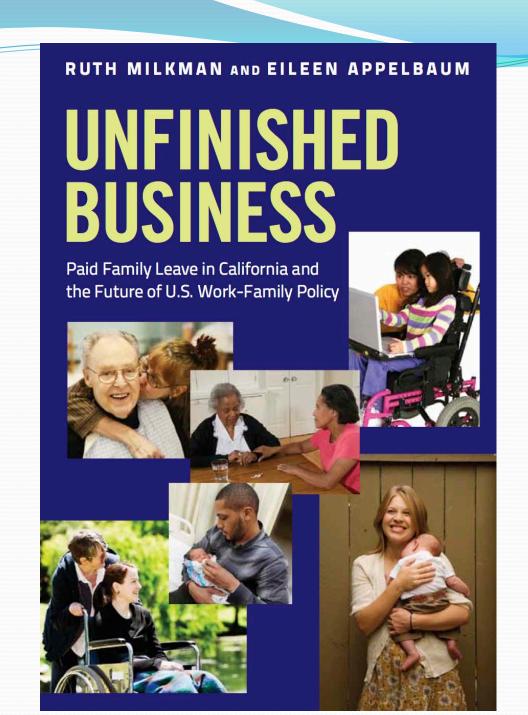
Paid Family Leave: Lessons from California

Eileen Appelbaum, CEPR Ruth Milkman, CUNY Hill Briefing January 30, 2014

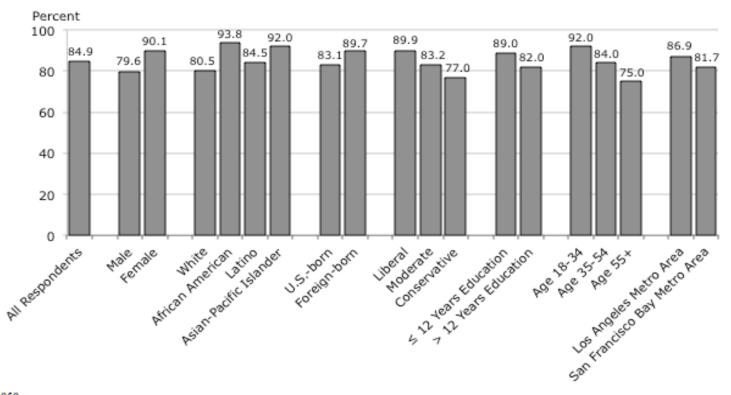


California sets an example for the nation in provision for family leave

- SDI (TDI when first established in 1946), extended to cover pregnancy in the 1970s.
- Only 4 other states and Puerto Rico have TDI; California's wage replacement level is much higher- up to \$1075/wk. Indexed, and longer-up to 52 wks.
- California Family Rights Act (1992); Kin Care (2000).
- 2002, CA became the first state to legislate PAID Family Leave with up to 6 weeks of 55% wage replacement for baby bonding or caring for a seriously ill family member (New Jersey followed in 2008 and Rhode Island in 2013).

PFL: a cross-over issue politically, widely popular (except for organized business)

Figure 3. Support for Paid Leave among California Adults, by Selected Characteristics, Fall 2003.



N=1050

Source: Golden Begg Omnibus Survey, University of California Berkeley Survey Research Center. The figure shows the proportion of respondents in each subgroup who responded "favor" to the question: "Do you favor or oppose the idea of a law that guarantees that eligible workers receive a certain portion of their pay when they take family or medical leave?" For more details on the survey methodology see Milkman and Appelbaum 2004.

Key features of California PFL

- A potential social leveler nearly universal private sector coverage (unlike FMLA).
- No direct cost to employers.
- Modest cost to employees.
- Unlike FMLA, no job protection or continuation of benefits (though many claimants are covered by FMLA or CFRA).
- Gender-neutral, fathers & mothers eligible.
- BUT: take-up rates have been much lower than expected, and awareness remains limited – especially among those who need PFL most.

