaction with public support for families – Use of childcare services – Use of elder care services	– Working patterns of women and mothers by: – age of children – number of working hours – marital status – Couples in breadwinner-carer/part-time carer and dual-full- time-worker arrangements – Gender pay gap

The options, conditions and levels of universality for combining work and care differ between countries. Some countries offer more comprehensive services and benefits-in-kind for mothers combining work and care, which results in less need for grandparental or other forms of non-parental care. In other countries, there might be little public childcare provision which leads to care by mothers, again meaning childcare provided by grandparents might not be needed. Policies that provide for the care of older people can also be viewed from the perspective of acting as a driver of labour market participation of mid-life daughters (sons to a much lesser extent). In this way, the social organisation of the care of older people also impacts on whether mothers or grandmothers might be out of the labour market and providing care for their children or grandchildren (Daly and Lewis 1998; Pavolini & Ranci 2008).

We therefore consider, for each country:

a. General and alternative eligibility and qualifying criteria for benefits and leave: Who is entitled and under what conditions?

b. Who is expected to care under these policies, and who is expected to undertake paid work?

c. Who is expected to financially support carers?

Second, we examine indicators of how people in those countries in fact organise their labour market practices and childcare arrangements, even when this does not conform to the policy ideal in that country. The extent to which individuals participate in the labour market is a major component that shapes childcare needs and demands. However, the labour market structure is different in each country, with different policy environments and individual preferences. We consider that the level or percentage of women's employment, especially mothers and mid-life women (likely to be grandmothers), shows the extent to which they are available to provide childcare. A high proportion of mothers working full-time will have less availability to care for their children, although their access to formal childcare might increase with their income. Families with both parents working, and working long hours, will need more alternative childcare, including from grandmothers. On the other hand, the trends and timing of retirement might release grandmothers from the labour market. As such, we suggest that families, and particularly mothers and grandmothers, act according to their current working situation, their available family and non-family resources and own preferences that are informed by cultural norms and ideas about care and family obligations. They might work full-time, part-time or not participate in paid employment. This may change over their life course.

Third, we consider culture and norms. How families make decisions is an important element in understanding the intricacies of the organisation of care, but inferring strategies is difficult for social researchers. Cultural expectations might conflict with structural organisations; people might conform or might act in ways that are contrary to policy expectations and the policies impact on these groups very differently.

We therefore think of childcare provided by grandparents as a response to a series of circumstances constructed and reproduced by individual decisions of labour and care and structural constraints of labour markets, public-private markets of care and ideological imperatives on what is best for children. Childcare can be thought of as being organised in three ways: exclusively family care, family-service combination, or exclusively service care. When we are thinking about childcare (and in the case of intensive child care in particular) we can think of family care as being provided predominantly by mothers, or by some combination of mothers and grandmothers. Services, on the other hand, can include formal and informal services, but provided by non-family members.

This analytical approach breaks with the body of research that focuses on legal norms and institutional (welfare) profiles to explain intergenerational regimes of care (see for example Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008, Knijn and Saraceno, 2010). We also introduce a new focus on grandmothers as active players in the organisation of childcare. Grandparental childcare regimes, that is the level and intensity of grandparental childcare provision in the absence of parents, are a consequence of institutional and structural frameworks (that is labour markets, child care provision) as well as cultural expectations (attitudes and preferences towards different types of care).

Having set out our theoretical framework, we now turn to our empirical analysis. We first present data about the outcome of interest, namely grandmaternal childcare. Then we turn to our results, starting with an examination of the logic of family policies in each country from a grandparenting perspective.

6.2 Grandparenting in practice

This research looks at the factors that promote or hinder grandparental childcare. The frequency and intensity of grandparental childcare is significantly different in each of our countries. We expect therefore that childcare needs, individuals' opportunities to provide childcare and cultural norms and values all differ. As previous chapters have shown, the extent to which grandmothers help with childcare for children of all ages varies widely.

Table 6-2 shows the proportion of grandmothers in each of our 11 countries who look after children in the absence of the children's parents at all, or approximately each day.

In our 11 European countries, grandparents providing at least some childcare in the last year without the presence of any of the parents is very high in Romania[57] (93%), and high in the UK (63%). Germany (40%), Italy (42%) and Spain (42%) have the lowest percentage of grandmothers reporting that they have provided any childcare in the past year. In the middle we find Sweden (51%) and France (51%). Finally, there is a group of three countries with a mid-high percentage of grandmothers providing some childcare: Denmark (59%), Hungary (56%) and the Netherlands (57%).

However, as discussed in Chapter 4, this ranking of grandmaternal provision of care radically changes when looking at those who care more intensively for grandchildren. Three main groups of countries have been identified regarding the provision of intensive childcare. A first group of countries with high percentages of grandmothers providing daily grandmaternal childcare is formed by Romania (30%), Italy (22%), Spain (17%), Portugal (14%) and Hungary (13%). The second group is constituted by Germany (8%), the UK (8%) and France (7%), which are somewhat in a middle position of intensive grandmaternal childcare. Finally, the countries with a low percentage of intensive grandmaternal childcare are Denmark (2%), the Netherlands (2%) and Sweden (2%).

Romania is a unique case as it scores high in both frequency and intensity. However, it is much more common that countries score high (or low) in one category and low (or high) in the other. For instance, Denmark and the Netherlands score high in frequency but low in intensity. By contrast, Italy and Spain show a low percentage of any care, but high percentages of grandmothers providing intensive childcare to their grandchildren.

A different picture is observed in countries such as Germany with similar results for any grandmaternal childcare to those of Italy and Spain but substantially lower rates of grandmothers providing intensive care. Similarly, Sweden and France, with almost identical rates of any provision (51%) present substantially different results when looking at intensive care (2% and 7% respectively). All in all, we find great variability in frequency and intensity in the 11 selected countries, which suggests that, in addition to the demographic factors examined in the rest of this report, there may be significant differences in the institutional, structural and cultural conditions that help explain the participation of grandmothers in the provision of childcare.

[57] Data for Hungary and Romania is for all grandparents

6.3 Family and Care Policies

In policy analysis, family and care policies have usually been classified according to the degree of responsibility assigned to families in the provision of care, and the extent to which welfare states' care arrangements promote equality between men and women. However, grandparental policies are scarce, and grandparental roles and rights are usually invisible. We therefore examine family policies to understand the implicit position of grandparents, rather than this always being explicit. The policies examined are all tabulated in detail in tables provided on the web (see http://www.grandparentsplus.org.uk/grandparenting-in-europe-project).

To this end, we look into the characteristics of family and care policies, namely: maternity, paternity and parental leave; other leave due to a sick or ill child or parent; childcare institutional services; child benefits (birth grants, child-rearing allowances and child benefits) and family allowances; long-term care services and cash benefits; retirement pensions. We consider how through these policies the state promotes, encourages, or dissuades the roles of parents and grandparents, formal and informal care.

In terms of policies, we have found three groups of countries. The first set of countries seems to assume that childcare will be provided by the state, and organised by parents. Sweden and Denmark are the paradigmatic examples, and France fits this classification to a lesser extent. There is little room in these policy regimes for grandparental childcare. We call these countries, 'no grandparental childcare assumed' countries. All public rights and benefits are given to parents only, with collective agreements with employers to provide flexibility for carers. There is no recognition of formal provision by extended family members to provide childcare, which is assumed to be only for urgent or unexpected circumstances. There is great homogeneity of conditions to access leave benefits with universality of cash transfers and benefits in kind, and large public provision for care for children of all ages, which acts as a measure to promote the paid work of family members. There is substantial compensation for income loss to the nuclear family in the first year of the child's life, so that mothers are financially supported to be at home during this period. Public childcare rights are granted from a young age, just a year old. A strong offer of public childcare services and the availability of child benefits to ensure the economic well-being of families with children then follows. Cash benefits are generous and universal, which reduces dilemmas between working and caring.

Two of the countries studied are paradigmatic examples of this regime: Denmark and Sweden. France shares some aspects of this family and care organisation. However, in France, the opportunities for grandparental care are more extensive as the organisation of institutional services for childcare is substantially less publicly available. Rather, cash transfers are allocated to families with a greater need to buy in childcare services if this is the preferred option. France therefore only partially 'does not assume' the role of grandparental participation in childcare organisation.

A second group of countries, which we call the 'assumed grandparental childcare' regime is constituted of

Table 6-2 Percentages of grandmothers providing care for grandchildren in the absence of parents

	Percentage of grandmothers looking after grandchildren at all (1)	Percentage of grandmothers looking after children intensively (2)
Sweden[a]	51	2
Netherlands[a]	57	2
Denmark[a]	59	2
France[a]	51	7
Germany[a]	40	8
UK(3)[b]	63	8
Hungary[c] (4)	56	13
Portugal[d] (5)	:	14
Spain[a]	42	17
Italy[a]	42	22
Romania[c] (4)	93	30

Source: [a] SHARE wave 1, [b] ELSA wave 1, [c] GGS wave 1 and [d] ESS wave 2.

: Missing data

(1) Data for SHARE: Percentage of respondents who have regularly or occasionally looked after their grandchildren without the parents' presence during the 12 months prior to the interview.

Data for ELSA: Percentage of respondents who have looked after a grandchild in the past week.

Data for GGS: Percentage of respondents who have helped to look after their grandchild(ren).

(2) Data for SHARE: Percentage of individuals who have looked after a grandchild almost daily or almost weekly but at for least 15 hours a week.

Data for ELSA: Percentage of respondents who have provided daily care to their grandchild(ren).

Data for GGS: Percentage of respondents who have provided help to look after their grandchild(ren) between 20 and 30 days a month.

Data for ESS: Percentage of respondents with children aged less than 12 (only asked for the youngest child in the household) who report usual childcare provided by a grandparent.

(3) Data is for England only

(4) Data in these countries is for all grandparents

(5) Families with children aged younger than 12

Hungary, Portugal and Spain, and in slightly different ways Romania and Italy, because the policy frameworks in these countries leave a childcare vacuum that is largely filled by grandparents, and implicitly expected to be so. Hungary, Portugal and Spain, are characterised by strong promotion of care within the family. However, contrary to the Nordic countries and France, this promotion extends beyond parents to other relatives outside the household. Also unlike those countries, the ability to undertake paid work and care is limited as a result of the low institutional childcare support for children aged below three. There is strong promotion of the transition of mothers from full-time employment in the paid labour market to full-time carer with little or no income compensation. The organisation of childcare relies upon a full-time, in-household carer, and cash transfers are not transferable. Family policies thus implicitly assume unpaid family care. Similarly, public provision for dependent older people is limited and mostly centred on the activation of a family member to look after the dependent individual, with severely limited institutional resources. This regime institutionalises grandparenting because, for mothers who wish, or need, to work, there are few options but to turn to grandparents for help. Those grandparents are also expected to be available to care for frail elderly relatives.

As we will see in the next section which looks at the labour force behaviour of mothers, women in these countries do not always conform to these strong policy expectations. Portugal in particular has the highest proportion of mothers with children under the age of six working full-time among all of our eleven countries. Thus the policies are not in sync with the behaviour of mothers.

The 'assumed grandparental childcare' family regime extends to a group of countries, Romania and Italy, where the State does not endorse the role of grandparents in family care, but rather takes it for granted. Public support for grandparents to look after their grandchildren is not explicitly supported; family care within the family is supported through cash benefits, although the extent of these cash benefits is not as thorough and generous as in the group formed by Hungary, Portugal and Spain. A common characteristic of Romania and Italy with the other countries of the 'assumed grandparental childcare' regime is the sparse and incomplete public services for children, although Italy has been introducing formal entitlement for children aged three to five. This process, which is also seen in Spain, is in stark contrast with Romania which has very limited formal childcare services. Families are then the main and sometimes only provider of childcare.

Finally a third regime of family and care is characterised by provision of childcare services or transfers, but in limited ways, in terms of time and economic resources, and we call this the 'grandparental-childcare-neutral' regime. The UK and the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent, Germany, fit this pattern. Family support is more conditional than the countries in the ''assumed grandparental childcare' regime, with public support restricted to those families with more limited resources. The assumption is that well-off families can buy in services on the labour market. Thus, childcare support is largely individualised through conditional cash transfers in the Netherlands and the UK, although this is not explicitly promoted in Germany. The logics of family and care largely revolve around limited in-household support, although in the case of Germany parental support is aimed at activating one parent (generally mothers) to look after children in the household. Except for Germany and under very strict circumstances, there is no explicit support for grandparental care. Although the family is a pillar of the care system in each of the countries of the regime, scarce public institutional childcare support and a large reliance on the market for the provision of childcare services is common in the three countries. The opportunities to work are however different in the various countries of the regime. In the Netherlands the promotion of dual-earner households is a priority.

To summarise:

1. **No assumption of grandparental childcare:** Denmark and Sweden
   a. **Partial**: France

2. **Assumption of grandparental childcare:** Spain, Hungary Portugal
   a. **Implicit** : Romania and Italy

3. **Neutral**: Germany, the Netherlands and the UK

We have categorised countries according to what their family policy regimes suggest might be expected, but this is not of itself sufficient explanation for all of the observed behaviour within those countries. For instance, in Spain, Hungary and Portugal, where there is a formal leave entitlement for grandmothers to look after their grandchildren and where the organisation of childcare is largely expected to be performed within the family, we observe mixed results. Only 42% of grandmothers in Spain provided any care to their grandchildren, whereas in Hungary almost 56% of them did so. On the other hand, in countries where policies of care and family strongly deter the participation of other members of the family in childcare activities by promoting maternal employment and substitution formal care, we observe in some cases even greater rates of grandmothers providing some care than the assumed grandparental childcare regime would suggest. For instance, in Denmark almost 59% of grandmothers report providing some care in the last 12 months. A rather surprising result is that the countries where the transferability of rights entitles grandparents to look after their grandchildren do not show greater rates of grandmothers providing childcare.

These discrepancies between the policy environment and family care practices are not only observed in countries where we might expect grandparents to look after their grandchildren. For instance, there are also differences between Denmark and Sweden (59% and 51% respectively). Heterogeneity within groups or regimes of grandparental childcare is even stronger in the 'assumed grandparental childcare' regime constituted by Romania and Italy. In Romania more than 90% of grandparents report providing some care for their grandchildren. However, Italy with a similar grandparent policy environment to Romania shows a different picture: only 42% of grandmothers provide any care for their grandchildren.

The classification however shows much more explanatory power when looking at the extent to which grandmothers provide intensive (daily) childcare support. The homogeneity within groups is much stronger, and convergence between policies and practices indicates greater alignment between welfare expectations of care and actual behaviours. This is reflected, for example, in Denmark, Sweden and France with very low rates of grandmothers providing daily childcare (2%, 2% and 7% respectively). Policy logics in these countries deter intensive grandparental childcare as they stimulate alternative forms of care – either mothers for infants or formal services for toddlers and young children.

Romania and Italy represent the most extreme cases of needed grandparental support with little support for mothers to stay at home but also little support for institutional childcare. This is reflected in the very high rates of grandmothers involved in intensive childcare, with 30% of grandparents in Romania and 22% of grandmothers in Italy providing daily care for their grandchildren. More moderate results are observed in Spain, Portugal and Hungary (17%, 14% and 12% respectively).

In countries where policy environments treat grandmothers more neutrally as one of a range of possible child care providers (the UK, the Netherlands and Germany) the extent of intensive grandmaternal childcare is on the whole higher than countries where grandparental childcare is not assumed, but lower than those countries where grandparental childcare seems necessary. But even so, this is clearly not the whole explanation as the Netherlands has similar rates of grandmaternal intensive support to Denmark and Sweden, and France has similar rates to the UK.

From this analysis, we can conclude that policy intentions, or policy logics, seem to be providing some, but not all of the explanation for whether grandmothers take on any childcare, but provide a stronger explanation for whether grandmothers take on intensive childcare, presumably supporting mothers in the workplace. We now turn to consider the role of labour market and gender cultures and structures.

Table 6-3 Percentage or working mothers by work status and age of youngest child, and gender pay gap, by country (2008), in parentheses the percentage of mothers with any dependent child

	Mothers with children below 6 in FT employment[a]	Mothers with children below 6 in PT employment[a]	Mothers with children below 6 out of employment1[a]	Mothers in couples with children aged 0-2 working 40+ hours a week as percentage of all working mothers[b]	Mothers in couple with children aged 3-5 working 40+ hours a week as percentage of all working mothers[b]	Gender pay gap2[a]
Denmark	66 (64)	18 (20)	16 (15)	37	43	12.1
France	45 (50)	24 (26)	31.6 (25)	13	16	13.1
Germany	22 (24)	40 (49)	37 (24)	16	9	21.6
Hungary	32 (59)	3 (4)	65 (38)	12	48	3.9
Italy	35 (36)	20 (21)	45 (44)	20	16	11.8
Netherlands	10 (11)	68 (72)	22 (21)	4	4	16.7
Portugal	69 (69)	6 (7)	25 (23)	48	48	15.6
Romania	58 (63)	6 (5)	36 (31)	47	47	:
Spain	42 (46)	19 (17)	39 (37)	23	25	11.8
Sweden	47 (50)	34 (35)	19 (17)	:	:	:
UK	25 (32)	36 (40)	39 (31)	9	9	19.8

: Missing data
(1) Out of employment includes mothers that are unemployed or temporarily inactive.
(2) Gender pay gap (unadjusted) is the difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings.
Source: (a) Eurostat LFS, 2011; (b) OECD statistics, 2011.

6.4 Work and gender cultures and structures

We begin this analysis with an examination of the employment rates of mothers with young dependent children (see Table 6-3). We focus our attention on the participation rates of mothers with children aged younger than six, since their needs for childcare are much more acute than older children, especially where mothers work full-time.

The most common regimes of employment are full-time, part-time and not in employment.[58] These three main types of work status are found to vary widely among the 11 countries. Thus, childcare needs and opportunities will be different in each country. In this discussion, as elsewhere, we focus on women (mothers and grandmothers). We first report the main findings regarding female labour market participation for mothers of young children, and women aged 50 to 64 – that is, the age group of a substantial proportion of grandmothers. Mothers working full-time need more childcare support, so countries with high percentages of maternal full-time employment where there are very young children might also show high participation of grandmothers in childcare. This is not, however, straightforward. Grandmothers are not always available as they might participate in the labour market themselves or care for a dependent husband, parent or other relatives, and grandmaternal childcare support might interact with institutional childcare provision in the form of day care, nursery or kindergarten places. Extensive public childcare is expected to offset grandmaternal childcare, especially intensive grandmaternal childcare.

Table 6-3 shows notable differences in maternal employment in the 11 European countries, indicating distinctive motherhood labour market participation regimes. First, Denmark and Portugal have the highest percentage of mothers with children, and with children under six, in full-time employment (66% and 69% respectively for those with children under six), followed by Romania (58%). In these countries childcare needs are expected to be met largely by formal or informal services and/or grandmothers. Second, France and Sweden have a moderate percentage of mothers with children under six in full-time employment (45% and 47% respectively) but coupled with a moderate to high percentage of mothers in part-time employment (24% and 34% respectively). In these countries childcare arrangements are largely dependent on intensive to moderate childcare services and/or informal childcare provision. Third, the Netherlands, Germany and the UK have the largest percentage of mothers with children under six employed in part-time jobs (68%, 40% and 36% respectively). This work regime allows for greater conciliation between childcare responsibilities and economic independence achieved through participating in the labour market. In these cases, the intensity of grandmaternal childcare is expected to be low as long as mothers have access to formal or informal care services. Particularly, grandmaternal involvement in childcare is expected to be low in Germany and the UK as there is a large availability of mothers to provide childcare since only 22% in Germany and 25% in the UK work full-time. Last, Hungary and Italy have the highest percentage of mothers with children under six out of employment (65% and 45% respectively). This situation is more moderate in Spain with a more balanced percentage of mothers with children under six in full-time employment (42%) and out of employment (39%). We suggest that there is less need for grandmaternal support in countries where mothers are more available to look after their children.

All in all, three (or three and a half) female employment regimes can be somewhat distinguished among these 11

[58] Other types of employment include temporary work and shift work.

countries. First, a regime characterised by high levels of overall employment including part-time work but with full-time work predominating. This first regime is prevalent in Denmark, Portugal and Sweden. Second, a 'polarised' regime where the percentage of mothers in full-time work predominates, but the percentage of mothers out of employment is high to moderate (France, Romania and Spain). A third distinctive group is the part-time regime where mothers are mainly employed in part-time jobs and where full-time employment is low (Germany, the Netherlands and the UK). Finally, we have distinguished a regime that would fit with the second 'polarised' regime but differs in some respects from the other three countries in this group in that the predominant category of mothers is out of employment (Hungary and Italy).

The differences in maternal employment rates in the selected countries are revealing when observing the percentage of mothers working intensive hours, that is, mothers in couples working 40 or more hours a week, shown in Table 6-3, with respect to two groups – children aged 0-2 and 3-5. We suggest that mothers working more than 40 hours a week are faced with the greatest childcare needs. Thus, countries with large percentages of women in intensive paid work are expected to face greater demands for childcare, and grandmaternal intensive childcare (daily care) is expected to be more likely as the opportunities to find sufficient care from formal care services might be more challenging.

The differences between countries are again substantial. Portugal and Romania have the highest percentage of working mothers working 40 or more hours a week with the youngest child aged 0-2 (48% and 47% respectively) and 3-5 (48% and 47% respectively). These countries have also a large percentage of mothers in full-time work, which indicate that childcare arrangements are heavily dependent on formal and/or informal childcare services. This is also the case for Denmark as 37% of working mothers in couples with children aged 0-2 and 43% of similar mothers with children aged 3-5 work 40 or more hours a week. And this is also partly the case for Hungary as the percentage of mothers with children aged 3-5 who are in full-time work is among the highest (48%).

Italy and Spain form the second largest group of working mothers working long hours: 20% and 23% respectively for children aged 0-2 and 16% and 25% for children aged 3-5. The need for alternative childcare arrangements is expected to be more moderate than the previous group of countries. In Germany or France with only 16% and 13% respectively of working mothers with children aged 0-2 working more than 40 hours a week and 9% and 16% for children aged 3-5, this suggests that mothers may be able to balance their own care and work needs more easily. Finally, the Netherlands and the UK have the lowest percentage of working mothers in long working hours (4% and 9% respectively for both child age groups) suggesting even less need for alternative intensive childcare arrangements for the substantial majority of mothers of young children.

The above discussion reveals that the associations between mothers' employment and grandmaternal intensive childcare might be complex and quite subtle. We have formally considered the association between the percentage of mothers working full-time with both any and intensive grandmaternal childcare (results not shown here). We found that the association between these variables was not clear, denoting that the organisation of childcare for full-time mothers has other components that help explain country differences in grandmaternal help, such as the proximity and availability of formal or informal childcare, or the proportion of working mothers who can afford formal or informal child care, for example. The same results are found for mothers with children aged below six working full-time – again the association is not clear. There is also a lack of association between single mothers in full-time employment and the regularity and frequency of grandmothers providing childcare.

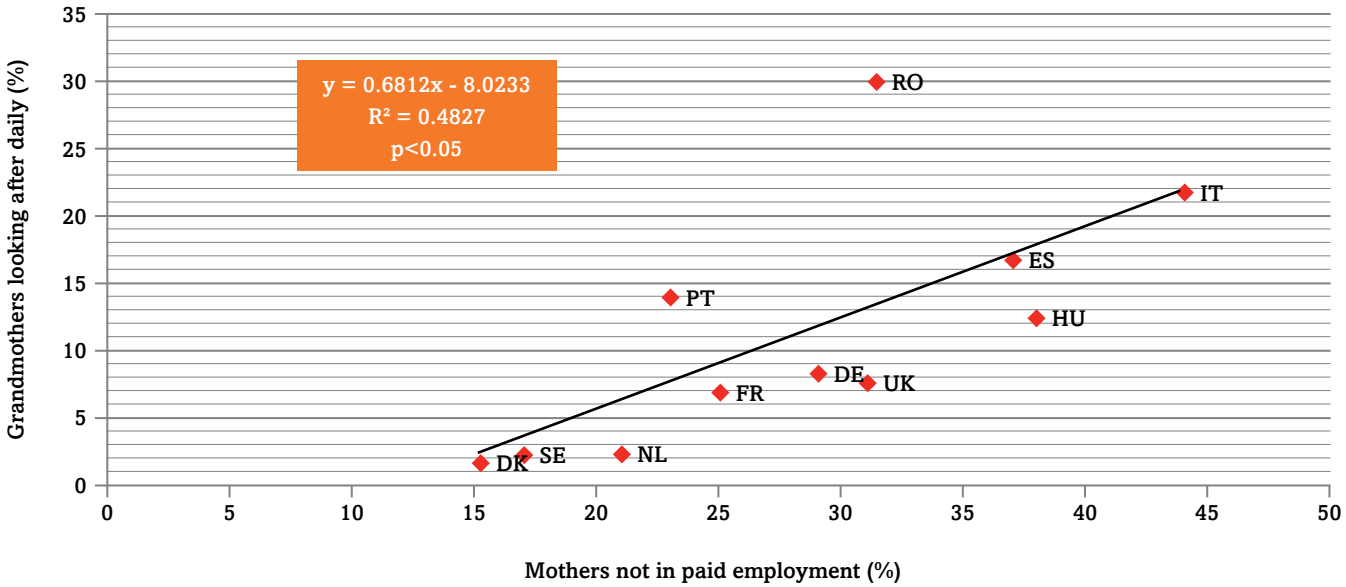
On the other hand, a strong, positive and statistically significant relationship is found for mothers working 40 or more hours a week and grandmothers providing very intensive childcare (i.e. daily care). As such, countries with a high percentage of working mothers working very intensive hours rely to a much larger extent on grandmaternal childcare. This is the case for Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain. However, in Denmark (Swedish data are not available though we might expect a similar pattern), which also has relatively high rates of long hours work for mothers of young children, we do not see this intensive grandmaternal childcare. As we will see in the next section, the need for childcare in Denmark is probably met instead by formal childcare services.

The association between long hours of work for mothers of young children and intensive grandmaternal childcare also holds true in the opposite direction for countries with low percentages of mothers with intensive working hours. The Netherlands remains as the country with the lowest percentage of mothers in full-time and intensive full-time work (about 5% in both age groups), which is associated with less participation of grandmothers in such intensive care regimes (only 2% of grandmothers reported providing intensive childcare). Similarly, in Germany and the UK we see a large percentage of mothers working part-time and among the lowest percentage of working mothers in 40 or more hours of work. In these cases the percentage of grandmothers in intensive childcare is moderate to low.

We next turn to consider how the percentage of mothers out of the paid labour market might be related to the percentage of grandmothers providing intensive childcare. We might expect a simple correlation that is the more mothers are not in work, the less need there is for grandmaternal childcare. However, we might also hypothesise that where there are large percentages of mothers out of the paid labour market this is because there is little institutional support by way of benefits, leave and childcare for working mothers, thus leaving those mothers who are in the paid labour market with a real childcare problem. While it may seem paradoxical, this would suggest greater grandmaternal intensive involvement in those countries.

This is indeed what we see. The clearest association and one that explains a great deal of the variance in grandmaternal intensive involvement is the percentage of mothers who are not in the paid labour market, though in this paradoxical direction. Figure 6-2 shows the very clear positive association between the rate of maternal absence from the labour market and increases in the rate of intensive grandmaternal childcare. This is an example

Figure 6-2 Percentage of mothers aged 25-49 not in paid employment and proportion of grandmothers looking after their grandchildren daily



Source: SHARE 2004; Eurostat LFS 2011

of the ecological fallacy – the mothers who need the intensive assistance from grandparents are those who diverge from this care norm, that is they are the mothers in the paid labour market but living in a country where this is not the norm. In such countries, with a greater cultural or normative imperative for care to remain in the family, the organisation of childcare outside the family becomes particularly difficult, as childcare services are scarce, expensive and/or do not cover all needs.

6.4.1 Employment of mid-life women

We now turn to consider the structure of employment for older women aged 50 to 64. This variable helps to explain the availability of these mid-life women to provide childcare, but also reflects the gender and labour market structures of each country. It is expected that in countries where there are large percentages of mid-life women in the labour market, the probability of grandmothers providing intensive childcare should be lower. In these countries, families with young children would have to find alternative childcare support systems. Grandparental childcare is a function of the interaction between these two-generational labour market structures. In particular, a high percentage of both mothers and mid-life grandmothers working full-time would indicate a low grandparental-childcare regime. Similarly, lower percentages in paid work in both groups would lead to a more familising regime but a low grandparenting regime, since in this scenario mothers would take responsibility for their children on a full-time basis, leading to less demand for grandmothers to look after children. By contrast, a high percentage of mothers working full-time and low participation rates of older women would create spaces for grandmaternal childcare.

The percentage of mid-life women working is important, as shown in Figure 6-3. Those countries with a larger percentage of women aged 50 to 64 in paid work are the ones where intensive grandmaternal childcare is lower, such as in Sweden, Denmark or the Netherlands. By contrast, countries with low percentages of working women in this age-range have much higher proportions of grandmothers providing intensive childcare. In these countries, namely Italy, Romania, Spain and Portugal, childcare needs are also high, as there are more mothers in intensive work. Those countries with higher percentages of mothers out of employment also have the highest percentages of women aged 50 to 64 out of employment, which indicates a structural continuity between generations of low labour market participation rates for women in these countries.

