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LEVELING THE PLAYING FIELD FOR WORKING FAMILIES: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WORKER AND FAMILY SUPPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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LEVELING THE PLAYING FIELD FOR WORKING FAMILIES: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 2019

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WORKER AND FAMILY SUPPORT,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:00 p.m., in Room 2020, Rayburn House Office Building, the Honorable Danny Davis [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.

[The advisory announcing the hearing follows:]

ADVISORY

FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WORKER AND FAMILY SUPPORT

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: (202) 225-9263
February 28, 2019
No. WF-1

Chairman Davis Announces a Subcommittee Hearing on Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities

House Ways and Means Worker and Family Support Subcommittee Chairman Danny K. Davis announced today that the Subcommittee will hold a hearing, titled "Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities," on Thursday, March 7th, at 2 PM, in room 2020 Rayburn House Office Building.

In view of the limited time available to hear witnesses, oral testimony at this hearing will be from invited witnesses only. However, any individual or organization not scheduled for an oral appearance may submit a written statement for consideration by the Committee and for inclusion in the printed record of the hearing.

DETAILS FOR SUBMISSION OF WRITTEN COMMENTS:

Please Note: Any person(s) and/or organization(s) wishing to submit written comments for the hearing record must follow the appropriate link on the hearing page of the Committee website and complete the informational forms. From the Committee homepage, http://waysandmeans.house.gov, select "Hearings." Select the hearing for which you would like to make a submission, and click on the link entitled, "Click here to provide a submission for the record." Once you have followed the online instructions, submit all requested information. ATTACH your submission as a Word document, in compliance with the formatting requirements listed below, **by the close of business on Thursday, March 21, 2019.** For questions, or if you encounter technical problems, please

FORMATTING REQUIREMENTS:

The Committee relies on electronic submissions for printing the official hearing record. As always, submissions will be included in the record according to the discretion of the Committee. The Committee will not alter the content of your submission, but reserves the right to format it according to guidelines. Any submission provided to the Committee by a witness, any materials submitted for the printed record, and any written comments in response to a request for written comments must conform to the guidelines listed below. Any submission not in compliance with these guidelines will not be printed, but will be maintained in the Committee files for review and use by the Committee.

All submissions and supplementary materials must be submitted in a single document via email, provided in Word format and must not exceed a total of 10 pages. Witnesses and submitters are advised that the Committee relies on electronic submissions for printing the official hearing record.

All submissions must include a list of all clients, persons and/or organizations on whose behalf the witness appears. The name, company, address, telephone, and fax numbers of each witness must be included in the body of the email. Please exclude any personal identifiable information in the attached submission.

Failure to follow the formatting requirements may result in the exclusion of a submission. All submissions for the record are final.

The Committee seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you require special accommodations, please call (202) 225-3625 in advance of the event (four business days' notice is requested). Questions regarding special accommodation needs in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats) may be directed to the Committee as noted above.

Note: All Committee advisories and news releases are available at http://www.waysandmeans.house.gov/

Chairman DAVIS. The Subcommittee will come to order. Let me first of all welcome all of you. This is our first hearing in the Worker and Family Support Subcommittee in this Congress, so before I begin, I just wanted to welcome our ranking Member, Mrs. Walorski, and all of the standing Members serving on our Subcommittee.

I am very much looking forward to working with all of you this Congress on these issues that are so close to my heart and so important to all of the families that we represent.

Every day across America, parents, grandparents, and people of all colors and backgrounds, rural, urban, and suburban, get up in the morning and work hard to make better lives for their families. Despite these differences, these individuals encounter many of the same obstacles.

They cannot find appropriate child care or they cannot afford it. They need to care for a parent or a child or deal with their own health challenges, but they cannot withstand the loss of income from taking time off from work. Or the jobs that allow them to bal-

ance work and family pay less than the jobs available to workers who do not have those responsibilities or health challenges.

Lack of affordable child care and paid leave are not "some of us" problems. They are "all of us" problems, challenges all Americans will face at some time in their lives, from my district on the West Side of Chicago to the ones that my colleagues represent on the East and West Coasts.

Even with recent increases, after adjusting for inflation, our Federal investment in child care remains roughly the same as it was over a decade ago, in 2006. As a result, only about one in six eligible children receives Federal child care assistance, leaving many parents facing impossible choices. Less than half of Americans have access to paid medical leave. Less than a fourth of American workers live in States where they can earn temporary disability insurance, and less than a fifth of workers can get paid leave when they need it to care for a loved one.

These barriers cause stress for all workers that encounter them. But for many of the people that I represent—people who may not start out with as many skills and advantages, people who live in poorer communities, or people who are weighed down by their past mistakes or those of family members—these barriers trap them in poverty even though they work hard every day.

I am deeply grateful that two hardworking caregivers, Mrs. Tameka Henry and Mrs. Yvette McKinnie, were willing to make the personal sacrifices necessary to travel here today and inform our work by sharing their stories.

Congress has the power to remove these barriers, to level the playing field for working families. Just last week, the National Academy of Sciences released a critical report which found that we could reduce child poverty by 50 percent in just 10 years by making policy changes that would cost just a fraction of the $800 billion to $1.1 trillion that child poverty costs our nation each year.

Among the evidence-based bipartisan policies highlighted in the report were changes to child care funding and tax credits. The child care policy changes alone were estimated to reduce child poverty by 30 percent. I am proud to cosponsor the Child Care for Working Families Act, introduced by my friend, Chairman Bobby Scott of the Education and Labor Committee, and I look forward to working with him to enact comprehensive solutions to the child care crisis that take advantage of all of the tools within the our two Committees' jurisdictions.

When it comes to paid leave, some of our States and communities are already showing us the way, and have taken action to allow workers to earn the paid leave benefits that they need to balance work and family. My colleague Rosa DeLauro's FAMILY Act, which I and many of my colleagues have cosponsored, would build on these successful State experiences to make earned paid leave a reality across the country. We are also fortunate to be able to call on the expertise of our colleague, Mr. Gomez from California, as we consider national action on paid leave.

Booker T. Washington said, "If you want to lift yourself up, lift someone else up." This Congress, I mean for our Subcommittee to realize his vision and to lift up the parents and grandparents

across the country who have asked us for so little and have given so much.

And with that, I am pleased to recognize the Ranking Member, Mrs. Walorski, for an opening statement.

Mrs. WALORSKI. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. And before I proceed with my opening statement, I just want to tell you again how excited I am to be partnering with you on this great Committee as we work together on behalf of American families looking for that American dream.

And I know that for those of you that do not know, we live within 90 miles of each other. We just do not share weather in Chicago and Northern Indiana; we share all kinds of great culture. So I again want to extend the invitation for you to come to the Hoosier land, and I cannot wait to come to Chicago. I am a Chicago Cubs fan.

[Laughter.]

Mrs. WALORSKI. So with that, thank you so much. I agree that at a time when we have 7.3 million job openings and demands for workers that is producing upward pressure on wages, we do need to know what is holding back individuals who are still not back in the workforce. Just last week when governors from across the country were in D.C., they raised concerns about the need for workers and highlighted workforce development challenges.

Just this week I met with the head of Governor Holcomb's workforce cabinet for an update on their work to realign and better coordinate the efforts of the multiple State agencies that play a role in developing Indiana's workforce.

Last year before this Subcommittee, we heard from Peter Barrett of Smokercraft, a boat maker in Indiana, who told us that with an aging workforce and the small pool of qualified workers for area businesses to recruit from, he was concerned about the future prospect of finding skilled workers as well, a critical component for the growth of his business. Since his testimony, the situation has only worsened for employers like Smokercraft. That also means this has improved even further for other workers.

In my district alone, we know we need 10,000 new hires today, just today, to keep up with the demand of tomorrow. We need them right now to meet the demand of incoming orders to help continue our record economic growth. Competition for workers means increasing salaries, bonuses, and other benefits such as paid leave. These are the challenges, and each of those are also great opportunities.

We have the opportunity to make economic and social gains in ways not seen in decades so families are far better off financially, helping to improve their overall well-being in the near and long term. Better wages and stable work bring along a host of benefits, the greatest being the positive impact on children who are spared the trauma that comes from unrest in the home.

At the root of addressing these challenges needs to be a focus on human interact, engagement, support, encouragement, and belief in the possible, not just the assumptions about the probable. I am talking about jobs and opportunities with benefits and services for success, also known as the Jobs for Success Act.

For far too long, States have taken Federal tax dollars but have not done enough to help families. By focusing at the Federal level on outcomes, we can empower caseworkers on the ground to focus on the needs of the families sitting across the table, which increasingly means recognizing mental health or substance use issues. To help them achieve their own vision of success, it is time to focus on solving the root causes rather than pushing complex government ideas that will only address the symptoms.

Thank you to our panel of witnesses for being here today and for sharing your perspective. Again, I am proud to be a part of this Subcommittee. I look forward to the ways we can work together to help more Americans enter and remain the workforce, climb the economic ladder, and realize their full potential.

With that, I yield back. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you. Thank you, Mrs. Walorski.

Without objection, all Members' opening statements will be made part of the record.

We have a distinguished panel of witnesses here with us today to discuss the real challenges facing parents and grandparents across the country and what Congress should be doing to support them. I look forward to learning from them today and having their voices guide our Subcommittee's work.

First of all I would like to welcome Mrs. Yvette McKinnie. Mrs. McKinnie is raising her grandchildren while working to support her family in my congressional district in Chicago.

Next, Mrs. Tameka Henry. Mrs. Henry is a mother of four who balances two jobs caring for a disabled husband and caring for her children.

And Dr. Jane Waldfogel is an expert in paid leave and child care research and the Compton Foundation Centennial Professor for the Prevention of Children's and Youth Problems at the Columbia University School of Social work. Doctor, thank you.

And finally, Ms. Kelly Schultz is the Secretary of the Maryland Department of Commerce. And we are indeed delighted to have you.

Each of your statements will be made a part of the record in its entirety. I would ask you to summarize your testimony in five minutes or less. To help you with that time, there is a timing light at your table. When you have one minute left, the light will switch from green to yellow and then finally to red when five minutes are up.

So we thank you again for coming. You are indeed welcome. And I would ask Mrs. McKinnie if you would begin.

STATEMENT OF YVETTE MCKINNIE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Mrs. MCKINNIE. Thank you. Good afternoon. My name is Yvette McKinnie. First, I would like to thank Chairman Mr. Davis, Ranking Member Mrs. Walorski, and the Members of the Committee, for this opportunity to express my experience with being a grandmother and raising a young son.

I am a grandmother. My grandson, Matthew, is 11 years old. And I have a 3-year-old son named Elijah. I have been caring for Matthew for the last two years. His mother's job relocated her to Indianapolis. Because we have no family in Indianapolis and we

was not familiar with the child care up there, we decided to leave him in Chicago where he could finish his education, but then also get the structure and be raised in a home with ones he is familiar with.

Then I have Elijah. Elijah is 3 years old. Elijah was originally supposed to have been my son's son, but we found out that, through DNA, he was not. So I took on the responsibility to continue to care for him and to raise him where he also will have a quality of life.

On top of that, yes, it has been hard. I was working a full-time job, but because I was raising two young boys, it would not—I did not have—it was not in my schedule where I was able to give them the care. I have applied for Action for Children.

Action for Children instructed me that they were only for—I was not eligible because it was only for the parents. I explained to them that I have custody over Elijah and that I have paperwork to prove it. They stated that I was not the biological parent, so I was not approved for the child care.

When Elijah turned 3, we found out that he has special needs. Elijah has a sensory autism and he also is dealing with hyperactivity as well. So because of that, I cannot just leave him with anyone because sometimes when he gets heightened, it is very hard for ones to deal with him.

Elijah was going to an early childhood development where I was paying $600. That is one reason I went to Action for Children, to try to get resources and assistance. So after they instructed me that I was not able to, I had to pull him out and put him into the Chicago public school system, where it cut down some of his needs because now instead of him having speech therapy every week for a hour, now they had cut it down to 15 minutes, is what he receive.

Yes, it is hard raising even with Matthew because there are times where Matthew now is in basketball. So because I do not have anyone to help me with Elijah, I have to take him to the games. And sometime it becomes hard because I have to walk out, and then that leaves Matthew looking for me and I am not there.

So with Action for Children, like I stated, after they stated it was not for myself as a grandparent, I had to do what I had to do, which was to downsize my job so I can continue to give them the quality of life. I am now employed with Life Changing Community Outreach, where they actually have flexible hours for me, where they have given me the support as well, so when I go and pick up Matthew, and then I am able to come back.

My day starts at 5:00 a.m., where I have to get both of the boys dressed, make sure they have breakfast, get Matthew off to school at 8:00, and then come back to get Elijah at school for 11:15. Because he was no longer able to go to Mrs. McKinney's Early Childhood Development, his time also has been cut. So instead of him going from 8:30 to 3:30, now he goes to school from 11:15 to 2:15.

Also, I have to juggle my time. Even when I have doctor's appointments, I have to make sure they are actually at 8:30 in the morning or while they are in school. Matthew gets out of school at 3:30, so when he gets out of school, I take him and Elijah with me to the center where I work, where they are able to participate in the program and the activities that they have.

When my job is finished there, we go home. I finish helping Matthew with his homework and we eat dinner, and then my day starts all over again when I go to bed at 11:00. And the reason it is late is because I have to still make sure they are prepared for the next day.

I do love both of my boys and I have stepped up to care for Matthew so he can have the structure. And I also stepped up to take care of Elijah so he did not go into foster care. I am thankful that I did find a job that will help me with the flexible hours. Matthew, he is doing well. He is socializing with others. He loves basketball. His reading and math score have increased.

Elijah still needs a little work. He now is able to say that he has to go to the bathroom, but when his sensory is heightened, it is very hard. So I continue with the struggle with Elijah, but he is improving. And the reason I am here today is because there are other family members and there are other grandparents. There is a total of 2.6 million children across the United States that are being raised by grandparents, other relatives, or close friends because of the parents are not able to care for them at the time.

So what would have helped me was if I was able to receive financial assistance. Then I would have been able to keep Elijah in the child care where he was at where he was continue to get speech therapy, occupational therapy, and whatever else was necessary for him. Then I would have been able to keep my job full-time.

I still need help, so because as a caregiver and as a grandmother raising two boys, yes, it becomes hard. Caregiver policy should not be just for the parents, but then also should be to help grandparents as well. Without Matthew's mom, it is hard, but it is also hard for Elijah as well. But I do what I have to do so they can continue to have a quality of life.

So I urge Congress to support policies and ensure grandparents raising grandchildren to get us the help that we need. That is it.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. McKinnie follows:]

Written Testimony of Yvette McKinnie

Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities

United States House Ways and Means Committee
Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support

Thursday, March 7th, 2019, 2:00 p.m.

Good afternoon. My name is Yvette McKinnie. I want to thank Chairman Danny K. Davis, Ranking Member Jackie Warloski, and the committee, for this opportunity to share my experience as a mother and grandmother raising young children.

I am a grandmother raising my 11-year-old grandson, Matthew, and my 3-year-old son, Elijah. I have cared for Matthew for two years because my daughter had to relocate to Indianapolis for her job, and she did not have any child care or family there to help and her salary would not allow her to afford daycare. I have guardianship of my grandson.

I have had Elijah since day one. I brought him home 6 days after he was born. We thought he was my grandson – my son's son, but DNA tests showed he was not. At that point, they said that since his mother tested positive for opioids, he would have to go into the foster care system if I didn't take him. I didn't want him to go into the system so now I plan on adopting him as my son. The mother's rights have been terminated, I now have legal custody and the adoption is being finalized soon. When Elijah was 3 years old, we found out that he had medical issues. He has autism and sensory issues. Because of this, he sometimes hides unexpectedly to avoid noises or other stimulation. So, I can't just leave him with anybody. My mother tries to help me, but it is difficult for her because she is 76 years old and cannot keep up with Elijah. I also cannot easily take him out with me. For example, I need to bring him with me to watch Matthew's basketball games, but Elijah has a short attention span, so I have to leave the game sometimes to care for him. It's hard because Matthew looks up and I'm not in the stands. I just tell him that I'll be right back.

I used to work full-time, but it wasn't flexible enough for me to meet the boys' needs, and I needed help with child care. I was paying $600 a month for full-time care for Elijah at Ms. McKinney's Early Learning Center Head Start program, where he was getting speech and occupational therapy. I applied for assistance with Illinois Action for Children, my community's local public assistance agency, to help with child care costs, but I was told that I was ineligible because I made too much money. Illinois Action for Children also informed me that they only provide services for parents, not grandparents. I told them I have guardianship of Elijah, and showed them the letter I have for proof of guardianship that I use with school, the doctor and

other services for him, but they said it didn't matter. I wasn't the parent. I could not afford to pay for Elijah's child care without help. I had to find another job.

I am now employed by Life Changing Community Outreach at a much-lowered salary. I am very grateful for the opportunity as it grants me flexibility and support to care for my boys. It is difficult every day, but for the love of my boys, I do what I have to do. My day starts at 5 a.m. Between 5 a.m. and the time we leave, I get the boys school clothing, breakfast and myself ready for the day. Matthew has to be at school at 8 a.m. Since I couldn't afford to keep Elijah in full-time child care, he now goes to Chicago public school where they provide only three hours of care a day from 11:15-2:15. He does not get all the services he needs there, so I need to take him to speech therapy some days 9:00 a.m. and juggle his doctor and other appointments. Before and after school, he comes to work with me where they let him participate in some of the youth programs. My oldest gets out of school at 3:30 p.m. and comes to the center with Elijah and me. I work at the center until 8. Then we go home to have dinner and do homework with them. I usually get into bed at around 11p.m. and my day starts again at 5 a.m.

I love my boys and would do anything for them. I stepped in to care for Matthew when he needed me. I stepped up for Elijah and kept him out of foster care. I am thankful to have found a job that offers flexibility and we are making it work. Matthew is doing well with socializing and education. He has joined the basketball team and increased his reading and math scores. Elijah is now able to tell me when he has to use the bathroom due to occupational therapy. But it has been and continues to be a struggle. Although Elijah has slightly improved, his speech is still not what it should be at his age. He does not have the therapy as extensively anymore because of his school schedule. It went from an hour and a half per week, to 30 minutes per week. I have just began working with Sankofa Safe Child Initiative, a local organization, to find some respite care.

I also think about others like me. I am not alone. More than 2.6 million children across the U.S. are being raised by grandparents, other relatives or close family friends because their parents cannot care for them. Not all of them are fortunate enough to have a job that offers the flexibility and youth programs that mine does. Like me, many grandparents raising grandchildren are providing full time care for children but are not able to access child care or other help for the children because we are not recognized as their parents.

What would have helped me? If I could have received assistance with the $600 per month to pay for childcare, I could have kept Elijah at Ms. McKinney's child care program where he could have continued speech and occupational therapy. I also could have kept my job to help provide for our family's needs.

Policies should not force us to leave good jobs because we can't get help with critical child care. Child care policies should provide assistance to families in need regardless of whether the full-time caregiver of the children is their parent. Without me, Elijah would have no parent.

I urge congress to support policies that ensure grandparents raising grandchildren like mine get the child care help they need to help children thrive.

Chairman DAVIS. Mrs. Henry.

STATEMENT OF TAMEKA HENRY, LAS VEGAS, NEVADA

Mrs. HENRY. Good afternoon, Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and distinguished Members of the Committee. I am Tameka Henry, a devoted wife and mother of four from Las Vegas, Nevada. I come before you today to share my story and to advocate for the urgent need to have real paid leave for families across this country.

My husband and I have been together for 20 years. We have four incredible children ranging in age from 12 to 18. In 2006 my husband became disabled. He had been working at one of the luxury condominiums in town, but once he became ill, they let him go. I was working at an assisted living place, providing care for those with disabilities.

For a long while, his illness was a mystery. We did not know what was going on, and my children would frequently called me to explain that they had to call the paramedics because he was so sick. Each time I would have to take off work without pay. Then I lost that job. It was really tough because I had become the sole breadwinner.

My husband finally got diagnosed with gastroparesis, which is an offset of diabetes. Eventually he got his Social Security disability benefit, but it took 6 years for that to happen, and it was about $600 a month. His condition often requires me to take time from work, which has resulted in my own inability to maintain employment. Every time I found a new job it was like starting over again. I did not have a chance to build up tenure. I would take jobs that have flexibility for time off, but always without pay. Yet I still had to pay the bills.

Since my husband became ill, he has been in and out of the hospital on average 10 to 12 days per month, not to mention the time that I have had to take off with our children. Two of them have asthma. When I do the math, I estimate that I have lost close to $200,000 in wages since his diagnosis. Making our monthly bills is hit or miss, month to month, depending on his condition.

This hardship has definitely impacted other areas of our lives together. We cannot even consider purchasing a home, which is a bedrock of the American dream. I have never made enough to pay for child care, and it was always like Catch-22 in Nevada. If you worked and you were a two-parent home and one parent is home ill, they did not cover it. You do not qualify for child care assistance.

Ours is an impossible situation. Do I forsake my husband's health and our commitment to one another to keep my job and earn a living? Or do I honor my family and prioritize the health of my husband and our children, even though it hurts us financially? These are the questions I grapple with every day.

Families like mine would rather work and pay our own way. Unfortunately, when you have a loved one with disabilities, they are going to get sick and you have to be there for them.

Today, things are a little different. I work for a small nonprofit. I am fortunate that my boss is empathetic and understanding of the deep commitment I have to my family. And while I no longer

fear losing my job, I do have to find ways to make up my lost wages because my employer cannot afford to pay when I am off of work.

Like many families—I am sorry—like many small business owners, she supports the FAMILY Act. If there were a paid leave fund, it would make a huge difference for her and for us.

As a country, we should be embarrassed that in 2019, millions of families are forced to choose between their livelihood and their loved ones. If the family is the bedrock of our society, then why does America lag every other country when it comes to supporting and strengthening families?

We can and we must change this by passing the FAMILY Act so working people can pool small contributions and earn a portion of their pay while they take the time off to care for themselves or their loved ones. This bill will benefit 36 million adults who live with a disabled family member that they are responsible for caring for.

Based on my experience, this bill can save our government money because it would mean that I am able to sufficiently care for my husband and reduce the number of return hospital visits or recurring illness.

I became involved with Make It Work Nevada, which is part of the Family Values at Work Network, to fight for paid leave and affordable child care for myself and families like mine. Thanks to the work of coalitions and networks, several States across the country have a public insurance benefit to combat this problem, and I am glad to say that the sky did not fall in any of those States.

Paid family medical leave is good public policy. Eight in 10 Americans support paid family medical leave programs despite party affiliation or demographics. Do you know why? Because caring for one's family is not a partisan issue. It is an issue of compassion and it is an issue of love.

I want to urge you all today to vote our American values and support the FAMILY Act. I hope you will adapt the improvements that States have made to make sure the program is accessible and affordable to those who need it the most.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Committee Members, for allowing me to speak to you today.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Henry follows:]

Written Testimony of Tameka Henry

Prepared for the Subcommittee on Worker & Family Support

Good morning Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski and distinguished members of the committee. I am Tameka Henry, a devoted wife and mother of four from Las Vegas, Nevada. I come before you to share my story and advocate for the urgent need to have real paid leave for families across this country. My husband and I have been together 20 years. We have four incredible children, ranging in age from 12 to 18.

In 2006, my husband became disabled. He had been working at one of the luxury condominiums in town. Once he became ill, they let him go. I was working at an assisted living place, providing care to those with disabilities. For a long while, his illness was a mystery. We didn't know what was going on. My children would frequently call me to explain that they had to call the paramedics because he was so sick. Each time I'd have to take off without pay, then I lost that job. It was really tough because I'd become the sole breadwinner.

My husband finally got diagnosed with gastro-pareisis, an offset of diabetes and, eventually, he got the Social Security Disability Benefit, but it took six years and it's only $600 a month. His condition often requires me to take time from work which has resulted in my own inability to maintain employment. Every time I found a new job, it was like starting over again. I didn't have a chance to build up tenure. I would take jobs that had flexibility for time off, but always without pay. Yet, I still had to pay the bills.

Since my husband became ill, he's been in and out of the hospital, on average, 10-12 days per month. Not to mention the time I've had to take off when one of my children are sick; two of which have asthma. When I do the math, I estimate that I've lost close to $200,000 in wages since his diagnosis. Making our monthly bills is hit-or-miss, month-to-month, depending on his condition.

This hardship has definitely impacted other areas of our lives together. We can't even consider purchasing a home, a bedrock of the American dream. I've never made enough to pay for child care. It was always a catch-22. In Nevada, if you work and live in a two-parent household and one parent is home, you don't qualify for child care assistance, even if they're ill.

