

Briefing Paper



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Maternity, Paternity, and Adoption Leave in the United States

Summary

Job-protected parental leave is crucial for the health and economic security of babies, pregnant women and new mothers, and their families. The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993 entitles eligible employees— both female and male—to 12 weeks of unpaid leave around the time of the birth or adoption of a child, as long as they work in firms with at least 50 employees, and meet minimum job tenure and working hour requirements.

The United States is one of only four countries globally, and the only high-income country, without a statutory right to paid maternity leave for employees. In all but a few states, it is up to the employer to decide whether to provide paid leave. This briefing paper summarizes employees' legal rights in relation to pregnancy, childbirth and adoption, and nursing breaks, and examines how far employers are voluntarily moving to provide paid parental leave beyond basic legal rights. It draws on three data sources: leave benefits offered by *Working Mother* magazine's "100 Best Companies," the Family and Medical Leave Act in 2012 Survey, and the National Compensation Survey. This briefing paper finds that the large majority of the "100 Best Companies" provides paid maternity leave, and many provide paid leave for adoption or paternity leave, although only a small minority provides pay during the full 12 weeks of FMLA leave. Among employers more broadly, a third (35 percent) of employees work for an employer offering paid maternity leave, and a fifth (20 percent) paid paternity leave, according to the FMLA 2012 Survey. According to the National Compensation Survey, only 12 percent of employees in the United States have access to paid leave for any care of family members (newborns, adopted children, or ill children or adults). Lower paid workers are least likely to have access to paid leave. International research suggests that the introduction of a statutory right to paid leave for parents would improve the health and economic situations of women and children and would promote economic growth.

Laws Covering Maternity, Paternity, and Adoption Leaves and Nursing Breaks in the United States

While no U.S. federal law requires paid maternity, adoption, or paternity leave, three federal laws give workers important rights related to pregnancy, parenthood, and taking care of seriously ill family members. These laws include the right to not be discriminated against because of pregnancy, the right to job protected unpaid leave, and the right to a time and place to express milk for breastfeeding mothers.

The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 and Maternity Leave

The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 (PDA) requires that employers treat pregnant workers the same as other employees with temporary medical disabilities in all conditions of employment, such as pay and fringe benefits, including paid sick days, health insurance coverage, and temporary disability insurance (TDI).¹ This means that an employer who provides job leave for any employee with a temporary disability, such as someone who broke his leg for example, must also provide leave to a woman on maternity leave. The PDA also forbids employers from discriminating against pregnant women when they make decisions about who to hire, promote, or dismiss.²

The PDA does not require employers to provide paid leave, but if they provide paid leave, for example through Temporary Disability Insurance (TDI), for some medical conditions, they must also provide it for pregnancy- and childbirth-related conditions. TDI typically provides less than full wage replacement (about 50 to 60 percent up to a maximum). By state mandate, employees in California, Colorado (for public employees), Hawaii, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Puerto Rico are covered by TDI; pregnancy and childbirth related leaves are covered as temporary disabilities entitling an eligible employee to receive TDI benefits. The programs are funded by employee contributions, or by both employer and employee contributions, through payroll deduction (Lovell and Rahmanou 2000). Because these provisions apply only to the medical conditions of pregnancy and childbirth, however, they do not extend to paid leave for fathers or adoptive parents. In that the employment of mothers of infants increased substantially in the years after the passage of the PDA, it appears that the PDA had a clear impact on women's labor market attachment, reducing the time women spent out of employment when they had children.

¹ The PDA applies to workers with 15 or more employees; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, 42 U.S.C. § 2000(e) et seq., amending Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

² Unlike in most other high-income countries, the PDA does not include a general duty on employers to make reasonable accommodations to job duties of pregnant women or recent mothers where working conditions, such as heavy lifting, prolonged standing, or exposure to certain chemicals, may be of danger to the woman or the unborn child (Gornick and Hegewisch 2010); seven U.S. states have statutes providing rights to pregnancy accommodation (National Partnership for Women and Families 2013a).

