

Canada's two parental leave policy regimes: An argument for dedicated leave time for fathers

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In 2001, 10 weeks of government-sponsored paid parental leave benefits under the Employment Insurance (EI) program was expanded by 25 weeks and the number of fathers taking leave jumped significantly from 3 to 10 % in just five years (Marhsall, 2005; Pérusse, 2005). Then, in 2006, the Québec provincial government introduced the Québec Parental Insurance Plan (QPIP), a separate and more generous parental leave policy with three to five weeks of non-transferable paternity leave. By 2008, it was also clear that national statistics that indicated a rise in fathers' take up were masking an important difference: far more Québécois fathers—at 83 percent—were taking government-sponsored paid leave benefits than fathers outside Québec—at 12 percent. That is, QPIP has had a major impact on fathers' use of leave with a jump from 28 percent in 2005 (under EI) to 83 percent in 2013 (Statistics Canada, 2015). This growing difference between fathers in Québec and fathers in the rest of Canada (ROC) led us, ten years ago, to begin to examine the two policy regimes (Doucet, McKay and Tremblay, 2009; McKay, Marshall, and Doucet, 2012); we have recently returned to continue this research with our colleague Sophie Mathieu (see McKay, Mathieu, and Doucet, 2016; Mathieu, McKay, and Doucet, in press). Ten years ago, we also began to study mothers' and fathers' decision making around parental leave take up in Québec and Ontario (McKay and Doucet, 2010). Specifically, we focused our attention on two research questions that had received little attention in Canadian and international research on parental leave. First, what facilitates and inhibits fathers' take up of leave? And how do couples negotiate who will take shared-entitlement parental leave, when, and why?

In order to investigate the reasons for, and domestic negotiations around, fathers' take up of parental leave in Canada, a country with two paid benefit policy regimes, we carried out a qualitative research study (2006-2008) in Ontario and Québec, interviewing 26 couples where fathers had taken some leave time. This was the first Canadian study, and one of the few international studies, where couples were interviewed about the negotiations and decision-making processes around leave taking patterns. Approximately ten years later, we returned to interview a small group of these couples (9 of 26).

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This article provides a summary of some of our initial findings as well as some of our on going thinking about this issue (for a full account, please see McKay and Doucet, 2010, Doucet and McKay, 2016). From our analysis of our interviews that were conducted almost a decade ago, we made several arguments. First, we argued that, overall, fathers defer to mothers' preference in making leave decisions, and, that breastfeeding plays a role in prioritizing mothers' care. Second, these decisions that prioritised mothers' care of infants are shaped by ideological and social norms in workplaces and communities. Third, public policy plays a role: longer duration paid parental leave, non-transferable paternity leave, and some mothers' ineligibility for paid parental leave all facilitate fathers' take-up of leave.

Below we provide a summary of the two policy regimes, and the theoretical and methodological aspects of the project, before turning to a presentation of some of our findings.

From Maternity Leave to Parental Leave to Québec's Paternity Leave

Under the federal EI program, maternity leave for birth mothers was established in 1971 and fathers gained access to 10 weeks shared-entitlement parental leave in 1990. In 1996, the 67 percent wage compensation rate was cut to 55 percent, and eligibility criteria rose from 20 weeks to 700 hours of insured earnings in the previous year with a two-week waiting period (Phipps, 2006). In 2001, the federal government reduced eligibility to 600 hours and added 25 weeks to parental leave. If a birth mother took maternity leave (15 weeks) plus all of the parental leave, this change doubled the total compensated leave time from 25 weeks to 50 weeks. In 2011 self-employed workers were added to the program. In 2016, the maximum insurable income is \$50,800 (\$537 per week).¹

As of 2006, the Québec Parental Insurance Plan departs from the EI program in five significant ways: it has (a) lower eligibility criteria (\$2000 earnings), (b) 3 to 5 weeks of non-transferable paternity leave (use-it-or-lose-it "daddy weeks"), (c) more flexibility, with two plan options, (d) included the self-employed, and, (e) higher income replacement rates and earnings ceiling. With a maximum insurable income of \$71,500 (\$1031.25 per week), Québec provides parents at the high end of the earning spectrum almost double the weekly amount of wage replacement for a total of \$20,700 more compensation. Couples can choose the Basic plan of 7 weeks at 70 percent, and 25 weeks at 55 percent of earnings; or the Special plan of 25 weeks at 75 percent.

