

January 31, 2024

Senator Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Senator Bill Cassidy  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Representative Stephanie Bice  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Representative Chrissy Houlahan  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

CC: Senator Bob Casey, Senator Maggie Hassan, Senator Cynthia Lummis, Senator Krysten Sinema, Senator Thom Tillis, Senator Todd Young, Representative Colin Allred, Representative Julia Letlow, Representative Mariannette Miller-Meeks, Representative Haley Stevens

The Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP) is grateful for the opportunity to address the bipartisan, bicameral Congressional working group's request for information regarding solutions to expand access to paid leave for all Americans. We commend the bipartisan, bicameral Congressional working group and its members for their leadership and for continuing to explore and determine solutions for this critical issue.

CLASP is a national, nonpartisan, nonprofit advancing anti-poverty policy solutions that disrupt structural and systemic racism and sexism and remove barriers blocking people from economic security and opportunity. With deep expertise in a wide range of programs and policy ideas, longstanding relationships with anti-poverty, child and family, higher education, workforce development, and economic justice stakeholders, including labor unions and worker centers, and over 50 years of history, CLASP works to amplify the voices of directly impacted workers and families and help public officials design and implement effective programs.

CLASP seeks to improve the quality of jobs for low-income workers, especially workers of color, women, immigrants, and youth. Our work includes working with policymakers to raise wages, increase access to benefits, implement and enforce new and existing labor standards, and ensure workers can strengthen their voice through collective bargaining. Quality jobs enable workers to balance their work, school, and family responsibilities – promoting economic stability and security.

At CLASP, we seek to promote an economy where no worker, regardless of background, occupation, or industry, is forced to choose between their health or the financial security of their family. We urge legislators to unite and recognize the need for a robust federal paid family and medical leave program and the strong case for public investments to meet this need.

*1. What should the federal role be, if any, in providing, promoting, and/or incentivizing paid leave? And how should this interact with the role of state government programs, and/or employer programs?*

The United States is the only Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) country that does

not guarantee paid leave to its workers and is one of only six countries in the world that do not guarantee paid parental leave.<sup>1</sup> In 2023, less than a third (27 percent) of private industry workers in the United States had access to paid family and medical leave, leaving an estimated 106 million workers to either take unpaid leave or risk their health and well-being.<sup>2</sup> Notably, low-income and part-time workers, who are disproportionately part of marginalized communities, face a greater need for a paid family and medical leave program, yet they encounter greater difficulty in accessing such benefits.<sup>3</sup> For instance, while a majority (65 percent) of higher-paid employees can rely on employer-provided temporary disability insurance (TDI) for private paid leave, a mere 10 percent of the lowest-paid workers can access these same benefits.<sup>4</sup>

The federal government alone has the authority to establish a national baseline policy that ensures comprehensive paid leave rights for all workers across the country. The absence of a national program and the current reliance on employers perpetuate significant disparities and inequities, a trend that has only intensified in recent years. The lack of federal program has significant racial equity implications, as states with the largest share of Black workers lack state-level paid leave programs. Administering this program through a federal agency with the necessary expertise and support is crucial for ensuring fair and efficient benefit distribution. Similarly, the program should be financed through modest taxes on both workers and employers to establish a robust and sustainable structure, as witnessed by numerous successful state programs.

A federal paid leave program should enable states to maintain their own programs post-enactment. These state programs should receive federal support, provided they adhere to robust federal standards. This will help to expand access to those who are most vulnerable and with the least job security, while promoting policy innovation.

Similarly, employers should retain the ability to offer more generous benefits than the federal minimum such as higher wage replacement rates or additional weeks of paid leave. This approach allows employers to cultivate a healthier and more productive workforce, using enhanced benefits to attract talent to their organizations within a familiar framework.

As advocates and policymakers work toward a national program, the federal government can support states in their efforts. For example, the federal government could invest in electronic systems to facilitate better communication among state programs, helping them to share data and improve program integrity. This investment would benefit both employers and workers, as well as state administrators.