The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993

Under the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993, job security is protected during leave taken for an employee's own disability or illness (including pregnancy and childbirth); the care of the employee's newly born, adopted, or foster child; or to care for an immediate family member (opposite-sex spouse, child, or parent) with a serious health condition. The FMLA applies to employees who work 1,250 hours in a year, have worked at least 12 months for their current employer, and who work for a public agency or a private firm employing at least 50 workers within 75 miles. According to the 2012 FMLA Survey, 59 percent of employees are covered (see Box 1).

This federal policy ensures that eligible employees who are pregnant or new parents receive:

- Up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually that may be taken all at once or intermittently and for part or all of a day); family members of an injured service member may take up to 26 weeks unpaid leave annually.
- Continued health insurance benefits (if ordinarily provided by the employer); and
- A guarantee of return to the same or an equivalent job.

The FMLA's leave rights for bonding with a child apply to fathers and to mothers, and include parents of adopted children or someone else acting in "loco parentis" for a child (U.S. Department of Labor 2013).

State-Level Initiatives to Improve on Parents' Leave Rights Under the FMLA

Several states have enacted policies to provide workers with family leave above the FMLA requirements. These policies provide eligible workers in covered establishments with pay and/or more time to care for a newly born or adopted child, or to care for an ill parent, child, or spouse.

- The State of California's Paid Family Leave (PFL) program, established in 2002, offers partial wage replacement of up to six weeks for eligible workers who go on leave to bond with a new biological, adopted, or foster child, or care for seriously ill family members (California Work and Family Coalition 2011). Individual workers' weekly benefit amount is approximately 55 percent of their wage, up to a maximum of \$1,067 per week in 2013 (State of California 2013). The cost of the wage replacement benefit is borne entirely by an employee payroll tax and there are no direct costs to employers.
- Family Leave Insurance was established in 2009 in New Jersey. Similar to California's program, it offers eligible workers up to six weeks of partially paid leave to bond with a newborn or newly adopted child or to provide care for a seriously ill family member (State of New Jersey 2013). In 2013, the program provides two-thirds of weekly pay up

to \$584 per week; as with California's PFL, the program is entirely financed by worker payroll deductions (State of New Jersey, 2013).

- Washington State's Family Leave Insurance Law was passed in 2007 and would provide a full-time worker with \$250 per week for up to five weeks to care for a newborn or newly adopted child. Due to lack of funding, the program is on hold until October 2015 (Washington State 2013).
- In Rhode Island, a bill has been introduced to extend TDI coverage to provide temporary caregiver insurance, which would cover up to eight weeks of wage replacement for workers who take time off work to care for a seriously ill child, spouse, parent, domestic partner, or to bond with a new child; currently only birth mothers are entitled to paid leave under Rhode Island's TDI program.³

Several states have passed family leave laws that apply to firms smaller than the federal FMLA guidelines, or extend the maximum duration of job protected leave. Maine covers establishments with 15 employees or more (State of Maine 2012). The Family and Medical Leave Act of the District of Columbia includes unpaid family and medical leave of up to 16 weeks in a 24-month period for workers in establishments with 20 employees or more. Employees of the District of Columbia government are covered, but federal employees working in D.C. are not (D.C. Municipal Regulations 2013). Minnesota covers establishments with 21 employees or more, although for these smaller establishments the leave entitlement is less than the 12-week period provided under the FMLA (Minnesota Department of Labor & Industry 2013). Other states with laws going beyond FMLA provisions are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The Affordable Care Act of 2010 and Breaks for Nursing Mothers

Once mothers return to work, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (ACA) provides for nursing breaks and a private, sanitary place for most mothers covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act (which includes many hourly workers) to express breast milk until the child is one year old. Employers with fewer than 50 employees can seek a hardship exemption to the mandate. Employers are not required to pay employees during breaks to express breast express milk.

IWPR's analysis of the rights to nursing breaks in the ACA suggests that this provision will lead to an increase of 165,000 in the numbers of women breastfeeding their infants at least until six

³ See State of Rhode Island General Assembly. 2013. "2013—S 0231, State of Rhode Island, In General Assembly, January Session, A.D. 2013." <<http://webservice.rilin.state.ri.us/BillText/BillText13/SenateText13/S0231.pdf>> (accessed April 30, 2013).

months of age and will particularly benefit women who are in low waged jobs, young, do not have college education and are black or Hispanic (Drago, Hayes and Yi 2010).

