

Analyzing Racial and Structural Disparities in U.S. Maternity Leave Policies

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Abstract

Maternity leave policy in the United States is a rising social issue for mothers. Contrary to all other developed nations, the United States does not mandate any form of paid maternity leave for new mothers, ensuring financial hardships for women and their families. Current studies have supported the lack of coverage that new mothers receive from their employers throughout the United States. To analyze this disparity, I use data from recipients of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) in 2022. Using different statistical tests, I evaluated the commonalities of diverse recipients receiving paid maternity leave by different variables: income, race and education level. Preliminary analysis suggests positive correlations between the availability of paid maternity leave offered and the race and education level of the recipient, where Hispanics and women with a lower education level are less likely to have adequate access to paid maternity leave compared to their counterparts. This study affirms the disparities that many women face when taking maternity leave, as supported in previous studies, but differs as it focuses on the accessibility of paid maternity leave for specific racial identities and education levels across the United States.

Literature Review

Women in the Workforce

Before recognizing the impact that maternity leave has on the labor force, it is crucial to first understand the role that women had and continue to have in the labor force. Historically, women have made great strides in the labor force. Two centuries ago, women were not in the labor force, instead, they performed domestic activities at home, while their male counterparts went to work (Kossoudji, Dresser, 1992, pp. 432). Over the next few decades, women began working outside of the home, in small industries, where they made small contributions to their families income. Together, women in the mid 1800s comprised just a fraction of the workforce (Bachu, Smith, 1999). Slowly, over the next fifty years, more women began joining the workforce primarily in teaching and clerical positions (Bahn, Jacobs, 2019). While most of these jobs that women first began to hold were heavily gendered and offered little compensation and zero to few benefits, nonetheless, women pursued and continued to work outside of the home.

By the early to mid 1900s, the labor force had shifted. Women not only comprised more of the labor force, but were also working in new occupations. In the early 1900s, women continued teaching, supported male physicians in hospitals, and other gendered careers. This continued for some time, until there was a sudden shift in the workforce composition prior to the start of the second world war. Thousands of men were uprooted from their jobs in factories and enlisted in the armed forces. Consequently, women stepped up and worked in factories during war time (Kossoudji, Dresser, 1992, pp. 431). Even after male workers returned to their jobs in factories and other industries, women continued to join male dominated occupations, causing the overall workforce population to increase. By the year 1940, twenty-eight percent of all American

women were in the labor force, which is a drastic increase from the early 1900s (Bachu, Smith, 1999).

More women continued to join the workforce. Women entered the workforce in an array of careers and occupations. Instead of women slipping into the few open positions available at the time, women elected to attend undergraduate and graduate education programs, which enabled them more lucrative careers (Toossi, 2002, pp. 18). The labor force continued to attract more educated women, as better jobs meant women could earn a greater wage. Soon women inserted themselves in nearly all sectors of the labor force. By the year 1970, roughly four in ten workers in the United States were women (Bachu, Smith, 1999). The increase as seen from the mid 1900s to 1970 was quite significant. More women continued to join the workforce, as they were drawn to the possibility of creating and earning their own source of income, along with additional compensation through benefits.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the rate of increase in the workforce by women slowed due to a number of factors (Toossi, 2002, pp. 15). By the year 1997, sixty percent of all American women participated in the labor force (Bachu, Smith, 1999). The labor participation rate for women did not change much into the early 2000s, and is not expected to change drastically over the next few decades (Toossi, 2002, pp. 15). This is largely due to the greater hardships that women face in the workforce compared to their male counterparts. Not all women face the hardship of starting or expanding their family during their career, but a large majority of women do. This process is extremely challenging for women as they often must take time off from their job, in the form of maternity leave or family leave. Oftentimes, an American mother's maternity leave from her job is unpaid, creating major financial challenges for new mothers. Some researchers even hypothesize that the lack of maternity leave discourages women from returning

to the workforce, which is representative as employers struggle with retention of new mothers (Able, 2017).

Maternity Leave Policy of the United States

The United States is unlike other developed nations across the world, in its inferior access to maternity leave for new mothers. The United States is one of four developed countries that do not mandate paid leave for new mothers (Bell, Shepherd-Banigan, 2015). And it is the only developed nation across the world to not provide government-issued, paid maternity leave. The United States instead has one law regarding family leave, which dates back to 1993 and provides limited, unpaid leave for select new parents (Bachu, Smith, 1999).

