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Job Protection Isn't Enough

Why America Needs Paid Parental Leave

By Heather Boushey, Jane Farrell, and John Schmitt
Center for American Progress and the Center for Economic and Policy Research
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Introduction and summary

Twenty years ago, the Family and Medical Leave Act, or FMLA, was signed into law. The FMLA granted certain workers new and important rights, including the ability to take up to 12 weeks of job-protected leave after a birth or adoption, but it fell short in at least two important respects.[1] First, the leave guaranteed under the law is unpaid, making it difficult for many covered workers to take advantage of their new rights. Second, the FMLA does not cover about 40 percent of the American workforce.[2] These workers don't meet the law's eligibility criteria, the most important of which are requirements that the worker have been on the job for at least 1,250 hours in the year preceding the leave and that the worker's employer have at least 50 employees.[3] Moreover, since employers mostly control access to time off and there are no federal laws that set minimum standards, time off has been seen as a perk for higher-paid employees. Thus, even within the same firm, some workers may have more access to time off, or paid time off, than others.[4]

Without downplaying the historical significance of the FMLA's guarantee of job-protected leave for a majority of U.S. workers, this review of Census Bureau data from the first two decades of the FMLA suggests that the law had a limited impact on the frequency of parental leave and no impact on the likelihood that parental leave is paid.

For the women workers between the ages of 16 and 44 that we focus on here, the usage rate of parental leave—whether covered by the FMLA or not—is low. In any given week, about 0.7 percent of women in this age range are away from work to care for a newborn or recently adopted child. This rate has remained remarkably stable over the last 20 years, with no trend toward greater use of parental leave in the wake of the FMLA.

The share of women taking parental leave is low across groups defined by age and education. Even so, disparities between these groups are still large and persistent. College-educated women, particularly those in full-time and union jobs, are much more likely to take parental leave than less-educated, part-time, nonunion women.

Even two decades after the FMLA, so few men take parental leave that they are almost undetectable in the large government survey that we analyze here. By our estimates, over the past five years, nine women took parental leave for every man who did so.

The story is similar when we look at the share of workers whose parental leave is paid.[5] Less than half of workers on parental leave are paid for their time off—a proportion that has not changed in any meaningful way over the past two decades. Older and better-educated women in full-time and union jobs are much more likely to be paid while taking parental leave, but even among college-educated women, only a little more than half are paid during their parental leave. The small share of men who do take parental leave, however, are substantially more likely than women to be paid during that leave.

We analyze data from the Census Bureau's large, nationally representative Current Population Survey, or CPS. The CPS gathers detailed information on a wide range of household demographics and labor market activities. We focus on worker absences where parental leave was cited as the reason for absence from work and on whether that leave was paid. While this analysis does not tell us whether the individual was covered by the FMLA or whether the pay they are receiving is only for family-leave benefits (as opposed to accrued paid sick or vacation leave), it is still valuable in understanding how rates of use of parental leave have changed in the two decades since the passage of the FMLA. Two additional limitations are that the CPS only started asking respondents about parental leave in 1994—which means we cannot compare before and after the implementation of the FMLA—and that it only identifies workers who took at least a full week of leave away from work. We explain these limitations more fully in our "Data and methodology" section.

Background: The need for paid family leave

Economists hypothesize—based on the theory of compensating wage differentials—that workers who need or value time off will choose jobs that offer this flexibility and will be willing to trade off higher wages in exchange.[6] But, at least with respect to paid parental leave, the evidence does not support the theory. Researchers have found that many workers appear to have limited ability to bargain for these benefits. The workers who most need workplace flexibility report having the least access to it, and the workers who have the greatest access to flexibility are higher paid.[7] This has real implications for the well-being of workers and their families. For example, a young worker who is planning to start a family but who finds employment at a business with fewer than 50 employees may not have a choice but to take the available job, despite a lack of guaranteed access to paid or unpaid parental leave.

Access to job-protected or paid time off, such as paid parental leave, will shape who actually takes time off. Workers with the least access to time off are going to be least likely to take it because they risk discipline from their employer or even losing their job.[8] On the other hand, workers who have the most secure employment may be most likely to use time off. Unionized workers or public-sector employees may be among those with the most generous benefits and thus most likely to use time off.

There are also reasons that workers may take time off, regardless of whether they have access to parental leave. New parents, especially new mothers, may have no choice but to take parental leave because even though they are also increasingly family breadwinners, they continue to be more likely to be responsible for care. Surveys have reported that women, not their husbands, are more likely to take parental leave, stay home to care for a sick child, or even care for an ailing family member, regardless of whether the sick person is in the woman's family or her husband's family.[9] Furthermore, the rise in single motherhood means that 40 percent of working mothers are the primary caregiver and may be the only adult available to care for a child.[10]

The reality is that the ability to access paid parental leave is important to family economic well-being. Losing a day's pay is a real hardship for many families. If a low-wage worker making $10 an hour has a family of two children and misses more than three days of work without paid leave, the family would fall below the poverty line due to lost wages.[11] Moreover, workers with less education—who are also more likely to be in low-paying jobs[12]—suffer disproportionately when they are forced to choose between lost wages or their caregiving responsibilities.[13] This isn't good for American families or the economy.