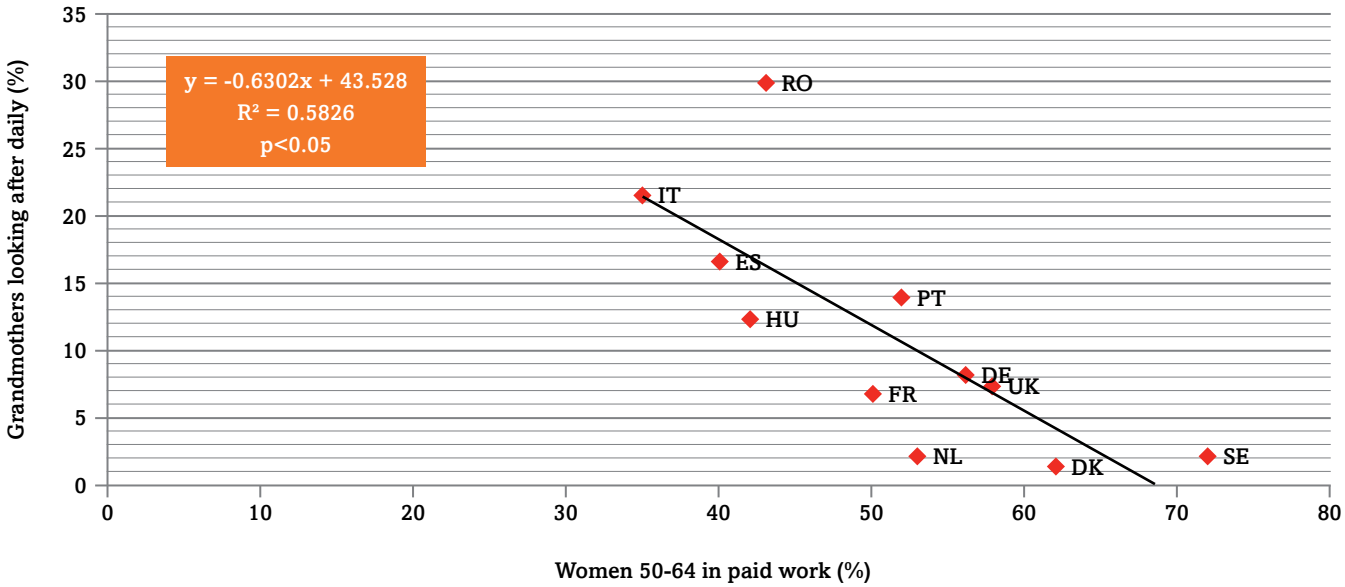
6.4.2 Women's Employment and Intensive Grandmaternal Childcare

We conclude from our analysis that grandmothers' childcare provision is part of an exchange by family members according to availability and need. In general, the availability of mothers to look after their children offsets the demand for grandmaternal childcare involvement (with the exception of Germany where grandmaternal involvement is lower than we expect). Patterns of any grandmaternal[59] childcare are consistently higher in countries with high rates of maternal employment, both full and part-time. Patterns of intensive grandmaternal childcare are related to the degree to which mothers of young children take on long hours of paid work.

Among the countries with high proportions of women working part-time, we see variation in the degree of any grandmaternal childcare of grandchildren, which is likely to be related to policy regimes. These countries have distinct policy regimes leading to expected differences in the extent to which mothers care for their children at home. In Germany, mothers of young children are encouraged through policy to postpone any return to work: rights to do so are widespread with conditions for eligibility easily met, part-time work during parental leave is available, and cash benefits are limited and aimed at

[59] Data for some countries indicate grandparents instead of grandmothers.

Figure 6-3 Percentage of women aged 50-64 in paid work and grandmothers looking after grandchildren daily



Source: SHARE 2004; Eurostat LFS 2011

helping mothers to stay at home rather than covering childcare costs. Formal childcare is largely covered on a part-time basis and severely limited across the country. As such, mothers, especially of young children (0-2) can readily postpone their paid working careers for long periods of time (the first three years) while taking care of the child in the home. The combination of these policies suggests a strong reliance of mothers off work to care for their children. By contrast, the Netherlands and the UK rely to a greater extent on private family childcare arrangements of working mothers. Parental leaves are much shorter than in Germany and more conditional (part-time in the Netherlands, and up to four weeks a year in the UK). However, in the Netherlands, part-time formal childcare services complement the institutionalised part-time arrangements of working mothers. The existence of child benefits to partly pay for childcare costs in the event both parents are working contributes to reinforcing job and career continuity. In the UK, on the other hand, explicit private arrangements have to be found in order to remain in part-time work. The severely limited leave to care for children and little compensatory child benefits for childcare put greater pressure on mothers to either remain out of employment or arrange private childcare arrangements.

These different combinations between policies and maternal arrangements help to explain grandmaternal involvement in childcare in these countries characterised by high rates of mothers working part-time. In Germany we observe lower percentages of grandmothers involved in any childcare, as mothers of young children are supported to be at home. In the Netherlands, mothers have more opportunities to combine work and care, which results in very low rates of intensive care of grandchildren. In the UK despite relatively low maternal employment due to the difficulties of combining work and care (31% of mothers aged 25 to 49 and 39% of mothers aged 25 to 49 with children aged below six are out of employment[60]) almost two thirds of grandmothers provided help and support to their grandchildren, but only 7.5% of grandmothers provide intensive care for their grandchildren.

The associations are much clearer when we come to consider how the female labour market overall interacts with intensive grandmaternal childcare. Higher rates of intensive grandmaternal help and support are found in countries with a larger divergence between full-time and out of employment mothers, as in Romania, Italy, Hungary or Spain with their high rates of mothers working full-time or out of employment, and being the countries with higher rates of intensive grandmaternal childcare. On the other hand, in Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands, the three countries with a lower percentage of mothers out of employment, we observe the lowest participation rates of grandmothers in intensive childcare. With their high rates of overall mothers' employment, the two Nordic countries and the Netherlands promote strong nuclear care and dual-earner couples through the provision of institutional childcare, which substitutes for grandmaternal childcare.

If mothers are in paid work, then their own long working hours and the grandmother's own likelihood of being in paid work becomes a factor to consider in determining rates of intensive grandmaternal childcare. However, the intensity of grandmaternal childcare provided by grandmothers might relate to the ease with which outside family childcare such as a place in a day care centre, kindergarten or nursery can be found. We therefore now turn to consider the availability and usage of formal childcare.

[60] Data for maternal employment is at the UK level instead of exclusively for England

Table 6-4 Institutional childcare usage, childcare expenditure, quality and satisfaction in various countries

	% Children in formal care[a]	% of all children in 30+ hours[a]	Total % of children in formal care in 30+ hours (1)	Formal entitlement[b]	Gross cost on average in % average wage[b](2)	Social expenditure on child day care (% GDP)[a](3)	Social expenditure on child day care PPP [a](3)	Ratio of child to carer[b]	Regional variation[c]	Satisfaction public support for families[d]
Children aged 0-2										
Denmark	73	65	47	Yes	8.4	1.56	470.55	1:3	Low	68.7
France	40	23	9	No	25.1	0.61	0.03	1:6.5	Low	49
Germany	19	9	2	No	9.1	0.46	127.46	1:6.4	High	37
Hungary	7	5	0.4	Yes	4.2	0.20	17.64	2:12	:	22.5
Italy	27	16	4	No	:	0.70	43.56	1:7	High	22
Netherlands	47	6	3	No	17.5	0.61	151.51	1:4-1:6	Low	48
Portugal	33	31	10	No	27.8	0.33	64.88	2:12-1:25	High	11.5
Romania	8	2	0.2	No	:	0.63	65.3	:	High	34
Spain	39	16	6	No	30.3	0.58	148.88	1:10	High	19
Sweden	49	31	15	Yes	4.5	1.01	310.75	1:5.1	Low	64.4
UK	35	4	1	No	24.7	0.52	83.56	1:3-1:4	High	62.4
Children aged 3-5										
Denmark	96	83	80	Yes	NA	1.56	470.55	1:6	NA	68.7
France	96	44	42	Yes	NA	0.61	0.03	:	NA	49
Germany	90	36	32	Yes	NA	0.46	127.46	1:10	NA	37
Hungary	75	52	39	Yes	NA	0.20	17.64	2:22	NA	22.5
Italy	91	72	66	Yes	NA	0.70	43.56	:	NA	22
Netherlands5	90	12	11	Yes	NA	0.61	151.51	1:8	NA	48
Portugal	78	69	54	Yes*	NA	0.33	64.88	:	NA	11.5
Romania	54	17	9	Yes**	NA	0.63	65.3	:	NA	34
Spain	91	45	41	Yes	NA	0.58	148.88	1:10	NA	19
Sweden	95	64	61	Yes	NA	1.01	310.75	:	NA	64.4
UK	87	20	17	Yes	NA	0.52	83.56	1:8	NA	62.4

: Missing data
(1) Total percentage of children of an age group
(2) Percentage of average wage per a two-year old child attending accredited early-years care and education services. Gross cost on average wage does not reflect cash transfers to families to pay for early-years care.
(3) Expenditure for all pre-school services (both means and non-means tested) therefore values are repeated for 0-2 and 3-5.
(4) Non-means-tested childcare benefits are practically nonexistent, which would explain the low social expenditure on child care by Power Parity Purchasing.
(5) Compulsory schooling starts at the age of five (primary school begins at the age of four).
Source: a) EU-SILC (data for the year 2008, some figures might be subject to change); b) OECD family policy database (data for 2007); c) Various sources; d) Flash Eurobarometer (2008) 'Family life and the needs of an ageing population'
*Legal right to a place in kindergarten from the age of four
** Only the year before compulsory schooling

6.5 Childcare cultures and structures, and intensive grandmaternal care

The formal childcare infrastructure is an important element in meeting the need for childcare. In this section, we observe the type, extent and provision of formal childcare, and relate this to intensive grandmaternal childcare. Most European countries have clearly established an institutional division between young infants (normally from 6 months up to the child's third birthday) and children from the age of 3 to compulsory school (usually between the age of 5 and 6 depending on the country). This division is based on the different objectives of the institutions. In the case of children aged younger than three, the large majority of European countries emphasise the care component and exclude the educational curriculum. By contrast, the second phase (pre-school children aged three and older) tends to contain an explicit educational component. A large majority of countries consider this second phase part of the schooling period. Thus, the large majority of children are expected to receive some institutional care from the age of three onwards.

We have suggested that if mothers are available to care for their children, they have less need to organise outside care. Equally, it can be suggested that grandmaternal childcare offsets the needs for formal childcare services. In this section, we examine these hypotheses.

Table 6-4 shows the distribution of usage of formal institutional childcare services for children aged 0-2

and 3-5 years and the percentage of children in these age groups using 30 or more hours a week, both as a percentage of those using services, and as a percentage of all children in that age group. Childcare usage, as opposed to theoretical coverage, is an important indicator, as it reflects how families are behaving in response to their childcare needs. Table 6-4 also contains a series of indicators about the cost of childcare services, quality, regional variation, and satisfaction with public support for families with children. As such, countries with large percentages of children in formal childcare institutions (particularly for more than 30 hours a week) where regional variation is low, and satisfaction is high, might be considered countries in which we would expect lower levels of intensive grandmaternal childcare. On the other hand, those countries where the percentage of children in formal childcare services (particularly for 30 or more hours a week) is low, where cost and regional variation are high and satisfaction low, might be more likely to have higher levels of grandmaternal intensive childcare.

There is large diversity in childcare usage and structures of childcare systems for children aged 0-2 and 3-5 in the 11 selected European countries. For some indicators, it has not been possible to distinguish social expenditure and satisfaction with public support for children by the two age groups considered. Also, data for the average cost of childcare services is only available for children aged 0-2. As a general rule, however, childcare services for children aged 3-5 are strongly publicly subsidised, which radically reduces the costs of this kind of service.

Table 6-4 shows the diversity in childcare usage and structures of childcare systems for children aged 0-2 and 3-5 in the 11 selected European countries. For instance, formal childcare usage for children aged 0-2 ranges from 73% in Denmark to 7% in Hungary. Various groups of countries can then be distinguished according to the level of children's participation in formal care services for children aged 0-2. As such, it is high in Denmark (73%), medium in Sweden (49%) and the Netherlands (47%), medium to low in France (40%), Spain (39%), Portugal (33%) and the UK (35%), low in Italy (27%) and Germany (19%), and very low in Hungary and Romania (7% and 8% respectively).

These differences in the extent and intensity of childcare usage of children aged 0-2 are also reflected in other indicators such as regional variation of services, satisfaction with public support for families and preferences for formal services. Only three out of the 11 countries (Denmark, Sweden and Hungary) have public entitlement to formal care for children aged 0-2. Denmark, France, the Netherlands and Sweden have low regional variation in childcare provision, while Germany, Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain have high regional variation. Regional variation seems to be associated with the level of satisfaction with public support for families. Countries with low regional variation register higher levels of satisfaction and vice versa. The cost of childcare services is an indicator of the expenditure families must incur to access childcare services. In countries where formal childcare services are expensive the proportion of children using these services tends to be lower than countries with more universal and affordable childcare services (although not always as in the case of Hungary with the lowest gross cost on average, yet show the lowest percentage of children in institutions,[61] or Spain with high costs but high usage).

Since mothers working part-time can be expected themselves to provide much child-care for their own children, we have explored the extent to which the proportion of mothers in full-time employment explains the usage of formal childcare services and grandmaternal childcare: both any care and daily care. We would expect to find a greater percentage of children in formal childcare services in countries with high maternal employment and low regular and particularly low intensive grand maternal childcare support. This relationship is aligned with perspectives that advocate for a structural effect of family and social care policy exchanges – the suggestion that institutional childcare 'crowds out' family childcare. For many children aged 0-2, formal childcare provision is limited or severely limited in the 11 selected countries, which carries greater pressures to organise childcare within the family when this is needed. Either more mothers of young children would have to remain out of employment to meet childcare needs, or, childcare arrangements must be organised with family members such as grandparents or other informal childcare services.

We find a strong positive and significant association between the proportion of mothers with children aged under six working full-time, and the percentage of children in formal institutional care for 30 or more hours a week for children aged 0-2[62] and 3-5.[63] We find no relationship between childcare usage and the extent to which grandmothers provide some (any) care for grandchildren. However, when we turn to consider intensive grandmaternal childcare, we find a strong, negative and statistically significant relationship between the percentage of children aged 0-2 in formal childcare and the provision of intensive (daily) grandmaternal childcare. This is represented graphically in Figure 6-3 below. Intensive grandmaternal childcare and formal childcare services seem to act as substitutes.

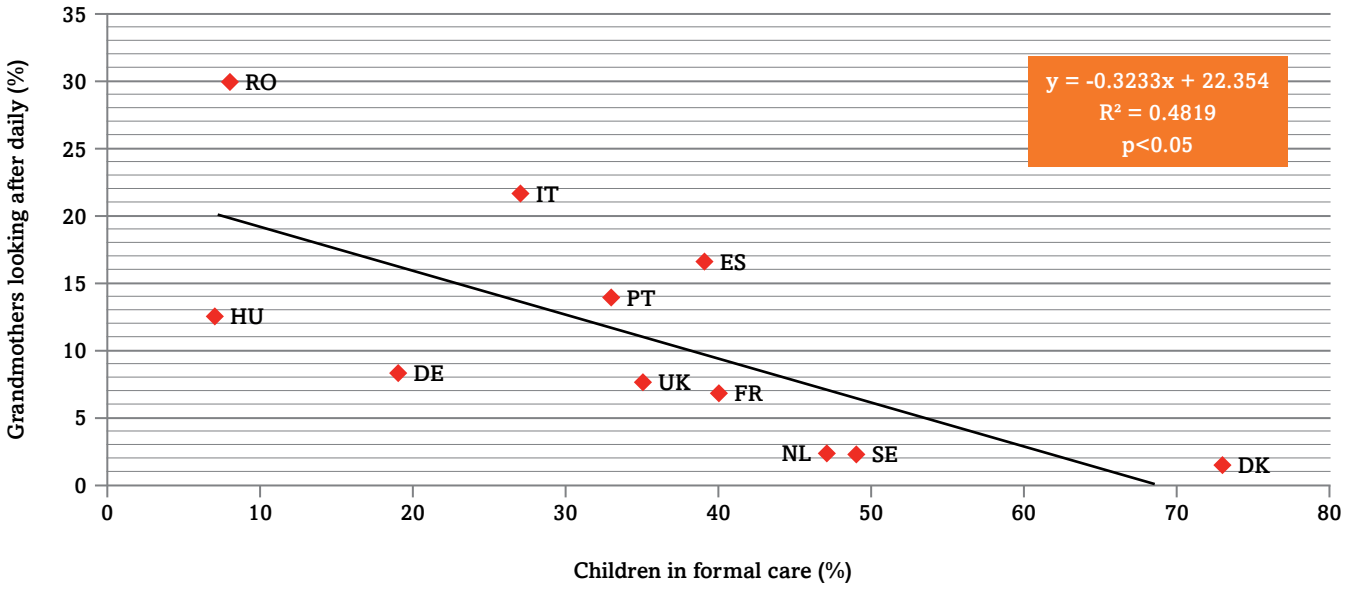
Differences in childcare needs and demands for intensive grandmaternal participation might also be explained by the intensity of childcare provision (the percentage of all children aged 0-2 in formal childcare for 30 or more hours a week). However, the only country with a high percentage of such young children in intensive childcare is Denmark (47%), which suggests a low intensive involvement of grandmothers as indeed we see (the lowest of all 11 countries at 1.6%). In all other countries, we find significantly lower percentages of intensive formal childcare for children aged 0-2. Nevertheless, Sweden (15%), Portugal (10%) and France (9%), do contrast with Eastern European countries. Hungary (0.4%) and Romania (0.2%) have the lowest percentages of children aged 0-2 in 30 or more hours a week formal chilldcare, and so grandmaternal daily childcare is expected to be, and indeed is, high, at 30% (the highest) and 13% respectively. Spain and Italy, despite their relatively high proportions of mothers of young children working full-time, have fairly

[61] In Hungary many mothers stay at home for the first three years of the child as parental leave allows them to do so KAMERMAN, S. B. & MOSS, P. 2009. The politics of parental leave policies: children, parenting, gender and the labour market, Bristol, The Policy Press. and it is the preferred option

[62] $R2= 0.4331$ and $p<0.05$

[63] $R2= 0.3512$ and $p=0.054$

Figure 6-4 Association between children aged 0-2 in formal childcare and grandmothers providing intensive childcare



Source: SHARE 2004, Eurostat EU-SILC 2011

low proportions of 0-2 year olds in long hours of childcare, and high proportions of grandmothers providing intensive childcare (17% and 22% – second and third highest behind Romania).

In those countries with the highest percentage of mothers in part-time work, intensive use of formal childcare for children aged 0-2 is also low. For instance, in the Netherlands only 3% of children aged 0-2 are in childcare for 30 or more hours a week, followed by Germany (2%) and the UK (1%), and these are also countries with relatively low rates of intensive grandmaternal childcare: 2%, 8% and 8% respectively.

For families with children aged 3-5 the variation in formal childcare usage is generally low. Almost all countries register values of about 90%. Even in Italy and Germany where childcare usage for children aged 0-2 is particularly low, the usage of formal care/education services for 3-5 year olds is high in both countries (90% and 91% respectively). Only Romania (54%), Hungary (75%) and Portugal (78%) show well below average percentages of childcare usage. These countries have the highest proportions of grandmothers providing intensive childcare, suggesting, as with the analysis of 0-2 year olds above, that to some extent these are substituting for one another.

We see even greater variation in the percentage rates of children in 30 or more hours in formal care services aged 3-5. These are very high for Denmark (80%) and high in Sweden (61%), Italy (66%) and Portugal (54%). Middling values are found in Hungary (39%), Spain (41%), France (42%) and Germany (32%). Finally, the Netherlands (11%), Romania (9%) and the UK (17%) are the countries showing the lowest percentages of long hours of childcare usage in this age group.

Aligned with the provision for children aged 0-2, Denmark and Sweden score the highest rates of overall and long hours childcare usage, which might help explain the low intensive involvement of grandmothers in childcare in these countries. However for other countries, the rates and intensity of childcare usage for 0-3 year olds seems to provide far less of the explanation for intensive grandmaternal childcare than the data for children aged 0-2.

6.5.1 Summary

In Denmark, Sweden and France, mother's employment and provision of formal childcare is largely aligned. Mothers are expected to be in employment, especially in Denmark and Sweden and care is mostly provided (and expected by policy to be provided) by members of the nuclear family or external formal care. Satisfaction with public support is very high among individuals and the need for intensive childcare support from grandmothers is lessened. This is reflected in the data as Denmark and Sweden have the lowest percentages of grandmothers providing intensive care; with France also at the lower end.

At the opposite end on the provision of childcare, we see Hungary, Portugal and Romania. Low and limited formal childcare provision is associated with high percentage rates of grandmothers providing intensive childcare. Families with children seem to organise care within the family, with outside-family care inadequate to cover childcare needs. In these countries, public satisfaction with public support for children scores low or very low stating that preferences for stronger public support are requested.

The association between low childcare usage and high intensive grandmaternal childcare is also evident in Spain and Italy. However, in these two Mediterranean countries, while formal childcare provision is very low and sparse for children aged 0-2, it is surprisingly high and comprehensive for children aged 3-5. High regional variation and low satisfaction (with Portugal reporting the lowest satisfaction rates of all 11 countries together) suggests disparities between practices and desires. In the UK, even though formal childcare usage is low, particularly for children in 30 or more hours of formal

childcare, and regional variation high, satisfaction with public support is among the highest (62%). Childcare support is supplemented with high rates for grandmothers providing any care, but only moderate rates for intensive grandmaternal childcare (8%, similar to France). In the UK, however, in contrast with France, there are high rates of women working part-time, so that childcare of young children is also shared with mothers.

The Netherlands shows the lowest proportion of children in 30 or more hours of formal care. This pattern is apparent among children aged 0-2 and those aged 3-5. The high institutionalisation of part-time work aligns with a supply and demand for part-time formal childcare. Satisfaction with public support is also very high, which shows an alignment with employment practices, childcare needs and arrangements. This is likely to explain the low percentage of grandmothers providing daily childcare.

In Germany the convergence between formal, maternal and grandmaternal childcare arrangements is less straightforward than in the Netherlands. Mothers are almost in equal percentages either in part-time work or out of employment. These two strategies seem to correspond with low formal childcare provision, especially for children aged 0-2. As a result, grandmaternal care (both at all and daily) is low. The nuclear family, that is mothers in particular, largely provide care for their children.

Childcare services are partly a predictor of grandmaternal practices. Daily grandmaternal childcare is high in countries with low formal provision of childcare services. However, it would seem that the extent to which mothers are available to take care of their children is also important. Also, it must be noted that while childcare and mothers' availability seems to be part of the explanation for intensive grandmaternal childcare, grandmothers are involved in providing some childcare whatever these arrangements. Countries such as Denmark or the Netherlands with strong alignment between childcare provision and employment practices still have among the highest percentages of grandmothers providing some care for their grandchildren in the absence of the parents.

6.6 Attitudes and Preferences

We now turn our attention to attitudes and preferences of childcare organisation which might inform and limit childcare choices and, most importantly grandmaternal childcare participation. Labour market structures and institutional childcare frameworks are only two components of the overall social organisation of childcare. A third element is societal cultural and ideological expectations of childcare responsibilities. Individuals share values about what childcare arrangement is best for children. Thus, some societies reflect strong preferences to maintain the major bulk of childcare within the family, whereas other societies prefer childcare to be provided outside the family. These preferences also reflect the extent of gender divisions in society, whereby women might be more expected to take on unpaid childcare.

To consider this question, we observe country differences in the extent to which individuals agree or strongly agree with the statement 'pre-school children suffer with a working mother', and consider how the attitudes towards the desirability for maternal care might influence whether grandmothers provide intensive childcare support.

In response to this question, again, countries tend to cluster. The lowest score is found in countries with the most public support for working mothers and substantial formal childcare services, namely Denmark, with only 8% of individuals agreeing or strongly agreeing that pre-school children suffer with a working mother, and Sweden. A second group is formed by the Netherlands (39%), France (42%), the UK (47%), Germany (50%) and Spain (48%). Once more, we see that those countries with the largest percentage of mothers working part-time have a tendency to cluster together (Netherlands, UK, Germany). Finally, there is a dispersed group of countries with more than 50% of the population regarding children who have a working mother as suffering. In this group there are Romania (53%), Hungary (56%), Portugal (65%) and Italy (75%). This group of countries is mostly characterised by a low percentage of mothers in employment (with the exception of Portugal where the large majority of mothers work full-time), but also low public services support for young infants and greater availability of grandmothers for childcare.

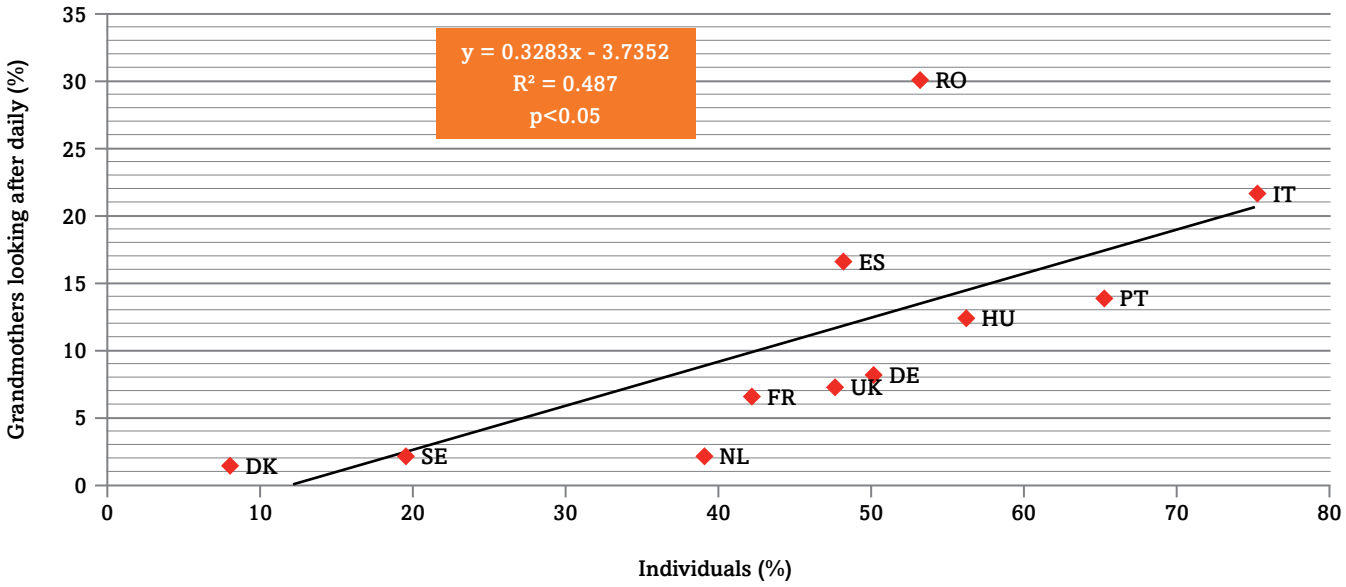
We hypothesise that in countries where the cultural expectation is for maternal care, that where mothers are in the labour market, there will be a preference for grandmaternal care over formal care, which in turn may result in less policy interest in developing formal care services. The cultural expectations surrounding family responsibilities are expected here to have an impact on preferences for organising childcare. Table 6-5 shows that as we expected, cultural expectations for the organisation of childcare seem to play a strong role in predicting intensive grandmaternal care, with a strong, positive and statistically significant relationship between the percentage of individuals in the population who agree or strongly agree that pre-school children suffer with a working mother and grandmothers providing childcare on a daily basis.

Individuals' attitudes on this question of working mothers within a country seem to indicate the extent to which care within the family is desirable. More pro-family attitudes are aligned with a greater percentage of grandmothers looking after childcare.

Denmark is paradigmatic in having the lowest percentage of individuals who prefer family care for young children and a high usage of childcare services, which aligns with the lowest intensive grandmaternal support. In contrast, countries where public policies actively or implicitly promote the role of families in looking after children show greater concern about working mothers, namely Italy, Romania, Hungary, Portugal and Spain, and high intensive childcare support from grandmothers.

In Romania and Italy, the public feel strongly that childcare should be maternal. Policies do not make provision for alternative forms of care. Mothers who are in the labour market, particularly with young children have few options but also strong cultural pressures to keep care within the family. Hence, Romania and Italy witness the highest usage of intensive grandmaternal childcare support. A similarly strong convergence between cultural support for childcare within the family and grandmaternal intensive support is found in Portugal. It presents the lowest satisfaction with

Figure 6-5 Proportion considering that pre-school children suffer with a working mother, and intensive grandmaternal childcare



Source: SHARE 2004, EVS 2008

public support for families, and little provision of formal childcare

Countries that seem neutral towards the organisation of children by grandparents show mixed results. For instance, Germany shows similar attitudes towards the impact of children of mothers working to the UK, which aligns with similar percentages of intensive childcare support from grandmothers in both cases. The Netherlands shows similar attitudinal evidence, but lower levels of intensive grandparental support than we might expect, although among the highest usage rates for very young children in formal childcare. With low intensity for childcare use and a predominantly part-time working culture for mothers, we see that mothers can provide care instead of grandmothers, shared with low intensity formal provision, thus aligning with cultural expectations.

6.7 Summary and Conclusion

- The policy regime is closely associated with the likelihood that grandmothers are providing intensive childcare.
- Where parents expect to work full-time, formal childcare is well-provided and there are good maternal benefits, fewer grandmothers provide intensive childcare. The Scandinavian countries are examples.
- Conversely, where there are few part-time jobs, sparse institutional childcare and ungenerous in-kind family benefits, more grandmothers provide intensive child care. The Southern European and Eastern European countries studied fall into this group.
- In a third group of countries public support is varied but less universal, childcare coverage is patchy and provided more by the market than the state, and women may work part-time. Here grandparents have a middling role in both intensive childcare and occasional/less intensive childcare. The UK, Germany and the Netherlands are examples.
- The pattern of female labour force participation in a country is associated with childcare by grandmothers, independently of the policy regime.
- Long working hours for mothers and little institutional childcare mean more grandmothers providing intensive childcare.
- If a high proportion of mothers with young children do not work, those mothers who do work are particularly reliant on intensive grandmaternal childcare.
- Lower labour force participation among women aged 50-64 is associated with more intensive grandmaternal childcare.
- Use of formal childcare for young children is inversely related to intensive childcare by grandmothers
- Where maternal care for pre-school children is the expressed norm, childcare patterns suggest that grandmothers are regarded as the best substitute for mothers

7 Grandparent Characteristics Associated with Grandparental childcare

Previous chapters provided a description of the characteristics of grandparents and parents that are likely to influence grandparental childcare. We now go on to examine what specific grandparent characteristics (available for all of the 12 European countries) are the most important for grandparental childcare. We use a wide variety of multivariate techniques as appropriate, that is generalised ordinal logistic models, logistic regression models and multilevel models to investigate which individual and country-level characteristics are related to grandparental childcare. This includes the range of grandparent socio-economic and demographic characteristics described in Table 4-11 as well as selected country-level macro indicators described in Chapter 6.

Such analyses have several advantages. They permit us to explore the relationship of each characteristic in relation to grandparental childcare while taking into account the potentially confounding influence of other characteristics. For example, in our descriptive analyses we found significant differences in the percentage of grandparents in paid work across countries, such differences may help to explain variations in grandparental childcare. However, we also know that this is confounded with age, that is, an older grandparent is less likely to be in paid work. Thus we need to know whether it is being in paid work or age (or both) that is driving the relationship to grandparental childcare. Our presentation of analyses in the following sections considers these questions with respect to all of the characteristics discussed so far.