In contrast, all developed European nations have mandated, months long paid family leave. Women in the United Kingdom, France, and Australia receive between 14 and 52 weeks of paid maternity leave, which includes job security and wage replacement (Bell, Shepherd-Banigan, 2015). This ensures mothers are compensated with pay before, during, and after their pregnancy, adoption, or other family related absences. Finland is another nation leading the world in comprehensive maternity leave, which provides new mothers with up to three years of job protected leave (Neckermann, 2017). The government mandated leave also includes 320 days of paid leave, which is given to the mother or more commonly split between the two parents (Neckermann, 2017). Finnish maternity leave, provided by the state, allows for women to receive pay during their maternity leave, regardless of their employment status, unlike the United States.

Instead of mandated paid maternity leave in the United States, U.S. law only grants leave for new mothers and protects their employment for women while they take maternity leave. The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) signed into law by the Clinton Administration in 1993,

grants eligible employers twelve work weeks of unpaid leave in a one-year time period (Jones, Wilcher, 2024). This means eligible employees are allowed to take twelve unpaid weeks off from their employment for family or medical reasons, i.e. being pregnant, adopting a child, or caring for a newborn. The FMLA protects women's careers because employees cannot be terminated for taking their twelve weeks of unpaid leave, nor can they face repercussions for taking it (Bachu, Smith, 1999). However, it is estimated that only half of all U.S. workers qualify for leave, which includes only 20% of new mothers (Neckermann, 2017). This is shockingly low as the FMLA does not include small businesses of 50 employees or less, nor does it include part-time workers who work less than an estimated 25 hours a week (Jones, Wilcher, 2024). Ultimately, the Family and Medical Leave Act fails to provide ample maternity leave for United States mothers.

Since the passing of the FMLA in 1993, there has been little progress in parental leave. Individual states have enacted laws to provide better maternity leave for its most vulnerable residents. California is one of these states, which adopted paid family leave in 2004 (Jones, Wilcher, 2024). Paid family leave, also referred to as PFL, is the universal term that covers biological mothers, adoptive mothers, foster mothers, and all fathers alike. PFL was initially created for low-income workers who could not afford to take unpaid family leave. Workers do not receive full paid leave, but rather receive a comparable wage for up to eight weeks (Jones, Wilcher, 2024). California, along with 13 other states have PFL in place to provide some workers with wages on a needs basis. Given that only 14 states and the District of Columbia provide PFL, in addition to FMLA, millions of mothers across the United States receive little to no maternity leave.

Similar to how California employers provide paid leave options for their employees, more U.S. companies are implementing their own maternity leave policies. Most large companies in the United States operate under FMLA, providing some workers with twelve weeks of unpaid leave. However, only 34% of working parents are eligible to take unpaid leave granted by the FMLA (Jones, Wilcher, 2024). Delivery giant Amazon is an example of an employer who provides their employees with their own form of paid maternity leave. Amazon offers its employees up to 20 weeks of fully paid leave for parents who are the child's legal birth parents and six weeks for non-birthing and adoptive parents ("Amazon Leave", 2022). Amazon is just one of the hundreds of companies across the United States who are providing paid leave for its workers. Given more employers in the U.S. are giving their employees longer paid family leave, a greater number of women are given paid maternity leave across the United States. However, millions of women are still left uncovered by their employer, leaving them with unpaid leave, some at disproportionate rates.

Maternity Leave Recipients

Maternity leave does not cover all mothers in the United States, especially mothers who are marginalized or members of certain minority groups (Bell, Shepherd-Banigan, 2015). There is a stark number of women in the United States who receive no maternity leave at all. The National Compensation Survey (NCS) found that just 15% of U.S. workers have access to paid maternity leave offered by an employer ("Racial Disparities", 2019). That low percentage reveals that very few employers offer paid family leave, resulting in millions of new mothers not having appropriate access to paid maternity leave. Not only do the majority of mothers in the United States not have adequate access to paid maternity leave, but some mothers are disproportionately impacted by their inadequate access to paid maternity leave. Mothers that have inferior access to

paid maternity leave include mothers who have low incomes, mothers who have a lower education level or degree, and Hispanic mothers (Bell, Shepherd-Banigan, 2015).