Paid parental leave has made some progress at the state level, and proposals for federal legislation are also on the table. Three states now guarantee paid family leave, including paid parental leave. Family leave insurance was implemented in California in 2004 and in New Jersey in 2009, and a bill to implement it was signed into law in Rhode Island in July 2013. The results in California have been promising. One study found that from 1999 to 2010, the California paid leave program doubled the overall use of maternity leave from three to six weeks, especially among the most economically vulnerable groups, and increased the number of hours that working mothers of 1- to 3-year-olds worked each week.[14] Another survey of California employers and employees conducted in 2009 and 2010 found that the vast majority of businesses, while initially fearful of the costs of paid family leave, had experienced little to no impact on their operations. Moreover, most businesses reported that the legislation had either a "positive effect" or "no noticeable effect" on worker productivity, morale, and performance.[15]

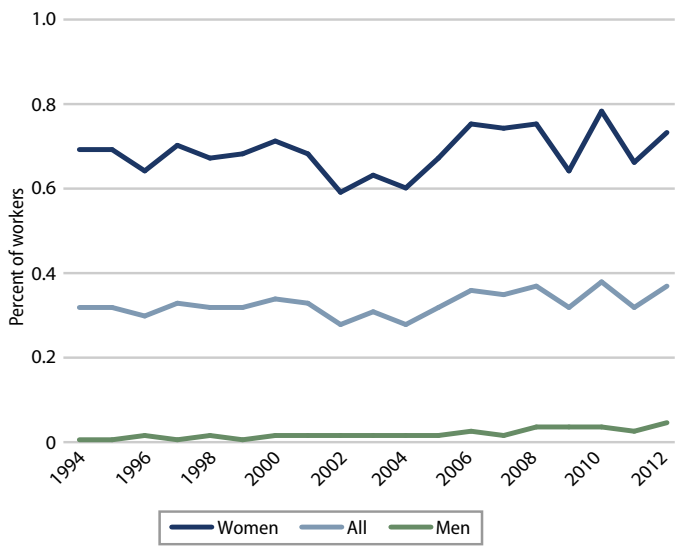
A national program to cover all workers with paid family and medical leave, such as the one proposed by the Center for American Progress and outlined in the FAMILY Act legislation proposed by Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) and Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) would guarantee up to 12 weeks of paid leave for workers who need time away from work to care for a new child, their own long-term illness, or take care of an elderly parent.[16]

Taking parental leave

For each year from 1994 through 2012, Figure 1 displays the share of workers ages 16 to 44 who took parental leave at some point during the year. Three features of the figure stand out. First, the share of workers that take parental leave in any given year is very low: about 0.3 percent of workers per year, averaged over the two decades since the FMLA was passed. This low rate holds even though we have excluded workers age 45 and older who are statistically much less likely to have a new child.

FIGURE 1

Workers, ages 16 to 44, taking parental leave



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

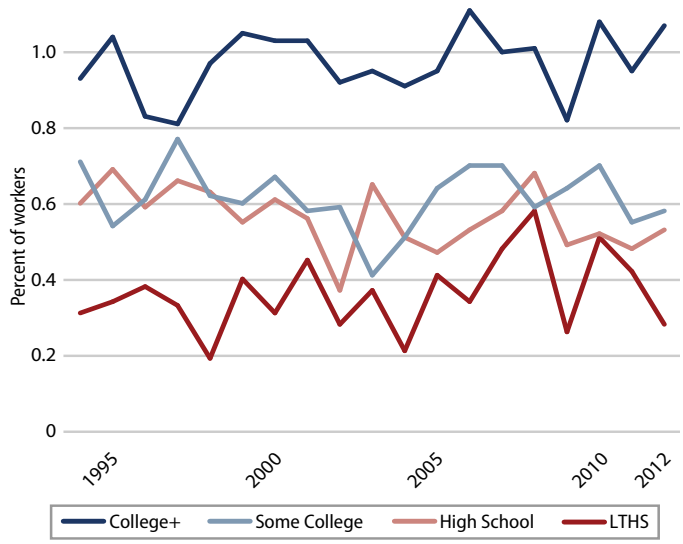
Second, women are much more likely than men to take time off from work for parental leave. On average, about 0.7 percent of 16- to 44-year-old women took parental leave per year, compared to well below 0.1 percent for men. In the last five years of available data, the ratio of women to men taking parental leave was 9-to-1.

Third, the share of women taking leave shows no obvious trend over time. The FMLA does not appear to have triggered a long-term expansion in the use of parental leave among women in the age range that is most likely to take advantage of the law's protections. For men, the data do show a slow rise over time in the rate of parental leave, but the increase is from near zero in 1994 to a level that was still little different from zero by 2012.[17] Given the small share of men taking parental leave—and the correspondingly small sample size in the CPS data we analyze here—the rest of our discussion of the use of parental leave will analyze only the experience of women.

