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# Testimony in support of S.B. 1 and H.B. 5003, An Act Concerning Paid Family and Medical Leave Submitted by Molly Weston Williamson, Senior Staff Attorney, A Better Balance and Madeleine Gyory, Law Fellow, A Better Balance

We are submitting this testimony on behalf of our organization, A Better Balance, a legal advocacy organization whose mission is to fight for policies that will protect American workers from having to choose between caring for themselves and their families and maintaining their economic security. To that end, we have been working on paid family and medical leave issues in states throughout the country for over a decade. We testified in support of paid family and medical leave bills in Connecticut last year and we were coauthors of the report "Implementing Paid Family and Medical Leave Insurance in Connecticut" whose chief author was the Institute for Women's Policy Research. We are delighted that paid family and medical leave bills have been introduced again in Connecticut and submit this testimony in support of these important bills.

# I. The need for Connecticut to pass a paid family and medical leave law is overwhelming.

Shockingly, the United States remains one of only two countries in the world, along with Papua New Guinea, with no national paid parental leave benefit of any kind. Only 16% of private sector workers receive paid family leave through their employers to bond with a new child or care for a seriously ill or injured family member; among low-income workers, the number is even lower.

This lack of access has predictable and devastating consequences for American families. Women without paid leave are more likely to be pushed into lower-paying jobs or to drop out of the work force entirely.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, women who take paid leave after a child's birth are more likely to be employed nine to twelve months after the child's birth than working women who take no leave and new mothers who take paid leave are also more likely to report wage increases in the year following the child's birth.<sup>4</sup> For working fathers, taking longer paid family leave means increased satisfaction in their contact with their children<sup>5</sup> and greater engagement in their children's lives.<sup>6</sup>

Lack of paid leave also hurts children. When parents cannot take the leave they need, babies are less likely to get checkups and important vaccinations, less likely to breastfeed, and more likely to develop behavioral problems. For foster children, the first few months are a critical adjustment period in the transition to a new placement, during which children need time to bond with their foster parents. Seriously ill children benefit when their parents can afford time off to care for them. Research shows that ill children



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have better vital signs, faster recoveries, and reduced hospital stays when cared for by parents.9

Nor is the need for family leave limited to new parents: today, nearly one in three U.S. households provide care for an adult loved one with a serious illness or disability. With an aging population, these numbers will only increase in the future. Family caregivers can help these individuals recover more quickly and spend less time in hospitals. Policies that support family caregiving create savings that benefit all Connecticut taxpayers. Unpaid family caregivers not only help to ease the burden on our crowded hospitals and long-term care facilities but also create enormous financial savings. For example, recipients of family caregiving are less likely to have nursing home care or home health care paid for by Medicare. Because most caregivers providing care for adults are employed, the demands of providing care are in constant tension with earning a much-needed income.

Workers also need time off to address their own serious health needs. Nationwide, about three in five private sector workers lack access to short-term disability insurance through their employers, leaving them vulnerable when they need time off from work to address their serious health needs. Among low-income workers, these numbers are even more stark. Over 80% of those in the bottom quarter of earners and nearly 90% of those in the bottom tenth of earners lack access to short-term disability insurance through their employers. When workers do not have the leave they need, they may defer or forego necessary medical treatment.

Medical problems are a leading cause of personal bankruptcy in this country<sup>17</sup> and a frequent contributor to home foreclosures.<sup>18</sup> Without paid leave, those dealing with a disabling illness are often pushed onto public benefits.<sup>19</sup> Nearly one in three seriously ill workers either lose their jobs or have to change jobs as a result of their illness.<sup>20</sup> Paid medical leave can help workers balance their health needs with work and keep their jobs. Paid leave allows workers to recover and return to full productivity more quickly than they would by continuing to work.

Finally, military families lack the protections they need when their loved ones are called to active duty service of our country. In one recent national survey, the amount of time service members spend away from family was ranked as the top issue of concern for service members and military spouses. Families that make these sacrifices deserve the paid time off they need to address the effects of deployment on their families and their lives. Moreover, due to the impacts of the military lifestyle, a shocking 30% of military spouses are unemployed, despite actively seeking employment, and many more are underemployed. Fifty-two percent of military spouses reported that unemployment and underemployment are the main obstacles to financial security. Ensuring that these



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patriots can take the time away they need and then return ready to work can help them maintain employment and better support their loved ones serving abroad and those who remain at home.

