

International
Institute of
Social Studies

Erasmus

Who flies the kite?

**Argentinean parental leave design: care penalties for
the included and the excluded families.**

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Argentina)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Policy for Development

(SPD)

Specialization:

Gender and Poverty Studies

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December 2017

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List of Acronyms

LGBTQI	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgender, Queer and Intersex people
AFDA	Association of Diverse Families from Argentina
FALGBT	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Trans Argentinean Federation
ILO	International Labour Organization
PLD	Parental Leave Design
INDEC	National Institute of Statistics and Census
ANSES	National Social Security Agency of Argentina
LCT	National Labour Act for private employee
EPH	Permanent Household Survey
EAHU	Annually survey of urban households
MTEySS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security of Argentina

Acknowledgements

This research has involved many wonderful people willing to see change happening. First of all, I would like to thank Drelinden NGO, as professor Irene Van Staveren and Wendy Harcourt for giving me the chance to come to ISS. Also, I would like to show my gratitude to Dr Charmaine Ramos, whose comments enriched my research.

Moreover, I would like to thank the members of the *Asociacion de Familias Diversas de Argentina* (AFDA), their president Andrea Rivas and all the LGBTQI families who support my work while participating in the survey. I hope the research findings become useful for their activism towards egalitarian leave entitlements.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this research to my mother and to any other mother who has faced unbalanced care penalties while raising children.

Abstract

This research paper analyses the care penalties embedded in the current Argentinean parental leave design. It summarises and structures the main feminist economics theory and findings of the influence of parental leave design on domestic distribution of unpaid care work, labour participation, and fiscal resources allocation and tests its validity on the Argentinean case. For this purpose, it uses national surveys data and a self-made online survey among LGBTQI families.

Findings hope to contribute to the existing local debate to reform the scheme.

Relevance to Development Studies

The research offers an original approach to parental leave analysis, looking at a Global South case and breaking the usual heteronormative framework used for unpaid care work studies.

Keywords

Parental leave, care penalty, unpaid care work, LGBTQI families

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Contextual background: Argentinean leave system

The current Argentinean National Labour Act only recognises fully parental leave entitlements for formal female workers who become mothers by pregnancy. Men, adoptive parents, same-sex couples and any informal worker have smaller, more discretionary or no leave entitlements at all. This unequal access to the right/responsibility to care, take place in a general framework where care provision is not fully satisfied by the State, and public supply of the existing options are not enough, mostly relying on women's unpaid time as providers of last resort (Rodríguez E. and Marzonetto 2016).

Within other policies based on gender norms, the Argentine parental leave design (PLD) assumes that women are the “natural” responsible for caring. This assumption seems to go hand in hand with reality since latest national households' surveys still show women holding the most significant care burden while ratios in labour market participation remain higher and with better conditions for men (Mazzola 2016, MTEySS 2017).

Although much academic research had portrayed these inequalities (Esquivel 2007, Aulicino et al. 2013) and even when legislators of the National Congress presented hundreds of bills to change the leave system, the law still has not been changed. There is a general fear that a more egalitarian and less gendered design would increase labour costs (Berger and Szretter 2001), and consequently prevent investment, threatening the future labour market. On the one hand, there is no reliable evidence to support these predictions. So far, the maternity leave expenditure, paid by the State and financed partially by employer contributions, represents 0.04% of annual GDP (own calculations based on Observatory of social security 2010: 14). On the other hand, what about the social cost of the current leave system? Folbre's (2001) theoretical contributions to the analysis of care work highlighted that usually people doing unpaid care work faces “care penalties”, meaning different kinds of disadvantages inside and outside the household that affect their lifetime earnings. Hence, it would also be important to consider if this PLD, every time it creates unbalances in the care burden, is putting “care penalties” (Folbre 2001) on the ones responsible for it.

The Argentinean parental leave system seems to be at a policy impasse due to a lack of in-depth evaluation of the total costs and total benefits of the current system. This research paper aims to address that impasse by answering the following central question: How are the care penalties operating (or not) through the Argentine leave scheme? It looks at how the leave system helps to create (or not) “care penalties” for the parents that affect the leave system itself, constraining its resources allocation. For testing these trends in a specific case, it will work

with LGBTQI (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex) families, usually excluded from this kind of studies, who might also be affected by this gendered design.

1.2. Research questions

Research Question: How does the design of the Argentine parental leave policy entrench or engender care penalties? In the context of LGBTQI as well as heterosexual couples.

Sub-questions:

- a) What kind of care penalties is the parental leave design creating or reinforcing in the Argentinean households, labour market, and public policy?
- b) Would care penalties appear even without a gender inequality departing point? Is parental leave design also creating care penalties for same-sex/LGBTQI couples?

1.3. Objectives

-To describe the underlying logic and identify the outcomes and problems that the current Argentinean parental leave design is creating in households and public policy, through the lens of “care penalty” theory.

-To see how this parental leave design is particularly affecting LGBTQI people.

1.4. Methodology

This paper offers a three steps analysis to answer the research questions. At a first stage, this paper proposes and builds an operational model, based on the relationships between critical theoretical concepts regarding care penalties and main empirical findings regarding parental leave design.

At a second stage, the research operationalised the proposed model to look at the existing data in Argentina regarding leaves legislation, take-up rates and its possible impacts on the distribution of unpaid care work and labour participation.

This section includes a revision of last attempts to change the parental leave design and an estimation of the cost that those changes would involve, understanding the lack of cost evaluation as a part of care penalties in public policy¹.

As there is no existing data particularly done on the links between the parental leave and the care penalties in Argentina, I choose to do an online survey asking

¹ Although at the beginning of this research estimations were supposed to include also a fiscal space exercise (in a search for more resources to finance leaves) intermediate results showed those extra resources were not needed.

specifically about this to a selected group of families. Intentionally, I chose to do it on LGBTQI families of Argentina because of two main reasons.

First of all, global PLD research done so far do not cover that much on LGBTQI couples. Then it is of particular interest to see what happens. In a world where care is hugely gendered, how are couples from the same gender dividing care?

Second, when looking at care penalties in heterosexual couples, there might be many other factors that can affect care and work allocation even before or beside parental leave. Those other major factors are not easy to isolate from the phenomenon of this research interest. However, LGBTQI couples might be less (but not necessarily not) crossed by other gendered stereotypes that could be already presetting unbalances, which allows seeing more directly at the issue of interest.

The survey of LGBTQI families was called “*ORGANIZACIÓN DEL CUIDADO EN FAMILIAS DIVERSAS. Cambios entorno a la llegada de un Hijo/a*” (LGBTQI FAMILY CARE ORGANIZATION. Changes related to the arrival of a child). From 15 until 28 of August 2017, I ran this online semi-structure survey on LGBTQI parents living in Argentina. 76 LGBTQI families answered 44 questions, 43 structured and one open, regarding the household distribution of the care work, leave take up and labour participation before and after the arrival of their first baby to the family (see appendix 1).

The size and the method of the survey are similar to what Erich et al. (2005) used to portrait LGBTQI family functioning in U.S. It is a convenience sampling built through snowballing. It used the networks of the LGBTQI NGO called *Asociación de Familias Diversas de Argentina* (The Association of Diverse Family of Argentina) -AFDA- and the network of *Federación Argentina de lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans* (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transsexuals Argentinean Federation) -FALGBT-. They contacted the families and asked them to participate in the survey voluntarily. Families filled the survey in the online platform Survey Monkey.

1.5. Limitations

This paper constitutes an exploratory research. By no means, it can establish causality at any of the links analysed.

The LGBTQI survey does not attempt to be descriptive of the whole LGBTQI population, considering the methodology used and the fact that the sample ended up over representing families living in Buenos Aires, with a high socio-economic standard.

Finally, this research is applying concepts developed in the global North to a case in Global South. This practice might limit the spectrum of local issues and over-rated others that not necessarily belongs to Argentinean context. The research makes constant efforts to counteract this possible bias.

1.6. Relevance for development studies

Although feminist economists have done much research on parental leave design, most of their work has been done looking at heterosexual couples using quite developed parental leave schemes in countries from the Global North. This research will offer an innovative way of thinking about parental leave impacts on a middle-income country from the Global South.; a country with a not so much developed parental leave design, showing data on non-heterosexual couples.

1.7. Relevance for Argentina

In Argentina, there are plenty of studies on the care deficit and the gender inequality (Rodríguez Enríquez 2010, Arcidiacono et al. 2016), but there is very few empirical work done on the specific leave take up or effects even when current issues are pushing the topic into the agenda.

In 2000 the International Labour Organisation -ILO- approved the convention number 183 to update the maternity protection extending the recommended length of maternity leave. In the plenary, Argentina did not ratify it and voted against the extension arguing that paternity leave should be included as well (Aulicino et al. 2013). The country stated that otherwise, an extension of the first one would go against gender equality in the labour market. However, after making that statement at a global level, the country did not try to give a different example at the local level. Currently, maternity leave remains below the convention standards, and the system is still holding a gender gap in the leave generosity as well.

In addition to that, in 2010, Argentinean Congress approved same-sex marriage and allowed LGBTQI couples to become biologic and adoptive parents. Since then, many families formalised their status and had kids, clashing with a heteronormative parental leave design. This situation pushed even more upon the limitations that the system already presented, affecting LGBTQI rights and possibly their children's well-being (Webb and Chonody 2014: 414).

On the other hand, women's movements in the country are becoming more prominent and are attracting broader interest in many of the feminist economics claims. The #Niunamenos demonstrations in 2015 and 2016, and the Women International Strike in 2017 call for a reduction of gender gap through public policy. Care and paternity leave are appearing more and more on the media agenda, pushed by women and LGBTQI organisations. This research can provide specific data to back up those claims.

Last but not least, in 2016, Argentinean government applied for becoming a member of OECD. However, OECD requested the country, among other changes, to improve gender policies to increase female labour participation (OECD 2017:135). Hence, there are local and global pressures, from international organisations as from root-based to discuss the problems of the current leave design.

1.7. Structure of the paper

After discussing the different perspectives to approach parental leave topics, the second chapter presents a theoretical model based on the feminist economics of care findings, centred on the concept of care penalty. Chapter three explains through that model the Argentinean context and its current parental leave design. Chapter four presents the findings of the survey run on LGBTQI families with the same lenses.

Chapter 2 Feminist economics care theory regarding leaves

2.1. What is parental leave?

Parental leave is the right of a worker to have paid time off from work to take care of a newborn child in the family. However, this definition varies over time, between countries and among international organisations. Initially, ‘parental’ leaves were exclusively a female entitlement, and that is why the term “maternity leave” is most commonly understood.

Parental leave emerged as a research topic after the increase in female employment, in the context of World War II (Pelletier 2006). For many scholars, such parental leaves were constructed to reaffirm the social norms about women being the primary caregivers, and therefore it was women who were to be absent from work. In that sense, rather than being imposed to promote women participation, most maternity leaves were included ex-post, as a response to the increasing women participation in the workforce (Nyberg 2004).

In the seventies, things began to change on leave policy. In 1974, Sweden became the first country in the world to approve paternity leave, followed by other countries from the Global North, which applied diverse kinds of ‘parental’ leaves. ILO convention about “workers with family responsibilities”, in 1981, and UN convention to reject all forms of discrimination against women in 1979, indicate that there was a changing social norm regarding leave issues as a way of achieving social justice (ILO 2014). Policymakers justified changes from different points of arguing: work and family conciliation, child development or gender equality (Lewis and Giullari 2005). However, at a global level, leaves remain “maternity” centred (Fallon et al. 2017: 115). In 2013, while every country around the world provides some maternity leave, only 79 countries have national legislation for paternity leave, and only five countries (Finland, Iceland, Lithuania, Portugal and Slovenia) offer a leave of more than 16 days off exclusive for men (ILO 2014).

Nowadays, academia use “parental” as a term that includes all kind of leaves related to this issue (maternity, paternity or other paid time related to childcare). It is a common practice in this area of study (INLPR.) to create a specific definition (regarding time delimitation) for each research, especially considering that national legislations usually split the periods with different names, making them not comparable at a global level. For instance, ILO (2014) defines the term parental leave as the extra time after maternity and paternity leave. ILO defines maternity leave as a time for “woman recovery” and paternity leave as “time to assist

the mother to recover from the childbirth” (2014: 60). For the author, these definitions look far away from reality. Both kinds of leaves end up used to take care of the baby rather than to make the woman resting and recovering.

This research uses the term parental leave indistinctly, to talk about the paid days-off for a worker in the first three years of the newborn (or adopted) child. I define it like this because this is the period not covered by public and mandatory education provision in Argentina, which starts at the age of 3, and usually acts, informally, as a place of care provision.

2.2. Approaches to Parental Leave

Currently, in English academic literature, we can find three main approaches to discussions on parental leave as a social policy. The first one is what can be called the “human development” approach. The second one is the “population and family-work conciliation” approach and the third one, the “feminist economics approach”.

The first approach has been mainly applied in countries where progressive leave scheme reforms have long time going on, and they study the impacts of these policies on the families’ well-being. For instance, in Nordic countries, Cools et al. (2011) proved an improvement in children school performance in families where the father (with a higher level of education than mothers) took the leave. Regarding well-being, Feldman et al. (2004) found a positive correlation in Sweden between broader and longer parental leave with child development commitment, higher paternal preoccupation, and less maternal depression. However, this kind of studies are not common in the Global South since those reforms did not happen yet and usually, there are not quality or detailed databases regarding leaves and leave take-up.

The second perspective, the “population” and “family-work conciliation” comes from the population study field. Here we find more studies about the effects of not having such a broader parental leave. For instance, Lalive and Zweimuller (2009) found that Austrian reform led to an increase in fertility rate (in a second child) for the ones taking the leave after it. On the labour field, Waldfogel et al. (1999) showed that in the United States, Japan and Britain, young children have a negative effect on women employment but when family leave coverage increases, they have a higher return after childbirth. Ugreninov (2013) analysed how the implementation of paternity leave in Norway led to a decrease in the use of mother’s sick leave. One limitation of this approach is that is usually more centred on women time, conciliation and fertility, taking them as natural caregivers, rather than looking at redistribution to make that conciliation possible.

As a student of the master, majoring in social policy and specialising in poverty, I recognise the centrality of the third approach, feminist economics on care, for analysing these topics. As no any other perspective, feminist economics lead to understand social policy in broader terms and to see its differentiated gendered impacts on social reproduction, a sphere that includes the approaches mentioned before.

2.3. Feminist economics on childcare

For the last forty years, feminist economists have shown how traditional economics academia and policymakers were ignoring key economic features that impact women. They highlighted how household arrangements, state policies, and markets fluctuations set up specific kinds of gendered distributive relations and institutional structures (Elson and Cagatay 2000: 1348). In the arena of household arrangement, they rejected the neoclassical assumption of looking at household as a single entity (Agarwal 1997: 3). Instead, they showed how intra-households' power relations based on a socially expected behaviour of maternal altruism affect women bargain power and, consequently, their access to resources. In the arena of the State, feminist economists highlighted how welfare regimes failed to consider care as a need to be covered, delegating it as unpaid responsibilities of women. Those regimes assume the existence of a male breadwinner in every home, who is responsible for the social security and citizenship rights within the home (Razavi 2007: 18).

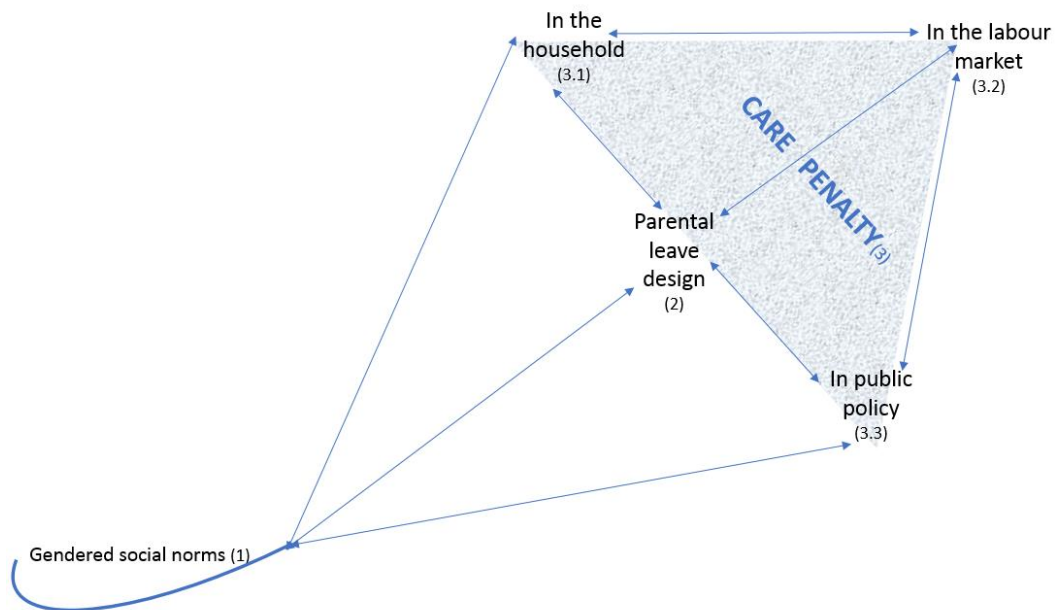
The same omission can be found in the narrow mainstream economics focus on the market-based accumulation rather than looking at the bigger sphere of social reproduction, the arena that includes unpaid care work (Razavi 2007). UNDP defines unpaid care work as the “essential domestic services within households, for other households and to community members” (Fälth and Blackden 2009: 1), serving people wellbeing. This includes household maintenance, care of persons as help to others in the community.