The use of parental leave is not uniform across women. As Figure 2 shows, women with a college degree are more likely to take parental leave than women with less education—about an average rate of 1 percent over the period from 1994 through 2012 for college-educated women, compared to about 0.6 percent for women with some college or only a high school degree and 0.4 percent for women with less than a high school degree. Women who work full time are also more likely to take parental leave—at an average rate of 0.8 percent from 1994 through 2012—than women who work part time, at 0.5 percent, as shown in Figure 3. At 0.8 percent, women in the public sector are somewhat more likely to do so than women in the private sector, at 0.7 percent, but this small gap has opened up only since about 2000, as shown in Figure 4. The group with the highest likelihood of taking parental leave is women in unions, whose average rate is 1.1 percent, compared to a rate of 0.7 percent for nonunion women. (see Figure 5)

FIGURE 2

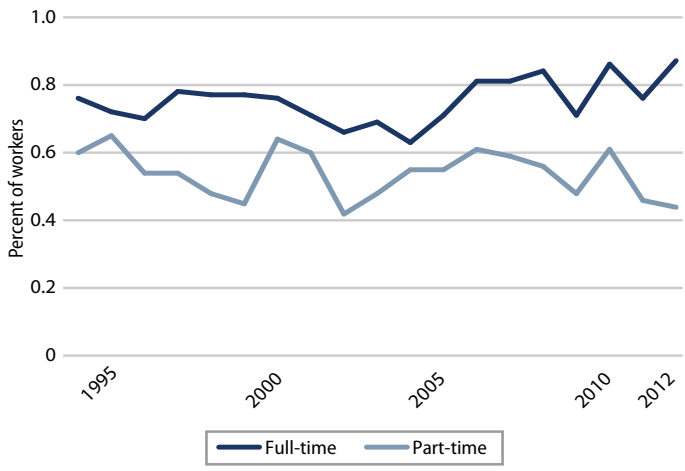
Workers, women ages 16 to 44, taking parental leave by education



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

FIGURE 3

Workers, women ages 16 to 44, taking parental leave by hours



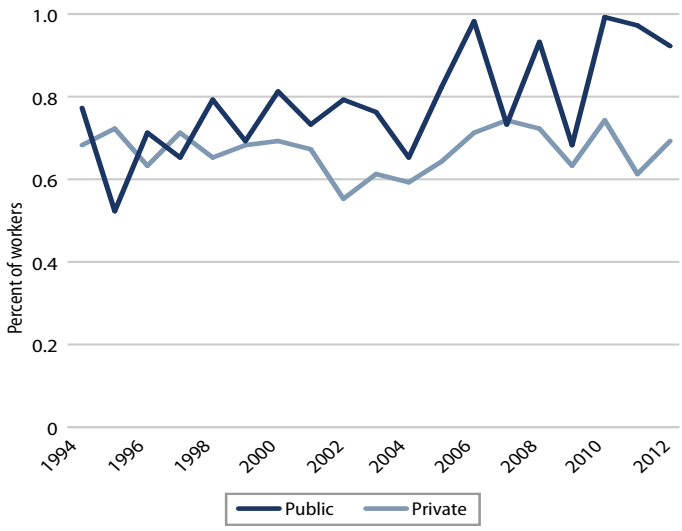
Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

These differences in family-leave rates are persistent over the two decades since the passage of the FMLA. The FMLA does not appear to have prompted a rise in the use of parental leave for women overall or for groups of women defined by education level, full-time status, or union status. The only group of women that has shown some rising tendency to take parental leave is women in the public sector, but the increase here has been small in economic terms.

All the figures so far have analyzed raw survey data, without taking into consideration changes over time in the composition of the workforce—workers were, for example, better educated in 2012 than they were in 1994—and without controlling for systematic differences across demographic groups. College-educated workers are, for example, also more likely to work full-time. Figure 6 displays the results of a statistical analysis that attempts to correct for any distortions that may have been caused by these factors. The figure shows the estimated effects, averaged over the entire 1994 through 2012 period, of various worker characteristics on the probability that a woman takes parental leave, controlling for the worker's age, education, full-time or part-time status, union status, sector of employment (public or private), and state of residence.

FIGURE 4

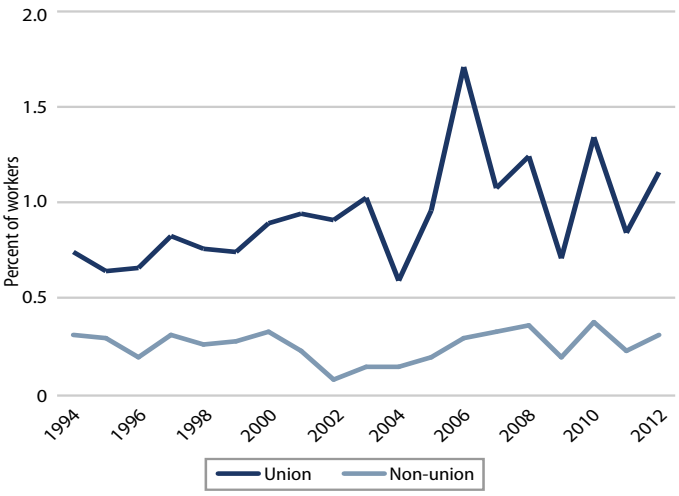
Workers, women ages 16 to 44, taking parental leave by sector