With far more welfare provisions collectivized by the state, Québec fits more closely with Esping-Anderson's (1999) social democratic welfare regime model than the liberal model of greater privatization (Jenson, 2007) or a liberal welfare regime (Baird and O'Brien, 2015) that characterize the rest of Canada. With the implementation of QPIP, Québec joined European countries in offering what Haas (2003) categorized as the "valued care" model and O'Brien (2009) calls the "extended father-care leave with high income replacement" model.

Theory and Methodology

Our research on parental leave is rooted in a larger research program on theorizing care, fathering, and parental responsibilities (see Doucet, 2006, 2009, 2015, 2016a, 2016b) and on the social relations of care and social justice (see Doucet and McKay, 2016; McKay, Mathieu, and Doucet, 2016). Our research program has also been guided partly by what the late feminist philosopher Iris Marion Young (1994) calls a “pragmatic” conception of theory which entails “categorizing, explaining, developing accounts and arguments that are tied to specific practical and political problems, where the purpose of the theoretical activity is clearly related to those problems” (pp. 717-718).

We conducted a first phase of in-depth interviews with 26 couples between 2006-2008 and a second phase of research (couple and individual interviews) with 9 of 26 couples in 2016 (our analysis of this latter stage is in progress and forthcoming). In this short paper, we report on the first phase of our research but we also reflect on the temporality of these findings, recognizing that norms, ideologies, and discourses of fathering and mothering have altered significantly since we first conducted our research a decade ago.

The couples who participated in the first phase of our study were 25 heterosexual birth parent couples and one gay male couple who are adoptive parents; the sample consisted of 16 couples in Ontario and ten couples in Québec. On average, fathers were 36 years old and mothers were 34 years of old. The majority identified as Caucasian or Canadian (27% had one parent born outside the country), most were well-educated (with 52% of men and 41% of women holding a graduate degree), and high earning (half had a gross annual income of \$70,000 to \$113,804). A significant proportion of parents in our sample were in the midst of considerable change in employment status during the early lives of their children. Eighty-three percent were employed, 12% were self-employed and 6% were unemployed, with one parent in university, and two full-time stay-at-home parents. More mothers were self-employed, a student or not employed. As a result, only in 15 of 25 couples did both parents qualify for government-sponsored parental leave benefits for all births (See McKay and Doucet, 2010 for more details on our research participants).

At the time of our interviews, all couples had given birth or adopted an infant within the previous three years. With 49 children born from 45 births, and at least one parent of 16 couples on leave at the time of the interview, parents were in the “thick” of newborn care either for the first, second or third time. All of the fathers in the sample took some leave from work to care for at least one of their children in their first year, ranging from less than fourteen days to exiting the labour force completely in order to be the primary care giver.

Both sets of interviews followed a loosely-framed “aide memoire” that encouraged narrative flexibility and flow. Themes in the original interview included: a description of leave arrangements and care giving for each child; how decisions were made for the father to take leave from work; responses and reactions of employers and extended family; fathers’ experiences on leave; family background;

and the division of labour between parents in sharing care work and housework. A background survey was used to collect demographic, socio-economic and employment information.

Both researchers conducted the interviews, either together or separately, and we conducted the qualitative analysis together with themes identified in transcripts and fieldnotes first through a modified version of the Listening Guide (see Doucet and Mauthner, 2008; Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, 2003) and, second, a thematic coding scheme developed through a qualitative data analysis software program, Atlas.Ti.

Selected Research Findings

Our selected research findings are ones that we wrote about after the first stage of our research in the late 2000s. In conducting follow up interviews and beginning to analyse both first stage and second stage interviews, we are aware that our observations, analytics lenses, and the contexts for our interviews and analysis are fluid, and not static, processes. For example, returning to interview couples ten years later reveals how couples may reassess their previous decision making processes and their views of the effects of those decisions in the light of temporal shifts in individual, family, and historical time. It is also the case that social norms, ideologies and discourses around fathers and their involvement in care work have changed and widened to emphasise wider involvement of fathers at all stages of care work (see Crespi and Ruspini, 2016; Doucet, 2016; Kaufman, 2013; O'Brien and Wall, 2016). We make these points in order to contextualise the research findings reported on below from research that was carried out about a decade ago.