In summary, feminist scholars found a general invisibilization and undervaluation of care work based on gender norms. “Distinguish expected behaviours by gender” (Marcus et al. 2015: 4) where particularly “women and girls will and should do the majority of domestic work” (Marcus et al. 2015: 4). Feminist economists reacted arguing for the recognition of care as a need and as work; the redistribution of care between men and women, but also between the market, the state, and the household in order to achieve gender equality (Razavi 2007, Rodriguez E. and Marzonetto 2016).

2.3.1. Feminist economics on leaves and the “Leave Kite”.

The feminist economics approach has lately been dominating more and more the scene of leave studies. From this point of view, the question is to what extent the system of leaves helps or not to build gender equality. To summarise the findings so far but also to explain the concepts and relations that I will be using, I built the “Leave Kite” that you can find below in figure 1.

Figure 1- The “Leave Kite”



Source: own made based on Folbre (1994, 2001, 2008), Ray et al. (2010), Castro-García and Pazos-Moran (2016), Gupta et al. (2008), Bittman (1999) and Nyberg (2004).

The construction of this kite is a mix between the mainly theoretical work of Nancy Folbre (1994, 2001, 2017), who created the concept of Care Penalty, and plenty of more empirical researches done on the use and impacts of parental leave. The kite is anchored in social norms (1) and represents the links between the gendered social norms, the design of the parental leave policy (2) and the creation of a care penalty (3) for the one taking most of the care burden after a new child comes to the family. In a world where still the majority of this burden is taken by women, this care penalty goes hand in hand with the persistence of gender inequality.

As mentioned before, until the seventies worldwide parental leave designs were mainly a reflection of gendered social norms (point 1 to 2 in Figure 1), built upon them, where leaves appeared as a way to keep employed women attached to their home duties (Nyberg 2004). However, since the end of that decade scholars and some policymakers in Scandinavian countries started to treat the leave design actually as a tool to transform the gendered social norms (2 to 1). They realised that the first months and years of a child are the moments that crystallise gender roles regarding care with a long-term impact (Sundström and Duvander 2002, in Castro-García and Pazos-Moran 2016: 1). For instance, if only the woman in the family takes a leave for caring for the baby, this might lead to the idea that she will occupy the role of the caretaker from now on. In a world where care is mostly not paid, and the care burden limits other labour opportunities, that role will affect her incomes, increasing inequality within her partner and showing role models to repeat to their children.

Given the cruciality of that moment, parental leave design can help to reduce or to reinforce the scope of gendered social norms, every time it builds incentives for a specific division of care responsibilities (2 to 3.1) as a general gender division of labour (2 to 3.2) (Folbre 2001). Castro-García and Pazos-Moran (2016) found that majority of the leave policies in Europe still reinforce the unbalanced gendered division of labour while other presents fathers as “incidental collaborators” and even less promote “co-responsibility” (Castro-García and Pazos-Moran 2016: 67).

While mainstream economists might justify a gendered domestic division of labour (promoted in traditional maternity leave) as an efficient specialisation, Folbre (2001) explained why it is hard to apply the principles of efficient markets to the sphere of care. Folbre (2001) studied the intrinsic characteristics of the care work (paid an unpaid) and said that different from other works; it implies a moral, emotional and personal connection. It is work whose quantity cannot be easily measured as its quality is also hard to define (imperfect information). That is why paid care service might be one of the less standardised in comparison to other markets. Moreover, it is also hard to capture the effects of caregiving (Folbre 2001: 24). A person who receives the care does not necessarily value it, and will not necessarily respond with reciprocity to the unpaid caretaker (it cannot be enforced). Besides, there is also a lack of care alternatives that might make the person in charge of unpaid caring impossible to “quit” (no competition). Finally, it is hard to claim rewards for the care done to all the beneficiaries of it, since care has constant spillovers (in benefit of free riders). Who will take advantages of a well-cared and educated person acting in society? We all will. However, it is impossible to isolate those benefits only for the ones who value the work of the caretaker. That is why Folbre says care should be considered as a public good.

Care penalties

Considering these difficulties, Folbre (2001) explains that care specialisation creates a penalty for the one taking the care burden (2 to 3), putting the person in a risky an exclusionary situation, at home, at work and a public policy level. In the sphere of the family, the person taking the majority of the care burden is a risk because it has a fragile fallback position in the couple’s bargain process (3.1). In a possible divorce, the one who took the care burden -usually mother- tend to end up having greater responsibility for the kid despite potentially having less income. It is also common to see that the other parent –usually the father- might end up less attached to the kids and not paying the proper kids allowance once divorced. Carrying the care burden also makes it more difficult for the woman to find a new partner (Folbre 2017).

In the sphere of the labour market, the care burden limits the capacity to participate or to fully participate in it (points 3.1 to 3.2 in figure 1). It also affects the possibility to reach hierarchy positions, better paid, every time those usually demand the capacity to work more extended hours. Also, every time the majority of the unpaid care burden is carried by women, it leads them to occupy stereotyped positions related to the care sector, usually at low salary levels (because of the

value problems mentioned before). Hence, the care burden has a direct impact on the gender employment gap, gender segregation of labour market as gender wage gap.

Finally, in the sphere of public policy, Folbre (2017) highlights how the care burden reduces the ability of the people carrying it to influence the design of policies in general and care policies in particular (points 3.1 to 3.3 in figure 1). At the same time, policymakers tend to think on remunerating care policies when the care is taken by an outsider or at public institutions but is always harder to discuss the value of parental care, because gendered social norm implicitly says that this should not be remunerated. For Folbre (2017), policymakers rely on the inelastic supply of mothers, who the only choice they have to deny this reality is going on “birth strike” – like current South Korean case (Chin et al. 2012)-.

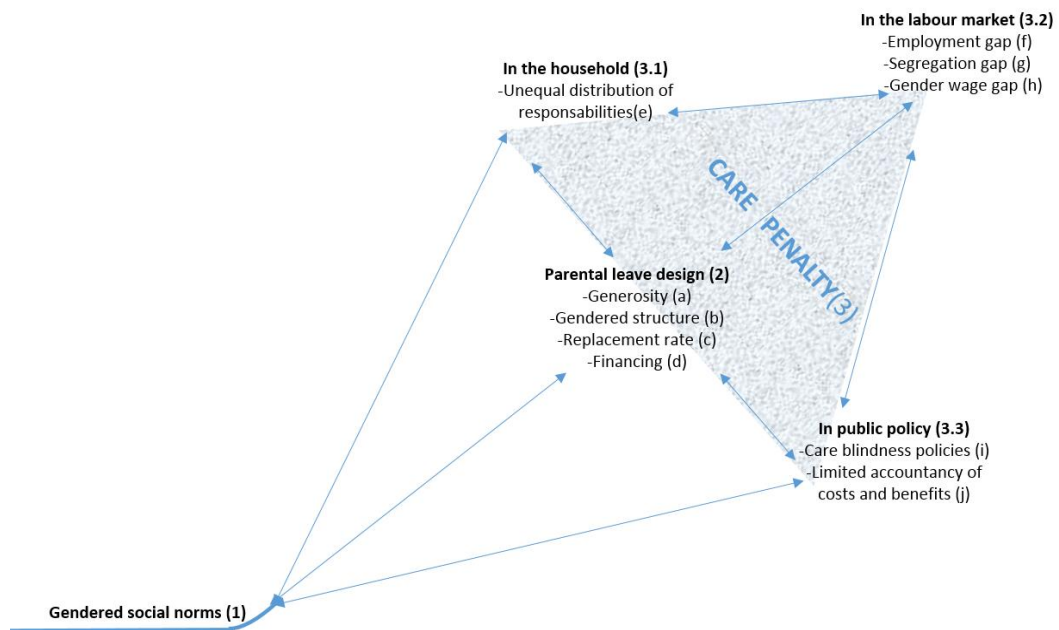
Taking all these into consideration, Folbre (2001) defines the care penalty (3) as the disadvantage financial situation caregivers (paid or not paid) get, affecting their bargaining power inside and outside the household and consequently their lifetime earnings (not just wage earning). There are other terms related to this issue like cash opportunity cost (Joshi 1990), motherhood wage penalty (Avellar and Smock 2003) or parenthood penalty (Bittman 1999). However, I will be prioritising the concept of care penalty because of two reasons. First, because it goes beyond gender as a source of discrimination, it rather goes to the point of the caregiver, which I found useful for looking at not heteronormative families. Second, because it includes the household dynamics as the macroeconomic sphere, explaining many of the constraints leaves schemes usually face to expand.

Realizing about the care penalty took many scholars to strongly argue for the promotion of a dual earner/dual carer model (Ray et al. 2010). The purpose was to reduce the risk of the caretakers, to give everybody the chance to enjoy giving care but also to give a diversity of care to the dependents (Folbre 2001).

Parental Leave Design

Policy leave design affects the gendered division of labour, paid and unpaid (Ray et al. 2010). Not only for the ones who can take it but for the society as a whole (Fallon et al. 2017), every time it promotes stereotypes. What previous studies have shown is that changing the incentives for sharing the parental leave among the couple and consequently sharing care is not as simple as it looks. Many categories of the leave should be analysed to see its gender output as its effects in labour market are not straight as they look. Design of the leave is mostly complex as its behavioural consequences (Ray et al. 2010). In figure 2, there is a second expression of the leave kite, detailing some of the key features and possible effects to analyse the quality of the parental leave design.

Figure 2-The “leave kite” features



Source: own made based on Folbre (1994, 2001, 2008, 2017), Ray et al. (2010), Castro-García and Pazos-Moran (2016), Gupta et al. (2008), Bittman (1999), Nyberg (2004), Gornick and Meyers (2003), Gupta and Smith (2002).

In point 2 of figure 2 we can see the axes to consider when looking at the parental leave design. The generosity of the leave (a) is the number of days covered by the policy, means the extension of the benefit. There are different ways of measuring this. For example, Ray et al. (2010) consider it a combination of leave duration plus weeks paid. I will simplify this category as the days offered while assuring job protection (paid and not paid).

The second category is the gendered legal structure in the design (b), this meaning to what extent those leave benefits are granted to men and women (Gornick and Meyers 2003) and what are the incentives for sharing or distributing better the leave. Some schemes have a “father’s month”, which can only be taken by men. (otherwise, it would be lost) while others have transferable days, leaving the division of the days to the couple’s decision. Here is also important which are the possibilities to overlap or to complement the leaves and to what extent they are compulsory to be taken. The majority on Latin America PLD are exclusive for pregnant woman and are compulsory, but father leaves are optional.

The third category is the replacement rate (c), this means which is the rate of income over the person’s regular salary that will be received while being on leave. Most advanced leaves have a complex design on this point, starting at a 100% or 80% rate for the first days but also giving a possibility to extend the leave at 0% after the first months.

The last item to be considered, which it has not been studied as much as the rest, is the source of financing (d) of the leave, if it has to be covered directly by the employer or if it is paid through a solidarity fund, similar to maternity leave.

Different combinations of these four items can have different outcomes on the real take-up of the leave and consequently on households and the labour market. In the last decades, the generosity of maternity leaves has been expanded in many developed countries without increasing paternity leave. This policy alone can have contradictory effects on the gender wage gap (point a to h in Figure 2) (Nyberg 2004) every time women while being absent lose opportunities at their work places or money, in case the leave does not cover a full replacement rate.

Gupta et al. (2008) found that a bigger generosity can start being beneficial but after more extension might become adverse to women. Directly the period out of a job might have a negative but not permanent effect on women earnings through loss of human capital (Gupta and Smith 2002). Other studies found that for each month taken by women, women and men loss wage, but for each month taken exclusively by men, women's earnings increase (Johanson 2010 in Castro-García and Pazos-Moran 2016). A lengthy and exclusively for women leave can prevent employers from hiring them. This statistical discrimination occurs against women, which make them suffer the care penalty even when they do not have kids (Gupta and Smith 2002). On top of that, if the employer is made responsible for financing the leave, this kind of discrimination might increase (d to h).

On the other hand, the generosity can have a good effect in the employment gap (a to f) regarding women's labour market participation, since a long leave can lead to stronger incentives for establishing at a good job position before having kids (Nyberg 2004). Finally, considering that in some labour sector absence is more costly than in other, it can force more gendered segregation of the market (a to g).

There is also a strong link between the unbalanced take up of leaves between parents (men taking up parental leave far less than women) and the gender gap affecting all women² (mother or not mothers) (Thoursie 2008) as to the access to high-level employment (Paludi and Helms Mills 2013). Here the gender design of the leave has shown to be crucial. If the day's extension is offered just to women, as is the case in most Latin-American countries, it can reinforce gender norms (point b to 1). However, also, when the leave is just "transferable" to men, ends up being used mostly by women anyhow (b to 2). Most fathers only take the leave when it is nontransferable and highly paid. Even if there is a father's month on the leave but is not compulsory and low paid, they will not take it (Castro-García and Pazos-Moran 2016). A possible explanation for this is that, while men on average earn a higher wage, taking the leave has a bigger financial cost for the

² Through missing human capital formation (for the ones taking leave) and statistical discrimination (for all women).

family. It is also the possibility to lose “competition” at work when no one else is taking the leave, plus the fear of challenging the gender norm.

With this framework as a background, Castro García and Pasos Morán (2016) analysed parental leave policies in twenty-one European countries and built the Parental Leave Equity Index. There, they found, in reality, no European country has an egalitarian leave for each partner. In the same sense, in 2016, Amin et al. run a 53 countries research where they found that only when paternity leaves are mandatory, women’s labour force increases -at least 6.8%- (Amin et al. 2016).

PLD influences the household distribution of care responsibilities (e) because private negotiations in the households are limited and fully influenced by the setup of conditions (possible earnings) that a policy like this offers (Bittman 1999). Moreover, it does at a crucial time because researchers have found that a large shift in women burden comes after children. Care of young children determines care distribution (Fireston 1970 in Bittman 1999) and usually gender division of labour increases after the first child (Sundström and Duvander 2002). The more kids the family have, the fewer days fathers take (Sundström and Duvander 2002).

Lambert (2008) studied 21 European country cases and proved that political and economic institutional understandings are key factors to shape variations in this kind of policies (point 1 to 3.3). When the norm understands the women as the natural responsible for caring, there is no incentive for changing the scheme and policies can continue to be care-blind (1 to i). On top of that, even when there is a claim to reform it, the problem is that the possible benefits of a care policy like the leave are hard to measure while economic costs of it is easy to see (j). Particularly, this is the care is a kind of work where labour is intensive, and costs are hard to diminish (Folbre 1994). Therefore, care policies cannot take the place they should in fiscal space (j to d) and are constantly relegated. Folbre says this leads to an economic injustice that should be changed, showing up all benefits of care, at a national as company level.

2.4. Where are the non-heteronormative studies?

Many of these impact feminist economics studies on PLD implicitly assume the existence of heterosexual households in their calculations. However, what about another kind of families? After identifying that hole, I looked for similar exercises in the field of LGBTQI studies³.

LGBTQI parenting started as a research topic in response to public questioning around the potential effects same-sex parenting would have in children (Goldberg and Allen 2012). This questioning is deeply rooted not only in homophobia but also in an interrelation within gendered social norms,

³ Findings and analysis this subsection section belongs to an unpublished essay done by the author for the “Gender and Sexuality” course -4338-, called “LGBT parenting in Argentina”, dated 14 of July 2017.

hegemonic masculinities and femininities and heteronormativity. The idea that a woman and a man are needed for raising children rest on an essentialization of male and female differences and a dichotomisation of biological sex (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Brings a postulation that woman will show to the kid hegemonic femininity features (sensibility, emotions, and passiveness) and the father will show hegemonic masculinity characteristics (bravery, rationality). It also assumes that, as part of an essential characteristic, the mother will be the one naturally caring for the child while the father will provide resources from the outside (Agarwal 1997, Budgeon 2014). In that sense, heteronormativity makes heterosexual reproduction seem the only coherent option “being produced and maintained through a restrictive discourse on gender that insists on the duality of man and woman, and where sex is (re)produced as ‘discursive,’ ‘natural’ and binary.”(Griffin 2007). Even in states where LGBTQI parenting is allowed and the discussion should be already overcome, adoption agencies and civil servants keep requesting the future same-sex parents to inform who will play the mother and who will play the father (Goldberg and Allen 2012).

Discarding all the heteronormative assumptions, studies showed that children raised by LGBTQI families develop the same cognitive, intelligence, sociability, emotions, psychologically adaptation and gender roles as children raised by heterosexual couples (Camacho and Gagliesi 2013). It is the “social effects of heteronormativity” and the socioeconomic status linked to the social recognition that LGBTQI parents enjoy or not, what actually might put children at risk, rather than their parent’s sexuality (Regnerus 2012).

In practice, LGBTQI parents can disrupt expected gender norms regarding caring. Studies show that sometimes perform what is considered “male” and “female” tasks, reproducing a gendered division of labour between people of the same sex. However, in many other cases, they just try to apply an intended more egalitarian model of care, dividing up the tasks (Ciano-Boyce & Shelley-Sireci 2002 in Goldberg and Allen 2012). Here also the context influences a lot the shape role division finally takes(Lorber 1996). For instance, Goldberg and Perry-Jenkings (2007) looked at the division of care responsibilities in lesbian couples of USA, showing that biological mothers do not necessarily carry the care burden after the birth.

Again, most of the writings on the topic comes from developed countries (Lubbe 2013), looking at countries with legal same-sex marriage. However, a common point along the research done is that while conforming an LGBTQI family, place, and community (residential community as LGBTQI community) matters, like the legal, political and religious climate. If discrimination is high, it might increase parents’ depression and affect the children in that way (Oswald and Holman 2013). Because of this, the focus of LGBTQI studies is still more on the context than in the use of leave system itself.