Another group of women that disproportionately receive only unpaid maternity leave or no maternity leave at all are women with lower levels of education (Bachu, Smith, 1999). The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) covers significantly fewer women with less than a college education compared to higher educated women. Given only 34% of working parents are even eligible to take unpaid leave under the FMLA, millions of working mothers are left uncovered during their maternity leave (Jones, Wilcher, 2024). In contrast, highly educated women, who generally do earn higher incomes, receive more generous leave benefits than lower educated women (Bell, Shepherd-Banigan, 2015). An analysis co-authored by Bell and Shepherd-Banigan, found that 60% of women with post-bachelor degree education received paid maternity leave, compared to a distressing 29% of mothers with high school experience or less.

The NCS indicated that workers who made lower incomes were also less likely to have access to paid leave than those with higher incomes (“Racial Disparities”, 2019). There is a positive correlation between both income and education with paid maternity leave. So, women who have no degrees and generate lower incomes, have lower access to paid maternity leave. It is also true for women who work part-time, as they commonly have lower incomes than women who work full-time, which reduces their likelihood of receiving paid maternity leave (Bell, Shepherd-Banigan, 2015).

Another variable that impacts accessibility of maternity leave is an employee’s race. In the United States, it is illegal for employers to discriminate against employees based on their race, and while most employers do not intentionally do so, Hispanic workers have significantly lower access to leave than their White non-Hispanic counterparts (“Racial Disparities”, 2019).

Hispanics have inadequate access to leave coverage by their employers, which includes sick leave, family leave, and maternity leave. This finding is supported in Model 1 of the American Time Use Survey (ATUS), where only 23.2% of Hispanics had access to paid parental leave, compared to 47.4% of White non-Hispanic workers ("Racial Disparities", 2019). This difference of nearly twenty-eight percent, proves that the difference between Hispanics and White non-Hispanics access to parental leave is statistically significant. The same data collected from the ATUS found that there are also some differences in paid leave access between Black non-Hispanics and White non-Hispanics. However, this difference between the two groups is less dramatic overall. Hispanic mothers are the least likely to be able to access maternity leave during absences, especially paid maternity leave.

The ATUS reveals two potential explanations for Hispanics receiving less access to maternity leave. One, that Hispanics could be concentrated in industries that pay employees low incomes. And two, that Hispanics could have lower education levels. Both these two plausible explanations prompt individuals to have a lower total access to paid maternity leave. This conclusion is made evident in Model 3 of the ATUS, which adjusts for employment characteristics, where still 35.7% of Hispanics had access to paid parental leave, compared to 44.7% of White non-Hispanic workers ("Racial Disparities", 2019). As employment characteristics: part-time, full-time, and type of industry, filtered each racial group in Model 3, there was still evidence that supported that Hispanics have poorer access to paid parental leave. And while the difference was less significant, there still was a nine percent difference between Hispanics and White non-Hispanics. Concluding that race, regardless of industry or type of worker, is yet another variable that impacts what mothers have access to paid maternity leave.

In summary, maternity leave policies in the United States fail to adequately cover mothers, leading to financial challenges felt by families, employers, and the greater economy. Arguably, the lack of maternity leave coverage stunts economic growth, equality, and social progress. Decades of research has revealed that comprehensive maternity leave benefits both employees and employers, yet thousands of American mothers, especially Hispanic and low-educated mothers, have insufficient access to maternity leave. While the impacts of maternity leave have been published, the disproportionality of maternity leave accessibility must be researched further. Specifically, the differential effects that exist amongst different education levels and races. This makes a case that the poor access to maternity leave by education level and race in the United States should be researched more.

Methods and Analysis

Data for this analysis is from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). The SIPP is a representative survey that provides information regarding income, employment, household composition, and government program participation. The United States Census Bureau issues the SIPP and has done so for the past few decades. The dataset used in this analysis is from the panel year 2022. The survey contains thousands of diverse variables to provide researchers with information about respondent's work and lifestyle. Recipients of the survey were prompted by detailed questions regarding employment, income, and other basic demographic information. Recipients of the survey range in age from 15 to 64. Given the vast age difference amongst recipients, not all questions apply to all recipients. For example, a question regarding maternity leave is not relevant for a recipient who has never been pregnant. Instead the recipient is either included as a missing value or abstain from answering the question. In order to further filter the dataset and prevent large missing values, I filtered the dataset to

include only women as my unit of analysis, eliminating men and non-binary individuals from the dataset.