The predominant pattern of leave among couples in our 2006-2008 study was for fathers to take a short period of leave with the mother, immediately following the birth, to adjust to the care demands of a newborn child. Fathers would then return to their jobs and remain working. If they had only another few weeks of leave (paternity, vacation or parental) they would take it in the summer for family time.

It is important to highlight that the majority of Québécois fathers in our study benefiting from the QPIP paternity leave took all five weeks; some took it at the beginning of the child's life while others took the leave during the summer months. As a result, most fathers' leave time was taken while mothers were also at home.² Only in a few cases, where the mother wanted to return to work before the end of the year, would fathers take the last few months of parental leave and thus be the sole caregiver at home. The fathers who took the longest leaves, of six to nine months, were paired with mothers who were not eligible for benefits. As the infant turned one year old, the standard practice was for paid caregiving to commence as both parents resumed full-time employment. In a few families, one parent – usually the lower-earner – exited the workforce to become a stay-at-home parent.

Parents rarely provided one answer when we asked how caregiving and leave-taking decisions were made. While the benefits and entitlements to leave each parent brought to the table were important, they were only one variable among

several that influenced decision-making. Below we explicate three dimensions that influenced fathers' leave-taking.

1 Mothers' 'Own' Leave and the importance of Paternity leave

One of our strongest findings was that parental leave decisions were based on the view that mothers' leave time was important and needed to be protected. In addition, we argued that care decisions are 'mother-led' (see also Doucet, 2006). That is, in our couple interviews, fathers deferred to mothers' preference in making leave decisions. Mothers were given decision-making authority and possession of as much of the year as they wanted, and all but a few shared this view and claimed it. Breastfeeding also plays a role in prioritizing mothers' care.

When we asked couples how parental leave was decided, a typical reply was for the father to stay silent while the mother answered, as Christine did by explaining her story: "I was really tired after the delivery and I had a caesarean [...] I took five weeks off mine to give it to him [...] that's the parental leave that I gave to him." This father, Randall, said, "that's what I was told was happening, Christine decided that." Fathers' silence indicated deference to the mothers' preference and ownership, as did direct evidence in fathers' parallel use of the phrase "she gave it to me," meaning that their partners' "gave" them a portion of "her" leave. With one exception, heterosexual fathers saw only individual entitlement leave as their own.

This pattern occurred with equal weight in both Ontario and Québec. Fathers tended to draw first on individual leave entitlement such as vacation days, time-in-lieu for working overtime, sabbatical schemes and paternity leave before tapping shared entitlement parental leave.

In light of the importance of women's leave time, and fathers' desires not to impede on this, this leads us to argue for the critical importance of paternity leave designated for fathers. In Québec, QPIP paternity leave "made all the difference" for many men. As Mathieu told us, "I think that it's regrettable that outside of Québec it's the choice, I mean the man taking more means less for the woman." Paternity leave that "doesn't take away" from the mother was strongly endorsed and continually praised by the Québécois fathers who received it.

The consequence of deference to mothers' leave-taking preference was that it shaped the timing and duration of fathers' leave, sometimes inhibiting fathers' leave-taking altogether and generally shortening it when it was taken. Short leaves immediately following the birth were often clearly directed by women who "needed his support" physically and otherwise to adjust and care for the newborn. One to three month leaves for fathers came about through mothers' attachment to paid employment, when she had a big opportunity or sought to return to work after six or seven months of leave. And, as mentioned above, long leaves for fathers were a result of mothers' ineligibility.

While the vast majority of fathers interviewed in our study expressed a strong desire to take leave to care for their children, this was not as strong as adhering to the 'good father' ideal of not "taking away time" from mothers' leave. A combination of mothers' preferences, fathers' greater earnings (and thus greater potential loss to family income while on leave), combined with policy restrictions and a strong set of

social norms and ideologies pointing to mothers as primary caregivers of infants meant that fathers spoke of leave-taking or caregiving as a privilege rather than an obligation.