2.5. Conclusion

Parental leave design is a crucial policy for reinforcing or transforming gender norms. The leave kite summarises the way they can link and the kind of penalties

PLD might influence. This does not pretend to cover all forms of leave impacts, either to say that the mentioned features are only a consequence of the parental leave design. The kite is a way of simplifying the many axes and links that the analysed issue presents, and I will use it to contrast those features with my findings in the Argentinean case, for the general case (based on secondary data) and for the group of surveyed LGBTQI families.

The kite takes into account empirical works done mainly on heterosexual couples. When it comes to LGBTQI studies, parental leave design has not been directly addressed but recent studies highlight that the context influence a lot, where in many cases society expect them to take differentiated “female”/ “male” roles for raising their children.

Chapter 3 The care penalty in Argentinean households

3.1. Context introduction: care in Latin America

Far away from the detailed design discussions on current European leave policies, Latin America remains with a weak policy regarding the appliance of parental leave, having still extremely unbalanced leaves among women and men.

This occurs in a general framework where care has not been addressed by the Latin-American states historically. There is also different access to care services regarding social class. While middle and high-income women can pay for outside care services or for a domestic worker to replace her and use that time to generate other incomes, poor women do not have public choices to do the same and lose other economic opportunity (Rodriguez E. and Marzonetto 2016). This reproduces poverty making female caretakers stay outside of the market, and not having any other kind of income. On average, 31% of Latin-American women do not have personal earning.

Regarding leaves, only 9 of the 20 countries of the region offer maternity leave over the stipulated floor time by ILO (14 weeks) and paternity leave (present in 15 countries) is always no more than 15 days (Rico and Robles 2016). The latest countries in modifying their law are summarised in the following table next to the Iceland scheme, highlighted by Castro García and Pazos Morán (2016) as the most pro-gender equity, and compared to the Argentinean legislation. It is feasible to see how Argentina far away from the rest.

Table 1-Parental leave design comparison, selected countries

	<i>Iceland</i>	<i>Venezuela</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>Ecuador</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Argentina</i>
<i>Maternity</i>	12 weeks	26 weeks	14 weeks	12 weeks	14 weeks	13 weeks
<i>Paternity</i>	12 weeks	14 days	13 days	10 days	8 days	2 days
<i>Transferable days</i>	12 weeks until child has 1.5 years	no	no	no	no	no
<i>Financing</i>	Social security 80% of RR*	Social Security 100% of RR	Mixed (Social sec/employer) 100% of RR	Mixed in women (75% social sec. and 25% employer) Employment liability (paternity) 100% of RR.	Social security 100% of RR	Social security (pregnancy) Employment liability (rest). 100% of RR

Source: own made for an unpublished author's essay for course 4344 called "Policy Brief: Egalitarian Parental Leave for Argentina". *RR: replacement rate.

3.2. Looking at the “leave kite” in Argentina

3.2.1. Gendered social norms in Argentinean families

Although Argentina, like many other places in the world, historically structured family around patriarchal rules, recent decades have shown big changes for men and women regarding social expectations. New ways of living in family appeared or extended: no kids, single mothers by choice, same-sex families, or divorced father sharing custody. As a consequence of these changes, the patriarchal family is less typical than before. Between 1981 and 2001, households with a patriarchal model in the area of Gran Buenos Aires fell from 74% to 53.7% (Wainerman 2001 in Wainerman 2007). At a national level, current data shows that men are still the “chief”⁴ in 58% of the urban household (INDEC 2017).

A slow but sustained change in values was registered pointing to the search for women’s realisation. However, this varies a lot according to socioeconomic status. Nowadays, women with higher education have different rules for marital life and reproduction. Wainerman (2007) ran a survey on gender norms and household distribution of care responsibilities in 2001 and found more differences within socioeconomic classes than between houses with one or two earn winners. Double earners working full time were more common among middle and high-income families than in lower income groups, what could be related to the lack of care services for the last group. However, some traditional gender norms appeared in all status when it comes to caring. In all cases, women were working closer to their homes with the flexibility to affront family emergencies. They were in charge of the most monotonous unpaid care work tasks like cleaning or making the beds. At the same time, occasional tasks (like fixing the tubes) were mostly men responsibility. On the contrary, caring for their kids was more shared among middle-income double earners families, while domestic tasks still rely mainly in women. Middle and upper groups hired domestic workers (Wainerman 2007).

More recently, Gaba and Salvo Agoblia (2016) ran a survey regarding meaning, stereotypes, and significations that Argentinean men have regarding child care. They found that even when men are already registering the unbalance in the care burden, the practices remain much traditional. For instance, they are more involved in playing with their children (again a not monotonous task) but almost not involved at all in feeding them. 87% of the men interviewed declare to be satisfied with the level of family and work conciliation. They still see as fair that women reduce their workload and at the same time they believe it is their personal choice to do it, adducing “natural capacities” (Gaba and Salvo Agoblia 2016).

3.2.2. Current Argentinean parental leave design

The first maternity leave in Argentina was settled in 1905, by congressional request of the socialist party (Kandel 2008). Started as 60 days off for pregnant women with no salary during it (0% replacement rate), which make many women

⁴ The chief is the person recognized as such by the other members of the household (INDEC 2017)

not possible to take it, (Nari 2004: 218-219 in Biernat and Ramacciotti 2011: 162). Hence, in 1934 Congress approved a Maternity insurance to make it a paid leave.

Massive incorporations of women in Argentine Labour market started in the '60s and went deeper in the '90s (Aspiazu 2015: 8). In 1974, after a few dictatorships where labour law did not have many advances, a third Peronist government led the process of writing a full labour right act for the first time. This new law included paid days off for different reasons, and extended maternity leaves up to 90 days. In 1981, the national parliament approved a special maternity leave for Down's Syndrome, giving double time for those cases⁵. In 2012 maternity leaves (and another kind of days off as well) were extended to domestic workers, who constitute almost 1.12 million female workers in the country⁶.

Parallel to that, public workers of national and local governments respond to different legislation which usually provides better conditions, although always with a gap regarding gender. Out of the 23 states in Argentina, each body of public workers has different quantity of days. Same happens with teachers for every state.

The following table summarises the current national private scheme, written in the National Labour Act and covering all the formal workers in private sector, and gives the example of the national public worker's scheme to compare.

Table 2-Current parental leave design for national public and private employees

	<i>Labour Act for private sector workers No. 20.744</i>				<i>National public workers Decree 214/2006</i>			
<i>Gendered structure</i>	Pregnant female worker			"workers"	Adoptive parents	Pregnant workers	Fathers	Adoptive parents
<i>Generosity</i>	90 days of maternity leave	6 months of <i>excedencia</i>	1 hour reduce for breastfeeding for the first year	2 days for "child birth"	-	100 days	5	100 days to one of them, 30 to men
<i>Status</i>	Compulsory (optional to start before the birth)	Optional but not transferable	Optional	Optional and not transferable	-	Comp.	Optional	Optional
<i>Replacement rate</i>	100%	0%	100%	100%	-	100%	100%	100%
<i>Financing</i>	Social security	-	Employer liability	Employer liability	-	Social security	Employer liability	Employer liability

Source: own made based on Labour Act -No. 20.744 (1974) and the Collective Agreement of General Work for the National Public Administration Decree 214/2006 (National Public Administration 2006).

⁵ This paragraph belongs to an unpublished author's essay for course 4344 called "Policy Brief: Egalitarian Parental Leave for Argentina".

⁶ Own calculations done in author's unpublished essay, based on INDEC and MTEySS database, 2013.

Generosity

In the Labour Act (Law No. 20.744), the only entitlement called as a parental leave is the maternity one, which the law presented as a prohibition for working. Besides the 90 days (that 45 of them can be taken before the birth) there are extra days off in case of diseases related. After that period, there is an optional possibility to have an *excedencia* (extended period) in the leave, with no earnings, of 6 months. Once all leave is over, back to work, she will have two breaks of 30 minutes per day for a year to breastfeed her child. In practice, women use that time to leave earlier from work and feed them at home since most of the workplaces do not have feeding room. The female entitlement includes the prohibition of being fired during the leave, even 7.5 months before and after the birth of the child. It also gives a suggestive possibility to quit once she comes back, receiving 25% of the remuneration of the last months (Honorable National Congress of Argentina 1974).

The generosity of the maternity paid leave is below the ILO standards (2014), who recommend 14 paid weeks. About the requirements, the worker has to be in a previous formal job relation of at least three months. Also, to ask for the *excedencia* period is necessary to have at least 12 months working at the company. Therefore, ILO calls our system “employment-related” system regarding eligibility (ILO 2014:20)⁷. People working on their own or informal employees, as many employees illegally hired as *monotributistas* (a tax figure only for self-employed people) are not covered by this law either but any other.

Besides the leave, there are two days off in the Labour Act, for reasons of “childbirth” for workers, which in Spanish (gendered language) means male workers. This is what male workers use as paternity leave. Two consecutive days that cannot be split and should be taken right after the birth.

Particularly after same-sex marriage approval, the same article is read as an entitlement for workers of all sex who have a new baby and they were not the ones pregnant.

Regarding adoption, the law for private workers does not include any days off for them. In practice, through judiciary procedures, adoptive mothers are in some cases getting the maternity leave time (Cutuli and Aspiazu 2012).

Gendered structure

Considering the gender structure of the leave, it ends up being utterly unbalanced leave for a heterosexual couple (98% for the women, 2% for the man) which goes even worse if the woman took the *excedencia* period (99%/0.7%). For same-sex couples, it can create a similar imbalance in case of pregnancy through fertilisation and is just a blind spot in case of adoption (since some adoptive workers also find problematic to even access to the two childbirth days as well).

⁷ This paragraph belongs to an unpublished author’s essay for course 4344 called “Policy Brief: Egalitarian Parental Leave for Argentina”.

To show how insignificant it can be to have two days off, Cutuli and Aspiazu (2012) highlight that in Argentina 40% of children born are mostly through C-section, where mothers have to stay longer at the hospital than the paternity leave takes. Hence, father probably takes the days while the child still cared by the people at the hospital.

Even when it is possible to go further of this generosity and gender structure through collective union agreements, the dominant male unions in Argentina mostly relegated the topic in what comes to the employer claim agenda. Cutuli and Aspiazu (2012) researched the different agreement and found some improvements, but they always maintain the gap between men and women, with no longer than 15 days for the father (Cutuli and Aspiazu 2012).

Replacement rate

National legislation does not have midpoints regarding the replacement rate; leaves are remunerated at 100% of the previous salary until they fall directly to 0% replacement rate in *excedencias*.

Financing

Since 1974, the current source of financing of the maternity leave is the social security system. The Social Security Agency -ANSES- pays the allowance directly to the women on leave, for each month of leave. For paying those allowances, the agency uses the resources from a solidarity fund, where all employers contribute (not only the ones who will use it). The fund pays for maternity leave as for another type of allowances, recognised by the same labour act. Employer contributes with 7.5% per month of the total remuneration of workers. The funds also track resources from rates and fines, incomes from State's investments in the State, donations, bequests and other types of contributions (Honorable National Congress of Argentina 1996).

This system does not include the days of “childbirth”, the paternity leave, since that kind of “days off” are not covered by any specific fund. The employer is in charge of paying for these days directly from its budget.

3.2.3. Care penalties in the household

Currently, there are no specific studies in Argentina about the impact of the parental leave design and the consequent take-up on the distribution of unpaid care work within the families. As a close reference, we can see (or imagine) some of the trends of the kite through previous surveys done at local and national level.

On the one hand, in 2011 Mori Consultancy ran a survey of people living in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires (Gherardi et al. 2012). It asked families about how much leave and *excedencia* they took by the time their children were born. Among the women, only 34% were working by the time they had their last kid, but this percentage tends to increase once open the data considering educational status. Regarding the group of women working at that time, only 20% of them took the *excedencia* time. The ones who did not, explained that they could not rescind of their salary (since it goes at a 0% replacement rate) and the ones

who did take it show higher educational and consequently salary levels (Gherardi et al. 2012).

Regarding paternity leave, they found that only 28% of the surveyed men took more than two days off, showing a total average of days was 4.4 days (Gherardi et al. 2012). The same survey asked, this time only to the houses with children under the age of 13, who was the main responsible for caring. In 76% of the cases, the mother was the main responsible for their care. Only in 22% families fathers were the main responsables. At the same time, 5% of the families hired someone to help with childcare and domestic work.

On the other hand, the most prominent national precedent regarding the measure of unpaid care work was the national survey on unpaid care work (2013), which was an external module of the *Encuesta Anual de Hogares Urbanos* (Annual urban Household Survey) -EAHU-. This module did not ask directly for leaves or care distribution right after birth. It was an annexe, so the questionnaire was small. It asked to the people about the time they dedicated to a list of tasks on the day before to the survey. The list included the three components unpaid care work and outside voluntary work. In the unpaid care work it asked about domestic tasks, time helping kids with homework and time caring for kids and elders. Overall, results showed unbalanced gender distribution of unpaid care work, where women spend, on average, 5.7 hours per day doing not paid domestic work, while men spend just 2 daily hours (INDEC 2014) This average varies depending on education, women with higher education spend less time in this tasks (Rodríguez Enríquez 2015).

Although there were no specific questions to parents about the increase/re-distribution of care work after having children, there is some data that can be used as a proxy, comparing the answers from households with no children versus the ones with children under the age of six. In Table 3 we can see participation and time dedicated (among the ones participating). Even in families without kids, there is already an unbalance of participation and time dedicated to unpaid care work. Rates of participation increase similarly for both sex after comparing in families with 1 child. However, in households with 2 children below 6, men participation reverts and falls, following the trend mentioned in the theoretical part of this paper (Sundström and Duvander 2002), where gender roles are deepened with the second child. Regarding time dedicated, it is easier to see the childcare burden on women distribution, where the gap in time dedicated increased mainly after having the first child.

Table 3-Participation and dairy average time dedicated to unpaid domestic work (including domestic tasks, care work and support with homework)

	<i>Participation</i> <i>(percentage of total surveyed)</i>			<i>Time dedicated</i> <i>(in hours)</i>		
	No child under age of 6	1 child under 6	2 children under 6	No child under age of 6	1 child under 6	2 children under 6
<i>Men</i>	55,9%	64.1%	59,1%	2.9	4.5	4.5
<i>Women</i>	86,4%	94,9%	95,2%	5	9.3	9.8
<i>Gender gap</i>	31%	31%	36%	42%	52%	54%

Source: own made in base of INDEC (2014). The average of time dedicated is counting only the ones who participate in those tasks.

Looking at the tasks, in all cases participation is higher in domestic tasks than in the rest. In all socioeconomic context, women answered to dedicate more time. However, women of the first income quintile dedicate 8 hours to unpaid care work while women in the first quintile dedicate 3 hours (INDEC 2014).

Thinking about outside strategies that could help with the care burden, the access to child care places, informal or formal educational institutions in Argentina, varies a lot within the classes and the children ages. Here, the age where the compulsory education starts affects the availability of public vacancies directly. In the last years, compulsory age is slowly going down, what can lead to broader vacancies. However, so far those places are not an option for everyone. From the age of 0 to 2 years vacancies cover only 3.9% of the population in that age, for three years is 40%, for four years rises to 69,8% and for children with five years old (91,4%) (Rodriguez E.and Marzonetto 2016).

Besides, 12% of the Argentinean households (belonging to the 40% of higher-income households) hire domestic workers, who usually play also as caretakers (Sobeck 2017).

3.2.4. Care penalties in labour market

At this level, we can find the same situation than before regarding the data. There are a few small surveys which asked for the specific link between the leave take up/the arrival of children and the labour dynamics of the household, and there is also national data level that can be analysed from the perspective of the leave kite, although causation cannot be proved in this either.

Employment gap

Regarding the first type of data, Gaba and Salvo Agoblia (2016) surveyed heterosexual men (this time explicitly), older than 21 years old, who currently have at least one child of 1 year that living with them and with their partner. They answered that after having children, 58% of their female partners reduced or

stopped the workload outside to take care of the children, while only 35% of the men did a shift like this (Gaba and Salvo Agoglia 2016)

On the other hand, same national time use survey shows an inverse relation in women between time dedicated to unpaid care work and time dedicated to labour market participation, women working fewer hours spend more time in unpaid care work (Rodríguez Enríquez 2015). In the case of men, there is no such relation, time dedicated to care work remain low even working less.

Another way of approaching the possible effects in employment participation is looking at the current data from the Permanent household survey. The following table shows how the gap between female participation and male participation increased after the fertile ages for women.

Table 4-Argentinean labour indicators by gender, EPH 2017.

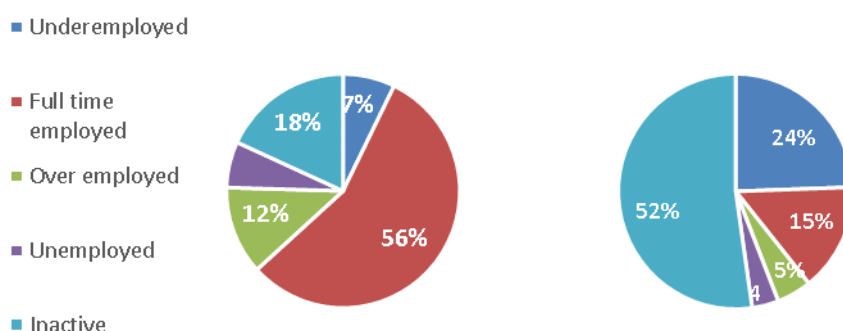
	Women	Men	Gap
Activity rate (in relation to working age population)			
below 29 years old	38.4%	55.2%	16.8 p.p.
30 to 64 years	65.2%	91.6%	26.4 p.p.
Employment rate (in relation to working age population)			
below 29 years old	30.8%	46.6%	15.8 p.p.
30 to 64 years	61.4%	86.5%	25.1 p.p.
Unemployment rate (in relation to active population)			
below 29 years old	19.8%	15,4%	-4.4 p.p.
30 to 64 years	5.9%	5.5%	-0.4 p.p.