For further analysis I sorted through the questions that regarded maternity leave. I also used some basic demographics like race and education level to determine the variations and frequencies of women receiving different types of maternity leave. I continued to filter out questions that did not connect to my hypothesis, and narrowed in on questions regarding maternity leave and background information of the recipient. This led me to include nominal variables, like unpaid or paid maternity leave, and few interval variables, like highest level of education completed, and the income and race of the recipient. The variables regarding demographic information: highest level of education, income, and race of the recipient, are the independent variables. Access to the types of leave, unpaid or paid, is the dependent variable. I was then able to run certain tests to see the rate at which maternity leave is offered and what types of leave are offered and to who. This is represented in hypothesis one. Later, I included the education level along with the race of the recipient to understand the rate at which different mothers receive maternity leave.

In order to understand how certain variables correlate to types of maternity leave, it is vital to first understand the rate at which types of maternity leave are issued. From reading varied sources, I found that within the United States, women generally receive unpaid maternity leave rather than paid maternity leave. This is largely the case because there is no federal law requiring employers to give their employees any length of paid leave. This conclusion reached in the literature coincides with the data in the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP): more mothers receive unpaid maternity leave than paid maternity leave.

(Figure 1)

To represent this commonality, that mothers take unpaid leave more often than paid leave, I performed a frequency test. Figure 1 shows the output of the frequency test. Recipients were asked if they received paid leave or unpaid leave. Those who chose unpaid leave could have also received no leave because their employer did not offer it, they quit, or did not take it altogether. On the contrary, every recipient that received paid maternity leave took maternity leave. Figure 1 shows 35.5% of recipients received paid maternity leave. This means that roughly one in three recipients that had a child or were pregnant, received paid maternity leave. Whereas 64.5% of recipients either received unpaid maternity leave or no maternity leave at all. Figure 1 ultimately highlights that mothers commonly take unpaid maternity leave as compared to paid maternity leave.

Hypothesis One: Among respondents of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), White mothers utilized paid maternity leave at a greater percentage than mothers of other races.

For my first hypothesis, I analyzed the relationships between race and access to maternity leave. I wanted to confirm racial patterns about availability of leave and the race of the recipient. I predicted that White mothers would receive paid maternity leave more than Black mothers, Asian mothers, and Hispanic mothers.

To test this hypothesis, I included two variables: type of leave used after the child was born and the race of the recipient, which included 'White', 'Black', 'Asian', and 'Hispanic'. I chose race as the independent variable to see if the race of the recipient influenced the type of leave given. I wanted to understand if there were any variations in the type of leave received by each racial group. So, I ran a crosstab of the two intersecting variables, which is pictured in Figure 2.

(Figure 2)

(Figure 3)

Figure 3 depicts the race of recipients with the type of maternity leave taken, paid or unpaid, graphically. Also represented in hypothesis one, more women receive unpaid leave than paid leave, across all races. On average, 64.5% of recipients received unpaid maternity leave. This means that regardless of race, nearly two in three women receive unpaid leave. Race influences this significantly. In total, only 50.3% of Asian recipients received unpaid leave, which is by far the lowest percentage of unpaid maternity leave across all women surveyed. Opposite of the total percentage of unpaid leave is the total percentage of paid leave, which similarly, varies by race.

I originally hypothesized that White women would have access to more paid leave. However, this is not supported in the results. Instead, Asian women have the greatest likelihood of having adequate access to paid maternity leave at 49.7% as compared to an inferior 34.3% of White women. White women actually had the lowest access to paid maternity leave. And while White recipients made up 82.74% of total recipients polled, it is important to remember that the sample sizes of Black recipients, Asian recipients, and Hispanic recipients are a large sample size that allows for accurate conclusions. Given the results, White women do not have the greatest access to paid leave, therefore, my hypothesis was incorrect and I should reject it.

Hypothesis Two: Among respondents of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), mothers with higher education levels, will have a higher percentage of paid maternity leave than mothers with lower education levels.

For my second hypothesis, I wanted to understand if other demographics show patterns with the type of maternity leave taken. I wanted to explore the depths of who receives paid

maternity leave and who receives unpaid maternity leave. This led me to create a hypothesis about education and the type of maternity leave taken by the recipient. Given the value of education and monetary value it typically brings with employment, I inferred that the higher the level of education or degree that the recipient has, the higher the percentage of total recipients receiving paid maternity leave would be.

For this hypothesis, I created a crosstabs of the type of maternity leave used after the child was born, which was either paid or unpaid, and the highest level of school completed or degree achieved. Again, recipients who took unpaid leave did not necessarily take maternity leave, as they could have not been offered leave, quit, or been let go. Recipients were categorized amongst five education and degree categories: 'Some High School', 'GED', 'Some College', 'College Degree', and 'Graduate Degree'. Recipients are divided into each column, which consists of the independent variable: highest level of education or degree achieved. The dependent variable is the type of leave the recipient took, which is labeled as 'Paid Leave' and 'Unpaid Leave'.