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

FIGURE 5

Workers, women 16 to 44, taking parental leave by union membership

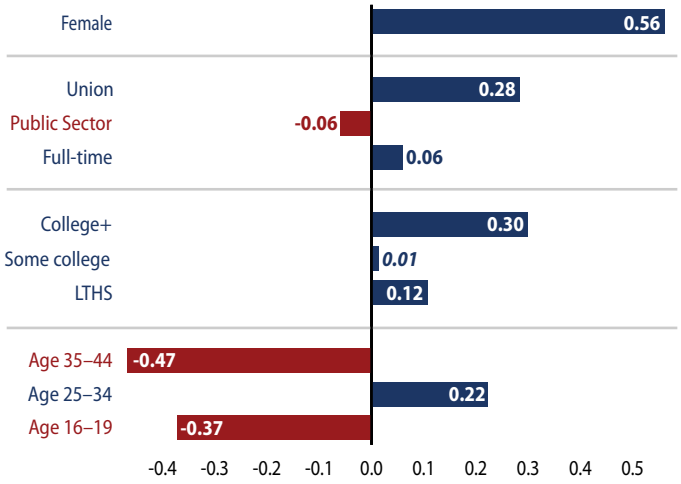


Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

To help judge the economic significance of any particular estimate, remember that on average over the period from 1994 through 2012, about 0.7 percent of women took parental leave each year. Each of the estimated effects in Figure 6 is expressed relative to a benchmark worker and the benchmark differs across some of the estimates displayed in the table.

FIGURE 6

Effect on probability of taking parental leave



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data. Italicized values not statistically significant

For the age-related estimates, the benchmark is women ages 20 to 24, with all other characteristics assumed to be identical to the average worker in the sample. So women workers ages 16 to 19 are about 0.4 percentage points less likely to take parental leave than a 20- to 24-year-old woman with otherwise exactly average characteristics. Women workers in the 25- to 34-year-old range were about 0.2 percentage points more likely than a 20- to 24-year-old counterpart to take parental leave. And women ages 35 to 44 were about 0.5 percentage points less likely than a 20- to 24-year-old to take parental leave. All of these results control for systematic differences across the age groups in educational attainment, full-time status, employment sector, union status, and state of residence. However, it is important to note that women from the ages of 20 to 34 are also the most likely to have children.

For the education categories, the reference group is women workers with high school degrees. As the raw data suggested, better-educated women are much more likely to take parental leave than women with less education. The statistical analysis summarized in Figure 6 confirms that, with all other factors constant, a college-educated woman is 0.3 percentage points more likely to take parental leave than a woman that has only a high school degree, and about 0.4 percentage points more likely than a woman with less than a high school degree.[18]

After controlling for age and education, full-time workers, who tend to be older and better educated, are still about 0.1 percentage point more likely to take parental leave than part-timers. Union women are much more likely, at 0.3 percentage points, than nonunion women to take parental leave.

In general, the statistical analysis reinforces the findings from the raw data. Better-educated, full-time, union women are more likely than their otherwise identical counterparts to take parental leave. The only case where the statistical analysis reverses the findings from the raw data is with respect to public-sector workers. In the raw data, public-sector workers were somewhat more likely to take parental leave, at about 0.1 percentage point. But women in the public sector also tend to be better educated and more likely to be in full-time jobs. After controlling for these factors, women in the public sector appear to be somewhat less likely—about 0.1 percentage point—to take parental leave than private-sector workers.

The first row of Figure 6 confirms that even after we control for a range of worker characteristics, women are much more likely (about 0.6 percentage points) than men to take parental leave.

The same statistical analysis also confirms that parental leave taking showed no tendancy to increase in the two decades after passage of the FMLA.

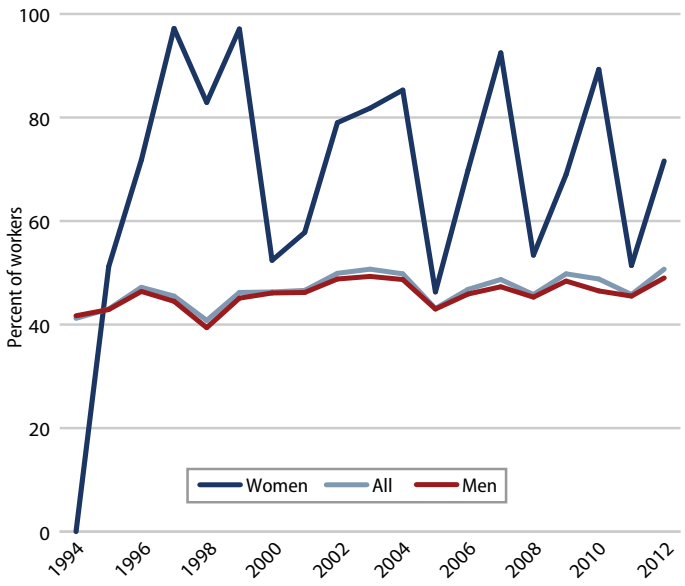
Paid parental leave

The CPS data also allow us to determine whether any parental leave was paid. The survey does not distinguish between workers who received formal paid family or parental leave and workers who pieced together paid time off by using some combination of vacation, sick, and other forms of paid leave. But we can determine whether any worker that took time off for family or parental leave was paid through some mechanism during that time off.