Source: own made based on INDEC (2017), second term. p.p.: percentage points.

After fertility age, the average gap in participation rises ten percentage points, up to 26 p.p. Pretty much the same happens with employment gap. This might lead to think that facing the more significant amount of childcare a birth brings; women reduce the time they spend on labour market participation.

Trying to search for more accurate data, I processed data from households were couples live with no kids and compared with those who have a child younger than 3 years old. The following table shows the labour situation comparison of the femal partner (during the fertile period of 15-45 years old) with or without a first child.

Chart 1 Women’s labour participation without children (left) and with 1 child below 3 years old (right), 2017



Source: own estimations in base of INDEC (EPH Database 2017).

The gap in labour participation between both groups is about 34 percentage points, but also within the ones who are participating, women with kids are mostly working part-time.

Lupica and Cogliandro (2013) confirm a negative correlation between quantity of children and mother labour participation. However, she remarks that within quintiles difference in the participation of mothers varies almost 30 p.p. (Lupica and Cogliandro 2013: 105).

Segregation gap

Although there is a substantial horizontal labour segregation in Argentina, this cannot be easily linked with the kind of leaves each sector offers (as some global North literature suggest). Knowledge about what kind of leave each sector offers is deficient, so it would be hard to link segregation with a premeditation decision regarding leaves. Because of that segregation will not be cover either in this section or the survey.

However, regarding gender norms for women as “natural” caretakers, some of the most “feminised sector” are health (71%) and education (74%), with close links to care work (99%). They are consequently more present in public positions than in private (MTEySS 2017).

There is also vertical segregation: women occupy 34% of manager positions (MTEySS 2017). This can be linked with the absence or equally leave entitlements (where the probability of having a male boss on leave would be the same) that makes pro safe to put in charge a male worker that won’t have family responsibilities interrupting his work.

Wage Gap

In Argentina, gender income gap is 27%, and gender wage gap is 23,5% (MTEySS 2017), values close to global average (23%). Local feminist economists who studied the gap affirm that the phenomenon can be deeply explained by the different quality of female positions as to vertical and horizontal segregation based in stereotypes (Rojo Brizuela and Tumini 2008). The quality gaps in Argentina are not

connected to inequalities in educational levels -since women are on average more educated than men- either to different productivities (Esquivel 2007).

Regarding the stereotypes, those are not only about horizontal segregation (female jobs) job but they also include the idea that women are more expensive because of maternity leave (Rojo Brizuela and Tumini 2008: 61).

The combination of the phenomena explained before makes a financial penalty for women in the country every time they end up being the majority in the first income decile (77%) and the minority in the highest decile (28%) (MTEySS2017).

3.2.5. Care penalties in public policy: restricting PLD reform

A crucial part of the “leave kite” is the limitations that people carrying higher care burden find to participate in public policy and to put care related topics into the agenda. These limitations appear way before lower numbers of political participation (ELA2017): caretakers have even less time to read the news and inform themselves about politics and policies (DGE 2017).

There are many kinds of political participation limitations that caretakers suffer, and it is not the purpose of this research to cover all. In the same sense, it would not be possible to link this lack of participation isolated to the use of leave. Because of that, this research will focus the public policy axis on the place the parental leave design takes, as a care public policy, in recent times. Do the care penalties work preventing or boosting change of the law? What are the assumptions of the policymakers, considering that because of care penalties caretakers are not among them? There could be the case of a vicious cycle, like the one Folbre highlighted, between policy-makers -who do not do unpaid care work- but design or refuse to reformulate public policies like PLD, reproducing (and to reproduce) gender norms.

Parliamentary initiatives for changes

Since 1997, both chambers of Argentinean national parliament presented much bills regarding parental leave design. However, the times where the legislators formally discussed these bills were very few. The first time was in 2006, in the Deputy Chamber. They approved a bill to give 15 days for paternity leave and equal entitlements for adoption, among other changes. The bill was approved by a majority (125 positives votes, four negatives, and four abstentions), with no explicit comments against it during the session. Later was sent to the Senate but they never and lost validity (Argentinean National Chamber of Deputies 2006)

Four years later, the Senate initiated a new bill. This time the improvement proposed was even shorter. Only five days for paternity leave. In the Senate was approved unanimously, again no comments against it, and it had the support of the Ministry of Labour (Argentinean Senate 2010). However, when it arrived at the Deputy chamber, deputies complained about it or refused to treat it as it was offering fewer entitlements than the one they had elaborated before (Sanda 2011)

In 2013, discussions of mixed commissions in the deputy chamber started again. In December the topic reached the deputy chamber finally again with a proposal of 100 days for pregnant women/10 for other parents, applicable for

adoption and including lgbtqi couples in the use of all that kind of leaves (Argentinean National Chamber of Deputies 2013). It also included reforms in the social security system for financing it and included the labour act for rural workers as well. However, the topic was not treated during the indicated session and lost validity again.

Looking historically at the trend the bills had gone through, turns out the question of why these issues do not have space or relevance inside the parliament, or at least not relevance enough to be discussed at a chamber level (there were many written bills). One possible option could be that there is a problem of not reaching the proper majorities, but previous parliamentary votes show that actually majority of the legislators agreed. In fact, Cippec analysed all the legislative bills presented at that time to change the leave system (Aulicino et al. 2013). They found that people from all kind of parties presented possible reforms to extend the days and make it more inclusive. Hence, it is not a matter of parties' political oppositions to the topic either.

For this research, I tried to look at any parliamentary debate about it available from 2006 till now, and it was hard to find written statements against it. At the same time, among the debates, there is no real "care economy" approach to the topic, and if there is any, it is vague.

In 2015 some deputies tried to place the topic again, and media asked the leader of the business associations their opinion about it. The president of the industrial chamber (UIA) said the bill was a "new and usual advance in the private sector, who already faces enough efforts to survive in a country so difficult...it will surely affect the investment (...) it is characteristic of an ungenerous look with who are the true builders of well-being that are the entrepreneurs, in addition to the workers" (Hadida 2015). Following the same trend, Ignacio de Jauregui - Secretary of the Argentine Chamber of the Medium-sized Company (CAME)-said that the measure would only be reasonable in the case of large companies, but would constitute a noose around the neck for small and middle size entrepreneurs (Hadida 2015). Last but not least, a year later, a functionary from the Ministry of Labour said: "For Argentina, today, the priority is to focus more on productivity. It is necessary to focus on production, and more leave days would produce fewer days of work" (Telam 2016). Hence more than a denial coming from policy makers, it looks that it is the private sector who might be pushing against a broader PLD.

In their statements, we can see many assumptions behind. There is an idea that the leave will go against private business, through increasing labour cost. Also, there is an idea that the increase in labour cost will make close small entrepreneurship and also will scare away possible future investments. Finally, there is also this idea of fall in productivity. Hence, there are many links to unpack.

Why would the extension in leave days increase the labour cost? There are three possible ways of understanding this statement. The first one is to assume that business people are taking as granted that those extra days are going to be financed as the current days are: directly from the employers' pocket (see art. 158 of Labour Act 1974). However, many of the bills presented also propose to change the financing of the paternity leave, including it in the Social transfer act No. 24.714, the same source of financing for the maternity leave (see chapter 1).

The ILO convention says that to protect women, the employer should not be “individually liable for the direct cost” (ILO 2014: 20). Instead, they should be covered by compulsory social insurance -solidarity fund- or public funds. We can think the same should apply for paternity leave. If the reforms were including this shift in financing -as they were (see Order 2747 2013)- a rise in paternity leave was not going to turn into an increase in direct costs in that way.

The second option is to assume that, even if the financing changes to be upon the shoulders of the compulsory social security, the employer thinks that labour contributions would have to rise to make that new spending affordable. To see if that way of thinking is based on real numbers or if it is part of the care blindness, I am presenting some estimations of the current cost and the economic cost of possible broader systems.

Is parental leave expensive?

Last data available showed that the national social security agency (ANSES) paid in 2016 around 24.622 leaves per month with an average of 11.517 Argentinean pesos (EUR 696⁸) of salary (ANSES 2017). This means almost 98.208 pregnancies per year (considering each leave takes three monthly allowances). These are of course not all birth that happens every year in Argentine and either not all the leaves that women take in the country per year. This is only the pregnancies of the formal female workers working in subordination conditions for the private sector, which is the legislation that the deputies were trying to change with the mentioned bill.

Many other formal workers like public teachers, doctors, and local public functionaries belong to different legislation as mentioned in chapter 3. Also, as female labour participation is lower than male, and lower in fertile ages, many of the pregnancies are ran by nonworking women. Last information regarding birth pear year informs that more than 700.000 children were born in 2015 (DEIS 2015) which creates a birth rate of 17 children per 1000 people. However, if we take into account the birth of women in an age capable of working, we reach the number of 658.341. Moreover, considering the limitations mentioned before, that explains why only 13% of the birth is covered in this bill.

In the following matrix, there is a comparison of the economic cost of the current system, the cost of the 2013 bill and the cost of what could be an egalitarian bill for the employers.

⁸ The 2016 exchange rate of Argentinean pesos/euros was 16.53=1.

Table 5-Estimating the cost of current and potential PLD for private sector employees in Argentina. Exercise for 2016.

	<i>Current system</i>	<i>Deputies bill</i>	<i>Egalitarian Bill</i>
Female beneficiaries per year	98,208	98,208	98,208
<i>Days</i>	90	100	100
<i>Daily average amount of leave in EUR</i>	23.27	23.28	23.29
<i>Total cost per year in EUR</i>	205,275,022.68	228,083,358.54	228,083,358.54
Male beneficiaries	124,678	124,678	124,678
<i>Days</i>	2	10	100
<i>Daily average amount of leave</i>	30.43	30.43	30.43
<i>Total cost per year in EUR</i>	7,575,193.83	37,875,969.16	378,759,691.60
Adoption beneficiaries	-	217	217
<i>Days</i>	-	100	100
<i>Total cost per year in EUR</i>		8,330,630	8,330,630
Total cost for the fund EUR	205,275,022.68	266,463,298.05	607,347,020.50
<i>% of contributory fund expenditure</i>	8,0%	10,4%	23,7%
<i>% of ANSES surplus</i>	1,8%	2,3%	5,2%
<i>% of GDP</i>	0,0%	0,05%	0,12%

Source: own calculations based on ANSES (2017, 2016), INDEC (2016) and MTEySS (2017).

The number of female workers beneficiaries belong to the official data (ANSES 2017). In the case of the male beneficiaries, there is no data available since the employers currently pay the leave. Hence, I estimate the quantity through the Permanent Household Survey 2016 term 4, considering male formal subordinated workers with children (blood or adopted) below the age of 1. To consider the average amount of paid leave for each case, I used the one available in ANSES for the case of female leave and applied to it the average gender wage gap for private workers (MTEySS 2017) to get the average amount for male workers.

The cost of the current system (EUR 205 million) is just 8% of the expenditure the ANSES have on a contributory family allowance and 4% of the total allowances (contributory and not contributory). This is just considering the cost of pregnant female leave, as in the current system the paternity leave remains on the shoulders of the employers (EUR 7 million).

Using the bill that the deputies did, the second column of the table shows the estimated cost of giving 15 days leave to the male workers that have or adopt children (now covered by ANSES), extend to 100 days the maternity leave and give those last entitlement to one of the holders on adoption cases. For estimating the number of adoption cases, I used as a proxy the number of adoption allowances⁹ paid by ANSES per year (ANSES 2017).

The cost of the bill represents only 10.4% of the allowance expenses. There is no available information about the total budget for family allowances regarding labour collection (to say if there is of there is no space for this rise). However, it

⁹ Current entitlement workers have (which does not include free time).

is possible to see with public data that the Social Security Agency has a yearly surplus, even when the later years it has been paying grower no contributory pensions (ECOLATINA 2016) The rise in the cost compared with the current situation represents only 0.5% of the surplus ANSES had in 2016 (ANSES 2016)

The last column shows what it could be considered an egalitarian bill. That means that offer the same 100 days to all kind of parents in all kind of situation (birth/adoption). This is an idea that Congress did not debate, but FALGBT and AFDA claim for it. It would be a non-gendered system, perfect for same-sex couples but also to promote co-responsibility in all heterosexual couples as well. This time the cost rise to EUR 607 million, which represents now a higher percentage of the allowances expenditure, but again it can be covered entirely with the surplus of ANSES without increasing any labour contribution from the employer. The rise in the cost only takes 5.2% of the ANSES surplus.

There is no expected rise in the fertility rate that could make the cost bigger either. The fertility rate has been falling and creating what is called “demographic bonus” (Díaz Langou and Caro Sachetti 2017). A policy like this could incentive a shorter falling of the fertility rate and hence a less risky dependency rate in the future. Hence, it is not a matter of the Social Security sustainability (and a possible rise in labour contributions) either.

Are there cost for replacing the person on leave?

The third option is regarding the cost of the people that the employer will have to hire to replace the worker while being him/her on leave. To picture the size of that replacement we need to know the accountancy of each company, something not possible to develop for this exercise. However, Berger and Szretter (2001) estimated this cost for Argentinean private companies in 2001. First, they highlighted that as the parental leave is usually an absence planned, companies have the time to organise the replacement in a way that would not affect the work needed for that person. One possibility is that the company organise the work using the idle capacity of other employees, something that happens very often (Berger and Szretter 2001).

If there is a need to replace the person with another one, something that has logic every time a position exists because others can not take the amount of work, the company will have to hire someone for that period. The cost of hiring that person would be probably at the same or even less salary that the person in leave (as the new one usually has fewer seniority payments). In one case or the other, it is important to notice that, during the leave of the first person -while her/his leave salary is paid by the solidarity fund and not by the company-, the company has the same amount of money free to use in hiring someone else (Berger and Szretter 2001). Even considering all the possible situation that might add extra cost, Abramo y Todaro (2002) found that the sum of possible cost does not represent more than 2% of female salary.

Does leave bring a fall in productivity?

This is also a weak argument. First, with a restricted PLD like the current one, the absence of leaves forces workers to use their vacations days as a leave. Hence, even if productivity is not “lost” by any leave, might end up make it fall in the long term, when the worker comes back more tired to work. Second, studies

proved that bigger leaves increase productivity, making for instance sick leave to go down (Ugreninov 2013). Third, as productivity is also relative (to other companies productivities), if the same rule run for all the workers and companies, in relative terms every company will maintain their rates. Because of the same logic is that female workers need paternity leave to happen, to distribute the probabilities of being on leave among all workers, and to prevent the employer to choose the less “risky” employees (the male ones). Finally, what about the fall in productivity from workers with family responsibilities directly quitting the company because of the lack of leaves?

In conclusion, if the costs are so few, why they keep saying this change is expensive? An essential notion of Folbre’s care penalties in public can be related to this situation. It looks like the policymakers, or in this particular case business leaders are comparing these possible shifts versus a situation where women are carrying the same burden “for free”. Their willingness is taken as granted and their time as well. They also do not take into account needs from LGBTIQI couples, which regarding cost are no significant either (proxy for adoption).

In a narrow view of their costs and benefits, the opportunity cost of making this shift happen is breaking this free supply of care work which, in their view is making their cost lower than they could be. “The costs of biological reproduction is considered as free goods delivered by nature.” (Abramo and Todaro 2002: 44) and looks like paying for it, even if does not come from their pockets, is considered a lost. Perhaps a lost of other “productive” uses for that same money?

3.3. Conclusions for an Argentinean “leave kite.”

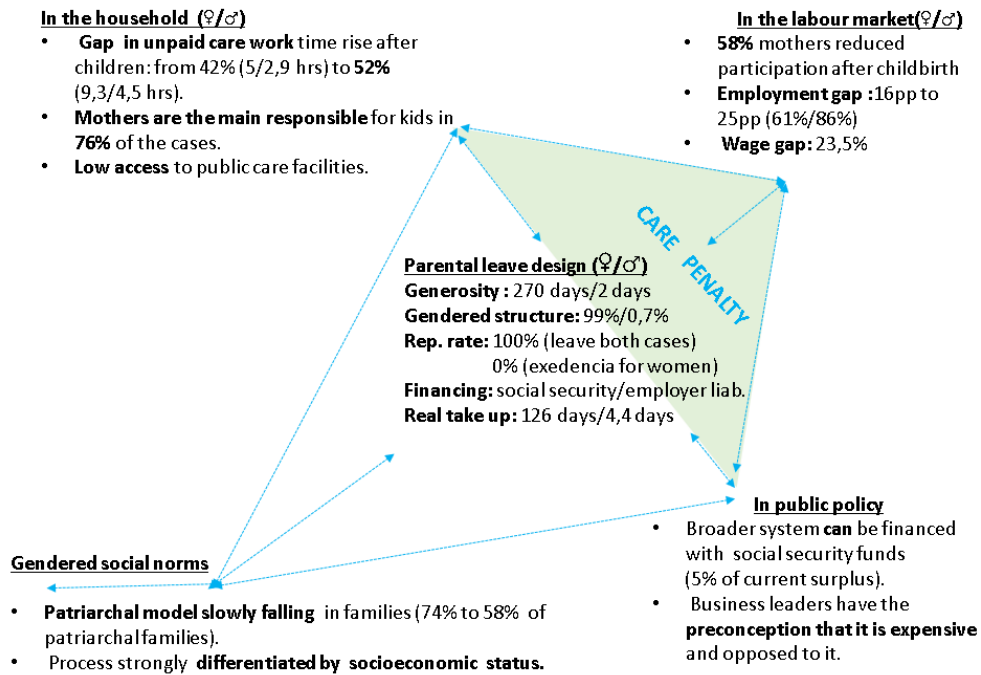
Gendered social norms have been changing in Argentina. However, PLD still reinforces a traditional model of male breadwinner and female caretaker with an extremely gendered structure and with no room for not biologic families. That structure reflects in the households where mother retains most of the extra burden after childbirth and reduce their labour participation, affecting their incomes and labour possibilities.