(Figure 4)

Figure 4 represents the variables run as a cross tabulation with the highest level of education acting as the independent variable on the x-axis. This variable is broken into five categories, which gives a divided percentage of how many recipients received paid maternity leave as compared to how many recipients received unpaid maternity leave. As expected, women with some highschool experience hold the lowest total percentage of paid maternity leave at just 17.4%. I hypothesized this, as there is generally a positive correlation between education and income. The greater the recipient's education or degree is, the greater the likelihood is for her to receive a larger income. Also likely she receives better benefits like insured paid leave and other

health benefits. It is however important to note that while there may be a correlation between education or the degree a recipient has and the income and benefits their employer provides, it does not mean that the education nor degree directly cause certain types of leave. Instead, I chose the highest level of education or degree completed variable to illustrate if there were patterns amongst the types of maternity leave that recipients receive.

As shown in Figure 4, there does appear to be an increase in the percentage of women who received paid leave as you move right on the x-axis of the graph. Excluding the slight decrease from 'Some Highschool' recipients to 'Some College' recipients. This means that the higher education level or degree the recipients have, the greater the total percentage of those same recipients will receive pay during their maternity leave. Only 20.1% of recipients who completed some college received paid maternity leave compared to 42.5% of recipients who completed a college degree. This is quite significant as there is a twenty percent difference as you move across the table to the right, from some college to college degree. The highest total percentage of recipients receiving pay is also as expected, and are recipients who have a graduate degree or higher. The data supports my hypothesis: women with greater education levels or degrees will indeed receive a greater total percentage of paid maternity leave.

On the contrary, the data also supports the opposing view, where the recipients with a lower education level or degree will receive a greater total percentage of unpaid maternity leave. This is supported in the literature as well, because generally, women who have lower education levels or no degree, tend to receive lower total incomes, along with inferior benefits like unpaid maternity leave. Altogether, the data output coincides with my hypothesis, as women with higher education levels have a higher total percentage of paid maternity leave. Therefore, I can confirm my hypothesis.

Hypothesis Three: Among respondents of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), Black, Asian, and Hispanic mothers will have greater variance across all education levels in their total percentage of paid maternity leave, than White mothers across all education levels.

For my final hypothesis, I wanted to look at the intersectionality of race and education and how they impact maternity leave accessibility for Black, Asian, and Hispanic mothers in the United States. I wanted to understand if there were any discrepancies to accessibility of maternity leave across race and education level. Previous literature published that mothers of color were less likely to have access to paid maternity leave. I used this knowledge to test the disproportionality of White, Black, Asian, and Hispanic mothers' access to paid maternity leave, categorized by education level. I hypothesized that Black, Asian, and Hispanic mothers would have the greatest range across all education levels.

For this hypothesis, I analyzed each race independent from one another. Although patterns did emerge across Black, Asian, and Hispanic mothers, I wanted to look at each race to see the differential impact from one level of education to the next. I created a bar chart where recipients were clustered by race, which included 'White', 'Black', 'Asian', 'White-Hispanic', 'Black-Hispanic', and 'Asian Hispanic'. The clusters of each race display the highest level of education achieved. This included recipients with 'Some High School', 'Highschool', 'Some College', 'College Degree', and 'Graduate Degree'. The percentages of each education level by race was then recorded and displayed clearly in Figure 5.

(Figure 5)

Figure 5 shows the education level of mothers, clustered into race. These two variables: education level and access to maternity leave, reveal a relationship. As education level increases,

so does the likelihood of receiving paid maternity leave. This is evident for almost all races. Only 21.2% of White mothers who completed some highschool received paid maternity leave compared to 29.0% of White mothers who completed some college. Figure 5 demonstrates a clear and consistent increase in percentage of paid leave as the education level also increases. However, this is not the case for other races. For example, only 5.9% of Black mothers who completed some highschool received paid maternity leave. This is significantly lower than White mothers. Not only does this 'gap' exist across races, but it also exists across education levels for Black women. The 'gap' is noticeable for Black mothers that have completed some highschool and Black mothers who completed all of highschool. A total of 32.9% of Black mothers who completed all of highschool received paid maternity leave. There is a 27% increase from one education level to the next for Black mothers. This reveals that a strong relationship between Black mothers' education level and access to paid maternity leave exists.