Access to Paid Parental Leave

Some employers are moving beyond the letter of the law to provide paid parental leave to employees. Several sources of data provide information on paid parental leave: a review of policies of *Working Mother magazines* “100 Best Companies;” the Family and Medical Leave Act in 2012 Survey, and the National Compensation Employee Benefit Survey. While the estimates of employees’ access to paid parental leave differ substantially, all data sources suggest that voluntary employer provisions are not bridging the gap left by the lack of a federal mandate for paid leave and that the majority of new parents remain without paid parental leave.

Paid Maternity, Paternity, and Adoption Leave in the *Working Mother’s* “100 Best Companies”

Each year, *Working Mother* magazine selects what it considers the 100 most family-friendly companies, by reviewing employer questionnaires describing their workforce, benefits, child care, flexibility, paid time off and leaves, family-friendly programs, and company culture.⁴ All but five of the companies on *Working Mother* magazine’s ‘100 Best Companies’ selected in 2012 provide paid maternity leave to at least some of their staff. Fourteen of the 2012 winners offer paid maternity leave of more than 12 weeks and another six provide 11–12 weeks of fully paid maternity leave. The law firm Arnold and Porter, LLP, for example, offers 18 weeks of paid leave to the primary caregiver (for maternity or adoption) and six weeks to the secondary caregiver. The leave is available to all staff regardless of tenure,⁵ which places them among the more generous companies in terms of paid leave benefits. Accounting firm Deloitte, LLP, offers 14 weeks of paid leave for birth mothers and eight weeks of paid leave for new fathers or adoptive parents. Bank of America offers 12 weeks parental leave for mothers and fathers, as well as adoptive parents.

Yet even among the “100 Best Companies,” many have paid parental leave policies that fall short of families’ needs. Close to one in five (19 percent) of these companies only provide one or two weeks of paid leave, or none at all (Table 1). There is also little evidence that paid leave is becoming more generous among these companies; the proportion of companies on the list that

⁴ Information collected by Working Mother Media, Inc. from employers and edited by Working Mother Media, Inc., 2013. All the parental leave data was compiled from data from the “100 Best Companies, The List,” <http://www.wmmsurveys.com/100_Best_Chart.pdf> (accessed April 22, 2013).

⁵ Information from company website, <http://www.arnoldporter.com/careers_our_environment_work_life_program.cfm> (accessed April 15, 2013).

provide at least seven weeks of paid maternity leave (43 percent) is slightly lower among the 2012 winners than it was among winning companies in 2010 and 2006 (Table 1).

Table 1. Paid Maternity Leave for Birth Mothers in *Working Mother's* “100 Best Companies,” 2006, 2010 and 2012

Number of Weeks of Paid Maternity Leave ^a	Percent of Companies Offering Specified Number of Weeks		
	2012	2010	2006
More than 12 weeks	14%	16%	8%
11 to 12 weeks	6%	8%	11%
9 to 10 weeks	9%	8%	9%
7 to 8 weeks	14%	15%	20%
5 to 6 weeks	31%	23%	28%
3 to 4 weeks	7%	13%	10%
1 to 2 weeks	14%	12%	7%
0 weeks ^b	5%	5%	7%

Notes: ^a Years on the job influence the amount of paid leave an individual worker may be entitled to in many establishments; the table shows the longest possible amount of fully paid leave. ^b '0 weeks' includes one company which did not provide data on maternity leave.

Source: IWPR analysis of Working Mother Media, Inc.'s employer survey for *Working Mother* magazine's “100 Best Companies,” 2012, 2010, and 2006.

A majority of companies on the *Working Mother* list offers at least some weeks of fully paid leave to fathers and adoptive parents. Paid leave for birth fathers or adoptive parents has become more common among *Working Mother's* top 100 family-friendly companies since 2006. In 2012, almost three-quarters (74) of the companies on the list provided at least a week or more of fully paid leave to birth fathers, a steep increase compared to 2006 when only 50 offered any paid paternity leave (Table 2). Similarly, there has been an increase in the share of companies on the list offering fully paid leave to adoptive parents, from 46 percent in 2006 to 80 percent in 2012 (Table 2). Leave for adoptive parents or birth fathers continues to be less generous than for birth mothers, with only 33 percent of companies offering more than four weeks of paid leave to adoptive parents (compared with 16 percent in 2006 and 32 percent in 2010) and only 11 percent of companies offering paid leave of more than four weeks to birth fathers (compared to 12 percent in 2010, and 7 percent in 2006; Table 2).