Ours is an impossible situation. Do I forsake my husband's health and our commitment to one another to keep my job and earn a living? Or, do I honor my family and prioritize the health of my husband and our children, even though it hurts us financially? These are the questions I grapple with every day.

Families like mine would rather work and pay our own way. Unfortunately, when you have a loved one with disabilities, they're going to get sick and you have to be there for them.

Today, things are a little different. I work for a small non-profit. I am fortunate that my boss is empathetic and understanding of the deep commitment I have to my family. And while I no longer fear losing my job, I do have to find ways to make up my lost wages because my employer can't afford to pay for time that I'm not working. Like many small business owners, she supports the FAMILY Act. If there was a national paid leave program, it would make a huge difference for her and for us.

As a country, we should be embarrassed that in 2019 millions of families are forced to choose between their livelihood or their loved ones. If the family is the bedrock of our society, then why does America lag every other country when it comes to supporting and strengthening families?

We can and we must change this by passing the FAMILY Act, so working people can pool small contributions and earn a portion of their pay while they take time to care for themselves or their loved ones. This bill will benefit 36 million adults who live with a disabled family member they are responsible for caring for. Based on my experience, this bill can save our government money because it would mean that I am able to sufficiently care for my husband and reduce the number of return hospital visits for recurring ailments. That's why I fight for paid leave and affordable child care for myself and for families like mine.

I became involved with Make It Work Nevada, which is part of the Family Values @ Work network. Thanks to the work of coalitions in our network, several states across the country have a paid family and medical leave program to combat this problem and I am glad to say that the sky didn't fall in any of those states.

Paid family and medical leave is good public policy. Eight in 10 Americans support paid family and medical leave programs despite party affiliation or demographics. Do you know why? Because caring for one's family isn't a partisan issue. It's an issue of compassion and an issue of love.

I want to urge you all today to vote our American values and support the FAMILY Act. I hope you will adapt the improvements that states have made to make sure the program is accessible and affordable to those who need it the most.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and committee members, for allowing me to speak with you today.

Make It Work NEVADA

Make It Work Nevada is a project of Tides Advocacy | 600 S. 7th St., Las Vegas, NV. 89101

Chairman DAVIS. Dr. Jane Waldfogel.

STATEMENT OF JANE WALDFOGEL, COMPTON FOUNDATION CENTENNIAL PROFESSOR FOR THE PREVENTION OF CHILDREN'S AND YOUTH PROBLEMS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Thank you, Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and other distinguished Members. Hello and thank you for inviting me to speak with you today.

I have spent the past 25 years studying policies to support working families and promote child health and development. These policies are a pressing concern today because in the majority of American families, it is no longer commonplace to have a stay-at-home caregiver who can take care of a newborn baby, an ill child, a disabled spouse, an elderly relative, or a family member being deployed or returning from the military.

This trend is not going to change. Most two-parent families need to have both parents in the labor market, and of course the challenges are even more acute among low-income and single-parent families. Yet our public policies have not kept pace with the new demographic reality. The Family and Medical Leave Act provides only unpaid leave to only about 60 percent of the workforce. Federal child care subsidies, as we heard in the chairman's opening statement, reach only about one in six eligible low-income families who need them.

Employer policies address some of the gap, but mostly for more advantaged workers. While 40 percent of employees have access to some paid leave they can use for family reasons, those who are low-income, part-time, or Hispanic are much less likely to be covered. Only a tiny share of employees, only about 10 percent, get any help from their employers in paying for child care, and that number has not changed in decades.

Yet we know from a large body of research that these policies matter for the well-being of employees and their families. While much of the early research came from other countries, we now have more than a decade of evidence from California, whose first in the Nation paid family leave law came into effect in 2004.

When employees have access to paid family leave, they are more likely to take leave to care for a family member or for themselves. They are more likely to be employed. They are more likely to have higher earnings afterwards. Mothers who have access to paid leave are less likely to be depressed after a birth. They breastfeed for longer.

Fathers who take longer leaves are more likely to be engaged in caring for their children months later. When more paid leave is available, rates of infant mortality and hospitalizations of infants fall. And at the other end of the life cycle, so too do nursing home admissions. Again, that is all evidence from California.

The evidence on child care is also extensive and clear. There is research from the landmark National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Study of Early Child Care and many subsequent studies, and this shows that high-quality child care improves children's health, cognitive development, and social development, especially for disadvantaged children.

Yet too few Americans can afford quality child care, especially in early childhood, when care is most expensive. When more child care subsidiaries are available, parents are more likely to be employed, reducing poverty and promoting family economic stability. More children receive child care and are in care of higher quality. High-quality child care can play a crucial role in helping improve school readiness and narrowing gaps in readiness.

Opinion surveys consistently show that Americans favor paid family and medical leave. They understand that the need is widespread, as are the benefits. That is why six States to date—California, Rhode Island, New Jersey, New York, Washington, and Massachusetts—and the District of Columbia have enacted paid family and medical leave laws that provide paid leave to care for a newborn or a seriously ill child or family member, and sometimes when a family member is deployed or returning from the military. And many more States are considering such legislation.

These policies are also endorsed by employers. My colleagues and I have been surveying employers in States with paid family and medical leave laws, focusing especially on small employers, who are often missing from such surveys. What we found in three States with paid leave laws—Rhode Island, New Jersey, and New York—is that two-thirds of employers were supportive of these laws. Another 15 to 20 percent were neutral.

So in summary, paid family and medical leave and quality, affordable child care are not just vital supports for family economic well-being. They are also essential for the health and development of our children and for the health and well-being of our spouses, elderly relatives, and those serving in the military.

We also know that we cannot leave these essential supports to employers to provide because they will supply little coverage, especially for workers with the greatest need for it. And that is why the American public and employers are looking to the government for help.

Thank you very much.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Waldfogel follows:]

Oral Testimony by Jane Waldfogel to
U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means
Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support

March 7, 2019

Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and other Members,

Good afternoon and thank you for inviting me to speak with you today.

I've spent the past 25 years studying policies to support working families and promote child health and development. These policies are a pressing concern because in the majority of American families, unlike in the past, it is no longer commonplace for there to be a stay-at-home caregiver who can take care of a newborn baby, an ill child, a disabled spouse, an elderly relative, or a family member being deployed or returning from the military.[1] This trend is not going to change – most two parent families need to have both parents in the labor market, and of course difficulties in balancing the competing needs of work and family are even more acute among low income and single parent families.[2]

Yet our public policies have not kept pace with this new demographic reality. The Family and Medical Leave Act provides only unpaid leave, and to only about 60% of the workforce.[3] Federal child care subsidies reach only about 15% of eligible low-income families who need them.[4]

Employer policies address some of the gap but mostly for more advantaged employees. While 40% of employees have access to some paid leave they can use for maternity, paternity, or to care for a seriously ill family member, those who are low-income, part-time, or Hispanic are much less likely to be covered.[5]

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[2] Liana Fox, Wen-Jui Han, Christopher J. Ruhm, and Jane Waldfogel (2013). "Time for Children: Trends in the Employment Patterns of Parents, 1967-2009." *Demography* 49(4): 25-49. Jane Waldfogel (2009). "The Role of Family Policies in Anti-Poverty Policy." In Maria Cancian and Sheldon Danziger (eds). *Changing Poverty, Changing Policies.* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

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[4] Ajay Chaudry, Taryn Morrissey, Christina Weiland, and Hirokazu Yoshikawa (2017). *Cradle to Kindergarten: A New Plan to Combat Inequality*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Only a tiny share of employees – about 10% - receive any help from their employers in paying for child care.[6]

Yet we know from a large body of research that these policies matter for the well-being of employees and their families.[7] While much of the early research came from other countries like the UK and Canada, we also now have more than a decade of evidence from California whose first-in-the-nation paid family leave law came into effect in 2004.[8] When employees have access to paid family leave, they are more likely to take leave to care for a family member or for themselves, and they are more likely to be employed and have higher earnings afterwards.[9] Mothers who have access to paid leave are less likely to be depressed after a birth and also breastfeed for longer.[10] Fathers who take longer leaves are more likely to be engaged in caring for their children months later.[11] When more paid leave is available, rates of infant mortality and hospitalizations fall.[12] At the other end of the lifecycle, so too do nursing home admissions.[13]

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[5] Ann P. Bartel, Soohyun Kim, Jaehyun Nam, Maya Rossin-Slater, Christopher J. Ruhm, and Jane Waldfogel (2019). "Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to and Use of Paid Family and Medical Leave: Evidence from Four Nationally Representative Datasets." *Monthly Labor Review* U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics https://doi.org/10.21916/mlr.2019.2.

[6] Ann P. Bartel, Elizabeth Doran, and Jane Waldfogel (2019). "Gender in the Labor Market: The Role of Equal Opportunity and Family-Friendly Policies." Paper prepared for *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences.* Lena Hipp, Taryn W Morrissey, and Mildred E Warner (2017). "Who Participates and Who Benefits From Employer-Provided Child-Care Assistance?" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 79 (3): 614–35.

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[8] Ann P. Bartel, Charles L. Baum, Maya Rossin-Slater, Christopher J. Ruhm, and Jane Waldfogel (2014). "California's Paid Family Leave Law: Lessons from the First Decade." U.S. Department of Labor https://www.dol.gov/wb/resources/california_paid_family_leave_law.pdf. Kelly Bedard and Maya Rossin-Slater (2016). "The Economic and Social Impacts of Paid Family Leave in California : Report for the California Employment Development." California Employment Development Department.

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The evidence on child care is also extensive and clear. Research from the landmark National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Study of Early Child Care, and many subsequent studies, have shown that high-quality child care improves children's health, cognitive development, and social development, with especially beneficial effects for disadvantaged children.[14] Yet too few Americans can afford quality child care, especially in early childhood when care is most expensive.[15] When more child care subsidies are available, parents are more likely to be employed, reducing poverty and promoting family economic stability, and more children receive child care and are in care of higher quality.[16] High quality care can play a crucial role in helping improve school readiness and in narrowing gaps in readiness.[17]

Opinion surveys consistently show that Americans favor paid family and medical leave.[18] They understand that the need is widespread and they appreciate the benefits. This is why 6 states to date – CA, RI, NJ, NY, WA, and MA – and the District of Columbia have enacted paid family and medical leave laws that provide a period of paid leave – to care for a newborn or a seriously ill child or family

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member, or when a family member is deployed or returning from in the military – with many more considering such legislation.

These policies are also endorsed by employers. My colleagues and I have been surveying employers in states with paid family and medical leave laws – focusing especially on small employers who are often missing from such surveys. In three states with paid leave laws – RI, NJ, and NY – we found that two-thirds of employers were supportive of the laws; another 15-20 percent were neutral.[19]

In summary, paid family and medical leave and quality affordable child care are not just vital supports for family economic well-being. They are also essential for the health and development of our children and for the health and well-being of our spouses, elderly relatives, and those serving in the military. We also know that we cannot leave these essential supports to employers to provide – the record is clear that they will supply little coverage, particularly for the workers with the greatest need for it. That's why the American public and employers are looking to government to help.

[19] Ann P. Bartel, Maya Rossin-Slater, Christopher J. Ruhm, and Jane Waldfogel (2017). "Employer Attitudes to Paid Family Leave." Stanford University https://web.stanford.edu/~mrossin/Bartel_et_al_EmployerAttitudesReport_Aug2017.pdf. See also evidence from California employers in Eileen Appelbaum and Ruth Milkman (2011) "Leaves That Pay: Employer and Worker Experiences with Paid Family Leave in California." Center for Economic and Policy Research.

Chairman DAVIS. Ms. Schultz.

STATEMENT OF KELLY SCHULTZ, SECRETARY, MARYLAND DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Ms. SCHULTZ. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Good afternoon to you, and thank you, Ranking Member Walorski and other distinguished Members of the Subcommittee. My name is Kelly Schulz. I am the Secretary of Maryland's Department of Commerce and former Secretary of the Maryland Department of Labor Licensing and Regulation under Governor Larry Hogan. I am honored to be here today, and thank you for the opportunity to discuss what I believe is the way forward for workforce development in the United States.

In Maryland, we take the concerns of our workforce very serious. We do not treat lightly the challenges faced by our workers and our employers. Over the years we have worked incredibly hard to identify ways in which the State can play a role in sustaining the growing jobs, and having learned that the best solutions are those that temper strategy with funding and leveraging partnership, knowledge, and experience of those on the field to drive innovation.

Today I will share with you the pinnacle of Maryland's workforce development efforts, a program called Employment Advancement Right Now, or EARN Maryland. The EARN program is innovative and transformative. What makes it unique is that it is industry-led.

Working together, we focus on industry sector strategies that establish long-term solutions to sustained skills gaps and personnel shortages, and help working families by creating formal career paths to good jobs. By leveraging relations with non-profit and community-based organizations, the program helps underserved populations with barriers to employment, including lack of transportation, homelessness, addiction, childcare needs, and criminal backgrounds. This collaboration is an important paradigm shift in workforce development, and the very reason that the program is a success.

Instead of attempting to address barriers to employment with a one-size-fits-all approach, EARN identifies common workforce needs in specific occupations and then develops and implements education and training strategies that address those deficiencies. It is our partners' intimate knowledge of their industry's needs and their personal involvement in the program's design that ensure those participating in EARN training have the relevant, in-demand skills that drive growth.

And it works. A recent study on the economic impact of the program shows that for every dollar Maryland invests, an additional $18.50 in economic activity is created. Comparatively, the national average for similar programs is about $3.41.

As of October 2018, more than 5,600 incumbent workers in Maryland have received training, leading to new credentials, certifications, and skills. Additionally, 3,573 EARN participants completed entry level training programs. Of those participants, 2,971, or 83 percent, obtained employment.

Since EARN Maryland was founded in 2014, it has transformed countless lives, providing opportunities that otherwise may not

have been available. I would like to share just a few stories, but there are numerous.

EARN participant Davontay completed entry level training and is today employed full-time in the tech industry. He was struggling with financial instability and homelessness, and was looking for a better way of life for himself and his son, when he learned about the NPower Tech Fundamentals program. There he learned valuable technology skills, and is today a full-time network technician specialist.

What Davontay learned through his EARN training allowed him to gain financial stability to help deal with the obstacles that come along with being a single father. He is now building his experience and preparing to test for his CompTIA Network+ certification.

EARN participant Joseph was living in a Baltimore homeless shelter when he heard about a training program through the Jane Addams Resource Corporation, or JARC, an EARN Maryland grantee. Joseph was struggling to overcome a felony theft conviction, a significant barrier when trying to enter the job market.

With our grantee's influence, Joseph was given an opportunity to start a career in manufacturing. He even received a scholarship for a vehicle and help getting his driver's license reinstated. Joseph has since passed his probationary period and has earned two pay raises. He now has a 401K and vacation time.

There are countless other stories like these of people whose lives have been changed through the EARN program. We are proud to say that in Maryland, working hand in hand with our industry and business partners, we are addressing the needs of our workforce in a strategic and economically efficient way, which has proven to help workers at their point of need, without unnecessary spending by the state.

With continuing investment by Governor Hogan, EARN continues to have a profound impact on the business community and job-seekers in Maryland. The Hogan Administration is very proud to support this program and is excited to share its successes in the years to come.

Thank you again for this opportunity to speak with you today, and I look forward to answering any of your questions.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you very much, Secretary Schultz.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Schultz follows:]

Oral Testimony of Secretary Kelly M. Schulz
Maryland Department of Commerce

Before the Subcommittee on Worker & Family Support of the Committee on Ways & Means
U.S. House of Representatives

Leveling the Playing Field for Workers: Challenges and Opportunities

Thursday, March 7, 2019

Good afternoon, Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and distinguished members of the Subcommittee.

I am Kelly Schulz, secretary of the Maryland Department of Commerce, and former secretary of the Maryland Department of Labor, Licensing and Regulation under Governor Larry Hogan.

I am honored to be here today, and thank you for the opportunity to discuss what I believe is the way forward for workforce development in the United States.

In Maryland, we take the concerns of our workforce very seriously.

For us, it is not a game, and we do not treat lightly the challenges faced by our workers and employers.

Over the years, we have worked incredibly hard to identify ways in which the state can play a role in sustaining and growing jobs, and have learned that the best solutions are those that temper strategy with funding and leverage partnership, knowledge, and experience of those "on the field" to drive innovation.

Today, I will share with you the pinnacle of Maryland's workforce development efforts, a program called Employment Advancement Right Now, or EARN Maryland.

The EARN program is innovative and transformative.

What makes it unique is that it is industry-led.

It builds a collaborative system of employer and industry representatives, non-profit and community-based organizations, and workforce, economic development, and higher education partners and empowers them to drive innovation and implement solutions.

We know that our business and industry partners best know the challenges faced by their workforce, and so we rely upon their experience and creativity to design individual development programs relevant to their industry and occupations.

Working together, we focus on industry sector strategies that establish long-term solutions to sustained skills gaps and personnel shortages, and help working families by creating formal career paths to good jobs.

EARN encourages mobility for Maryland's most hard-to-serve jobseekers through targeted job readiness training, and fosters better coordination between the public, private, and non-profit sectors and the workforce, economic development, and education partners around the state.

EARN not only provides trainees with in-demand skills, but also utilizes a holistic approach to ensure candidates are ready for work.

By leveraging relations with non-profit and community-based organizations, the program helps underserved populations with barriers to employment, including lack of transportation, homelessness, addiction, childcare needs, and criminal backgrounds.

This collaboration is an important paradigm shift in workforce development, and the very reason for the program's success.

Instead of attempting to address barriers to employment with a one-size-fits-all approach, EARN identifies common workforce needs in specific occupations and then develops and implements education and training strategies that address those deficiencies.

It is our partners' intimate knowledge of their industry's needs and their personal involvement in the program's design that ensure those participating in EARN training have the relevant, in-demand skills that drive growth.

And it works.

A recent study on the economic impact of the program shows that for every dollar Maryland invests, an additional $18.50 in economic activity is created.

Comparatively, the national average for similar programs is about $3.41.

What is more, as of October 2018, more than 5,600 incumbent workers in Maryland have received training, attaining new credentials, certifications, and skills.

Additionally, 3,573 EARN participants completed entry level training programs.

Of those participants, 2,971, or 83%, obtained employment.

Since EARN Maryland was founded in 2014, it has transformed countless lives, providing opportunities that otherwise may not have been available. I'd like to share just a few of our numerous success stories from this program.

EARN participant Davontay completed entry level training and is today employed full-time in the tech industry.

He was struggling with financial instability and homelessness, and was looking for a better way of life for himself and his son when he learned about the NPower Tech Fundamentals program.

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We are proud to say that in Maryland – working hand in hand with our industry and business partners – we are addressing the needs of our workforce in a strategic and economically efficient way, which has proven to help workers at their point of need, without unnecessary spending by the state.

With continuing investment by Governor Hogan, EARN continues to have a profound impact on the business community and jobseekers in Maryland.

The Hogan Administration is proud to support this program and is excited to share its successes in the years to come.

Thank you again for this opportunity to speak with you today, and I look forward to answering your questions.

Chairman DAVIS. And we will now begin with the five-minute rule, where each Member will get an opportunity to ask questions of the witness. And if I could ask each one of you to move your microphones a bit closer, it would just make it easier for all of us to hear everything that you are saying.

Let me begin with you, Mrs. McKinnie. Unfortunately, your struggle to afford child care is all too common among grandparents. The Annie E. Casey Foundation estimated that only 17 percent of working grandparents get child care assistance.

You mentioned in your testimony that you had to give up a full-time job because it was not flexible enough you to care for both of your boys. I think I understand that your prior job offered you to work a different shift. Could you tell us about the option, and why it was difficult to find child care under that arrangement?

Mrs. MCKINNIE. Yes, I can. The other shift they wanted me to work was from 12:00 midnight until 7:00 a.m., which means that I would not have been there to care for the boys, but at the same time I would have to find someone to assist me with being there with them at nighttime.

Also, because Elijah sometime wakes up at night, with night terrors, it is very hard for someone actually to be there to assist him because there are times he is waking up looking for me.

Chairman DAVIS. That is indeed understandable, so thank you very much.

Mrs. Henry, you mentioned that two of your children have asthma. And of course research tells us that the same thing is common sense, that parents of children with chronic illnesses have a harder time working and have less time for themselves.

In addition to the pay you lose when you need to stay home and care for your children or your husband, are there also additional costs that would strain the family budget?

Mrs. HENRY. I am sorry. You said additional cost?

Chairman DAVIS. Yes. In terms of chronic illness that you have to deal with?

Mrs. HENRY. Right. And just even missing time off. And early on in my husband's—when he first became disabled, there were different medication costs. Some things were not covered by the insurance companies. So there were times where we had to pay out of pocket or a copay would be really high.

And so I had to make the decision of, do I pay for medicine or do I pay for food? Of course we pay for the medicine, but then I would have to like really utilize food pantries that were within our community.

Chairman DAVIS. Yes. I could see how that would indeed be a disruptive hardship, and so we understand that. And thank you for it.

Dr. Waldfogel, last week the National Academy of Sciences listed improved subsidies for child care as one of the common-sense policies that would significantly reduce child poverty, and laid out multiple pathways by which we could reduce child poverty by 50 percent within 10 years.

Can you tell me what your research and that of others shows about how it changes a child's path if his or her family is lifted out

of poverty, and a little about the consequences if the family remains poor?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. We now know a lot about the long-run effects of child poverty. And one of the most horrible things is that the most detrimental effect of poverty is when it occurs early in childhood. That is when children are most damaged by poverty. So child care is especially important because it reaches children early in childhood, when child care is most expensive and when poverty can be most detrimental.

On the other side, if we can address child poverty and cut child poverty in half, which the National Academy of Sciences report showed is absolutely feasible, we not only benefit children today, but there are intergenerational benefits because those children when they grow up, they are more likely to graduate high school. They are more likely to be in good health. And they are more likely to have higher earnings and be employed as adults. So that then helps the next generation of children. If we are ever going to solve the problem of child poverty in America, we have got to do it intergenerationally, and we have got to start in early childhood. So the child care subsidies are just critical.

Chairman DAVIS. Are there any other ways that you can think of that you might be able to make assumptions about individuals who lived poverty-stricken as they have grown up and become adults?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. We have a lot of good evidence about this—from what we call natural experiments. There is a lot of research now because we have a lot of variation in policies. So we have examples where children have benefitted from increased income transfers, and the family has been moved out of poverty.

So we know what those long-run effects are, and they are improvements in education, they are improvements in earnings and employment, improvements in health and mental health, you name it, and then improvements in parenting for the next generation. So the evidence is really good. I will be happy to submit some more materials after the hearing because there is a lot of work on this.

*Chairman Davis. Thank you. Thank you very much.

And Secretary Schultz, I have a great deal of interest in returning citizens, individuals who have been incarcerated, people who have fallen off the track trying to make their way back. I see that the State of Maryland is doing work to expunge records.

Are there special set-asides for that activity in terms of budgeting for it? Or is it just something that individuals who might be working in certain areas do as a part of their work? Is there any special set-aside money for that activity?

Ms. SCHULTZ. Mr. Chairman, I can get back to you on the specifics of any budgetary set-aside specifically for ex-offenders and expungement rates. That is not something that I would have dealt with eitherat the Department of Labor or at the Department of Commerce. But we can get you that information.

But what I will say is that through these EARN-type programs, these training programs, being able to have those wraparound services, so there is free legal services involved in part of the case management, has been something that has been a very successful part of EARN Maryland.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you. Thank you very much, and I am delighted that the State of Maryland is engaged in that activity.

Mrs. WALORSKI.

Mrs. WALORSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would also like to insert in the record an article by the Associated Press today that just continues to further exemplify the problem in child care, daycares that kind of thing. If I could do that, I would appreciate that.

Chairman DAVIS. Without objection.

WASHINGTON (AP) — In a story March 7 about strong hiring drawing more people into the workforce, The Associated Press erroneously reported that TEKsystems is headquartered in Charlotte, North Carolina. Its headquarters is actually in Hanover, Maryland.

The AP also erroneously reported that half of men outside the workforce in 2013 cited disability or illness and that that figure is now 10 percent. In fact, disability or illness accounted for half the decline in men in the workforce from the start of the Great Recession in late 2007 until 2013 and now accounts for only 10 percent of the decline.

The AP also erroneously reported that one-third of men outside the workforce are in school. In fact, men in school account for one-third of the decline of men in the workforce.

And the AP reported that one-quarter of men outside the workforce are taking care of family members. In fact, this group accounts for one-quarter of the decline in men working since the recession.

A corrected version of the story is below:

A hot US job market is coaxing people in from the sidelines

Defying expectations, a hot US job market is pulling in workers from the sidelines

By CHRISTOPHER RUGABER

AP Economics Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — A surprisingly strong burst of job growth over the past year has led many economists to wonder: Where are all the workers coming from?