Not only do low-educated Black mothers have inferior access to maternity leave, but so do low-educated White-Hispanic mothers. Only 16.0% of White-Hispanic mothers who completed some highschool receive paid maternity leave. Whereas 21.2% of some highschool educated White mothers receive paid maternity leave. This significant difference between White-Hispanic and White mothers reveals the limited accessibility of maternity leave that Hispanic women endure.

Another group of mothers that experiences a gap between different education levels are Asian mothers. Only 31.8% of Asian mothers who completed some college, received paid maternity leave. This is relatively the same percentage as White, Black, and Hispanic mothers who have also completed some college. However, the percentage of Asian mothers that receive paid maternity leave nearly doubles when they obtain a college degree. A staggering 59.6% of

Asian mothers who have a college degree, received paid maternity leave. That equates to roughly three in five Asian college-educated mothers to receive paid maternity leave. Consequently, it is evident that a relationship exists between education and access to paid maternity leave for Asian mothers. The higher level of education that an Asian mother has, the greater likelihood of her having adequate access to paid maternity leave is.

Figure 5 shows how predominantly mothers of color (Black and Hispanic) and mothers with a low education level (Some High School or High School) have significantly lower access to paid maternity leave than White, low-educated mothers. It also shows how significant a higher level of education (College Degree or Graduate Degree) is for having increased access to paid maternity leave for Asian mothers. These two observations lead me to confirm my hypothesis.

Appendix

Figure 1: The Type of Maternity Leave Utilized by Mothers

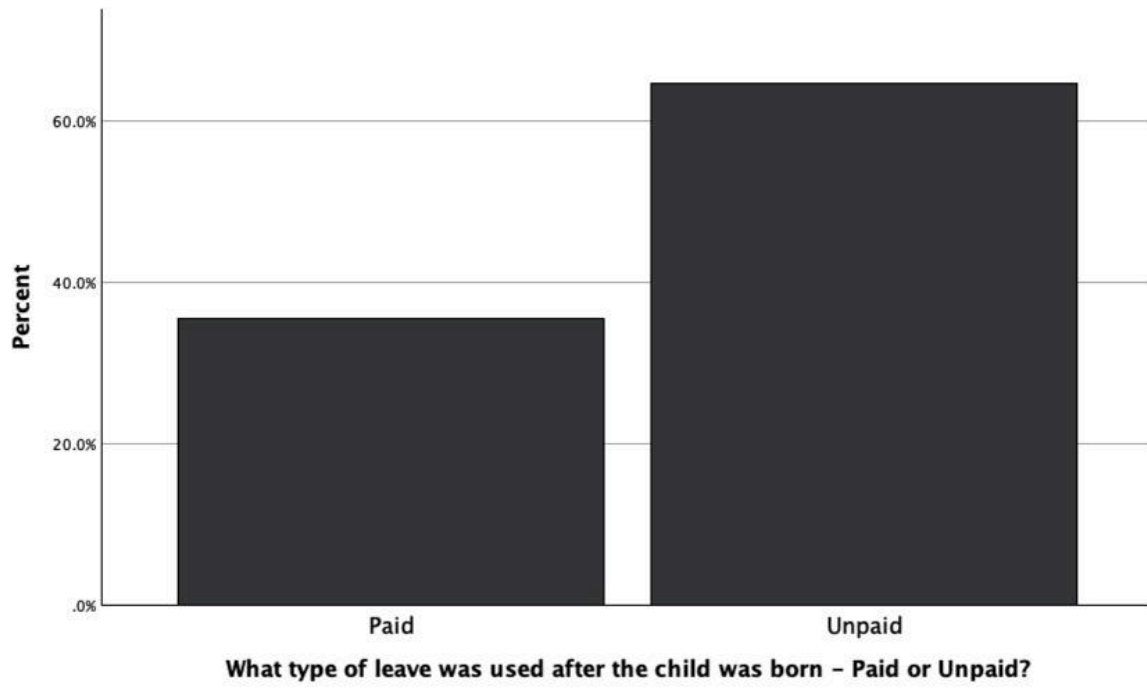


Figure 2: Cross Tabulation Paid and Unpaid Maternity Leave by Race

What type of leave was used after the child was born -- Paid maternity * What race(s) does ... consider herself/himself to be? Crosstabulation