Table 2. Paid Paternity Leave and Paid Leave for Adoptive Parents in Working Mother’s “100 Best Companies,” 2006, 2010, and 2012

Number of Weeks of Paid Leave ^a	Percent of Companies Offering Specified Number of Weeks					
	Paternity Leave			Adoptive Parents’ Leave		
	2012	2010	2006 ^c	2012	2010	2006 ^c
More than 12 Weeks	0%	2%	0%	4%	5%	1%
11 to 12 Weeks	2%	2%	0%	4%	6%	3%
9 to 10 Weeks	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%
7 to 8 Weeks	2%	1%	0%	8%	8%	3%
5 to 6 Weeks	7%	7%	7%	14%	13%	9%
3 to 4 Weeks	10%	11%	8%	18%	21%	13%
1 to 2 Weeks	53%	51%	35%	29%	26%	17%
0 Weeks^b	26%	26%	50%	20%	21%	54%

Note: ^a Years on the job influence the amount of paid leave an individual worker may be entitled to in many establishments; the table shows the longest possible amount of fully paid leave. ^b ‘0 weeks’ includes three companies which did not provide data on paternity leave and two which did not provide data on adoptive leave. ^c The 2006 Working Mother’s 100 Best list did not differentiate between fully and partially paid leave; IWPR supplemented the information from company materials to make it comparable to 2010 and 2012 listings. Source: IWPR analysis of Working Mother Media, Inc.’s employer survey for *Working Mother* “100 Best Companies” 2012, 2010, and 2006.

Access to Paid Maternity or Paternity Leave according to the “Family and Medical Leave Act in 2012 Survey”

The Family and Medical Leave Act in 2012 Survey was designed specifically to assess employers’ and employees’ experience with the Family and Medical Leave Act; the survey includes questions about paid leave for different conditions covered under the FMLA and was administered to a sample of worksites both covered and not covered by the FMLA, as well as to a sample of employees who had experienced a qualifying event (such as childbirth), again irrespective of whether they were formally entitled to FMLA leave.⁶ Data are available for paid maternity and paternity leave but not separately for adoption leave.

⁶ The survey was conducted for the U.S. Department of Labor, under contract by Abt Associates. The survey aimed to understand both worksites’ and employees’ experience with family and medical leave since FMLA was enacted 20 years ago. Surveying 1,812 worksites and 2,852 employees in 2012, the worksite survey includes both sites that are covered by the FMLA and those that are not covered. The 2012 survey updates previous surveys conducted in 1995 and 2000. Samples of the employee survey included employees who took leave, who had an unmet need for leave, and those who had neither. The samples were collected using Random Digit Dial and Computer Assisted Telephone interviews, between February 1 and June 24, 2012 (Klerman, Daley and Pozniak 2013).

Box 1. Key Findings from the Family and Medical Leave Act in 2012 Survey

- Sixty-six percent of all employees have heard of the FMLA.
- Fifty-nine percent of surveyed employees reported that they are covered and eligible to take leave under the FMLA.
- Regardless of eligibility, 13 percent of surveyed employees reported that they took leave for an FMLA-qualifying reason, such as one's own serious illness or that of a spouse, parent or child, to care for or bond with a new child, or military deployment of or service related injury to a parent or child in the past year.
- Among those who took leave for any of these reasons 56 percent were women and 44 percent were men.
- Fifty-seven percent of all leave taken was for the employee's own illness, followed by leave for pregnancy or to care for or bond with a new child (22 percent) and illness of a qualifying relative (spouse, child, or parent; 19 percent).
- About one-third of employees (35 percent) work in worksites that offer paid maternity leave to all or most women employees; one-fifth (20 percent) of employees work in worksites that offer paid paternity leave.⁷
- Among those who took leave for parental reasons (such as caring for or bonding with a newborn, newly adopted child, or new foster child; or for maternity-related disability/illness) less than a quarter of women, or 23 percent, took leave of ten days or less, compared with 70 percent of men; 38 percent of women, compared with 6 percent of men took such leave for 60 days or longer.
- One-third of all people who took FMLA leave received no pay.
- Nearly two-thirds (64 percent) of employees who needed, but did not take, leave in the past 12 months were women.