*2. What types of leave should a potential federal program cover, at what length, and why? How should different types of leave be prioritized? Should different types of leave be treated differently or does doing so create adverse effects?*

A federal paid leave program should follow the innovation seen in state-level paid family medical leave programs and incorporate the following best practices concerning purposes, duration, wage replacement, job protection, and family definitions.

Purposes: A federal paid family and medical leave program should leverage existing federal legislation, while learning from the successes of state and local level programs. The majority of recently enacted state programs allow workers to take leave for their own serious health conditions, care for seriously ill loved ones, bond with a new child (including adoptive or foster children), address needs related to military deployment, and take safe leave to address sexual and domestic violence.

Each of these purposes is equally essential in addressing all workers' diverse needs, contributing to a healthy

American workforce. While parental leave is critical, a parental-leave-only approach falls short of addressing the broader spectrum of workers' needs. Notably, the majority (51 percent) of workers that utilize FMLA take leave for their own serious health needs, unrelated to pregnancy or childbirth, and a quarter of workers take leave to care for seriously ill loved ones.<sup>5</sup> A similar pattern of usage is observed in most state paid leave programs.<sup>6</sup>

*Duration:* A federal paid leave program should ensure at least twelve weeks of paid leave for all purposes. Building from the established baseline in the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), all state paid leave programs provide up to twelve weeks of paid leave for at least some purposes, and the majority of state programs allow workers to take at least twelve weeks of leave for any purpose when needed. Studies underscore the importance of at least twelve weeks of paid leave for critical child health and developmental impacts. The American Academy of Pediatrics has long supported at least twelve weeks of maternal leave and international comparison shows that more weeks of paid leave results in tangibly reduced infant mortality rates.<sup>7</sup>

*Wage Replacement:* Considering the wage disparity between low-wage and high-wage workers, a federal paid leave program should ensure a high enough wage replacement rate to make leave affordable for all workers. While the ideal vision is a full (100 percent) wage replacement, the current best practice seen as the state level is a tiered wage replacement that ensures that low-wage workers will receive a significant portion (90-100 percent) of their wages. Without such replacement levels, workers with lower wages cannot afford to take time off.

*Job Protection:* Building off the FMLA, a federal paid leave program must safeguard workers' jobs, allowing them to request and take leave without fear of retaliation, intimidation, or interference. Without job protection, as many as 1 in 7 workers have lost a job for taking family or medical leave.<sup>8</sup> This protection is crucial for vulnerable workers, enabling them to take necessary time off without facing negative repercussions in the workplace.

*Family Definition:* A federal paid leave program should adopt the inclusive family definitions seen in state-level paid family and medical leave programs. This ensures that workers can care for all those they consider family, irrespective of legal or biological relationships. By embracing diverse family structures prevalent in current America, including the rise in single-parent or cohabitating parent households, the program becomes more aligned with the realities of contemporary family dynamics.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, a more inclusive definition enhances the program's utility for communities like the LGBTQ+ and the disability community, where reliance on "chosen family" is more common as part of their support system.<sup>10</sup>

*3. Please describe your recommended framework/s, focusing on what you believe could be a bipartisan and passable solution/s to expanding paid leave nationally?*

Paid leave should be a universal program guaranteed to all working people, similar to Social Security. All Americans will need paid leave at some point in their lives and deserve the peace of mind of knowing it will be there when they need it. Only a universal program can ensure fair and equitable access for all workers.

A federal paid leave program should guarantee at least twelve weeks of paid leave for workers' own serious health conditions, parental bonding, caregiving for seriously ill loved ones, needs in relation to military deployment, and safe leave to address sexual and domestic violence.

There exists bipartisan consensus supporting comprehensive paid leave, evident in recent battleground state polls where an overwhelming majority (85 percent) of voters expressed support. This sentiment transcends party lines, with 96 percent of Democrats, 82 percent of Independents, and 76 percent of Republicans endorsing comprehensive paid leave.<sup>11</sup> These results align with years of national polling, consistently reflecting bipartisan and nonpartisan

backing for access to paid leave through a comprehensive federal paid leave program.