		What race(s) does ... consider herself/himself to be?				Total	
		White	Black	Asian	Hispanic		
What type of leave was used after the child was born -- Paid maternity	Paid Leave	Count	8772	1200	948	492	11412
		% within Race	34.3%	35.0%	49.7%	39.8%	35.5%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	16836	2232	960	744	20772
		% within Race	65.7%	65.0%	50.3%	60.2%	64.5%
Total	Count	25608	3432	1908	1236	32184	
	% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Figure 3: Paid and Unpaid Maternity Leave by Race

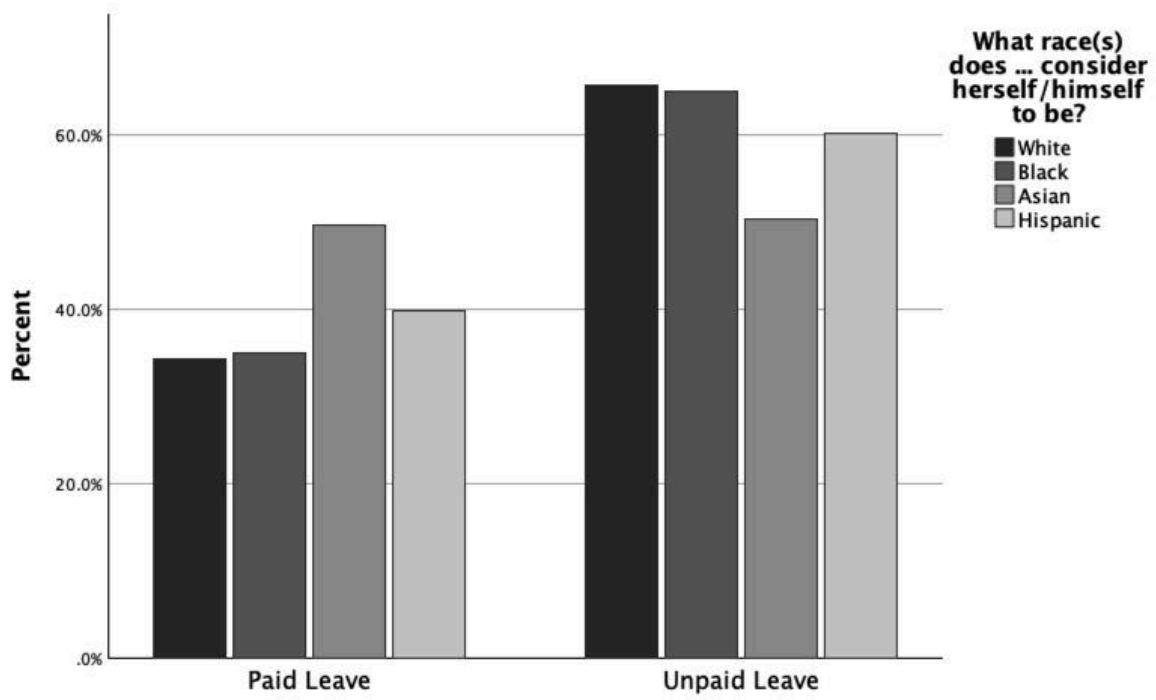
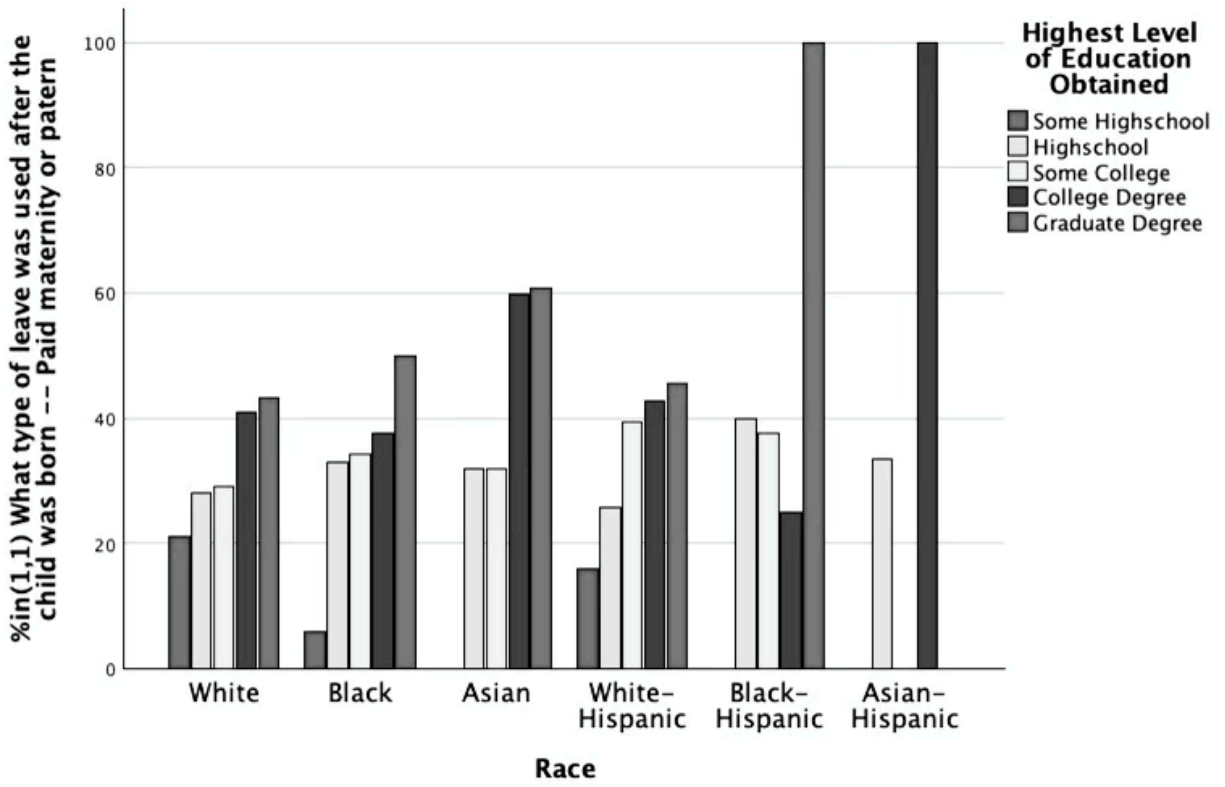