For women, the share of 16- to 44-year-old workers whose parental leave was paid held remarkably steady over the past two decades at about 45 percent, as seen in Figure 7. The share for men was much higher—almost 70 percent—but highly erratic, reflecting the very small sample of men taking parental leave in the CPS. For a further discussion, see the "Data and Methodology" section. Given these problems with the sample size, as with the preceding discussion of use of parental leave, the rest of our analysis of paid leave will analyze only the experience of women.

FIGURE 7

Paid parental leave, workers ages 16 to 44



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

The likelihood that a woman is paid for her parental leave varies substantially around the overall average of 45 percent. For the most part, differences in paid leave follow the pattern we saw earlier for the use of parental leave. Better-educated, full-time, unionized women are more likely, sometimes much more likely, to be paid during the parental leave. In the raw data, public-sector workers are also more likely to be paid while on parental leave, but this difference disappears once we account for public-sector workers' higher levels of education and the greater likelihood of working full time.

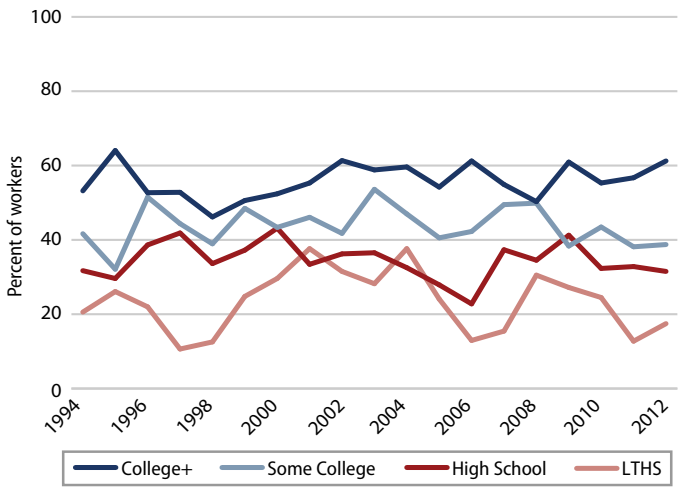
Over the past two decades, on average, about 55 percent of women with a college degree or more who took parental leave were paid during that leave, as you can see in Figure 8. By contrast, only 35 percent of women with a high school degree and just 25 percent of women with less than a high school degree were paid during their leaves.

Full-time workers were about twice as likely as part-timers—about 50 percent for full-timers, versus about 25 percent for part-timers—to be paid during their parental leaves. (see Figure 9)

In the raw data, slightly more than 50 percent of public-sector workers and less than 45 percent of private-sector women were paid while on parental leave. (see Figure 10) Though, as we shall see below, this slight advantage for the public sector evaporates once we control for education levels and other factors.

FIGURE 8

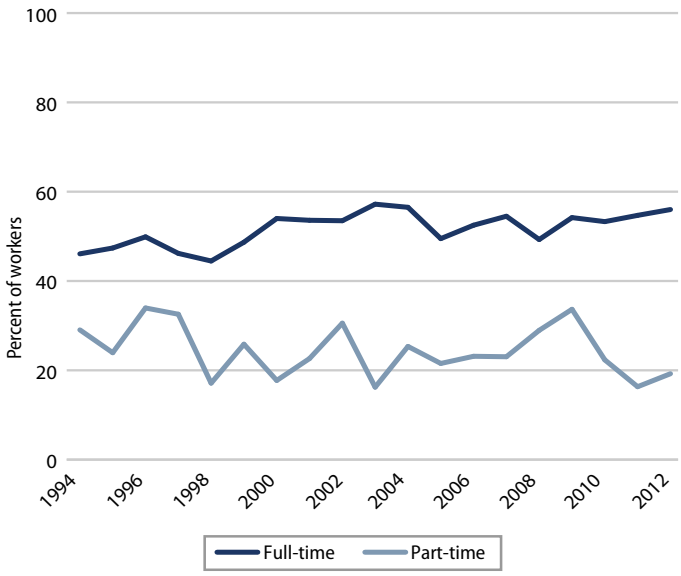
Paid parental leave, women ages 16 to 44, by education