## The Business Case for Paid Leave

Four states, California, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and New York, have already implemented paid family and medical leave programs, with programs in the works under laws passed in Washington, D.C., Washington State, and Massachusetts.<sup>24</sup> The experiences of these states have shown that paid family and medical leave laws can provide critically needed benefits at an affordable cost and without burdening businesses.

Contrary to opponents' claims, paid leave does not hurt businesses and can even help. In California, 92.8% of employers reported that paid family leave had a positive or neutral effect on employee turnover, 25 saving employers the costly step of replacing an existing employee. A majority of California employers also reported positive or neutral effects on productivity (88.5%), profitability/performance (91.0%), and employee morale (98.6%). 7

Nor is it true that paid family and medical leave is bad for small businesses. Without a state program, small businesses that cannot afford to offer the same generous leave benefits as larger companies are at a competitive disadvantage in hiring. <sup>28</sup> Providing paid leave through a social insurance program levels the playing field for small businesses. That is why, for example, one year after Rhode Island's paid family leave law went into effect, a majority of small employers reported they were in favor of the program. <sup>29</sup>

While critics charge that employees will abuse the program, the evidence does not support that claim. Studies in California<sup>30</sup> and New Jersey<sup>31</sup> show little to no abuse of the programs.

## The Health Case for Paid Leave

A robust and growing body of research demonstrates the substantial health benefits of paid family and medical leave for working families. For example, paid leave is associated with better physical and mental health for mothers, including a lower risk of postpartum depression.<sup>32</sup> Moms who return to work within twelve weeks of giving birth are less likely to breastfeed and, when they do, breastfeed for less time than those who stay home longer.<sup>33</sup> In this context, it is unsurprising that access to paid leave has substantial positive effects on breastfeeding. For example, one leading study of California's paid family leave program found that use of paid family leave more than doubled the average number of



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weeks of breastfeeding and, among workers with low-quality jobs, notably increased the percentage of women who initiated breastfeeding at all.<sup>34</sup>

Paid leave is also tied to reduction in infant and child mortality. In one study of 141 countries, controlling for other factors, an increase of ten full-time-equivalent weeks of paid maternal leave reduced neonatal and infant mortality rates by 10% and the mortality rate of children younger than five by 9%. Expanding paid leave may also help redress existing maternal health disparities. For example, one study found that the positive effects of increasing the length of paid maternity leave are especially pronounced for low-resource families. Moreover, there are significant racial disparities in maternal health, especially for Black women who are significantly more likely to die in childbirth or experience serious complications than white women. The Greater access to paid leave can help bridge these gaps.

Family care leave also provides significant health benefits to both caregivers and care recipients. Ill children have better vital signs, faster recoveries, and reduced hospital stays when cared for by parents.<sup>38</sup> Paid leave is a crucial part of this equation, because parents with paid leave are more than five times more likely to care for their sick children than those without.<sup>39</sup> In one study, parents of children with special needs who received paid leave were more likely to report positive effects on their children's physical and mental health than those who took leave without pay.<sup>40</sup> Paid family care leave also has important health benefits for caregivers, who face many negative health repercussions from caregiving. Research shows that access to paid leave improves caregivers' mental and emotional health.<sup>41</sup>

Paid medical leave provides workers extended time off to deal with their own serious health need, including acute conditions like cancer, chronic conditions like diabetes or asthma, or recovery from an accident or serious injury. Paid leave allows workers to get the treatment they need, when they need it. For example, paid medical leave helps cancer patients and survivors determine a course of treatment, follow through with that treatment, afford treatment, and manage side effects. Paid leave also helps keep workers safe on the job, increasing productivity and decreasing employer costs. Workers with paid leave are significantly less likely to suffer dangerous injuries on the job<sup>43</sup> or deaths on the job (for example, from heart conditions). When workers must return to work before a chronic condition is stabilized or before they have healed from an injury, they are more likely to relapse or re-injure themselves while working. Nationally, one in three U.S. adults under 65 has at least one chronic health condition. For workers who receive health insurance through their employers, taking needed leave can mean risking their coverage when they need it the most. Strong paid leave laws, like the bills before



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you today, protect workers' right to keep their employer-provided health insurance, ensuring that workers do not lose the coverage they need at these critical junctures.