We made this argument in 2010 (McKay and Doucet, 2010) and, now ten years later, we add to this argument by noting that there was, and remain, strong cultural, social, and ideological reasons that lead mothers to be primary caregivers of infants. As we explain below, this is partly related to recovery from birth as well as, for some mothers, breastfeeding; it is also related to a policy regime in Canada where maternity leave has been well entrenched in workplace cultures. There has been a slow shift to a publicly articulated view that fathers also have a right to take leave. Nevertheless, while 'working mother' has long been a well accepted, albeit sometimes contested, term in the lexicon of work-family studies, it is only recently that 'working father' is receiving the same kind of attention (see Kauffman, 2013; Ranson, 2012).

Breastfeeding

Eighteen of twenty-five heterosexual birth parents in our study volunteered that breastfeeding influenced their decision on how leave-time was shared. Nursing served as an independent and, for some, unpredictable variable in determining the sharing of family entitlement leave. Several parents mentioned six months as a benchmark minimal period for breastfeeding and therefore the minimum time the couple dedicated to ensuring the mother could be with the infant all the time. This commitment to nursing meant that if only one parent could be on leave, the first six months, if not more, were for her. The link between mothers' leave-time and breastfeeding is illustrated well by Jacques, who was absolute: "My children were breastfed for about a year, so if taking paternity leave would have reduced a month or two of that, I wouldn't have taken it. That was the main consideration..."

For couples in Québec, individual entitlement to leave, using QPIP paternity leave was also significant in relation to breastfeeding. Two reasons were frequently mentioned. First, fathers said they could take leave without reducing breastfeeding duration. Like Jacques, for Jean-Marc, "five weeks made all the difference; it allowed me to take a leave without taking away from her leave and breastfeeding." Second, the ability to take leave immediately following the birth was identified as a significant support for mothers who gave birth by caesarean and/or faced challenges breastfeeding. Alexandra brought this up:

Perhaps I should mention that I couldn't breastfeed [...] it didn't work, so I would pump my breast milk [...] every three hours [...] so there was that pressure to [...] wake up to do it. So [her husband] Samuel's five weeks were really important because I felt like a milking machine. When he went back to work, I decided to stop pumping and switch to formula because I didn't have his support anymore. I said to myself that at least I had given her five weeks of it.

In three cases, mothers returned to work prior to six months but continued breastfeeding full-time by pumping their milk on breaks and breastfeeding at work when the baby was brought to them. All had private spaces available at their place of employment and husbands on leave who organized their days with the baby around traveling to the mother's workplace.

Overall, breastfeeding kept mothers tied to their infants, which inhibited fathers' opportunities for full-time, sole caregiving as a consequence. On the other hand, families with more leave choices, as in Québec, and breastfeeding-friendly workplaces enabled couples greater leeway to share care instead of defaulting to mothers at home and fathers at work.

2 Gender Norms at Work and in the Community

Parental leave decisions are also shaped by ideological and social norms in workplaces and communities. Whether or not fathers took leave, and the duration and timing of that leave, was influenced by the displayed or expected responses of bosses and work colleagues, as well as extended family and community peers. While mothers did not encounter problems (with the exception of one mother who lost her job after taking leave), employers generally did not expect or encourage fathers to take some or any leave. Managers—like many parents and others—regarded this period of infant care as reserved for mothers.

What facilitated fathers leave was a supportive workplace and/or a legal right to take individual entitlement leave. A number of men expressed concern about losing their jobs and one father in the study was fired after he took nine weeks of parental leave. Daniel told us:

I think they thought my priorities were elsewhere, that I wasn't there until all hours [...] when I announced that I was planning on taking nine weeks, they were I think on the surface quite supportive but [...] it was such a big ordeal, like, "Oh, this had never been done before." Women all the time, they are very supportive, they hold baby showers; they had one for me as well. But it was just sort of [...] I just wasn't fitting into their bigger long-term plans.

A Québécois father, Pat, told us that even with strong legal entitlements, fathers "don't want to make waves" or "be seen as crusaders." They feared that taking leave would send the "wrong signal" that they were not committed to their job. One father, who was worried about being laid off, strategized around the perception problem by reducing his desired leave time and taking the leave during a slower work period. This accommodated the employer's schedule, not the infant or family schedule.

On the other hand, a precedent of at least one father previously taking leave empowered the fathers in our study to request leave. A "family friendly" workplace culture, especially the attitude of one's immediate manager, encouraged fathers' take-up of parental leave. One father's manager told him not to miss the opportunity to be off work to care for his infant.