In a country where public care facilities are not enough, this process is strongly differentiated by socioeconomic status, where high-income families can pay for other options to replace the mother “duty”.

Although there are resources for financing a better system without increasing labour cost, employers remain strongly informed by the same gendered social norms, opposing to change and assuming mothers as an inelastic supply of care.

The following figure summarises the findings of this chapter, made through the analysis of secondary data. The arrows have a dotted line because for national surveys is not possible to confirm causality.

Figure 3- Building a “Leave kite” for Argentina



Source: own made based on INDEC (2014/2017), MTEySS (2017), Wainerman (2007), Cutuli and Aspiazu (2012), Gherardi et al. (2012) and Gaba and Salvo Agoblia. pp: percentage points

Chapter 4 Care penalties beyond gender: LGBTQI parents

The previous section highlighted the care penalties trends in Argentina from a very heteronormative framework. However, one might argue that those penalties respond directly to the gender norms and to a general framework of gender-based discrimination rather than being a result of PLD and care work allocation. To show a case without this initial inequality within the members of the couple¹⁰, and to break the heteronormativity of the data, this section looks on the LGBTQI parents. How is the leave kite in this case? To answer that question the survey focused on the axes of the kite: what was their leave take-up, the burden of unpaid care work and the labour participation before and after their first child.

4.1. Gendered social norms for LGBTQI parenting in Argentina¹¹

In Latin America, the resistance to LGBTQI families is strongly informed by the Catholic Church, but diversity organisations have brought the issue of the legality of LGBTQI rights increasingly through time (Lubbe 2013), and Argentina is one of the regional leaders in that trend.

In 2005 many of these organisations decided to come together in a federation -FALGBT- to build a jointed agenda regarding equal citizenship recognition, at a legal and social level. The agenda included: the modification of the Civil Code to include same-sex marriage, habilitation to adopt children jointly, the approval of a Gender Identity law to allow transgender people to define their identity, an Anti-discrimination bill, the inclusion of gender and sexuality diversity topics in the Sexual Education Law as the repeal of criminal laws that criminalize sexual diversity (Paulón 2011).

At the end of 2009, a judge gave place to one of the claims allowing the first same-sex marriage, and the next year the National Parliament treated and approved the change in the civil Act. In an only one-night session, but after many political and social alliances and public debate built in advance, Argentina became the first country of Latin América in recognising same-sex marriage and parenthood (Paulón 2011).

¹⁰ This does not mean that gender base discrimination does not affect LGBTQI community. It does, for instance in the social recognition and acceptance of gays couples rather than lesbians, as well as lesbians can be globally affected by the gender base discrimination in labour market. However, after not seeing many differences from that perspective, the survey focuses in internal differences rather than inequalities among the LGBTQI subgroups.

¹¹ The next subsection is based in research done by the aouthr for course “Gender and Sexuality” -4338- essay, called “LGBT parenting in Argentina”, dated 14 of July 2017.

The possibility to allow LGBTQI couples to have/adopt children was the most sensible point of the law. By that time, the Catholic Church and the leaders of parenthood NGOs spoke publicly against same-sex marriage, contributing to the debates about the expected “effects on children” of not having a male and a female role. They also based their critiques on what Lorber (1996: 154) calls psychoanalytic theory, where children supposedly need both roles to identify to their same-sex and separate themselves from the opposite sex.

After the bill passed, many pre-existing LGBTQI families became visible, getting married or just changing the way they act in public (Camacho and Gagliesi 2013). Before legal recognition, it was even more common first to have kids in a heterosexual relationship and then come “out of closet”(La Nacion 2010), keeping the parental role given by their previous heterosexual relationship. Now, we can find a different kind of LGBTQI families. Regarding bonding, there are single parents, couples or separated but also Co-parenthood and pluri-parenthood. Regarding the reproduction method to maternity/paternity can be a sexual relationship, artificial insemination, surrogacy -illegal in the country- and adoption) (Camacho and Gagliesi 2013).

In 2015, five years later after “egalitarian” marriage approval(Honorable National Congress of Argentina 2010), a group of LGBTQI parents came together to share situations and feelings regarding parenting in a (still) heteronormative context.They and their children still suffer from institutional violence. Schools, hospitals as government offices are plagued by gendered formal and informal arrangements where the only possible form of family is the father and mother. “Who plays the mother and who plays the father?” is a common question that they received very often (Rivas 2017). Parental leave design is one of those policies that still invisibilizes them. That is still the general context where in wich LGBTQI families answered this survey.

4.2. Exploratory survey of LGBTQI community from Argentina

76 people answered the survey that ran online from 15 of August until 28 of August. The FALGBT gave publicity to the survey spreading it to all the local NGOs that belong to the federation. The survey was sent to LGBTQI families once they agreed to participate, through email or Facebook post. Of the 44 questions (see appendix 1), a few were added by the interest of the NGOs (AFDA and FALGBT), regarding topics like the difficulties families faced before having the kids, acceding or not to the means to have children. The rest cover the axes of the lave kite. Every time it was possible, survey questions repeated measures and ways of asking from INDEC (national institute of statistics) national surveys, to create similar data (although it would be methodologically not robust to compare them).

Majority of the respondents (87%) came from Buenos Aires City (capital city) as from the province of Buenos Aires. There are also answers from other six provinces of Argentina: Cordoba, Mendoza, Neuquén, Salta, San Luis and Santa

Fe, but a low scale. Even where the total population is extremely focused in Buenos Aires (city and province), in this sample those cases are overrepresented (87% in the sample versus 43% of the population). This concentration can be a result of the FALGBT and AFDA location but also reflect on a more profound phenomenon of LGBTIQI people living in the most opened mind parts of the country.

One way or the other, considering that Buenos Aires city is the richest city in the country, and taking into account that their educational and labour formality resulted to be above the average levels (see appendix 2), it should be taken into account the biased of this sample towards high income families.

A majority of the surveyed were lesbian¹² (63,6 %), 16,9% gay, 7,8% bisexual, 5.2% transgender and the rest identify them selves differently. The average age of the surveyed is 36 years old.

Chart 2-Surveyed self-identity

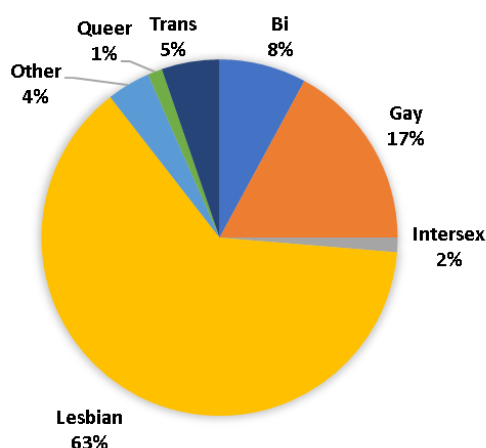


Table 6-Place of living

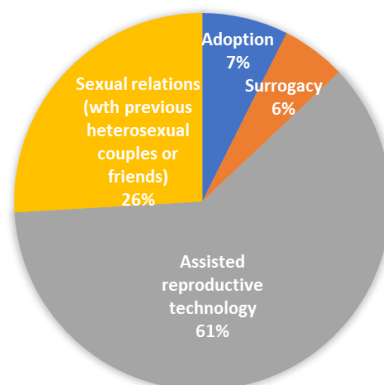
Provinces	People surveyed
Buenos Aires Province	33
Buenos Aires City	33
Córdoba	2
Mendoza	2
Neuquén	1
Salta	2
San Luis	1
Santa Fe	2
Grand Total	76

72.37% of the surveyed people have children, and 74,55% of that group have only one child. In any case, survey asked them about situations regarding the first child in the family, to simplify the analysis but also following the idea that the crucial moment for care distribution is the first child. Among the ones that already have kids, the average age is 39 and 62% of their children are below the age of 7 which means that in most of the cases they raised them after the approval of same-sex marriage law (2010).

61% of the interviewed have their first children through methods of assisted reproduction (see figure 5) while other methods (as sexual relations) appeared more frequently with older surveyed and older siblings, in the period previous to the law.

¹² Although the original question was about sex, activist requested to ask about how they identify using the community letters and giving an open space for other identification as well.

Chart 3-Reproductive methods used to have first child among the surveyed



The question about methods of reproduction was important because depending on it the needs for leave days vary. For instance, adoption requires having free time to prepare the house and life once the accepted parents get to know their age. Assisted reproductive technology needs time in advance for starting the specific treatments and visits the doctor.

96.15% had their children with other parents (shared parenthood). Hence, we can think that in the majority of the cases two people were supposed to be emotionally and responsibly involved in raising and caring for the child. 62% of them still live with the other parent. Although it was expected to achieve both parents where there were 2, and especially when they still live together, only in 8 cases the survey was replied by both members (16 surveyed).

4.2.1. Parental leave design/Access to parental leave

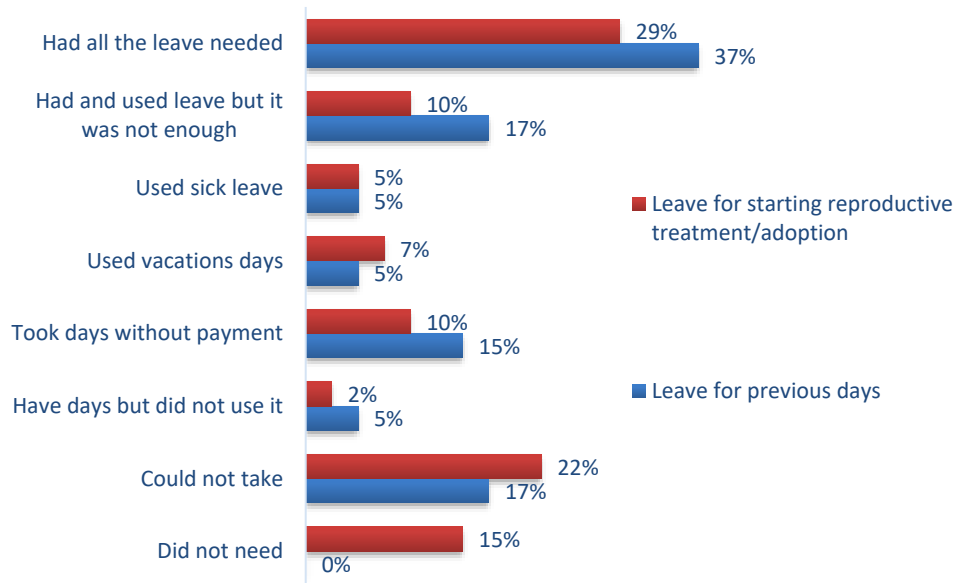
86% of the surveyed people with kids were working in the previous months before having their first child (45 people). To them, I asked what kind of leave they got¹³ for days before and after the birth/arrival of their first child, if they have or don't have paid days off, if they replace with vacation days, or if they had it and did not take it. This was a fundamental question regarding the lack of an inclusive PLD law and the variation regarding labour sectors entitlements.

Generosity

The options offered to them for the previous period (for starting treatment or adoption/previous days before the arrival) appear in chart 5. The use of sick leave was not among the pre-settled alternatives but surveyed put it in the open field for other cases.

¹³ The majority were working in subordination conditions (see appendix 2).

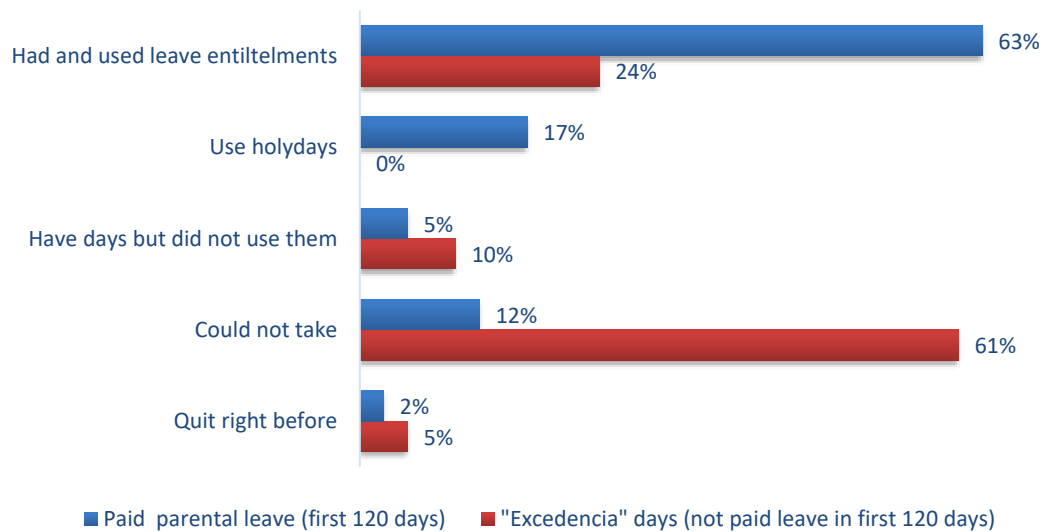
Chart 4-Access/use of leave days for starting reproductive/adoption procedures and previous days (percentage of the total working surveyed)



As chart 5 shows, the majority of the people got their way to have the days off when they needed, with a variety of forms. This can be surprising since the legislation does not cover days of preparation if this is not for the pregnant woman. This can be because previous days are usually smaller periods of time (it is easier to ask informally for two days off than for 30) or also because inseminated women (In a survey where this is the method most used) get the leave entitlement as any other pregnant woman. There is still a big group who was not able to ask for the days (22%/17%). The differences in the options can make us think that the diversity of situations plus the lack of specific law can lead to some discretionally in the use of these entitlements. Finally, there is a group (17%/2%) that, for any reason, considered those days where not needed (“did not need”/ “had days but did not use it”).

About the period after the birth/arrival of the child, the survey asked them 1) if they got a paid leave (and how many days it was) and 2) if they reach to have the *excedencia* period or any other kind of leave at a 0% replacement rate.

Chart 5 Access to leave and *excedencia* entitlements in the following 120 days after child arrival (percentage of the total working surveyed)



After the birth, a majority (63% of the people) took paid leave with an average of 56.7 days. 23% of the interviewed had to use holidays as leave days at some point in the process.

Trying to see the generosity of the leave I look at the average of formal entitled days after birth (counting leave and *excedencia*). On average people got 84 days, however, there is a difference between pregnant people (109 days) and the rest (59 days).

Gendered structure, take-up and different profiles

Regarding the gender structure, as said before, LGBTQI people crashes with a system that is heteronormative in law. Although the first idea was to see how many leave days, people got regarding their “assigned” gender and their reproductive method they used, data does not seem to show a specific logic regarding gender or reproductive methods (see table in annexe 2). Instead, differences could be a reflection of the different labour situation in which they ask for the days.

Trying to look beyond, in the four previous questions we can see a crossing of two dimensions: the entitlement to leave and the action of leaving (even where there is no entitlement). To organise and compare I re-categorise options regarding both dimensions in the following table:

Table 7-Categorization of responses from surveyed regarding access and use of leave

	Quit	Did not need	Could not take	Have days but did not use it	Took it without payment	Use holidays	Use sick leave	Had and used but it was not enough	Had all the leave needed
<i>Entitled</i>	-	-	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes
<i>Real take up (paid or not paid)</i>	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Following categorisation of table 9, I recalculated the rate of entitlements and take-up rate. Results are in table 10.

Table 8- Summary of the leave entitlements rate and real take-up rate among the surveyed

	<i>Starting Treatment leave</i>	<i>Previous days</i>	<i>Paid leave</i>	<i>Excedencia</i>
<i>Entitled (the right to take it)</i>	41%	59%	68%	34%
<i>Real take up (paid or not paid)</i>	61%	78%	80%	24%

Overall, more people are taking the days off that the ones entitled to it, regardless of the legal status of it (sick leave, vacation leave or maternity leave). However, with the “excedencia” period, where the replacement rate is zero, the rate of take-up is below the total of entitled people. Not everyone can stay without income, even considering this sample is biased towards high socioeconomic status.

Finally, looking intensely at the individual trajectories, regarding the 4 leaves questions, and recognising significant differences in days off within the surveyed, I decided to split the surveyed into 3 profiles. First, there are the ones who took leave time (more than 15 days in total) and took all the leave days that they were entitled to take. Those will be called the “leave profile” people/leave-takers. I also add to this group the people who had to quit their jobs or were fired right after their child`s arrival. 25 cases qualified in this group, 14 of them were people who carried the pregnancy. On average, the leave-takers group took 108 days of leave. I called the “collaborator” profile (18 cases) the ones who took less than 15 days in total or refuse to take paid leave days to what they were entitled. On average this group took 8 days of leave. These two profiles are useful to compare the links between the people taking the leave, and their care penalties, with the ones who did not take the same burden.

I also built a third group with the remaining people, who were not working by the time they had their first child (5 cases). Hence, they did not “need” per se a leave entitlement although it can be expected to behave as the “leave profile,”

since they were probably available for taking care of their child in that first period.

In the following questions, I control through those three groups to find differences regarding the care penalties.

4.2.2. Care penalties in the household

The survey asked about unpaid care work burden in many different ways with the aim of double checking information. Asking about this is always tricky since people usually undermine the time they spend on care (Rodríguez Enríquez 2015). To correct the bias sometimes researchers use task diaries, in which people write down what they are doing during the day, but this is only possible in much more detailed studies (there is a need to train the people before giving them the diaries). Upon that, in this study, it was of interest to know how was care dedication in the past, something that is even harder to remember. Hence answers by definition are imprecise.