It is important to remember that our analyses present significant associations between key characteristics and the likelihood of grandparental childcare – our analyses do not say anything about cause and effect in the relationship. For example, if there is a relationship between being in paid work and lack of grandparental childcare this does not necessarily mean that looking after a grandchild causes people to give up work. While being in paid work may lead to a lesser ability to assist with wider family obligations, those with larger and more extensive family commitments may have had less paid work throughout their lives. Future work using the longitudinal element of both ELSA and SHARE is likely to increase our understanding of causality.

Our analyses consider the demographic and socio-economic factors in Table 4-11 in order to determine which characteristics are significantly related to grandparental childcare. These include gender, age, marital status, education, employment status, wealth, number and ages of grandchildren and various health measures (e.g. depression and functional limitations). We conducted three different analyses.[64] Our discussion in this chapter focuses on the main findings for all grandparents although separate analyses for grandmothers and grandfathers can also be found in Appendix E.[65] Our findings are described in terms of the key grandparent characteristics that increase or decrease the odds of providing grandparental childcare.

Although Chapter 4 describes grandparental childcare in terms of no care, occasional and regular care it was felt that these categories did not adequately distinguish the higher levels of grandparental childcare that were found to be important when considering the various grandparent policy regimes described earlier. For this reason, in this chapter we categorise grandparents into those providing intensive, non-intensive and no grandparental childcare. The percentage of grandparents providing intensive childcare ranged from less than 4% in Sweden and Denmark to almost one quarter in Italy and Greece (see Table 4-10). Recall, that across the 11 European countries grandparents who provide intensive grandparental childcare did so on a daily basis or at least 15 hours per week (with a mean close to 30 hours a week) (see Table 4-10). In England, this was defined as the 6% of grandparents who were providing grandparental childcare in the past week. All other types of grandparental childcare other than intensive were defined as non-intensive.

7.1 Grandparent characteristics associated with intensive, non-intensive and no care

First, we present our findings for the three types of grandparental childcare simultaneously, that is intensive grandparental childcare, non-intensive grandparental childcare, and no grandparental childcare. This is because we want to understand the relative importance of grandparent characteristics for each level of care and how they relate to each other. When the possible responses for an outcome variable consist of more than two categories and are ordinal in nature (for example, intensive grandparental childcare compared to non-intensive grandparental childcare and then to no grandparental childcare) a generalised ordinal logit model (in our case with partial proportional odds, explained in Appendix E) is appropriate. This analysis includes all grandparents and is restricted to the 11 SHARE countries (as we have no general measure of grandparental childcare in ELSA). We have also included grandchildren's ages as this is available in SHARE.

- The grandparent characteristics considered are the same as those used in the previous analyses (and include ages of grandchildren). Those characteristics that are associated with both providing any grandparental childcare (versus none) and providing intensive grandparental childcare (versus non-intensive or no care) are being female, young, married, retired, and in the higher wealth quintile. For example, the odds of married grandparents providing any grandparental childcare (versus none) or providing intensive grandparental childcare (versus non-intensive or none) are 1.64 times higher than for unmarried (that is, never-married, widowed or divorced) grandparents. Grandparents in the lowest wealth quintile report lower odds of providing both types of grandparental childcare in comparison to their counterparts in the higher wealth quintiles.

[64] See Appendix E for further details of the analyses.

[65] There are few differences between grandmothers and grandfathers with respect to the relationship between demographic and socio-economic characteristics and grandparental childcare; where significant differences exist they are featured in bold text in the models in Appendix E.

- Grandparents with lower levels of education are significantly less likely to provide any grandparental childcare versus none; however, the odds of grandparents with low educational levels providing intensive grandparental childcare are 1.34 times higher than those with high levels of education.
- Number of grandchildren shows a different impact on different types of care. Grandparents with two or three grandchildren or with four or five grandchildren (in comparison to those with one) are more likely to provide some grandparental childcare, but having this many grandchildren is not significantly associated with providing intensive grandparental childcare.
- Grandparents with a youngest grandchild between the ages of 3-5 (in comparison to ages 1-2) are the most likely to be providing any grandparental childcare. Grandparents whose youngest grandchild is aged over six are significantly less likely to be providing care in comparison to grandparents with a youngest grandchild between ages 1-2.
- The difference with respect to cognitive function and severe functional limitations is a matter of degree. That is, grandparents with better cognitive function are more likely to provide any type of grandparental childcare but the effect is greater for more intensive care. A similar pattern is found when severity of functional limitations is considered.
- As in the model above, the different policy regimes show significant associations with levels of grandparental childcare. For instance, Swedish, Danish and French grandparents (that is those who fall into our category of countries where no grandparental care is assumed by the policy context) report significantly higher odds of providing any grandparental childcare but significantly lower odds of engaging in intensive grandparental childcare in comparison to German grandparents (a country like the UK with a more neutral policy regime toward grandparental childcare).
- Grandparents that fall in our category of having policy contexts that assume grandparental childcare (that is in Spain, Italy and Greece) report higher odds of intensive grandparental childcare in comparison to Germany
- Grandparents in the countries where the policy context is relatively neutral toward grandparents (that is the Netherlands, Austria and Belgium) fall into a middle group when considering the provision of intensive childcare – providing more than in the Scandinavian countries but less than grandparents in those countries where policy assumes a grandparental role.
- In the provision of any care, there is a much more even picture across all the countries studies, with grandparents quite similar across the SHARE countries in providing at least some care for their grandchildren. However, our analysis does show that Germany and Austria are similar to Italy and Spain, with a lower likelihood that grandparents will provide some care, while grandparents in the Netherlands and Belgium have the highest likelihood of helping with care at least some of the time.

7.2 Grandparent characteristics associated with intensive grandchild care

Second, we present our findings about which types of grandparents are more likely to provide intensive grandparental childcare (that is daily or at least 15 hours a week) which include English grandparents. We use multivariate logistic regression models to explore grandparent characteristics associated with intensive grandparental childcare; the base for the model is all grandparents. In the previous section we discussed our findings relative to intensive grandparental childcare compared to non-intensive and no grandparental childcare.

- Gender is significantly associated with intensive grandparental childcare. The odds of grandmothers providing intensive grandparental childcare are 1.54 times higher than for grandfathers. Younger grandparents are more likely to provide intensive care for grandchildren. Grandparents who are currently married or cohabiting are also more likely to be providing intensive grandparental childcare.
- Grandparents with lower educational levels are more likely to provide intensive grandparental childcare. Retired grandparents are more likely to care for grandchildren at an intensive level. For example, the odds of retired grandparents providing intensive care are 1.51 times those for grandparents in paid work. Wealth shows no significant association with providing intensive grandparental childcare. The number of grandchildren is not associated with the likelihood of providing intensive grandparental childcare.
- Among the various health indicators considered, only functional limitations and cognitive function are significantly (and negatively) associated with the provision of intensive grandparental childcare. Self-rated health and depression show no significant association with intensive grandparental childcare. For example, the odds of grandparents without a functional limitation providing intensive grandparental childcare are 1.89 times higher than for those with such a condition.
- Although variations in grandparent characteristics are important when considering different patterns of grandparental care across Europe, significant country-level differences remain in the intensity of grandparental childcare. As expected, the different grandparent policy regimes also show a significant association with intensive grandparental childcare. For instance, grandparents in Sweden and Denmark (in our classification of countries where policies assume no grandparental childcare) are only around half as likely as grandparents in England to provide intensive childcare. England, the Netherlands, and Switzerland are quite similar to each other in the provision of intensive childcare whereas the likelihood of grandparents providing intensive childcare in France, Germany, Austria and Belgium is between one and a half and three times as high as in England. With the exception of France, these latter countries are all classified into our middle group of neutral countries.
- Spain, Italy and Greece stand out however as having a much higher likelihood of grandparents providing intensive grandparental childcare – three to five times higher than in England, countries where policies assume grandparental childcare.

7.3 Multilevel model

So far, analyses above considered countries according to their different policy contexts and their relationship to different levels of grandparental childcare. In this section we examine whether it is the policy context (by categorising countries according to the three different types of grandparent policy contexts discussed in Chapter 6) or the cultural and institutional factors which these contexts produce that has greater explanatory power in explaining variation in grandparental childcare. We find that considering the policy context does get us a long way in understanding grandparental childcare, but we can explain even more of the variation when we look at the extent to which differences in the cultural-contextual factors across European countries are related to grandparental childcare (while still taking grandparent characteristics into account).

We capture the policy context by classifying each country according to the type of policy context discussed earlier, that is those countries where grandparental childcare is assumed (Italy, Spain, Greece), no grandparental childcare is assumed (Denmark, Sweden and France) or where there is a neutral policy context in terms of grandparental childcare (Germany, the Netherlands, Austria and Belgium).

Moreover, in order to capture each country's cultural-structural characteristics we also take four key country-level variables into account: the percentage of mothers aged 25-49 who are not in paid employment and the percentage of women aged 50-64 in paid work, capturing the two-generation structure of the labour market; the percentage of individuals who strongly agree with the statement that 'pre-school children suffer with a working mother' capturing societal attitudes towards care and gender; finally, the percentage of children under the age of three who are enrolled in formal childcare, used as an indicator of the use of formal childcare.

These indicators are shown in Table 7-1. For example, the percentage of mothers aged 25-49 who are not in paid employment ranges from a low of 15% in Denmark to more than between more than 40% in Italy and Greece (in England 31% of mothers in this age group are not in paid employment). The percentage of adults who strongly agree with the statement that pre-school children suffer with working mothers ranges from less than 5% in Denmark, Sweden and England to 27% in Greece. The percentage of children under the age of three in formal childcare ranges from less than 30% in Germany to 73% in Denmark (in England it is 58%).

Finally, as in earlier analyses we also consider individual grandparent characteristics including gender, age, marital status, education, tenure and employment status, wealth, number and ages of grandchildren and various health measures (e.g. depression and functional limitations).

To investigate to what extent the policy context and cultural-contextual country-level indicators can explain differences across countries in the prevalence of intensive grandparental childcare we use multilevel logistic regression models. Intensive grandparental childcare is the same measure used in section 7.2 above, that is in England those grandparents caring for a grandchild (or grandchildren) in the week prior to the interview or in SHARE, grandparents looking after a grandchild (or grandchildren) on a daily basis or for at least 15 hours a week.

We use multilevel models because the ELSA and SHARE datasets are hierarchically structured, that is the data has several levels with grandparents at a lower level, and countries at a higher level (as individuals are nested within countries). This means, for example, that grandparents in countries where the policy context assumes grandparental childcare are more likely to be similar to one another than grandparents in countries like England categorised by neutral policies toward grandparental childcare (and therefore grandparents' responses within each country grouping are more likely to be related to each other than are grandparents' responses across different country groupings).

Multilevel analysis is able to adjust for the clustered nature of the ELSA and SHARE data as it produces unbiased estimates (and odds ratios) and correct standard errors (that is they are not affected by the correlated nature of the data) (Guo and Zhao, 2000, Goldstein et al., 2002,

Table 7-1 Overview of cultural-contextual factors by country

Country	% pre-school children suffer with working mother	% mothers aged 25-49 out of employment	% children under the age of 3 in formal care	% women aged 50-64 in paid work
England	4.5	31.0	35.0	58.3
France	12.9	25.0	40.0	49.8
Denmark	1.5	15.2	73.0	62.1
Sweden	4.2	17.0	49.0	72.0
Germany	17.0	29.0	19.0	56.4
The Netherlands	7.3	21.0	47.0	53.4
Belgium	11.0	24.7	35.0	38.9
Austria	25.8	24.5	29.0	46.8
Switzerland	n.a.	n.a.	22.0	67.4
Spain	10.8	37.0	39.0	39.6
Italy	13.4	44.0	27.0	34.8
Greece	26.8	40.4	25.0	35.9

Source: OECD 2011, Eurostat (EU-SILC) 2011, European Values Survey Wave 4.

Clarke, 2008). Moreover, multilevel models permit the total variance to be partitioned into different components; namely the model enables us to assess to what extent country-level differences account for variations in grandparental childcare. Thus we can estimate a 'country effect', that is what percentage of the variance across countries in intensive grandparental childcare is due to the policy context or to country-level factors.[66]

7.3.1 Country-level characteristics associated with intensive grandparental childcare

To explain differences across countries in intensive grandparental childcare we begin by including just grandparents' characteristics in the model. The results from this model are largely in line with the logistic regression model discussed in Section 7.2 above. That is, grandparents who are female, younger, married, not in paid work and in good health (i.e. not in the lowest cognitive quintile and with no reported functional limitations) are more likely to be providing intensive grandparental childcare. There is no significant association with education, and grandparents in the bottom of the wealth distribution are significantly less likely to be providing intensive childcare. Finally, the number of grandchildren is significantly associated with intensive grandparental childcare as grandparents with more grandchildren (in comparison to those who have only one) are more likely to provide intensive childcare.

When we consider the country-level grandparent regimes (with the neutral grandparent regime as the reference category) together with the grandparent characteristics our findings suggest that the grandparent policy regimes play a key role in explaining country differences in the provision of intensive grandparental childcare. That is, countries where the policy contexts assume grandparents will provide childcare are significantly more likely to be providing grandparental childcare in comparison to grandparents in the countries represented by the other regime types.

Moreover, when we consider the country-level indicators (the average value of the indicator for each country) together with the grandparent characteristics our findings suggest that the cultural-contextual indicators in each country also play a significant important role in explaining country-level differences in the provision of intensive grandparental childcare. For instance, both the percentage of women aged 50-64 in paid work and the percentage of mothers aged 24-49 who are not in paid work are significantly related to the provision of grandparental childcare However, the association between these two indicators and the provision of intensive grandparental childcare is different. On the one hand, the higher the percentage of women aged over 50 in paid work, the lower the percentage of grandparents providing intensive grandparental childcare. On the other hand, the higher the percentage of mothers aged 24-49 who are not in paid work the higher the provision of grandparental childcare. This suggests that in countries where the percentage of mothers who are not in paid work is higher grandparental intensive childcare is also higher.

The percentage of people who strongly believe that 'pre-school children suffer with a working mother', appears to have no significant relationship to the provision of intensive grandparental childcare. Enrolment in formal childcare is significantly negatively associated with provision of grandparental childcare. This finding seems to suggest that in countries where children under the age of three are enrolled in formal childcare there is a significantly reduced likelihood of intensive grandparental childcare. Finally, it is important to note that all the personal-characteristics described in Models 1 and 2 remain significant, even after country-level covariates are included in the final model.

Multilevel models divide residual variances into different components. The statistics reported at the bottom of Table E-3 in Appendix E present the variance estimates at the country-level, as well as the country-level variance as a percentage of the total variance.[67] The latter estimates the variance which is due to 'country-level membership', that is the extent to which grandparents in the same country are similar to each other for example by belonging to the same grandparental policy regime, once all the other factors have been taken into account.

When we consider only grandparent characteristics in accounting for the prevalence of intensive grandparental childcare, 18.4% of the total unexplained variance is accounted for by countries. When the grandparent policy regime variable for each country is introduced, this reduces the unexplained variance accounted for by countries to 7.6%. This suggests that the policy context is important in explaining why countries differ from each other in the prevalence of intensive grandparental childcare.

When we add the country-level indicators representing the different cultural-contextual indicators the country-level variance reduces to 3.6% of the total residual variance. Virtually all the reduction from the initial model with just the grandparent characteristics is the result of the inclusion of country-level characteristics. The introduction of the four country-level indicators into the study significantly reduces the overall country-level variability. Thus our results support the hypothesis that policies, structure and culture are strongly related with the provision of intensive childcare in European countries.

[66] Details of the multilevel model can be found in Appendix E.

[67] Multilevel logistic models do not provide a direct estimate of first-level variance. The latter is generally estimated using a threshold model at 3.29. The estimated total variance is therefore the sum of the level-2 variance + 3.29.

7.4 Summary

These models show that policies and cultural-structural factors all shape the extent to which grandparents provide intensive childcare in European countries. In particular, certain country characteristics seem to provide arrangements in which grandparents are more likely to engage intensively in providing intensive childcare, even when all the variation in grandparents' characteristics is taken into account. The extent to which mothers in a country are not in the paid labour force is associated with the degree of policy focus on providing formal, affordable childcare, particularly for very young children. Similarly, in countries where mothers are expected to stay at home to care for their families there is also a belief that pre-school children would suffer with working mothers. In such 'pro family care' countries, opportunities for young mothers (aged 25 to 49) to work flexible hours also tend to be limited; mothers who do work in countries where the normative expectation is to stay at home to care for their families tend to work full-time. Hence, mothers who work in such countries need the co-operation of grandparents, and grandmothers in particular. However, the availability of grandmothers to offer such help is reduced in countries where employment rates for women 50 to 64 are comparably high.

8 Conclusion

8.1 Summary of findings

Understanding what grandparenting looks like across Europe – including the diversity of grandparents and the families they care for – as well as variations in family policies and how these are related to differences in levels of grandparent involvement is a critical policy issue. Our earlier scoping study showed that much of the research evidence on the issue of grandparental help and childcare is non-European (largely US based) and in addition, there is relatively little comparative work (Glaser et al., 2010). The few studies on this issue in Europe have largely focused on Western Europe or give limited detail on the breadth of intergenerational support provided (Albertini et al., 2007, Hank and Buber, 2009). There is also a lack of evidence on drivers (and in particular, policy drivers) of different grandparenting patterns across Europe (Igel and Szydlik, 2011, Jappens and van Bavel, 2011). North American commentators have suggested that given grandparents' considerable involvement in childcare, subsidising the time grandparents spend looking after grandchildren may be an effective childcare policy (Cardia and Ng, 2003). Thus our report investigates:

(1) How does the role of grandparenting within the context of family life vary across Europe? and

(2) How do different policy environments (focusing on family policy) across Europe help to shape these roles?

Specifically, we investigate (a) patterns of co-residence between grandparents and grandchildren over time and the characteristics related to such living arrangements across selected European countries; (b) variations in the characteristics of grandparents across 12 European countries and how these characteristics (such as age and gender) are associated with different levels of grandparental involvement; and (c) variations in family policies leading to different regimes of grandparental childcare; and (d) in turn how different policy regimes (in addition to associated family cultures and labour market structures) are related to differences in grandparental childcare.

Our study shows that grandparents across Europe (and grandmothers in particular) are acting as a reserve army of intermittent or intensive childcare across Europe. Our study found that over 40% of grandparents in the 11 European countries studied provide any grandparental childcare in the absence of the child's parents (that is to grandchildren of any age, in line with previous studies) (Albertini et al., 2007, Hank and Buber, 2009). In Britain, the British Social Attitudes Survey showed that 63% of grandparents provide care for a grandchild under age 16 (Wellard, 2011). Moreover, England and Wales, like the US, experienced an increase in the prevalence of skipped-generation households – that is households consisting of grandparents and grandchildren but without the parents. This rose from 0.3% of adults aged 40 and over living in such households in 1981 to 0.5% in 2001. Recent estimates suggest that are around 155,000 people of all ages in skipped-generation households in England & Wales 2001. No other European country studied so far follows this pattern.

Our study shows considerable variations in the characteristics of grandparents across the 12 European countries studied. For example, English grandparents are relatively young, more likely to be in paid work and have more grandchildren on average than grandparents in the remaining 11 European countries. In England one in four (23%) of grandparents aged 50 and over are in paid work, compared with an average of just one in seven across the other 11 countries studied. Only Denmark and Sweden have a higher percentage of working grandparents.

While overall grandparents in the 11 European countries studied provide high levels of grandparental childcare there are striking variations in the frequency of the care provided. For example, in France, the Scandinavian countries (Denmark and Sweden), and the Netherlands up to 60% of grandparents provide any grandparental childcare in the absence of parents; this is in contrast with just 40% in the Southern European countries. However, when more regular care is considered the pattern is reversed as more intensive types of grandparental childcare are more common in Southern Europe. For instance, we find that in Italy close to one in five (20%) grandparents are providing almost daily childcare in comparison to just 2% of grandparents in the Netherlands.

Moreover, in the 11 European countries studied (not including England as no general measure of grandparental childcare is available in ELSA) grandparents who are female, younger, with higher educational levels, in better health, and whose youngest grandchild is under age six are more likely to provide any grandparental childcare. These findings are consistent with US studies that have investigated more general levels of grandparental childcare (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998).

While differences in the characteristics of grandparents explains some of the differences in grandparental childcare across the 12 European countries, significant country-level differences remain. A key aim of our study was to explore the extent to which the policy environments in which grandparental childcare takes place make a difference to the extent that grandparents take it on. Thus, our analysis of family policies shows that sets of family policies, or family policy regimes, are associated with patterns of grandparental childcare. Although the explanation is not perfect, it is clear that policies are related to family practice. Our analysis enabled us to categorise countries into the following types of family policy regimes: (a) no grandparental childcare assumed; (b) grandparental childcare assumed and (c) neutral. Countries in the first category (no grandparental childcare assumed) are those where parents are expected to work full-time, childcare is heavily institutionalised with good coverage, and there are good cash benefits to support mothers at home during maternity leave and when working. Grandmothers in these countries play far less of a role in providing intensive childcare. Nevertheless, they are still fairly heavily involved in providing occasional and less intensive care for grandchildren. Examples of this are Sweden, Denmark and to a lesser extent, France.

Countries in the second category (grandparental childcare assumed) are those categorised by ungenerous cash

benefits to parents, little support for mothers at home, sparse and incomplete institutional childcare, and few opportunities for mothers to work part-time. Grandparents in countries in this regime type provide a great deal of intensive childcare for their grandchildren and generally speaking there is less of a role for grandparents providing occasional or less intensive care. Examples of this regime include Portugal, Spain and Italy (and Romania). Romania, however, is notable for grandparents playing a very substantive role in both intensive and occasional/less intensive childcare.

The final group of countries falls into the neutral family policy regime. For countries in this regime public support for families is varied but less universal, childcare coverage is patchy (and quite likely to be provided by the market rather than the state) and there is a norm of women working part-time. Generally speaking, in these countries we find grandparents playing a middling role in both intensive childcare, and occasional/less intensive childcare. These countries include the UK, Germany and the Netherlands, although in the case of the Netherlands, there is very little intensive grandparental childcare.

Thus while we find that family policy regimes seen from a grandparental childcare perspective provide part of the explanation for country differences, some countries such as the Netherlands produce unexpected results given the policies alone. We suggest here that apart from policies, country-level cultural and structural factors (that is relating to the structure of the labour market, child care and family norms) also account for some of these differences. In our policy analysis in Chapter 6 we found that these dimensions provide some further explanation, in particular for differences in intensive grandmaternal childcare, rather than for occasional/non-intensive childcare.

For example, grandmaternal provision of any childcare, occasional or more regular, is consistently higher in countries with high rates of maternal employment, whether full or part-time. In explaining the extent to which grandmothers provide intensive childcare, our analysis has shown that two employment patterns of mothers are particularly important. First, in countries where mothers work long hours, 40+ hours a week and also have little institutional childcare, there is greater reliance on intensive grandmaternal childcare. This is the case for Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain. Countries with few mothers in long hours of work have much less reliance on grandmothers for intensive childcare – the UK, Netherlands, and Germany.

The second is to consider the extent to which mothers in that country are out of employment altogether. Where this is the case, for those mothers who need to or choose to work in paid employment, there is much greater reliance on grandmothers for the provision of intensive childcare. Thus, where the norm is for mothers to be at home with their children rather than in the labour force, it seems to be particularly difficult for those mothers who are in the paid labour force to conciliate childcare arrangements, and for grandmothers play a substantial role. Daily grandmaternal care is also shown here to be strongly associated with the working patterns of mid-life women aged 50 – 64. In countries where fewer women in these age groups work, grandmothers are far more likely to be providing intensive childcare.

Childcare provision is also important. While our policy analysis considered formal childcare coverage, we also considered the extent to which childcare is used in different countries, to varying degrees of intensity and for children of different ages. Countries with the lowest usage of formal childcare, Hungary, Portugal and Romania, have the highest proportions of grandmothers caring intensively for their grandchildren, and countries with the highest usage, Sweden and Denmark, have the lowest proportions of grandmothers providing intensive childcare. France, the Netherlands, Germany and Spain have middling usage and also middling proportions of grandmaternal intensive childcare.

The final part of our policy analysis concerned attitudes and preferences. In this section we showed that in countries with strong preferences for maternal childcare, measured by the extent to which adults in the country agree with the proposition that pre-school children suffer with a working mother, we find greater involvement of grandmothers in intensive childcare. This suggests that where the norm is for maternal childcare over work, those mothers who do work prefer grandparental childcare, that is family over institutional childcare.

In combining the policy analysis with the ELSA and SHARE data we found that even taking into account demographic factors, country-level differences remained, suggesting the importance of the different policy regimes. For example, as expected the odds of providing intensive grandparental childcare are higher among grandparents in assumed grandparental childcare regime whereas the odds of providing non-intensive childcare are significantly lower. This shows us that policy regimes are important when considering variations in the frequency of grandparental childcare across Europe. However, it is not only policy that is important; cultural-structural variations across countries (in terms of the labour market, childcare and family norms are also crucial. Our study suggests that most of the country-level variation in intensive grandparental childcare is due to cultural-structural factors. Particularly important is the extent to which mothers aged 25-49 in a country are not in the paid labour force, as we hypothesise that this influences policies aimed at providing formal, affordable childcare. In those countries where the societal norm reflects the belief that mothers should stay at home to care for their families, most mothers do not work and those who do tend to work full-time (given inflexibilties in the labour market). In such countries as most mothers are not in paid work there is little formal childcare so that those who are in full-time work appear to be heavily reliant on family care and on grandparental childcare in particular.

Finally, normative cultural factors are also important; in countries where more of the population believes that pre-school children suffer with working mothers, intensive grandparental childcare is also more prevalent. However, given that grandmothers aged 50-69 who were not in paid work are the most likely to provide childcare, government plans to extend the retirement age and increase the female labour force participation at older ages is likely to conflict with the provision of childcare, and therefore the employability of younger mothers.

It is also important to consider the impact on grandmothers providing childcare who are likely to be young, healthy and with younger grandchildren. These

mid-life women are the very women that governments across Europe are aiming to encourage into paid work for longer, in order to increase productivity and self-fund pensions, social care and other welfare provision in later life. The invisible role that these cohorts are playing in the provision of childcare, whether intensive, regular and/or occasional, is likely to conflict with their own ability to self-finance their old age. As widow's benefits are eroded in state, employer and private pension schemes, there is a serious issue of reliance on grandmothers for childcare to support mothers' employment storing up serious future financial problems for these women.

Appendix A European Expert Advisory group

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Italy	**Professor Cecilia Tomassini,** 2° Edificio Polifunzionale, Via De Sanctis 86100, Campobasso Italy Web: http://serviziweb.unimol.it/unimol/docenti/
Hungary	**Marta Korintus**, Institute for Social Policy and Labour, Tüzér u. 33-35, Budapest, Magyarország, Hungary Web: http://szmi.hu/
Romania	**Professor Cornelia Muresan**, Babes-Bolyai University, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, Centre for Population Studies, Bd. 21 Decembrie 1989, No. 128, 400604 Cluj-Napoca, Romania webpage: http://www.demographic-research.org/authors/199.htm

Appendix B Detailed Methodology

This appendix describes the key datasets used, measures created and statistical approaches undertaken. A number of different data sources are used in the analyses of throughout our report. These datasets are described in more detail below.

Data

We examine patterns of co-residence between grandparents and grandchildren over time in selected European countries in Chapter 3 using a number of different data sources: the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS), the ONS Longitudinal Study for England and Wales, and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) for Germany. They were chosen partly because they offered a time-series of three, dated around 1981, 1991 and 2001; and partly because they offered the possibility of identifying relationships between persons in private households. These datasets are described in more detail below.

Census Microdata from IPUMS

For France, Portugal, Romania and the US the source of data in Chapter 3 is samples of census microdata, prepared and provided by IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) International. The IPUMS project is based at the University of Minnesota and offers cleaned and (as far as possible) harmonised samples of census data from many countries.

For France, data come from the 1982, 1990 and 1999 censuses; each of these included Corsica and overseas departments as well as mainland France. The samples comprise 5% of private dwellings enumerated in 1982 and 1999, and 4.2% of those enumerated in 1990. The sources for Portugal are similar, being 5% samples of dwellings from the census data for 1981, 1991 and 2001. For the US the censuses took place in 1980, 1990 and 2000 and 5% samples were taken of households rather than dwellings; the US Census Bureau provides weights for analysts using the 1990 and 2000 samples.

In Romania the censuses are more widely spaced, taking place in 1977, 1992 and 2002. The 1977 census excludes two counties and parts of others, thus omitting approximately 7% of the population. The three censuses also have varying rules for who should be enumerated, the main difference being that in 1977 any foreigner who resided legally in Romania is included but by 2002 they are only included if their legal residence existed for at least one year previously. Samples in each case comprise 10% of households (groups of people living together and sharing income and expenditure) rather than dwellings.

All these census microdata sets can provide representative samples both of private households or dwellings (depending on the country) and of persons in private households or dwellings. For our analysis, persons living in group quarters (institutions, rooming houses, boarding schools etc.) are excluded. None of the microdata sets offer data on the relationship between every pair of members in the household (which would be unusual in census data) but all offer the relationship of each member to the head of household, though the relationships are from a restricted range of possibilities. This means that we are only reliably able to identify grandparent-grandchild dyads where either the head of household has a grandchild in the household or the head of household is in the intervening generation that is someone with a parent and a child in the household. The proportion of households thus identified is therefore likely to be an underestimate, since a grandparent-grandchild dyad may occur in a household where, for example, the grandparent's sibling is the head, and this dyad is not be identifiable in these datasets. The IPUMS project provides weighting variables which take account of different sampling fractions in different microdata sets.

England and Wales: the ONS Longitudinal Study

Census microdata from IPUMS could not be used for Britain in this study as, apart from the 1991 census, the microdata sets did not allow the identification of relationships between persons in the household. (This was also the case for some other countries that could otherwise have been analysed, e.g. Spain.) Rather than use survey data for Great Britain, it was thought better to use the Office for National Statistics' Longitudinal Study (ONS LS), even though this only covers England and Wales (and therefore omits Scotland), as the sample size is very much larger than any offered by a survey. The ONS LS offers linked microdata for the censuses of 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001; census records for each sample member include data for the whole household in which he or she is enumerated. Sample members are selected by day and month of birth, irrespective of year, and the sample is annually refreshed by the addition of new births and immigrants who have an LS birthday. The study therefore offers a 1% representative sample of the population of England and Wales in any year from 1971 onward. However, the sample is not representative of households unless measures are taken to reduce it to one member per household; in our analysis, where household representation is required, only LS sample members who were head of household (or Household Reference Person) are used.