Source: Klerman, Daley and Pozniak 2013

The findings show that the FMLA is used widely and that employers have faced few problems in implementing the law (Klerman, Daley, and Pozniak 2013). According to the survey, 35 percent of employees in the United States work for employers that offer paid maternity leave to all or most of their employees, including 39.5 percent in worksites covered by the FMLA as well as 26 percent in workplaces not formally covered by the FMLA.⁸ Paid paternity leave is less common,

⁷ Data on the number of weeks of paid leave offered by employers is not available.

⁸ These findings are broadly similar to the results of an analysis of the U.S. Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), which found that between 2006-and 2008 40.7 percent of employed women who gave birth received paid maternity leave (Laughlin 2011).

available to all or most employees in 20 percent of workplaces (21 percent of FMLA-covered, and 15 percent of non-covered workplaces). The length of leave taken for parental reasons varies considerably between women and men. Seven of ten men took leave of ten days or less, compared to a quarter (23 percent) of women; six percent of men took leave of 60 days or more, compared to 38 percent of women (Box 1). Women are more than twice as likely as men to have received paid leave for parental reasons (Klerman, Daley, and Pozniak 2013).

Access to Paid Family Leave according to the National Compensation Survey

The U.S. Department of Labor National Compensation Survey (NCS) collects data from employers on employee access to paid family leave; the survey question applies to all types of family leave covered under the FMLA, not exclusively leave provided to parents to care for a newborn child. This survey provides a significantly lower estimate of paid family leave coverage than the Family and Medical Leave Act in 2012 Survey, which may be due to its efforts to identify caregiving-related leave separately from disability/medical leave for child bearing mothers.⁹ According to this survey, in 2012, only 12 percent of employees had access to paid family leave, a slight increase since 2010 (Table 3).¹⁰

Access to paid leave is more likely if an employee is well-paid, works in a managerial or professional occupation, or is employed by a company with at least 100 employees. While almost one fifth of workers in the highest wage quartile (i.e. top 25 percent of wage earners) have access to paid family leave, only five percent of workers in the lowest wage quartile (i.e., lowest 25 percent of wage earners) have access to it.

There are considerable regional differences in access to paid leave; workers in the South Atlantic, the East North Central, and the Pacific regions are more likely to have paid family leave than workers in other regions (Table 3). Even the federal government, which is typically thought of as a supportive employer, fails to give its employees paid parental leave. Instead, federal employees who become parents must use paid vacation or sick days or unpaid time off (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2013; Miller, Suppan Helmuth, and Farabee-Siers 2009).

⁹ While both the NCS and the FMLA survey collect data from employers on various types of leave offered to workers the NCS definition of ‘paid family leave’ defines paid maternity leave as any leave in addition to short-term disability leave available to the employee; the NCS appears to be trying to separate additional paid caregiving leave from paid illness and disability leave, which is far more common. The FMLA survey simply inquires whether paid leave is available for childbirth or adoption. The 12-week, job guaranteed unpaid leave available to a birth mother under the FMLA includes both the period of her illness/disability and the period of her providing new baby care.

¹⁰ To address the lack of paid family leave for workers, organizations have proposed a National Family and Medical Leave Insurance Program (the Family Act) which would provide partial wage replacement for family and medical leave through a new shared payroll tax of approximately \$1.50 per week. The new program is proposed to be administered by the Social Security Administration, but with totally separate funding. (Boushey and Glynn 2012; National Partnership for Women and Families 2013b).