Figure 4: Cross Tabulation Paid and Unpaid Maternity Leave by Race and Education Level

What type of leave was used after the child was born -- Paid maternity or patern * What race(s) does ... consider herself/himself to be? * Highest Level of Education Obtained Crosstabulation

Highest Level of Education Obtained				Race				Total
				White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	
Some Highschool	Paid or unpaid leave after child was born?	Paid Leave	Count	276	12	0	60	348
			% within Race	18.1%	4.8%	0.0%	35.7%	17.5%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	1248	240	48	108	1644	
		% within Race	81.9%	95.2%	100.0%	64.3%	82.5%	
	Total	Count	1524	252	48	168	1992	
		% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Highschool	Paid or unpaid leave after child was born?	Paid Leave	Count	1560	336	108	96	2100
			% within Race	27.5%	33.3%	32.1%	33.3%	28.7%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	4116	672	228	192	5208	
		% within Race	72.5%	66.7%	67.9%	66.7%	71.3%	
	Total	Count	5676	1008	336	288	7308	
		% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Some College	Paid or unpaid leave after child was born?	Paid Leave	Count	2244	384	84	192	2904
			% within Race	30.9%	34.4%	30.4%	42.1%	31.9%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	5016	732	192	264	6204	
		% within Race	69.1%	65.6%	69.6%	57.9%	68.1%	
	Total	Count	7260	1116	276	456	9108	
		% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
College Degree	Paid or unpaid leave after child was born?	Paid Leave	Count	2700	192	420	72	3384
			% within Race	41.1%	36.4%	60.3%	40.0%	42.5%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	3864	336	276	108	4584	
		% within Race	58.9%	63.6%	39.7%	60.0%	57.5%	
	Total	Count	6564	528	696	180	7968	
		% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Graduate Degree	Paid or unpaid leave after child was born?	Paid Leave	Count	1992	276	336	72	2676
			% within Race	43.5%	52.3%	60.9%	50.0%	46.1%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	2592	252	216	72	3132	
		% within Race	56.5%	47.7%	39.1%	50.0%	53.9%	
	Total	Count	4584	528	552	144	5808	
		% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total	Paid or unpaid leave after child was born?	Paid Leave	Count	8772	1200	948	492	11412
			% within Race	34.3%	35.0%	49.7%	39.8%	35.5%
	Unpaid Leave	Count	16836	2232	960	744	20772	
		% within Race	65.7%	65.0%	50.3%	60.2%	64.5%	
	Total	Count	25608	3432	1908	1236	32184	
		% within Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Figure 5: Paid and Unpaid Maternity Leave by Race and Education Level



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