Census data for 1981, 1991 and 2001 are analysed cross-sectionally for our study. Grandparent-grandchild dyads in the household are identified with reference to the LS sample member's relationships to other household members; in other words, if the LS sample member is the grandparent or, alternatively, has a parent and child in the household, a dyad is present. Unlike the datasets used for other countries, in the LS it made no difference who is the head of household. However, like the other datasets, grandparent-grandchild dyads in the household could be missed because the LS member is not one of the three generations involved. As with the other datasets, LS members in communal establishments are excluded from analysis.

SOEP: the German Socio-Economic Panel Study

In the absence of any census for several decades up to 2011, data for Germany came from SOEP, a panel study which started in 1984 with 5,921 households and 12,245 persons. Individual sample members are followed annually and everyone in a sample member's household is interviewed; the study therefore offers a representative sample either of persons or of households. Refreshment samples are added at intervals, the most notable addition taking place in 1990 with new samples from the states of the former German Democratic Republic. In order to use comparable datasets for the three decades, our analysis was restricted to the states which belonged to

West Germany. The additions also mean that the sampling fraction varies from year to year. Weighting variables are made available for each wave of data.

Our analysis is cross-sectional, using data from 1984, 1994 and 2004. As in the census microdata samples provided by IPUMS, the relationship of each person to the head of household is the best indicator of a grandparent-grandchild dyad and the method used to identify such dyads is the same as for the IPUMS datasets. People living in communal establishments were excluded.

We employ cross-national comparative data from ELSA and SHARE to look at variations across Europe in the prevalence and intensity of grandparent involvement in children's lives in Chapters 4, 5, and 7. These data are also described in more detail below.

ELSA
ELSA is longitudinal study based on a nationally representative sample of 12,000 people aged 50 and over (and their younger partners) in private households in England. The sample for the first wave of ELSA (2002) was drawn from the Health Survey for England in 1998, 1999 and 2001. It includes detailed measures of health, economic and social circumstances as well as information on living kin and receipt of help, including financial assistance. Comparisons with census data show baseline ELSA data to be broadly representative of the population aged 50 and over in England (Marmot et al., 2003, Taylor et al., 2003). Waves 1-4 (2002-2008) are currently available in the Data Archive; our study focuses on the first wave only

The original response rate from the HSE was 67 to 70 % (Taylor et al. 2007). No direct contact was made with respondents in the HSE who refused to be re-contacted. Individual response at wave 1 in ELSA was about 64% of the HSE sample (Taylor et al. 2007). The highest level of non-response was from households, so weights were created to take into account household non-response (Taylor et al. 2007). Our report uses the cross-sectional weight where appropriate.

SHARE
SHARE includes Austria, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, France, Denmark, Greece, Switzerland, and Belgium. Both ELSA and SHARE are based on people aged 50 and over and their partners and are comparable. We use the first round of data collected. SHARE's sample size in this round is 29,917 people aged 50 and over (ranging from 1,707 in Denmark to 3,193 in France).

The overall household response rate among SHARE countries in the first wave was 61.6%. Individual response rate (i.e. the percentage of eligible individuals within eligible households interviewed that completed the questionnaire) in 2004 was on average 85.3%. Nevertheless, there is considerable variation across countries in household response rates, ranging from 55% (Italy and Spain) to 81% in France. Although comparisons with other data sources such as the European Union Labour Force Survey, the European Community Household Panel and the European Social Survey show SHARE data to produce very similar distributions of key concepts such as employment, education and health (Börsch-Supan et al., 2005), consistency of data between equally low-response rate surveys does not assure validity (Matthews and Heidorn, 1998). In the case of France, Denmark and Italy the issue of generalisability has received further support from recent comparative analyses between SHARE and census data suggesting that SHARE may not be fully representative of those countries: it is necessary to be cautious when generalising the findings to the wider population (Di Gessa, 2011).

Weighting Strategies for ELSA and SHARE
Sample cross-sectional weights were attached to both the ELSA and SHARE datasets so as to adjust for potential bias in the respondent samples and therefore enhance confidence in the representativeness of the results. Both teams provided cross-sectional adjustments to match the respondents' age-by-sex distribution to the one from the Census[68] in order to account for initial non-response in wave 1. This calibration procedure (Deville and Särndal, 1992) assigns weights to sample respondents in order to match known population totals obtained from census data, even though the latter may not exactly cover the same target population (Klevmarken et al., 2005). In particular, all weights control for the size of the target population across gender and age groups with further country-specific adjustments such as home ownership in France and geographical area in Italy and Denmark. Detailed descriptions of the weighting strategies and of the computation of calibrated cross-sectional weights adopted in the second wave of SHARE and ELSA are provided elsewhere (Börsch-Supan et al., 2005, Marmot, 2003, Scholes et al., 2008, Taylor et al., 2007). In this report, calibration weights provided by the ELSA and SHARE teams were used in the descriptive analyses of grandparents in order to compensate for potential nonresponse bias. Multivariable analyses were performed both weighted and unweighted; no significant differences were found in the strength and directions of associations. Parents' characteristics described in Chapter 5, however, were unweighted given that weights were calculated to compensate to match the age-sex distribution of grandparents, not that of parents.

Policies legislation
Most of the data collected for examining maternity, paternity, parental leave polices, other related childcare leave policies, childcare services, childcare benefits and allowances, old-age pensions and long-term care systems have been collected through national governmental sources in the relevant ministry through web research. However, we have also used other sources such as MISSOC (Mutual Information System on Social Protection), the Council of Europe Family Policy Database, and the International Network on Leave Policies and Research (INLPR). Data for Romania is not available in the INLPR database.

The data on legislation has been collected over the period 2010-2012. Although not many changes in legislation have occurred over the data collection period, some benefits might have been introduced or erased. The policy summary (Appendix E) and tables (Appendix F) where possible reflects the policy system at the year 2012.

[68] ELSA also used the additional information collected from the HSE interviews to correct for differences in characteristics found between respondents and non-respondents.

Eurostat and OECD
Eurostat provides statistical information on the demography, labour force and social conditions of the 27 European Union countries. We have mostly collected information on labour market participation, childcare usage and expenditure, statutory pension age and public expenditure on various social benefits. All the indicators from Eurostat have been collected for the year 2008 to allow for comparability.

OECD statistics (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) provides data and metadata for a large number of European and non-European countries. The data is collected from each nation state. We used labour force data and data from the OECD family policy database for the year 2008 for all 11 countries.

European Social Survey (ESS)
The ESS collects information on attitudes, beliefs and behaviour in 26 countries in Europe. In the ESS Wave 2 (2004) included a rotating module on family, work and well-being. Data on the percentage of grandmothers providing intensive grandparental childcare was calculated for Portugal from this source.

Gender and Generations Programme (GGP)
We used GGP Wave 1 via NESSTAR online tool data to calculate grandparent provision of childcare in Romania and Hungary (these two countries were not in SHARE). The GGP survey is a pan-European survey of 19 countries with over 10,000 respondents per country that includes people aged 18 to 79.

European Values Study (EVS)
The EVS collects data on ideas, preferences, attitudes, values and opinions on topics such as family, work, life, politics and society. It covers 47 European countries/ regions based on people aged 18 years and older living in private households. We used the Wave 4 (2008) to collect information on eleven countries: Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden and the UK. The sample size in this round is about 1,500 respondents per country, except for Sweden (1,187), France (random sample: 1,501, two additional quota samples: 1,570) and Germany (disproportional sample East: 1,004, West: 1,070).

Appendix C Additional Tables and Figures Chapter 3

While census data is generally comparable a key difference lies in whether censuses employ a de facto enumeration rule or not (Ruggles and Heggeness, 2008). This is important as the application of such a rule may mean that those who are temporarily away for the night may not be counted as co resident, thus multigenerational households may be underestimated. Table C-1 shows the characteristics of the data samples included in the analysis. As can be seen in this table all the samples used in this analysis employ a de jure rule (meaning those who were normally resident were counted as household members). The IPUMS samples are large, covering between 5 and 10% of the population. The samples for the ONS LS are smaller at around 1% of the population, and the German samples are even smaller as they are survey samples.

Table C-1 Characteristics of data samples used in the analysis

	Sample density (%)	Enumer-ation rule	Persons aged 35 and over living in private households	Persons aged 35 and over in 3-gen household	Persons aged 35 and over in skipped-generation households	Number of 3-gen house-holds	Number of skipped-gen house-holds
England and Wales							
1981	1.1	De jure	255,607	8,359	651	3418	420
1991	1.1	De jure	273,105	7,337	728	3104	501
2001	1.1	De jure	296,874	4,478	1,249	1055	418
France							
1982	5.0	De jure	1,181,063	56,541	3,578	21,794	2,066
1990	4.2	De jure	1,139,502	37,246	2,782	14,610	1,579
1999	5.0	De jure	1,524,125	31,950	2,590	12,855	1,523
West Germany							
1984	0.02	De jure	7,586	272	17	113	14
1994	0.02	De jure	6,695	254	16	108	10
2004	0.03	De jure	14,263	241	19	95	10
Portugal							
1981	5.0	De jure	217,802	19,842	2,448	8,479	1,456
1991	5.0	De jure	240,284	30,669	2,286	12,236	1,371
2001	5.0	De jure	277,794	28,696	2,168	11,029	1,324
Romania*							
1977	10.0	De jure	894,415	130,544	9,225	55,566	5,224
1992	10.0	De jure	1,082,673	163,897	16,074	68,564	9,639
2002	10.0	De jure	1,081,836	176,562	10,594	77,375	6,789
United States							
1980	5.0	De jure	4,676,358	236,160	34,895	112,949	21,696
1990	5.0	De jure	5,801,288	307,088	57,795	146,243	35,996
2000	5.0	De jure	7,061,236	411,004	83,976	188,499	50,709

*The sample of census data for Romania omits data for two counties (Alba and Arad).

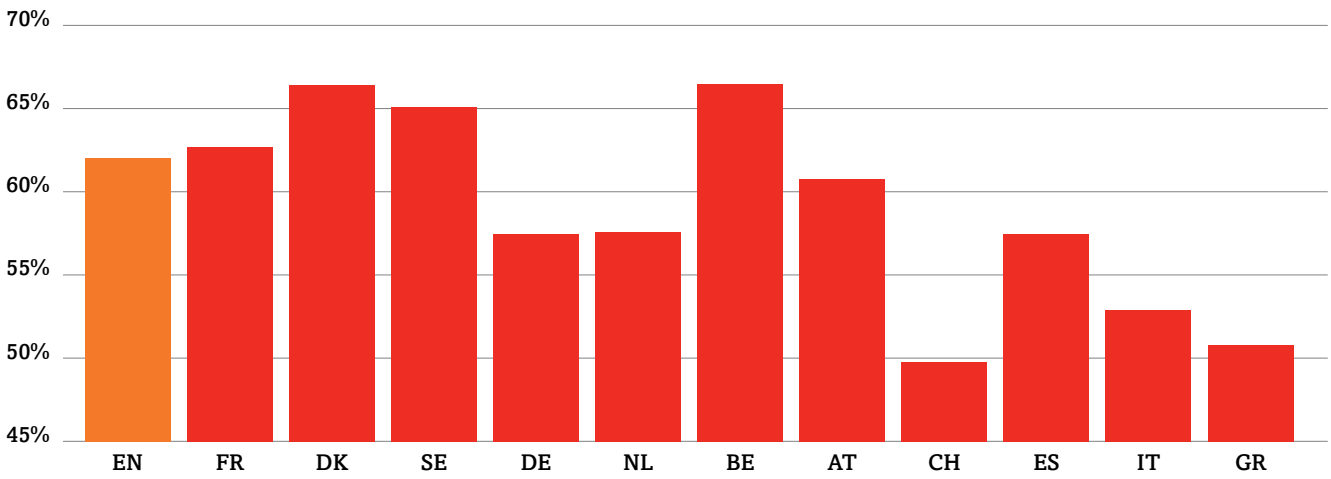
Table C-2 Characteristics of people aged 35 and over associated with co-residence in three-generation or skipped-generation grandparent households. Odds ratios from a multinomial logit model

	England & Wales		France		West Germany		Portugal		Romania		US	
Characteristics	Three gen	Skipped gen	Three gen	Skipped gen	Three gen	Skipped gen	Three gen	Skipped gen	Three gen	Skipped gen	Three gen	Skipped gen
Sex (male)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Female	1.0477	1.1836	1.0726	1.1056	0.9944	1.3483	1.0215	1.1713	0.9591	1.1544	1.2149	1.3203
Age (years)	0.9891	1.0325	.9964	1.0398	0.9904	1.0463	0.9965	1.0451	0.9907	1.0393	0.9839	1.0261
Marital status												
Never married	0.3194	0.1311	0.7637	0.2857	0.2678	0.0615	0.8115	0.5366	0.6248	0.6634	1.1482	0.8213
Married (reference)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Separated/divorced	1.2554	1.0472	1.1753	0.6876	1.1495	0.3153	1.6654	1.1369	1.0446	0.7644	1.7347	1.1860
Widowed	2.5462	1.0448	2.2878	0.4525	3.0620	1.9381	2.5568	0.9679	1.8251	0.8878	2.1418	1.0352
Education												
Less than primary	n/a	n/a	2.9754	1.5455	n/a	n/a	2.0753	2.1709	2.2202	2.2136	4.9796	8.8508
Primary	1.0630	1.4241	2.0747	1.3047	2.2898	2.8522	1.7458	1.4934	1.9098	1.8953	3.1342	5.1834
Secondary	0.8132	0.9825	1.3753	1.1743	1.1675	0.9468	1.3829	1.2313	1.3779	1.3353	1.8795	2.5138
Higher (reference)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Employment status												
Employed (reference)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Unemployed	1.2879	1.1672	1.1384	1.9203	1.1425	4.1483	1.0291	1.1526	1.1002	0.7819	1.3247	1.2678
Not in labour force	1.1688	2.0118	0.9279	2.7571	0.9645	2.2512	1.0165	1.5217	1.0970	1.4189	1.0763	1.1058
Country of birth												
Not born abroad (reference)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Born abroad	2.7956	2.1717	1.5041	0.9525	2.9183	3.0657	1.2526	1.5377	1.0438	0.9813	2.3088	0.5770
Housing tenure												
Own home (reference)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Not own home	0.7348	1.4376	0.4781	1.1922	0.2087	0.8273	0.7977	1.3796	0.4765	0.7769	0.7013	0.9397
Time												
1980s	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1990s	0.7842	1.0455	0.7070	0.8198	0.6109	0.7445	1.4561	0.8820	1.1277	1.4050	1.1730	1.6018
2000s	0.4391	1.6510	0.4843	0.5794	0.3404	0.4474	1.1717	0.7272	1.2143	0.9025	1.3536	2.1876

Note: Odds ratios in bold type are significant at the 5% level. Since these (apart from West Germany) are substantial samples of census data, most odds ratios are highly statistically significant.
Source: IPUMS, the ONS LS, and SOEP.

Appendix D Additional Tables and Figures Chapter 4

Figure D-1 Percentage of adults aged 50 or over who are grandparents



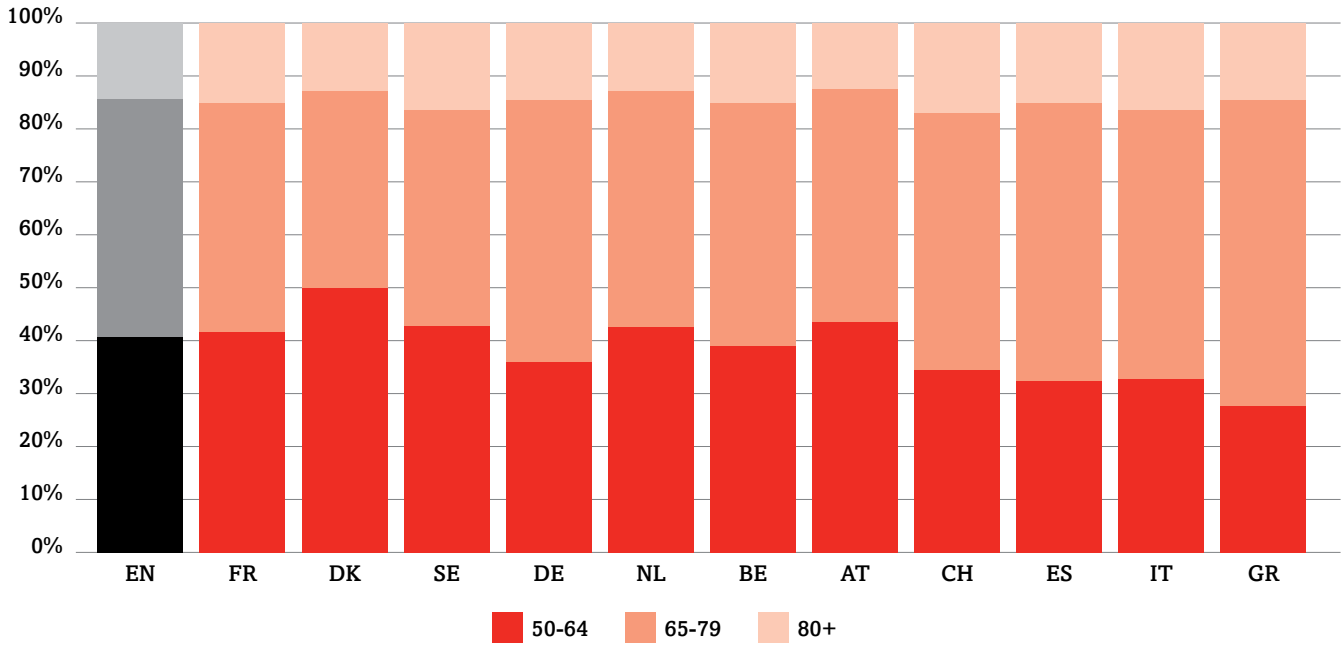
Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-1 Logistic regression analysis of grandparenthood by gender

	Grandfathers		Grandmothers		Grandparents	
Country	OR	Age-adjusted OR	OR	Age-adjusted OR	OR	Age-adjusted OR
England (ref.)	1.00		1.00		1.00	
France	0.99	0.99	0.97	0.95	0.98	0.97
Denmark	1.12	1.34 ***	1.22 **	1.33 ***	1.16 ***	1.32 ***
Sweden	1.10	1.15 *	1.09	1.10	1.09 **	1.12 **
Germany	0.76 ***	0.74 ***	0.81 ***	0.78 ***	0.79 ***	0.77 ***
The Netherlands	0.76 ***	0.87	0.82 **	0.88	0.80 ***	0.87 *
Belgium	1.18 ***	1.15 **	1.16 **	1.11	1.17 ***	1.13 **
Austria	0.94	0.97	0.87	0.84	0.91	0.89
Switzerland	0.60 ***	0.58 ***	0.56 ***	0.53 ***	0.57 ***	0.55 ***
Spain	0.81 ***	0.73 ***	0.78 ***	0.74 ***	0.79 ***	0.74 ***
Italy	0.60 ***	0.51 ***	0.71 ***	0.66 ***	0.66 ***	0.60 ***
Greece	0.53 ***	0.43 ***	0.68 ***	0.69 ***	0.60 ***	0.57 ***

Sources: SHARE 2004/05, ELSA 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data. Notes: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01. OR stands for Odds Ratio. Recall that odds ratios represent the effects of a given explanatory variable on the odds of the outcome of interest. When the odds ratio is larger than one there is a positive relationship between the explanatory variable and the outcome, and when the odds ratios is smaller than one a negative association.

Figure D-2 Age profile of grandparents



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-2 Logistic regression analysis of grandparents being in the 50-64 age group

Country	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval	
England (reference)	1.00		
France	1.04	0.93	1.17
Denmark	1.47 ***	1.29	1.67
Sweden	1.06	0.96	1.16
Germany	0.82 ***	0.72	0.94
The Netherlands	1.07	0.93	1.23
Belgium	0.91	0.80	1.03
Austria	1.13	0.96	1.33
Switzerland	0.75 ***	0.61	0.92
Spain	0.69 ***	0.60	0.80
Italy	0.72 ***	0.62	0.84
Greece	0.54 ***	0.47	0.62

Sources: SHARE 2004/05, ELSA 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table D-3 Mean number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren (and 95% confidence intervals) among grandparents

	Mean number of children	Mean number of grandchildren
England	2.72 (2.69; 2.76)	4.93 (4.81; 5.04)
France	2.76 (2.64; 2.87)	4.76 (4.37; 5.14)
Denmark	2.67 (2.60; 2.73)	4.49 (4.30; 4.69)
Sweden	2.68 (2.62; 2.74)	4.60 (4.44; 4.75)
Germany	2.36 (2.28; 2.44)	3.67 (3.49; 3.85)
The Netherlands	2.97 (2.79; 3.14)	4.76 (4.35; 5.16)
Belgium	2.60 (2.51; 2.69)	4.44 (4.18; 4.68)
Austria	2.45 (2.28; 2.60)	3.72 (3.40; 4.05)
Switzerland	2.61 (2.49; 2.72)	4.24 (3.92; 4.56)
Spain	2.99 (2.87; 3.10)	4.23 (3.97; 4.50)
Italy	2.68 (2.53; 2.83)	3.89 (3.61; 4.18)
Greece	2.32 (2.27; 2.37)	3.80 (3.65; 3.95)
Total SHARE	2.64 (2.59; 2.69)	4.15 (4.04; 4.25)

Sources: SHARE 2004/05, ELSA 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data. Note that SHARE grandparents who declared great-grandchildren had 2.5 great-grandchildren added.

Table D-4 OLS regression analysis of number of children among grandparents

Country	Coefficients	95% CIs	
England (reference)	2.72		
France	0.03	-0.08	0.15
Denmark	-0.06	-0.13	0.02
Sweden	-0.04	-0.11	0.03
Germany	-0.36 ***	-0.45	-0.27
The Netherlands	0.24 ***	0.07	0.42
Belgium	-0.13 **	-0.22	-0.03
Austria	-0.27 ***	-0.41	-0.12
Switzerland	-0.12 *	-0.24	0.00
Spain	0.26 ***	0.14	0.38
Italy	-0.04	-0.19	0.11
Greece	-0.40 ***	-0.47	-0.34

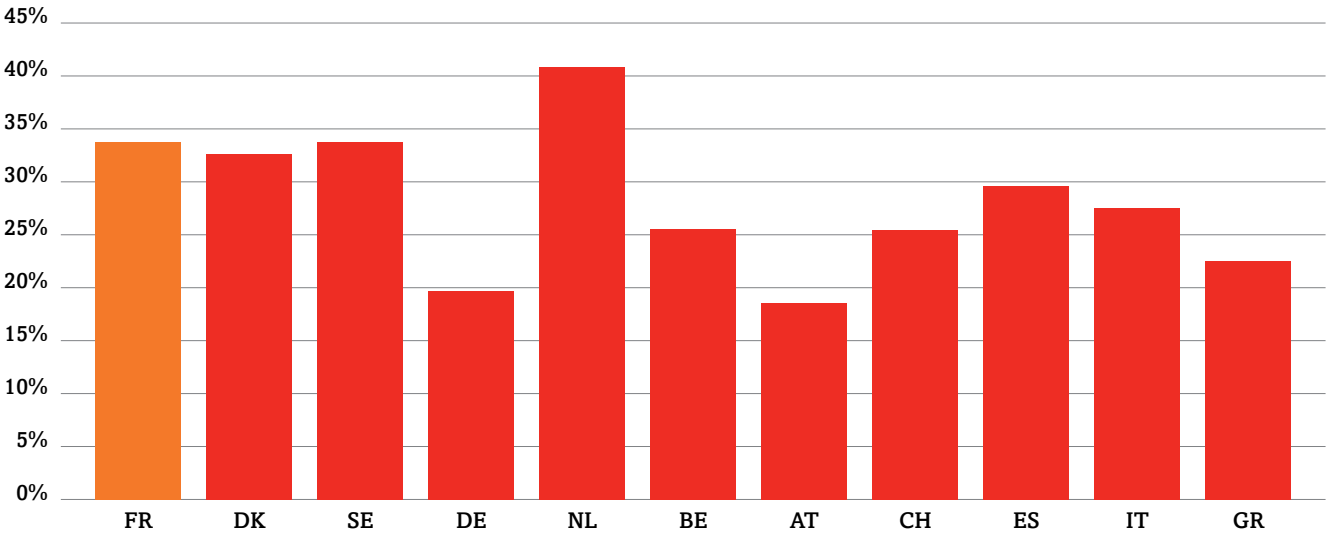
Sources: SHARE 2004/05, ELSA 2002/04; own calculations. Weighted Data.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table D-5 OLS regression analysis of number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren among grandparents

Country	Coefficients	95% CIs		Age-adjusted Coefficients	95% CIs	
England (reference)	4.93			1.00		
France	-0.17	-0.57	0.22	-0.15	-0.52	0.22
Denmark	-0.43 ***	-0.65	-0.20	-0.24 **	-0.45	-0.03
Sweden	-0.32 ***	-0.51	-0.13	-0.33 ***	-0.51	-0.15
Germany	-1.25 ***	-1.46	-1.04	-1.30 ***	-1.51	-1.09
The Netherlands	-0.17	-0.58	.24	-0.13	-0.55	0.28
Belgium	-0.49 ***	-0.76	-0.21	-0.54 ***	-0.80	-0.29
Austria	-1.20 ***	-1.54	-0.86	-1.09 ***	-1.45	-0.73
Switzerland	-0.68 ***	-1.03	-0.34	-0.88 ***	-1.21	-0.55
Spain	-0.69 ***	-0.98	-0.40	-0.90 ***	-1.17	-0.62
Italy	-1.03 ***	-1.34	-0.72	-1.22 ***	-1.53	-0.90
Greece	-1.12 ***	-1.31	-0.93	-1.42 ***	-1.60	-1.24

Sources: SHARE 2004/05, ELSA 2002/04; own calculations. Weighted Data. Note that SHARE grandparents who declared great-grandchildren had 2.5 great-grandchildren added.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Figure D-3 Percentage of grandparents with at least one grandchild aged 0-2



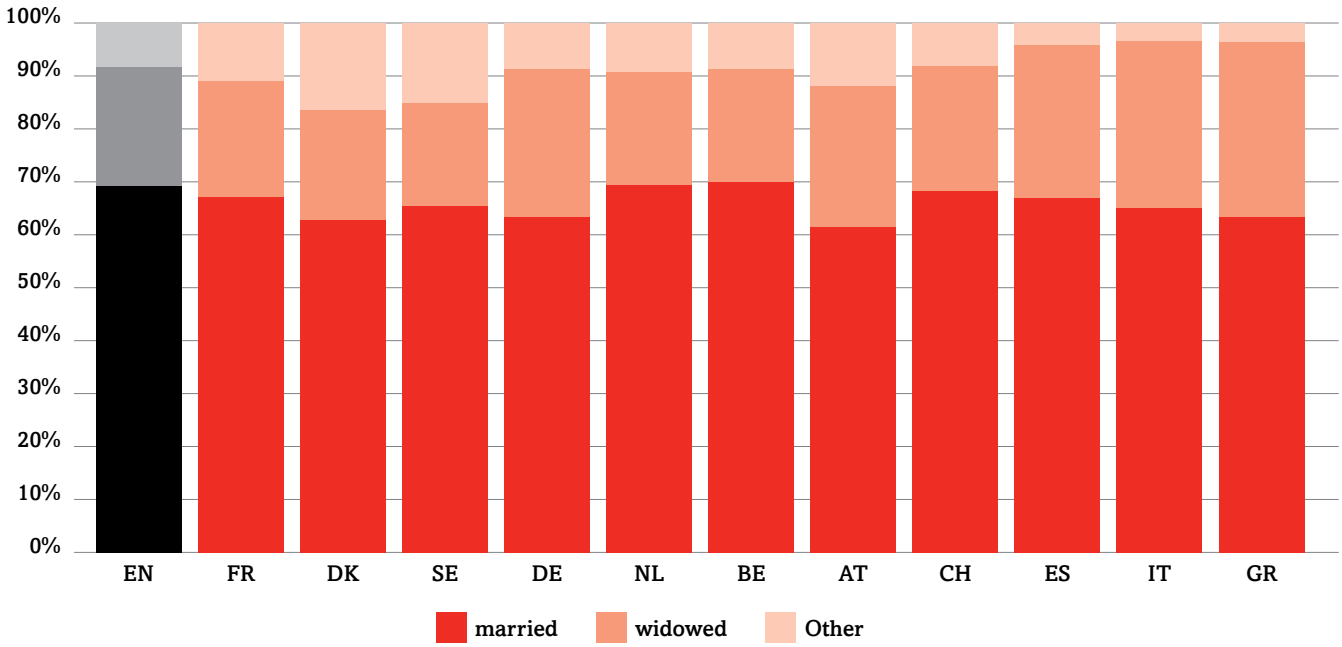
Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-6 Logistic regression analysis of having at least one grandchild aged 0-2 among grandparents

Country	Odds Ratio	95% CIs			Age-adjusted Odds Ratio	95% CIs	
France (reference)	1.00				1.00		
Denmark	0.93	0.77	1.14		0.79 **	0.63	0.98
Sweden	1.00	0.84	1.19		1.02	0.83	1.24
Germany	0.47 ***	0.38	0.60		0.46 ***	0.36	0.59
The Netherlands	1.35 ***	1.08	1.69		1.50 ***	1.16	1.93
Belgium	0.66 ***	0.55	0.80		0.66 ***	0.54	0.82
Austria	0.44 ***	0.34	0.57		0.36 ***	0.27	0.48
Switzerland	0.66 ***	0.51	0.86		0.77 *	0.57	1.03
Spain	0.82	0.66	1.02		0.99	0.77	1.27
Italy	0.74 ***	0.60	0.92		0.89	0.71	1.13
Greece	0.57 ***	0.46	0.69		0.73 ***	0.58	0.91

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; own calculations. Weighted data.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Figure D-4 Marital status of grandparents