As recently as last spring, analysts had worried that hiring would slow as the pool of unemployed shrank. Many employers have complained for years that they could no longer find enough people to fill their open jobs.

Turns out they were both wrong.

The pace of hiring in 2018 was the most robust in three years, and for a surprising reason: Many more people have decided to look for work than experts had expected. The influx of those job seekers, if sustained, could help extend an economic expansion that is already the second-longest on record.

The growth in America's workforce — made up of people either working or looking for work — has helped reverse an alarming consequence of the recession: The exit of millions of Americans from the job market.

For five years after the Great Recession ended in 2009, many Americans gave up on their job hunts. Some suffered from disabilities. Others enrolled in school or stayed home to raise children. Still others were stymied by criminal pasts or failed drug tests. Some just felt discouraged by their job prospects. Because they weren't actively seeking work, they weren't even counted as unemployed.

Economists had speculated that millions of these people lacked necessary qualifications or were otherwise deemed undesirable by employers and might not work again. They were thought to be, in economic parlance, "structurally" unemployed. Subsequent hiring wouldn't necessarily help them.

Yet for the past few years it has. The proportion of Americans ages 25 to 54 who have a job has reached nearly 80 percent — the same as before the recession. Economists refer to this age group as "prime-age" workers. It excludes older Americans who have retired and younger workers who may be in school.

"The U.S. is a very diverse and dynamic economy and can often surprise us," said Julia Coronado, chief economist at MacroPolicy Perspectives. "This is a positive surprise. We're due for one."

On Friday, the government will report on job growth during February, and analysts are forecasting a solid if unspectacular gain of 183,000. That would fall below last year's monthly average of 220,000 but would still be enough to lower the unemployment rate, now 4 percent, over time.

Research released Thursday by Stephanie Aaronson, an economist at the Brookings Institution, and three other economists found that racial minorities and people with less than a college degree tend to benefit most from strong job growth when the unemployment rate is already low.

That it took nearly a decade for the proportion of prime-age Americans who have jobs to reach its pre-recession level shows just how ruinous the Great Recession was. It destroyed 8.7 million jobs. And the recovery that followed was comparatively sluggish.

Still, the unemployment fell steadily, from 10 percent to 4.1 percent at the start of 2018. With so few people unemployed, businesses have increasingly begun recruiting more widely, including among people who hadn't been looking for work.

"Economists were too quick to discount what the economy was capable of going forward," said Martha Gimbel, research director at job listings site Indeed. "There continues to be more room to draw people into the labor force and get them a job."

Other factors that have held some people back from seeking work have included the high cost of child care and a lack of paid leave. Research suggests that such costs have held back the workforce participation rate of prime-age U.S. women, a rate that trails those in most other industrialized countries.

Child care costs delayed the return of Valarie Regas of Atlanta to the job market after she gave birth to her second child in 2012. Regas wanted to go back, but most of the jobs she found didn't pay enough to cover child care. So she remained mostly out of the job market for five more years.

After completing a coding boot camp, Regas was hired last year by a division of the European aerospace giant Airbus. The company initially wanted someone with more experience, she said. But after she pitched them on her enthusiasm and willingness to learn, she was hired as a software programmer.

"Even with the exorbitant cost of child care, I am now bringing home real money," said Regas, 36.

Many companies are relaxing their education or experience requirements, according to economists and staffing agencies. They are considering more applicants with disabilities. Businesses are expanding their training programs. Some, analysts say, are also looking with a more open mind at people with criminal backgrounds.

Partly as a result, the number of people who either have a job or are looking for one grew 1.6 percent in 2018, sharply higher than the average annual gain of 0.4 percent in the first five years after the recession.

The rebound has confounded many experts' projections. The Federal Reserve has consistently underestimated the likelihood of more people finding jobs. In 2013, its policymakers estimated that "full employment" — the lowest point to which unemployment was thought capable of reaching without sparking higher inflation — would arrive when the unemployment rate was between 5.2 percent and 5.8 percent.

Unemployment is now 4 percent, with little inflation in sight.

And in 2014, the Congressional Budget Office forecast that the proportion of people ages 16 and up either working or looking for work — often called the participation rate — would be just 62.5 percent by the end of 2017 and would decline thereafter. Instead, the figure reached 63.2 percent in January, a five-year high.

Though the participation rate remains below its 2000 peak of 67.3 percent, most of the decline has resulted from aging, economists say. The huge baby boomer generation is retiring en masse.

"We have learned this year that there's more slack in the labor market because people are coming back in," Fed Chairman Jerome Powell told Congress last week.

The influx of people, Powell acknowledged last year, had come as a "surprise."

"That tells us that there is more room to grow, and that certainly has implications for monetary policy," he added.

If more Americans are available to work, it means companies won't necessarily have to raise pay so fast to hire people, a trend that helps limit inflation. Milder inflation allows the Fed to keep short-term rates comparatively low.

Average pay is still growing more slowly than it did the last time unemployment was this low. Adam Ozimek, an economist at Moody's Analytics, says this suggests that there is still room for companies to raise pay and perhaps entice even more people into the job market.

Women, it turns out, have returned to the workforce in greater numbers than men have. The proportion of prime-age women in the labor force is now higher than before the recession. And for women ages 25 through 34, participation is at an 18-year peak. The participation rate for prime-age African-American women also exceeds its pre-recession level.

By contrast, prime-age men still lag behind their pre-recession level of participation. But Ernie Tedeschi, an economist at Evercore ISI, says the reasons aren't as discouraging as they were five years ago.

In 2013, disability or illness accounted for nearly half the decline in prime-age men in the workforce since the recession, according to data compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

But unemployment among the disabled fell last year to its lowest point in a decade. The government has also made it harder to obtain Social Security disability benefits. Now, disability or illness accounts for less than 10 percent of the shortfall.

And men returning to school now account for about a third of the decline in prime-age men in the workforce. Family responsibilities, mostly the raising of children, make up about a quarter.

As they assess a broader pool of job applicants, some companies are doing more to develop skills. Goodwill Industries has experienced soaring demand for its training programs, which seek to turn people with low skills or criminal backgrounds into job-ready applicants. Goodwill teaches such traditional skills as welding as well as so-called soft skills, which include getting along with workers and taking direction.

Jennifer Taylor, a vice president of Career Services at Goodwill of North Georgia, says companies are so hungry for workers that in some cases they hire people before they even finish their training. The Atlanta-based Goodwill placed 24,902 people in jobs last year, Taylor said, three times as many as it did five years ago.

"We are seeing vastly more employers that may not have used Goodwill in the past and that are significantly increasing their hiring on the spot," Taylor said. "They're struggling to find talent in the open marketplace."

A survey by Manpower found that 54 percent of employers invested in training programs in 2018, up from just 20 percent four years earlier. One-third said they're adjusting their education and experience requirements, with some no longer requiring a college degree.

Ricardo Madan of TEKsystems, a provider of IT services, says his company is willing to train more of its new hires, rather than just finding already-qualified workers. Last year, the Hanover, Md.-based company paid for a three-month boot camp for 25 potential employees run by Trilogy Education, a training company, and Southern Methodist University in Dallas.

It ended up hiring 19 of them.

"We weren't thinking this way five years ago," he said. "It's never been this hard to find people."

Mrs. WALORSKI. Thank you. I would like to share the experiences of some Hoosier situations in my district, but I want to again thank you ladies for your expertise. Thank you so much for being here, and I definitely appreciate the stories that you shared with us today.

What I am hearing is that employers are desperate to make their employees happy so they can keep them, and they are looking for ways to do that, just beyond wages, what else can they do to incentivize employees to stay. We have employers that are surveying their workers, asking them what they want. What do the employees want to make their job far more productive?

And in one example, to be more family-friendly, workers actually asked for a four-day work week, and the employers accommodated their request. Now, it will cost the employers a little bit more to do that, but in the long run, with even the greater burden, it still was a change that could be made now because the economy is on an uptick. The economy is doing well. This was a good time to make an adjustment.

Secretary Schultz, what do you see going on in Maryland with the relationship between employers and employees?

Ms. SCHULTZ. I would say first, and thank you, Madam Congresswoman, I think what we see is a relationship that is being built. And I think that that is being built because of the worker shortage, because of the gaps in what the industries and businesses and every industry are seeing, not only in the State of Maryland, but obviously across the country, with low unemployment rates.

So businesses are every day being able to provide different types of incentive programs for their employees. What has become a little bit more difficult, from what I have seen, is the smaller of the businesses being able to keep up with some of the benefits and the incentive packages that the large businesses are able to move forward.

In the State of Maryland, we do have legislation—we have statutes on the books—about sick and safe leave, paid sick leave opportunities, but for only businesses that are of a certain size. So the governor had put forward legislation and a tax credit for the smallest of the businesses for them to be able to offer those types of ben-

efits so that they can be competitive in the job market as well for their employees.

But what we also see is the need for increased professional development because where somebody may be coming in at an entry level position, being able to have the employees offered them affordable training for those incumbent workers to move up through that business environment and within that industry is very important, not only for being able to fill the skills but for the retention of the employees because they like to be challenged in different parts of those different types of industry sectors as well.

And that is one thing that EARN Maryland does. It helps to upskill, recertify, provide advanced training to those existing employees so that they can stay employed with those employers.

Mrs. WALORSKI. I appreciate it. And when we talk about disincentives for State and local action, as I understand, EARN Maryland is completely State-funded, with the provision of wrap-around services and the type of job training, local job training, provided.

I would have thought there might be some Federal workforce funds to support your efforts. Can you tell me why that is? And if we try to run in from the Federal level to legislate, what should we be mindful of?

Ms. SCHULTZ. Flexibility. One of the reasons why it is solely State-funded at this point in time is that we are able to utilize those funds for every demographic. At the Federal level, there are several workforce programs, dollars that are coming from several Federal agencies, that have requirements on how that fund is being distributed and to what demographic it is being distributed.

For example, you are going to get funds from the Department of Labor, you can get funds from the Department of Agriculture, from the Department of Education, Health and Human Services. So there is a wide variety. And with each of those funding streams, you have a very specific use in what you have to utilize.

With the EARN program, with our State dollars, we are able to bring in any worker that wants to be trained with the possibility of the job, more than a possibility; it is a requirement of the program that jobs are created after those training programs. And we can utilize it on all of those demographics, whether it is the disabled, whether it is the ex-offenders that are coming in for a second chance, whether it is somebody that is on unemployment insurance, or somebody that is receiving benefits through TANF or SNAP.

Mrs. WALORSKI. I am just curious. I am very much looking at a different kind of case management reform, putting people back in the lives of people to help and not just having people that are a number and are running things through the system.

I am just curious. In the EARN program, do you have people actually one-on-one, almost like social workers and advocates on behalf of people to help make the transition so vulnerable people can really make the American dream for themselves?

Ms. SCHULTZ. We really do. Because of the way that the stakeholder groups are set up for each of the partnerships—there are 78 partnerships across the State—each of them have a separate training program. Each of them have a separate industry sector group, businesses that are involved with that. And each of them have a

separate community or nonprofit organization that is working directly with them.

And that community nonprofit organization is there to be able to provide that guidance. You have the trainer that is giving them the skills, but then you have the community mind that is coming in to look at the rest of the case management, which we call that, to make sure that those barriers to employment are taken care of prior to the job.

Mrs. WALORSKI. I appreciate it. Thank you so much.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back. Thank you.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you very much.

Representative Sewell.

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, for this really enlightening panel. I think that it is really important that we get to the bottom of why it is that, as an industrialized Nation, we are one of the very few that do not have paid family leave.

I want to thank all of our panelists, but I especially want to thank the two ladies that have really shared their own personal stories. I represent Alabama's Seventh District, which is Birmingham, which is a big city. But it also includes my home town of Selma, Alabama.

And many people know Selma because of the civil rights movement and the bridge. But it is a town of 19,000 people. And I had a personal crisis similar to the crisis that you, Mrs. McKinnie, and you, Mrs. Henry, talked about. My dad—I am the oldest and the only girl—and my dad—I am a Daddy's girl—suffered a series of strokes that left him in a wheelchair.

And my mother—both my mom and dad taught in the public school system of Selma for over 30 years, so they had what we like to say is good insurance. They had good insurance. And my dad had a series of massive strokes; the last one left him in a wheelchair. But because he had good insurance, he was airlifted, saved his life.

But it changed our family dynamic because my mom, who was the high school librarian and loved her job, and was on the city council in Selma and loved that job, had to make a decision about whether or not she could continue to work and care for Dad.

And so, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Walorski, I really want to make sure that when we are talking about paid family leave, we are talking about comprehensive paid family leave, not just for new moms and fathers, but also for caregivers in all the forms that they occur.

My mom left her job. She had tenure. She had a good retirement benefit. But she was not ready to give up, at the age of 62, her job that she loved so much. But someone needed to take care of Dad. And while I am very grateful that we had the ability for her to do that, it did change our family dynamic.

At the end of the day, they were very proud people, and they did not want the rest of the small community to know how bad Dad was. Dad was the high school basketball coach, and he was a legend in his own mind. But he also won six State championships and was a towering figure in our community.

And I at the time was a practicing lawyer. You do not realize how you are free to be who you are when everything in your life

is going well and people who are your support system are going well.

So I really wanted to just say that your story is very—it is especially hard for low-income families to bounce back when one has a family crisis like that. And when you are a solo and you are the sole breadwinner within the household, that is even harder.

And so I want to say hats off to both of you ladies for making it in America in spite of. And we, as Members of this august body, need to do something to make sure that we are incentivizing employers to have paid family leave. It is great that we have FMLA, and I was able to take some time off from my job to go back home to Alabama and to help with my family—unpaid.

But I also saw my parents struggling to find good home care. No one treated my dad better than my mom. But the reality is, especially in rural communities, there are very few people there who can actually be a care provider that is not on drugs, that is going to be timely, reliable, that you can actually pay a decent wage so that that person can provide for their family.

We as a society have to take a real interest, not just the employer, but we in government. That is why I want to commend you, Secretary Schultz, for Maryland seeing the importance that the role the State government has in creating—in closing that working gap.

So I think in the few remaining seconds that I have, I would love to hear from you, Mrs. McKinnie, or you, Mrs. Henry, about what it would mean to you if your family had paid family leave, what financial stability that would offer you ladies as caregivers.

Mrs. HENRY. Well, thank you for sharing your story. I really appreciate it. I know that if we had paid family medical leave very early on in my husband's fight to find out what was wrong with him that we would be so much further along right now.

I honestly feel that both of us would be full-time employed. I feel that without having the time off to follow up timely with—to follow up timely with different testing that he went through, to follow up——

Ms. SEWELL. Perhaps you would be a homeowner by now.

Mrs. HENRY. Right. I know I would. I think that not being paid while I was off, we lost a lot of ground. Right? I think if I had the opportunity to be off with him very early on and he as well, we could have probably gotten his diagnosis a lot sooner, not having to wait three years. Right?

We would have been able to afford to travel out of town, to go see the specialists that were recommended. We started to do that. We did go to California a couple of times. But we were not able to afford to go continuously. So I feel deep down in my heart that we would be way further along than we are now had I had the opportunity to have paid leave very early on in his illness.

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you very much.

Mrs. HENRY. You are welcome.

Chairman DAVIS. And a moment of personal privilege. I must confess that it was not just in his mind. I happened to run into your niece over the weekend when your aunt——

Ms. SEWELL. Aunt, over the weekend.

Chairman DAVIS [continuing]. Over the weekend.

Ms. SEWELL. My dad's sister.

Chairman DAVIS. And she shared with me about your father. And they had a pet name that they called him.

Ms. SEWELL. That is TMI. Too much information.

[Laughter.]

Chairman DAVIS. Good.

Ms. SEWELL. But I say that to say that it became a community project to help my mom and dad. But it was not enough that they had good insurance. They needed wrap-around services. They needed help in the community. And it is okay to raise your hand to say you need help.

So often our teachers and our coaches are the ones in the community that become a surrogate father for so many. And my dad lasted 14 years. He passed last year. But for 14 years after that massive stroke, he continued to live. And I know it was because he had so much help.

So I think it is important for us, as Members of Congress, to remember that we all have a role to play in making sure that our communities are healthy and strong. And that starts with making sure that families are healthy and strong.

Chairman DAVIS. He was a known entity.

Mr. Reed.

Mr. REED. Thank you, Chairman, for that. And Terri, thank you for sharing. As a Republican Member over here, I will share our story because we all journey down similar paths. I am the youngest of 12. I have got eight older sisters and three older brothers. And my father passed when I was 2.

So I had a powerful female influence in my life in my mother, who was a single mother, that got thrown that life curve ball. And that is why I do believe there is a role of government in these situations where these circumstances occur.

And Mrs. McKinnie and Mrs. Henry, your evidence of folks that—we so appreciate showing that how you can overcome that adversity and prosper. And so we share the commitment. And what I see is a common theme here, and it was something that was taught to me by my mom—the power of family. The power of not necessarily government always being the cornerstone of these relief structures; government has a role to play. But you cannot lose sight of the power of the family.

And you cannot lose sight of the power of the community. And you cannot lose sight of the power of work and what that—because each and every time you spoke right now, Mrs. Henry, you are talking about getting back to work and enjoying that American dream of getting a job, getting a job and getting a home, that you are striving to get. And that comes through hard work and the dignity of work.

And so I was proud, as a Republican Member, one of the first and only Members, to go on the Republican side up to Boston last week. I went to Chelsea. I went to Chelsea, an inner city type of community. It was a top three community about 10, 12 years ago, one of the most dangerous communities to live in in America.

And because of—and I firmly believe—because of an organization known as Roca, I wanted to go there firsthand to meet Molly Bald-

win and see the inspiration and what she is bringing to that community. And now Chelsea is not on the list of dangerous communities in our country.

And what I saw there as I did a ride-around with those folks, I saw a community where you had trust, where you had a relationship amongst all the stakeholders who are working hand in hand with community, with government actors. And I will just tell you, I so look to duplicate that success story as we go forward.

And one of the things that was clear to me is they were really trying to measure outcomes in a different way. It was not just about money going through the door or through the program or through the office. It was about measuring outcomes of how it improved lives that were coming through that door.

And so what I am very interested in maybe from the panel here today—and maybe, Ms. Schultz, we can start with you, but anyone—how would you design a system so that we are measuring outcomes in a positive way rather than just the number of people coming through the door, the number of dollars that are going out the door?

Is there any thought process by any of you that you would offer me in regards to—and us as legislators to try to measure these programs in a new way to really look at those outcome factors? Anyone?

Ms. SCHULTZ. I am happy, Congressman, to see if I can tackle that question. But I am sure that the other ladies on the panel may have some input as well.

I know that particularly in the State of Maryland, we are measuring outcomes. It just so happens to be through the effective use of the tax dollar and what we are getting back from our investment. And because we know that we are getting roughly $18.50 back on every dollar that we invest, the methodology that is used in order to be able to track that is dependent on the human outcome after the training.

It is who is getting a job? Who is coming off of benefits? Who is being able to save money to buy a car? Who is being able to save money to buy a house? Who is with a company that may be able to provide better benefits because you are in an employee status with a company that may have the ability to offer those different types of benefits to their employees over a longer period of time, and to continue to be able to provide professional development training moving forward so that theirs is always an advancement.

And I think it is really important to understand, when we are talking about creation of jobs, we are talking about creations of careers and professional development for a lifetime. And that is the makeup of what we see is the most important part of the success of EARN.

Mr. REED. I so appreciate that.

Doctor? Any thoughts on how we can measure? And then maybe Mrs. Henry and Mrs. McKinnie real quick at the end.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Just to say that we are getting better at measuring things all the time because the data is getting better all the time. And as you probably know, there has been an explosion of work on administrative data and linking to big data sets. So our

capacity to look at hard outcomes and measurable outcomes is just getting better all the time.

Mr. REED. Based on the innovation and the technology. That is how.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes. But even now, if you think about the work that has been done in California following their comprehensive Paid Family Leave Act, we have outcomes on employment and earnings and weeks worked and hours worked for both men and women. It used to be you could not look at paternity leave because too few dads took it, and they were out—blink and you miss them because they are not out very long. But we now have research on dads taking paternity leave.

Mr. REED. That is so good. So——

Ms. WALDFOGEL. We are doing work now on people taking leave when they have disabled family members or elder family members. They have been so neglected in this research. And I am learning something as a researcher. It turns out there are great data sets. I just had not used them before. So that is actually what we are doing now.

And then in the child domain, we can look at mental health. We look at kids' test scores, infant hospitalizations, birth weight, you name it, breastfeeding. Because it not just who is using the leave. That is the first order question.

It is: So what difference is it making in families' lives? Are people more able to stay in employment? And some of it is super-creative. I have mentioned this nursing home study. That is not my research, so I am touting somebody else's study. Super-creative.

So California passes family leave, and nursing home admissions go down because you have an elderly relative—it has happened to all of us—somebody breaks their hip. They need rehab. And do they get care at home with somebody arranging it for them, or do they go into a nursing home, which is the worst possible place?

Mr. REED. Well, thank you, Chairman. I know my time is expired. But I think there is common ground there measuring new outcome data, discussion it is good to hear the data is out there.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you, Mr. Reed.

Mrs. Murphy.

Mrs. MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you to the witnesses for your testimony. Mrs. McKinnie and Mrs. Henry, I appreciate you sharing your stories. Your strength is inspiring. You have worked so hard and clearly sacrificed so much for your loved ones. It is clear to me that you would do anything to help your families.

And I think Congress should be thinking about bipartisan ways in which we can make your lives a little easier. And I think that is why we are here today. And I cannot help, when I listen to your stories, but to think about my own family story.

We escaped Communist Vietnam when I was just a baby, and were relocated to Virginia by a Lutheran Church. And in those early days of setting up here, my parents had to work multiple jobs just to be able to afford basic child care for me and to make ends meet.

And so many decades later, I still hear similar stories from many of my constituents—mothers, fathers, and other caregivers in my district who struggle to make ends meet. They work hard. They are playing by the rules. But they really struggle to provide for their families.

Those with young children in particular face real challenges. For them, child care is a necessity. But high-quality child care is expensive and out of reach for many families. And some families have no choice but to sacrifice quality for affordability, and their children's development pays a price for that.

Other parents are compelled to frequently miss work or to leave the workforce altogether because they cannot find a child care option that meets their needs and their budget. And in fact, only 30 percent of Florida families can afford infant care.

And so I have stated the problem. So, what is the solution? The main ways that the Federal Government helps working families access child care are TANF, the Child Care and Development Fund, and two provisions in the Internal Revenue Code, a tax credit for child care and an income exclusion for employee-sponsored child care.

And each deserves attention, but I would like to focus on the tax provisions. Chairman Davis has done outstanding work in this area. And following his lead, Republican Congressman Jason Smith and I will soon file a bill, and Senators King and Burr will also file an identical bill in their chamber.

The bill would basically increase the tax credit and make it refundable. So it helps lower-income workers who cannot really take advantage of the credit the way it is structured now. The bill would also increase the income exclusion. So workers at participating firms could set aside more of their earnings to pay child care expenses while reducing their Federal tax liability. In the last 25 years, the cost of child care has increased over 170 percent, and yet not much has changed about our Tax Code as it relates to that.

Professor Waldfogel, do you think it is important for Congress to consider bipartisan ways to enhance the two Federal tax provisions aimed at helping working families afford child care?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes. Absolutely. And I think it is an area where, as you said, there is a lot of bipartisan agreement. And I think there are good intentions. The intention is for these tax credits to be available to low- and middle-income families.

And I think many people are surprised to learn that they are not—because they are not refundable, because they are too cumbersome, because you have to be using regular child care arrangements to benefit from them. And as we have heard, often the arrangements are unstable and work is unstable.

So I think once we understand that, hopefully there is more will to extend them and make them available to low- and middle-income families. If you are very low income, you can get subsidies. If you are at the high end, you can pay for child care. It is the middle income families and the working poor families who are really struggling. And child care subsidies are so limited that extending the tax credits would be a fabulous thing to do. So boy, I applaud what you are doing.

Mrs. MURPHY. Thank you. We certainly hope it is a step in the right direction.

Another bipartisan goal is for every child to have a fair shot at the American dream regardless of how much money their parents earn. Professor, can you explain why access to good, affordable child care for families all along the income spectrum is so important if we want to make this dream a reality?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Well, I have talked about the detrimental effects of poverty in early childhood. And these are especially pronounced when it comes to school readiness. We have got children from low-income, low-SES families coming to school a year behind their peers from higher-income, higher-educated families.

I do not know how teachers can do their job and produce equal outcomes for children when you have got children coming in a year behind their peers. And what is the best single way to address that kind of school readiness gap? It is high-quality preschool.