Moreover, several state programs passed on a bipartisan basis, underlining the strong support across the aisle for paid leave and the political feasibility of taking evidence-based action on a bipartisan basis. Even states that passed programs with support from only one political party have seen their programs continue when political winds shift, which is a testament to their value to working people, businesses, and the economy.

*4. Please describe alternative ways any proposed framework can be financed, including possible payfors. What financial mechanisms should be considered to expand paid leave?*

A federal paid family and medical leave program should guarantee a comprehensive benefit for all workers, administered through a federal agency with the expertise and support necessary to deliver value for taxpayers. Drawing on insights from well-established state programs, a federal paid leave initiative should adopt a social insurance approach. For decades, states have successfully passed and implemented paid leave programs funded by small employee and employer tax contributions that have allowed for equitable and sustainable benefits.

Critically, a national paid leave program should not be financed by reducing funding to other programs working families rely on. For example, paid leave should not be funded by taking money out of Social Security, forcing families to choose between their current financial constraints and their future retirement security.

Despite the existence of voluntary paid leave programs in eight states, these approaches have failed to significantly expand access to paid leave.<sup>12</sup> Without accountability or a mandate, voluntary initiatives have seen limited uptake and have consistently fallen short of reaching the workers who need them the most. A notable example is New Hampshire's voluntary option, where a mere 3 percent of the state's workforce enrolled a year after its implementation.<sup>13</sup>

It is imperative that a federal paid leave program be publicly administered and accountable to the public. Given that paid family and medical leave is a public initiative designed for the benefit of the public, its management should be entrusted to a public entity. Matters involving personal wage information, decisions on non-compliance, and the allocation of cost savings are best handled by a public entity rather than private for-profit entities. Consistent data reveals that privatizing either the insurance product or program administration results in increased costs, contrary to claims of achieving cost savings or program efficiencies. By upholding a public administration model, the federal government can ensure transparency, accountability, and efficient use of resources for the greater good of the public.

*5. How can proposed paid leave frameworks avoid creating unintended distortions, such as marriage penalties, reductions of private sector paid leave coverage, etc.?*

It is critical that any federal paid leave program be universally accessible to all workers, cover a wide swath of leave needs, and maintain an inclusive definition of family. Universal coverage increases program equity and reach and can avoid unintended market distortions such as marriage penalties, which can occur when leave is only selectively available. The progressive tiered wage replacement structure recommended is based on each workers' earnings, and therefore does not have any marriage penalties.

*6. Should government support for paid leave be focused only on the most vulnerable individuals in our society, or on all Americans regardless of means or need?*

To fulfill its goals and promote quality jobs and economic security, a federal paid leave program must cover all workers, including employees and independent contractors, part-time and full-time workers, and public and private sector workers, regardless of industry or employer size. A federal paid leave program must avoid eligibility requirements that discriminate based on gender, age, sexual orientation, or caregiver status (whether an individual is caring for themselves, welcoming a new child, or providing caregiving to a family member or chosen family member).

A universal program for all workers with tiered wage replacement, similar to the Social Security model, is the best approach for balancing progressivity with a recognition that time off for health issues and caregiving is a universal need, not limited to any one population. Programs that are narrowly targeted to those with the lowest incomes have frequently been underfunded, stigmatized, and laden with administrative burdens. Administrative burdens have historically been used to bar low-income families, already subjected to the consequences of systemic oppression, from programs that would grant them improved health, increased stability, and safety. Examples of such systemic obstacles include redlining, disparities in public education funding, and inequities promoted through employer-provided health insurance models.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the choice of covering all paid workers versus only those with the lowest incomes also has significant implications for the funding mechanism; it is difficult to justify a universal contributory scheme for a targeted program. Indeed, there is no precedent for that in United States history.