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

FIGURE 9

Paid parental leave, women ages 16–44, by hours



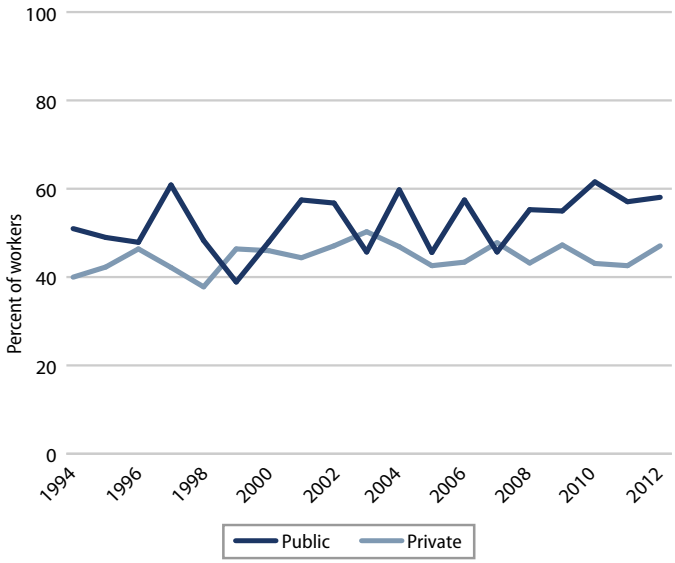
Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

Almost 55 percent of union workers who took parental leave were paid, compared to just under 45 percent of nonunion workers. (see Figure 11)

Once again, the data show persistent disparities over time. Better-educated women in full-time, union jobs are substantially—and consistently—more likely than less-educated part-timers to be paid when they take parental leave. Figure 12 demonstrates that—with one exception—these patterns hold even after we control for workers' characteristics that might be confounding the analysis.

FIGURE 10

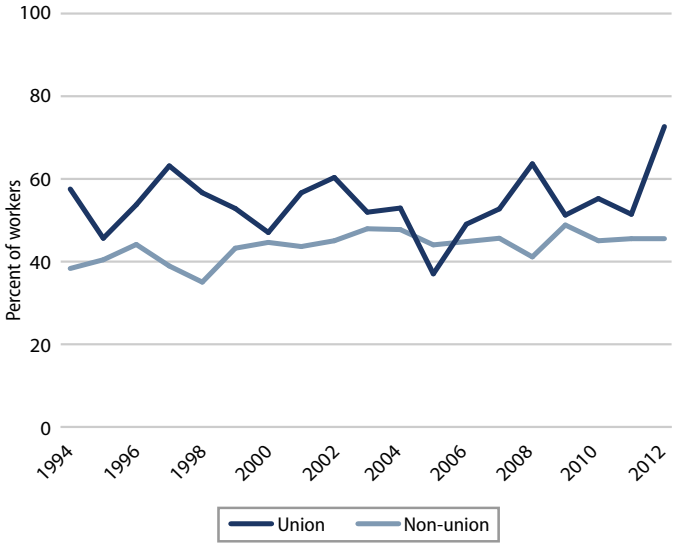
Paid parental leave, women ages 16–44, by sector



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

FIGURE 11

Paid parental leave, women ages 16 to 44, by union membership

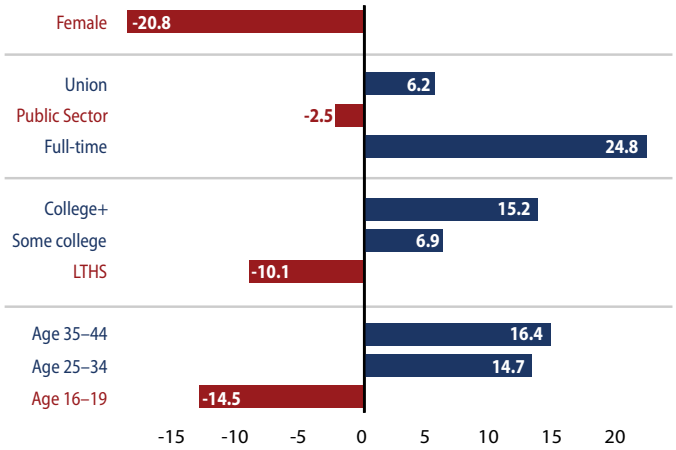


Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

Older workers are much more likely than younger workers to be paid while they are on parental leave. Women ages 25 to 34 and 35 to 54 were about 15 percentage points more likely than women ages 20 to 24 to be paid when they were on parental leave. Meanwhile, 16- to 19-year-old women were about 15 percentage points less likely than 20- to 24-year-olds to have paid parental leave.

FIGURE 12

Effect on probability that parental leave is paid



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey data.

Even after controlling for a range of characteristics, women with a college degree were 15 percentage points more likely to have paid parental leave than a comparable worker with only a high school education. Women that didn't finish high school were about 10 percentage points less likely than those with a high school degree to have paid parental leave.

Full-time status also considerably boosts the probability of being paid during parental leave. A full-time woman was about 25 percentage points more likely to be paid when taking leave than an otherwise identical part-timer.

Union workers were also about 6 percentage points more likely than nonunion workers to be paid during parental leave.

In the raw data, public-sector workers were more likely than workers in the private sector to receive pay during a parental leave. But that advantage disappears once we control for other worker characteristics including educational attainment and full-time status. After these controls, public-sector workers are slightly less likely to receive pay while on leave, but the difference is not statistically significant.