Funding Source: a payroll tax on all covered workers

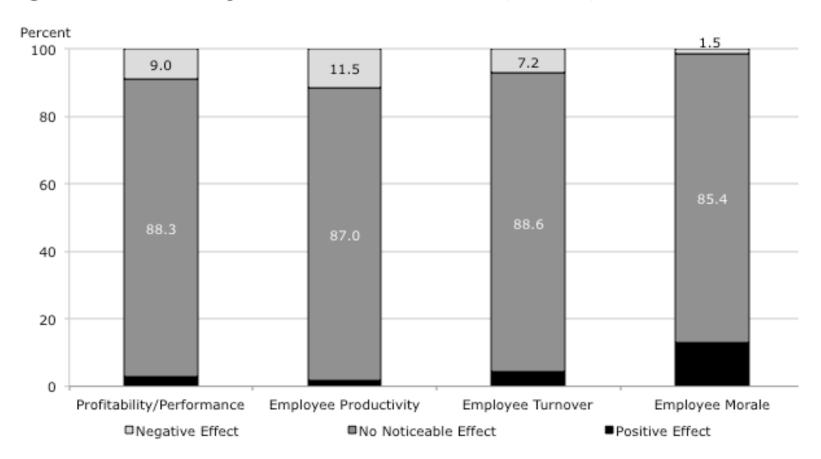
- Both SDI and PFL are jointly funded by a 1.0 percent tax (in 2014) withheld from paychecks of covered workers, on the first \$101,636 in earnings.
 - 2014 max. for an employee is \$1,016.36 or \$20 a week.
 - For \$10/hr. full-time worker, it is \$208 or \$4 a week.
- This is an INSURANCE model, the tax is in essence an insurance premium.
- If it were an employer tax, employers would likely indirectly force employees to absorb cost; political opposition from organized business would be stronger.

Business Opposition to PFL

- While legislation was being debated and after passage, PFL was denounced as a "job killer."
- Business lobbying led to scaling back the original proposal (wage replacement for up to 12 weeks, with costs shared between employers and workers).
- Business voiced concern over high costs of covering the work of those on leave, and about potential abuse.
- Claimed burden would be especially difficult for small businesses.

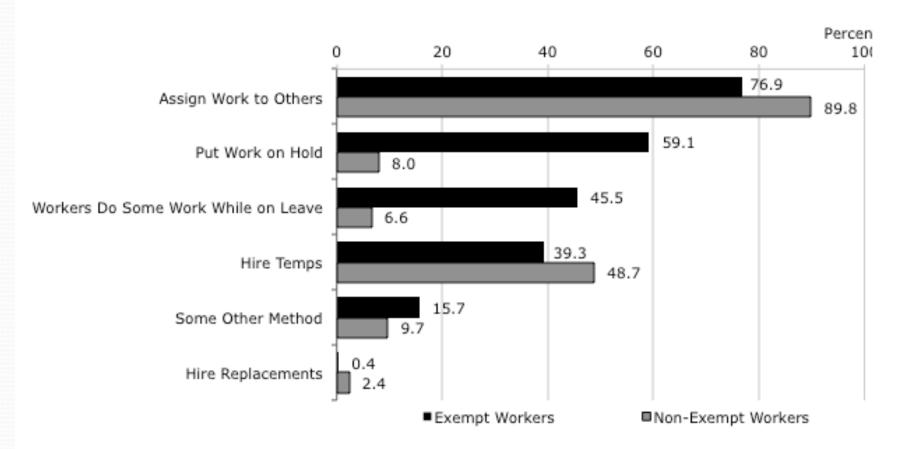
Business Fears Proved Unfounded

Figure 1. Effects of PFL Compliance on Establishment Performance, California, 2010.



Minimal Cost for Covering Work

Figure 2. Method of Covering the Work of Family Leave-Takers, California, 2010.



Fieldwork confirms survey findings

- Unexpected leaves are inevitable, so all organizations have contingency plans.
- Most work covered by co-workers, though for some jobs this is impossible, and costs are incurred.
- Leave policies improve retention and morale.
- Business opposition is more ideological than practical in nature.
- PFL (like FMLA) was a "non-event" for most employers.

Many employers subsidized by PFL

- 87% of employers reported no cost increases resulting from PFL.
- 9% reported cost savings.
- 60% reported that they coordinated their own benefits for exempt workers with PFL; 58% did so for non- exempts – suggesting savings.
- 13% reported extra costs (hiring and training expenses).
- 91% reported no knowledge of PFL abuse.