In addition, the need for wage replacement extends through the working and middle class. Nearly half of all adults (46 percent) lack the savings to afford three months of living expenses.<sup>15</sup> Paid leave substantially increases leave taking when compared unpaid leave for working and middle-class families while programs with more expansive eligibility generally attract more popular and political support.<sup>16 17</sup> The primary concern of more expansive programs is the costs. However, states have demonstrated that financing paid leave programs through payroll contributions are easily self-financing. State paid leave programs—which are all near-universal in their coverage of paid workers—have consistently been expanded rather than shrunk.<sup>18 19</sup> In addition, a narrowly targeted paid leave program limited to only the lowest-paid workers could encourage employers to outsource more functions performed in low-paid jobs fueling further fissuring of the workplace.

*7. What supports do small and mid-sized businesses need from the federal government to provide paid leave to workers?*

Paid family and medical leave is good for businesses. Paid leave helps lower turnover costs through greater retention and increases worker morale and business productivity. In California, 93 percent of employers reported that leave had a positive or neutral effect on employee turnover, while also seeing increased productivity (89 percent) and boosted employee morale (99 percent).<sup>20</sup>

Paid family and medical leave can also support small and medium businesses, helping to attract workers and level the playing field with larger firms. Small businesses may struggle to match more generous benefits offered by larger employers. A federal paid leave program can allow employees to benefit from the program while small businesses avoid shouldering the full cost, in turn promoting entrepreneurship and a more dynamic economy.

8. *What does research say about the impact of providing paid leave on worker health, job satisfaction, economic mobility, child development, breastfeeding rates and related health outcomes, fertility rate, infant mortality, elderly health, public assistance levels, family income, and recruitment and retention efforts?*

The success of state programs highlights the potential impact of a robust federal paid family and medical leave program on the economic security of working families.<sup>21</sup> Often workers refrain from taking leave or cut a leave short due to financial constraints. In a 2018 survey, affordability was the prime reason workers reported not taking a needed leave.<sup>22</sup>

The lack of a national paid leave program particularly jeopardizes the job security of women, who continue to bear a disproportionate share of household and caregiving responsibilities.<sup>23</sup> Evidence suggests that paid leave enhances women's attachment to the labor force, as seen in a 20 percent increase in workforce retention among young mothers after the implementation of the state programs in California and New Jersey.<sup>24</sup>

At a national level, paid family and medical leave can bring about improvements in workplaces and the American economy. Its positive impacts include reducing turnover rates, boosting worker morale and tenure.<sup>25</sup> A comparison with countries having more robust work-family policies suggests that if women in the United States participated in the labor force at similar rates, it could add \$650 billion to the country's GDP annually.<sup>26</sup>

Paid family and medical leave plays a crucial role in providing essential time for children and families to address and prevent illnesses, seek preventative care, and enhance maintain their mental health and overall well-being.<sup>27</sup>

From a childcare perspective, the fact that many childcare facilities do not care for infants younger than six weeks underscores the necessity of paid family and medical leave in the American economy.<sup>28</sup> By providing workers the ability to take leave to care for themselves, or their loved ones, paid family leave becomes a crucial resource, especially for low-income parents. It allows them the time they need to secure affordable, quality childcare arrangements that align with their family's needs.<sup>29</sup>

The health benefits of paid leave extend to both mothers and children, contributing to lower infant mortality rates and affording mothers the necessary time for physical recovery.<sup>30</sup> Extended leave for mothers is associated with increased rates of breastfeeding, which in turn, reduces the risks of various long-term ailments such as asthma, obesity, ear infections, gastrointestinal infections, ADHD, and hearing-related problems.<sup>31</sup> For mothers, breastfeeding is linked to a decreased risk of high blood pressure, ovarian and breast cancer, and type 2 diabetes.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, access to paid leave has demonstrated positive effects on maternal mental health, reducing the likelihood of postpartum depression systems.<sup>33</sup>

9. *What lessons should the federal government learn from successful or failed attempts at expanding paid leave in U.S. states or other countries?*

States have successfully and sustainably delivered paid medical leave benefits through a social insurance model for 80 years and paid family leave benefits on the same model for 20 years. These programs offer strong, time-tested models for paid leave that works for workers, employers, and the economy. A federal paid leave program should learn from and seek to emulate the successes and innovations of paid leave programs at the state level.