Table 3. Access to Paid Family Leave for Civilian Employees, 2010 and 2012

	2012	2010
All Employees	12%	11%
Occupations		
Management, Professional, and Related	18%	17%
Sales and Office	13%	11%
Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance	9%	8%
Service	7%	8%
Production, Transportation, and Material Moving	6%	6%
Average Wage		
Lowest 25 Percent	5%	5%
Highest 25 Percent	19%	17%
Establishment Size^a		
1–99 Workers	8%	7%
100 Workers or More	15%	13%
Region		
New England	11%	11%
Middle Atlantic	10%	9%
East North Central	13%	14%
West North Central	11%	10%
South Atlantic	14%	13%
East South Central	8%	7%
West South Central	12%	9%
Mountain	8%	9%
Pacific	13%	14%

Notes: Paid family leave in the National Compensation Survey definition includes paid maternity, adoption and paternity leave, as well as leave to care for a sick child, or a sick adult relative; only paid leave in addition to short-term disability leave is counted.” Data are unadjusted for tenure rates; typically workers will not have access to leave in the first few months after joining a company.

Source: IWPR compilation based on National Compensation Survey (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2010 and 2012).

Rights to Paid Parental Leave Elsewhere in the World

The United States is the only high-income country, and one of only four countries in the world, that does not mandate paid leave for mothers of newborns (International Labor Organization 2010).¹¹ Other high-income countries have paid maternity leave policies, and many countries provide new fathers paid time off as well, or allow parents to share paid leave. For example, all

¹¹ The other countries without a maternity pay statute are Lesotho, Papua New Guinea, Swaziland (ILO 2010).

27 European Union (EU) member states provide a minimum of 14 weeks of job-guaranteed maternity leave, paid at least at the rate set for statutory sick pay (paid sick leave is obligatory in all EU countries), and some European countries provide substantially more paid maternity leave. In the EU, countries vary in terms of providing leave for fathers. In Sweden, which has one of the most generous parental leave policies in the world, parents are provided with 480 days leave that they can use any time until the child is eight years old. While parents can share these days, 60 are allocated specifically to the father. Among the 480 days, 390 days are paid at about 80 percent of wages, although this is capped at a certain level. Iceland has the most egalitarian system in the world, giving each parent the non-transferable right to three months each of paid leave, plus an additional three months that may be shared between the couple at their discretion; a single parent gets the full entitlement. Several high-income countries, moreover, provide an option to combine part of their paid parental leave entitlement with paid employment; together with complementary flexible working provisions this facilitates a gradual return to work for mothers, as well as a greater take up of leave provisions by fathers (Hegewisch 2009).

Research on the Impact of Paid Parental Leave

There is a substantial body of research on the impact of paid parental leave, and especially maternity leave. This research finds:

- Paid maternity leave increases childhood vaccination rates (Daku, Raub and Heymann 2012).
- Mothers with at least eight weeks of paid leave are less likely to experience postpartum depression and to be in better overall health than women with less than eight weeks leave (Chatterji and Markowitz 2012).
- Mothers facing financial strain are twice as likely to return to work within twelve weeks as those who experience no financial strain (Guendelman et al. 2013).
- Paid maternity leave is correlated with an increase in the working hours of mothers with one to three year old children, and, thus, with a likely increase in their earnings (Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, and Waldfogel 2013).
- The introduction of California's Paid Family Leave program led to a doubling of the overall length of maternity leave, an average increase of three weeks (Rossin-Slater, Ruhm, and Waldfogel 2013). The increases in leave taking are especially large for mothers who are less educated, unmarried, or non-white.

- The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months of a baby's life. Research shows breastfeeding's substantial benefits for the health of both infants and mothers, including strengthening infants' immune systems and mothers' possible protection against diabetes, heart attacks, and breast cancer (Schwarz et al. 2009, Stuebe et al. 2009).
- An evaluation of the impact on employers of California's Paid Family Leave Act found that mothers' use of leave roughly doubled the median duration of breastfeeding (Appelbaum and Milkman 2011).
- A growing body of research points to positive effects of fathers' early and more equal involvement in the care of children, from better family cohesion and reduced divorce rates to improved cognitive development and educational performance (see Gornick and Hegewisch 2010; Huerta et al. 2013). Fathers' use of leave is greatest when leave is well-paid and when the benefit is designated specifically to the father and not transferrable to his partner (O'Brien 2009). The California Paid Family program had a positive effect on the length of leave taken by fathers. (Appelbaum and Milkman 2011).
- Providing paid maternity leave at the average length for high-income countries, of 15 weeks, would be likely to have a measurable positive impact on productivity growth in the United States, according to an evaluation conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Bassanini and Venn 2008).

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