Otherwise, if you leave preschool to the market, affluent people will buy really high-quality care. Middle income people will do the best they can. But the best they can—I mean, child care is just completely unaffordable. And low-income families, if they win the lottery and get a subsidy or get Head Start, will get some provision. But otherwise, they will do the best they can.

So it should not be surprising to us that children are coming to school so unequally prepared. But what a tragedy, and completely preventable.

Mrs. MURPHY. Thank you very much.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you very much.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Why would we run a lottery with access to child care? This is just—we do not run a lottery with access to a tax deduction or with access to other benefits. If you are going to pick one thing to run a lottery———

[Laughter]

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

Mr. Estes.

Mr. ESTES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I want to thank all the witnesses who are here today sharing your personal stories or things that you have seen that are actually happening in the real world now.

As we are meeting today, our economy is booming, and it is at historic levels, actually. In fact, for the first time in history, we have more jobs than we have job-seekers. And it is great news, but it does present challenges to some of our workforce development, and making sure that we are preparing people with the skills that they need to compete for today and in the future. And one of these things that is most important about this is we want to make sure that all workers and all families have the opportunity to participate in this growing economy.

Secretary Schultz, you mentioned in your testimony that the EARN Maryland program partners work with industry leaders to help establish some of those long-term solutions to worker shortages. In my district in Wichita, Kansas, we are known as the air capital of the world. We have over 91,000 employees dealing with aviation issues throughout the State of Kansas.

And today we are seeing a critical shortage of workers to actually fill some of those positions, and some of them because of their life issues that are impacting people. And so I know the EARN Maryland program has been successful in Maryland. Is that a program that we could repeat in other States like Kansas to help get more workers in the workforce?

Ms. SCHULTZ. Absolutely. Absolutely. And I think I mentioned that there were 78 programs in the State of Maryland right now, and growing. The more money we put into it and expand into different areas, we are able to concentrate on the industry needs.

So if in Kansas there is a group of industry sector businesses all around one particular area that have one particular need in a skill for the ability to fill a gap within that industry, then they come together. They say, "This is what we need. This is the type of credentialing that we need. This is the curriculum that we need in order to be able to do that."

They partner with a training program, and also a community nonprofit organization, to be able to bring those individuals to those training program. And then those businesses hire directly from the training program. So whatever that industry is—in Maryland we have everything from construction to cybersecurity, which is one of Maryland's biggest growing needs at this moment in time, and everything in between, healthcare—and each part of our State has a different need, and each industry in those different parts of the State have a different need.

But I would say particularly, Congressman, in your particular area of that industry, of aeronautics and aerospace, there are so many different levels of expertise that you need to have going into that particular industry. It is not one set of skills.

So the program could be developed at the very beginning stage, being able to bring in that entry-level employee, and then providing those incumbents training to be able to stay in that industry and for the businesses to retain them but continue to move them up the ladder where the skills may be needed in the future.

Mr. ESTES. Thank you.

Ms. SCHULTZ. You are welcome.

Mr. ESTES. You also mentioned in your testimony that there was an $18.50 return for every dollar invested, and that the comparable average across the Nation is only about $3.40. I served as Kansas State Treasurer prior to coming to Congress, and so obviously, talking about numbers and talking about good returns is something that is important to me.

I am sure there are lessons that Maryland has learned from going through that that helped accomplish that. How can we capitalize on some of those lessons learned and some of the benefits you got out of that, plus I assume that also freed up funding for other programs in the State to help make those programs a success as well.

Ms. SCHULTZ. Yes. I totally agree with you that being able to track and to be able to monitor the program is very important. I think what we have been able to do differently—because there are Federal programs, obviously, that are tracked and monitored, and we have to be able to emphasize and hit the marks of where we

need to be to continue with, for example, U.S. Department of Labor, what the requirements are there.

I think, differently, with the EARN being able to track it, is that we are definitely tracking the people with the performance, making sure that we have the outcomes of the stories that you may have heard here today and the stories that I have shared in my written testimony, many other stories that are there.

But I do not think it should be a bad word, when we talk about government, whether it be the Federal Government, State government, or local government, what is our return on investment of the taxpayer dollar? And here being able to legitimately say that we have this great level of return, it is not in the form necessarily of money coming back to the State, but it is money going into the overall economy of the State.

It is the money that is going into the tax revenues. It is the money that is going into the paychecks of those individuals and being able to then go into their local communities and spend the money that they have, and also not having to collect other types of benefits from those other government entities that they may have been collecting from prior to.

Mr. ESTES. Thank you, Secretary, and thank you for all the witnesses today.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Mr. Gomez.

Mr. GOMEZ. Mr. Chairman, thank you so much for having this important hearing. I am very excited about it. I have a personal story as well that falls in line with some of you when it comes to a family emergency. When I was 7 years old, I got pneumonia, and I ended up in the hospital for about a week.

My parents worked five to six jobs to make ends meet. We did not have health insurance. They took time off to make sure somebody was there every moment of the day. So in a combination of the lost wages but also the fact that we did not have health insurance, that one-week stay almost bankrupted my family. And it did put a huge financial strain on my family.

I always tell people, how do I know? Because my siblings were really mad when they were not getting Christmas gifts that year. So it is something that really motivated me to get interested in healthcare as a whole, especially when it comes to paid family leave. So to the witnesses, thank you for sharing your story because it does provide perspective that everybody needs to hear.

Before I get into it, I sometimes feel that we are trying to set up a debate, either workforce or paid family leave. And just let's get to the point. Ms. Schultz, do you believe it has to be job training or paid family leave?

Ms. SCHULTZ. Do I believe it has to be job training or paid family leave? I think that there are many, many programs out there——

Mr. GOMEZ. That is a yes or no question.

Ms. SCHULTZ. I do not think it has to be one or the other. I think that you have to have an——

Mr. GOMEZ. Okay. Good. Because neither do I. Right? And I do not want us to think that it has to be one or the other. Job training

is crucial. Crucial. So the program you are running seems very impressive. I would love to learn more about it. But it is not one or the other. That is one of the messages I want people to walk away with.

Also, to Dr.—how do you say your name again?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Waldfogel.

Mr. GOMEZ. Waldfogel. Is a person who is not working eligible for paid family leave?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. No.

Mr. GOMEZ. So only a person that is working, either self-employed or not, is the only person that is eligible for paid family leave? So this is something I want people to know. This is not a handout. This is something that is being taken out of their paychecks, revenue, into a State—oftentimes State disability insurance fund, which it is a social compact, and they get to use it when they need it.

Right? That is one of the things I really want people to walk away with. This is not a handout. They paid into it and they deserve to be able to use it. That is the paid family leave program that I know about.

As you all know, California has been a leader on this issue. It started in—actually, it was passed in 2002, implemented in 2004. And talk about research and learning from our history. There was a report in 2014 based on the 10-year anniversary, and it actually laid out a lot of weaknesses and improvements that we could do on paid family leave.

Can you share some of the insights from your research related tool the elements of California's program that have worked well or those that could be tweaked to make the programs even better?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes. It is a really good question. I think we have learned so much from California. And I just have to say, I think they have done a fabulous job administering the program. But that said, there are things that you can learn from it.

So I think one of the first concerns they had had to do with take-up, just awareness of the program and take-up. They had outreach, but there were still numbers of Californians, and especially in low-income communities, who did not know about the law. So that is important to know about.

And every State since then has put more money in for outreach and making sure that—I knew when the law turned on in New York State because suddenly, in the subways, they were blanketed with "New paid family leave." And the pictures showed fathers and people taking care of their grandparents and caring for a military family member, to make clear that it was not just about maternity and paternity. So New York was able to learn from California.

I think there were also some concerns about the replacement rate being too low for low-income families. It is tough, as we have heard. It is very tough to take leave off without pay or with low pay, and the replacement rate in the first few States was kind of low. So that was a concern.

Mr. GOMEZ. No, I thank you for bringing that up. Actually, my bill in 2015 and 2016 increased the wage replacement rate to address that issue, the equity issue, because most of the people that

were using it were people that were making $82,000 or more a year. Right? Not necessarily low-income workers.

And just for the fact, before I run out of time, this does not have to be a partisan issue. I had Republicans actually vote for the bill when I was in the legislature. So maybe they did not vote for the 2002 version when it was the first idea, but they voted to tweak it, and it was in response to their constituents' request, to have something that they could actually access.

So thank you so much to the witnesses. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you very much.

Mr. Wenstrup.

Mr. WENSTRUP. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you all for being here today. These are issues that I am very passionate about. And I like that we are here to try and explore the innovation of ideas to try and solve American problems.

As a doctor, the health and well-being of our citizens is important. I actually ran for Mayor of Cincinnati several years ago and I lost, and my opponent called me a few months later and said, "I have an opening on the Board of Health and I would like you to serve there." And it was a great opportunity to engage at that level.

I served on the VA Committee, and recently we were able to get through compensation for family caregivers that are caring for eligible disabled veterans. You talk about the savings—that care in the home. And also, who loves you more? Right? Than the person in the home. So these are things that we are looking at, and some of it is taking place.

In my district, during the Obama Administration, they implemented something called Rural Impact, and 10 counties in the country were selected for this trial. And it gave them more local authority, more local flexibility, to do things. If you look at those in need, amongst the needs you have are nutrition, housing, healthcare, and when you are dealing with the Federal Government, they are all over the place, as opposed to working with a case manager that can make a difference right then and there.

So she had that ability, the case manager, and she introduces me to a couple. They have six kids living in a one-room cabin. And he says to me, "I cannot take the third shift job because I have nowhere to sleep when I get home." So she was able to quickly get them into a home with a couple bedrooms. He goes to work; she goes to work. She gets the child care that they need. They are on their way.

And this is what I would like to see more of, a local level where you can actually engage. You go to their home. You meet your family and see the situation that you are in and be able to make changes that can get you well on your way.

Now, she said they may run into the cliff effect, where they worry about making too much and the kids lose their Medicaid. That is another story that we need to address in this country, but nonetheless.

And Dr. Davis, this is something you are passionate about, as am I. I joined Big Brothers 31 years ago when my Little Brother was 9. He got a little older. He got in trouble, went to jail. He said,

"When I got out, I got 50 bucks, and the only person to pick me up was the one that got me in trouble to begin with. And it is hard to get a job."

And so we are seeing some changes take place in our local community that I think may be similar to what is taking place in Maryland. But this is privately. This is nonprofit, something called Cincinnati Works. You got a record, you come to us. And you want to go to work and you want to end this? And we will get you ready. And you join Cincinnati Works. You do not just fill out a form and we try and get you a job. You are part of this family now.

We have a company called Nehemiah Manufacturing. They make Procter & Gamble products. Everyone there has a record. Every employee has a record. And they have the greatest workforce. I saw one gentleman stood up one day and he said, "I am a taxpayer for the first time in my life," and he was about 40 years old. This is the type of thing that we want to see taking place, that second chance I know you are passionate about, Dr. Davis. So am I.

And these are things done, again, at the local level. And you are engaging with human beings, not just pieces of paper. And it sounds like that is what you are doing, Secretary Schultz. And I would like you to comment on the advantage of maybe that local flexibility and how we can make a real difference in people's lives.

Ms. SCHULTZ. Well, thank you, Congressman. That is a very intriguing story.

I think the flexibility part of what we are able to do goes directly to each individual program that we have. It is very important for everybody to know that the State of Maryland is not setting up the programs. The State of Maryland is verifying that these programs are healthy and that they exist so that the partnerships can basically run their programs.

And we have oversight, and we work with them to make sure. But they understand what the needs are. They understand what the needs are of those industry sectors, of the businesses that are looking to hire into their businesses. But they also understand, much more than we do sitting in our office building in Baltimore, how that individual trainee, that future employee, needs to be served for their barriers to be mitigated.

And they are the ones that are doing that. So providing them with the flexibility within their own area of expertise is something that I think serves everybody well.

Mr. WENSTRUP. I would like to hear from anybody at a local level to say how we can make that more accommodating to the efforts on the local level so that success can be achieved.

Ms. SCHULTZ. Well, Congressman, if I may, we did have—four years ago in 2015 there was some unrest in the City of Baltimore. The State Department of Labor received a $5 million demonstration grant from U.S. Department of Labor. I am very grateful for that.

We worked very closely with the City of Baltimore to put this demonstration grant together. The final outcome was called "One Baltimore for Jobs." And with that, it was a series of individual programs, based on the EARN Maryland model, that basically took different parts of the city, brought in different employers that were looking for different skills that they needed to have, and it was 12

different training programs that happened within the City of Baltimore with the inclusion of those wrap-around services—with the case management, with legal aid, transportation, child care, anything that they may need.

And that is what EARN is based on. And that microcosm that we were able to develop within the City of Baltimore for the period of time that we had funding for that was the extension of what we were able to do at the State level.

Mr. WENSTRUP. Thank you. And I believe those wrap-around services are the key to getting things done.

Ms. SCHULTZ. Yes.

Mr. WENSTRUP. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

Ms. Chu.

Ms. CHU. Well, thank you, Mrs. McKinnie and Mrs. Henry, for testifying today. Your personal perspective is very meaningful for us, and just emphasizes to us the need for paid family leave and child care. And I was fortunate enough to actually be in the California State Legislature in 2002 when we voted on the bill. So it is so wonderful to see, after 15 years of implementation, as to how far it has gone.

Now we have six weeks of partial pay to employees who can take time to care for a seriously ill child, a parent, a parent-in-law, a grandparent, grandchild, sibling, spouse, registered domestic partner, or to bond with a new child that is entering the family through birth, adoption, or foster care placement.

So Dr. Waldfogel, in your testimony you reference having studied California's policies and the positive outcomes that have been achieved since this policy has gone into effect. And I took special interest in noting the health benefits for children, who benefitted from one or both parents taking paid family leave. Can you expand upon that?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Sure. We found that the length of time that mothers take on leave doubled, and more than doubled for minority women and for less educated low-income women, who had been least likely to be able to have access previously. The amount of time that fathers take went up by about 50 percent.

Then in terms of the health benefits, there are reductions in infants being hospitalized, increases in breastfeeding, and improvements in mothers' mental health after the birth, which of course is hugely important for child health and development.

Ms. CHU. I remember the debates that took place in 2002 as the bill was going through the State legislature. And one, of course, had to do with businesses and small business worries that they could not afford such a policy.

You mention that you have been studying States that implemented that, and there are some employers who, at the start of such a policy debate, would say that they cannot afford it or that they do not support the concept of paid leave. But your research on employer attitudes shows that two-third of employers are supportive of paid family leave laws.

Is that true even among small employers and across different types of industries? Can you talk about what your research has found on that front?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Amazingly, it is true in the small employers and it is true across industries. We were stunned. Our first study was in Rhode Island, and we did two industries where we thought it would be extremely challenging to have workers on leave, food services and manufacturing.

We could hardly get these employers on the phone. Think about calling a Dunkin' Donuts, and when is a good time for someone at Dunkin' Donuts to take a survey? There was no quiet time. We finally went with a survey firm because we realized we could not do it ourselves. But when they finally got these guys on the phone—these are the direct line managers—they said, "It is not a problem. We are supportive."

And then we have since gone into New York and New Jersey, two other States that have laws. They are with much larger samples. We have got representative samples, 1,200 employers in both those States, so 2,400 total. These are small and medium firms, and we decided to go across the whole range of industries. So we have got the whole range of industries.

Across all the industries, they are all supportive. The survey shows two-thirds support across the board regardless of firm size, regardless of industry, regardless of whether they have got predominately female employees, part-time employees. It does not vary. When the employees are out on leave, employers are covering the work by assigning it to other employees 80 percent of the time.

Sometimes they have to hire a replacement worker. But they are not paying the worker while they are out on leave, because they are getting paid through the State fund. So in the rare instances where they have to hire a replacement worker or have someone do overtime, they are not double-paying because the person on leave is not being paid by them.

So it has been a non-event for them—and some of the small employers say to us that it helps them compete with the larger employers because they cannot afford to offer the benefit, and they have been at a disadvantage. So they appreciate the fact that the State is picking it up through this fund that everyone is contributing to.

Ms. CHU. And in fact, there would be actual benefits to the business?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Right. Exactly. Because it helps them retain their employees. Because it does not help them, either, if they have someone who has a disabled spouse or has to suddenly take care of their grandchild or a parent who is ill, they have to drop out of the labor market. That hurts the employer who is invested in that employee, and they have got to hire somebody new, train them, get them started up—in this labor market where it is tough to find people. So it is a benefit for employers as well.

Ms. CHU. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Mr. Evans.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again I want to thank the chairman for this meeting because I think this is a fantastic discussion that we are having.

Mrs. McKinnie, I have to ask you a question because you kind of touched a nerve when you said 5:00 in the morning. I think of

that when my mom dropped me off at my Aunt Louise. There is something about 5:00 in the morning that you were saying you had to get things ready.

I can only say to you that the issue I am most concerned about is, based on your experience, what do you think States can do better to connect grandparents like you and the resources that you may be eligible for?

Mrs. MCKINNIE. What I think would help is that if we would have the funding for the grandparents because then we would have the assistance for child care.

Mr. EVANS. Right.

Mrs. MCKINNIE. Even to come into the home. But I think mostly it is because of the funding is not there for the grandparents, and grandparents are not recognized when it comes down to raising their grandchildren.

Mr. EVANS. Obviously going back to you, can you please elaborate on what store flexibility you are provided through your employer? What type of flexibility is provided you?

Mrs. MCKINNIE. The employer that I left——

Mr. EVANS. Right.

Mrs. MCKINNIE [continuing]. They gave me the option to start work at 12:00 p.m., or should I say 12:00 at night, and get off of work at 7:00 in the morning. That was the option. At the time, I could not—well, I cannot take that option because I want to make sure that I am there to raise them.

But then also, I have Elijah with the special needs that he has. Sometimes he does wake up in the middle of the night. And if he does not see me or I do not come into his room to help to calm him down, then I would get a phone call.

Mr. EVANS. Mrs. Henry, I thank you, too, for your sharing your story. But can you explain to us what you had to do to ensure your children were taken care of while you were at work and your husband was managing his health condition?

Mrs. HENRY. Well, I am thankful. I am thankful for family.

Mr. EVANS. Right.

Mrs. HENRY. If it would not have been for family, this time would have been really, really difficult. Early on, when my children were younger, I did have Head Start, and I am thankful that Head Start was there for myself and my family.

It is the best two-generation program that there is, helped me work with getting goals for myself, helped me when we were struggling to find—when we were fighting for my husband's disability through Social Security. They are the ones that recommended me to get a lawyer to do this.

But outside of that, once they aged out of Head Start, we did not have many options. So I had to rely on either the family members and sometimes neighbors. Sometimes you did not know what kind of care you were putting your children in.

So access to affordable, quality child care would have been best so I did not have to—and I hate to say "burden," but sometimes it is burdensome to other family members when they have children of their own that they need to care for, and they have to work themselves. But family has been there for me.

Mr. EVANS. Secretary Schultz, can you please explain the kind of training the EARN Maryland program provides? Are soft skills a part of the training? Because I have found that that is a big issue with some programs, that some do not necessarily deal with soft skills. Can you speak to that?

Ms. SCHULTZ. Absolutely, and thank you very much, Congressman, for the question. It can be. It depends on the type of program because the State does not run the individual programs. The State provides funding and manages the partnerships that are there.

So industries come to the training provider and to the community and tell them what is needed in order to be able to have a successful employee come into their business. Many of those employees, particularly if it is entry level training that is occurring, will say that they need to have different types of soft skills, as they have been called, life skills moving forward in order to be able to understand what the requirements are in that particular work environment. But some, if they are doing incumbent training, those life skills may already be in existence and they may not have to.

So the type of training and the level of training that is needed by the individual partnerships will vary. And I think that that is one of the most fundamental reasons for success, is because there is flexibility for the businesses to say exactly what it is that they need for their future employees to come in.

Mr. EVANS. Thank you. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

Ms. Moore.

Ms. MOORE. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. And I want to thank all of our witnesses for appearing and being patient with us.

I have been sitting here scrawling and scribbling a little bit, doing the math. It just does not work out, Mrs. Henry and Mrs. McKinnie. I am sorry. I am really happy that you are appearing here today because this Committee is going to have a lot of discussions about welfare recipients and how to put them to work. But you people are not welfare recipients.

I just want to just throw out a few statistics before I ask you all a question. A family of two making $16,910 a year is considered to be at the poverty level. And so perhaps they would qualify for daycare. But if you make a couple more dollars an hour, $9.35 an hour, you suddenly are not eligible for your daycare, just using your number of $600 a month, which is really cheap, but I will use your number.

That will be like $3.75 an hour, which would leave a person making $9.35 an hour $5.62 an hour to raise their family. So they would actually fall below the poverty level if they had to pay for their own daycare. That just does not work out.

God bless you, grandmother, not even kin to the child grandmother, for stepping up as you have. I know that autism is a very pernicious disease. It has a great association with schizophrenia, and the cost to government for taking care of Elijah is so much greater than any support that they are giving you.

And Mrs. Henry, you are trying to take care of your family. And again, you say you did not really have those daycare problems. With having four kids, you really could forget it. We do not even

have to do the math. So do not even bother do the math; I am just saying.

Dr. Waldfogel, I was really interested in your testimony. And I am thinking that the United States is one of the OECD countries, the civilized countries, listening to what Ms. Sewell was saying earlier. Out of 36 countries, we are at the bottom—at the bottom of countries that provide family-friendly support so that women can go to work and do not find themselves in the situation of all the testimony we have heard today. And it is not just welfare recipients. It is women, like I have described, who make $9.35 an hour.

Without family leave, without child care, we see the work participation rate falling in the United States. And it is just like fingernails scraping on a chalkboard when I hear the President, for example, bragging about the workforce and the low unemployment rate. But workforce participation is dropping.

And is it fair to say that it is primarily because we do not have these family-friendly policies for women? There are lots of causes, but would that not be one of the biggest ones?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes. There is very good evidence on that. We are losing ground compared to other countries, and the difference is that we do not provide these family support policies. So when somebody has a disabled child, they have a young child, they have a disabled family member, they end up dropping out of the labor force.

So they end up not working because it is too costly or because they cannot get the leave. They cannot get the child care. There is great work by Fran Blau and Larry Kahn from Cornell. They have looked at this across countries. And it is the reason why our labor force participation——

Ms. MOORE. And so it is not just an unemployment rate or anything that determines what our economy looks like. It is workforce participation. That is a big number we need to be looking at with that——

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Well, and it has implications for our economy and for economic growth. Obviously, parents are best-positioned to decide what they want to do. So if it is best for their family for someone to stay home, that is their choice. But——

Ms. MOORE. But it is not their choice if they——

Ms. WALDFOGEL. But there are families where it is not their choice. These are families where they would like to be working, but cannot afford the child care.

Ms. MOORE. They cannot afford the cheapest daycare. I cannot imagine only $600 with—tell these people in Washington, D.C. about $600 a month daycare. They would laugh at you. There is no such thing. This is just her number.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. So either they are dropping out of the labor force, which hurts them and hurts the economy—it hurts all of us, and economic growth—or they are working and the children are in a patchwork of care, shifting every day from somebody different, which is no good for the children.

Ms. MOORE. That's right. That's right. Bad for the family. Bad for the economy. Seventy percent of a capitalist economy is based on consuming. And when people cannot work, they cannot buy.

And I would yield back to the chairman.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Mr. Rice.

Mr. RICE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for accommodating me sitting in on the hearing even though I am not a Member of the Subcommittee. But I was very interested in hearing the testimony. Thank you, ladies, for sharing your story.

I represent an area in South Carolina of eight counties. I live in Myrtle Beach, which is a very tourist-oriented area. And then the area around Florence, South Carolina has a fair amount of industry. South Carolina as a whole is doing really well in our current economic expansion. The national unemployment rate is below 4 percent; South Carolina is below 4 percent. And the Myrtle Beach area and Florence and a couple other of my counties are doing real well.

But I also represent three of the poorest counties in South Carolina. And they have been struggling for a long, long time. Now, their unemployment rate is down; their unemployment rate is lower than it has been in 40 years, and that is good. But we have way too many people who are outside of the workforce.

And it is a real paradox because on the one hand, in these prosperous areas, which are not far way, I have got employers that are screaming for employees. And then I have got these three very poor counties, where South Carolina, the poverty rate is about 14 percent. It is a little higher than the national average, but not that much.

But in these counties, it is about 25 or 30 percent. And it is generational poverty. And convincing these people that the American dream is for them, too, and that there is opportunity for them, is a difficult task.