Turnover and Retention

- PFL use by lower paid workers may increase likelihood of return to work for same employer.
 - 89% who used PFL compared with 81% who did not (statistically in significant difference in this small sample).
- Many employers fail to track full cost of turnover we calculated it based on data from our employer survey.
- Hourly workers: turnover costs range is \$5,394 to \$8,043.
 - Between 17% and 21% of employee's annual earnings.
- Salaried workers: turnover costs range is \$12,625 to \$18,331.
 - Between 22% and 31% of employee's annual salary.

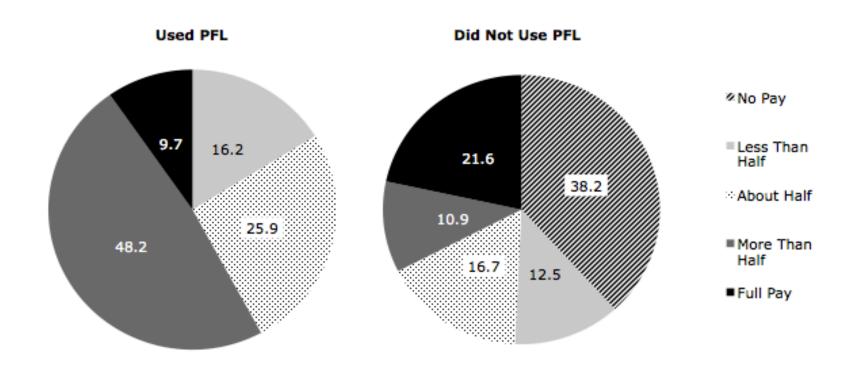
PFL Benefits for Working Families

- Workers who use PFL have higher rates of wage replacement than those who do not –especially low-wage workers.
- PFL users tale longer leaves, and are more satisfied with leave length, than those who do not use PFL.
- PFL users are more likely to return to work for the same employer than non-users.
- Care of new children/ill family members is enhanced by PFL use.

WAGE REPLACEMENT BY JOB QUALITY

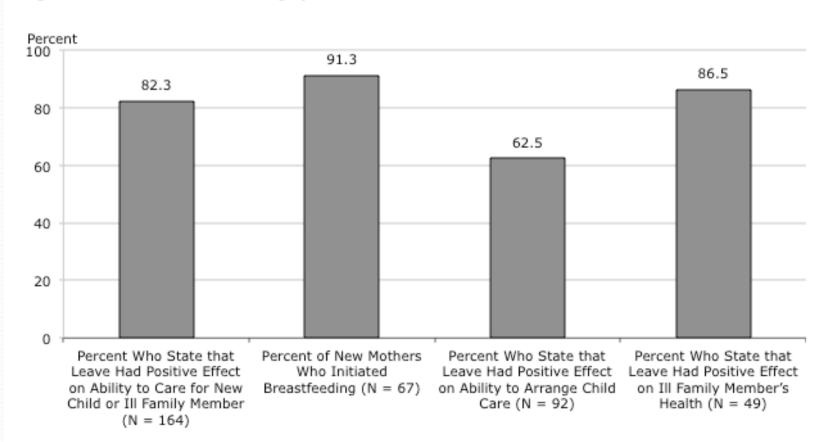
(High-quality job = >\$20/hr + health insurance)

Figure 5. Wage Replacement During Family Leave for Workers in Low-Quality Jobs, by PFL Use, California, 2009–10.



PFL Use – noneconomic benefits

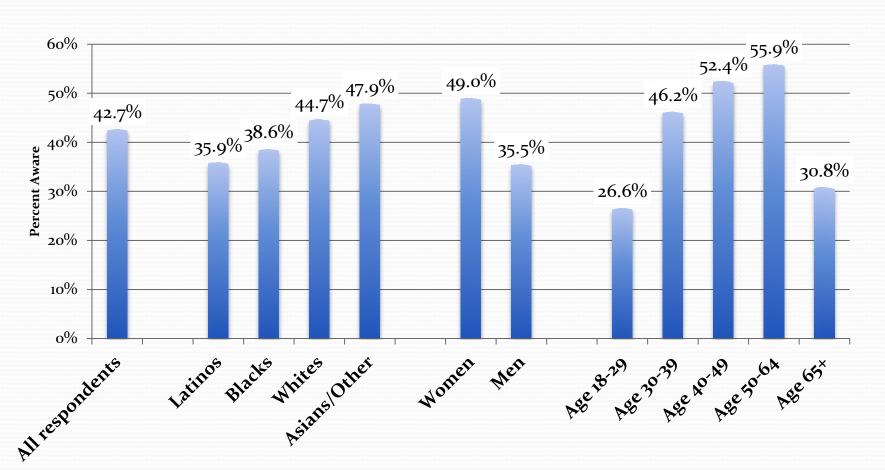
Figure 6. Effects of PFL Use on Employee Outcomes, California, 2009–10.