In a global landscape, the United States stands alone. While an overwhelming majority of other countries (96.4 percent) have embraced mandatory, paid family leave programs to support parents in caring for their children, the United States does not.<sup>34</sup> The widespread adoption and integration of such programs worldwide indicates a



pervasive belief that, despite their associated costs, paid leave programs yield substantial benefits for workers, their families, and their respective nations.

Furthermore, the current provision of twelve weeks of unpaid leave under FMLA, as well as the recommended duration of leave for a federal paid family and medical leave program by advocates and policy experts, pales drastically in contrast to the global standard. Among OECD countries, the average length of leave offered is more than one year, totaling 57 weeks.<sup>35</sup> This underscores the considerable disparity between the United States and its international counterparts in providing comprehensive family leave support.

#### *10. What other information would you like us to consider as we attempt to chart a bipartisan path forward?*

We urge Congress to consider the insights shared and take bold steps towards the establishment of a robust and inclusive paid family and medical leave program. By doing so, Congress has the unique opportunity to enhance the lives of countless individuals, strengthen our workforce, and contribute to a more resilient and equitable future for all.

### **Conclusion**

CLASP extends its gratitude to the bipartisan, bicameral Congressional working group for the opportunity to respond to the Request for Information (RFI). The chance to contribute our organization's insights and perspectives on the importance of paid family and medical leave reflects a commitment to inclusive governance and the well-being of American families. If you have questions, please contact us at [eandrews@clasp.org](mailto:eandrews@clasp.org) and [dharris@clasp.org](mailto:dharris@clasp.org).

---

<sup>1</sup> Claire Cain Miller, "The World Has Found A Way to Do This: The US Lags on Paid Leave," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/25/upshot/paid-leave-democrats.html>.

<sup>2</sup> "Employee Benefits in the United States, March 2023," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, September 2023, <https://www.bls.gov/ebs/publications/employee-benefits-in-the-united-states-march-2023.htm#Overview>.

<sup>3</sup> Sari Pekkala Kerr, "Parental Leave Legislation and Women's Work: A Story of Unequal Opportunities," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 35, no. 1 (October 2015).

<sup>4</sup> "Employee Benefits in the United States, March 2023," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

<sup>5</sup> Abt Associates, "Employee and Worksite Perspective of the Family and Medical Leave Act: Results from the 2018 Surveys," Prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, July 2020, pp.27,

[https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/OASP/evaluation/pdf/WHI\\_FMLA2018SurveyResults\\_FinalReport\\_Aug2020.pdf](https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/OASP/evaluation/pdf/WHI_FMLA2018SurveyResults_FinalReport_Aug2020.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Vicki Shabo, "Explainer: Paid and Unpaid Leave Policies in the United States: Federal and State Paid Leave Program Purposes, Utilization, Duration, and Family Care Coverage," *New America*, January 2, 2024,

<https://www.newamerica.org/better-life-lab/briefs/explainer-paid-and-unpaid-leave-policies-in-the-united-states/>.

<sup>7</sup> "A Pediatrician's View of Paid Parental Leave," *NPR All Things Considered*, October 10, 2016,

[https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2016/10/10/497052014/a-pediatricians-view-of-paid-parental-leave?utm\\_source=facebook.com&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_campaign=npr&utm\\_term=nprnews&utm\\_content=2036](https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2016/10/10/497052014/a-pediatricians-view-of-paid-parental-leave?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=npr&utm_term=nprnews&utm_content=2036); Jody Heymann MD, et al., "Creating and Using New Data Sources to Analyze the Relationship Between Social Policy and Maternal Health: The Case for Maternal Leave," *Public Health Reports* 126 (2011).