# II. This proposal contains the most important aspects of a good paid family and medical leave program.

The bills before you contain key policy elements for a strong paid family and medical leave program. Crafted along the same lines as the successful programs in the states that have enacted paid family and medical leave, these bills propose an insurance program financed by small employee contributions that will enable workers to take time off when they and their families need it the most. These are the key policy points in the current bills that should not be changed.

## 12 weeks is a minimum length of leave time to serve the purposes of this legislation.

We are glad to see that the current proposed bills would provide at least 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave. This minimum benchmark, which is also consistent with the FMLA, ensures that workers have the time they need to attend to their own or a family member's serious health needs, address the impact of a family member's military deployment, or bond with a new child. Providing 12 weeks of coverage would also match the length of paid family leave coverage in New York (once the program is fully phased in) and Massachusetts and of paid family and medical leave in Washington State. We are also pleased to see the that proposal would provide two additional weeks of paid family and medical leave to workers who suffer from serious health needs in connection with pregnancy.

The health benefits of providing 12 weeks of leave for bonding are overwhelming for children, mothers, and fathers. Children whose mothers do not return to work full time in the first 12 weeks are more likely to receive medical checkups and critical vaccinations. <sup>47</sup> Mothers who take at least 12 weeks of leave are also more likely to breastfeed, with important lasting health benefits for their children. <sup>48</sup> Fathers who take longer leaves experience greater engagement in their children's lives; <sup>49</sup> greater paternal engagement has cognitive and developmental advantages for children. <sup>50</sup> For foster children, the first few months are a critical adjustment period in the transition to a new placement, <sup>51</sup> during which children need time to bond with their foster parents. Experts including the American Academy of Pediatrics recommend that healthy full-term infants should not be enrolled in child care until they are at least 12 weeks old due to rapid developmental changes and the risk of developing severe undetected illness. <sup>52</sup>



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For new birth mothers, having less than 12 weeks of family leave is associated with increased symptoms of postpartum depression.<sup>53</sup> For working fathers, taking longer paid family leave means increased satisfaction in their contact with their children.<sup>54</sup>

# Job protection is critical to the ability of a worker to take this benefit for which the worker is paying.

We are especially glad to see that the bills will protect the jobs of workers taking paid family and medical leave under the law. The proposal would provide job protection for all employees covered by program. Job protection is an essential element—without it, it's not leave. This is especially important for low-income workers, who change jobs more often than other workers<sup>55</sup> and are more likely to be working part time<sup>56</sup> (including many part-time workers who would prefer to be working full time).<sup>57</sup> Peer states New York and Rhode Island already provide job protection to all employees covered by their paid family leave laws.

The need for paid family and medical leave occurs at some of the most stressful times in a person's life: the arrival of a new child, a health crisis in the family, or a looming deployment. At these times, workers shouldn't have to worry whether they will have a job to return to after their leave. Without job protection, workers will pay for a program they can't use. Without a legal right to get their job back, many workers will be unable to take the leave they need—the risk to their long-term economic security will be too great. In one California study, fear of being fired was a commonly cited reason workers who were eligible for paid family leave under that state's program did not take it.<sup>58</sup> In Rhode Island, 45% of workers who took leave under their state's paid family leave law (which provides job protection) said that without the law they would not have taken leave for fear of losing their job.<sup>59</sup>

Job protection keeps workers attached to the workforce. When workers are unable to take short-term leave and then return to their job, they are often pushed out of the workforce altogether. One study estimated that men who leave the labor force early due to caring for an aging parent lose almost \$90,000 in wages, while women who do so lose over \$140,000 in wages. Women who take paid leave after having a baby are more likely to be working 9 to 12 months after the birth than women who take no leave. And keeping workers on the job saves taxpayers money. Both men and women who return to work after taking paid leave are much less likely to be receiving public assistance or food stamps in the year following their child's birth than those who return to work without taking family leave.