So we have started putting together perceptions and workforces to try to pull together this glaring need for employees with this available group of people who have just dropped out, and ne'er the twain shall meet. We are engaging pastors, and we are engaging people—the tech schools, and guidance counselors, and superintendents, and teachers, and so forth, because it is not just people who have long been out of school. The guidance counselors will tell you, 30 percent of the people leaving high school, and they just have no direction and they just never enter the workforce.

So I would like the two of your insight. I want to solve the problem. I try to lift people up all the time. And in my opinion, a job is the best cure to crime. A job is the best cure to poverty. A job is the best cure to drugs. A job—you get somebody, if you pull them back into the workforce, you are helping their family. You are helping their neighborhood. You are helping their State, and so forth.

And I can tell you, in my tech schools—I've got three of them, and they do a great job—but they are not being effective at reaching this hard-to-reach population. I have got a tech school in Horry County, South Carolina. They offer classes in electrical and plumbing and welding and machining, and 100 percent placement. And these people are making 50 percent higher than the State's median wage. And they cannot get people to sign up.

It is not that it costs too much. It is not cheap. It is not a loan. It is free. If you come from a disadvantaged family, it is free. And

not only is it free, they will pay your bus fare. They will pay your bus fare to get there. And they cannot get people to sign up.

So I would like your insight. I cannot read your name. I am sorry, Mrs. Walfol?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Waldfogel.

Mr. RICE. Yes, ma'am. I would like your insight. Give me some hints on what I should be doing. And then I want to just—I only have—you got 45 seconds, and then I am going to turn to Ms. Schultz.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Well, I really like Congressman Wenstrup's emphasis on case management and actually talking to folks about, what is the barrier? Why are you not able to come to the training? Why are you not able to take it up? 15 percent of families with children have a kid with chronic special healthcare needs, whether it is asthma or something else, that they have got to manage at home, or autism. The older workers get, the more likely they are to have a disability or a serious health condition, or somebody——

Mr. RICE. A lot of these people are just coming right out of high school.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes. So I would want to understand from them. I think then you have got to start with the case management approach. And we know from the years of welfare reform that—we talk about ladders and rungs on a ladder. And what is the first rung? It is getting you to the training or getting you to meet with the caseworker, and then setting some goals. And what is the next rung?

And so maybe getting to training five days a week for that person is too much to do just then because there is so much else going on. There is some kind of mental health problem, substance use problem——

Mr. RICE. I have to turn to Ms. Schultz. I am sorry.

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Yes. But I think if you work with folks individually, I think then you learn an awful lot about what these barriers are because it is not going to be any one thing—we have talked about a lot of different scenarios, you and I. It could be a number of different things, and it is going to differ depending on who it is.

Mr. RICE. Ms. Schultz.

Ms. SCHULTZ. Thank you, Congressman. I think that many States are suffering from the same type of stats that you have said about your State, and we are working diligently to get to the young people earlier on, before they graduate from high school, and I think that is key. Developing different types of work programs and introducing the businesses to those individuals that are in the K through 12 system right now is very, very important.

We have developed—in order to be able to not continue with that poverty that has gone through many generations. It was mentioned here a little earlier about the two-generation approach. So going with children that are in fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth grade, being able to introduce different types of business sectors, different types of work environments, particularly in South Carolina with the growth of advanced manufacturing that you are seeing as a success in South Carolina.

Being able to introduce them early on so that they know there is a future. In the State of Maryland we developed a youth apprenticeship program, which connects businesses with individuals in high school to be able to get them immediately into a work environment, have an apprenticeable type of occupation with an employee that is tracking them along the way.

And that started out as a pilot program in two counties, and now it is going statewide. In almost every county, we will have one by the end of next year. So we have heard from many of the different businesses that you have to get them, their attention, their attention and their parents' attention, far before they walk with their cap and gown on graduation day. It is going to start at a younger age.

Mr. RICE. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you.

Mr. Beyer.

Mr. BEYER. Chairman Davis, thank you very much for allowing me to sit in. And I thank all of you for being here. It is a travesty that the U.S. Government comes in last among developed Nations when it comes to paid parental leave, and it is a benefit critical to starting a healthy family. So we are really intent on trying to end this archaic practice where you have to choose between a paycheck and a child.

Federal employees are no exception. Just this week Carolyn Maloney, Jennifer Wexton, Steny Hoyer, and I introduced the Federal Employee Paid Leave Act to guarantee paid maternity and paternity leave for Federal employees. And interestingly, it has a positive Congressional Budget Office score the last time it was scored. It actually saves the Federal Government money to make sure this woman or a man comes back to work after the baby is born.

Dr. Waldfogel, can you talk to the economic benefit of paid family and medical leave?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Sure. So I think we have been emphasizing the economic benefit to the families, which are really substantial—reducing economic hardship, promoting family economic stability. There is also an economic benefit to the government because we tend to focus short-term on, oh, somebody is going to be out on leave. But they are out on leave and then they are returning to work, rather than having to leave that job altogether.

So they are going to be paying more taxes into the future. They are going to have higher earnings into the future. And there is a benefit for employers as well because they are retaining valued employees, and they do not have to hire a new employee and recruit and train and start somebody else.

So although we have been emphasizing the benefits for the families, there are benefits as well for the government and for employers.

Mr. BEYER. And by the way, for women especially, who often get knocked off their career ladder when they take a couple years off because they cannot go back.

One of the other things that—I am very proud to be a co-lead on a bipartisan bill to expand family leave for parental bereavement. It is called the Sarah Grace-Farley-Kluger Act, actually had death

of a child as a life event that would qualify for leave under the Family Medical Leave Act. It is weird that right now, even under the unpaid, you get X number of weeks if you have a child born. But if one dies, you get a day or two. Can you talk about other shortcomings in the existing Family Medical Leave Act that States are addressing and that we should be addressing here?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. The main shortcoming that the States are addressing is providing pay because the FMLA is unpaid. A second thing that they are doing is covering all employees, regardless of firm size. We were talking earlier about California. It is just remarkable that California, right from the get-go, covered all employees, regardless of firm size. And it has turned out to be no problem for small employers. And so the other States have followed suit. So they are all covering employees regardless of firm size.

So the States are going beyond FMLA in providing payment, in covering all employees, and they are also starting to expand the definition of family members. So whether these leave laws cover if you need to take leave to care for a grandchild—actually, not all of them do. And what we have heard today is that there are all these families where grandparents are taking care of grandchildren. Not all of them are eligible for leave, and of course, they should be. So that has been another area of expansion.

Mr. BEYER. So while we talk expansion, we read recently that the birth rate in the U.S. is the lowest in 30 years. It has fallen every year for the last 10 years in a row, and it is now down to 1.7 babies per woman, and 2.1 is replacement. The last time we were at replacement rate was 1971.

And I know from my own experience—I am in Northern Virginia that my pal talks about—so I have yet to talk to a woman where the cost of child care does not equal their take-home pay. You have got to be a partner in a major D.C. law firm for that not to be true.

But you also see that there is an underfunding, that so often it is only the wealthiest that get it because it is not refundable. Can you talk about how much added benefit it would be if the child care tax credit was refundable?

Ms. WALDFOGEL. Okay. So for the families at the very bottom of the income distribution, there is basically a lottery. So if you win the lottery, you get a child care subsidy or you get a Head Start slot or an early Head Start slot. That is a real lottery. That is very rare.

Middle income families really are not even in the lottery. They can get the tax credit. But there are no guaranteed subsidies for them. Making the tax credits refundable would then reach those low-income families and give them more of a guarantee of a child care subsidy, whereas now it is this lottery whether you could get a child care subsidy.

Mr. BEYER. I have one of the most educated and most wealthy districts in the country. And the number one and two complaints are the cost of healthcare, prescription drugs and premiums, and then number two is the cost of child care and how difficult it is.

All right. Thank you very much. Mr. Chair, I yield back.

Chairman DAVIS. Thank you. Thank you very much.

The fact that we have had several Members come and participate who are not Members of this Subcommittee I think is an indication

of how important we all feel that this issue really is. So I want to thank you, Mrs. McKinnie, you, Mrs. Henry, Dr. Waldfogel, Secretary Schultz, for coming to share testimony with us.

I also want to thank all of you who have come and sat through the hearing, and both of our staffs on their preparation work, to us, this is the beginning, and it simply means that over the period of time we hope that many of the thoughts and ideas you have expressed will become real and get etched into law as we try and help make sure that we increase and improve the quality of life for families, and especially for our children that the songwriter said are most important because the future of our world depends upon them.

So we thank all of you for your participation, and the Subcommittee is adjourned. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 3:38 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

[Public Submissions for the Record follow:]

Comments for the Record for
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ways and Means
Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support
Hearing on Leveling The Playing Field For Working Families: Challenges And Opportunities

Thursday, March 7, 2019 - 2:00 pm

Michael Bindner
Center for Fiscal Equity

Chairman Davis and Ranking Member Walorski, thank you for the opportunity to address this issue. These remarks are mostly a repeat of our comments of May 2016. Sadly, we have actually gone backwards. As usual, we will preface our comments with our comprehensive four-part approach, which will provide context for our comments.

- A Value Added Tax (VAT) to fund domestic military spending and domestic discretionary spending with a rate between 10% and 13%, which makes sure very American pays something. This tax will be net of any Carbon Tax..
- Personal income surtaxes on joint and widowed filers with net annual incomes of $100,000 and single filers earning $50,000 per year to fund net interest payments, debt retirement and overseas and strategic military spending and other international spending, with graduated rates between 5% and 25%.
- Employee contributions to Old Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) with a lower income cap, which allows for lower payment levels to wealthier retirees without making bend points more progressive.
- A VAT-like Net Business Receipts Tax (NBRT), which is essentially a subtraction VAT with additional tax expenditures for family support, health care and the private delivery of governmental services, to fund entitlement spending and replace income tax filing for most people (including people who file without paying), the corporate income tax, business tax filing through individual income taxes and the employer contribution to OASI, all payroll taxes for hospital insurance, disability insurance, unemployment insurance and survivors under age 60.

The most important factor in leveling the playing field is an adequate wage for work. Ideally, this should come from a higher minimum wage, which puts the burden on employers and ultimately customers for fair pay, rather than a tax support for low wage workers (regardless of parental status).

The market cannot provide this wage, as there will always be more desperate employees who can be taken advantage of to force wages lower for everyone else. A minimum wage protects those employers who would do the right thing by their employees if not for their competitors.

A $15 per hour minimum wage is currently being demanded by a significant share of the voters. Perhaps it is time to listen. If the marginal productive product of these

employees is more than this rate, job losses will not occur – of course, the estimates of this product can be easily manipulated by opponents who believe that managers provide much more productivity than people who actually work, so such estimates should be examined critically. Internally, people usually have the correct number, but are loathe to share it if doing so hurts their political point.

In some industries, of course, there are plenty of low wage workers who are not as productive as the wage is high (although this makes one wonder whether such industries are worth supporting in the economy). For these employees, paid education should be available – and by pay we mean tuition and wages.

Workers that are less than literate at a tenth grade level deserve full remedial education, with pay at minimum wage levels. This can be paid for in a variety of ways under our model. The usual model is for state governments to provide this education – and in our model the educational institution will also provide case management and stipends and would be funded by the NBRT/Subtraction VAT. There are other options as well.

Employers could provide remedial education and payroll as an offset of their NBRT obligations. They could also contribute to a third party provider, such as Catholic Charities and their related education systems, again offsetting their NBRT with the contribution (a full credit for both tuition and stipends).

Other workers need vocational training. This should be provided through employers. Training costs would be NBRT deductible, but not creditable, because ideally new workers should pay back the employer with a service requirement in much the same way that military academy students are required to serve some period in uniform, with a student loan program to fund those new workers for whom the employment situation does not work out.

Training stipends would not be repayable nor would they be creditable or deductible, as allowing tax advantages for such wages at this level would invite no end of mischief in deducting or crediting the value added of mostly productive employees who are also receiving training. In this case, preventing the gaming of the training stipend will keep the NBRT lower than it otherwise would be.

Some employees require college educations to advance. The first two years of college would be grouped with the last two years of high school and would be provided by the state (including parochial high school and college), by employers directly or through a third party provider or through contributions to a public or private school. Students would receive a stipend and both tuition and stipend would be fully creditable against the NBRT. Labor provided as a supplement to the employer would be fully taxed as other value added. After the second of school, employees would be paid for the remainder of college and graduate school along the same lines as vocational training.

Aside from higher base wages and training, the best way to keep families out of poverty is to give them enough money. None other than Milton Friedman suggested a negative

income tax and both Republican and Democratic presidents have enacted and expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit and the Child Tax Credit.

We propose that the Child Tax Credit be increased to at least $500 per month, which is paid for by ending the child tax exemption (which is gone anyway with the income tax for most families) and the deductions for home mortgage interest and property taxes. Replacing welfare programs and the EITC should allow a $1000 per month credit, which would be paid as an offset to the NBRT and paid with wages. Even if the NBRT rate must be raised to cover the cost of the excess credit.

The loss of the EITC would be ameliorated by a higher Child Tax Credit, the paid training opportunities and a floor on the Employee Contribution to Social Security. Social Security accumulation would be held harmless, or increased, by crediting the employer contribution equally (regardless of wage) and funding it with the NBRT.

These proposals will have a positive impact on the prevention of abortion. Indeed, they are the essence of the Seamless Garment of Life as discussed by Cardinal Bernardin. The Center urges the National Right to Life Committee to make adoption of these recommendations a scored life issue. Failure to do so proves the point of NARAL-Pro-Choice America that abortion restrictions would be all about controlling sexuality. Prove NARAL wrong and adopt these recommendations.

A key part of our agenda is to increase income tax revenue from the very wealthy through our income and inheritance surtax. The higher the marginal tax rate goes, the less likely shareholders and CEOs will go after worker wages in the guise of productivity while pocketing the gains for themselves. Since shareholders usually receive a normal profit through dividends, it is the CEO class that gets rich off of workers unless tax rates are high enough to dissuade them.

This is where we have gone backwards. The Tax and Job Cuts Act (not a typo) was a classic piece of Austrian Economics, where booms are encouraged, busts happen with no bail outs and the strong companies and best workers keep jobs and devil take the hindmost. It is economic Darwinism at its most obvious, but there is a safety valve. When tax cuts pass, Congress loses all fiscal discipline, the Budget Control Act baseline discipline is (as it should be) suspended and deficits grow. Taxpayers don't mind because bond purchasers are sure to pick up the slack, which they will as long as we run trade deficits, unless the President's economic naiveté ruins that for us.

Modern economics has become infected with the idea that higher tax rates and lower public spending hurt the economy. By definition, this is not case. The exact opposite is true. To refresh our memories of what is in the U.S. Code and most basic economics textbooks, Gross Domestic Product equals equal government purchases, consumption from government employee, contractor, transfer recipient and second order private sector spending, which leads to private sector investment, and exports net of imports (which creates a source of funds for debt finance).

Anything that is not part of GDP is considered "savings" or in reality, is asset inflation. If you want to end poverty, give poor people and retirees more money and the economy will grow. Increase government expenditure (even bombers) and the economy will grow, including for the now notorious upper middle class.

Lower tax rates also made money available to chase the same supply of investment instruments, which bid up their price, and caused the invention of a whole range of new products which would be built up and sold by the emerging financial class, who would profit-take and watch what they created go bust and start yet another modern recession, especially the Great Recession just experienced. Only higher tax rates or increased deficit spending control such asset inflation (and the consumption cycles associated with them – which Marx thought was the driver of the boom bust cycle – Marx had a failure of imagination).

Employee-ownership is the ultimate protection for worker wages. Our proposal for expanding it involves diverting an every-increasing portion of the employer-contribution to the Old Age and Survivors fund to a combination of employer voting stock and an insurance fund holding the stock of all similar companies. At some point, these companies will be run democratically, including CEO pay, and workers will be safe from predatory management practices. Increasing the number of employee-owned firms also decreases the incentive to lower tax rates and bid up asset markets with the proceeds.

Establishing personal retirement accounts holding index funds for Wall Street to play with will not help. Accounts holding voting and preferred stock in the employer and an insurance fund holding the stocks of all such firms will, in time, reduce inequality and provide local constituencies for infrastructure improvements and the funds to carry them out.

NBRT/SVAT collections, which tax both labor and profit, will be set high enough to fund employee-ownership and payment of current beneficiaries.. All employees would be credited with the same monthly contribution, regardless of wage. The employer contribution to Old Age and Survivors Insurance will continue to provide income sensitive payments to current retirees, which will bolster the political acceptance of the entire system.

ESOP loans and distribution of a portion of the Social Security Trust Fund could also speed the adoption of such accounts. Our Income and Inheritance Surtax (where cash from estates and the sale of estate assets are normal income) would fund reimbursements of the Trust Fund.

It is in our power to make low wage work and family poverty a thing of the past. Indeed, doing so is the primary reason the Center for Fiscal Equity was created. We are not proposing hand-outs but a hand up with adequate rewards for taking it.

Thank you again for the opportunity to add our comments to the debate. Please contact us if we can be of any assistance or contribute direct testimony.

Contact Sheet

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Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support
Hearing On Leveling The Playing Field For Working Families: Challenges And Opportunities
Thursday, March 7, 2019 - 2:00 pm

All submissions must include a list of all clients, persons and/or organizations on whose behalf the witness appears:

This testimony is not submitted on behalf of any client, person or organization other than the Center itself, which is so far unfunded by any donations.

August 31, 2017

Employer Attitudes to Paid Family Leave

Ann P. Bartel, Maya Rossin-Slater, Christopher Ruhm and Jane Waldfogel

The topic of paid family leave receives a lot of attention from the public, employers, and policymakers. Recent polls find that a majority of Americans from both political parties are in favor of some form of paid family leave legislation. Many private sector companies have introduced or extended paid family leave benefits to their employees. At the national level, paid family leave has been introduced through several bills in Congress and in language included in the President's proposed budget.

Recent legislative activity at the state level has been particularly notable. California was the first to introduce a paid family and medical leave policy in 2004. New Jersey followed in 2009, and Rhode Island in 2014. New York passed legislation in 2016 to go into effect incrementally starting in 2018, and Washington D.C. did so in 2017 to take effect in 2020. Most recently, Washington State passed legislation in June 2017 to go into effect in 2020. Several other states are also currently considering enacting paid leave programs.

While a substantial amount of research examines the impacts of paid family leave for employees and their families, we know much less about the perspectives of employers. Are most employers in favor or opposed to paid family leave legislation? And is there variation in these attitudes across firms of different sizes or types? The answers to these questions are especially unknown for small employers, who are typically not included in surveys on these topics, but who might be the most affected by paid family leave policies.

To answer some of these questions, in the fall of 2016 we surveyed a random sample of 2,419 small and medium-size employers in two states with paid family and medical leave laws either in effect or on the books. New Jersey has the nation's second oldest paid family leave (PFL) law, enacted in 2009, as well as a long-standing temporary disability insurance (TDI) program that provides paid leave to birth mothers to prepare for and recover from childbirth). New York has a newly enacted PFL law, which will go into effect in January 2018 (in addition to its TDI program). These surveys built on our experience with a smaller-scale survey in early 2015 of 223 small and medium-sized food service and manufacturing employers in Rhode Island, asking about their attitudes to their state's law, which had come into effect one year earlier (in January 2014).

The surveys

The survey was administered in September through December 2016 to a sample of 2,419 small and medium-size employers (i.e., with 10 to 99 employees) from across a range of industries in New Jersey and New York. We surveyed approximately equal numbers of employers in each state (1,210 in NJ and 1,209 in NY). About 400 surveyed employers per state had 10-19 employees, 400 had 20-49 employees, and 400 had 50-99 employees. The survey was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Columbia University and conducted by the Office for Survey Research (OSR) at Michigan State University (whose IRB also approved). We identified a random sample of employers in each state based on data from Survey Sampling Inc. Stratified samples (by number of employees and North American Industry Classification System (NAICS)

codes) were drawn to ensure sufficient numbers of interviews could be completed within size and industry sector cells. All of our analyses use survey weights to account for differential non-response and to provide results representative for all employers in the state having 10-99 employees.[1]

The initial contact was made by mail, with follow-ups by mail and phone. The survey was intended to be completed by a manager in each firm, who would be knowledgeable about the availability and use of employee benefits. Our goal was to obtain a response rate of 40 to 50% and we achieved that in both states – 45.8% in NJ and 45.6% in NY (see Appendix Table 1). Moreover, the characteristics of employers in the resulting sample were quite similar across the two states (see Appendix Table 2).

How do employers view paid family leave?

As part of the survey, we asked employers in New Jersey and New York for their view about their state's paid family leave laws. In New Jersey, the question was: "As you may know, New Jersey has a Family Leave Insurance program that provides a period of partially paid family leave for employees who have or adopt a child or have a seriously ill family member, funded by employee contributions. What is your view about this law?" Possible answers were: "Very Supportive", "Somewhat Supportive", "Neither Supportive or Opposed", "Somewhat Opposed" and "Very Opposed". In New York, the question was: "As you may know, New York will be implementing a Paid Family Leave program, starting in 2018 that will provide a period of partially paid family leave for employees who have or adopt a child or have a seriously ill family member, funded by employee contributions. What is your view about this law?" Answer categories were the same as in New Jersey.

Overall, small and medium-size New Jersey employers were strongly supportive of the existing program. Sixty-three percent of employers said they were either very supportive or somewhat supportive and only 16% were somewhat or very opposed. Moreover, while there were some minor differences in support across firm size categories, these were not statistically significant. Similarly, when we contrasted employers with above and below median percentages of part-time and female employees, respectively, we only found minor and statistically insignificant differences in rates of support and opposition in New Jersey. Table 1 provides additional details.

Interestingly, New York employers were equally supportive of their upcoming program, with 63% either very or somewhat supportive, and 14% either somewhat or very opposed. We found a statistically significant difference in support by firm size, with 69% of the largest employers (50-99) being very supportive or somewhat supportive of the law compared to 59-62% of the smaller employers. However, as in New Jersey, the differences in support and opposition rates across firms with above and below median percentages of female and part-time employees were small and statistically insignificant. Table 2 provides further details.

In sum, the results just presented indicate that small and medium size employers are broadly supportive of paid family and medical leave programs in both New Jersey and New York.

We also conducted a regression analysis for the sample of New Jersey and New York employers where the two binary outcomes, respectively, were equal to one for employers who were very or somewhat supportive of the paid leave programs, and zero otherwise, or very or somewhat

[1] Unweighted results are very similar.

opposed to the programs and zero otherwise. The results, summarized in Appendix Table 3, indicate that companies with 50-99 employees were somewhat more supportive of the laws than their counterparts with 10-49 employees, as were firms with a low female share as compared to those with a high female share. Those offering professional, scientific, technical and other services, wholesale trade and manufacturing were more supportive, while those in the real estate, retail trade and transportation/warehousing sectors were less supportive of them.

We also asked employers in New Jersey and New York about employees who had taken family leave for various types of reasons and how they handled the leave. While other surveys have asked employees about their own leave-taking, we wanted to obtain the employers' perspective on these experiences and in particular to learn whether such leaves had posed any challenges or problems for them.

Employers used a variety of strategies (and multiple strategies) to cover work when employees were out on family leave, but the most commonly used strategy was assigning work to other employees. For example, when it came to covering work when a female employee took leave after childbirth, 84% of employers in New Jersey and 87% in New York covered the work by assigning it to other employees. The share hiring a permanent replacement worker in such situations was very low (7% in New Jersey and 8% in New York), and a solid majority (61% in New Jersey and 56% in New York) said that it was not difficult at all or only a little difficult to cover the employee's work while she was on leave (with 10% in New Jersey and 12% in New York reporting it was difficult or very difficult, and about 29% in New Jersey and 32% in New York saying it was somewhat difficult). Employer responses regarding their experiences with other types of leave were similar.

Evidence from other states

These results from New Jersey and New York are consistent with the generally favorable opinions that small- and medium-size Rhode Island employers have of their paid leave program (known as Temporary Caregiver Insurance). Our 2015 survey of 223 small and medium employers (10-99 workers) in food services and manufacturing in that state revealed that 61% favored or strongly favored the program while 24% opposed or strongly opposed it, and 15% said neither.[2] Support was again broad-based, although somewhat higher for the larger (50-99) employers (Appendix Table 4).