The first row of Figure 12 documents one final finding of the more formal statistical analysis that was not immediately obvious from our look at the raw data. After controlling for a range of worker characteristics, over the past two decades, men who took parental leave were substantially more likely than women who took leave to be paid for that time off. On average, since 1994, men who took parental leave were about 20 percentage points more likely to be paid for that leave than women were. This observation, however, needs careful interpretation. The underlying CPS data do not report whether or not an employer offered paid fam-

ily or parental leave, or offered other forms of paid time off such as vacation, sick, and other forms of leave that could be used to finance parental leave. From the CPS data, we only know whether a worker's parental leave was paid *once they had already taken the leave*. While it is certainly possible—even likely—that men work in industries, occupations, and firms that are more likely to offer paid parental leave, we believe that this finding in Figure 12 is more likely to reflect that men are more inclined than women to refuse to take parental leave when it is not paid. As a result, the small number of men that we do observe taking parental leave have a higher observed rate of being paid for that leave.

In summary, since the passage of the FMLA in 1993, fewer than half of all workers who took parental leave were paid for that time off. Better-educated women who work full time and are represented by a union are more likely than other kinds of workers to be paid for their time off. But the share of women who were paid for their parental leave has remained virtually unchanged in the two decades since the passage of the FMLA.

Conclusion

Our review of the data paints a sobering picture of the impact of the Family and Medical Leave Act. Two decades after the FMLA was implemented, only a small share of U.S. workers take parental leave, including a minuscule share of men. The share of workers taking leave has not shown any tendency to increase in the wake of the FMLA. Nor does it seem that the FMLA has contributed in any obvious way to reducing longstanding disparities in parental leave rates between more- and less-educated women or full-time and part-time workers.

One possible explanation for the limited impact of the FMLA is the law's eligibility criteria, which leave about 40 percent of workers uncovered. A more likely reason for the limited impact of the FMLA, however, is the law's failure to provide paid leave. Fewer than half of the workers taking family leave are paid during their time away from work, a proportion that has stayed remarkably stable even two decades after the passage of the FMLA.

Additional data collected from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' American Time Use Survey, or ATUS; the U.S. Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation, or SIPP; and surveys commissioned by the Department of Labor on the effects of the FMLA can also tell us more about who uses unpaid and paid parental leave.[19] It is important to note that there may be differences in the reported use of leave due to differences in the focus and methods of these surveys. For example, the Census's SIPP, while extensive, does not ask whether leave was paid or unpaid. The DOL's surveys have been intermittent and the populations surveyed are much smaller than in the SIPP. The ATUS focuses on how approximately 12,000 respondents per year allocated their time on one day of the year. More limited surveys of the effects of parental leave laws on new mothers' employment and use of leave also exist, but most are limited to the years before or just after the implementation of the FMLA.[20]

There are some important steps we can—and should—take to make sure that no worker, of either gender or any level of education, has to choose between an important family-related obligation and an urgent work one. Universal paid family and parental leave would help both women and men. Currently, women are more likely to use these benefits—both paid and unpaid—in part because they are traditionally seen as the caregivers in families. Making all leave paid would reduce the stigma around taking leave and encourage men to take leave instead of just expecting women to do so.[21] This would also help close the gender wage gap by ensuring men and women struck a more equal balance between work and family obligations.

Since paid family leave, as implemented in California, New Jersey, and Rhode Island does not rely on the employer to bear the full cost,[22] it would make a huge difference, especially for workers with less education who are the least likely to take time away from work to care for a new child. Care in the first few months of a child's life is key to ensuring that child starts out on the right track for the rest of his or her life.[23] Parents should not have to choose between a paycheck and caring for a newborn during these crucial months.

Additional advantages to businesses of providing paid leave include increased worker productivity[24] and reduced worker turnover.[25] Workers with benefits such as paid sick days, paid family leave, paid vacation, and paid parental leave report higher levels of job satisfaction, which also helps reduce costly turnover.[26] Replacing an employee costs a business about one-fifth of an employee's annual salary.[27]

All new parents should be afforded the choice to stay home and care for their newborns without putting their livelihoods on the line. These results are also a reminder that there still exist significant disparities in access to quality jobs with benefits such as paid parental leave for women and workers with less education. Making paid family leave—and thereby paid parental leave—universal would be an important step toward making good, quality jobs available to all workers.[28]

About the authors

Heather Boushey is Chief Economist at the Center for American Progress, where her research focuses on inequality and growth, U.S. employment, social policy, and family economic well-being. She co-edited *The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation Changes Everything* (Simon & Schuster ebook, 2009) and was a lead author of "Bridging the Gaps," a 10-state study about how low- and moderate-income working families are left out of work support programs. Her research has been published in academic journals and has been covered widely in the media, including regular appearances on "PBS NewsHour" and in *The New York Times*, where she was called one of the "most vibrant voices in the field." She also spearheaded a successful campaign to save the Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation from devastating budget cuts.

Boushey received her Ph.D. in economics from the New School for Social Research and her B.A. from Hampshire College. She has held an economist position with the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, the Center for Economic and Policy Research, and the Economic Policy Institute, where she was a co-author of their flagship publication, *The State of Working America 2002/3*. She grew up in a union family in Mukilteo, Washington, and now lives with her husband, Todd Tucker, in Washington, D.C.