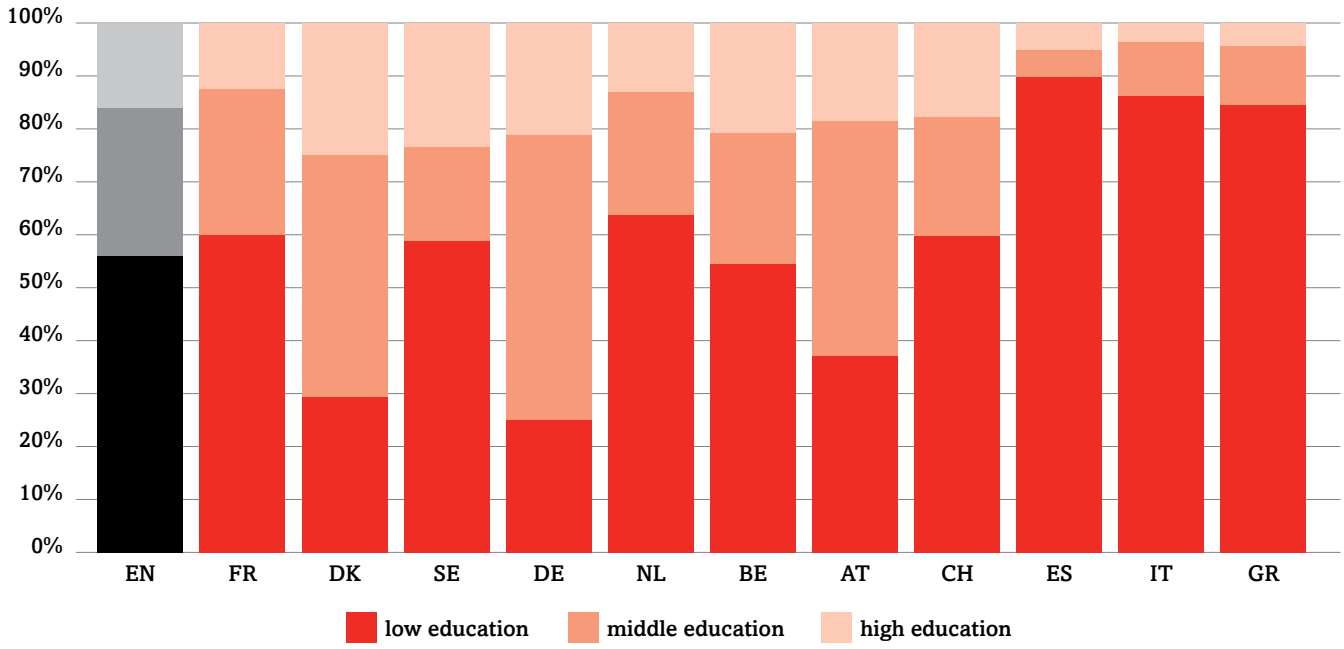
Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-7 Logistic regression analysis of being married among grandparents (unadjusted and age-adjusted odds ratios)

Country	Odds Ratio		Age-adjusted Odds Ratio
England (reference)	1.00		1.00
France	0.91		0.89
Denmark	0.76 ***		0.66 ***
Sweden	0.85 ***		0.83 ***
Germany	0.77 ***		0.77 ***
The Netherlands	1.01		0.97
Belgium	1.05		1.08
Austria	0.69 ***		0.62 ***
Switzerland	0.96		1.06
Spain	0.88		0.97
Italy	0.84 **		0.91
Greece	0.77 ***		0.88 *

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Figure D-5 Distribution of educational level (ISCED-97) of grandparents



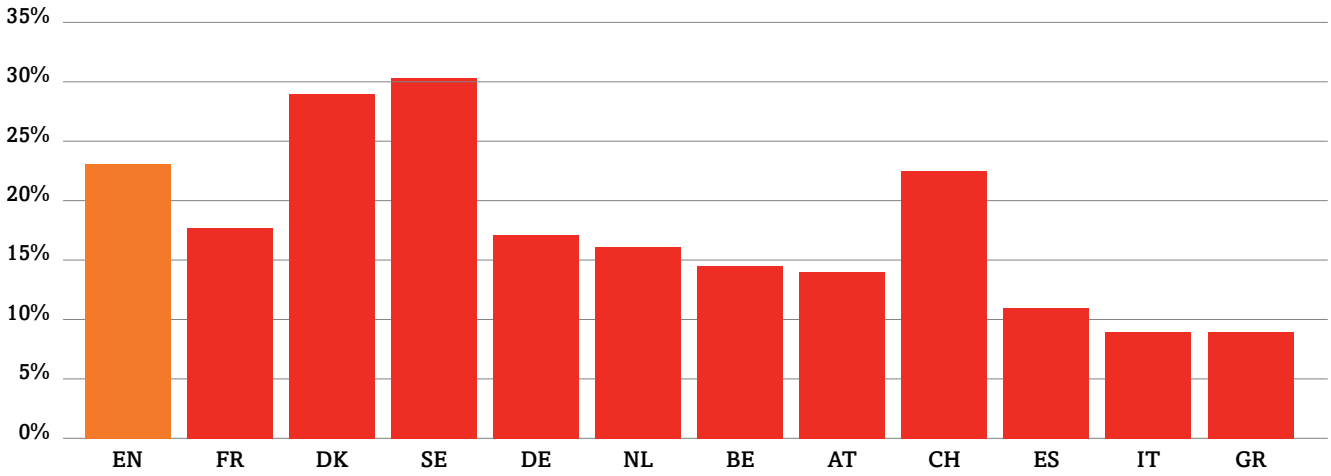
Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-8 Logistic regression analysis of grandparents being in the lowest educational group (unadjusted and age-adjusted odds ratios

Country	Odds Ratio		Age-adjusted Odds Ratio
England (reference)	1.00		1.00
France	1.16		1.19
Denmark	0.33 ***		0.33 ***
Sweden	1.12 **		0.13 **
Germany	0.26 ***		0.24 ***
The Netherlands	1.42 ***		1.47 ***
Belgium	0.96		0.93
Austria	0.47 ***		0.47 ***
Switzerland	1.18 *		1.10
Spain	6.91 ***		6.86***
Italy	5.18 ***		5.15 ***
Greece	4.33 ***		4.07 ***

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Figure D-6 Percentage of grandparents in paid work



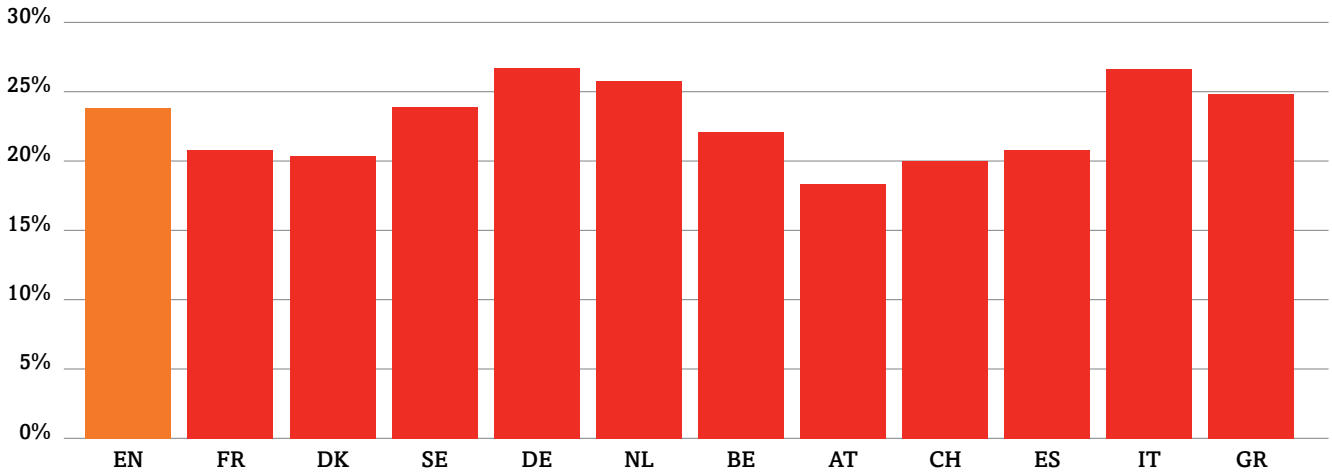
Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-9 Logistic regression of grandparents being in paid work by gender

	All grandparents		Grandfathers		Grandmothers	
Country	Odds Ratio (OR)	Age-adjusted OR	OR	Age-adjusted OR	OR	Age-adjusted OR
England (ref)	1.00		1.00		1.00	
France	0.72 ***	0.56 ***	0.61 ***	0.33 ***	0.83	0.78
Denmark	1.36 ***	1.21 **	1.34 ***	1.16	1.40 ***	1.26 *
Sweden	1.45 ***	1.87 ***	1.25 ***	1.40 ***	1.66 ***	2.37 ***
Germany	0.69 ***	0.68 ***	0.68 ***	0.63 ***	0.71 ***	0.73 **
The Netherlands	0.64 ***	0.54 ***	0.73 ***	0.64 ***	0.55 ***	0.44 ***
Belgium	0.56 ***	0.47 ***	0.62 ***	0.44 ***	0.50 ***	0.45 ***
Austria	0.55 ***	0.35 ***	0.66 ***	0.32 ***	0.45 ***	0.32 ***
Switzerland	0.97	1.44 **	1.00	1.56 *	0.94	1.39
Spain	0.41 ***	0.43 ***	0.51 ***	0.62 ***	0.33 ***	0.30 ***
Italy	0.33 ***	0.31 ***	0.44 ***	0.45 ***	0.24 ***	0.22 ***
Greece	0.33 ***	0.41 ***	0.42 ***	0.81 **	0.26 ***	0.27 ***

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Figure D-7 Percentage of grandparents in the lowest 20% of the wealth distribution



Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.

Table D-10 Logistic regression analysis of grandparents being in the lowest 20% of the wealth distribution

Country	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval		Age-adjusted Odds Ratio	95% CIs	
England (reference)	1.00			1.00		
France	0.83 **	0.69	0.99	0.84 **	0.70	0.99
Denmark	0.82 **	0.70	0.96	0.84 **	0.72	0.99
Sweden	1.00	0.88	1.14	1.00	0.88	1.14
Germany	1.16	0.97	1.38	1.16	0.97	1.38
The Netherlands	1.10	0.87	1.39	1.11	0.88	1.41
Belgium	0.91	0.74	1.11	0.90	0.74	1.10
Austria	0.72	0.45	1.14	0.74	0.46	1.17
Switzerland	0.79 *	0.62	1.00	0.77 **	0.60	0.98
Spain	0.83 *	0.68	1.01	0.81 **	0.66	0.99
Italy	1.15	0.92	1.45	1.13	0.90	1.42
Greece	1.04	0.90	1.20	1.00	0.87	1.16

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted data.
Note: * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table D-11 Percentages and logistic regression models of various health outcomes (self-rated health SRH as poor or fair, depressive symptoms, cognitive function and 1 or more ADLs) among grandparents (unadjusted and 'age-adjusted' odds ratios

Country	SRH fair or poor			Depressive symptoms			In lowest quintile of cognitive function			1 or more ADLs		
	%	OR	OR[a]	%	OR	OR[a]	%	OR	OR[a]	%	OR	OR[a]
England (reference)	30.3	1.00		18.1	1.00		25.6	1.00				
France	38.2	1.42 ***	1.45 ***	37.7	2.74 ***	2.78 ***	23.0	0.87 *	0.84 **	13.1	0.47 ***	0.43 ***
Denmark	28.2	0.91	0.96	18.0	0.99	1.03	22.1	0.83 **	0.91	10.3	0.36 ***	0.36 ***
Sweden	14.0	0.37 ***	0.35 ***	20.9	1.19 **	1.19 **	24.4	0.94	0.92	11.5	0.41 ***	0.35 ***
Germany	46.5	2.00 ***	2.03***	25.5	1.55 ***	1.54 ***	27.1	1.08	1.08	12.7	0.45 ***	0.41 ***
The Netherlands	31.7	1.07	1.08	23.1	1.36 ***	1.37 ***	25.3	0.98	1.04	9.6	0.33 ***	0.31 ***
Belgium	27.9	0.89	0.87 *	25.5	1.55 ***	1.54 ***	23.3	0.88	0.84 *	14.0	0.51 ***	0.46 ***
Austria	33.2	1.14	1.19 **	20.3	1.16	1.18 *	23.1	0.87	0.93	10.7	0.37 ***	0.37 ***
Switzerland	21.1	0.62 ***	0.56 ***	21.5	1.24 *	1.19	27.2	1.09	0.98	10.4	0.36 ***	0.29 ***
Spain	47.8	2.10 ***	2.02 ***	39.7	2.98 ***	2.89 ***	23.2	0.88	0.79 **	14.0	0.51 ***	0.42 ***
Italy	48.6	2.17 ***	2.11 ***	39.5	2.95 ***	2.88 ***	27.9	1.12	1.02	15.2	0.56 ***	0.48 ***
Greece	42.9	1.73 **	1.59 ***	31.9	2.12 ***	2.01 ***	29.3	1.21 ***	1.06	12.0	0.43 ***	0.34 ***
SHARE total	41.5			31.9			25.5			13.1		

Source: SHARE, 2004/05; ELSA, 2002/03; own calculations. Weighted Data. Analyses restricted to SHARE and ELSA respondents who were grandparents.
Note: a) odds ratios controlling for age. * p<10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table D-12 Percentage of grandparents looking after grandchildren by frequency and country

		REGULAR HELP		OCCASIONAL HELP	
	Not looked after GC	Almost daily	Almost every week	Every month	Less often
France	50.6	6.0	14.2	9.8	19.4
Denmark	44.1	1.2	14.2	20.4	20.1
Sweden	52.4	2.1	12.3	14.1	19.1
Germany	59.9	7.6	13.8	8.4	10.3
The Netherlands	42.8	2.3	23.3	13.0	18.6
Belgium	46.8	9.4	21.9	10.5	11.4
Austria	59.3	7.5	15.0	8.5	9.7
Switzerland	60.9	5.8	15.7	7.1	10.5
Spain	60.0	16.6	10.0	6.0	7.4
Italy	61.8	19.7	10.3	3.2	5.0
Greece	54.6	19.8	12.9	5.9	6.8
SHARE Total	56.4 (8,331)	10.5 (1,493)	13.5 (2,625)	8.1 (1,697)	11.6 (2,186)

Source: SHARE, 2004/05. Weighted data.
Note: For those grandparents who provided care for more than one grandchild only the highest frequency of care is considered here.

Table D-13 Average number of hours grandparents looked after grandchildren,by frequency and country

	On a typical day	In a typical week	In a typical month	In the last 12 months
France	8.2	14.0	35.6	203.9
Denmark	4.0	11.0	23.2	59.8
Sweden	4.7	12.7	20.5	89.0
Germany	4.3	9.8	21.3	82.4
The Netherlands	5.7	13.5	14.3	47.0
Belgium	6.3	13.4	18.2	238.9
Austria	5.9	12.2	19.2	119.6
Switzerland	6.7	9.7	19.7	40.6
Spain	7.6	10.8	19.8	75.3
Italy	5.3	8.6	12.0	65.2
Greece	6.6	18.1	26.5	136.3
SHARE Total	6.2	12.5	21.2	111.3

Source: SHARE, 2004/05. Weighted data. Note: only the highest frequency of engagement is considered for those grandparents who looked after several grandchildren from different children.

Appendix E Additional Tables Chapter 7

The tables below present the relevant multivariate analyses of grandparent socio-economic and demographic characteristics associated with the provision of grandparental childcare. Tables E1-E3 show the results of our multivariate analyses. In all the models we report the 'odds ratio' of the explanatory variable (or grandparent characteristic) relative to the reference category, 95% confidence intervals and levels of significance. In interpreting the odds ratios recall that each represents the effects of a given explanatory variable on the odds of providing grandparental childcare. When the odds ratio is larger than one there is a positive relationship between the explanatory variable and the outcome, and when the odds ratio is smaller than one a negative association. In the tables below, bold text indicates a statistically significant ($p<.05$) result. For example, in Table E1 below (looking at the last model on grandparents in the table) looking at the gender indicator, the odds of grandmothers providing any grandparental childcare was 1.74 times higher than for grandfathers, taking into account all the other grandparent characteristics in the model.

In analyses with only two categories for the outcome variable (for example in Table E-2 intensive grandparental childcare versus non-intensive and no grandparental childcare) we use logistic regression to model the likelihood of one of the outcomes (e.g. intensive grandparental childcare). However, we also want to understand the relative importance of the socio-demographic factors for each type of grandparental childcare and how they relate to each other. When the possible responses for an outcome variable consist of more than two categories and are ordinal in nature (for example intensive grandparental childcare compared to non-intensive and no grandparental childcare) a generalised ordinal logit model (in our case with partial proportional odds, explained below) is appropriate. The results of this model are shown in Table E-1.

The proportional odds model compares a number of dichotomies by arranging the ordered categories of the outcome into a series of binary comparisons (whereas a logistic regression model compares only one dichotomous outcome; for example, intensive grandparental childcare versus non-intensive grandparental childcare and no care). Thus, a three-category ordinal variable such as we considered (intensive grandparental childcare, non-intensive grandparental childcare and no grandparental childcare) can be represented as a series of dichotomies; for example, no grandparental childcare compared to non-intensive or intensive grandparental childcare and intensive grandparental childcare compared to non-intensive or no grandparental childcare. The advantage of such a model is that it allows for comparisons between the higher and lower levels of the outcome considered. Thus, the odds ratios in such models may be interpreted as the odds of being 'higher' on the outcome variable – in this case a higher level of grandparental childcare.

However, such a model assumes that effect of each characteristic included in the model is the same across all possible comparisons of the outcome. So, for example, being married has the same effect whether we are considering any grandparental childcare compared to no grandparental childcare or intensive grandparental childcare compared to non-intensive or no grandparental childcare. This assumption is known as the proportional odds or parallel lines assumption and it is important that we test for this. Our test results suggest that our model does not meet this assumption for all the grandparent characteristics that we consider which is why our model is a partial proportional odds model. What this means is that for certain characteristics the effect is not the same across all the possible outcomes. In Chapter 7 we begin by discussing those grandparent characteristics where the effect is the same and then give greater focus to the grandparent characteristics where the effect depends on the nature of outcome compared.

Table E-1 Grandparent characteristics associated with grandparental childcare (no care; non-intensive care; intensive care) by gender. Odds Ratios and 95% CIs obtained from a generalised ordinal logistic model (with partial proportional odds)

	Grandfathers				Grandmothers				Grandparents			
	Log ORs	p value	95% CI		Log ORs	p value	95% CI		Log ORs	p value	95% CI	
Female[a]									1.73	<0.001	1.59	1.89
Age												
60-69[b]	1.02	0.830	0.82	1.28	1.00	0.964	0.82	1.21	0.99	0.867	0.85	1.16
70+[b]	0.67	0.003	0.53	0.87	0.42	<0.001	0.32	0.54	0.53	<0.001	0.44	0.64
Marital Status												
Unmarried[c]	0.33	<0.001	0.24	0.44	0.79	0.002	0.68	0.92	0.61	<0.001	0.53	0.69
Educational Level												
Middled	0.91	0.328	0.75	1.11	0.88	0.223	0.73	1.09	0.90	0.144	0.77	1.04
Low[d]	**0.81**[i]	0.048	0.66	0.99	**0.84**[i]	0.081	0.69	1.02	**0.82**[i]	0.011	0.71	0.96
	1.09[ii]	0.580	0.81	1.46	**1.61**[ii]	<0.001	1.26	2.05	**1.34**[ii]	0.004	1.10	1.64
Employment Status												
Retired[e]	1.58	<0.001	1.25	1.99	1.11	0.373	0.88	1.39	1.30	0.002	1.10	1.54
									1.51	<0.001	1.25	1.83
Other[e]	1.25	0.151	0.92	1.70	1.04	0.709	0.84	1.30	1.17	0.068	0.99	1.38
Wealth												
Lowest wealth quintile[f]	0.75	0.007	0.61	0.93	0.87	0.100	0.73	1.03	0.82	0.006	0.71	0.95
Number Grandchildren												
2/3 grandchildren[g]	**1.44**[i]	<0.001	1.18	1.77	1.31	0.006	1.08	1.58	**1.43**[i]	<0.001	1.22	1.68
	1.06[i]	0.646	0.82	1.38					**1.18**[ii]	0.097	0.97	1.42
4/5 grandchildren[g]	**1.20**[i]	0.116	0.95	1.52	1.16	0.186	0.92	1.45	**1.26**[i]	0.015	1.05	1.52
	0.87[ii]	0.370	0.64	1.18					**0.99**[ii]	0.906	0.80	1.22
6 + grandchildren[g]	0.90	0.388	0.72	1.14	1.00	0.994	0.80	1.25	1.01	0.948	0.83	1.21
Age youngest grandchild = 0[h]	0.88	0.387	0.66	1.17	0.94	0.657	0.71	1.24	0.93	0.537	0.74	1.17
3-5[h]	1.39	0.001	1.13	1.67	1.11	0.184	0.95	1.30	1.24	0.001	1.09	1.41
6-11[h]	0.79	0.029	0.63	0.97	0.74	0.001	0.62	0.88	0.79	0.003	0.67	0.92
12+[h]	**0.23**[i]	<0.001	0.17	0.30	**0.17**[i]	<0.001	0.14	0.21	0.20	<0.001	0.16	0.24
	0.38[ii]	<0.001	0.26	0.57	**0.26**[ii]	<0.001	0.19	0.36	0.28	<0.001	0.21	0.38
Health Status												
SRH= fair or poor[i]	0.83	0.046	0.69	0.99	1.07	0.373	0.93	1.23	0.98	0.680	0.87	1.09
Depressed[j]	1.15	0.139	0.95	1.38	0.99	0.850	0.85	1.14	1.04	0.476	0.93	1.18
Lowest cognitive quintile[k]	**0.56**[i]	<0.001	0.44	0.71	0.55	<0.001	0.44	0.70	**0.55**[i]	<0.001	0.46	0.66
	0.80[ii]	0.224	0.55	1.15					**0.69**[ii]	0.003	0.55	0.89
Severe limitation[m]	0.64	<0.001	0.50	0.79	**0.59**[i]	<0.001	0.48	0.72	**0.61**[i]	<0.001	0.53	0.71
					0.78[ii]	0.106	0.58	1.05	**0.74**[ii]	0.005	0.60	0.91
Grandparental Childcare Regimes												
No grandparental childcare assumed												
Denmark[n]	**1.80**[i]	<0.001	1.37	2.36	**1.74**[i]	<0.001	1.35	2.22	**1.72**[i]	<0.001	1.41	2.09
	0.28[ii]	0.001	0.15	0.52	**0.22**[ii]	<0.001	0.13	0.36	**0.23**[ii]	<0.001	0.15	0.35
Sweden[n]	**1.24**[i]	0.085	0.97	1.60	**1.44**[i]	0.002	1.14	1.83	**1.33**[i]	0.003	1.10	1.61
	0.35[ii]	<0.001	0.22	0.54	**0.26**[ii]	<0.001	0.17	0.38	**0.28**[ii]	<0.001	0.20	0.38
France[n]	**1.33**[i]	0.023	1.04	1.70	**1.37**[i]	0.007	1.09	1.72	**1.37**[i]	0.002	1.12	1.67
	0.79[ii]	0.236	0.54	1.16	**0.77**[ii]	0.104	0.57	1.05	**0.77**[ii]	0.075	0.57	1.03
Grandparental childcare assumed												
Spain[n]	**0.79**[i]	0.150	0.58	1.09	**0.82**[i]	0.195	0.62	1.10	**0.84**[i]	0.166	0.66	1.07
	1.62[ii]	0.017	1.09	2.42	**1.29**[ii]	0.123	0.93	1.79	**1.45**[ii]	0.010	1.09	1.93
Italy[n]	**0.62**[i]	0.008	0.44	0.88	**0.97**[i]	0.831	0.71	1.31	**0.84**[i]	0.213	0.64	1.10
	1.89[ii]	<0.001	1.29	2.77	**1.90**[ii]	<0.001	1.37	2.63	**1.84**[ii]	<0.001	1.37	2.46
Greece[n]	**1.24**[i]	0.161	0.92	1.68	**1.48**[i]	0.004	1.13	1.94	**1.44**[i]	0.001	1.16	1.78
	2.94[ii]	<0.001	2.03	4.26	**2.50**[ii]	<0.001	1.83	3.41	**2.70**[ii]	<0.001	2.08	3.51
Neutral												
the Netherlands[n]	**2.11**[i]	<0.001	1.64	2.73	**1.80**[i]	<0.001	1.37	2.36	**1.95**[i]	<0.001	1.55	2.44
	0.53[ii]	0.003	0.35	0.80	**0.39**[ii]	<0.001	0.26	0.57	**0.45**[ii]	<0.001	0.32	0.63
Austrian	1.13	0.446	0.82	1.56	1.04	0.806	0.79	1.35	1.09	0.476	0.85	1.40
Belgium[n]	1.70	<0.001	1.35	2.14	**1.82**[i]	<0.001	1.41	2.33	**1.81**[i]	<0.001	1.46	2.22
					1.12[ii]	0.440	0.84	1.49	**1.25**[ii]	0.100	0.96	1.63
Constant	1.02	0.891	0.78	1.32	2.28	<0.001	1.70	3.04	1.12	0.320	0.89	1.40
	0.13	<0.001	0.09	0.17	0.22	<0.001	0.16	0.31	0.12	<0.001	0.09	0.16

Data source: SHARE, 2004/05. Number of observations: 16,030. Weighted data – own calculations. The log odds ratios in bold are significant at the 0.05 level. Dependent Variable Coding: 1) No care at all; 2) Non-intensive care; 3) Intensive care. Reference categories are: a) Male, b) 50-59, c) Married, d) High Education, e) Worker, f) other wealth quintiles, g) 1 grandchild, h) 1-2, i) self-rated health= good, very good or excellent, j) 3 or less depressive symptoms, k) other cognitive quintiles, m) no severe limitations, n) Germany. Please note that multicollinearity (http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/faq/svycollin.htm) between the health variables was checked. For variables that violate the proportional odds assumption: i) Coefficient for 'any' grandparental care response compared to no care at all; ii) Coefficient for intensive care compared to any other (less intensive) responses.

Table E-2 Grandparent characteristics associated with 'intensive' grandparental care by gender. Odds Ratios and 95% CIs obtained from fully adjusted Logistic Regressions.

	Grandfathers				Grandmothers				Grandparents			
Intensive care	Odds Ratio	p value	95% CI		Odds Ratio	p value	95% CI		Odds Ratio	p value	95% CI	
Female									1.54	<0.001	1.35	1.76
50-59	1.00				1.00				1.00			
60-69	0.83	0.349	0.57	1.22	0.88	0.307	0.69	1.12	0.86	0.166	0.70	1.06
70+	0.54	0.002	0.36	0.80	0.27	<0.001	0.19	0.39	0.37	<0.001	0.28	0.48
Married	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Not Married	0.33	<0.001	0.19	0.57	0.79	0.032	0.64	0.98	0.65	<0.001	0.53	0.79
High Education	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Middle	0.85	0.319	0.62	1.16	0.94	0.764	0.65	1.37	0.88	0.300	0.70	1.12
Low	1.03	0.853	0.74	1.44	1.48	0.023	1.05	2.07	1.25	0.068	0.98	1.58
Worker	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Retired	1.89	0.001	1.31	2.72	1.24	0.194	0.90	1.70	1.51	<0.001	1.19	1.92
Other	1.38	0.219	0.83	2.30	1.04	0.790	0.77	1.40	1.19	0.157	0.94	1.50
Other Wealth Quintiles	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Lowest wealth quintile	0.82	0.234	0.59	1.14	0.97	0.768	0.78	1.20	0.92	0.407	0.76	1.12
1 grandchild	1.00				1.00				1.00			
2/3 grandchildren	0.98	0.905	0.72	1.34	1.26	0.065	0.99	1.60	1.17	0.162	0.94	1.45
4/5 grandchildren	0.86	0.401	0.61	1.22	1.08	0.579	0.82	1.44	1.02	0.869	0.80	1.30
6+ grandchildren	0.80	0.266	0.54	1.19	1.19	0.240	0.89	1.57	1.04	0.763	0.80	1.36
SRH = good, very good excellent	1.00				1.00				1.00			
SRH= fair or poor	0.87	0.278	0.68	1.12	1.07	0.524	0.87	1.30	1.00	0.994	0.85	1.17
No Depressive Symptoms	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Depressed	0.91	0.534	0.68	1.22	0.99	0.938	0.81	1.21	0.97	0.727	0.82	1.15
Other Cognitive Quintiles	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Lowest cognitive quintile	0.86	0.425	0.60	1.24	0.69	0.023	0.51	0.95	0.74	0.022	0.57	0.96
No Reported Condition	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Functional limitation	0.71	0.109	0.46	1.08	0.45	<0.001	0.32	0.63	0.53	<0.001	0.41	0.68
England (reference)	1.00				1.00				1.00			
Grandparental Childcare Regime												
Grandparental childcare assumed												
Denmark	0.62	0.131	0.34	1.15	0.47	0.001	0.29	0.74	0.51	<0.001	0.36	0.74
Sweden	0.64	0.036	0.42	0.97	0.51	<0.001	0.37	0.72	0.55	<0.001	0.42	0.72
France	1.67	0.005	1.17	2.38	1.62	<0.001	1.28	2.06	1.66	<0.001	1.32	2.09
No grandparental childcareassumed												
Spain	3.94	<0.001	2.77	5.58	2.89	<0.001	2.19	3.81	3.31	<0.001	2.63	4.17
Italy	4.03	<0.001	2.84	5.72	3.90	<0.001	2.99	5.10	3.98	<0.001	3.13	5.06
Greece	5.73	<0.001	4.16	7.89	4.74	<0.001	3.70	6.08	5.22	<0.001	4.29	6.34
Neutral grandparental childcare regime												
Germany	1.98	<0.001	1.40	2.80	1.83	<0.001	1.35	2.49	1.90	<0.001	1.46	2.47
The Netherlands	1.15	0.472	0.78	1.69	0.88	0.426	0.65	1.20	0.99	0.938	0.76	1.29
Austria	2.55	<0.001	1.68	3.88	1.95	<0.001	1.42	2.68	2.19	<0.001	1.62	2.97
Switzerland	1.05	0.886	0.54	2.03	1.58	0.044	1.03	2.43	1.39	0.067	0.98	1.99
Belgium	3.16	<0.001	2.39	4.17	2.24	<0.001	1.81	2.78	2.55	<0.001	2.10	3.11
constant	0.06	<0.001	0.04	0.09	0.09	<0.001	0.06	0.14	0.06	<0.001	0.05	0.08

Data source: SHARE, 2004/05 and ELSA 2002/03. Number of observations: 16,030. Weighted data – own calculations. The log odds ratios in bold are significant at the 0.05 level. Please note that multicollinearity (http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/faq/svycollin.htm) between the health variables was checked.