Although similar data are not available about employer attitudes in California, Eileen Appelbaum and Ruth Milkman found that, after five years of experience with that state's paid family leave law, the vast majority of employers reported that it had minimal impact on their

[2] Rhode Island employers were asked "Are you in favor or opposed to the Temporary Caregiver Insurance Program?" and could respond "strongly in favor", "somewhat in favor", "neither", "somewhat opposed" or "strongly opposed". Source: Bartel, Ann, Maya Rossin-Slater, Christopher J. Ruhm and Jane Waldfogel "Assessing Rhode Island's Temporary Caregiver Insurance Act: Insights from a Survey of Employers", U.S. Department of Labor, Chief Evaluation Office, January 2016, www.dol.gov/asp/evaluation/completed-studies/AssessingRhodeIslandTemporaryCaregiverInsuranceAct_InsightsFromSurveyOfEmployers.pdf.

business operations. Businesses with less than 100 employees were less likely than larger establishments to report any negative effects.[3]

Summing up and next steps

These results indicate that a solid majority of employers in a state with a PFL law in effect (New Jersey) or on the horizon (New York) are supportive of that law, and this includes small employers about whom less has been known previously. These results are certainly reassuring and add to previous research that found overall minimal or null effects of PFL laws from the point of view of employers (our work in RI, as well as Appelbaum and Milkman's study in California).

As the US considers whether and how to expand paid family leave coverage, this information offers timely and policy-relevant new evidence on employer attitudes, which may be useful to policymakers as they engage in and shape the national discourse regarding paid leave legislation.

Acknowledgement

We gratefully acknowledge support from Columbia Business School, Columbia Population Research Center, Ford Foundation, NICHD, Pivotal Ventures, Russell Sage Foundation, and Washington Center for Equitable Growth.

[3] Source: Appelbaum, Eileen and Ruth Milkman, "Leaves That Pay: Employer and Worker Experiences with Paid Family Leave in California", Center for Economic and Policy Research, January 2011.

Table 1: Attitudes of New Jersey Employers to the New Jersey Family Leave Insurance Program

	All	By Firm Size			By Part-Time Share		By Female Share	
		10-19	20-49	50-99	Low	High	Low	High
Very Supportive	32	31	30	35	32	32	30	35
Somewhat Supportive	31	31	32	29	32	30	33	29
Neither Supportive or Opposed	21	21	20	23	22	21	23	19
Somewhat Opposed	10	9	14	8	9	12	9	12
Very Opposed	6	7	4	6	6	6	6	5

Notes: This table reports percentages of New Jersey employers giving the specified response to a question on their support for New Jersey's Family Leave Insurance program (n=1,157). Low (high) part-time share employers are those with the share of employees working part-time below (above) the New Jersey median (30%); low (high) female share employers are those with the share of female employees below (above) the New Jersey median (36%). All statistics are weighted by the survey weights.

Table 2: Attitudes of New York Employers to the Future New York Paid Family Leave Program

	All	By Firm Size			By Part-Time Share		By Female Share	
		10-19	20-49	50-99	Low	High	Low	High
Very Supportive	33	31	30	37	31	35	32	33
Somewhat Supportive	31	31	29	32	32	29	31	30
Neither Supportive or Opposed	23	25	24	19	22	23	24	21
Somewhat Opposed	10	10	13	7	11	9	9	11
Very Opposed	4	4	4	5	5	4	3	5

Notes: This table reports percentages of New York employers giving the specified response to a question on their support for the upcoming New York paid family leave program (n=1,146). Low (high) part-time share employers are those with the share of employees working part-time below (above) the New York median (20%); low (high) female share employers are those with the share of female employees below (above) the New York median (40%). All statistics are weighted by the survey weights.

Appendix Table 1: Response Rates in New York and New Jersey

State	Total Interviews	Ineligible	Eligible Non-Interview	Total Sample Used	Response Rate
New York	1,209	370	1,445	3,024	45.6%
New Jersey	1,210	404	1,433	3,047	45.8%

Note: Total interviews include completed and partial interviews. Eligible non-interviews include all eligible non-respondents (including refusals). Ineligible businesses were defined as detailed below.

Response rates for the study were based on the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Total Interviews}}{\text{Total Interviews + Eligible Non-Interviews}}$$

Businesses that were determined to be ineligible are not included in the denominator. In this study, a business was determined to be ineligible if was no longer in operation, in the process of closing, not the business named in the sample, or did not meet the study criteria for number of employees (less that ten or more than 99). Businesses correspondence that was returned marked as undeliverable due to the following were not immediately removed from the sample: Attempted - Not Known, Insufficient Address, No Such Number, Not Deliverable as Addressed, or No Mail Receptacle as many businesses do not have mail delivered to the physical address of the business location. If through internet searches or telephone contact it was determined that, the business was no longer in operation; the business was removed from the sample. Correspondence marked as Vacant, Unable to Forward, or Recipient Not at This Address were removed from the sample as ineligible.

Appendix Table 2: Characteristics of Employers in New Jersey and New York

	NJ	NY
Total Number of Employees	34.9	35.3
Percentage of Employees Who Work Part Time	34.9	29.3
Percentage of Employees Who Are Female	39.8	42.9
Employer Size 10-19 Employees	33.6	33.3
Employer Size 20-49 Employees	33.2	33.4
Employer Size 50-99 Employees	33.2	33.3
Industry:		
Accommodation and Food Services	12.1	13.2
Administrative/Support, Waste Management & Remediation	5.4	5.2
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	2.4	2.8
Construction	7.8	7.5
Finance and Insurance	3.3	4.6
Health Care and Social Assistance	12.5	11.2
Information	2.4	3.5
Management of Companies/Enterprises	0.1	0.2
Manufacturing	11.3	9.5
Mining Quarrying and Oil and Gas Extraction	0.0	0.0
Other Services except Public Administration	6.1	6.7
Professional Scientific and Technical Services	12.3	12.0
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	3.7	4.3
Retail Trade	8.5	8.7
Transportation and Warehousing	3.8	2.8
Wholesale Trade	8.3	7.7
Observations	1,209	1,207

Notes: This table shows the means of selected variables by state, weighted by survey weights.

Appendix Table 3: Employer Attitudes to Paid Leave in New Jersey and New York

Regressor	Supports	Opposes
New York	0.0038	-0.0199
	(0.0224)	(0.0165)
20-49 Employees	-0.0108	0.0168
	(0.0278)	(0.0204)
50-99 Employees	0.0532	-0.0385*
	(0.0324)	(0.0215)
High Part-Time Share	0.0148	-0.0330*
	(0.0271)	(0.0196)
High Female Share	-0.0224	0.0411**
	(0.0284)	(0.0195)
Industry		
Administrative/Support, Waste Management & Remediation	0.0230	-0.0377
	(0.0630)	(0.0460)
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	-0.0792	0.0022
	(0.1104)	(0.0554)
Construction	-0.0310	-0.0573
	(0.0512)	(0.0368)
Finance and Insurance	-0.0015	0.0072
	(0.0615)	(0.0492)
Health Care and Social Assistance	0.0410	-0.0131
	(0.0422)	(0.0323)
Information	-0.0030	0.0224
	(0.0595)	(0.0476)
Management of Companies/Enterprises	-0.2156	0.0344
	(0.1750)	(0.1584)
Manufacturing	0.0521	-0.0875***
	(0.0443)	(0.0314)
Mining Quarrying and Oil and Gas Extraction	0.0654	-0.1842***
	(0.1954)	(0.0322)
Other Services except Public Administration	0.1023*	-0.0829**
	(0.0523)	(0.0356)
Professional Scientific and Technical Services	0.0928**	-0.0339
	(0.0439)	(0.0330)
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	-0.1643*	-0.0703
	(0.0887)	(0.0517)
Retail Trade	-0.0417	0.0885*
	(0.0566)	(0.0481)
Transportation and Warehousing	-0.2751***	0.1851**
	(0.0918)	(0.0886)
Wholesale Trade	0.1102**	-0.0801**
	(0.0492)	(0.0353)

Note: This table shows coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses, from linear probability models where the dependent variable in the second column equals 1 if the employer is very or somewhat supportive of existing or upcoming paid family leave program, and 0 otherwise, and the dichotomous outcome in the third column equals 1 if the employer is somewhat or strongly opposed to the paid family leave program, and 0 otherwise. The sample is limited to NJ and NY employers (n=2,273). The excluded reference groups are: New Jersey employers with 10-19 employees, low shares of part-time and female employees and located in the accommodation and food services sector. Regressions are weighted by the survey weights. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix Table 4: Attitudes of Rhode Island Employers to Rhode Island Temporary Caregiver Insurance Law

	All	By Firm Size		
		10-19	20-49	50-99
Strongly Favor	27	26	22	39
Somewhat Favor	34	30	37	37
Neither	15	22	8	12
Somewhat Opposed	15	10	24	12
Very Opposed	9	13	9	0

Note: This table reports percentages of Rhode Island food service and manufacturing industry employers giving the specified response to a question on their attitude to Rhode Island's Temporary Caregiver Insurance Law (n=213). All statistics are weighted by the survey weights.

BUILDING BLOCKS OUT OF POVERTY

CLASP
Policy solutions that work for low-income people

People need food, health care, and stable housing to live, work, and thrive.

Basic needs programs like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), Medicaid, rental assistance, and cash assistance **help people meet immediate needs** and have positive **long-term impacts**. Research shows that safe, quality housing; nutritious food; going to the doctor; and having cash helps workers **become economically secure** and children reach their potential.

These aren't just short-term patches. Basic needs programs are **fundamental building blocks** that help people succeed throughout life.

BASIC NEEDS PROGRAMS SUPPORT...

Improved health and mental health

Improved self-reported health.
Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) participants are more likely than low-income non-participants to describe their health as very good or excellent.

Improved infant and maternal health.
The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) reduces the incidence of low birth weight and improves maternal health, including reduced mental stress.

Reduced stress and anxiety.
Medicaid coverage provides more consistent primary and preventive care and reduces the rate of depression.

Improved wellbeing.
Long-term housing subsidies improve health and reduce psychological distress and intimate partner violence.

Better educational outcomes

Increased achievement.
SNAP participation can improve elementary school children's reading and math skills and increase high school students' likelihood to graduate.[1]

Higher likelihood of college enrollment.
Young children in families receiving cash through the EITC are more likely to go to college.[2]

Increased completion.
Medicaid and Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) increase high school completion, college enrollment, and receipt of a four-year college degree.

Increased employment and earnings

Better chances of finding and keeping work.
In Ohio, 75 percent of unemployed Medicaid enrollees say having health care made it easier to look for employment.

Higher earnings.
Children in poor families receiving income support (consisting of rental or other assistance) earn more as adults.[3]

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Paid Family and Medical Leave is Critical for Low-wage Workers and Their Families

By Pronita Gupta, Tanya Goldman, Eduardo Hernandez, and Michelle Rose

December 2018

CLASP
Policy solutions that work for low-income people

Introduction

Paid family and medical leave is critical to reducing and preventing poverty and economic insecurity for families who experience illness or have caregiving responsibilities. The federal Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 provides job-protected, unpaid leave for certain workers. While this Act is important, many workers — especially those with low incomes — can't afford to take leave without pay. In 2016, 40.6 million people in the U.S. lived in poverty compared to 29.3 million people in 1980. The growth in working-age adults living in poverty significantly contributed to this increase.[1] The lack of a national paid leave policy is further entrenching economic inequality.

- 93 percent of low-wage workers (in the bottom quarter of wage earners) have **zero** access to paid family leave.[2]
- 94 percent of part-time workers have **zero** access to paid family leave.[3]

Low-wage workers without paid leave disproportionately face:

- **Loss of income**: Because far too many low-wage workers can't afford to take leave without pay, they either don't take leave, take less leave than they need, or lose wages and face dire consequences. Research proves that families who lose income while caring for a seriously ill child are more likely to suffer significant hardships, including food insecurity and delays getting medicine.[4]
- **Loss of job**: Approximately 40 percent of workers are excluded from the FMLA and have no job protection if they have to take unpaid leave.[5] Job loss is the "most common entry point into poverty."[6] One in 7 workers has lost a job to recover from illness or care for a family member.[7] It's worse for working mothers; in one survey, almost 1 in 5 moms reported losing a job due to sickness or caring for a sick child.[8] In 2015, 64 percent of mothers were primary or co-breadwinners. For those moms, the loss of a job from a family's medical situation can plunge them into economic turmoil.[9] **Difficult choices**:
    - Nearly a quarter of women take 10 or fewer days of parental leave.[10]
    - Approximately half of new mothers with less than a high school education left their jobs to bond with their new babies.[11]
- **Health consequences**: Low-wage workers and their families shouldn't suffer worse health outcomes. Paid leave provides necessary time for children and families to prevent and treat illnesses, spend critical time bonding, seek preventive care, and better maintain their mental health and overall wellbeing.[12]

Better support for workers and families will meaningfully help:

- **People of color**: With people of color earning significantly less than white workers, lack of access to paid leave exacerbates this inequality. Only 43 percent of Black workers and just 25 percent of Latino workers have access to *any* paid parental leave.[13] And an estimated 65 percent of Black parents and 75 percent of Hispanic parents are either ineligible or unable to afford unpaid leave under FMLA.[14] Black and Hispanic women are more likely than white women to leave or lose their jobs after giving birth.[15]
- **Immigrant workers**: In California, a study found that immigrants were less likely to be aware of California's paid family leave program. That's especially significant because immigrants are already vulnerable to lost income in times of need and often lack other sources of income to replace lost wages and make ends meet.[16]
- **Working moms**: 42 percent of mothers are sole breadwinners who provide at least half the family's earnings. Nearly one-quarter of mothers are co-breadwinners. Historically, Black mothers have been more likely to work outside the home. They're the sole breadwinners in 70 percent of their families.[17]

- **Children**: When parents can't afford to take time off, infants may miss critical well-child visits for preventive care and immunizations.[18] Research suggests that a child's cognitive and social development may be enhanced when parents have paid leave.[19]

The many benefits of paid family and medical leave

A national paid family and medical leave program would improve the health and earnings of millions of low-wage workers while also benefitting business owners.

- **Prevent wage loss:**
  - Many low-wage workers lose all income while on family or medical leave.[20] Research shows that paid family and medical leave can reduce racial disparities in wage loss as a percent of family income for Black and Hispanic families.[21]
- **Increased employee retention**:
  - Employers with paid leave programs benefit by attracting talent. This increases the likelihood of workers returning after their leave and creates a productive workplace with positive morale.[22] Offering real access to opportunity through family-sustaining jobs is good for the bottom line.
  - Women who take paid leave after a child's birth are more likely to stay employed 9 to 12 months after the child's birth than women who take no leave.[23]
- **Health benefits**:
  - Paid family leave can improve the health and wellbeing of sick family members and their caregivers.[24]
  - Children of workers who take longer leaves may experience lower mortality rates and higher birth weights. Children with special health care needs also see better outcomes.[25]
- **Support Bonding and Child Care:**
  - A recent U.S. Department of Health and Human Services study of low-income mothers found that paid family leave allowed them the necessary time to bond with their new child and arrange child care, which can often be a barrier for women returning to work.[26]

Developing policy to help workers in low-wage jobs

Paid family and medical leave policy must:

1. Be available to all workers, regardless of sector or employer size and whether they work full or part-time or are self-employed.
2. Allow workers to take time to address serious family and medical needs as well as care for new children.
3. Offer sufficient replacement wages so that workers who are paid low wages can afford to take leave when they need it.
4. Include all families, whether through blood, marriage, or affinity.
5. Ensure leaves are long enough to meet individual and family care needs.
6. Be funded through a social insurance program rather than tax credits or individual employer requirements or mandates. A social insurance program will allow the risk to be pooled across a large group of workers, making it affordable, accessible, and efficient.
7. Include job protection and strong prohibitions against discrimination or retaliation.

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Written Statement of
David Stacy
Government Affairs Director
Human Rights Campaign

To the
Committee on Ways and Means
Worker and Family Support Subcommittee
United States House of Representatives
Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities
3/7/2019

Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorksi, and Members of the Committee:

My name is David Stacy, and I am the Government Affairs Director for the Human Rights Campaign, America's largest civil rights organization working to achieve lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) equality. On behalf of our over 3 million members and supporters, I am honored to submit this statement into the record for this important hearing addressing the challenges facing working families. Today, I will specifically speak to the experience of LGBTQ people and their families including the impact of systemic discrimination and limited access to critical safety nets including paid leave and health care.

Systemic Discrimination, Absence of Uniform Explicit Protections

Despite recent advances in equality, LGBTQ individuals and families across the country still face discrimination throughout different aspects of daily life including employment, housing, and when seeking goods and services. Reports indicate that over 40% of all lesbian, gay, bisexual (LGB) employees are treated unfairly by their employer in hiring, pay, or promotion decisions.[1] Transgender employees report harassment and mistreatment at much higher rates—nearly 97% of transgender workers have experienced harassment or mistreatment at work as a result of their gender identity.[2] Between fiscal years 2014 and 2016, the number of private sector LGBTQ-based sex discrimination charges filed with the EEOC increased by 60%.[3]

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Currently, 29 states offer no explicit protections prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. In the absence of uniform, nation-wide protections, many LGBTQ people who experience discrimination are left with little recourse. Discrimination in employment compounds the inequality many LGBTQ people experience in housing, education, and healthcare and undermines the individual and family economic security. LGBTQ couples raising children are also twice as likely to have household incomes near the poverty line compared to their non-LGBTQ peers -- and single LGBTQ people are three times more likely to live near the poverty threshold as their non-LGBTQ peers.

Passage of the Equality Act (H.R. 5, S. 788) would serve as a critical tool towards ending this discrimination nationwide by providing explicit, uniform protections across public life including employment, housing, education, jury service, credit, federal funding, and public places and spaces.

Access to Paid Leave

Welcoming a new child, caring for a sick spouse or parent, or facing a serious illness can change - and strain - a family's bottom line. Access to uniform paid leave is essential to closing the gaps created by these major life events and helping families stay healthy. Due to the systemic discrimination discussed above, LGBTQ people facing these changes often find themselves having to choose between the caregiving or recovery time they deserve and the paycheck they need.

The United States lags far behind other industrialized nations when it comes to paid medical leave. We are also the only industrialized country to offer no paid leave to working adults (such as leave that would allow an employee to take care of an ill family member or to welcome a new child). In addition, while a lack of access to paid leave is a universal challenge in the US, LGBTQ individuals are uniquely impacted. According to a 2018 HRC survey of LGBTQ workers, fewer than half of respondents reported that their employer's policies cover new parents of all genders equally and only 49 percent say that employer policies are equally inclusive of the many ways families can welcome a child, including childbirth, adoption, or foster care.[4]

LGBTQ individuals who take time off face heightened challenges in accessing paid leave policies even where they do exist. We know that LGBTQ workers facing a major life event are often left with leave policies that are under-inclusive at best. Even for LGBTQ workers whose

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LGBT-based discrimination complaints received was 1,100; two years later–in FY 2016–the number climbed to 1,768.)

[4] Johnson, A; Lee, M.; Maxwell, M.; Miranda, L. (2018). *2018 U.S. LGBTQ Paid Leave Survey*, Washington, DC: Human Rights Campaign Foundation.

employers have a formal paid leave policy, one in five respondents to the 2018 survey reported that fears of discrimination could prevent them from requesting a leave if it would require disclosing their LGBTQ identity.[5] And without explicit federal laws protecting us from being fired simply because of who they are, LGBTQ workers also remain at risk of being fired if they are forced to come out when requesting leave.

Inclusive paid leave would help ensure that families will not have to risk their economic livelihood when they need to take time off to care for loved ones. Only 13 percent of the workforce receives paid family leave from their employer, and less than 40 percent have personal medical leave from a disability program provided through their workplace.[6] The Family and Medical Insurance Leave (FAMILY) Act would help address this problem by expanding access to both family and medical leave providing workers with up to 12 weeks of financial support during a family or medical leave from work. This would cover time taken following the birth or adoption of a child including time to recover from pregnancy and childbirth, as well as leave taken to care for a sick child, parent, spouse or domestic partner, recover from illness personally, or time taken for military caregiving and leave purposes.

Access to Health Care

LGBTQ families face significant health disparities as a result of a lack of access to affordable, culturally competent care coupled with discrimination – both experienced and anticipated – at the hands of healthcare providers. LGBTQ people report some of the lowest rates of health insurance coverage of any population, particularly bisexual and transgender individuals. Low coverage rates threaten both the physical and financial health of LGBTQ families. Without coverage, many individuals will delay accessing critical care because of the inability to pay. Reports also show that a lack of insurance coverage directly results in increased medical related debt, which undermines a family's credit and overall financial security. Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act (ACA) has played a key role in bridging this disparity for some of the most vulnerable members in our community, including those living with HIV/AIDS. Under the ACA's Medicaid Expansion, thousands of low-income people living with HIV have been able to obtain health insurance before becoming disabled by the virus, thereby ensuring that these individuals had access to lifesaving treatments. This critical change ensures that people living with HIV have access to lifesaving treatments necessary to live longer, healthier lives.

In addition to gaps in coverage, LGBTQ patients also report delaying accessing critical healthcare because of fear of discrimination. These fears are unfortunately well founded. Numerous surveys, studies, and reports have documented the widespread extent of the

[5] *Supra* note 1.
[6] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2016, September). National Compensation Survey: Employee Benefits in the United States, March 2016 (Tables 16 and 32). http://www.bls.gov/ncs/ebs/benefits/2016/ebbl0059.pdf

discrimination faced by LGBTQ individuals and their families in the health care system. One nationwide study found that 56 percent of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) respondents and 70 percent of transgender respondents reported experiencing discrimination by health care providers, including providers being physically rough or abusive, using harsh or abusive language, or refusing to touch them.[7] In the same study, 8 percent of LGB respondents and 27 percent of transgender respondents reported being refused necessary medical care outright.[8] Similarly, the 2015 National Transgender Discrimination Survey found that 33 percent of respondents had negative experiences when seeing a health care provider in the past year.[9] In addition to extending coverage for low income individuals and families, the ACA also includes strong statutory protections from discrimination on the basis of sex, which courts across the country have interpreted to include discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity.

LGBTQ individuals and families live in every state and county across the nation. They reflect the breadth of diversity and lived experiences of the communities in which we live. However, these families too often face familiar challenges and barriers to success and financial stability. I urge Congress to act to bridge the healthcare and achievement gaps facing these families and to stand up for the inclusion of explicit nondiscrimination protections in our nation's civil rights laws.

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[7] Lambda Legal, *When Health Care Isn't Caring: Lambda Legal's Survey on Discrimination Against LGBT People and People Living with HIV*, 10-11 (2010), http://www.lambdalegal.org/publications/when-health-care-isnt-caring.
[8] *Id.*
[9] S.E. James, C. Brown, & I. Wilson, *2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*, 97 (National Center for Transgender Equality 2017).

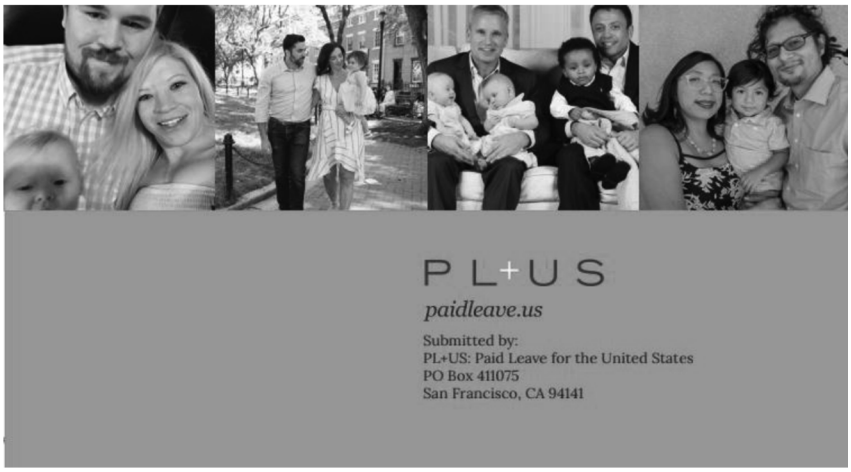
STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD

HOUSE WAYS & MEANS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WORKER & FAMILY SUPPORT

"Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities"

March 7, 2019



Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and Members of the Subcommittee:

PL+US: Paid Family Leave for the U.S is a national advocacy organization fighting for paid family leave so that everyone can give and receive family care when it matters most.

As you examine the importance of leveling the playing field for working families, we urge you to take into consideration the voices of working people who need paid family leave. Below are quotes from some of the statements PL+US has collected from across the country.

Caregiving Leave

Listed alphabetically by state

Ike Wilder, Compton, CA I usually balance my 9 to 5 job and work caregiving for my elderly parents. One has dementia and the other parent is partially blind with pacemaker. I have to use my vacation and sick time to care for them. Many times I put work first to have income for myself. My parents don't qualify for in home supportive services due to their income. This is a long journey that I've been going through for about 12 years.