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Data and methodology

The main source of data used here is the Current Population Survey, or CPS, a monthly, nationally representative survey of 50,000 to 60,000 households, which includes detailed information on the demographic and labor market characteristics of the civilian, noninstitutional population of the United States. This is the same source the government uses to calculate the monthly official unemployment rate. We have pooled all months of the 19 years of the survey from 1994 through 2012. We focus on a set of questions that examine absences from work. If the CPS interviewer determines that a worker was absent from work during the survey's "reference week"—the week that includes the 12th of the month—then the worker is asked the reason for the absence. The CPS organizes responses into 14 possible activities, including "on layoff," "childcare problems," and "vacation/personal days." We classify a respondent as taking parental leave if a worker says that he or she was absent from work on "Maternity/paternity leave." The CPS does not distinguish between parental leave covered by the FMLA and other forms of parental leave. If a worker missed only part of the week for parental leave, that worker will not be counted as having been on parental leave.

Beginning only in 1994, the year after the FMLA passed, respondents could list maternity or paternity leave as the reason for their absence. In this report, we examine the share of workers who report that they missed work because they were on maternity or paternity leave, which we refer to as "parental leave." We also analyze the share of workers on parental leave who indicate that their employers paid them during their leave.

To our knowledge, this report is the first attempt to use the CPS to gauge—over time, and on a national scale—the use of parental leave and the likelihood that it is paid for all workers ages 16 to 44.[29] We limit our analysis to workers ages 16 to 44 because almost no workers in the CPS age 45 and older take parental leave. We further limit the majority of our analysis to women in this age range because few men in the CPS indicate that they took parental leave.

But we want to underscore several limitations of our analysis. First, the CPS data do not allow us to determine whether an individual was covered by the FMLA. The CPS does not—except in periodic surveys that cover only a small fraction of the data we analyze here—collect information on the size of businesses in a way that coincides with the FMLA's criteria or the time a worker has been with that business, so we cannot estimate whether an individual worker would likely meet the FMLA's coverage criteria. As a result, we cannot distinguish between leaves covered by the FMLA and those not covered. Therefore, we instead examine whether the FMLA has had a discernible effect on the overall use of parental leave.

A second limitation of the CPS is that its question concerning pay during parental leave does not distinguish between workers who received dedicated family-leave benefits and workers who engage in the common practice of piecing together paid time off using vacation, sick, and other forms of leave. As a result, we cannot estimate the share of workers who receive dedicated maternity or paternity benefits through their employer.

A third limitation is that the CPS only began to ask respondents about maternity and paternity leave in 1994, the year after the FMLA was implemented, which means we cannot do any before-and-after evaluations of the FMLA. Instead, we focus on trends over time and differences across demographic groups in the use of parental leave since FMLA implementation.

A final limitation of the CPS is that we can only identify parental leaves when they include at least one full week away from work. As a consequence, we likely underestimate the use of parental leave. Some parents take parental leave on a part-time basis, working several days a week while taking off the remainder, and sometimes alternating days away from work with a second parent who takes the same approach. Since these parents would not be missing a full week of work, the CPS would not identify them as taking parental leave.

With these caveats in mind, the report uses the CPS to estimate the share of the workforce who take at least a week of parental leave each year, and the share of those taking leave who are paid for their time off.

Endnotes

1 The FMLA also gave covered workers the right to take up to 12 weeks of job-protected leave for placement of a child in foster care; to care for a spouse, child, or parent with a health condition; or to take time off if the employee has a serious health condition. We focus here exclusively on the family or parental leave component of the act.

2 U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Hour Division, "FMLA is Working," available at http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/survey/FMLA_Survey_factsheet.pdf.

3 The employer's 50 employees must be located within 75 miles of the employee's workplace. For more information, see U.S. Department of Labor, "Leave Benefits: Family & Medical Leave," available at http://www.dol.gov/dol/topic/benefits-leave/fmla.htm.

4 Heather Boushey and Sarah Jane Glynn, "Comprehensive Paid Family and Medical Leave for Today's Families and Workplaces" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2012), available at http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2012/09/19/38404/comprehensive-paid-family-and-medical-leave-for-todays-families-and-workplaces/.

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28 John Schmitt, Janelle Jones, "Making Jobs Good" (Washington, DC: Center for Economic and Policy Research, 2013), available at http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/good-jobs-policy-2013-04.pdf.

29 Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, and Waldfogel (2012) use the same CPS variables to estimate the impact of California's 2003 state-level paid family leave program on the take-up of parental leave. Han, Ruhm, and Waldfogel (2009) express take-up rates not as a share of all workers in a particular age range over the course of an entire year, but rather as a share of all new parents in the month (or longer periods) after the birth or adoption. The take-up rates expressed in these terms are much higher than what we report here. Moreover, Han, Ruhm, and Waldfogel find no obvious trends up after 1994 in any of their indicators except in the likelihood in the share of men taking parental leave in the first month after birth, although this trend began before 1994. For more details, see Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, and Waldfogel, "The Effects of California's Paid Family Leave Program on Mothers' Leave-Taking and Subsequent Labor Market Outcomes"; Han, Ruhm, and Waldfogel, "Parental Leave Policies and Parents' Employment and Leave-Taking."

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