Workers need a decent wage replacement in order to be able to take time off, especially workers at the bottom of the economic spectrum.



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The proposed bills would provide 100% wage replacement (provide workers with 100% of their regular weekly income) up to a maximum of \$1,000 per week, to be adjusted for inflation annually. We support this key piece of the proposal, which strikes a reasonable balance between meeting the needs of low-wage workers and offering a reasonable maximum benefit to help protect the solvency of the fund.

The wage replacement rate (the percentage of their own income workers receive while on leave) is an extremely important element of a paid family and medical leave law: if the rate is too low, workers will not be able to afford to take the leave they need. This problem can be especially acute for low-income workers living paycheck to paycheck, who need every dollar of their income to pay their bills. Moreover, because the proposed program would be 100% worker-funded, it is particularly essential to ensure that workers will not be required to pay for a program they cannot afford to use.

Though low-income workers are the most vulnerable, workers of any income level can find themselves unable to afford to take leave if the wage replacement rate is too low. In a major California study, workers across income levels reported that the 55% wage replacement level made it difficult to afford to use the program, potentially contributing to low rates of use. <sup>63</sup> For this reason, California amended their statute to raise the wage replacement rate, especially for low-wage workers. By adopting the current proposal, Connecticut would learn from the experience of existing programs and create a benefit level that works for workers.

# For purposes of family care, all close family members should be covered.

We are happy to see the inclusion of the close family members for whom many workers will feel responsible and will therefore need leave to provide care should there be a serious illness. This thoughtful definition will help reflect and protect the diversity of Connecticut's families. For example, in Connecticut, 25,000 children live in a household where neither parent resides. In today's families, many grandparents are raising grandchildren and both grandparents responsible for their grandchildren and grandchildren who owe their grandparents the care given them should be covered. Adult children with a serious illness are no less in need of care from their parents than any other adult to whom the worker is related. And many siblings look to their sisters or brothers as the first person to whom they would turn for care in the event of a serious illness.

We are also especially excited that the bills would give covered workers the right to paid leave to care for their chosen families, loved ones to whom they may not have a legal or biological relationship. More than 383,000 households in Connecticut, or 28% of households in the state, consist of an individual who lives alone. In an emergency or during an illness, many individuals rely on care from chosen family—like close friends



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and loving neighbors—or extended family. Nearly 190,000 Connecticut residents live with nonrelatives—such as roommates, friends, or significant others. When an individual is sick or has a medical emergency, they often rely on individuals they live with—even absent a blood or legal relationship—for help and caregiving. In a 2016 national survey conducted by the Center for American Progress, 32% of people in the United States reported that they took time off work to provide care for a chosen family member. Higher rates were reported by LGBTQ participants (42%, compared with 31% of non-LGBTQ participants) and participants with disabilities (42%, compared with 30% of participants without disabilities). While many people rely on their chosen families for care, chosen families can be especially important to LGBTQ people, particular LGBTQ older adults, who are especially likely to rely on those loved ones.

## Self-employed workers deserve the opportunity to get coverage if they choose.

We are glad to see that the proposed bills would allow self-employed workers, including independent contractors and freelancers, to opt in to coverage. By even conservative measures, more than one in ten American workers are self-employed (as of 2015),<sup>69</sup> though some counts place the number even higher.<sup>70</sup> A disproportionately high number of caregivers—in one study, as many as one in six—are self-employed.<sup>71</sup> Self-employment can be a double-edged sword for the ability to take leave, trading off (at least theoretically) greater control of one's work schedule with less reliable income and fears of losing clients or work due to absence.

Recently, the rise of the so-called "gig economy" has placed increasing importance on ensuring basic protections for independent contractors and other self-employed workers, even as it raises significant questions regarding whether these workers are in fact employees who have been misclassified as contractors. Despite their claims to provide flexibility, in practice platform companies like Uber often punish workers for not being available during profitable time slots, making it risky to take needed leave. Moreover, as with other low-income workers, taking unpaid time away from work may be economically unfeasible for many gig economy workers who struggle to find enough hours of work. New laws like Connecticut's must, therefore, account for the needs of these workers and ensure that they can access the tools they need to take real leave regardless of whether they are considered traditional "employees," as this thoughtful proposal would do.