Table E-3 presents the results of a multilevel logistic regression model of intensive grandparental childcare. The ELSA and SHARE datasets are hierarchically structured, that is, the data has several levels with grandparents on a lower level, and countries on a higher level (as individuals are nested within countries). Multilevel logistic regression analyses are needed to analyse this type of structured data. This is because of the clustered nature of the data. This means, for example, that grandparents in Portugal are more likely to be similar to one another than grandparents in England (and therefore grandparents' responses within each country are more likely to be related to each other than are grandparents' responses across countries).

Multilevel models correctly adjust for the clustered nature of the ELSA and SHARE data producing unbiased estimates (and odds ratios) and correct standard errors (Guo and Zhao, 2000, Goldstein et al., 2002, Clarke, 2008). Moreover, multilevel models divide the residual into different components, allowing for interpretation of the

degree to which grandparents are similar to each other, controlling for other variables in the model. In particular, the between-country variance estimates a 'country effect', that is it measures the level of similarity in grandparental intensive childcare that is unexplained by the model.

Table E3 shows the results from the multilevel analysis. Model 1 in Table E3 estimates how much of the total variation in intensive grandparental childcare can be explained by the grandparent characteristics considered in the earlier models. Model 2 in Table E3 shows how much of the total variation in intensive grandparental childcare can be explained by the grandparent characteristics and the policy regimes as described in Chapter 6. Finally in Model 3 in Table E3, specific country-level indicators capturing the different policy environments are included. This final model enables us not only to consider how different policy environments (as captured by the country-level indicators) are associated with the provision of intensive grandparental childcare across countries, but also whether the environment also acts to reduce associations with grandparent characteristics (that is, does the policy environment as captured by our country-level indicators explain a significant degree of the variation in intensive grandparental childcare across countries? Once the policy environment is taken into account, do grandparent characteristics still show significant associations with intensive grandparental childcare?). We are looking to see if the introduction of country-level indicators reduces the amount of country-level variation as seen in Model 1, if so this gives us an idea of the extent of the explanatory power of the policy environment for intensive grandparental childcare.

The models presented in Table E3 are based on all grandparents aged 50 and older (n=23,005). Grandparents with missing values for any of the characteristics under study, as well grandparents with missing values for the country-level indicators were removed from this analysis. Switzerland was not considered for the multilevel analyses as we did not have country-level indicators. We used the mean values of all the country-level indicators. The multilevel model was conducted using the logit-link function and Markov Chain Monte Carlo estimation method in MLwiN (version 2.26) (Rasbash et al., 2009, Browne, 2012) through the command 'runmlwin' (Leckie and Charlton, 2011) applied using Stata12 (Stata Corp, 2011).

Table E-3 Multilevel logistic regression results predicting intensive grandparental childcare

Intensive Childcare	Model 1: Grandparent Characteristics			Model 2: Grandparent Characteristics + DUMMIES			Model 3: Grandparent Characteristics + Country Cultural-Structural Level Indicators		
	Odds Ratio	SE	P value	Odds Ratio	SE	P value	Odds Ratio	SE	P value
Constant	0.130	0.029	< 0.001	0.114	0.029	< 0.001	0.102	0.010	< 0.001
female	1.413	0.073	< 0.001	1.418	0.074	< 0.001	1.416	0.073	< 0.001
60-69	0.798	0.049	< 0.001	0.799	0.051	< 0.001	0.803	0.051	< 0.001
70 or older	0.286	0.022	< 0.001	0.285	0.022	< 0.001	0.288	0.023	< 0.001
Not married	0.689	0.041	< 0.001	0.688	0.042	< 0.001	0.686	0.041	< 0.001
Middle Education	0.986	0.073	0.409	0.991	0.074	0.438	0.983	0.074	0.395
Low Education	1.124	0.080	0.055	1.125	0.081	0.057	1.128	0.081	0.063
Retired	1.530	0.109	< 0.001	1.533	0.114	< 0.001	1.527	0.116	< 0.001
Other	1.421	0.106	< 0.001	1.419	0.107	< 0.001	1.422	0.108	< 0.001
Lowest Wealth Quintile	0.895	0.056	0.034	0.897	0.057	0.039	0.896	0.055	0.035
Poor SR health	0.970	0.052	0.281	0.970	0.052	0.271	0.972	0.052	0.294
Depressive symptoms	0.950	0.054	0.176	0.948	0.054	0.168	0.954	0.055	0.207
Lowest Cognitive Quintile	0.712	0.052	< 0.001	0.721	0.052	< 0.001	0.716	0.052	< 0.001
1 or more ADL limitations	0.690	0.057	< 0.001	0.691	0.057	< 0.001	0.685	0.056	< 0.001
2/3 grandchildren	1.221	0.076	< 0.001	1.225	0.076	0.001	1.228	0.077	< 0.001
4/5 grandchildren	1.112	0.082	0.072	1.121	0.080	0.060	1.123	0.083	0.059
6 or more grandchildren	1.218	0.091	0.005	1.223	0.091	0.003	1.225	0.092	0.003
Grandparental Childcare Assumed				2.852	1.069	0.002			
No Grandparental Childcare Assumed				0.496	0.195	0.020			
Mothers not in paid employment							1.013	0.010	0.035
Women 50-64 employed							0.959	0.007	< 0.001
Children 0-2 in formal care							0.985	0.009	0.029
Children suffer w/ working							1.007	0.012	0.383
Country-Level Variance	0.745			0.270			0.123		
Variance Partition	18.4%			7.6%			3.6%		
PCV				-58%			-83.5%		

Note: SE, standard error; PCV, proportional change in variance. Variance Partition Coefficient represents the percentage variance explained by the higher level (country). The PCV expresses the change in the country-level variance between the empty model and the individual level model, and between the individual level model and the model further including the country-level covariates. Sources: ELSA, 2002; SHARE, 2004; OECD 2011, Eurostat (EU-SILC) 2011, European Values Survey wave 4.

Appendix F Family Policies by Country

Denmark

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to a maximum of 18 weeks (4 weeks before and 14 after childbirth) at 100% of earnings with a ceiling on payments (528 EUR a week in 2012);
- 2 weeks of absence after the baby is born are compulsory;
- There is no possibility to transfer maternity rights to a third party unless the mother dies or is incapable of providing care in which case the father could take up to 14 weeks;
- Mothers receiving maternity benefits are entitled to work part-time.

Paternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying fathers or adoptive fathers are entitled to 2 consecutive weeks immediately after childbirth or within the first 14 weeks after the baby is born at 100% of earnings with a ceiling on payments (528 EUR a week in 2012);
- Rights cannot be transferred and fathers cannot work part-time while on leave.

Parental leave and benefits

- Family entitlement for qualifying parents up to 32 weeks on a full-time basis at 100% of earnings with a ceiling on payments (528 EUR a week in 2012);
- Employees and self-employed can prolong absence from 32 to 46 weeks;
- 8 to 13 weeks can be postponed until the child reaches the age of nine;
- Parents can take the leave simultaneously or separately;
- Mothers can take parental leave after the first 14 weeks following childbirth and fathers are entitled to take parental leave within the first 14 weeks after childbirth;
- Parents are entitled to work part-time and consequently prolong parental leave;
- Rights cannot be transferred to a third party.

Leave to care for sick children

- Employees have a right to absence from work in cases of force majeur, but collective bargaining agreements might prevail over this right;
- Parents, both employees and self-employed, with seriously ill children aged younger than 18 are entitled to a child benefit to look after the child.

Flexiwork for care

- It is dependent upon an agreement with the employer.

Child benefits and allowances

- Family allowance per child for multiple births paid until the children reach the age of 7 (c. 286 EUR per trimester in 2013);
- A universal child benefit (Bornechecken) is available for families with children younger than 18: a flat-rate cash benefit based on the age of the child is paid every three months;
- An ordinary child allowance might be granted to lone parents (also an extra child allowance), unemployed parents or parents receiving pension benefits provided the child is aged less than 18;
- A child rearing allowance is available in lieu of services for children; it is granted between 8 weeks and 1 year for children aged between 6 months and 5 years.

Old age pensions

- A universal basic pension (State Basic Pension) is available to Danish citizens from the age of 65 with a maximum amount of c. 1,560 EUR a month for single individuals or c. 1,149 EUR a month (2012) for individuals living in a couple (40 years of residence in the country for a full pension) conditional upon a minimum of 3 years of residence in Denmark;
- Statutory pension age is 65 for males and females;
- A supplementary contributory pension scheme (ATP) is mandatory for all employees and self-employed working more than 9 hours a week: it is accrued with contributions and number of years of affiliation;
- A state subsidised early retirement pension is available from the age of 60 for employees with limited capacity to perform a paid activity and provided they have lived in the country for at least 3 years and are currently living in Denmark (100% of the unemployment benefit);

Long-term care

- A tax-funded universal system protects all residents in Denmark on the basis of needs for personal support and care;
- Cash or in-kind benefits are granted on the basis of needs and residence;
- Local authorities are in charge of home help and institutional care;
- Individuals in paid work might be temporarily (up to 6 months) employed by local authorities to care for a closely connected person with substantial and permanent physical or mental impairments or who are seriously ill or suffering from a long-term illness.

France

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to a maximum of 16 weeks (6 weeks before and 10 weeks after childbirth) at 100% of average earnings of the last 3 months with a ceiling on payments (no ceiling for public employees);
- The duration is extended to 8 weeks before and 18 weeks after if there are already 2 or more children in the family, or 36 weeks in case of twins or 46 weeks if triplets or more children;
- There is no possibility to transfer maternity rights to a third party unless the mother dies or is incapable of providing care in which case the father is entitled to take the leave;

– Mothers are not entitled to combine maternity leave with work.

Paternity leave and benefits

– Qualifying fathers are entitled to 11 consecutive days (18 in case of multiple births) at 100% of their average earnings of the last 3 months with a ceiling on payments (no ceiling for public employees);
– Rights cannot be transferred and fathers cannot work part-time while on leave.

Parental leave and benefits

– Each qualifying parent is entitled to leave for 156 weeks (until the child reaches the age of 3);
– Parents can work between 16 to 32 hours a week while on parental leave;
– Parental leave can be divided in 3 periods: the first period must be at least for one year, the following two periods can be shorter or longer than the previous one;
– Two benefits (CLCA or COLCA) might be granted to parents entitled to parental leave.

Leave to care for sick children

– Employees are entitled to 3 days per year or 5 days in case children are younger than 1 or if they are in charge of at least 3 children aged younger than 16;
– Individuals cannot transfer rights to a third party;
– There is no cash benefit for parents looking after sick children;
– Employees looking after severely sick or handicapped children are entitled to 310 working days to be used within a period of 3 years in total until the child reaches the age of 20 and paid as a daily benefit (up to 22 days a month);
– Rights can be transferred to a third party.

Other benefits to look after children

– CLCA is granted to one of the parents (must stop or reduce working hours) looking after children aged younger than 3 for 6 months (1 child) or until the month preceding the 3rd birthday of the child for families with twins or 6th birthday for triplets;
– CLCA cash benefits varies depending on the working situation of the parent looking after the child in the home and dependent upon families receiving 'allocation de base';
– COLCA is a supplementary allowance for families with 3 or more children during the first year of the child;
– One parent must stop working to receive COLCA cash benefit.

Child benefits and allowances

– A childbirth flat-rate allowance (Prime a la naissance) is granted on a one-off basis and per each child provided families have incomes below a set threshold (912.12 EUR – 2013);
– A monthly flat-rate allowance (Allocation de base) is granted to families with children aged younger than 3, although the cash benefit is means-tested;
– A one-off grant is available on top of the family allowance to families with 3 or more children, although it is means-tested according to the family composition and working situation;
– A universal family allowance (Allocations familiales) is granted to all families with at least two children (the amount increases in function of the number of children) until the child's 20th birthday and provided a child does not earn more than a set level of earnings;
– Single-parent families (mother or father) or any other individual (e.g. grandparents) in charge of children younger than 20 years (provided the child does not work) are granted a monthly cash benefit (Allocation de soutien familial): the amount depends on whether children are cared for one of the parents (89.34 EUR) or other than parents (119.11 EUR) (2012);
– Employees in charge of a sick, handicapped or severely injured child receive a cash benefit (Allocation journalierie de presence parentale) of 42.20 EUR (couples) or 50.14 EUR (single) (2012);
– Families are entitled to cash benefits in lieu of services (children aged younger than 6), but both parents must be working and must use a maternal assistant for looking after children (Complement de libre choix du mode de garde).

Old age pensions

– A public basic state allowance is granted to employees and self-employed on an earnings-related basis and dependent on the number of years of contributions;
– Statutory pension age for males and females is 62 years;
– 40 years (public sector employees) or 41 years (private employees) of contributions and aged 67 are necessary requirements to accrue a full pension;
– A means-tested social assistance old age pension (Allocation de solidarite aux personnes agees) is available for individuals aged 65 and over with insufficient resources up to a maximum of 1,206.59 EUR a month for couples or 777.17 EUR a month for single, divorced, widowed individuals (2012);
– A compulsory supplementary social insurance for private sector employees and managerial and executive staff (ARRCO and AGIRC) financed with contributions and dependent upon earnings is available for employees;
– An early retirement pension is available for qualifying disabled individuals (at least 80%) aged 55 and over and also for individuals with long working careers.

Long-term care

– Individuals aged 60 and over are entitled to a personalised allowance for loss of independence ('Apa') for home or institutional care: disposable income is taken into account to determine service fees payment;
– Four main bands of dependency are linked to the level of needs of care and support;
– Also, a means-tested home caregiver allowance ('Aspa') is granted to individuals aged 65 and older (60 if unfit for working) who need some help and support with activities of daily living in the home (this allowance is only granted provided individuals are not beneficiaries of a dependence allowance);

– A different allowance is granted to individuals with insufficient resources to pay for residential care, although individuals have to provide 90% of their income to pay total costs.

Germany

Maternity leave and benefits

– Qualifying mothers are entitled to 14 weeks (6 before and 8 after childbirth) of absence at 100% of average earnings of the last 3 months with no ceiling on payments;
– 8 weeks of absence after childbirth are compulsory;
– The leave is prolonged up to 12 weeks after childbirth in case of premature or multiple births;
– Spouses and daughters who do not qualify are entitled to a social assistance maternity allowance of 210 EUR a month provided they are living with an insured person (husband or father).

Paternity leave and benefits

– No statutory paternity leave.

Parental leave and benefits

– All parents are individually entitled to 156 weeks (until the child's 3rd birthday) of work absence;
– All parents including self-employed and unemployed parents, are entitled to a parental leave cash benefit during the first 12 months at 67% of average earnings with a ceiling on payments of 1,800 EUR and a minimum of 300 EUR;
– An extra 2 months of parental leave cash benefit is granted to families where both parents take up parental leave for at least 2 months;
– Single-parent families receive 14 months of cash payments;
– Parents can transfer parental rights to a third party (family member up to the 3rd degree of consanguinity) provided children are severely sick, disabled or in the event of death of a parent;
– One year of parental leave can be postponed up until the child reaches the age of 8.

Leave to care for a sick child

– Employees or individuals in an assimilated situation are entitled to 10 days per year (couples with one child) or 25 days (couples with 2 or more children) or 20 days (lone parents with one child) or 50 days (lone parent families with 2 or more children) until the child's 12th anniversary;
– An income replacement of 80% of average earnings are available for all employees;
– Rights can be transferred to relatives who are in paid work (e.g. grandparents), although no income replacement is granted in such cases;
– In the event of a severely sick child, parents are entitled to 6 months of leave.

Flexiwork for care

– Employees with at least 6 months with the same employer can reduce working hours to care for a child in the home;
– Salary is reduced by the time off work and no income replacement is provided.

Child benefits and allowances

– A monthly flat-rate child benefit of 184 EUR (2012) per child (one or two children) or 190 EUR (3 children) or 215 EUR (for each additional child after the third) is available for all families with children aged younger than 18 or 21 if unemployed or 27 if in full-time education, apprenticeship or volunteering;
– Families living on a low income are entitled to a monthly benefit of 140 EUR (2012) per child during 36 months.

Old age pensions

– A compulsory social insurance scheme (Altersrente) covers employees, some categories of self-employed, unemployed and individuals looking after children aged younger than 3: earnings-related benefit calculated upon number of contributed years and annual earnings;
– Statutory pension age is 65, although it is set to increase to 67 by 2029;
– No minimum pension is guaranteed;
– Retired individuals on low incomes are entitled to a supplement pension;
– A voluntary private pension scheme (Riesterrenten) is available to all residents;
– Early retirement pension is available for individuals aged at least 63 with 35 years of contributions and provided they have a disability equal or greater than 50%.

Long-term care

– Long-term care insurance fund provides for individuals with personal and household care and support needs provided they have been insured for at least 2 years;
– 3 levels of care dependency are defined and provide different cash or in-kind benefits (may be combined) according to needs and individual preferences;
– Cash for care benefits can be used to purchase care in the market or pay a relative that provides care in the home of the frail individual;
– A home-base allowance or carer's allowance (Pflegeversicherung) is available for individuals willing to organise their own care, although they are entitled to in-kind home services;
– A means-tested social care assistance benefit is available to individuals with insufficient means to pay for their care.

Hungary

Maternity benefits and benefits

– Qualifying mothers are entitled to 24 weeks of leave (4 weeks before are optional and 20 or 24 weeks after childbirth) at 70% of average earnings with no ceiling on payments;
– Non-qualifying mothers are entitled to 24 unpaid weeks of leave.

Paternity leave and benefits

– All working fathers are entitled to 5 consecutive days of absence at 100% of average earnings.

Parental leave and benefits

- Qualifying parents are entitled to a parental allowance (GYED - Gyermekgondozasi dij) from the end of maternal leave to child's 2nd birthday at 70% of gross daily earnings with ceiling on payments (439 EUR per month in 2012);
- First year of parental leave (GYED) is limited to qualifying mothers only;
- Parents receiving GYED cannot combine work and care;
- Parents receiving GYED are also entitled to a flat-rate parental child allowance (GYES) from the 2nd to the 3rd birthday of the child;
- Non insured parents are individually entitled to GYES (Gyermekgondozasi sagely), a flat-rate allowance of 96 EUR a month (2012) until the child's 3rd birthday;
- Parents receiving GYES allowance can combine work (up to 30 hours a week or no limit if working from home) and care in the home for children from the first year of children until their 3rd birthday;
- GYES can be transferred to relatives (e.g. grandparents), provided they do not work more than 30 hours a week, from the first year of the child until their 3rd birthday.

Leave for care of sick children

- Insured parents are entitled to unlimited days of absence to care for children aged younger than 1, but limited to 84 days per year for children aged between 12 and 35 months, or 42 days for children aged 36 to 71 months, or 14 days for children aged between 6 and 12;
- Parents receive an income replacement of 70% of their average earnings;
- Lone parents are entitled to twice the period of leave.

Flexiwork for care

- None.

Child benefits and allowances

- A one-off childbirth grant (Anyasagi tamogatas) equal to 225% of the minimum old age pension (64,125 HUF) or 300% (85,500 HUF) in case of twins is granted to all mothers residing in Hungary;
- A child benefit (Gyermekgondozasi sagely) is paid to families with children aged younger than 3, but it can be transferred to a grandparent who care for grandchildren between the ages of 1 and 3 in the household of the parent;
- A universal monthly family allowance (Csaladi potlek) is granted to all families and the amount depends on the number of children and family composition: 42 EUR (one child), 45 EUR (two children) or 50 EUR (3+ children) and 46 EUR (lone parent with one child), 50 EUR (2 children) or 58 EUR (3+ children) (2012);
- A monthly family allowance contributes to school and education expenses;
- Low income families are entitled to an annually child benefit (Rendszeres gyermekvedelmi kedvezmeny) of 44 EUR per child until the child's 18th birthday.

Old age pensions

- Social state insurance is compulsory for employees and self-employed and for individuals in assimilated categories and based on pay-as-you-go (PAYG) scheme financed by social contributions;
- State pension is an earnings-related pension calculated on the basis of contributions and the duration of affiliation to the General Regime;
- Minimum years of contributions of 15 years and 20 years are necessary for a full pension;
- Statutory pension age is 62, to reach the age of 65 between 2010 and 2022;
- A minimum of 108 EUR a month (2011) is granted to individuals with at least 20 years of contributions;
- Individual notional schemes are voluntary and fully-funded, calculated on the basis of an accrued personal pension capital in a private pension fund;
- Early retirement (Elorehozott oregsegi nyugdij) is available from the age of 60 (men) or 59 (women) for individuals with at least 40 years of employment records;
- Early retirement (Korkedvezmenyes oregsegi nyugdij) is also available from the age of 60 for employees in arduous jobs with at least 10 years (men) or 8 years (women) of contributions (1 extra year of reduction for every extra 5 years – men – or 4 years – women – of contributions).

Long-term care

- Social care services are organised at the national and local level and organised, provided and managed at the local level only;
- Long-term home care and institutional care services are aimed at physically or mentally dependent individuals of all ages, based on needs;
- Users and local authorities jointly pay for services (co-payment) according to needs, type of service, financial means and family situation;
- There are no cash-for-care programmes available;
- Family members looking after individuals with severe disabilities might be granted a nursing fee (Ápolási díj) equal to 100% of the basic amount (alapösszeg) (29.500 HUF 100 EUR a month) (2012) or 130% of the basic amount if individuals with severe disabilities are in need of intensive personal care.

Italy

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to 20 weeks of leave (4 or 8 weeks before and the rest after childbirth) at 80% of their average daily salary or 100% for public employees;
- 20 weeks of absence are compulsory;
- Non-qualifying mothers are entitled to a state or regional allowance;
- Mothers cannot transfer rights to a third party except to fathers in the event of death or abandonment by the mother.

Paternity leave and benefits

- No statutory provision is granted for fathers.

Parental leave and benefits

- All employed parents are entitled to an individual leave for 6 months (10 months in total per child, or 11 if fathers are granted an extra month of parental leave) at 30% of average earnings, but only within the first three years of the child;
- Both parents can stay off work until the child reaches the age of 8;
- In the event fathers take at least three months of parental leave, families are granted an extra month of parental leave;
- Single-parent families are entitled to 10 months of parental leave;
- Leave of absence is doubled in case of twins or tripled in case of triplets;
- Mothers taking parental leave must take at least 2 months of leave;
- Parents have the right to postpone parental leave until the child reaches the age of 8.

Leave to care for sick children

- Employees are entitled to unlimited time off work to care for children younger than 3 years, but only 5 days per year for children older than 3;
- No income replacement is granted to parents looking after a sick child;
- Parents are entitled to two years of absence in the event of severely sick or handicapped child.

Flexiwork for care

- Mothers are entitled to reduce one or two working hours during the first 12 months of the child;
- Loss of income is replaced.

Child benefits and allowances

- A means-tested monthly family allowance of 135.43 EUR (paid 13 times a year) is available for families with at least 3 children aged younger than 18 (2012);
- Employees, self-employed and beneficiaries of benefits are entitled to a monthly cash benefit that varies according to family incomes and household composition and is granted until the child reaches 18 (it can be transferred to grandparents in exceptional cases).

Old age pensions

- The state public pension (Pensione di vecchiaia) is a contributory notional (individual accounts) system based on earnings;
- The amount is calculated according to the number of years of contributions and average earnings of the last 5 or 10 years (depending on the total number of contributed years);
- 20 years (if first started working before 1996) or 5 years (if employment commenced after 1995) of contributions are mandatory to receive an old age pension;
- Statutory retirement age is 65 for males and 60 for females;
- 40 years of contributions are necessary to opt for a full-pension;
- Early retirement is available for individuals of all ages with at least 40 years of contributions or from the age of 61 with at least 35 years of contributions;
- A minimum pension (Pensione minima) is guaranteed for individuals with low incomes: 480.53 EUR (2012) a month regardless the household composition;
- Social pension (Assegno Sociale) is available for individuals aged older than 65 who have limited income (5,577 EUR a year for single individuals or 11,154 EUR for married couples -2012-);
- An occupational scheme can be accrued with employees and employers contributions into an open fund or a closed fund (only employees' contributions).

Long-term care

- Long-term care and social assistance system is fragmented across the country and within regions;
- Local authorities are mainly responsible for managing and providing personal care and home-based assistance and support based on needs and means-tested (Servizi di Assistenza domiciliare) and semi-residential and residential services, although county councils set eligibility criteria and manage resources;
- A monthly state cash benefit of 492.97 EUR (2012) for home-based care (Indemnità di Accompagnamento) is available for severely disabled individuals (must be 100% disabled or dependent) living in the home to purchase services in the market or pay a family member regardless of their age or economic resources;
- Personal care services might be home-based benefits in-kind (Asistenza domiciliare integrate), a cash allowance (Assegno di cura) or semi-residential and residential care;
- A cash transfer for personal care services are available for individuals according to needs and economic resources.

Netherlands

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to 16 weeks of absence (4 weeks before and 12 after childbirth) at 100% of average daily earnings with ceiling on payments (193.09 EUR a day in 2012);
- 4 weeks before and 6 weeks after childbirth are compulsory;
- Rights cannot be transferred to a third party;
- Mothers cannot combine work and care while on maternity leave.

Paternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying fathers are entitled to 2 days of absence with 100% of their income replaced.

Parental leave and benefits

- Qualifying parents are individually entitled to reduce their working hours by 13 times the regular number of working hours per week;
- Parents in parental leave must work a part-time regime;
- A cash replacement of 50% the minimum statutory wage is available for parents on parental leave;

– Rights cannot be transferred to a third party.

Leave to care for sick children

– Employees are entitled to 10 days per year to care for sick children at 70% of earnings;
– 6 weeks of unpaid leave are also available for parents;
– Parents with children in a life-threatening illness are entitled to reduce 6 times their working hours to look after their child, but the leave is unpaid.

Flexiwork for care

– Employees who have been with the same employer for at least one year are entitled to reduce their working hours to look after children in the home.

Child benefits and allowances

– A child benefit is available for families with children aged younger than 18: 191.65 EUR per quarter for children aged younger than 5, 232.71 EUR per quarter for children aged between 6 and 11 and 273.78 EUR per quarter for children aged between 12 and 17 (2012);
– Grandparents are entitled to child benefits if they are in charge of caring and providing for the child;
– A childcare budget (monthly allowance) for low income families with children aged younger than 18 may be granted on top of child benefits;
– A family allowance is granted per each child aged younger than 12 to families with both parents working and using childcare services: the allowance is capped at a maximum hourly rate and for a maximum number of hours of 230 a month;
– Parents might qualify for childcare allowance if their children are cared by a grandparent provided the grandparent meets the criteria to be a registered childminder;
– Families with ill or disabled children aged between 3 and 18 might be also entitled to an allowance to cover for the extra costs.

Old age pensions

– A basic state pension (Algemene Ouderdomswet) is accrued at 2% each year living in the Netherlands;
– Statutory pension age is 65 for males and females;
– A full pension is granted to individuals who have lived in the country between the age of 15 and 65;
– The total amount of the basic state pension depends on the number of years of residence, number of beneficiaries in the household and whether beneficiaries are entitled to the supplementary pension;
– Individuals can retire on a part-time basis;
– A supplementary state allowance is granted to beneficiaries living with a person younger than 65 years (including grandchildren living in the home) provided household incomes do not surpass a threshold;
– Low income families receiving a basic state pension are granted a pension supplement to reach the minimum income standard;
– There is no possibility of full early retirement, except if individuals are permanently disabled;
– Occupational pension schemes are widely available in the form of defined-benefit scheme.

Long-term care

– Local authorities are responsible for organising personal care services;
– A series of care insurance funds cover for different individual risks;
– Cash for care schemes are available in the form of personal budgets (Persoonsgebonden Budget) to purchase services in the market or pay informal carers to provide care in the home;
– Individuals have to contribute to the total cost (2 levels) on the basis of earnings and living arrangements.

Portugal

Maternity leave and benefits

– Qualifying mothers are entitled to 7 weeks (30 before and 45 after childbirth) at 100% of the income reference;
– 6 weeks of absence after childbirth are exclusively granted to mothers with no possibility to transfer it to a third party (Licença parental inicial da mãe);
– Days of absence during maternity leave count as part of the period of initial parental leave;
– An extra month of absence is granted per each child in the event of multiple births;
– Non qualifying mothers are entitled to a cash benefit of 80% of the index of social support (IAS) (during 120 days), 66% of IAS (180 days shared between parents)or 64% (150 days) provided each family member has a monthly benefit below 80% of the index of social support.

Paternity leave and benefits

– Qualifying fathers are entitled to 20 days after childbirth at 100% of the income reference with no ceiling on payments;
– Fathers taking up paternity leave must stop working at least 10 days, 5 of which must be taken immediately after childbirth;
– Fathers are granted 2 extra days of leave for each 10 days out of work per each child in the event of multiple births;
– Non-qualifying fathers are entitled to a cash benefit of 80% of the index of social support (IAS) (during 120 days), 66% of IAS (180 days shared between parents)or 64% (150 days) provided each family member has a monthly benefit below 80% of the index of social support.

Parental leave and benefits

– Qualifying parents are individually entitled to 120 days or 150 days at 100% or 80% of the income reference respectively (initial parental leave);
– Parents sharing parental leave are entitled to 180 days of parental leave paid at 83% of the income reference;
– An additional 3 months (12 months if working part-time) of parental leave is granted to qualifying parents and paid at 25% of the income reference within the first 6 years of the child;

- A special unpaid childcare leave might be granted to one of the parents for 2 years (3 years if 3 or more children in the household) to look after children in the home;
- 30 days can be granted to grandparents in the event the mother is an adolescent living with her parents.

Leave to care for sick children

- Working parents are entitled to 30 days of leave per year, paid at 65% of their average earnings to care for children aged younger than 12 or 15 days per year for children aged between 12 and 18;
- A leave of 6 months might be granted to working parents looking after handicapped or chronically ill child (Licença para assistencia a filho com deficiencia ou doenca cronica) and paid at 65% of average earnings with a ceiling on payments;
- 30 days leave can be transferred to working grandparents as long as parents have not used it before;

Flexiwork for care

- Parents can reduce their working hours if the child is younger than 12, over 2 years (4 if disabled), or 3 years if three or more children in the home.