Survey asked them first how much time dedicated per day to care tasks "in general"¹⁴ (before having children - and in the present) what seems to have a panning about the place care occupies the care in the daily life of that person and compare it after having children (see table in annex 2). Before having children, 43% of the interviewed declare to take between 2 and 5 hours for care work (in an optional and general question), a total percentage that remains after having children. Data show shifts in the extremes: before having children, no one in the group declares to spend more than 8 hours in unpaid care work, but after that, a 10% of people do. Looking at the data through individual shifts it is possible to compare how leave-takers time dedication to caring rises in 68% of the cases, while in cases of "collaborator" profile, care burden rises only among 25% of them. This seems to go hand in hand with the theoretical links explained in the leave kite. Regarding the "not working" group, results are dissimilar. One half that currently has full-time jobs reduced their care time, and the other half (who continue to be "inactive") remain with pretty similar amounts of care burden.

After that comes a more detailed question, which serves as a control for the previous one. It asks for the number of minutes for each care task. For the past, the question is general because it is impossible to ask about a specific day. For the present the question about "yesterday," purposely, for two reasons. First, it is because is more likely to remember, giving more accurate data. Second, because that is how INDEC asked it in the unpaid care survey of 2013 (see chapter 3). This survey offered almost the same categories, and it also wonders about the day before.

The number of minutes was compared only among the cases were surveyed completed both lists (before and after) and it was also controlled by the current age of the sibling. If the son/daughter is above 15 years, they were excluded

¹⁴ Cleaning, cooking, taking care of family or any other task related to housekeeping -excluding time for personal care-.

from the comparison, as habits and care responsibilities might fall after that age. In the following chart and table, there is a general comparison of minutes between the profiles (chart 8) and the difference of minutes in each task.

Chart 6-Sum of minutes dedicated to care-related tasks before having children and nowadays among the surveyed

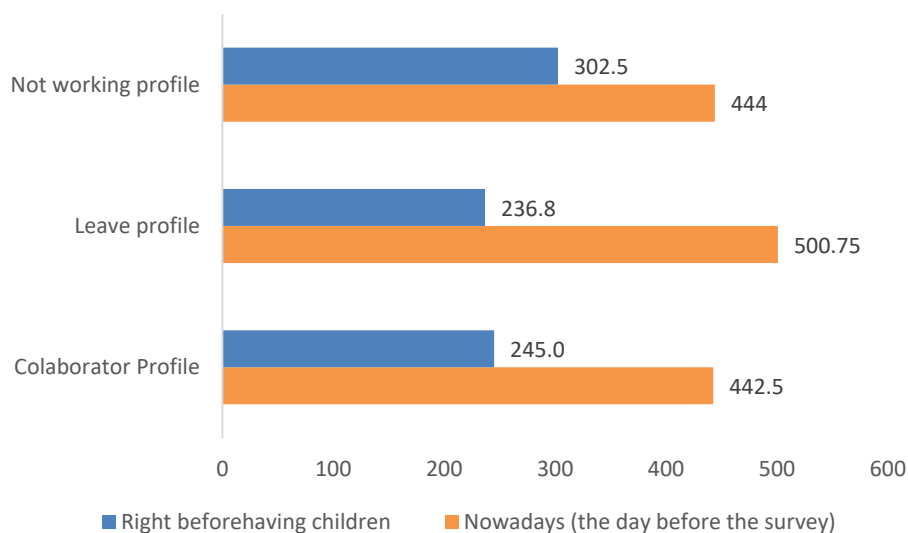


Table 9 Average variation in time dedicated to specific unpaid care tasks per profile (before having children and nowadays)

<i>Average difference of minutes</i>	<i>Colaborator profile</i>	<i>Leave profile</i>	<i>Not working</i>	<i>General difference</i>
<i>Prepare and cook food</i>	-4,7	6,9	-10,0	0,9
<i>Clean and tidy the house</i>	-9,5	14,3	-25,0	1,2
<i>Shopping for home</i>	-1,5	36,7	-8,8	18,1
<i>Take care of family members (summary of homework, taking children to different activities, doctors and care for children as for other family members)</i>	210,4	244,8	420,0	244,4
<i>Laundry</i>	7,0	27,0	-13,8	15,6
<i>Repair and maintenance of the home (carpentry, electricity, furniture, etc.)</i>	-0,7	10,0	-20,0	2,9
<i>Total time dedicated to unpaid domestic care work</i>	201,0	273,1	192,5	238,9
<i>Rise as percentage of time dedicated before</i>	82%	115%	64%	97%

In general, time dedicated to unpaid work regarding care and domestic tasks rise

in all cases, something that contradicts the “statu-quo” answers for the collaboration profile in the previous question. While the total minutes for the “before” time matches with the answers to the previous question (4 hours versus “between 2 and 5 hours”); the current amount of time dedicated to care is much bigger when it is measured in minutes (8 hours on average) than in general hours (first question). The majority of this increase is explained by the rise in care time, which it was surveyed in detailed, separating care for the child, for other family and help with homework (in table 11 there is a sum of those results).

Regarding the different profiles, the “leave-takers” end up having the larger amount of minutes dedicated to these tasks (one hour more than the collaborator profile) and the bigger increase (115%). The low rise of “not working” profile it can be understood since the amount of time dedicated to care was already significant before having children.

Rather than having big differences in care time (familiar, children and homework) it also shows differences in the time dedicated to other domestic tasks. This shows a similar trend as the one Wainerman (2007) found, where men (in this case the collaborators) take more exciting and less routine tasks that the primary responsible for care. In this case, collaborators would be the example.

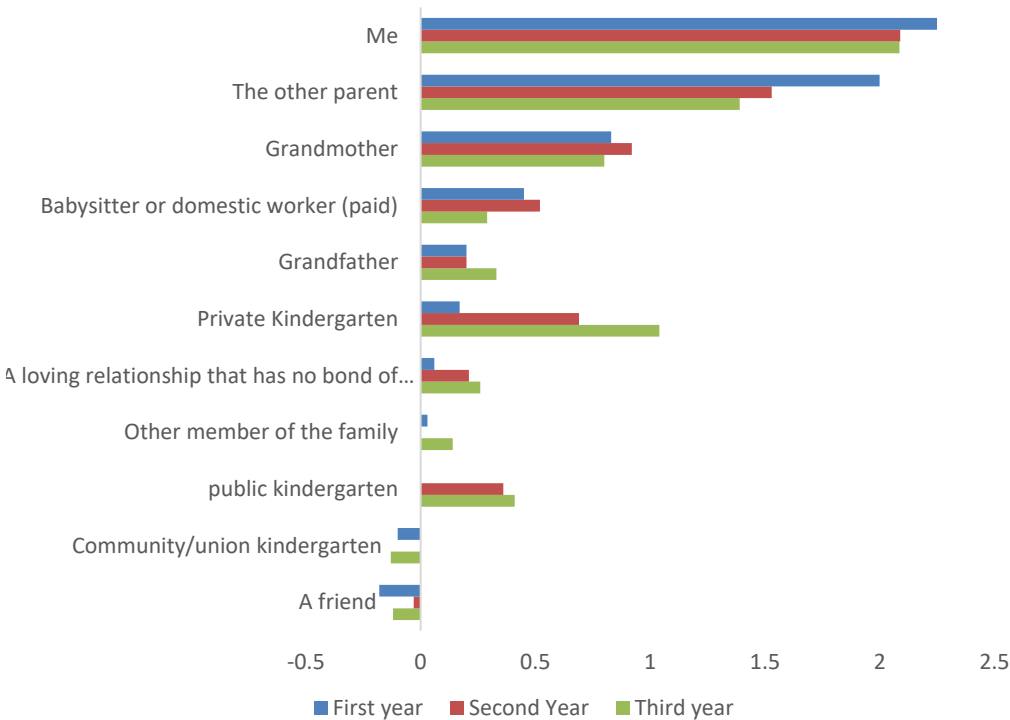
Leave profile increase responsibility in preparing food, cleaning the house and shopping for the house while collaborator minutes decrease. In the following table, you can see the current time dedicated per tasks and the variability with the past per profile. The not working people look consolidated as full day care takers but once data is opened it depends on a lot of the ones who kept outside the labour market and the ones that got in.

Table 10 Current time dedicated per unpaid care work task and variation, by surveyed profile

<i>Average time (the day before the survey)</i>	<i>Collaborator profile</i>	<i>Dif</i>	<i>Leave profile</i>	<i>Dif</i>	<i>Not working profile</i>	<i>Dif</i>
<i>Prepare and cook food</i>	50,00	-4,7	62,86	6,95	60,00	0,9
<i>Clean and tidy the house</i>	57,67	-9,5	72,05	14,32	80,00	1,2
<i>Shopping for home</i>	50,67	-1,5	79,05	36,67	30,00	18,1
<i>Childcare time (including times of transfer to their activities, doctors, etc.)</i>	210,3	--	207,68	-	400	--
<i>Caring for other household members (including times of travel to their activities, doctors, etc.)</i>	16,00	-5,25	42,35	16,01	60,00	20,00
<i>Helping children with homework</i>	5,33	--	21,11	--	0,00	--
<i>Laundry and ironing clothes</i>	47,00	7,00	64,74	27,01	30,00	-13,71
<i>Repair and maintenance of the home (carpentry, electricity, furniture, etc.)</i>	9,64	-0,69	33,33	10,00	0,00	-20,00

Finally, the survey asked the people who were the main responsible for the child, during the first three years of him/her in the family. Options included different members of the family as outside paid and not paid care facilities. For each of them they had to value to what extent they were responsible.

Chart 7- “Who was the main responsible for caring for the child during the first three years?” General average responses



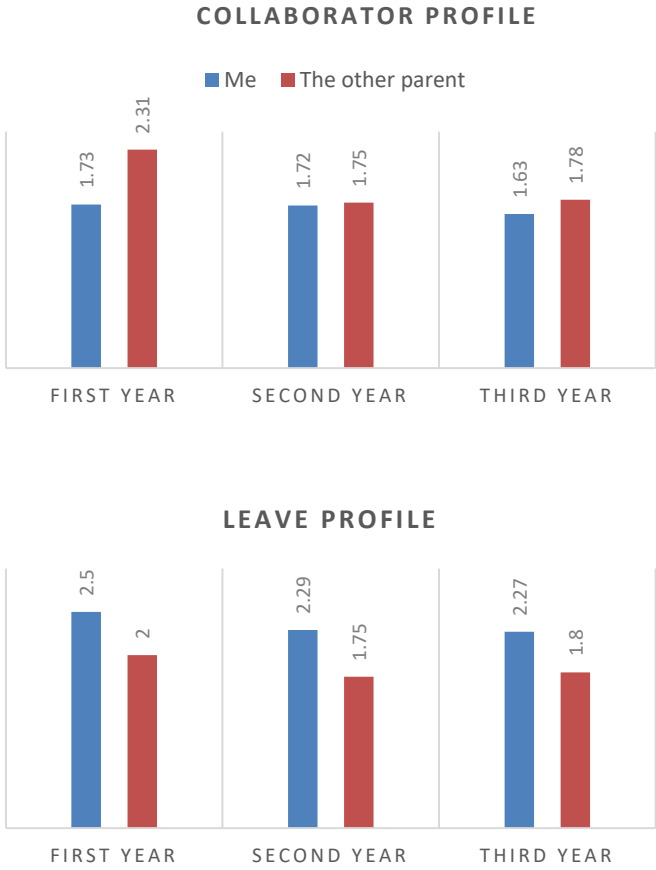
In most of the times, the surveyed person considered him/her self the main responsible and their partner at a second stage. At a third stage grandmothers appear as the first person from the outside to call, far away from the responsibilities of grandfathers, who might also have the free time to take care but through the gender norms families rely more often on the older females of the family. Families paid more often for babysitters and domestic workers than the times they relay on grandfathers. The importance of grandmother is only replaced by the importance of private kindergartens in the third year of the child. Public kindergarten is not an option for the first year and becomes more important in the second a third, however always at a smaller use than privates. Community kindergartens are not used (although people did not mark them as nonexistent).

Looking at data through the lenses of the profiles, results agreed with the ones of other questions. The people who did not take enough leave, consider their partners as the main responsible for the caring, although differences reduce through the years. On the opposite, people who took enough leave put

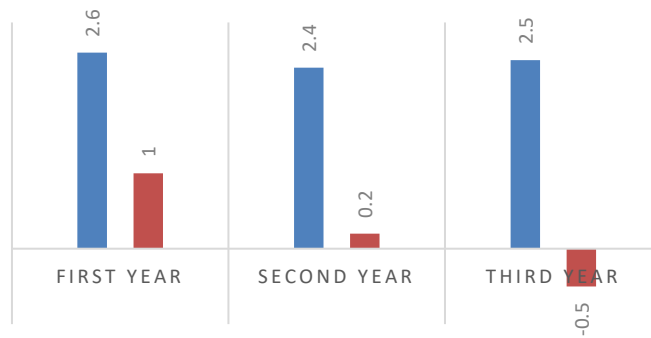
themselves as the main responsible, with a small reduction in the gap in the second and third year. In the “not working” profile people, this gap is even bigger and increase through the years, reaching a point in the third year where the other parent “never” helps. They also declared that they could never access to pay domestic work, public and community facilities.

This last information led us to think that the third profile is the one holding more strongly the one “breadwinner”/one “caretaker” model. In the other two profiles and that the other cases we can see a kind of unbalanced “double carer/double earner” that smooths over time, as indicated in chart 10.

Chart 8- “Who was the main responsible for care during the first 3 years of your child?” Answer per profile



"NOT WORKING" PROFILE



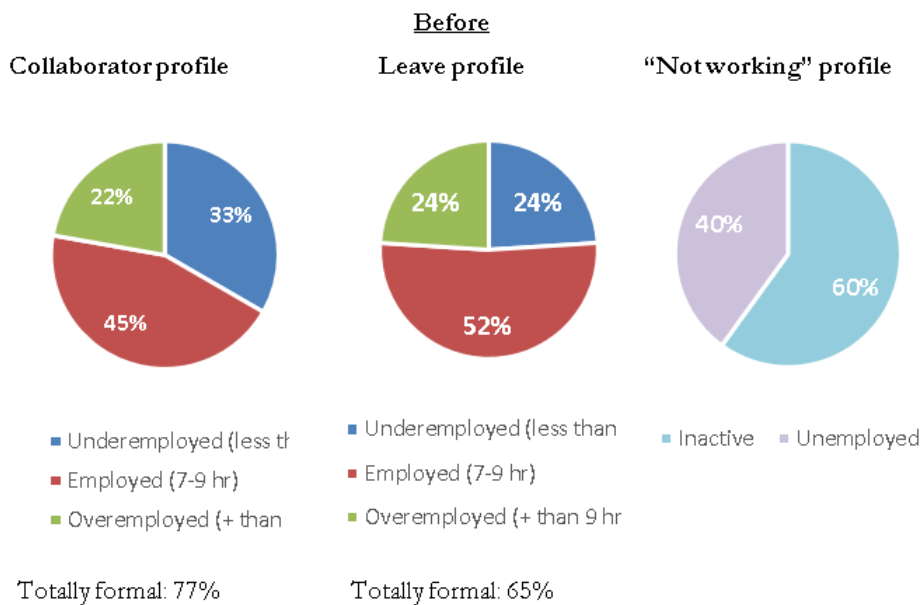
Overall, leave-takers and no- working profile recognise themselves as the primary responsible for 57% of the cases, while collaborator does in only 6% of the cases.

4.2.3. Care penalties in the labour market

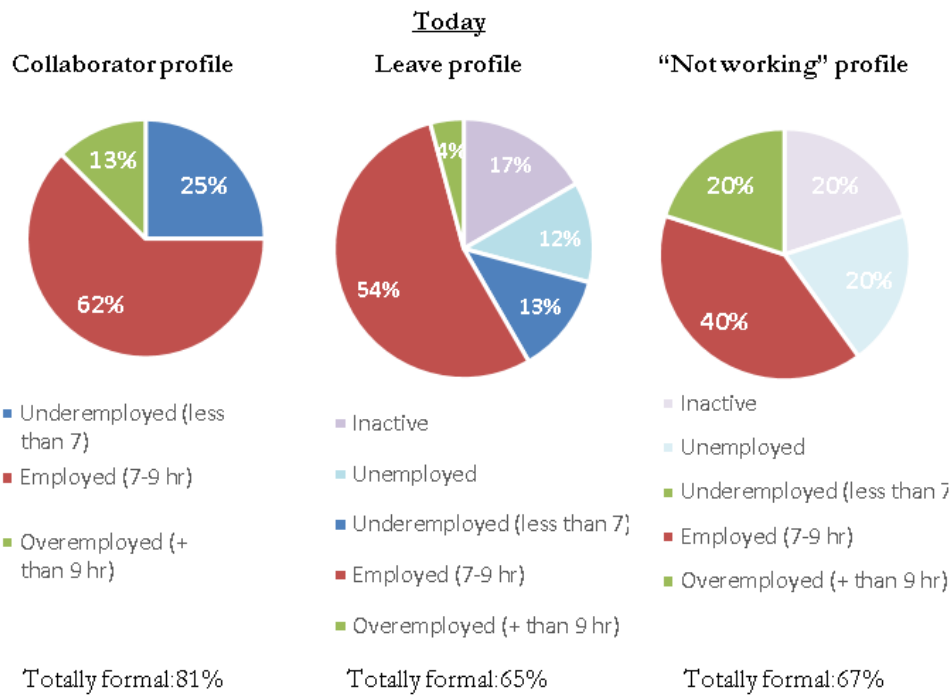
Employment gap

86% of the surveyed people with children were working in the previous month before having their first child. In the following chart there is a comparison of their labour participation before having children and nowadays, divided by the same profiles used in previous sections.