Jane Miller, Vienna, IL I worked through most of my father dying from lung cancer. Then I worked long hours, way too much, for several years while my mom was in the nursing home with Alzheimer's. Next it was my 77 year old aunt, hit by a car, and then my sister, with multiple cancers. My work was very uncooperative about being gone for these instances, especially my aunt and sister, neither of which have children of their own to look out for them. Any paid leave bill needs to include provisions for those other than just children, spouses, and parents. Some people just don't have anyone else to be there for them. What are they supposed to do? What is a worker supposed to do when their loved one who is ill isn't on the list of "approved relatives"?

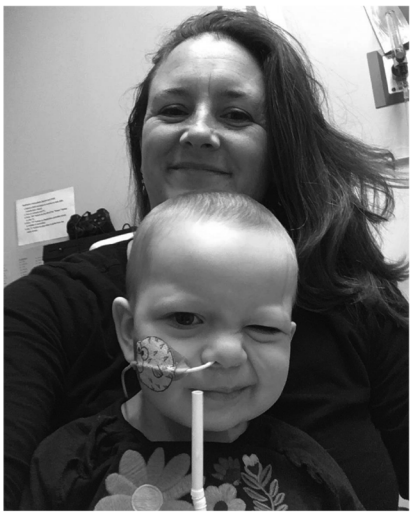
Lea Hall, Holbrook, MA When my father was dying I had to work with no time off to care for him. I also had to pay a stranger to care for him while I worked. So I had to work overtime to afford it. This was a job I'd been at for almost seven years. But no leave available.

Sean Cleary, Mechanic Falls, ME After my son was born, my wife was bedridden for days after a botched epidural. She was lucky enough to have me around to help out... but only because my employer has a generous vacation policy. Vacation, mind you, not family leave. We were lucky, but it shouldn't be a matter of luck whether a parent can get PTO to help his or her family member in a time of need, without worrying about bills piling up while pay's not coming in.

Cathy Campbell-Olszewski, Houghton, MI When our first child was born, she had a severe bleed in her brain and had to be sent to a hospital by ambulance a hundred miles away. My husband drove back and forth so he could be with us in Neonatal Unit since he had used up all his sick leave. We were in the hospital for 6 weeks before we could bring her home. We needed him with us as I stayed at a friend's house and walked to the hospital at 6am in the morning. We only had one car and he needed it to drive to work every day in Houghton, while my baby and I were in Marquette, Michigan. He would come every weekend and call several times a day. It was tough.

Astrid Duarte, Cramerton, NC Recently my elderly mother experienced a very traumatic fall in which her head was gashed open and pelvis broken. I fortunately am a privileged person whose spouse earns enough that I am free to care for my loved ones. I often wonder what I would have done otherwise.

Eva Love, Las Vegas, NV My husband had a really bad stroke (not that any stroke is good), and I had to take care of him. It was so stressful trying to work (and not being able to because his needs were so great). We went through all of our savings and retirement and now have nothing left to retire with. I'll be 70 this year and my husband is 68 and unable to work. Paid family leave would have made a huge difference.



Erin Johnson, Swarthmore, PA As a single mom, the devastating news that my 10 month old baby was diagnosed with acute lymphoblastic leukemia was awful. Adding concerns about health insurance and income to my concerns about the well-being of my daughter added to the stress. Luckily, my employer offered paid family leave. While we are still in treatment 27 months later, having paid leave for those first 3 months meant I had a small financial cushion to offset the coming months of very trying treatment. As a single parent, I have had to rely on Medicaid, Food Stamps and Unemployment benefits to help me and my daughter to survive financially during this health crisis. Thankfully, I have a work history that will eventually enable me to earn money again, once my daughter's treatment concludes. Having some support from my last employer was crucial for the first phase of treatment for my only child. Thank you for what you are doing to highlight the various needs people have for paid family leave.

Parental Leave

Listed by constituents in subcommittee districts, then alphabetically by state

Danny Davis (D-IL- Chicago), *Chair*

Whitney Floersch, Chicago, IL When I had my second child, my company, Vladimir Jones, did not offer any paid leave for employees. I was able to take advantage of 12 weeks of short-term disability which I was glad to have as I needed a c-section and had a slow recovery. However the day before I

was to return to work my boss called and told me I was going to be laid off the next day. I can't help but wonder if I would have been laid off if I had been in the office instead of home with my child for those post-birth weeks.

Gwen Moore (D-W- Milwaukee)

Margaret Karpinen, Deforest, WI Although I wanted a second child, I literally had to wait about 3 years to build up my sick time at my full-time job so that I could afford to stay home with a newborn. Even in waiting this long, I did not have enough sick time to cover 12 weeks and had to supplement with my vacation time. I'm now back at work, and for the entire year of 2019, I have less than two weeks to use for any sick time this year (which is often taken for my children) and for any vacation time. In addition, my husband has to put off a much-needed hip replacement surgery for another year because he used up his sick time to stay home with our son for 3 weeks. If paid family leave was an actual thing, it would relieve so much stress for families like mine. And, I am actually one of the lucky ones in this nation's current conditions -- so many mothers are only allowed to take 6 weeks off, or to beg to have even 2 weeks off. It is so unsupportive of mothers and new life. I can't stress enough how it feels morally wrong to have to leave your new baby after so little time. The United States is so far behind, it's incredibly sad.

Kristine Asatryan, Tujunga, CA I am a full time working mother of two incredible boys. I missed out on a lot of great firsts and life events due to not having paid family leave as I didn't qualify with the first two. I had to go back to work for financial reasons but was so extremely devastated. Now, pregnant with my third and due on March 17, all I can think about is how will I do this again. I do qualify for the 6 weeks paid time off which covers only 60% of my pay and that is not enough. Not enough money to cover my family's expenses and not enough time to bond and to be there for my family. This is such a difficult time instead of being joyous and worry free. This has to change as our children are our future and the way we start their first year or two makes them who they are. I demand better family leave as we mothers and fathers deserve that and our children deserve it even more.

Lauren Butland, Tampa, FL I am currently on maternity leave for a total of 3 months, unpaid. I go back March 18th. My baby will only be 12 weeks old. While many mothers have to go back sooner, this is still so young to be away from his mother. We will be apart for 10 hours a day, 5 days a week. My baby is exclusively breastfed. To avoid running the risk of having to use formula, I have to be under the stress of finding time in my busy work schedule 3 times a day. This is unrealistic. I implore you to make a policy for paid family leave so other mothers and babies don't have to endure what we will.

Erin Richards, Saint Petersburg, FL I'm a single mother by choice, expecting my son in about 2 weeks. I've been in my current position for almost 5 years, but they've used the fact that it is grant funded to keep me under a temporary agency. They changed temporary contracting companies last year and I even lost access to health insurance from work. My current coverage is COBRA from the previous agency. This has greatly increased the cost of my pregnancy. I don't get paid when I don't work, so I've been trying to save where I can. I've managed to get about 5 weeks pay set aside so I can hopefully take 6 weeks off after he is born. Luckily my mother is going to help out for a little while with childcare when I return to work, but that is only a short term reprieve. I'm so happy to finally be living my lifelong dream of motherhood, but the extra costs and uncertainty cast a long shadow. I've just turned 41 so I could not have delayed any longer, and honestly I'm still probably in better financial shape to do this than I have ever been. I wish I could just focus on him instead of constantly running numbers trying to figure out how I can make this work.

LaDonna Watts, Savannah, GA I have a 10 month baby. When I discovered I was pregnant, my husband and I were not prepared. We were both in school at the time and I still had 3 semesters before I graduated. I also worked part-time as a historical actress downtown and part-time as a peer coach on campus. We were in the meat of prepping for our future, which I don't think will ever end. I refused to quit school and my husband fully supported my decision. For my graduating semester, my mother-in-law had to come from Africa so that I could continue to go to school and work. Without paid leave, I had no choice but to continue working 2 part-time jobs and go to school. I remember leaving school in between classes just to come and see my little boy. Financially, it is not easy at all. I can't afford to put him in daycare because essentially I'll be working only to fund daycare. This would be a major and necessary change.

Naureen Ahmed, Carol Stream, IL The first time I became a mother, I was working for a non-profit with no benefits, and only got 2 weeks time off, before I was expected to return to work. I did return to work, and I was in so much pain for the first month, and pumping milk every 2 hours for the next 12 months. I was beyond exhausted, to say the least. The second time I had a baby, I was working for another nonprofit with no maternity benefits, so I decided to quit in my last trimester. Was I unproductive? No! I started an at-home daycare so I could get some sort of income while I stayed home with my newborn baby. I ended up rejoining the corporate workforce when my baby was 2 months old. (Still pumping!) The third time I had a baby, I now had benefits, yay! I was back at work when my baby was 6 weeks old! She was SO GROWN UP! (Still pumping!) The fourth time I had a baby, I had benefits, but was able to negotiate a transitional return-to-work. 3 weeks in, I was working from home 2 days a week. 6 weeks in, I was in the office 2 days a week. 10 weeks in, I was in the office 3 days a week. And by 12 weeks, I

was back at work full time and still pumping! Oh, I forgot to mention, my newborn was in the ICU during this period, but I was still working. I don't want my own daughters to ever go through what I went through. America needs to mandate paid leave for new mothers.

Kara Girsch, Peoria, IL I am a teacher. I spend my entire life helping other people's children. When it comes to having my own, I feel completely guilty. With my first child, I took four weeks off because it was the end of the school year. I suffered from postpartum depression and had to have my gallbladder removed two weeks after giving birth. I received emails on a daily basis from my department head with a checklist of things to do while I was at home on leave without pay. Even though I was at home, I was still doing all the work. My second child brought much of the same. Because his birthday fell around Easter, I took my four weeks, but including break it was six. I cried every day at work until the end of the year because I felt guilty. We couldn't afford me to stay at home any longer. My husband was unemployed, and we all know that no one goes into education for the money. I am lucky because my mom took care of my boys. My third child was a horrible experience. I switched schools in a failed attempt to make more money to cover for what my husband wasn't bringing in. The stress put me into contractions in November when my son wasn't due until March. I had to go on bed rest. Luckily, at my new school, I had family medical leave to cover bed rest. I did not have that same security for maternity leave. I took six weeks. I would love to stay home with my children so that I know they are developed enough to be ready for grandma to take care of them. Leaving them at a month and a half is too soon. I work hard to balance everything, but I feel a constant pressure from society to stretch myself thin to the point of endangering my mental health. Our children are the future and we are doing our future a disservice by not giving them the adequate parental attention they need to help them be the compassionate people this country needs to move forward. Please look to the examples set by the rest of the world so that modern mothers and fathers can worry about diapers instead of dollars. We need capitalism with compassion and we need it now.

Ronetia Douglas, Randallstown, MD I have been a Federal Employee for under 1 year. Since gaining employee I have learned we are expecting our 3rd child and my 2nd child was diagnosed with an umbilical hernia. He will need surgery to repair this hernia. I have used my allowed sick days for prenatal appointments and consultations for my 2nd child. I will not have much time left when my due date arrives in May. I have joined the leave bank, but the uncertainty of not receiving pay during my time out is something that I think about daily. I checked into short term disability plans, that would NOT sell policies to me because I am a federal employee (Aflac). How could this be the federal government? Women populate the world (creating future voters), but I guess we have to do all of this on our vacation time. Thanks for listening.

Erin Schlicher, Onondaga, MI Although I had a good full time job as a staff member at a major university, I did not have access to any paid family leave. When my husband and I decided to start a family, I had enough vacation time saved to give me at least six weeks of paid leave after the baby was born. However, I did not anticipate that my pregnancy would be a complicated one, and I had to be hospitalized for several weeks in my second trimester. During this time, I used up all of the paid sick and vacation time that I had accrued and I had to go on unpaid FMLA leave. When I finally gave birth, I didn't even have the full 12 weeks of FMLA leave left to use, even if I could afford to take it. I was forced to return to work five weeks after giving birth, which was the earliest my doctor would allow me to. These five weeks weren't even enough time for me to physically recover from the trauma of the delivery, and I did not get to fully enjoy being with my new baby, since I was worried about how I would be able to meet my financial obligations. I think it is sad and embarrassing that families in this country have to go through these types of experiences every day. Although I am not going to have any more children, this is an issue that is extremely important to me, and I can not support any candidate or politician who does not support paid family leave.

Tiffany Leppo, Littletown, PA My first daughter was born on a Monday. We were discharged on Wednesday evening, by Thursday evening I was back in the ER receiving a blood patch. My husband was back to work on Monday. No time to bond with our newborn, let alone help a new mom adjust. We then planned our finances when we understood we were only going to receive a portion of my pay for the first 5 weeks of my leave. Fathers need to be home too.

Heidi Liivamagi, Pennsylvania, PA I am a mother of two young children (2 yr old and 6 month old). The United States is the only developed country without official paid maternity leave. Postpartum care of mothers is laughable and only a very small percentage of mothers get to have any sort of maternity leave at all. I am considered lucky that my employer provided me with 12 weeks of (unpaid) maternity leave. Most families in this country cannot afford to be unpaid for 12 weeks - not even 2 weeks. And 12 weeks is not nearly enough for mothers and babies. Please look around in the world and familiarize yourself with parental leave policies of other developed countries. As an example, Estonia provides new mothers 18 months fully paid maternity leave and almost 2 months of fully paid pregnancy leave (in the United States pregnant women are expected to work until the minute they go into labor). Babies need their mothers and mothers need their babies! It is against nature to put your newborn in daycare with strangers. I urge you to follow the example of other countries that value young families.

Megan Moore, Dayton, OH I have two children-one is 2 and the other 8 weeks. I went back to work with my oldest at 6 weeks; it was a slap in the face. She had a lot of trouble at daycare and I was still very much suffering from postpartum hormones. It was hard for me to focus at work for months. This time around I am taking 12 weeks with my second child. However, due to her being born early and spending time in the NICU I am taking most of that unpaid because my sick days were used for my

increased appointments and bed rest. With her stay in the NICU, we are getting new medical bills everyday as well as our student loans and other bills. As a young teacher neither time I had children I did not have much time saved up to take off. Teachers are Also expected to do much more work for their FMLA leave than other professions.,I planned entire units, took questions from my subs and co workers; I even know some teachers who go in to grade papers and answer parent emails. If maternity leave were more valued schools could use funds to find the best subs to support the children.

Nora Gordon, Shaker Heights, OH Because of our lack of maternity leave, I am negative 150 hours in the hole on sick leave after having two kids. I can't take any more sick days and have to save the few hours of annual leave I have for true emergencies. When my kids are sick, really sick, and all they want is mom, I can't stay home. When I'm sick, really sick, I go to work. And my coworkers inevitably catch what I've got. The lack of paid family leave is bad for everyone.

Carrie Carpenter, Dandridge, TN I had to go back to work 3 weeks after having an emergency c-section that left my newborn in the NICU for a month. When she finally came home she was on oxygen for a month. I could not afford to miss a day of work and went back so I could afford gas money to go to and from the hospital to be with her. No paid leave is unacceptable.

Audrey Blute, Washington D.C. When I went into labor at 33 weeks pregnant and delivered my son prematurely, my main worry was how I would manage to take enough time off to be with him while he grew and got strong enough to go to childcare. My company only offered one week of full pay, while my son was in the NICU for 3.5 weeks. We made the decision for me to take disability and then unpaid leave to allow me to stay home with our son until he was 4 months old. While we are fortunate that this was feasible financially for our family, this is NOT a reality for most families. If we were less fortunate we would have been caught between leaving our vulnerable son in childcare before he was physically ready or not being able to pay our bills.

Catherine Swanson, Washington D.C. I am a federal employee expecting my first child in October. After caring for my mother through cancer last year, I have less than three weeks of sick leave banked. Clearly, that is not enough time to recover from childbirth, let alone bond with a new infant. My husband and I are trying to determine how much unpaid leave I can afford to take before returning to work. Please help us out of this nightmare.

Brenna Holzhauer, Madison, WI I work for a small non-profit that does not fall under FMLA and does not offer paid leave. I'm having a baby this summer and am having to choose between my career, my family's income, what's best for the organization, and what's best for my baby. This is not a fair choice. The US is so far behind other countries in this area, and I wish families and children were not losing out to businesses, lobbyists and politics.

Personal Medical Leave

Listed alphabetically by state

Greta Truett, Phoenix, AZ During the second trimester of my pregnancy with my now almost 2 year old son, I was diagnosed with cancer. I was lucky that it was caught early and only required surgery instead of chemotherapy or radiation. Because I am employed at a small business not subject to FMLA, I had to use the small amount of personal time off that I had left for the year to cover the unexpected emergency surgery and recovery time. After the new year, I then developed A C. difficile infection after surgery and had to struggle to work from home so that I could continue to earn money since my insurance deductible was so high and I was trying to save my PTO for the birth of my son later that spring. A C. difficile infection causes violent abdominal contractions every few hours and extreme pain/discomfort to use the bathroom. I was so terrified that I would go into premature labor. The stress of worrying about the life of my child was compounded by trying to continue working a demanding job. I then had to return to work after 8 weeks from having my son as that was the maximum the company would allow me to take for medical leave. I developed post-partum depression in part because my ability to breastfeed was impacted by going back so soon and being so stressed out. I am not surprised that our birth rate has been declining in this country given the lack of a consistent leave policy across businesses. We also need to realize that the increasing wave of aging Baby Boomers is going to start putting a strain on my generation as their children. Just as they took care of their Greatest Generation parents, we Gen X/early Millennials now will have more and more senior citizens needing assistance from their family members as they age. For a country where many claim to be pro-family, we have a lot of work to do to support families of any kind.

Emily Hardesty, Glen Allen, VA I just had surgery in December and was out on short term disability which was the biggest nightmare. The thought of having to go through that again in the (hopefully) near future for pregnancy is dreadful. What's pathetic is that I was approved for 8 weeks of short-term-disability leave for my hip surgery. But if I have a baby while on this short term disability plan, I'll only be eligible for 4 weeks of leave at 40% of my salary. Let's pass a bill to offer paid family medical leave for everyone! It is long overdue! Instead of $5 billion for this ridiculous wall, let's put it towards paid family medical leave.

Joy Rosenberry Chase, Madison, WI In August of 2017, I went in for a simple outpatient procedure to remove an ovarian cyst. I was supposed to be back at work the next day. Instead, the cyst burst, leading to a life-threatening infection and 4 more surgeries, not to mention 7 emergency room visits. I haven't been able to work for over a year. Thankfully, my husband's work has paid family leave so he could rush me to the hospital when necessary and be there with me to make medical decisions when I couldn't. I was in the hospital a total of a month over the course of 6 months. With all the medical bills and my not being able to work, paid medical leave meant I could concentrate on getting better, not on whether we could feed our daughter or pay our rent.

Validators

Listed alphabetically by state

Pat Serio, Oberlin, OH I am a Nurse Midwife who has delivered over 2000 babies before I retired two years ago. It is essential that new mothers have time off to establish breastfeeding. This usually takes between 6-8 weeks. Babies who are breastfed are healthier for their entire life. Less obesity, less diabetes, hypertension, fewer food allergies, less asthma, better brain development. These chronic health problems cost the US millions and millions, probably far more than a paid family leave would cost. These benefits would last a lifetime. Please be wise and allow people in the US to enjoy the support that

so many other modern societies offer: paid family leave.

Danielle Pascetta, Havertown, PA I am a pediatric occupational therapist in a school setting. I recently had a baby in October and was home with him for 3 months (all unpaid). The way my company works is I get paid monthly so I did not receive a paycheck from October - February. I had to rely on my husband and any gift cards that family and friends gave us to buy necessary items for the baby. I also owe about $260,000 of student loan debt that I was unable to pay during my time off because whatever money I saved up prior to my leave was used for other bills. I was very stressed out during my time off and feel as though it affected the baby's ability to relax at times. Returning to work is already stressful for new moms but knowing I was backed up on so many bills made it even worse.

Candice Quarles, Desoto, TX I'm a Councilwoman in DeSoto, TX. I'm 37 years old and we have a 4 yr old. I'm currently fighting for Paid Family Leave for our city employees. It hurts my core that our firefighters for our city who put their own lives on the line and who are our first line medical professionals in our community cannot properly bond at home with their newborns because they do not have access to paid maternity and paternity leave. Its 2019, we can do something about this. It's time to support those who support us.

The Honorable Danny Davis
Chairman, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means
Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support

Dear Chairman Davis:

Thank you for holding the March 7, 2019 hearing **Leveling the Playing Field for Workers: Challenges and Opportunities.**

Please accept the following statement to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support to be inserted into the record for your March 7, 2019 hearing.

Anne B. Mosle,
Vice President, the Aspen Institute
Executive Director, Ascend at the Aspen Institute

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Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and other Members,

My name is Anne Mosle and I am a Vice President at the Aspen Institute and Executive Director of Ascend at the Aspen Institute.

Ascend at the Aspen Institute is the national hub for breakthrough ideas and collaborations that move children and their parents toward educational success, financial security, and health and well-being. Our North Star is increased economic security for the millions of families currently living up to 200 percent of the federal poverty level. We focus on identifying and supporting leaders and nonprofit organizations aligned with that North Star. In 2014, we launched the Ascend Network, which is currently comprised of over 310 organization, serving approximately 3.5 million families annually across 46 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and Guam. With its diverse mix of policymakers, practitioners, researchers, and philanthropists, the Ascend Network represents the leading edge of programmatic, policy, and research efforts focused on a two-generation (2Gen) approach: serving children and parents simultaneously for stronger and better family outcomes.

One of the five core principles of a 2Gen approach is engaging families in program and policy design, implementation, and evaluation. Ascend has a deep commitment to engaging and elevating the voices of families in policy and program conversations and a history of bringing together leaders who may never have been offered a seat at the same table. Undergirding all of Ascend's work is a commitment to listen to families and ensure their perspectives and experience inform program and policy design. Policies provide the scaffolding and structures that support parents, but parents themselves fuel and create their family's successful path toward economic security.

Parent voices and experiences matter, and it is time for a fundamental recognition, including in our policies, of the role parents play in their own economic success. By listening to parent voice and elevating partnerships with parents, our policies and practitioners can become more effective in serving families with outcomes for both children and parents as a powerful metric and guide.

We commend the Subcommittee for asking Tameka Henry and Yvette McKinnie, to lead off the Subcommittee's exploration of the challenges and opportunities facing families as they seek to be responsible, loving, and supportive parents, grandparents, and family members while meeting the obligations of their jobs and providing for their families' economic security. We are especially proud that Tameka Henry, who is a Parent Advisor for Ascend's Postsecondary Success for Parents Initiative, shared her story with the Subcommittee. Tameka has been so generous in sharing with Ascend her experiences and expertise as a parent navigating the precarious balance of work and family and her insights have informed our work and that of the Ascend Network.

Closely related to the Subcommittee's focus, fueled by an investment by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation in 2017, Ascend launched another effort – the Aspen Family Prosperity Innovation Community: a group of extraordinarily talented and deeply committed leaders working together to identify new ways to ensure families in the United States can thrive. This learning and action community works together to develop bold strategies that strengthen parents' employment, economic security, and health and well-being with a focus on family-supportive policies.

As you know, times are changing rapidly for families—our households, work and the workforce do not look like they did just a decade ago. Challenges and barriers for parents continue to grow – skyrocketing

costs of health care and child care, unpredictable scheduling combined with a lack of flexibility at the workplace, and less time at home. Working parents must balance their budget and time across an ever-changing landscape of needs: from caring for themselves, their children, and older family members, to affording quality child care and paying household bills. The same holds true for grandparents caring for their children's children. Removing barriers so families can care for their loved ones requires us to rethink and update the policies and supports needed for all working parents to keep up with the realities of a changing workforce and economy.

There are many family-supportive policies that policymakers and businesses can implement to help ensure that families have access to the time and resources needed to thrive. Your hearing has highlighted a few– such as paid family and medical leave, sick leave, quality affordable child care, health insurance, mental health and lactation supports for new mothers, and federal levers such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), among others.

The Aspen Family Prosperity Innovation Community (Family Prosperity) is bringing together policy, practice, business, research, and community leaders so that we may look beyond our current options so that we can better understand a fuller menu of leading-edge ways policies and supports like these can improve economic and health opportunities and outcomes for families in the United States, especially those with low incomes.

With that, as noted earlier, we must fully recognize that America's workforce has changed dramatically over several decades – almost half of all children are being raised in households in which all parents work full-time, about twice the rate of 1968. We must reimagine the policies and solutions that ensure America is tapping the full talents, gifts, and potential of our nation's greatest asset: our people.

What is meaningful work? What does it mean for a family to thrive? There are certain conditions in and outside of work that lay the economic, health, and educational foundation for families to prosper that are often not met. Government entities often silo their support for child care, education, and career development instead of treating these as equally vital in improving outcomes for families. Many employers do not offer paid leave for employees that need to take time off to care for newborn, sick, or elderly family members. Parents who are paid low wages are often subject to punitive federal and state policies that are intended to help families struggling to get by, but in reality, place barriers between them and higher education and new careers.