Child benefits and allowances

- A pregnancy benefit is available for pregnant mothers (from the 13th week) or after childbirth;
- A monthly cash benefit is provided to families with low income until the child reaches 16 years or 24 if still in full education: the amount varies depending on the family income and age of children; cash benefit amounts are doubled in case of twins, tripled if triplets; lone parents are paid an extra 20%.

Old age pensions

- An earnings-related state pension is available for employees and self-employed in the private sector (special regime for civil servants) calculated on the basis of earnings (the best 10 years within the last 15 years before retirement) and years of contributions;
- At least 15 qualifying contributory years and 40 years for a full pension;
- Statutory pension age is 65 for males and females;
- A monthly minimum pension is granted to individuals aged 65 and older who are not insured and have little income;
- Early retirement is available from the age of 55 for individuals with at least 30 years of contributions;
- Early retirement pension is also available for unemployed individuals aged at least 62 who are not longer entitled to unemployment benefits.

Long-term care

- Families with a dependent individual in the home are entitled to a cash benefit (Subsidio por assistencia de 3a pessoa) of 88.37 EUR a month (2012);
- Cash for care or benefits in kind are available for individuals with insurance funds and individuals with low economic resources;
- Personal and domestic assistance (Complemento por dependencia) is granted on the basis of need based on 2 levels of dependency: a benefit of 98.77 EUR a month is granted to individuals with 1st degree of dependency and 177.79 EUR a month (2012) for people with 2nd degree of dependency (same amounts for individuals with low economic resources).

Romania

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to 126 days (63 days before and 63 after) at 85% of average earnings with a ceiling on payments;
- 42 days after childbirth are compulsory;
- Mothers cannot transfer rights to a third party or work part-time during maternity leave.

Paternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying fathers are entitled to 5 days after childbirth at 100% of individual earnings.

Parental leave and benefits

- Qualifying parents (only one parent is entitled) are entitled to leave until the child reaches the age of 2 (3 if disabled);
- Parents with children born before 1/01/2011 are entitled to a monthly benefit at 85% of the net average earnings of the last 12 months before childbirth (minimum of 600Ron and maximum 1,200Ron a month – 2012 –) until the child reaches the age of 2 (3 if disabled);
- Parents with children born after 1/01/2011 the maximum for the first year of the child has been increased up to 3,400Ron a month; parents on parental leave returning to work before the child reaches the age of 1 are entitled to a benefit of 500 lei (2012) a month until the child reaches the age of 2;
- From March 2012 fathers might take one month paid leave after compulsory maternity leave to look after their children in the home, in case the leave is not used the total length of parental leave is reduced by one month;
- Rights cannot be transferred to a third party.

Leave to care for sick children

- Qualifying parents are entitled to 45 days leave per year and child (90 days if disabled child) at 85% of average monthly earnings;
- The leave is available until the child reaches the age of 7 (18 if disabled child).

Flexiwork for care

- Parents can reduce by up to 4 working hours a day their regular working hours until the child reaches the age of 18, but only if they have severely sick or handicapped children.

Child benefits and allowances

- A one-off childbirth grant of 55 EUR (2011) per child;
- Families with children aged less than 18 are entitled to a monthly cash benefits of 59 EUR (children aged 0 to 2) and 11.11 EUR (children aged over 2) (2011).

Old age pensions

- A pay-as-you-go social insurance scheme (Pensie pentru limita de varsta) guarantees an old age pension to individuals aged 64 years and 1 month (males) or 59 years and 1 month (females) with at least 12 years and 6 months of contributions (minimum pension) calculated on the basis of pension points (related to average annual income) and number of years of contributions;
- A full pension is granted to individuals with 32 years and 6 months of contributions (males) or 27 years and 6 months (females);
- A minimum pension (Indemnizatie sociala pentru pensionari) of 80 EUR a month (2012) is guaranteed to individuals with pensions lower than the guaranteed social minimum pension;
- Early retirement (Pensie anticipate) is available for individuals with at least 40 years and 6 months of contributions (males) or 35 and 6 months (females), but limited to 5 years before the statutory pension age (partial retirement has the same rules);
- A voluntary defined-benefit scheme might be joined to accrue an extra income for old age, but they are mandatory for all individuals aged younger than 42 in 2012.

Long-term care

- Benefits in-kind are available for individuals with basic or instrumental activities of daily living and granted on the basis of needs and income;
- There are three levels of dependency, each one sub-divided into three categories;
- Individuals with incomes above one fifth of the guaranteed minimum income have to pay part of the total cost of services;
- A benefit is granted to individuals with mental or physical impairments;
- The state and local authorities fund long-term care schemes, although a long-term care system is organised at the national level;
- Private providers (NGOs) form the major bulk of personal care services providers.

Spain

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to 16 weeks of leave at 100% of the regulatory base with no ceiling on payments;
- 6 weeks after childbirth are compulsory;
- 2 extra weeks are granted in the event of multiple births;
- Mothers can transfer up to 10 weeks of leave to fathers;
- Fathers can take maternity leave if mothers are not entitled;
- Non qualifying mothers are entitled to a cash benefit of 100% of the minimum wage (641.40 EUR a month) for 42 days (2012).

Paternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying fathers are entitled to 15 days or 20 days if numerous family, paid at 100% of earnings;
- 2 days after childbirth are compulsory;
- Fathers can work part-time and combine paternity leave.

Parental leave and benefits

- Qualifying parents are individually entitled to leave until the child reaches the age of 3 with no income replacement;
- Parents can postpone part of the parental leave until the child reaches the age of 8;
- Rights cannot be transferred to a third party (e.g. grandparents).

Leave to care for sick children

- Working parents are entitled to a leave up to 2 years, but no income replacement is granted;
- Contributions are paid at 100% during the leave up to 2 years for children aged less than 8 or 1 year for children older than 1 until the age of 18;
- Rights can be transferred to relatives up to the second degree of consanguinity (e.g. grandparents).

Flexiwork for care

- Employees can reduce their working time by an eighth, third or half, until the child reaches the age of 8;
- No income replacement, although contributions to social security are paid at 100% during 2 years.

Child benefits and allowances

- A childbirth grant is available for families with multiple births only and paid as a one-off grant of 2,581.20 EUR (2 children), 5,162.40 EUR (3 children) or 7,743.60 EUR (4 or more children) (2012);
- Families with low income are entitled to a cash benefit until the child reaches the age of 18;
- A one-off cash benefit is granted to families that become a numerous family (450.76 EUR);
- One-off payment of 1,000 EUR for single-parent families or in the event the mothers is disabled (2012).

Old age pensions

- A state pension is available for employees or assimilated with at least 15 years of contributions and calculated on the basis of the average annual earnings of the last 15 years before retirement and number of years of contributions with a ceiling of 2,522.89 EUR a month (2012);
- 35 years of contributions are required for a full pension;
- Statutory pension age is 65 for males and females;
- Early retirement is available from the age of 52 for individuals in dangerous or unhealthy jobs or suffering from a disability of at least 65%;
- Early retirement from the age of 61 can be granted to individuals with at least 30 years of contributions;
- Partial retirement is available for all pensioners from the age of 60 with at least a reduction of 25% of the working hours.

Long-term care

- Personal care services are available for dependent individuals based on needs (3 levels);
- Cash for care might be granted to purchase services in the market for a family member up to third degree of consanguinity, but cannot be used to pay a family member living in the same household;
- Personal care services are jointly paid by individuals according to their income.

Sweden

Maternity leave and benefits

- No statutory entitlement to maternity leave, although mothers must take two weeks off work before or after childbirth;
- Pregnant women performing jobs that might put the foetus at risk and cannot be transferred to another job are entitled to an indefinite pregnancy benefit (Graviditetspenning) until the child is born and paid at 80% of their sickness-benefit-qualifying annual income (Sjukpenningrundande inkomst) divided by 365;
- Pregnant women in physically strenuous jobs may take up to 50 days paid leave at 80% during the last 60 days before childbirth.

Paternity leave and benefits

- Fathers (or other parents of a child) are entitled to 10 days off work (20 if twins or 30 if triplets) after childbirth (up to 60 days after childbirth), paid at 80% of earnings with a ceiling on payments of SEK 410,000 per year;
- The leave can be taken as a three-quarter, half, a quarter or an eighth of a day.

Parental leave and benefits

- Parents, adopted parents or legal custodians are entitled to a parental leave and a parental leave benefit (Föräldraledighet);
- Parental leave has two components: a mother and father quota (60 days each) and a family entitlement, which can be divided in equal parts or transferred to the other parent;
- A maximum of 480 paid days per child (an extra 180 days in case of twins) may be granted to families, although 60 days are exclusively reserved for mothers and 60 days for the fathers;
- 390 days are paid at 80% of earnings with a ceiling on payments, the other 90 days are paid at a flat-rate or minimum level (Lägstanivå) of SEK 180 per day and child (for all children born after 1 July 2006);
- Pregnant women are entitled to parental benefits (Föräldrapenning) from the 60th day before the baby is due;
- Parental benefit can be claimed until the child finishes the first year of compulsory school (8 years);
- Parents with little or no previous incomes before pregnancy are entitled to the basic level parental benefit (Grundnivå) of SEK 225 per day (2012) for a period of 390 days;
- Individuals on parental leave are entitled to combine work and parental leave and in such cases parents are entitled to one eighth, one quarter, half or three quarters depending on the number of worked hours in relation to a full-time employment;
- Both parents are entitled to receive parental benefit at the same time during the first year after the child is born, but limited to 30 days (each day and parent is counted as one day).

Leave to care for sick children

- Qualifying individuals (parents, the person living with a parent, adoptive parents or a person with the custody of the child or foster parents) are entitled to a leave and benefit paid at 80% of the individual's sickness benefit qualifying income to care for an ill child aged under 12;
- The leave can also be granted if the person looking after the child is sick or ill (this might be the other parent, childminder or relative);
- Parents are entitled to a maximum of 120 days leave benefit per year and child, although the benefit is limited to 60 days in the event of substituting the ordinary carer;
- The leave might be taken on a three-quarter, half, a quarter or an eighth of a day;
- The rights to care for an ill child can be transferred to a third person in order to take time off work and care for the child;
- A special temporary parental benefit can be granted to look after children aged older than 12 and up to 16 provided the child has an illness or disability that requires special supervision or care;
- The special temporary parental benefit is granted for a maximum period of 120 days paid at 80% of the sickness-benefit-qualifying income and can be transferred to a third party provided neither of the parents can do it
- Temporary parental benefit is also available in the event the child over the age of 16 (up to the age of 21 or 23) is covered by the Act on Support and Service for Persons with Certain Disabilities (LSS), in this case the same rules apply as for the other temporary parental benefit;
- For the care of a seriously ill child aged younger than 18 both parents are entitled to an unlimited number of days paid at 80% of the sickness benefit qualifying income and can be transferred to a third party.

Child benefits and allowances

- Child allowance (Barnbidrag) is granted to families (one of the parents) with children aged younger than 16 from the child's childbirth, paid on a monthly basis (tax free) and amounts to SEK 1,050 per child (2013);
- Large family supplement (Flerbarnstillagg) is granted to families that receive child allowance for at least two children and varies depending on the number of children in the family;
- There is a special child allowance for families with a disabled or sick child (at least 6 months of special supervision);
- Child care allowance (Vårdnadsbidrag) might be granted to families provided one of the parents stays in the home looking after a child aged between 1 and 3 (not available in all municipalities), paid SEK 3,000

a month per child (not universal) provided they do not attend publicly subsidised services (although the allowance might be used to buy private services)

Old age pensions

- Individuals living or working in Sweden are entitled to claim an old age pension from the age of 61 (there is no statutory pension age);
- There are three components: guaranteed pension, income pension and premium pension;
- Income pension is an earnings-related pension in a fiction account whose value depends on the number of years of contributions, the income you paid tax;
- Individuals are entitled to a pensionable amount for years spent at home looking after children provided the person has worked (with a minimum income of at least two base amounts) at least 5 years before reaching the age of 70;
- The guaranteed pension cannot be claimed before the age of 65; this pension is a supplement to the income pension for individuals with no or low income pension;
- Full guaranteed pension is accrued after 40 years of residence in the country
- Premium pension is accrued according to the accumulated pension credits in the premium pension system and the amount depends on the total contributions and the investment returns on the funds assets;
- Premium pension can be transferred to your spouse, partner or co-habitant if you die before them (survivor benefit protection);
- Most employees are enrolled in an occupational pension scheme, although this is not compulsory.

Long-term care

- Any individual living permanently in Sweden and assessed with care needs is entitled to long-term care;
- A maximum monthly fee (SEK 1,760 in 2011) is paid by the individual based on his/her income, such long-term care services fees might be reduced if the individual has no or little income;
- The individual is guaranteed a reserved amount to cover normal living expenses and actual housing costs;
- Long-term care services cover home care, institutional, day care, grants for assistive devices and support for informal caregivers;
- Informal caregivers might receive a leave benefit paid at 80% of earnings with a ceiling on payments to care for a relative in a terminal condition for a maximum period of 100 days per family member.

UK

Maternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying mothers are entitled to 52 weeks (up to 11 weeks can be taken before childbirth) at 90% of average earnings with no ceiling on payments (first 6 weeks) and a flat rate of 135.45 GBP (2012) per week or 90% average earnings (whichever is lower) between the 7th and the 39th week;
- No benefit is granted for the last 13 weeks;
- 2 consecutive weeks after childbirth are compulsory (20 weeks if transfer of rights to fathers);
- Mothers not qualifying for SMP might be granted a maternity allowance paid at a flat-rate of 135.45 GBP a week or 90% average earnings (whichever is lower) during 39 weeks.

Paternity leave and benefits

- Qualifying fathers are entitled to 2 weeks paid at 90% of average earnings or 135.45 GBP (2012) a week (whichever is lower);
- An additional period of leave can be granted to fathers provided mothers have returned to work: between 2 and 26 weeks paid at a flat-rate of 135.45 GBP (2012) a week or 90% of average weekly earnings (whichever is lower).

Parental leave and benefits

- Qualifying parents are individually entitled to 13 weeks (maximum of 4 weeks per year) until the child's 5th birthday with no income replacement;
- Employers must grant parental leave to parents who do not qualify.

Leave to care for a sick child

- Employees, in agreement with their employer, might be granted a 'reasonable' time off to deal with an emergency.
- Employers may decide to pay during emergency leave;
- No limit on the number of times an employee can take emergency leave per year.

Flexiwork for care

- All employees have the right to ask to work flexibly;
- Parents caring after a child have the legal right to ask for flexible working, although employers might refuse the request.

Child benefits and allowances

- A grant ('Sure Start Maternity Grant') of 500 GBP (2012) is provided for the first child and under the condition of receiving certain benefits;
- A universal tax free benefit (Child Benefit) is granted to families until the child reaches the age of 16 (20 if the child is in training or education) of 20.30 GBP per week for the eldest son and 13.40 GBP per week per each additional child (transfer of rights to a third party is possible but only if mainly responsible for the child);
- A Child Tax Credit of up to £545 a year (basic amount) and up to £2,690 (child element) or £2,950 (disabled child element) or £1,190 (on top of disabled child element for severely disabled children)[69] is available for all families: the amount and eligibility depends on the number and age of children, composition of the household, family income, childcare services costs and health condition of the child;
- Children aged 3 and 4 are entitled to 15 hours a week of free care for a period of 38 weeks a year.

[69] Amounts for 2012

Old age pensions

- A two-pillar system provides an income to retirees: a basic flat-rate state pension and an earnings-related additional state pension;
- Statutory pension age is 65 for males and 60 for females;
- Basic state allowance is calculated on the basis of years of contributions: up to 107.45 GBP (2012) a week (full pension);
- 30 years are required for a full retirement pension (different rules for individuals born before 1945 in the case of males or 1950 in the case of females);
- A minimum non-contributory pension is paid to individuals aged 80 and over on low incomes;
- Guarantee Credit might be granted to low-income pensioners residing in the UK from the age of 60[70] (rising gradually to age 65) or to any individual aged 65 and over who have made insufficient provision for retirement;
- No early retirement is available, although individuals can retire partially before reaching the statutory pension age.

Long-term care

- Local authorities are responsible for the management and provision of care services, but there are also private providers;
- Personal care services might take the form of in-kind or cash-for-care benefits;
- Attendance Allowance is granted to physically o r mentally (or both) disabled individuals aged 65 and over paid at a lower (£51.85 a week – 2012 –) or higher (£77.45 a week – 2012 –);
- Disability Living Allowance is granted to qualifying impaired individuals aged younger than 65 at a weekly rate based on the level of needs;
- A Carer's Allowance is paid at £58.45 a week (2012) and granted to individuals caring for a dependant for at least 35 hours a week with substantial caring needs and receiving a certain benefits, although there might be certain exceptions.

[70] In 2008

Appendix G Policy Tables[71] References

[71] Sweden is missing as the original study covered 10 countries only

MATERNITY LEAVE AND BENEFITS

INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	120 worked hours within the 13 weeks before confinement	10 months of contributions and 200 worked hours in the preceding 90 days before confinement	Employees affiliated to a statutory sickness fund (no qualifying period)	Employees who have worked 180 days within the last 2 years before childbirth	Employees or individuals in an assimilated situation (unemployed, home helpers and domestic carers)
Alternative eligibility criteria	Recipients of unemployment benefits or in vocational training for at least 18 months	Contributions from work equivalent to 1,015 times the SMIC (minimum wage) during the previous 6 months before confiment or mothers receiving or having received unemployment benefits in the last 12 months before childbirth	Individuals in an assimilated situation as employees provided they are affiliated to a statutory sickness fund	NO	Unemployed women for less than 60 days (no further criteria), longer than 60 days they must still be entitled to unemployment benefits or be recepients of disability benefits / Home workers and domestic workers provided they have contributed for 52 weeks within the last 2 years
Qualifying criteria for self-employed	Must have worked at least half the working hours of a regular week for a minimum period of 6 months within the last 12 months, one of which must be before confinement	800 hours or contributions equivalent to 2,030 times the SMIC in the last 12 months before confinement	Must be affiliated to a sickness insurance fund	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules
Eligibility criteria for non-qualifying mothers	NO	NO	Spouses or daughters living with insured person (husband, partner or parent) and provided they earn less than 400 EUR a month	Women in employment with insufficient effective working days	Women with at least 3 months of contributions between the 18th and 9th month before childbirth or adoption (State allowance). Non working mothers entitle to Municipal allowance
Minimum compulsory period (duration in weeks)	2 weeks after childbirth	8 weeks (6 weeks after and 2 weeks before childbirth)	8 weeks after childbirth	None	20 weeks (none for self-employed, temporary or fixed-term workers)
Maximum duration of maternity leave (first child): number of weeks	18 weeks (4 weeks before childbirth)	16 (6 weeks before childbirth), but 3 weeks before and 13 after with medical permission	14 weeks (6 before and 8 after)	24 weeks	20 weeks (either 4 or 8 weeks before childbirth and the rest after)
Variability of time off work for a second and subsequent children including multiple births	No further provision (entitlement is per child)	26 weeks (two children already in the family); 36 weeks (twins); 46 weeks (triplets or more children)	18 weeks for multiple or premature births	24 weeks (4 weeks before are optional- and 20 or 24 after childbirth)	NO
Possibility to combine workand maternity leave	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Transferability of maternity rights to a husband, partner or other relative	Only to fathers if mother dies	Only if mother dies	NO	NO	Only to husband in case of death or abandonment by the mother
Social assistance benefit for non qualifiers	NO	NO	Non qualifying mothers and spouses - State allowance of 210 EUR a month (2012)	24 unpaid leave weeks	One-off payment of 1,916.22 EUR (State allowance) or 1,556.35 EUR (Municipal allowance)
Income replacement	100% of earnings (ceiling 528 EUR a week -2012-); collective agreements might increase the total cash amount	100% of the average earnings of the last 3 months (celing of 81.49 EUR per day (2012) in the private sector, but no ceiling for public employees)	100% of average earnings of the last 3 months (ceiling on payments of 13 EUR a day)	70% average earnings with no ceiling (twice the daily minimum wage for variable incomes)	80% of daily average salary (employees and self-employed) / 100% employees of the public sector
Income replacement for self-employed	Same criteria as general rules	Fixed flat-rate or daily allowance of minimum of 9.09 EUR per day and maximum of 81.49 EUR per day (2012)	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	80% for 20 weeks
Accumulation of pension rights and other benefits	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Employees with at least 1,225 hours within the year prior to pregnancy confinement	All employees and self-employed	Citizens with at least 1 month contributions within the last 12 months before confinement: employees, self-employed, unemployed persons	Affiliated employees or in an assimilated situation with at least 180 days of contributions in the previous 7 years before childbirth or 360 days along their entire work career (Part-time workers computise effective working days differently)	Employees who report pregnancy before the 15th week the baby is due (only leave). Statutory Maternity pay: must have been working for the same employer at least 26 weeks into the 15th week before the baby is due and have average weekly earnings of 107 GBP a week
Alternative eligibility criteria	Mothers receiving unemployment, sickness or disability benefits	Individuals receiving unemployment benefits with at least 6 months of insurance contributions or spouses or daughters of an insured person in the household	Women who have stopped paying contributions are entitled to the same benefits as insured women provided they give birth within 9 months after the last time contributions were made	Mothers younger than 21 do not need qualifying period and mothers aged between 21 and 26 only need 90 days of qualfiying contributions within the previous 7 years	Part-time workers provided they have worked 26 weeks in the last 66 weeks before the baby is due and earnings of at least 30 GBP a week
Qualifying criteria for self-employed	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	Self-employed and non qualifying mothers provided they have worked 26 weeks in the last 66 weeks before the baby is due and earnings of at least 30 GBP a week
Eligibility criteria for non-qualifying mothers	NO	Non qualifying mothers whose family income is below the 80% of the index of social support	NO	Women in employment but not enough qualifying contributions	Maternity Pay
Minimum compulsory period (duration in weeks)	4 weeks before and 6 weeks after childbirth	42 days after childbirth (initial maternal leave)	42 days after childbirth	6 weeks	2 consecutive weeks after childbirth (20 weeks if transfer to fathers or partners)
Maximum duration of maternity leave (first child): number of weeks	16 weeks	7 weeks (72 days) - 30 before and 42 after (120 or 150 days initial parental leave for mothers)	126 days (63 before and 63 after)	16 weeks	52 weeks (up to 11 weeks before childbirth)
Variability of time off work for a second and subsequent children including multiple births	Entitlement is per child	One month extra for each child after the first one (multiple births)	:	2 extra weeks (multiple births)	Further statutory maternity leave
Possibility to combine workand maternity leave	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Transferability of maternity rights to a husband, partner or other relative	NO	30 days before childbirth can be taken by fathers for their parental leave	NO	10 weeks can be transferred to the father - Fathers might take up maternity rights if the mother is not entitled	2 to 26 weeks (fathers only)
Social assistance benefit for non qualifiers	NO	80% IAS (120 days) or 66% IAS (180 days shared) or 64% IAS (150 days)	NO	100% minimum wage (641.40 EUR/month -2012-) for 42 days	Maternity Pay: £135.45 a week or 90% of their average weekly earnings – whichever is less – for up to 39 weeks (2012)
Income replacement	100% average daily earnings (ceiling of 193.09 EUR per day in 2012)	100% of the income reference (RR) for the first 120 days - 80% if 150 days	85% of average earnings (Max. c. 900 EUR a month)	100% of the regulatory base, plus a special subsidy in the event of multiple births or adoptions of 2 or more children during 6 weeks	90% average earnings no ceiling (first 6 weeks); flat-rate of 135.45 GBP per week or 90% average earnings (whichever is lower) between the 7th and 39th week; the last 13 weeks unpaid (2012)
Income replacement for self-employed	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	Same criteria as general rules	Maternity Pay: £135.45 a week or 90% of your average weekly earnings – whichever is less – for up to 39 weeks (2012)
Accumulation of pension rights and other benefits	YES	YES	YES	YES	Contributions stop if unpaid maternity leave

PATERNITY LEAVE AND BENEFITS

Indicator	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	120 worked hours within the 13 weeks before chilbirth	10 months of contributions and 200 worked hours in the preceding 90 days before childbirth	No statutory paternity leave (collective agreements may apply)	All employed fathers	No statutory provision
Minimum compulsory period	2 weeks	11 consecutive days	:	5 days	:
Maximum period off work (first child)	2 consecutive weeks after childbirth or within the first 14 weeks	11 consecutive days	:	15 days (if father in training course)	:
Variability of time off work for a second and subsequent children including multiple births	No further provision	18 weeks for multiple births	:	None	:
Possibility to combine work and leave	NO	NO	:	NO	:
Social assistance benefit for non qualifiers	NO	NO	:	NO	:
Cash benefit (% of income replacement)	100% of earnings (ceiling 528 EUR a week -2012-); collective agreements might increase the total cash amount	100% of the average earnings of the last 3 months (celing of 81.49 EUR per day (2012) in the private sector, but no ceiling for public employees)	:	100% average earnings with no ceiling on payments	:
Accumulation of pension rights and other benefits	YES	YES	:	YES	:

Indicator	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Employed fathers or partners of the mother	All employees and self-employed, as well as individuals receiving unemployment benefits with 6 months of insurance contributions	Insured fathers	Affiliated employees with 180 days of contributions within the previous 7 years before childbirth	Employees who have worked for the same employer for at least 26 weeks before the 15th week the baby is due and have average weekly earnings of 107 GBP a week (2012)
Minimum compulsory period	2 days	10 days	5 days / 15 days (if in childcare training)	2 days after chilbirth	One week
Maximum period off work (first child)	2 days	20 days (after childbirth)	5 or 15 days	15 days (13+2) / 20 days if large families	2 consecutive weeks within the first 56 days after childbirth (Ordinary) and up to 26 weeks (Additional Paternity leave)
Variability of time off work for a second and subsequent children including multiple births	NO	YES (2 additional days per child for each 10 day period of leave in case of multiple births)	No further provision	2 extra days (multiple births)	NO
Possibility to combine work and leave	NO	NO	NO	50% of more hours a week of a normal full-time employee	NO
Social assistance benefit for non qualifiers	NO	100% of the income reference (RR) for the first 120 days - 80% if 150 days	NO	NO	NO
Cash benefit (% of income replacement)	100% average earnings with no ceiling on payments	100% of the income reference (RR) no ceiling on payments	100% individual earnings	100% of earnings	GBP 135.45 a week or 90% of average gross earnings (whichever is lower)
Accumulation of pension rights and other benefits	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

PARENTAL LEAVE AND BENEFITS

INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	120 worked hours within the 13 weeks before confinement	Employees who have worked at least 1 year for the same employer	All parents, including self-employed and unemployed parents (no qualifying period)	Insured individuals (employed or self-employed) with 365 days of contributions within the last 2 years before childbirth (GYED). All residents are entitled to GYES	No qualifying period, but the parent must be employed (excludes domestic workers and home helpers)
Non qualifying parents are entitled to an optional leave	NO	NO	NO	Non-insured individuals (GYES)	Self-employed and workers in 'gestione separata' (3 months within the first year of the child)
Type of benefit	Individual (shared) entitlement	Individual entitlement	Individual entitlement	Individual entitlement (GYES and GYED). Mothers must take the first year of GYED	Individual entitlement
Minimum compulsory period: number of weeks	None	None	2 months	None	2 months (only mothers)
Maximum period off work (first child)	32 weeks (standard) up to 46 weeks (reduced benefits)	156 weeks (until the child's third birthday)	156 weeks (until the child's third birthday)	GYES granted until the child's third birthday / GYED granted from the end of maternity leave to the child's second birthday	6 months each parent (10 months in total or 11 if fathers are granted extra parental leave) or 10 months if lone parent
Variability of time off work for a second and subsequent children including multiple births	Entitlement is per child	No, but benefits are longer for twins, triplets or other multiple births	NO	GYES: Leave granted until compulsory school in case of twins or until the 8th birthday of the child if not in day care facility due to illness or the age of if the child suffers from a long standing disability	Benefit doubled in case of twins, tripled in case of triplets
Variation for gender reasons	NO	NO	If both parents take 2 months of parental leave, the cash benefit is extended an extra 2 months	Leave during the first month of the child must be taken by mothers	If fathers take at least 3 months leave, they are entitled to an extra month
Possibility to combine work and parental leave	Parents can work part-time with reduced benefits for up to 64 weeks	16 to 32 hours a week	Parents working part-time receive the allowance for 24 months at half rate	GYES: from the 1st to the 3rd year of the child and parents working no more than 30 hours a week (no limit if working from home) / GYED: No possibility	NO
Flexibility of leave - Possibility to postpone leave	8 to 13 weeks can be postponed before the child reaches the age of 9	Before the child reaches the age of 3	Only the last year of parental leave and before the child reaches the age of 8	NO	Leave can be taken during the first 8 years of the child
Transferability of parental rights to relatives	NO	NO	If severely sick or disabled children or death of a parent rights can be granted to a family member up to the 3rd degree	GYES: family members are entitled from the child's first birthday until the child reaches the age of 3 provided parents transfer the right and the person responsible of the child does not work more than 4 hours a day	NO
Social assistance benefit for non qualifiers	NO	NO	NO	GYED: 110 EUR a month	NO
Cash benefit (% of income replacement)	100% of earnings (ceiling 528 EUR a week) (2012)	CLCA: flat-rate allowance dependent upon various conditions (from 143.05 EUR a month to 566.01 EUR a month; COLCA: flat-rate allowance between 626.99 EUR and 809.42 EUR a month for large famillies (3 or more children) (2012)	67% of average earnings (only for the first 12 months) with a ceiling of 1,800 EUR a month and a minimum of 300 EUR	70% average gross earnings with a ceiling of 70% the double of the minimum wage (390 EUR a month)	30% average earnings (only until the child's 3rd birthday and only for 6 months each parent) or 30% between 3 and 8 if in low income
Extra provision for single-parent families	NO	NO	14 weeks of payments	NO	10 months of parental leave
Accumulation of pension rights and other benefits	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	All employees with at least one year with the current employer	All employees and self-employed, as well as individuals receiving unemployment benefits with 6 months of insurance contributions	Individuals with taxable income in the last 12 months before the baby is due or had received unemployment or social assistance benefits	All employed (excluding self-employed) parents with a child younger than 8	Employees (excluding self-employed and workers) who have been with the same employer for at least one year
Non qualifying parents are entitled to an optional leave	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
Type of benefit	Individual entitlement	Initial parental leave: individual or shared entitlement / Additional parental leave: individual entitlement	Individual entitlement	Individual entitlement	Individual entitlement
Minimum compulsory period: number of weeks	None	120 or 150 consecutive days (initial parental leave), but 6 first weeks must be taken by the mother	None	None	One week
Maximum period off work (first child)	13 times the regular number of working hours per week (26 times since 2009)	180 days (initial parental leave: shared between parents) / 3 months (additional leave) until the child is 6 years	Child's second birthday (3rd birthday if disabled child)	Until the child's third anniversary	13 weeks per child (maximum 4 weeks per year) until the child's 5th birthday (18 in special circumstances)
Variability of time off work for a second and subsequent children including multiple births	Entitlement is per child	30 days for each additional child (2 or more children) in multiple births or adoptions (initial parental leave)	Amount of the benefit doubled in the event of multiple births	30 to 36 months of guaranteed contributions for families with 3 or more children	26 weeks in case of twins or 18 weeks if disabled child
Variation for gender reasons	NO	180 days of intitial parental leave if shared leave	NO	NO	NO
Possibility to combine work and parental leave	Compulsory to work part-time	Only additional leave (12 months per parent if working part-time)	Parents who return to work before the child reaches the age of 1 are entitled to a monthly flat-rate benefit (500 lei -2012-) until the child reaches the age of 2	YES (conributions at 100% for the first 2 years)	Agreement with the employer
Flexibility of leave - Possibility to postpone leave	YES	Until the child's 6th birthday (additional leave)	NO	Until the child's 8th birthday	Until the child's 5th birthday
Transferability of parental rights to relatives	NO	Grandparents entitled to 30 days leave if the mother is an adolescent and still living at home	NO	NO	NO
Social assistance benefit for non qualifiers	NO	See maternity leave	NO	NO	NO
Cash benefit (% of income replacement)	Before 2009, no cash provision. After 2009, 50% the minimum statutory wage or EUR 4.11 per hour	120 days (100% income reference -II-) / 150 days (80% II) / 180 days (83% II) / 25% of II (additional leave if take after initial parental leave)	85% net average earnings of the last 12 months before childbirth	Unpaid	Unpaid
Extra provision for single-parent families	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
Accumulation of pension rights and other benefits	YES	YES	YES	During the first 2 years contributions are paid at 100% of contributions	No contributions if parental leave is unpaid