<sup>8</sup> "Hard Work, Hard Lives: Survey Exposes Harsh Reality Faced by Low-Wage Workers in the U.S.," *Oxfam America*, 2013, <https://s3.amazonaws.com/oxfam-us/www/static/media/files/low-wage-worker-report-oxfam-america.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> Stephanie Kramer, "U.S. has world's highest rate of children living in single-parent households," *Pew Research Center*, December 12, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2019/12/12/u-s-children-more-likely-than-children-in-other-countries-to-live-with-just-one-parent/>; Carolina Aragão et al., "The Modern American Family," *Pew Research Center*, September 14, 2023,

---

[https://www.google.com/search?q=rise+in+cohabitating+parents&rlz=1C1JZAP\\_enUS1082US1082&oq=rise+in+cohabitating+parents&gs\\_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEUYOTIJCAEQIRgKGKABMgcIAhAhGKsCMgcIAxAhGKsCMgcIBBAhGKsC0gEINDQyOWowajSoAgCwAgA&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8](https://www.google.com/search?q=rise+in+cohabitating+parents&rlz=1C1JZAP_enUS1082US1082&oq=rise+in+cohabitating+parents&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEUYOTIJCAEQIRgKGKABMgcIAhAhGKsCMgcIAxAhGKsCMgcIBBAhGKsC0gEINDQyOWowajSoAgCwAgA&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8).

<sup>10</sup> Caroline Media and Molly Weston Williamson, “Paid Leave Policies Must Include Chosen Family” Center for American Progress, March 1, 2023, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/paid-leave-policies-must-include-chosen-family/>.

<sup>11</sup> Lake Research Partners and Paid Leave for All, “Survey Findings Show Broad and Deep Support for Paid Parental, Family and Medical Leave” November 2023, <https://irp.cdn-website.com/167e816a/files/uploaded/Lake.Paid.Leave.for.All.Poll.Press%20Memo.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> “State Paid Family Leave Laws Across the U.S.,” Bipartisan Policy Center, January 16, 2024, <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/explainer/state-paid-family-leave-laws-across-the-u-s/>.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Cuno-Booth, “Almost a year in, NH paid family and medical leave doesn’t have many participants,” New Hampshire Business Review, December 15, 2023, <https://www.nhbr.com/almost-a-year-in-nh-paid-family-and-medical-leave-doesnt-have-many-participants/>.

<sup>14</sup> Suzanne Wikle, “Administrative Burdens Exacerbate Inequities and Must Be Reduced” Center for Law and Social Policy, August 2021, <https://www.clasp.org/blog/administrative-burdens-exacerbate-inequities-and-must-be-reduced/>; Justin Schweitzer, “How to Address the Administrative Burdens of Accessing the Safety Net,” Center for American Progress, May 5, 2022, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/how-to-address-the-administrative-burdens-of-accessing-the-safety-net/>.

<sup>15</sup> “Report on the Economic Well-Being of U.S. Households in 2022 - May 2023,” Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, May 2023, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/publications/2023-economic-well-being-of-us-households-in-2022-expenses.htm>.

<sup>16</sup> Kathleen Romig and Kathleen Bryan, *A National Paid Leave Program Would Help Workers, Families*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2021 <https://www.cbpp.org/research/economy/a-national-paid-leave-program-would-help-workers-families>.

<sup>17</sup> Lake Research Partners and Paid Leave for All, 2023.

<sup>18</sup> A Better Balance, *A Comparative Chart of Paid Family and Medical Leave Laws in the United States*, 2024 <https://www.abetterbalance.org/resources/paid-family-leave-laws-chart/>.

<sup>19</sup> Vicki Shabo, *Explainer: Paid Leave Benefits and Funding in the United States*, New America, 2024, <https://www.newamerica.org/better-life-lab/briefs/explainer-paid-leave-benefits-and-funding-in-the-united-states/>

<sup>20</sup> Eileen Appelbaum and Ruth Milkman, “Leaves That Pay: Employer and Worker Experience with Paid Family Leave in California.” Center for Economic and Policy Research, 2011, <https://cepr.net/documents/publications/paid-family-leave-1-2011.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> Center for Law and Social Policy, “Statement for the Record, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means, Hearing on Legislative Proposals for Paid Family and Medical Leave,” January 28, 2020, <https://www.clasp.org/sites/default/files/publications/2020/08/CLASP%20Written%20W%26M%20testimony.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> Abt Associates, “Employee and Employer Worksite Perspective of the Family and Medical Leave Act.”