## Portable benefits meet the needs of a changing workforce.

We are pleased to see that the bills provide portable benefits—benefits that workers can take with them as they move from job to job or combine multiple sources of income. As workers increasingly find themselves in nonstandard, precarious, and insecure jobs,



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portable benefits are increasingly essential. Low-income workers in particular may be more likely to change jobs than other workers more generally, even with employment that is not formally set up as temporary. Without needed protections, like eligibility standards that promote portability, a worker who happens to change jobs shortly before a life event requiring leave could be excluded, even if that worker had a long tenure and qualified in their prior position.

We also strongly support the current bills' provision of benefits to previously covered workers during unemployment. Many nonstandard employees may go through periods of unemployment between periods of employment. For example, temporary workers may have gaps between engagements or seasonal workers may struggle to find sufficient work in the off-season. For these workers, it is important that they can still access benefits they previously qualified for if the need arises during a period of unemployment.

## Notice, outreach, and education are important.

Especially in a program in which employees are paying for the benefit, it is very important that workers know about the benefit if there is a covered event in their lives. The provision requiring employers to provide their employees with notice of their rights will help to ensure that these workers receive the information they need. In addition, we strongly support the inclusion of provisions committing the state to providing outreach and education on the new program.

Connecticut has taken an important step forward today in advancing these bills. We thank you for the opportunity to submit this testimony and for all your efforts to enact the crucial protections working families need.

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the Choice Between Career & Motherhood, 36 WOMEN'S RTS. L. REP. 1, 9 (2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION, MATERNITY AND PATERNITY AT WORK: LAW AND PRACTICE ACROSS THE WORLD 16 (2014), *available at* http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms 242615.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> National Compensation Survey: Employee Benefits in the United States, Mar. 2018, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Table 32 (2018), https://www.bls.gov/ncs/ebs/benefits/2018/ownership/private/table32a.htm.
<sup>3</sup> Sara Cohen, Have Your Cake and Eat It Too: How Paid Maternity Leave in the United States Could End

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Linda Houser & Thomas Vartanian, *Pay Matters: The Positive Economic Impacts of Paid Family Leave for Families, Businesses and the Public*, CENTER FOR WOMEN AND WORK (2012), p. 6-7, *available at* http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/work-family/other/pay-matters.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Linda Haas & C. Phillip Hwang, *The Impact of Taking Parental Leave on Fathers' Participation in Childcare and Relationships with Children: Lessons from Sweden*, COMMUNITY, WORK & FAMILY 11:1, 85-104 (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Maria del Carmen Huerta et al., Fathers' Leave, Fathers' Involvement and Child Development: Are They Related? Evidence from Four OECD Countries (2013).



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<sup>10</sup> Catherine Albiston & Lindsey Trimble O'Connor, Just Leave, 39 HARV. J. L. & GENDER 1, 16 (2016).

<sup>12</sup> Houser and Gibson, Valuing the Invaluable, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Caregiving in the U.S., AARP & National Alliance for Caregiving (June 2015), p. 56, available at http://www.aarp.org/content/dam/aarp/ppi/2015/caregiving-in-the-united-states-2015-report-revised.pdf.

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employee Benefits Survey: Mar. 2018*, Table 16 (2018), https://www.bls.gov/ncs/ebs/benefits/2018/ownership/private/table16a.pdf. <sup>15</sup> *Id*.

<sup>16</sup> See Abt Associates Inc., Family and Medical Leave in 2012: Technical Report 131 (Sep. 2012), https://www.dol.gov/asp/evaluation/fmla/FMLA-2012-Technical-Report.pdf.

<sup>17</sup> See David U. Himmelstein, Deborah Thorne, Elizabeth Warren, Steffie Woolhandler, Medical Bankruptcy in the United States, 2007: Results of a National Study, 122 Am. J. of Med. 742 (2009).

<sup>18</sup> Christopher Tarver Robertson, Michael Hoke, & Richard Egelhof, *Get Sick, Get Out: The Medical Causes of Home Mortgage Foreclosures*, 18 HEALTH MATRIX 65, 68 (2008).