Note: For median months of breastfeeding, the Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon test was used.

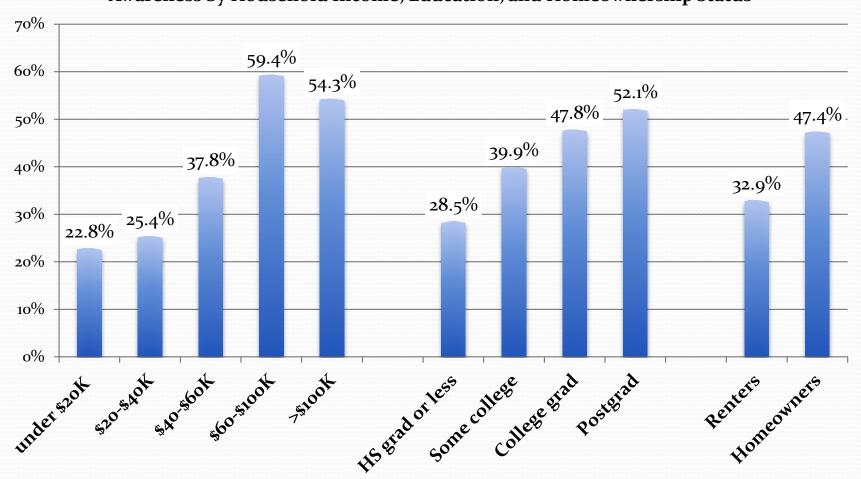
Source: Authors' 2009-10 Employee Survey.

The Challenge: Limited Awareness (2011 Field poll)



Disparities in Awareness (2011)

Awareness by Household Income, Education, and Homeownership Status



Other reasons PFL takeup is limited

- Qualifying events are spread over the life cycle.
- Lack of job protection for those not covered by FMLA.
- Lack of continuity in health coverage for those not covered by FMLA.
- Limited wage replacement (55%).
- For all these reasons, < 5% of 2011 Field Poll respondents had ever received PFL benefits.

WHY PFL-AWARE RESPONDENTS DID NOT USE PFL

(2009-2010 Screening Survey N= 89; not a representative sample)

Respondents – all of whom had a qualifying event - could cite multiple reasons:

- 31% felt the PFL benefit level was too low.
- 31% feared their "employer would be unhappy."
- 29% feared it would hurt their prospects for job advancement.
- 24% feared they would be fired.
- 18% thought it was too much hassle to apply.

Lessons

- No carve outs paid leave can cover virtually all employees with no or minimal effect on business.
- Cover public and private sector employees.
- Outreach is critical especially to low-wage workers, Latinos, immigrants.
- Increase level of wage replacement.
- Extend job protection to all PFML users.
- Expand definition of "family" to reflect diversity of America's families.

Federal Proposal: FAMILY Act

- Up to 12 weeks of PAID leave for worker's own serious illness, including pregnancy/childbirth, baby bonding, or caring for an ill family member – basically like FMLA.
- 66% wage replacement (with cap).
- Would cover all workers covered by Social Security.
- Payroll tax increase of 0.2% for workers and 0.2% for employers would cover program costs (average cost to workers of \$2/week; \$10/hour worker would pay 80 cents/week).
- Administered by by separate trust fund within SSA.
- Introduced in December 2013 by Gillibrand and DeLauro.

FAMILY Act and Access to Leave

- CEPR analysis of 2012 Employee and Workplace surveys:
 - 49.3M private-sector workers (44.1%) not eligible for FMLA, while 55.9% currently have access to job protected leave.
 - Expanding eligibility requirements (30 employees, 750 hours)
 would provide access for an additional 8.3M (7.4%).
 - The result: 63.3% of workers would be eligible for FMLA leaves.
- CAP analysis of FAMILY Act:
 - Between 76.8% and 83.8% of workers would have access to jobprotected family or medical leave.
 - Covered workers would get partial wage replacement during leave.