<sup>23</sup> Richard Fry et. al., “In a Growing Share of U.S. Marriages, Husbands and Wives Earn About the Same” Pew Research Center, April 13, 2023, <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2023/04/13/in-a-growing-share-of-u-s-marriages-husbands-and-wives-earn-about-the-same/>.

<sup>24</sup> Jones and Wilcher, “Reducing maternal labor market detachment: A role for paid family leave,” Washington Center for Equitable Growth.

<sup>25</sup> Appelbaum and Milkman, “Leaves That Pay: Employer and Worker Experience with Paid Family Leave in California;” Eileen Appelbaum and S. Lerner, “Business As Usual: New Jersey Employers’ Experiences with Family Leave Insurance,” Center for Economic and Policy Research, June 2014, <http://www.cepr.net/documents/nj-fli-2014-06.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Amanda Novello, “The Cost of Inaction: How a Lack of Family Care Policies Burdens the U.S. Economy and Families,” National Partnership for Women and Families, July 2021, <https://nationalpartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/cost-of-inaction-lack-of-family-care-burdens-families.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> Amy Raub, et al., “Paid Parental Leave: A Detailed Look at Approaches Across OECD Countries,” WORLD Policy Analysis Center, UCLA Fielding School of Public Health, 2018, [https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/WORLD%20Report%20-%20Parental%20Leave%20OECD%20Country%20Approaches\\_0.pdf](https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/WORLD%20Report%20-%20Parental%20Leave%20OECD%20Country%20Approaches_0.pdf).

<sup>28</sup> Pamela Joshi et al., “How much would family and medical leave cost workers in the US? Racial/ethnic variation in economic hardship under unpaid and paid policies” *Community, Work & Family* (December 2019) 2.

<sup>29</sup> Pamela Winston et. al., “Exploring the Relationship Between Paid Family Leave and the Well-being of Low-Income Families: Lessons from California,” U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Office of Human Services Policy, January 2017, <https://aspe.hhs.gov/reports/exploring-relationship->



---

[between-paid-family-leave-well-being-low-income-families-lessons-california](#).

<sup>30</sup> Jody Heymann, Amy Raub, and Alison Earle, “Creating and Using New Data Sources to Analyze the Relationship Between Social Policy and Global Health: The Case of Maternal Leave,” *Public Health Rep* 126 (2011),

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3150137/>.

<sup>31</sup> Maya Rossin-Slater, and Lindsey Uniat, “Paid Family Leave Policies and Population Health” *Health Affairs*, March 28, 2019, <https://www.healthaffairs.org/doi/10.1377/hpb20190301.484936/full/#:~:text=Studies%20on%20PFL%20in%20the,infants%20C%20and%20improved%20maternal%20health>.

<sup>32</sup> “Breastfeeding: Why it Matters,” CDC, Accessed May 8, 2021, <https://www.cdc.gov/breastfeeding/about-breastfeeding/why-it-matters.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Sarah Coombs, “Moms & Babies Series: Paid Leave is Essential for Healthy Moms and Babies,” National Partnership for Women & Families National Birth Equity Collaborative, 2021, <https://nationalpartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/paid-leave-is-essential-for-healthy-moms-and-babies.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup> “Is paid leave available for both parents of infants?” World Policy Analysis Center, Accessed December 2023, <https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/data-tables/policy/is-paid-leave-available-for-both-parents-of-infants>

<sup>35</sup> Tanya S. Byker, “Paid Parental Leave Laws in the United States: Does Short Duration Leave Affect Women’s Labor-Force Attachment?” *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings*, vol. 106, no.5 (May 2016).