<sup>19</sup> See Anne L. Alstott, Why the EITC Doesn't Make Work Pay, LAW & CONTEMP. PROBS. 285, 311-12 (Winter 2010).

(Winter 2010). <sup>20</sup> The Commonwealth Fund, The New York Times, & Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, *Being Seriously Ill in America Today* 8 (Aug. 2018), https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/94/2018/10/CMWF-NYT-HSPH-Seriously-Ill-Poll-Report.pdf.

<sup>21</sup> Military Family Lifestyle Survey: Comprehensive Report, BLUE STAR FAMILIES, p. 20 (2018), available at https://bluestarfam.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/2018MFLS-ComprehensiveReport-DIGITAL-FINAL.pdf.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.* at 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Id*.

<sup>24</sup> Paid family and medical leave benefits will begin in Washington State and Washington, D.C. in 2020 and in Massachusetts in 2021.

in Massachusetts in 2021.

<sup>25</sup> Eileen Appelbaum and Ruth Milkman, *Leaves That Pay: Employer and Worker Experience with Paid Family Leave in California* (2011), CENTER FOR ECONOMIC AND POLICY RESEARCH, p. 8, *available at* https://cepr.net/documents/publications/paid-family-leave-1-2011.pdf.

<sup>26</sup> Replacing an employee costs 50-75% of an hourly employee's annual pay and up to 150% of a salaried employee's annual pay. Jodie Levin-Epstein, *Getting Punched: The Job and Family Clock* (2006), CENTER FOR LAW AND SOCIAL POLICY, p. 9, *available at* http://www.clasp.org/resources-and-publications/files/0303.pdf.

<sup>27</sup> Appelbaum and Milkman, *Leaves That Pay*, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Eileen Appelbaum and Ruth Milkman, *Achieving a Workable Balance*, CENTER FOR WOMEN AND WORK (2006), p. 23, *available at* 

http://cww.rutgers.edu/sites/cww.rutgers.edu/files/images/workingfamilies/achieving%20a%20workable%20balance%202006%20Appelbaum.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lawrence M. Berger, Jennifer Lynn Hill, and Jane Waldfogel, *Maternity Leave, Early Maternal Employment and Child Health and Development in the US*, 115 THE ECON. J.L no. 501, F29, F45 (2005). <sup>8</sup> Annette Semanchin Jones and Susan J. Wells, *PATH/Wisconsin-Bremer Project: Preventing Disruptions in Foster Care* (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See S. J. Heymann, A. Earle & B. Egleston, *Parental Availability for the Care of Sick Children*, Pediatrics, Vol. 98 No. 2 (Aug. 1996), p. 226-30; S.J. Heymann, The Widening Gap: Why America's Working Families are in Jeopardy and What Can Be Done About It (2000), p. 57

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See, e.g., A. Houser & M.J. Gibson, Valuing the Invaluable: The Economic Value of Family Caregiving, 2008 Update, AARP Public Policy Institute (Nov. 2008), pp. 1-2, 6; Valuing the Invaluable: A New Look at the Economic Value of Family Caregiving, AARP (June 2007), p. 6



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<sup>32</sup> Zoe Aitken et al., The Maternal Health Outcomes of Paid Maternity Leave: A Systematic Review, SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE 130 (2015) 32-41; Belinda Hewitt et al., The Benefits of Paid Maternity Leave for Mothers' Post-Partum Health and Wellbeing: Evidence from an Australian Evaluation, SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE 182 (2017) 97-105; Pinka Chatterji and Sara Markowitz, Family Leave After Childbirth and the Mental Health of New Mothers, THE JOURNAL OF MENTAL HEALTH POLICY AND ECONOMICS 15 (2012).

<sup>33</sup> Lawrence M. Berger, Jennifer Lynn Hill, and Jane Waldfogel, *Maternity Leave, Early Maternal* Employment and Child Health and Development in the U.S., 115 THE ECON. J.L no. 501, F29, F39-F40 (2005). <sup>34</sup> Appelbaum and Milkman, *Leaves That Pay*, p. 25-26.

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<sup>36</sup> Louise Voldby Beuchert et al., The Length of Maternity Leave and Family Health, 43 LABOUR ECONOMICS 55, 67 (2016).

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