In interacting with adults at work, with extended family, and with strangers in the community, several stories emerged of the hegemonic reinforcing of the one-year mothers' leave norm. For example, when Ontario mother Arianna returned to her job as a schoolteacher, she was confronted by disapproval from her colleagues:

I think it's becoming more common, but it's not common at all, really [...] people kind of think [...] that somehow that I'm not as good a mother 'cause I wanted to go back to work and I'm ok with letting my husband stay home. It was kind of like, "Ok, that's weird." [...] [It was] mostly women [who said this].

Gavin found a similarly subtle but persistent gender bias in his everyday encounters with friends and his own parents and parents-in-law. Even though he took two nine-month parental leaves – one at the birth of each of his children – the adults around him continually deferred to his partner, the mother, when inquiring about the children, not to him. He said that “[...] they don't think I can really do it; they think it's kind of cute but that's about it [...] that drives me crazy, I often compare it to, I mean, maybe women in the workplace twenty-five years ago.” He wanted to be taken seriously; to be seen and respected as an equal caregiving expert to his wife instead of having his competence inherently questioned, and having to continually prove himself. A number of fathers also mentioned being stared at when alone in public with their newborn. One father was asked by a worried child on the bus, “where is the mother?” as though the mother must have died.

While ideological and social norms, especially in relation to infant care, are gradually changing, they still exist as inhibitors of couples attempting to change long standing gendered social relations around infant care. Couples also worked to determine the best collective strategies they could use to provide parental care for their child for as long as possible without losing too much financial security. Parental leave policy, based on labour market attachment, came to the fore in these negotiations. Moreover, insecurity around childcare spaces and the gaps between parental leave provision and childcare, especially in Ontario also revealed themselves in our interviews with families (see Doucet, McKay, and Tremblay, 2009).

3 Public Policy

Third, fathers' leave was significantly influenced by the design of government-sponsored leave benefit programs, in positive and negative ways. Specifically, we found fathers' take up of leave time is enabled by longer duration and higher wage replacement parental leave, low eligibility criteria, and non-transferable paternity leave, but also mothers' ineligibility for paid parental leave.

Affordability and individual entitlement was key to fathers' leave-taking. Two QPIP features incentivized fathers to take leave: the higher wage compensation and maximum insurance earnings ceiling reduced the impact on household earnings, and, as noted earlier, individual entitlement legitimized requests for leave from employers (in addition to not taking time away from mothers' leave duration). The “use-it-or-lose-it” terms gave Québec fathers a bargaining tool with their employers

to assert their right to take leave. When mothers qualified, the Québécois fathers in our study took only the five weeks of paternity leave (as well as employer-sponsored leave entitlements such as annual vacation and overtime leave).

Notably, if the mother did not qualify for any leave benefits under EI or QPIP, shared entitlement leave became, in effect, individual-entitlement leave, which also enabled its use by fathers. As such, an optimistic reading of statistics showing fathers' increased use of parental leave conceals how fathers' leave is facilitated by the high rate of ineligibility among mothers for government-sponsored leave benefits. Outside Québec, where eligibility criteria are higher and the self-employed were excluded until 2011 and since then must pay-in starting a year before the birth, more than 35% of employed mothers are ineligible (McKay, Mathieu, and Doucet, 2016).

While far more Québécois fathers take leave, the amount of time they take has dropped. In 2008, fathers in Québec claimed an average of 7 weeks of paid leave while fathers outside Québec claimed 13 weeks. Fathers outside Québec with spouses not in receipt of EI paid benefits claimed for the longest average duration of 17 weeks (McKay, Marshall & Doucet, 2012). This likely reflects Québécois mothers' increased eligibility under QPIP and fathers' corresponding use of only the three to five weeks of paternity leave. In our study, four fathers took long leaves (averaging seven and a half months) because their wives did not qualify for seven children (six births). This made the negotiations and the decision-making around leave straightforward. For example, when asked how the decision for Québécois father, Gavin, to take nine months of leave was arrived at, he quipped "just lucky enough to have a wife without benefits" to which his wife, Corina, agreed, "Yeah, there's no negotiations, 'cause most women I know don't want to give it up."

In comparing fathers in the two provinces, more fathers took leave when it did not reduce the amount of leave time mothers are able to take and when they were able to assert leave-taking as a right in negotiating with their employers. For these reasons, non-transferable paternity leave for fathers—available only in Québec—made a significant difference in leave-taking patterns.