Chart 9-Labour situation of the surveyed before and having children and nowadays¹⁵



¹⁵ Labour categories regarding hours are the same as INDEC.



In comparison, none of the collaborator profile quit working, while 29% of leave-takers and 40% are not working. Out of the five people who are currently inactive, three of them have now the care of their children as their primary activity and declare to depend on their partner's incomes. One of them has been fired when she got pregnant¹⁶.

To identify the shifts each person had, I check who maintain, reduce or increased participation with a scale where overemployed is the maximum participation and inactive is the less. Table 11 show the results.

Table 11-Variation in individual labour trajectories of the surveyed (before having children versus today)

<i>Comparison in time</i>	<i>Collaborator</i>	<i>Leave profile</i>	<i>Not working</i>
<i>Maintain participation</i>	69%	42%	20%
<i>Increase participation</i>	19%	13%	80%
<i>Reduce participation</i>	13%	46%	

¹⁶ 21% of the people who took any of the leaves came back to work for a reduced working length, quit or has been fired.

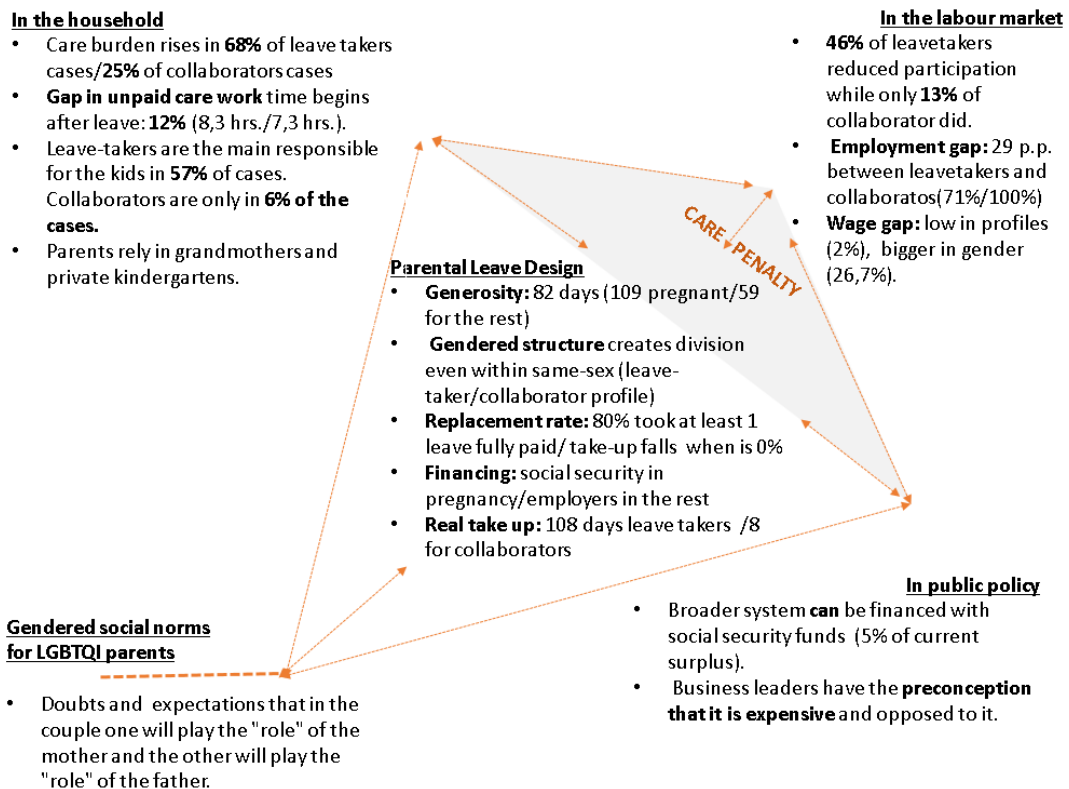
Wage Gap

A small group of 36 people answer a question regarding the size of their incomes (see appendix 2). Data was analysed through the profiles but also regarding identities. Regarding profiles, gaps between collaborators and leave-takers were on average no more than 2%. Regarding identities (but what for the market could be just a matter of gender, every time they do not necessarily know their sexual orientation), differences are more significant. The wage gap between gay (men) and lesbians (women) is 26.7%, quite similar to the general average. Extreme gaps also happen to people who identified themselves as queer or trans, but cases are quite small quantity to make a statement.

4.3. Conclusions from the survey results

The gendered leave system seems to force an unequal division of unpaid care work also in LGBTQI families, splitting them take a proper leave and the “collaborators”. This unbalanced appear at the household in terms of time and responsibilities, although it is less profound than in heterosexual couples. Leave-takers have in the long run less labour participation. Wage gap, however, seems to respond more to gender-based discrimination. The following figure summarises the findings regarding LGBTQI survey answers (also in dotted arrows).

Figure 4-Building a “Leave kite” for LGBTQI families in Argentina



FINAL CONCLUSIONS

PLD in Argentina has a reduced generosity, very gendered structure and covers only a limited group of workers. With the model of a leave kite, this paper summarised the way feminist economics understand the centrality of PLD to transform or reinforce gender norms and to impact on the social distribution of the care burden. PLD, if it is not balanced among the parents, can create care penalties to the caretakers in the household, the labour market and public policy.

Data from national statistics of Argentina seems to show the existence of care penalties even though causality cannot be ensured. Current Argentinean PLD creates an unbalanced of these penalties in heterosexual as in same-sex parents although in the last ones differences seems to be smaller. The breach in real leave take-up within the parents reflects a rising gap of unpaid care work (mostly based in domestic “regular” tasks), of 52% for heterosexual couples and 12% for LGBTQI parents. Women (in 75% of the cases) and LGBTQI leave-takers (in 58% of the cases) are the main responsible for the childcare after the leave, even if in the last case that fades trough time. In both groups, caretakers reduce labour participation after childcare (58% in women, 46% in same-sex leave takers) which might partially explain current gaps for both cases: 26 p.p. women/men and 29 p.p. in LGBTQI leavtakers/collaborators.

Judging from the comparison of kites, trends seems to work in the same direction but gaps in care allocation are bigger for the general case than for the lgbtqi case. Considering that, one might think that gender norms in heterosexual households might been impacting directly on the care penalty (way beyond the PLD).

On the other hand, gender wage gap is the only penalty that seems to apply to both groups equally since there are vast differences between lesbians and gays but no within leave-takers and collaborators. This wage gap is determined by different labour participation but also by stereotypes that feed horizontal and vertical gender-based segregation. One of the biggest stereotypes employers hold, and that explain a big part of gender gap, is the idea that female workers are more expensive because of the leave. Ironically, employers were the first to stand up against a leave reform that would eliminate that differentiated incentives. From the angle of public policy, this paper has shown that rather than adding extra cost, an egalitarian PLD is affordable with current revenues of the Social Security system. However, this vicious cycle is precisely the care penalty (the grey area of the kite), that seems to feedback itself and affect LGBTQI too (through the unbalanced PLD but also through statistical discrimination).

An egalitarian PLD that gives every parent similar entitlements seems to be possible and necessary to reduce the penalties and, in the long run, transform gender norms. Following Folbre’s ideas, diminishing or distribuitng care penalties would be beneficial for children, four couples as for companies, increasing productivity. A transformation like that would finally place care as an

entitlement, as an enjoyable and loyal activity and not anymore as a “burden”.
It would make the ones who fly the “kite” to enjoy the ride.

Word count until this point:17.462

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Appendix 1 LGBTQI Online survey questions (Spanish)

“ORGANIZACIÓN DEL CUIDADO EN FAMILIAS DIVERSAS. Cambios entorno a la llegada de un Hijo/a”

1. ¡Bienvenidxs!!!

La siguiente encuesta tiene el objetivo de recopilar datos sobre cómo nos organizamos ante la llegada de un/a hijo/a, en un contexto donde no tenemos las licencias laborales suficientes. La idea es poder ver de qué forma ello nos afecta en la organización de nuestro tiempo, así como en nuestra participación laboral.

La encuesta es anónima y los resultados serán utilizados para avocar por un sistema de licencias inclusivo e igualitario.

¡No te tomará más de 15 minutos!

Lucía Cirmi
ISS-Erasmus Universiteit of Rotterdam
Asociación de Familias Diversas de Argentina

2. Datos demográficos del encuestado/a

* 1. Selecciona la provincia en la que residís actualmente

* 2. ¿Qué edad tienes?

* 3. ¿Cómo te identificas?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Lesbiana | <input type="radio"/> Bi |
| <input type="radio"/> Gay | <input type="radio"/> Intersex |
| <input type="radio"/> Trans | <input type="radio"/> Queer |
| <input type="radio"/> Otro (especifique) | |

* 4. ¿Cuál es tu último nivel educativo alcanzado?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Primario incompleto | <input type="radio"/> Terciario completo |
| <input type="radio"/> Primario completo | <input type="radio"/> Universitario incompleto |
| <input type="radio"/> Secundario incompleto | <input type="radio"/> Universitario completo |
| <input type="radio"/> Secundario completo | <input type="radio"/> Maestría o posgrado incompleto |
| <input type="radio"/> Terciario incompleto | <input type="radio"/> Maestría o posgrado completo |

3. Parentalidad

En esta sección se busca dar con la población objetivo de la encuesta que son las familias diversas (LGBTQI u adoptivas) con hijos/as, ya que el tema de interés es cómo los afecta la organización

social de su cuidado.

* 5. ¿Tenés hijos/as?

- Sí
- No y no quiero tener hijos/as
- No, pero me gustaría ser padre/madre

4. Parentalidad (continuación)

A continuación, la encuesta se enfocará sobre el/la primer/a de tus hijos/as. Esto es para simplificar el análisis en el caso de familias compuestas y porque además es cuando la literatura observa mayores reacomodamientos del tiempo a nivel hogar. Se consulta también sobre los métodos de reproducción utilizados para comprender más acabadamente las necesidad de licencias laborales específicas.

* 6. ¿Cuántos/as hijos/as tenés?

* 7. ¿Qué edad tiene tu primer/a y/o único/a hijo/a?

* 8. ¿Con qué método accediste a la maternidad/paternidad de tu primer/a o único/a hijo/a?

- Relaciones sexuales
- Métodos de reproducción humana asistida
- Adopción
- Gestación solidaria/por sustitución (mal llamada "alquiler de vientre")
- Otro (especifique)

5. Métodos de reproducción humana asistida

9. ¿Accediste al tratamiento de reproducción medicamente asistida por medio de la salud pública (hospital), obra social o medicina prepaga?

- No
- Salud pública
- Obra social
- Medicina prepaga

6. Reproducción humana médicamente asistida 2

10. Dicha institución (el hospital, la obra social o la medicina prepaga) ¿cubrió los tratamientos que solicitaste?

- Sí
- No
- Sólo los de menor complejidad
- Otro (especifique)

11. ...Cubrió los medicamentos requeridos?

- Sí
- No
- Sólo los de menor complejidad
- Sólo los de mayor complejidad
- Otro (especifique)

7. Si adoptaste...

12. Si adoptaste...¿En qué año se te otorgó la guarda del niño/a?

8. Parentalidad compartida 1

* 13. Tu primer/a o único/a hijo/a ¿Tiene otro/a padre/madre?

- Sí
- No

9. PARENTALIDAD COMPARTIDA 2

* 14. Actualmente , ¿Convivís con esa persona? (el/la otro/a padre/madre)

- Sí
- No
- Otro (especifique)

* 15. ¿Cómo se identifica dicha persona?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Lesbiana | <input type="radio"/> Bi |
| <input type="radio"/> Gay | <input type="radio"/> Intersex |
| <input type="radio"/> Trans | <input type="radio"/> Queer |
| <input type="radio"/> Otro (especifique) | |

10. Situación laboral y de cuidado antes de que llegara tu primera hija/o (2 meses previos)

A continuación se te pregunta sobre el período previo a la llegada de tu primer/a hijo/a (para poner una fecha exacta, 2 meses antes). Te acordás qué estabas haciendo?

Se busca conocer cómo te organizabas el tiempo y el trabajo para compararlo luego con la situación tras tener hijos.

* 16. Dos meses antes de la llegada de tu primer/a hijo/a ¿cómo era tu situación laboral?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Económicamente inactivo/a (no trabajabas en forma remunerada ni buscabas trabajo) | <input type="radio"/> Trabajaba entre 35 y 45 horas semanales (8/9 horas por día) |
| <input type="radio"/> Desempleada/o (no trabajabas, pero buscabas activamente un trabajo) | <input type="radio"/> Trabajaba más de 45 horas semanales (más de 9 horas por día) |
| <input type="radio"/> Trabajaba menos de 35 horas semanales (7 horas promedio por día) | |
| <input type="radio"/> Otro (especifique) | |

11. Si trabajabas...

* 17. Si trabajabas, lo hacías para....?

- Tu propio emprendimiento
- Un emprendimiento de un familiar
- Eras empleado/a y tenías un jefe/a

* 18. Si trabajabas, ¿Que tñ formalizado estaba tu trabajo?

- Mi trabajo estaba registrado: por ese trabajo tenía descuento jubilatorio y recibo de sueldo
- Mi trabajo estaba registrado como monotributista y o autónomo (hacía facturas y por lo tanto mis propios aportes al sistema jubilatorio)
- Era completamente informal (no me hacían ningún descuento jubilatorio ni yo aportaba por dicho trabajo)
- Otro (especifique)

* 19. Si respondió estar trabajando en el período previo, obtuvo días libres remunerados para iniciar tratamientos reproductivos o para iniciar el proceso legal de adopción?

- Sí, todos lo que necesité No pude tomar días para ello
- Sí, algunos, pero no fueron suficientes Utilicé las vacaciones que me correspondían, en reemplazo
- No, pero los tomé de todas formas y me los descontaron No corresponde porque no utilicé esos métodos
- Otro (especifique)

* 20. En los días previos a la llegada de su hijo/a, obtuvo días de licencia laboral remunerada para poder prepararse?

- Sí, todos lo que necesité No, pero los tomé de todas formas y me los descontaron
- Sí, pero no fueron suficientes No pude tomar días previos
- Me correspondían días libres remunerados pero decidí no tomarlos Utilicé las vacaciones que me correspondían, en reemplazo
- Otro (especifique)

* 21. Durante los primeros 120 días desde el nacimiento/adopción de su hijo/a, obtuvo días de licencia laboral remunerados?

- No obtuve pero utilicé los días de vacaciones
- No obtuve por lo que continué trabajando
- Me correspondían días libres remunerados de licencia pero decidí no tomarlos
- Sí, obtuve y tomé los días que me correspondían: indique debajo de cuántos días fue la licencia remunerada.

* 22. Durante los primeros 120 días desde el nacimiento/adopción de su hijo/a, obtuvo días de licencia laboral NO remunerados? (incluyendo la "excedencia" luego de la licencia remunerada)

- No
- Luego de la llegada de mi hijo/a renuncié a mi trabajo
- Me correspondían días libres NO remunerados (excedencia)pero decidí no tomarlos
- Sí ¿De cuántos días fue la licencia NO remunerada o excedencia que tomó? (indique debajo)

23. En caso de haberlas utilizado ¿retornó al trabajo tras el período de licencia?

- Sí
- No, luego de la licencia (remunerada o no remunerada)renuncié
- No, luego de finalizar la licencia (remunerada o no remunerada) me despidieron
- Otro (especifique)

12. Trabajo de cuidado antes de tener un hijo/a

* 24. Antes de tener tu primer/a o único/a hijo/a, ¿Cuánto tiempo de tu día dedicabas a tareas de cuidado no remunerado? (limpiar, cocinar, cuidar de otros/as y/o cualquier otra tarea realizada sin remuneración para el sostenimiento de tu hogar -excluyendo el tiempo dedicado al aseo personal-).

- Menos de 1 hora diaria Entre 5 y 8 horas diarias
- Menos de 2 horas diarias Más de 8 horas diarias
- Entre 2 y 5 horas diarias

* 25. Si pensásemos en cada tarea de forma específica, ¿Cuántos minutos promedio dedicabas a...? Completar cada campo de respuesta con la cantidad aproximada de minutos diarios promedio que dedicabas a cada tarea. (si no la realizabas completar con cero "0"):

Preparar y cocinar alimentos	<input type="text"/>
Limpiar y ordenar la casa	<input type="text"/>
Realizar compras para el hogar	<input type="text"/>
Cuidar de otro miembro del hogar (incluyendo los tiempos de traslado a sus actividades, médicos, etc.)	<input type="text"/>
Aseo de ropa (lavar, planchar y arreglar)	<input type="text"/>
Reparación y mantenimiento del hogar (carpintería, electricidad, muebles, etc.)	<input type="text"/>

* 26. ¿Contratabas servicio doméstico para realizar parte o la totalidad de estas tareas?

- Sí
- No
- De vez en cuando

13. Cuidado de tu hijo/a durante los primeros 3 años

* 27. ¿Quién se encargó de cuidar al niño/a durante su PRIMER AÑO de crianza? En el siguiente cuadro marque quién cree que se encargó/ayudó más en el cuidado en ese período, seleccionando para cada caso una de las siguientes valoraciones: la mayor parte, mucho, poco, nada o no corresponde (cuando esa persona no exista en su escenario).

	La mayor parte	Mucho	Poco	Nada	No corresponde
Yo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El otro padre/madre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una pareja que no tiene vínculo de parentalidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Un/a amigo/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una abuela del niño/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Un abuelo del niño/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro familiar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una persona remunerada en mi casa (niñera/o, o trabajadora de casa particular)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial pública y gratuita	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial privada	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial del sindicato y/o comunidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Otro (especifique)

* 28. Ahora, ¿Quién se encargó de cuidar al niño/a durante su SEGUNDO AÑO de crianza? En el siguiente cuadro marque quién cree que se encargó/ayudó más en el cuidado en ese período, seleccionando para cada caso una de las siguientes valoraciones: la mayor parte, mucho, poco, nada o no corresponde (cuando esa persona no exista en su escenario).