OTHER TYPES OF CHILD CARE LEAVE

	INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Leave to care for sick children	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	No statutory entitlement unless seriously ill child	Employees of the private sector (public sector employees are also entitled but different rules)	Employees and individuals in an assimilated situation affiliated to a statutory sickness fund	Insured parents	Employees
	Transfereability to individuals other than parents	NO	NO (standard) / YES (if severely sick or handicapped children)	Relatives in a gainful employment, although the leave is unpaid	NO	NO
	Age limit of children	:	16 (standard) / 20 (severely sick children)	12	12	No limit
	Duration of leave	Depending on the agreement with the employer	3 days (5 if child aged younger than 1) per year - collective agreements might grant longer period / Max. 310 working days per child within a period of 3 years	10 days per year (couples with one child); 25 days per year (couples with 2 or more children); 20 days per year (single-parent families with one child); 50 days per year (single-parent families with 2 or more children)	Unlimited (children younger than 1); 84 days (children 12-35 months); 42 days (children aged 36-71 months); 14 days per year (children 6 to 12 years old)	Unlimited for children aged younger than 3 or 5 days per year for children older than 3 years
	Cash benefit	Depending on the agreement with the employer	None (standard) / Daily benefit (22 days a month): 42.20 EUR (couples) or 50.14 EUR (lone parent) (2012)	80% of average earnings (no ceiling)	70% average earnings	Unpaid
	Extra provision for special cases	A parent is granted cash benefits if looking after a seriously ill child	Severely sick or handicapped children	Special leave to care for a severely sick child - 6 months	Lone parents are entitled to twice the period of leave	Up to two years in the event of severely sick or disabled children in the family
Flexiwork for care	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Depending on the collective agreement and the employer	Parents receiving CLCA might reduce working hours	Employees with at least 6 months in the company can demand a reduction of their working time	:	Mothers are entitled to reduce one or two working hours during the first 12 months after childbirth
	Cash benefit (% of income replacement)	Depending on the collective agreement and the employer	Flat-rate varies under certain conditions	Proportional reduction of wages	:	Loss of income is replaced
	Duration of leave	:	6 months (1 child) or until the child reaches the age of 3 (twins) or 6 (triplets)	Agreement with employer	:	Until the child is 12 months old
	Variability of the benefit	:	YES	Not applicable	:	NO

	INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Leave to care for sick children	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Employees	Granted to one of the parents provided both parents work	Insured parents	Public and private employees	Employees
	Transfereability to individuals other than parents	NO	Grandparents as long as none of the parents have previously used it	NO	Up to the second degree of consanguinity	NO
	Age limit of children	No limit but child must be living at home	18	7th birthday (18th if disabled child)	18	18
	Duration of leave	10 days per year (paid) / 6 weeks (unpaid)	30 consecutive or interrupted days per year (<12) or 15 consecutive or interrupted days per year (12+)	45 days a year per child (90 days if disabled child)	Up to two years	No statutory duration
	Cash benefit	70% of earnings	65% average earnings	85% average monthly earnings	Unpaid (2 years contributions calculated at 100% children aged 8 or younger, only 1 year for children older than 8)	Unpaid (employers might decide to replace wages)
	Extra provision for special cases	6 times the number of weekly hours (unpaid) if life-threatening illness	A supplement for disabled or chronically ill children aged younger than 24 (means-tested)	Disabled children	2 days paid at 100% of earnings per year	No
Flexiwork for care	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	All employees who have been with the current employer for at least one year	Working parents with a child younger than 12 (only one of the parents or both in alternative times)	Employees with a severely sick or handicapped child	Employees (reduction of the working week by an eighth, third or half)	All employees
	Cash benefit (% of income replacement)	Proportional reduction of wages	None	None	None but social contributions for the first two years at 100%	Proportional reduction of wages
	Duration of leave	:	Up to 2 years (4 years if disabled child)	Up to 4 daily working hours reduction until the child reaches 18	Until the child reaches 8	Agreement with the employer
	Variability of the benefit	:	3 years in case of 3 or more children	None	None	None

CHILD AND FAMILY BENEFITS (1)

	INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Child birth grant	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Only in the event of multiple births	All pregnant women (means-tested)	:	Universal - All mothers residing in the country (no minimum)	Families with a new born child can access to a credit of 5,000 EUR to return in 5 years
	Variability by number of children	Amount is per child from the second child	NO	:	YES	:
	Cash benefit in EUROS	EUR 286 (2013) every 3 months (until the child reaches 7)	912.12 EUR (2013)	:	One-off payment of 225% the minimum old-age pension or 300% in case of twins	:
	Variability for special cases	NO	Flat-rate allowance for numerous families (from the 3rd child)	:	Multiple births	:
Child benefit	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	All families with children: universal benefit	Means-tested allowance for families with a child younger than 3	All families with children	Any parent or legal guardian (cannot work until the child reaches 1)	:
	Age of child until the benefit is paid	18	Until the third birthday of the child	18 or 21 (if unemployed) or 27 years old (if in full-time education, apprenticeship or volunteering)	Until the age of 3 (1 child) or until the end of the first year of compulsory school (twins)	:
	Cash benefit in EUROS	0-2: EUR 576/ trimestre; 3-6: EUR 456/ trimestre; 7-14: EUR 359/ trimestre; 15-17: EUR 119/month (2013)	182.43 EUR a month (2013)	Monthly flat-rate allowance of 184 EUR per child (one or two children); 190 EUR (3 children); 215 EUR (any additional child) (2012)	Equal to the minimum old-age pension (96 EUR a month) (2012)	:
	Transferability to a person other than the mother or father	Exceptional occasions	NO	NO	Grandparents (the child must be 1 year old and grandparent working a maximum of 4 hours a day)	:
	Variability for special cases	Single-parent families and parents of children receiving a standard retirement pension or an invalidity pension	All families with children aged younger than 3 (means-tested): One-off payment of 957.60 EUR (3rd child) or 1,037.40 EUR (4th child) (2012)	Special income tax allowance for dependent children	Benefit is paid until the child reaches 10 in case of chronically ill or seriously disabled child	:

	INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Child birth grant	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	:	Pre-birth allowance for pregnant women (13th week or after) or after childbirth	All mothers residing in the country	Multiple births or adoptions (2 or more children)	Receipients of income-related benefits
	Variability by number of children	:	YES	NO	YES	NO
	Cash benefit in EUROS	:	It depends on the family incomes, family composition and the number of children	55 EUR per child (one off payment) (2011)	2,581.20 EUR (2 children); 5,162.40 EUR (3 children); 7,743.60 EUR (4 or more children) (2012)	GBP 500 per child
	Variability for special cases	:	Lone mothers receive an extra allowance	NO	NO	NO
Child benefit	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Being insured and maintaining the child	Means-tested (family income below 1.5 times the IAS and no income from the child). Monthly benefit	All families with children younger than 18 living with the parents	All families with incomes lower than 11,490.43 EUR (2012) and 15% more for each extra child	Universal tax-free benefit
	Age of child until the benefit is paid	Until the 18th birthday of the child	16 or up to 24 years old if in full-time education	Until the 18th birthday of the child	18 years old with no disability or older if disability at least 65%	Until the child's 16th birthday (20 if child in training or education)
	Cash benefit in EUROS	Up to 5 years: EUR 191.65 per quarter; 6-11: EUR 232.71 per quarter; 12-17: 273.78 per quarter (2012)	0.5 ISA (<12 months: 140.76 EUR and 12+: 35.19 EUR); 0.5 - 1 IAS (<12: 116.74 EUR and 12+:29.19 EUR);1-1.5 ISA(<12: 92.29 EUR and 12+: 26.54 EUR) (2012)	Up to the age of 2: EUR 59 a month; Over the age of 2: EUR 11,11 a month (2011)	Varies according to number of children: from 291 EUR (1 child) a year to 2,910 EUR (10 children) (2012)	GBP 20.30 a week for the eldest or only child and GBP 13.40 for any additional child (2012)
	Transferability to a person other than the mother or father	Grandparents are eligible provided they are fully responsible for the child	NO	NO	NO	If the person is the main responsible of the child
	Variability for special cases	Low-income families get an extra monthly allowance (child budget)	Amount is doubled if 2 children; tripled if 3 children, etc. Lone parents get a 20% extra	Amount varies at different ages	NO	YES

CHILD AND FAMILY BENEFITS (2)

	INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Child rearing allowance	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Parents looking after children in the home instead of using childcare services	Children must be younger than 6 and both parents must be working	:	Paid to a parent or guardian looking after 3 or more children in the household and not in a day-care centre	Families with at least 3 children and living on a low income (means-tested)
	Age of child until the benefit is paid	Until the child reaches the age of 5	Until the child reaches the age of 6	:	The youngest child must be at least 3 years and paid until the age of 8	No limit
	Length of payment in months	Between 8 and 12 months	Monthly benefit	:	:	13 payments each year
	Cash benefit in EUROS	Up to 85% the total cost of a service	Dependant upon family resources and age of children	:	Equal to the minimum old-age pension	135.43 Euros/ month (13 payments over one year) (2012)
	Transferability to a person other than the mother or father	NO	NO	:	NO	NO
	Special cases	:	Seriously ill or handicapped children	:	:	:
Family allowance	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	:	Families with at least 2 children	Low income families (means-tested)	All families with a dependant child attending school	Employees (self-employed) and beneficiaries of benefits
	Duration or age limit of the child	:	Until the child reaches the age of 20	Granted fo 36 months	23 (excludes children in higher education)	Up to the age of 18 or 21 (if in full-time education)
	Cash benefit in EUROS	:	127.05 EUR/ month (2 children); 289.82 EUR (3 children); 452.59 (4 children) and 162.78 EUR (each additional child) (2012)	140 Euros a month per child (2012)	Monthly payment: 1 child: EUR 42; 1 child, lone parent: 46 EUR; 2 children: 45 EUR; 2 children, lone parent: 50 EUR; 3 or more children: 54 EUR; 3 or more children, lone parent: 58 EUR (2012)	Depends on the income (means-tested) and the number of family members in the household (Between 1.07 EUR and 2,294.38 EUR a month)
	Transferability to a person other than the mother or father	:	NO	NO	NO	Grandparents only in exceptional cases where parents are not present
	Variation of income and/or length by number of children and/ or age of child	:	By number of children	NO	By household composition and number of children	By number of children in the household
Tax Credit for children	Amount of deduction	:	:	:	:	:
	Entitlement requirements (income threshold)	:	:	:	:	:
	Variation by family composition or other reasons	:	:	:	:	:

	INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Child rearing allowance	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Families with seriously ill or disabled children that need at least 10 hours a week of care	:	:	Families that due to birth become or are large families (means-tested)	:
	Age of child until the benefit is paid	Between the age of 3 and 18	:	:	One-off cash benefit	:
	Length of payment in months	:	:	:	Not applicable	:
	Cash benefit in EUROS	215.80 EUR per quarter (2012)	:	:	One-off payment of 450.76 EUR (2012)	:
	Transferability to a person other than the mother or father	NO	:	:	NO	:
	Special cases	Extra allowance for low-income families (you or your partner has no income or low income): annual lump sum of 1,460 EUR (2012)	:	:	:	:
Family allowance	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Families with both parents working and using regulated childcare services	Families with cronically ill or disabled children attending a special institution	Low income families	Single-parent families or mothers with disability orfamilies that are or become large families due to a birth of a child	Child Tax Credit
	Duration or age limit of the child	Up to the age of 12	Until the child reaches the age of 24	Up to the 18th birthday of the child	One-off cash benefit	:
	Cash benefit in EUROS	Depends on the childcare costs and family´s income situation, but capped at a maximum hourly rate	Up to 14: EUR 59.48; between 14 and 18: EUR 86.62; between 18 and 24: EUR 115.96. Monthly life annuity when older than 24: EUR 176.76	Benefit amount varies depending on the family income and the number of children. Single-parent families receive a greater amount	One-off payment of 1,000 EUR (2012)	Family income, benefits, working hours and childcare costs
	Transferability to a person other than the mother or father	NO	:	NO	NO	:
	Variation of income and/or length by number of children and/ or age of child	:	:	By number of children in the household	Income-tested, no variation in the benefit	:
Tax Credit for children	Amount of deduction	Savings limit	:	:	:	:
	Entitlement requirements (income threshold)	Insured in a Life Course Savings Scheme	:	:	:	:
	Variation by family composition or other reasons	NO	:	:	:	:

CHILDCARE SERVICES

INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Cost of childcare services	Income-related fee: 25% total care costs (max.)	Income-related fees (a family with a taxable income of €3,000 a month or more pays around €1.80 an hour, while those with an income of €1,500 per month and three children can be asked to pay as little as €0.60 an hour)	Income-related fees	Public kindergartens: only meals must be paid	Expensive private childcare (0-3); public affordable public childcare (3-5)
Formal entitlement	Local Authorities must guarantee a place in a kindergarten, nursery, childminder or other type of childcare from when the child is 26 weeks old	Public and private nurseries are available from when the child is 3 months old (places in public nurseries for children below the age of 3 are not guaranteed)	Formal entitlement to publicly supported childcare services from the age of 3	Childcare for children aged younger than 3 almost entirely provided in private nurseries. Public support is high for children older than 3	Services for children under 3 are mostly private. Formal entitlement to public services from the age of 3
Regional variance on availability (children below 3)	Low	Low	High	High	High
% of GDP expenditure on child day care (2008)	1.56	0	0.44	0.11	0.17
Purchasing power parity/inhabitant: child day care	470.55	0.03	127.46	17.64	43.56
% GDP child day care (non-means tested) 2008	1.56	:	0	0.11	0.17
% GDP child day care (means tested) 2008	0	0.61	0.46	0.09	0.53
% GDP family or child allowance (non means-tested) 2008	0.91	1.09	1.65	1.38	0
% GDP family or child allowance (means-tested) 2008	0	0.55	0	0.02	0.44
% GDP other benefits in kind (non means-tested) 2008	0	:	0	0.3	0
% GDP other benefits in kind (means-tested) 2008	0.21	0.33	0.37	0.01	0.29
SOURCE: EUROSTAT (EU-SILC) 2011					

INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	Sweden	UK
Cost of childcare services	0.33 EUR/hour (income: 130%); 2.20 EUR/hour (income 3x AW). Cheaper fares for the second child	Limited offer for children under 3 (mostly creches run by non-for-profit organisations and fees based on means). Income-related fees: 121 EUR/month (income <403 EUR) for children aged older than 3 in public institutions	There are creches vouchers paid for the employers (c.80 EUR a month) for children under 3. Public supported childcare services free of charge for children aged 3 and over	Expensive and limited private childcare (0-3); public affordable public childcare (3-5)	Children between 1 and 6 are entitled to pre-school services: families pay max. 114 EUR a month per child (some concessions apply)	State-funded childcare starts at the age of 3 (2 for lower income families)
Formal entitlement	Childcare is funded from the State, families and employers	Public, private and non-for-profit creches are available for families with children below 3, but means-tested and places are not guaranteed	Formal entitlement to public childcare services starts at the age of 3	Formal entitlement to public services from the age of 3	Costs are highly subsidised for both age groups (0-2 and 3-5) and publicly run by the local authority	Public support starts when the child is 3 years-old
Regional variance on availability (children below 3)	Low	Low	High	High	Low	High
% of GDP expenditure on child day care (2008)	0.45	0.33	0.54	0.58	1.01	0.29
Purchasing power parity/inhabitant: child day care	151.51	64.88	65.3	148.88	310.75	83.56
% GDP child day care (non-means tested) 2008	0.45	0	0.54	0.47	1.01	0.29
% GDP child day care (means tested) 2008	0.16	0.33	0.09	0.1	0	0.23
% GDP family or child allowance (non means-tested) 2008	0.57	0	0.5	0.16	0.73	0.78
% GDP family or child allowance (means-tested) 2008	0.14	0.54	0.08	0.02	0	0
% GDP other benefits in kind (non means-tested) 2008	0	0	0.01	0.05	0.14 (estimated value)	0.05
% GDP other benefits in kind (means-tested) 2008	0	0.09	0	0.12	0	0.02
SOURCE: EUROSTAT (EU-SILC) 2011						

EARLY AND MINIMUM OLD AGE PENSION

	INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Early pension	Entitlement criteria	Individuals who are not longer capable of performing a paid activity or their capacity has been severely reduced	Long career, or have a permanent disability of at least 10% or 20% temporal disability	Individuals with a disability equal or greater than 50% and 35 years of contributions, or unemployed individuals with minimum contributions accrued	Individuals with 40 years of contributions	Employees with a minimum period of contributions
	Minimum age of retirement	60	60	63 (with disability) / 60 (special unemployed)	60 (men) or 59 (women)	Any age for people with 40 years of contributions or 61 any other case
	Minimum qualifying criteria	At least 3 years of residence and living in Denmark	Long career require 166 trimestres of contributions; employees with disabilities depends on other conditions	35 years (standard) or 15 yearsif continuously unemployed for 24 months after reaching the age of 58 and 6 months	40 years	35 years of contributions
	Differences between men and women	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
	Income replacement	c. 27,500 EUR a year (single); c. 23,400 EUR a year (couples)	Based on number of years of contributions and average annual salary	Reduced pension	Depends on the number of years of contributions	Some reductions apply
	Self-employed qualifying criteria (whether it exists and if different from general qualifying criteria)	Same criteria as general rules	NONE	:	:	At age 59 with 35 years of contributions
	Special cases	:	Handicapped employees with at least 80% and a minimum period of insurances	:	Employees in arduous jobs with at least 10 years (men) or 8 years (women) of contributions (1 extra year of reduction or every extra 5 years -men- or 4 years -women- of contributions)	:
Minimum pension	Minimum social assistance pension amount	335 EUR a month	Up to a maximum of 777.17 EUR a month (single, divorced, separated or widows); 1,206.59 EUR a month (couples) (2012)	Varies between Landers	108 EUR a month (2011)	5,577 EUR (single) or 11,154 EUR (married) a year (2012)
	Qualifying criteria	Based on residency	Individuals aged 65 with insufficient economic resources (means-tested by household composition)	Individuals on low-income (social assistance pension)	At least 20 years of contributions	Aged 65 or older with an income below a certain threshold

	INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Early pension	Entitlement criteria	:	Individuals with a minimum period of contributions (general regime) / unemployed that reach the age of 62 and have no more entitlement to unemployment benefits / 57 with 22 years of contributions	Individuals whose contributions have exceeded the qualifying period for a full pension by 8 years	Workers in harduous or dangerous jobs or with a disability or employees with a minimum period of contributions	Only partial retirement
	Minimum age of retirement	:	55 (general regime)	5 years befor statutory age	52 years for workers in special work categories or handicapped / 61 years for workers with long careers	:
	Minimum qualifying criteria	:	30 years of qualifying contributions (general regime)	40 years and 6 months (males) 35 years and 6 months (females)	At least 65% of disability (handicapped workers) or 30 years of contributions (long careers)	:
	Differences between men and women	:	NO	YES	NO	:
	Income replacement	:	Varies	Depends on the level of contributions	Varies	:
	Self-employed qualifying criteria (whether it exists and if different from general qualifying criteria)	:	Same criteria as general rule	Must earn more than 4 times the average gross income	:	:
	Special cases	Permanently disabled individuals	:	Partial retirement age has the same criteria	Partial retirement might be granted to individuals age at least 60 provided they reduce at least 25% their working hours	At any age provided you have serious ill-health and less than a year's life expectancy
Minimum pension	Minimum social assistance pension amount	The difference between your income and the minimum income	Individuals aged younger than 70: 215.09 EUR a month; older than 70: 232.61 EUR a month (2012)	It guarantees a monthly amount of at least 80 EUR (guaranteed social minimum pension) (2012)	618.90 EUR a month (single), 587 EUR a month (without dependent spouse) or 763.60 EUR a month (with dependent spouse) (2012)	Tops up to £142.70 (single) or £217.90 (couples) per week (Guarantee Credit) or up to £18.54 (single) or £23.73 (couples) a week (Savings Credit)
	Qualifying criteria	Individuals living in the Netherlands who do not get a full AOW pension and have little or no other income	Individuals aged 65 and over who are not insured and have little income	Individuals receiving a pension lower than the guaranteed social minimum pension	Age 65 and 15 years of contributions	People on low incomes: Guarantee Credit and Savings Credit

OLD AGE PENSION

	INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Old-age pension	Eligibility criteria	Danish or EU citizens or individuals with an assimilated status	Employees and self-employed	Employees, certain self-employed, individuals looking after children aged 3 or younger, voluntary workers or recipients of benefits	Employed and self-employed	Employed and household employees (excluding self-employed and public-sector employees who have different systems)
	Qualifying criteria	Minimum residence of 3 years between the age of 15 and 65	At least one trimestre of contributions to the old age insurance fund of the Social Security General Regime	At least 5 years of contributions	15 years contibutions (partial pension)	20 years of contributions (before 1996) or 5 years (after 1996)
	Variability of pension amount	According to number of residence years, income and family composition	Average Annual Earnings (25 best years), payment rate and total period of insurance and age of retirement	Depends on contributions and years contributed	According to years of affiliation and contributions	Depends on earnings, years of contributions
	Number of years for a full pension	40	40 years (public sector employees) or 41 years (private employees)	No qualifying period	20	40
	Statutory pension age (men)	65	62 for individuals born after 1st Januaty 1955 (67 for a full pension)	65	62	65
	Statutory pension age (women)	65	62 for individuals born after 1st Januaty 1955 (67 for a full pension)	65	62	60
	Full pension amount (State Basic Pension)	Between 765 EUR and 1,560 EUR per month (2012)	Depends on the duration of the insurance and the average annual salary	Earnings-related PAYG	Earnings-related (minimum of 108 EUR a month for individuals with 20 years of contributions -2011-)	Conributory notional scheme
	Conditions for occupational or personal pension schemes (compulsory/ voluntary)	Mandatory (ATP) for all employees and self-employed working more than 9 hours	Mandatory occupational scheme (ARRCO and AGIRC)	Voluntary contributions into a private pension plan	No minimum conditions (voluntary for employees after 1998) - Voluntary fully-funded scheme	Voluntary contributions into a private pension plan

	INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Old-age pension	Eligibility criteria	All resident or workers in the Netherlands	Employees and self-employed who have paid contributions (special regimes for civil servants)	Insured individuals (non contributory periods are taken into account if retirement occurs at the statutory pension age)	Employees or in assimilated category	Employees or individuals in an assimilated situation
	Qualifying criteria	No minimum	15 qualifying years of contributions (120 days equals to 1 calendar year)	12 years and 6 months (men and women)	15 years of contributions: 2 years must be within the last 15 years before claiming the pension	Must have reached statutory pension age
	Variability of pension amount	According to the number of years lived or worked in the NL, plus their living or income arrangements, and number of beneficiaries	Number of years of contributions and earnings (10 best years of the last 15 with a ceiling on the salary)	Number of contributed years and pension points	Number of years of contributions and average annual earnings	Additional State Pension varies upon National Insurance contributions and earnings
	Number of years for a full pension	Continuous work between the ages of 15 and 65	40 qualifying years	32 years and 6 months (men) 27 years and 6 months (women)	35 years	30 years men born after 1945 and women born after 1950
	Statutory pension age (men)	65	65	64 years and 1 month	65	65
	Statutory pension age (women)	65	65	59 years and 1 month	65	60
	Full pension amount (State Basic Pension)	Between 565.30 EUR a month (both partners receive pension) and 1,023.57 EUR (single receiving tax credits) (2013)	Earnings-related PAYG		Ceiling on payments of 2,497.91 EUR a month (2012)	Up to £107.45 per week (Basic State Pension) ; Additional State Pension based on contributions and earnings
	Conditions for occupational or personal pension schemes (compulsory/ voluntary)	Majority of collective agreements enforce a compulsory occupational scheme	Voluntary contributions into a private pension plan	Voluntary defined-benefit scheme (mandatory for individuals younger than 42 in 2012)	Voluntary contributions into a private pension plan	Occupational defined-contribution or defined-benefit and/or personal pension plan

LONG-TERM CARE

	INDICATOR	DENMARK	FRANCE	GERMANY	HUNGARY	ITALY
Long-term care system	Eligibility criteria	Any person resident in Denmark with temporary or permanent mental or physical impairment(s)	Elderly people with health and well-being needs and difficulties to perform activities of daily living	Individuals who have been insured for at least 2 years	Person needs a thrid person to develop ADLs for reasons of age, disability or sickness	Home-based personal and domestic care: Needs and means-tested (home help)
	Variation in the benefit (in kind or in cash) according to the level of dependency	Services are free of charge	4 levels of dependency	3 levels of dependency	According to the level and nature of the dependency	YES
	Variation in the benefit according to living or family situation	NO	Different level of benefits according to receiving home-based or institutional care	NO	NO	YES
	Co-payment conditions	Temporary home help must be financed by the individual	Income taken into account to determine service fees	YES	User fees according to type of service, family situation and financial means	User fees according to type of service and financial means (income and assets)
	Payments (in the event of cash benefits) or cost thresholds	Local Authorities finance social care	EUR 1,263.65 (GIR1 high dependency); EUR 1,059.13 (GIR 2); EUR 794.35 (GIR 3) and 529.56 (GIR 4 low dependency)	Variable on level of dependency and service	20% of income for domiciliary care and 80% for residential care	Large variability according to income and costs of care
Benefit to care for dependant individuals	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Employees caring for a closely connected person with substantial and permanent impairments	Individual leave for employees who have worked for the same employer for at least 2 years	Employees who provide care for at least 14 hours a week and work less than 30 hours a week	Family members looking after individuals with severe disabilities	Severely impaired individuals living in the same home
	Minimum duration of leave	:	3 months	:	:	:
	Maximum duration of leave	Up to 6 months	1 year	:	:	:
	Cash benefit	DKK 16,556 per month (c. 2,218 EUR)	Unpaid	It varies according to the dependant needs	EUR 100 a month (130% in case of intensive care needs) (2012)	EUR 492.97 per month (2012)
	Criteria of the dependant person	Must have substantial and permanet physical and/or mental impairment(s)	80% of disability	Must receive long-term care cash benefits	Disabled individual must live in the same house as the carer	Must be assessed 100% disabled or dependent
	Special cases	A constant care allowance is granted to people caring for a closely connected person who wishes to die in his/her own home	Employees taking care of terminally ill relatives who live in the same house	:	Individuals with intensive personal care needs	:

	INDICATOR	NETHERLANDS	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SPAIN	UK
Long-term care system	Eligibility criteria	Elderly individuals in need of long-term hospitalisation or mentally or physically disabled with chronic problems	Dependent individuals who need continuous help from a third party	Elderly individuals who need help with basic and/ or instrumental activities of daily living	Mentally or physically impaired individuals	Physically or mentally disabled individuals aged 65 and over with needs for more than 6 months
	Variation in the benefit (in kind or in cash) according to the level of dependency	3 levels (9 sub-levels)	2 levels of dependency	3 levels of dependency	3 levels of dependency	2 levels of dependency
	Variation in the benefit according to living or family situation	Living arrangements and old-age	NO	NO	NO	NO
	Co-payment conditions	YES (depending on the taxable income)	:	Individuals in institutions pay up to 60% of their monthly income	According to level of earnings	YES
	Payments (in the event of cash benefits) or cost thresholds	Large variability according to income and cost of services	98.77 EUR or 177.79 EUR for the 1st or 2nd degree respectively (2012)	:	Variable on level of dependency and service	£51.85 a week (lower) or £77.45 a week (higher) (2012)
Benefit to care for dependant individuals	Eligibility criteria - Qualifying period	Employees	Cash benefit for individuals caring for a dependent family member	Family members can work part-time to care for a dependent individual	Public or private employees	Individuals caring after a dependant person for at least 35 hours a week
	Minimum duration of leave	:	:	:	:	:
	Maximum duration of leave	10 days	As long as the person is in need of care	:	2 years (<8) or 1 year (8+)	:
	Cash benefit	70% of average earnings	88.37 EUR per month (2012)	Reduced hours are paid by the local budget at a value calculated according to the monthly gross salary of a junior social worker	Unpaid	£58.45 a week (2012)
	Criteria of the dependant person	Living in the same household	Must be dependent of a third party	:	Disability, sickness or old age	Must get Attendace or Disability Allowance or Constant Attendance Allowance at a certain rate
	Special cases	6 times the number of weekly hours (unpaid) if life-threatening illness	:	Disabled individuals are entitled to cash benefits	Cash for care might be transferred to a family member	:

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