Conclusion

Our findings confirm research in other countries where fathers are also reluctant to take gender-neutral parental leave. In their research in Australia, where maternity and parental leave are not separate entitlements, Whitehouse, Diamond, and Baird (2007, p. 42) found that "an ongoing barrier to fathers' use of extended leave is that this reduces significantly the amount of leave available to their partners." It also partially confirms Swedish researchers Sundstrom and Duvander's (2002, p. 443) finding that "father's parental leave is often simply a residual" following a bargaining and adjustment process that prioritizes when the mother wishes to go back to work.

In our study, while fathers and mothers express a desire to care for their infant children, gender-neutral leave was still viewed as 'mothers' leave. Factors such as the socio-historical and symbolic weight of mothers' care of infants, a desire to

breastfeed, and social norms and ideologies relating to gender, paid work and care work mattered in who took leave and for how long. About a decade ago, we heard fathers speaking about how being a “good father” meant earning money and not taking leave time away from mothers. These views were reinforced by workplace and community norms that rewarded traditional leave patterns between fathers and mothers and which sometimes penalised fathers who wanted to take more leave time to care for infants.

On the other hand, the factors that contributed to fathers taking parental leave from paid work were: mothers’ willingness to share leave-time; mothers’ attachment to paid employment; and, individual-entitlement leave, especially paternity leave in Québec but also mothers’ ineligibility for parental leave.

Our findings support a growing international argument that paternity leave designated for fathers, in the ‘use it or lose it’ scheme that has been in place in Sweden, Norway as well as Québec, is a key motivator for fathers taking their own leave time. Rather than ‘taking away’ mothers’ maternity leave time, or impinging on breastfeeding time in the early months of an infant’s life, a case for designated paternity leave with low eligibility criteria – such as the one implemented in Québec – does lead to greater take up by fathers. At the same time, it is important to note that the majority of Québécois fathers take leave at the same time as mothers do. Our research on parental leave and on fathering more widely (see Doucet 2006) and recent international research (O’Brien and Wall, in 2016) leads us to argue that greater attention should be given to incentivising ways for fathers to take leave time alone as well as this will enhance fathers’ competence and confidence as primary or shared primary caregivers.

Our new phase of research, follow up interviews with 9 of 26 couples in 2016, highlights how the workplace is slowly beginning to change, but also how fathers can still feel personal, collegial, and institutional pressures when they take time off to care for infants. We want to suggest that more research is needed on at least three areas. First, while there is increasing attention to if and how fathers’ leave time changes the time spent in housework and childcare, more attention needs to be given to how fathers’ leave (and how much leave time) to care for infants leads to greater sharing of the *responsibilities* for care work and domestic work in the short, medium and/or long-term. While there is ample research demonstrating that fathers have increased their contribution to the time spent in childcare, the responsibilities for paid work and care work have still not shifted enough to create radical social change.

Second, greater research attention should be accorded to how fathers’ leave time leads to gender equality not only in the home but also in the work place; that is, how do increasing patterns of fathers taking leave from work change gendered workplace cultures and inequities?

Finally, there is an urgent need for stronger data on parental leave access, use, and benefit levels. In terms of national accounting, Statistics Canada needs to report by program rather than nationally to parse differences between the Canadian and Québec programs. There is a need for stronger national level data on which mothers and fathers qualify, take leave, for how long, and at what level of benefits, including employer top-ups. The current design of the Employment Insurance Coverage

Survey asks questions about fathers through mothers and even more narrowly through mothers' predictions about fathers' "intended average weeks off" (Statistics Canada, 2015). Moreover, data is needed on maternity and parental leave access and take up in Canada's three territories (where many Indigenous people reside) as well as on reserves. In addition to knowing little about gender issues in parental leave, we need to know more about class differences, about single parents, young parents, the lives of the unemployed, the working poor, part-time workers, or about Indigenous and new immigrant families, by jurisdiction and parental leave program.

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¹ Under EI and QPIP, families earning less than a net family income of \$25,921 qualify for a supplement, increasing the wage replacement rate to 80 percent.

² Under the Basic plan, if mothers take maternity leave starting at the birth of the child and all of the shared parental leave, fathers on paternity leave must overlap with mothers for 3 of their 5 weeks of paternity leave in order to take leave within the require 52 weeks.