	La mayor parte	Mucho	Poco	Nada	No corresponde
Yo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El otro padre/madre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una pareja que no tiene vínculo de parentalidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una abuela del niño/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Un/a amigo/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Un abuelo del niño/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro familiar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una persona remunerada en mi casa (niñera/o, o trabajadora de casa particular)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial pública y gratuita	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial privada	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial del sindicato y/o comunidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Otro (especifique)

* 29. Por último ¿Quién se encargó del cuidado del niño/a durante SU TERCER AÑO de crianza? En el siguiente cuadro marque quien cree que se encargó/ayudó más en el cuidado en ese período, seleccionando para cada caso una de las siguientes valoraciones: la mayor parte, mucho, poco, nada o no corresponde (en el caso que esa persona no exista en su escenario o si no inició el tercer año de crianza).

	La mayor parte	Mucho	Poco	Nada	No corresponde
Yo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El otro padre/madre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una pareja que no tiene vínculo de parentalidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una abuela del niño/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Un/a amigo/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Un abuelo del niño/a	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro familiar	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Una persona remunerada en mi casa (niñera/o, o trabajadora de casa particular)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial pública y gratuita	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial privada	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal en una sala de educación inicial del sindicato y/o comunidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro (especifique)	<input type="text"/>				

14. En la actualidad...

* 30. En la actualidad, ¿Cuál es tu situación laboral?

- Económicamente inactivo/a (no trabajas en forma remunerada ni buscas trabajo)
 Trabaja entre 35 y 45 horas semanales (8/9 horas por día)
- Desempleada/o (no trabajas, pero buscas activamente un trabajo)
 Trabaja más de 45 horas semanales (más de 9 horas por día)
- Trabaja menos de 35 horas semanales (6 horas por día)
 otra
- Otro (especifique)

15. Económicamente inactivo/a

* 31. Si respondiste que estás económicamente inactivo/a, ¿Cuál de estas actividades consideras que ocupa mayoritariamente tu día? (opciones no excluyentes)

- El cuidado de mis hijos/as /mi casa/familiares
- Estudiar
- Activismo/voluntariado
- Otro (especifique)

32. Si respondiste que estás inactivo/a, marca de dónde provienen los ingresos que te sostienen (puede seleccionar varias opciones)

- Ingresos de mi pareja
- Rentas de la propiedad (ejemplo un alquiler) y/o ahorros propios previos
- Beca de estudios
- Asignación Universal por Hijo
- Otros subsidios
- Otro (especifique)

16. Actualmente trabajando

* 33. Si trabajas actualmente, lo haces para....?

- Tu propio emprendimiento
- Un emprendimiento familiar
- Sos empleadola y tenés un jefe/a

* 34. Si trabajas, ¿Qué tan formalizado está tu trabajo?

- Tengo un puesto de trabajo registrado: por ese trabajo tengo descuento jubilatorio y recibo de sueldo a fin de mes
- Soy monotributista y/o autónomo (hago facturas y por lo tanto mis propios aportes al sistema jubilatorio)
- Soy un/a trabajador/a completamente informal (no me hacen ningún descuento jubilatorio ni yo apporto por dicho trabajo)
- Otro (especifique)

35. Actualmente, ¿Entre qué valores está tu ingreso laboral mensual? (en mano)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> \$0-\$8.860 | <input type="radio"/> \$24.001-\$30.000 |
| <input type="radio"/> \$8.861-\$10.700 | <input type="radio"/> \$30.001-\$40.000 |
| <input type="radio"/> \$10701-\$14.700 | <input type="radio"/> \$40.001-\$60.000 |
| <input type="radio"/> \$14701-\$17.000 | <input type="radio"/> Más de \$60.000 |
| <input type="radio"/> \$17.001-\$24000 | |

17. El cuidado en la actualidad

* 36. Ahora, ¿Cuánto tiempo de tu día dedicas EN EL PRESENTE a tareas de cuidado no remunerado? (limpiar, cocinar, cuidar de otros y/o cualquier otra tarea realizada sin remuneración para el sostenimiento de tu hogar -excluyendo el tiempo dedicado al aseo personal-)

- Menos de 1 hora diaria
- Menos de 2 horas diarias
- Entre 2 y 5 horas diarias
- Entre 5 y 8 horas diarias
- Más de 8 horas diarias

* 37. Ahora si pensásemos en las tareas específicas, AYER ¿Cuántos minutos aproximados dedicaste a...? Completar cada campo de respuesta en cantidad de minutos por tarea (si no la realizaste poner cero):

Preparar y cocinar alimentos	<input type="text"/>
Limpiar y ordenar la casa	<input type="text"/>
Realizar compras para el hogar	<input type="text"/>
Cuidar de tu hijo/a (incluyendo los tiempos de traslado a sus actividades, médicos, etc.)	<input type="text"/>
Cuidar de otro miembro del hogar (incluyendo los tiempos de traslado a sus actividades, médicos, etc.)	<input type="text"/>
Apoyo escolar a tu hijo/a	<input type="text"/>
Aseo de ropa (lavar, planchar y arreglar)	<input type="text"/>
Reparación y mantenimiento del hogar (carpintería, electricidad, muebles, etc.)	<input type="text"/>

* 38. ¿Contratas servicio doméstico/de cuidado para realizar parte o la totalidad de estas tareas?

- Sí
- No
- De vez en cuando

* 39. Finalmente, si tuvieras que elegir alguna de las siguientes frases para resumir tu situación laboral antes y después de tus hijos/as diría que:

- Mi situación laboral empeoró tras la llegada de mi hijo/a
- Mi situación laboral mejoró tras la llegada de mi hijo/a
- La evolución de mi situación laboral no está relacionada con la llegada de mi hijo/a
- Otro (especifique)
- Las nuevas responsabilidades de cuidado limitaron el crecimiento de mi carrera profesional
- Después de la llegada de mi hijo/a prioricé su cuidado y elegí trabajos de menos carga horaria o más flexibles

40. ¿Qué tipo de licencias cree que la legislación laboral debería incluir?

18. PARENTALIDAD COMPARTIDA-ENCUESTAS VINCULADAS

En el caso de que compartas la parentalidad con otra persona, necesitamos que el/la otro/a padre/madre también complete la encuesta. Si todavía no lo hizo, copié este link a la encuesta (<https://es.surveymonkey.com/r/cuidadoISSAFDAFALGBT>) y envíáelo.

Para que podamos identificar el vínculo entre ambas encuestas y mantener el anonimato, te pedimos que elijas una palabra clave para identificar tu encuesta. Compartí esa palabra con el/la otro/a padre/madre.

Si la otra persona ya completó la encuesta, marcá la opción "sí" a continuación y colocá la palabra clave que ella/el utilizó para identificar su encuesta.

(si en tu caso no hay parentalidad compartida podés saltar esta pregunta)

41. A continuación, seleccione la opción correspondiente para vincular las encuestas. ¿Completó ya la otra persona la encuesta?

Sí --> Introduzca la palabra clave seleccionada por la otra persona

No --> Cree una palabra clave (de no más de 20 caracteres) y dígasela a la otra persona

La otra persona no puede responder la encuesta.

19. Acceso al derecho de formar una familia (responden familias sin hijos)

* 42. ¿Con qué método busca acceder a la parentalidad? (puede seleccionar varias opciones)

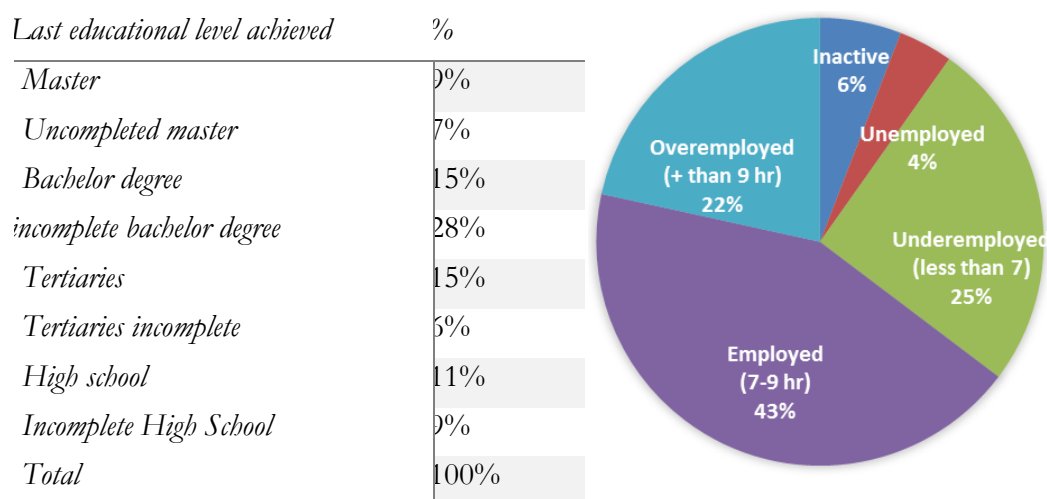
- Relaciones sexuales
- Métodos de reproducción humana asistida (inseminación/fecundación in vitro)
- Adopción
- Gestación solidaria o por sustitución (mal llamada alquiler de vientre)
- Otro (especifique)

20. Derecho a la familia 2 (responden familias con y sin hijos)

Appendix 2- LGBTQI survey results, other tables, charts and features.

As table 7 shows, 46% of the surveyed hold a degree (tertiary, bachelor or master) which is above the population average. The last national census showed only 9% of the population hold a bachelor degree (where here is 15%) and only less than 1% of the population had a master degree. This can work as a proxy to show us the middle/high socio-economic surveyed people belonging.

Table A Last educational level achieved **Chart A Labour situation before having children**



In chart 4 there are the labour conditions of the surveyed by the time they had kids, which overall shows also labour situation in comparison to the population average. For instance, while in population 33,4% of Argentine employees work in entirely informal conditions, in this sample the informal workers represented only 9%.

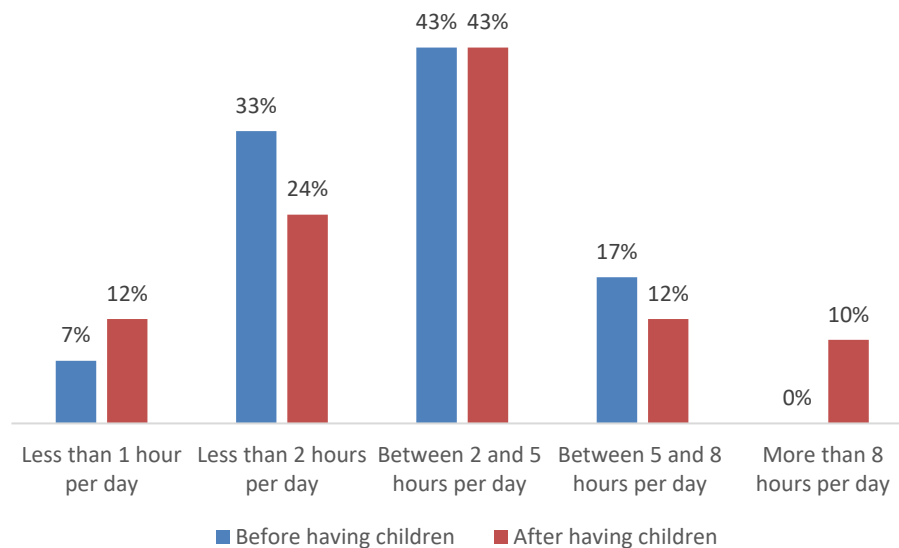
Table B Labour conditions regarding formality and contract relation

	<i>Informal</i>	<i>"Monotributista"</i>	<i>formal</i>	<i>Did not answer</i>	
<i>Subordination</i>	3	2	29	1	35
<i>own entrepreneurship</i>	1	4			5
<i>Familiar entrepreneurship</i>	2				2
<i>Did not answer</i>				9	9
<i>Total</i>	6	6	29	10	51

Table C- Average days of leave (counting paid leave and *excedencia* period) per identity and reproductive method

	<i>Adoption</i>	<i>Surrogacy</i>	<i>Assisted reproduction/ Sexual relations</i>	
			pregnant person	not pregnant person
<i>Bi</i>			90	90
<i>Gay</i>	90	270	-	180
<i>Lesbians</i>	62	-	109	6
<i>Trans</i>				0

Chart B comparison of time dedicated to unpaid care tasks before and after having children



- Use of domestic workers services:** Regarding the use of domestic workers, 51% of the interviewed hired domestic work before having children, occasionally or continuously. After having kids (in the present) 41% hires someone.

Table D Current monthly income per profile and identity

<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Coll</i>	<i>Not. Work.</i>	<i>Leave</i>	<i>Bi</i>	<i>Gay</i>	<i>Lesbiana</i>	<i>Queer</i>	<i>Trans</i>
8861		1					1	
10701	2		1	1	1	1		
14701	4	2	1			6		1
17001	2		6	1	1	6		

24001	4		7		3		8	
30001	1						1	
40001	2		1		1		2	
60000	1		1		1		1	
Cases	16	3	17	2	7	25	1	1
Average Wage	23763	12754	23260	13851	28529	22517	8861	14701

Table E Current monthly income of people working full time

<i>Pesos</i>	<i>COLL.</i>	<i>NOT WORKING</i>	<i>LEAVE.</i>	<i>Bi</i>	<i>Gay</i>	<i>Lesbian</i>	<i>Queer</i>	<i>Trans</i>
8861		1					1	
10701	1		1	1		1		
14701	3	2	1			5		1
17001	1		5		1	5		
24001	3		5		2	6		
30001	1					1		
40001	2		1		1	2		
60000	1		1		1	1		
Cases	12,00	3,00	14,00	1,00	5,00	21,00	1,00	1,00
Wage	26.150	12.754	23.600	10.701	33.000	23.010	8.861	14701

Appendix 3- Joint analysis of couples`individual responses to the survey

Among the 8 cases where both parents answered the survey, in 6 of them we found one person with a collaborator profile and another one with a leave profile (by the precisely same criteria explained before). Those are all lesbian couples. In the only gay couple, they both show a leave-taker profile. Looking at the care allocation in each case, we can find the same trends explained before. In all cases in the first the year of raising, we can find an important transformation within care work allocation, where the leave looks to be determinant. This analysis was done after the general analysis.

Couple 1

This is the case in which both have caregiver profile. They got pretty similar answers in terms of time dedicated to care before. They also hired every time and then domestic work. They both assigned same (much but not main) responsibility in caring during the same year. However the person that is working part time now dedicates 41% more time to care, mainly because of care child. Both selected that they had to choose jobs less time taker than before. Baby is 1 year old.

Couple 2

1 leave-taker and 1 collaborator. Both with incomplete highschool. Baby is 2 years old. The one that got pregnant was on leave during the pregnancy. The other one only has 7 days of leave. Both members of the couple recognize that the collaborator did less than the leave taker and they did not have any other help outside the house. The leave taker is currently unemployed and the other keeps being overemployed.

Couple 3

In this couple they both have similar educational and labour conditions (university incomplete and working full time in formal jobs in subordination relation before children). Although both had days for starting the treatment, the one that got pregnant had to take long leave to rest during the pregnancy. None of them got a real formal leave entitlement, because the one who got pregnant was not completely formalized (was *monotributista*).

Although before having children the collaborator declared to spend more time in care work than the leave taker (160/80), after having their child both declare than the leave-taker did more than the collaborator.

Today both continue with their jobs, but the leave takers say she is now prioritizing care and the collaborator says her situation went better after their child. Time dedicated to domestic task now seems to be more or less equal (350/360).

Couple 4

Lesbians both with university degree with a child of 2 years old. Both were formally working at a full time before having their child. The one pregnant got the 90 days leave and the other on 10 days leave. Before having children, she was

already declaring to spend more time in care work than her partner. She was the main responsible for caring the first year and the second one seems to be a little bit more balanced. But this is also because they started to use kindergarten services. The leave-taker is now unemployed, while the collaborator retains same labour conditions. Now the time gap regarding care increased to 50%.

Couple 5

The fifth couple, one with a tertiary and the other one with a master degree. Both were full time formal workers before having children. The one with the master used to overwork. The one with less education got pregnant and quit her job after using the leave. She was even before doing more care work than her partner (120/75).

Now they have a child of four years old. During the first year both recognized that the first one did the most but then they started to say both did very much. This is also because after year too they hired private kindergarten services as domestic worker services. Nowadays, they both have fulltime formal jobs having an 25% gap in the care work time for the leave-taker. Also a gap in income.

Couple 6

Lesbians with university degree, both working in a subordinated formal relation, full time. Before having kids, the collaborator used to spend more time in care work than the pregnant care taker, (270/210). Every now and then they used to hire domestic work. Both recognizes that the leave taker did the most at the beginning and that after that things got better distributed. They also use babysittig and private kindergarten.

They are now working fulltime but however leave-taker works on her own and have lower incomes. The collaborator now seems to be taking most of the burden, in line also with what they declared for the third year. They say they don't need changes in the leave system.

Couple 7

Both "leave-takers" A gay couple that had their 3 years old kid trough surrogacy. Both were working full time. One got a leave at zero replacement rate for 4 months travelling to the surrogate country. The other one took a 90 days leave when the child was born and 6 months of non-paid leave.

Before the birth, the one who took the biggest leave was already taking more time to do care work. He was later the one most in charge the first year, but then it was equal for both, and they hired from the beginning a babysitter. The other one is now working less than before and switch to an informal entrepreneurship. In their answer regarding care they do not show significant differences.