Thriving is about having access to affordable, high-quality early learning and child care supports. It is the opportunity to earn postsecondary credentials, so your children have a path to a better future. It is the ability to take paid time off to care for a loved one. Above all, we believe work should be infused with dignity.

And we know that thriving families and a diverse workforce also translates into an economically thriving country. A prosperous America requires a new vision of the future of work that values how family, health, and a new learning landscape are driving opportunities for economic growth for our communities, cities, and country.

While the definition of "work" may vary by person and by industry, it is frequently colored by preconceived notions. We must change the narrative around work to reflect an alignment of what

families need to the workforce America needs so we can truly transform policies, systems, and practices to support families. And as one of our Family Prosperity Partners said, "Stability is not enough. It's got to be prosperity, it's got to be thriving."

That is what we strive to accomplish with the Aspen Family Prosperity Innovation Community. Last May we convened the Family Prosperity Community, including Family Prosperity Partners from primarily national policy organizations – American Enterprise Institute, Center for Public Justice, Family Values @ Work and the Center for Law and Social Policy, Legal Aid at Work, National Partnership for Women and Families, and Urban Institute – in Aspen, where we talked about the future of work in the public and private sectors, and how crucial issues like child care and paid family leave are to working families.

Our innovation community discussed a range of new propositions, from the engagement of the sacred sector employers to a new social insurance program to provide paid family and medical leave. But our conversations have just begun.

Family prosperity, true family economic security, is our powerful shared North Star, guiding us to work together to change the narrative, shape the investment flow and create a strategy for a future of work that taps the potential of all Americans.

We need to imagine the next era of possibility for family-supportive policies. We welcome the opportunity to work with the Subcommittee to identify ways policymakers can invest in human potential that will pay dividends for generations to come and grow our economy in ways we have only begun to imagine.

Written Statement for the Hearing Record for the House Committee on Ways and Means
Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support
On "Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities"

Paid Family Leave: Understanding the Benefits And The Costs

Written Statement for the Hearing Record

Aparna Mathur
Resident Scholar, Economic Policy
Co-Director of the AEI-Brookings Working Group on Paid Family and Medical Leave

March 18, 2019

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Chairman Davis, Ranking Member Walorski, and members of the Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support, Thank you for inviting written comments for the hearing record for the House Subcommittee on Worker and Family Support's March 7, 2019 hearing entitled "Leveling the Playing Field for Working Families: Challenges and Opportunities." I am submitting written comments on the issue of worker and family support policies, such as paid family leave and affordable childcare.

As Co-Director of the AEI-Brookings Working Group on paid family and medical leave, I have been researching paid family issues for over two years. What is increasingly clear is the need to address these policies in a thoughtful manner, so that the benefits to workers and their families can be balanced against the costs to employers as well as the government. Designing a policy that meets this balance is critical, since on the one hand, access to these policies has the potential to boost labor force participation and wages, for workers, and thereby boost economic growth. However, if employers are overly burdened by the costs, it may also discourage the hiring of workers who are likely to take advantage of these policies. It is this kind of debate within the AEI-Brookings Working Group that lead us to propose a compromise paid leave plan, which I present later in this written statement for the record. I begin my statement by highlighting the need for paid leave policies and the lessons learned from existing research on these policies at the state-level. I then discuss the disparities in access to paid leave, especially between high wage and low wage workers. Next, I turn to the costs on businesses and findings from recent employer surveys. Finally, I present the AEI-Brookings Cost calculator for modeling costs associated with paid leave policies. This is a publicly available, free to use, cost-calculator that is a product of the AEI-Brookings Working Group from 2018.

The ability to take paid leave from work enables employees to address personal needs without fearing a substantial loss of income or employment. As such, paid leave policies can take a variety of forms. The first, paid parental leave, encompasses both maternity and paternity leave and guarantees employees the ability to take a leave of absence to care for and bond with a new child (including biological, adopted, or foster children). Second, paid family care leave enables workers to take time off to care for a seriously ill family member. Third, paid medical leave provides workers with time off to care for their own serious illness or disability.

I. The Case for Paid Leave

Paid Parental Leave

Paid parental leave is beneficial for at least three primary reasons. First, the composition of the workforce and the demands on working families have changed dramatically over recent decades, meaning far more parents are struggling to balance the competing demands of work and family.[i] Second, a growing body of evidence shows children fare better when their parents have access to leave,[ii] and individuals are more likely to take leave when it is paid.[iii] Mothers' leave-taking after childbirth can improve maternal health, and fathers' access to paid parental leave can improve gender equity in the household, fathers' involvement in child care, and outcomes for children. Finally, national economic growth depends on strong labor force participation by both men and women. Paid parental leave enables parents to remain attached to the labor force while they care for and bond with their new children, and it protects against the financial hardship of going without an income during leave.

By improving women's ability to return to their previous employer after taking leave for the birth of a new child, state-level paid parental leave laws in California and New Jersey were associated with increased labor force attachment among women in the months surrounding childbirth.[iv] Lawrence Berger and Jane Waldfogel show that women with access to paid leave are more likely to take longer periods of leave following a birth than women without leave coverage are, but they are also 40 percent more likely to return to work after giving birth than those without access are.[v]

The implementation of California's paid family leave law was followed by a twofold increase in women's use of leave following the birth of a child and a 6 to 9 percent increase in the average weekly work hours of employed mothers with children between one and three years old. While the law's impact on wages is less certain,

earnings likely increased by approximately the same amount as the increase in working hours.[vi] Other work has shown that moderate-length maternity and paternity leave policies (as opposed to extremely generous policies offering several years of leave) are associated with a smaller wage gap between mothers and non-mothers (also known as the motherhood wage gap).[vii] By strengthening an individual's attachment to the labor force, paid leave policies can increase overall labor force participation and the economic growth that results from higher rates of employment. The Council of Economic Advisers suggests that nearly all of the middle-class income growth since 1970 can be attributed to the rise in women's earnings resulting from increased female labor force participation and educational attainment.[viii]

However, while female workforce participation increased dramatically in the last part of the 20th century, the participation rate peaked in the late 1990s and has recently declined. Comparable advanced economies experienced similar surges in female labor force participation through the turn of the century, but America is unique in its recent decline—other nations have continued to experience increasing rates of female workforce participation in recent decades. According to Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Kahn, about 28 percent of the decline in female labor force participation in America relative to other countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) can be explained by the nation's lack of family-friendly workplace policies, including paid parental leave.[ix]

A new paper by Claudia Goldin and Joshua Mitchell examines female participation rates, identifying how women's participation in the labor force evolves over their lifetimes. The paper highlights how long-term participation rates vary for mothers who take paid and unpaid leave compared to those who quit their jobs during pregnancy. The authors show that, 10 years following the birth of their first child, labor force participation rates are highest for women who receive paid parental leave (82 percent) and lowest for women who quit during pregnancy (64 percent).[x] Notably, the authors did not control for characteristics, such as educational attainment, that might determine what type of individual falls into each category. Thus, as the authors say, "it is impossible to infer the impact that paid-leave, or longer protected leave, policies would have on women's employment. But taking leave and staving off quits would appear to increase participation after a birth."[xi]

In the long-run, gross domestic product (GDP) growth is determined by two factors: growth in employment (the number of hours worked across the workforce) and growth in labor productivity (output per hour worked). Declining participation rates are therefore deeply tied to sluggish economic growth. Olivier Thévenon et al. show that convergence of a country's female and male participation rates could increase GDP by 12 percent on average across OECD countries.[xii] Thus, the benefits of paid leave extend beyond those enjoyed by working parents and their children by promoting increased workforce participation and national economic output.

Paid Medical and Family Care Leave

The economic effects of paid leave for one's own illness or to care for another family member have not been studied as extensively as the economic effects of parental leave. Paid medical leave could affect health outcomes, and therefore the cost of illness, through two mechanisms. The direct effect of medical leave is to encourage workers to receive proper treatment for an illness or injury. According to the 2012 FMLA technical report, of those who needed medical leave but did not take it, 52 percent postponed medical treatment, and 50 percent forwent some medical treatment.[xiii]

More recent work has focused on "presenteeism," when an employee goes to work despite having an illness or injury. This can impair employee health and productivity.[xiv] In the case of contagious illnesses (such as the flu), presenteeism also exacerbates the spread of disease, causing additional health problems and productivity losses as other employees become infected. This is particularly relevant to short-term illnesses that might be covered by paid sick leave (instead of slightly longer episodes that would be covered by paid medical leave). However, even in the absence of contagious illnesses, the effects of presenteeism are not negligible. In an analysis of the total costs of chronic health conditions for

Dow Chemical Company, James Collins et al. found that presenteeism reduced an employee's ability to function. Importantly, the productivity loss of presenteeism exceeded the combined costs of absenteeism and medical treatment.[xv] This finding is borne out in other studies, and, in most cases, the overall economic burden of presenteeism exceeds medical costs of the condition.[xvi]

Given its potential to reduce presenteeism, a paid medical leave policy could reduce the productivity losses resulting from health conditions. However, the benefits of paid medical leave should also be balanced against the costs associated with an employee's absence. Elisabeth Fevang, Inés Hardoy, and Knut Røed find that the labor supply of claimants of Norway's TDI is sensitive to the benefit's generosity and that reducing the generosity causes some claimants to transition back to work.[xvii] The fact that workers' leave behaviors are sensitive to the benefit level does not necessarily imply that workers are remaining on leave longer than is medically necessary, but it does imply that policymakers should be sensitive to the incentives embedded in any paid leave policy. In the case of medical leave, a policy's generosity should balance the costs of absenteeism, which increase with the benefit's generosity, against the costs of presenteeism, which decrease with the benefit's generosity.

Moreover, paid medical leave has an additional potential effect on labor force participation. A person who becomes disabled, whether permanently or for an extended period of more than 12 months, can apply for SSDI. However, SSDI essentially precludes beneficiaries from working. Because the waiting period for applicants to receive benefits can take months or years, many of those on the program are reluctant to rejoin the labor force, to avoid the high burden of reapplying for support.[xviii] And for those who do return to work, exceeding SSDI's substantial gainful activity income threshold can cause a person to lose his or her benefits. These barriers are not negligible. For those on the margin of entry into SSDI, the probability of employment is 26 percentage points higher if they do not receive benefits, and the employment effect increases to 50 percentage points for those with less-severe impairments.[xix]

As a greater share of the workforce faces caregiving responsibilities, the overall economic burden of caregiving will likely increase as well. The RAND study discussed previously found that informal eldercare already comes at an opportunity cost of $522 billion annually to caregivers.[xx] By providing at least partial wage replacement to caregivers while on leave, paid family care leave policy could reduce this opportunity cost and enable family members to confront their caregiving responsibilities without a substantial loss in income. Those who reduce work hours to care for a family member on an ongoing basis not only forgo wages but also may lose the opportunity to further advance their careers. Those who exit the labor force to care for a family member lose wages and work-related benefits, and longer periods outside the labor force may seriously diminish work skills.

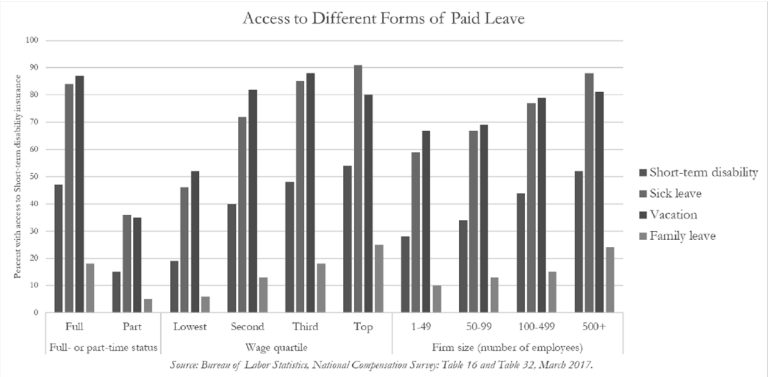
II. Disparities in current access to paid leave

Some American workers have access to paid leave through benefits offered by their employers or because they live in one of the three states that have implemented state paid leave policies. However, access is not widespread, especially for low-wage and part-time workers.

While employers are frequently important sources of innovation, a classic market failure prevents many employers from offering an efficient level of paid leave on their own: adverse selection. If only a few firms offer paid leave, these firms will attract a disproportionate number of "high-risk" employees who are more likely to use the benefits (e.g., women of childbearing age). Employers at these firms might compensate for their larger share of high-cost employees by offering lower wages, leading individuals who are unlikely to use the benefits to avoid these firms.[xxi] For this reason (and likely others), the implementation of paid leave policies at the employer level has been low, with the majority of innovation occurring in high-wage, high-skilled occupations, such as information technologies, where the applicant pool is small and paid leave benefits can be used to attract top talent.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) American Time Use Survey Leave Module, in 2011, 39 percent of respondents reported having some access at their workplace to paid leave for the birth of a child (40

percent of women and 38 percent of men).[xxii] The Leave Module might overestimate access to defined paid leave policies by capturing informal arrangements made between employers and their employees. According to the BLS National Compensation Survey (NCS), 14 percent of all civilian workers have access to paid family leave (defined as either parental leave or family care leave), but this ranges from 4 percent of workers in the lowest 10 percent of weekly wages to 23 percent of workers in the highest 10 percent. Similarly, the bottom 10 percent of workers are about half as likely to receive paid holidays, sick leave, and vacations as those in the highest 10 percent.[xxiii]



Access to all types of paid leave is lower for minority, less-educated, and part-time workers. Access varies significantly by industry, with high levels of paid leave in fields such as public administration and finance (where almost 80 percent of workers have access to paid leave) and the lowest levels in leisure and hospitality, where fewer than one-quarter of workers have access to paid leave.[xxiv]

The disparities in access to paid leave can be explained, in part, by the varying labor market power of workers in different occupations and industries. A recent report from the Boston Consulting Group, analyzing BLS data, found that privately offered paid leave has grown most in sectors that recruit from a small group of highly skilled workers.[xxv]

Hiring and training new workers is expensive; it often costs one-fifth of a worker's salary to replace that employee.[xxvi] In well-paying industries recruiting from small, talented labor pools, these costs may be particularly large and can justify establishing generous paid leave policies in hopes of reducing worker turnover. Additionally, firms in these industries may find it less costly to allow an incumbent worker some paid time off than to take the time and costs necessary to find and train a suitable replacement.

Thus, absent a universal paid leave policy, individuals with the strongest power to negotiate in the workplace are those most likely to have access to paid leave, while those with the weakest labor market power are frequently left behind. A federal paid leave policy would reduce these disparities and ensure that low-wage workers, precisely the group that stands to benefit the most, can take time off from work to confront a family or personal obligation without losing income or, worse, losing their job entirely.

III. The Costs to Business

One potential downside of paid leave is that it may impose financial costs or other burdens on employers. Mandating that businesses allow employees to take time off and pay them during that time off could be costly to businesses, leading to less hiring or higher prices. On the other hand, offering leave to employees allows employers to retain talented workers and forego the cost of recruiting new workers when employees quit because they need such leave. Paid leave policies may also boost employee morale and generally lead to a better and healthier work environment for employees.

Evidence from existing state programs show that employers are not adversely impacted from paid leave programs. Research on employer attitudes to paid leave in Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey showed broad support for the program among small and medium-sized businesses. An earlier survey of the California program by Eileen Appelbaum and Ruth Milkman showed that the vast majority of employers reported minimal impacts on their business operations of the state's paid leave program.[xxvii] In fact, to remain competitive and attractive to employees, especially in an economic situation that has been argued to have reached full employment, businesses often offer paid leave voluntarily. This improves the retention rate of employees and the ability to recruit talent.

Still, paid leave policies should be designed to avoid imposing excessive costs on firms.[xxviii] One way to do this is by using a payroll tax on employees to finance the program. When designing a federal paid leave policy, it is also important to preserve flexibility for both employers and employees and consider how the policy will interact with other labor regulations. If local labor regulations are already burdensome, imposing additional regulatory burdens may be particularly disruptive.

IV. AEI-Brookings Report: Findings and Proposed Plan

The AEI-Brookings Working Group on Paid Family and Medical Leave has been discussing paid leave issues since 2016. The group is comprised of policy experts and academics in the field from across the political spectrum. The efforts of this group have aimed at advancing the discussion about federal paid leave and discussing the design to such a policy. Our work will continue over the next two years.

All members of the working group believe the United States needs a paid parental leave policy. There is little or no disagreement in our working group that the time for the US to adopt such a policy has come. While there are disagreements about the policy's design, how we fund it, how long the leave lasts, who pays, and who is eligible, absolutely no one disagrees that working families in America today need to have access to some paid time off when a baby is born or adopted. It is in the spirit of compromise that we offer a plan that brings together these diverse elements and that could help move the US forward on this issue. Below are the primary principles that the working group highlighted as the guiding framework for providing parental leave.[xxix]

1. Prevent hardship for families at their time of need
2. Labor force attachment
3. Healthy development of children
4. Gender equity
5. Minimal disruptive effects on employers
6. Earned benefits and shared contributions
7. Cost-effectiveness and funding

Using these principles, and after analyzing current proposals, state legislation, and the current research, the working group developed a compromise plan. This plan was no member's preferred policy, but rather a reachable compromise that all members determined was better than no federal plan at all.

A possible compromise might have five elements. First, public paid parental leave would be available to both employed mothers and fathers (with strict eligibility requirements), so that working parents do not need to return to work within days of a child's birth or adoption. Second, any plan would be budget neutral, splitting the costs of financing between a payroll tax and cutting government spending or tax expenditures elsewhere in a way that

does not adversely affect low-income families. We recognize that the federal deficits and debt are on an unsustainable trajectory and that it would be irresponsible to make matters worse. Since the benefit is targeted to working families, we would ask workers as a group to finance part of the plan through a modest increase in their payroll taxes. Third, it would keep the benefits relatively targeted and inexpensive by offering a 70 percent replacement rate up to a cap of $600 per week, for a limited number of weeks (e.g., eight weeks). Fourth, it would include job protection. Lastly, it would require an independent study of the effects of paid family leave to ensure that such a policy is not having significant unintended consequences, such as crowding out existing plans or leading to discrimination.[xxx]

The plan's key elements are its budget neutrality, its extension of benefits to the middle and working class and not just the poor, and its establishment of a floor on the number of weeks of leave provided. States and private employers would be free to supplement this leave if they chose to do so.[xxxi]

In the case of medical leave, we thought that any new policy to address temporary disability should bridge the gap between paid leave for short-term illness (through employer-provided paid sick leave) and longer-term disability coverage (through SSDI). This policy might take the form of a policy that provides paid medical leave alongside paid family leave, or it could be a freestanding paid medical leave or temporary disability policy. In either case, a federal paid medical leave or TDI program should take into account possible reforms to existing disability programs. The program might work similarly to long-standing state TDI programs including carefully crafted definitions of qualifying conditions, medical verification, and duration. Further study would help address what such a program would look like, what it would cost, and how it would interface with sick leave and SSDI.[xxxii]

Finally, on family care leave, we think we need much more research to better help us understand how this type of leave is typically used by families, and what would be most beneficial in terms of a federal policy. [xxxiii]

V. AEI-Brookings Paid Family and Medical Leave Cost Calculator

As part of the *AEI-Brookings Working Group Report on Paid Family and Medical Leave,* we helped produce a cost calculator that can give us a better understanding of the costs associated with paid family and medical leave policies. This is the first time that collaborators from across the ideological spectrum have come together to produce this type of cost calculator. A report by Ben Gitis, Sarah Jane Glynn, and Jeffrey Hayes gives insight into the cost estimates of paid leave policies. They identify the two components that encompass the total costs of a program: benefit payments and administrative overhead.

Gitis, Glynn, and Hayes estimate the costs of the AEI-Brookings paid family leave proposal, providing a range of estimates. The hypothetical costs vary substantially, depending upon the data source and the program use assumptions. Some estimates use FMLA data and take-up assumption rates, while other sets of estimates use state program use data and take-up assumptions. The disparity in estimates of the same policy highlight the uncertainty in cost modeling, and the importance of identifying interaction factors, similarities to existing programs, and differences in a new federal model, so as to most accurately predict the most likely cost scenario.

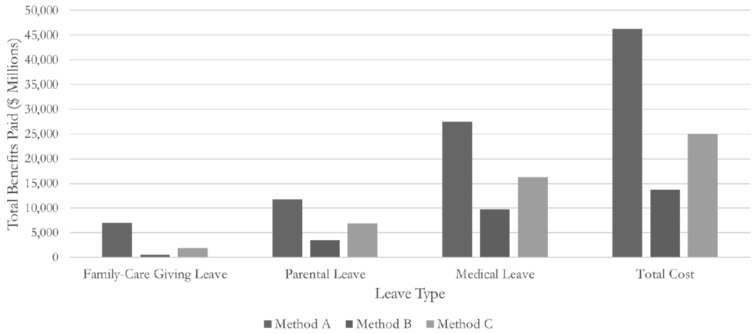
The working group's hypothetical program provides universal access to up to eight weeks of leave for family and medical needs, including parental leave, with benefits paid according to the hypothetical formula—70 percent of usual weekly wages up to a maximum weekly benefit of $600. It can be expected to cost from 0.10 percent of total wages (when patterned on New Jersey's program) to 0.61 percent of total wages (when patterned on the FMLA survey).[xxxiv]

Although the methods result in differing cost estimates, each comes to the same conclusion about the relative magnitude of the three main types of leave: own health, family caregiving, and new child. In

particular, all three find that leave for own health would be the most used and thus costliest provision of the program, with leave for a new child and for family caregiving being used less frequently and thus less costly. All three methods reveal that the majority of workers who would claim benefits from the hypothetical program would do so for their own health reasons.[xxxv]

Similarly, each method finds that program take-up for family caregiving and parental leave would account for a much smaller portion of benefit payments. In particular, leave for the birth or adoption of a child would be the second most common, and thus second costliest, form of leave, and leave to care for an ill family member would account for the smallest portion of benefit payments. Fewer workers have children than experience serious health needs each year, so program participation for parental leave would be low relative to leave for own health.[xxxvi]

Finally, each method finds that leave for family caregiving under the hypothetical program would be the least costly, mainly because of short durations and low take-up. They all find that workers on leave to care for an ill family member would claim benefits for the shortest duration.[xxxvii]



VI. Conclusion

I believe that the AEI-Brookings Working Group reports and discussions will help us move forward on a policy that is of critical importance for working families. By identifying points of agreement and divergence and suggesting areas for further research, we are optimistic that we can help build an evidence-based approach to all three types of leave.

The reports produced by this group demonstrate the importance of this issue and the resolve that has emerged to find a solution that appeals to both the left and the right. Bringing conservative and liberal voices together in this conversation is the most feasible and desirable way to make paid family and medical leave a sustainable reality for America. We hope our work will help policymakers push us forward on this issue.

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[i] See Pew Research Center, "Raising Kids and Running a Household: How Working Parents Share the Load," November 4, 2015, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/11/04/raising-kids-and-running-a-household-how-working-parents-share-the-load/.

[ii] For estimates of the impacts of leave policies on children's health, see Christopher J. Ruhm, "Parental Leave and Child Health," *Journal of Health Economics* 19, no. 6 (November 2000): 931–60, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0167629600000473; Sakiko Tanaka, "Parental Leave and Child Health Across OECD Countries," *Economic Journal* 115, no. 501 (February 2005): F7–F28, http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3590461.pdf; Jenna Stearns, "The Effects of Paid Maternity Leave: Evidence from Temporary Disability Insurance," *Journal of Health Economics* 43 (September 2015): 85–102, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26218984; and C. R. Winegarden and Paula M. Bracy, "Demographic Consequences of Maternal-Leave Programs in Industrial Countries: Evidence from Fixed-Effects Models," *Southern Economic Journal* 61, no. 4 (April 1995): 1020–35, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1060738?origin=crossref&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

[iii] Maya Rossin-Slater, "Maternity and Family Leave Policy," in *The Oxford Handbook on the Economics of Women*, ed. Susan L. Averett, Laura M. Argys, and Saul D. Hoffman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), http://econ.ucsb.edu/~mrossin/RossinSlater_maternity_family_leave.pdf.
[iv] Tanya S. Byker, "Paid Parental Leave Laws in the United States: Does Short-Duration Leave Affect Women's Labor-Force Attachment?," *American Economic Review* 106, no. 5 (May 2016): 242–46, https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.p20161118
[v] Lawrence M. Berger and Jane Waldfogel, "Maternity Leave and the Employment of New Mothers in the United States," *Journal of Population Economics* 17, no. 2 (June 2004): 331–49, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20007911?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
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