Work as a Social Determinant of Maternal and Child Health

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Session overview

• Maternal and child health – how are we doing?
• Employment vs. employment conditions
• Paid leave as a policy solution – a study of San Francisco’s Paid Parental Leave Ordinance
• Key takeaways
FIGURE 1-6 U.S. female life expectancy at birth relative to 21 other high-income countries, 1980-2006.
NOTES: Red circles depict newborn life expectancy in the United States. Grey circles depict life expectancy values for Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.
SOURCE: National Research Council (2011, Figure 1-4).

NOTE: The average is calculated for the 16 peer countries examined in Chapter 1.

FIGURE 2-3 Global prevalence of preterm births, 2010. SOURCE: Blencowe et al. (2012, Figure 3).

Source: National Research Council and Institute of Medicine (2013)
All race categories exclude Hispanics. Preterm is less than 37 weeks of pregnancy.

Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births), 2013

Source: Free data from gapminder.org

- Black non-Hispanic: highest PRMR*
- American Indian/Alaskan Native non-Hispanic: second highest PRMR*
- Asian/Pacific Islander non-Hispanic
- White non-Hispanic
- Hispanic

*Number of pregnancy-related deaths per 100,000 live births per year

Source: CDC Pregnancy Mortality Surveillance System
66% of women giving birth for the first time were employed during pregnancy.

86% of these women were employed full time.

Source: Lauglin (2011)
Labor force participation rate (%), females aged 25-54

Source: Free data from International Labour Organization via gapminder.org
Figure 4. Percentage of Women Working During Pregnancy and Percentage Working After Their First Birth, by Month Before or After Birth: Selected Years, 1961–1965 to 2005–2007

For information on sampling and nonsampling error, see <www.census.gov/sipp/sourceac/S&A08_W1toW3%28S&A-12%29.pdf>.

As a mom: How much paid leave can you take with your infant?

worldpolicycenter.org

WORLD Policy Analysis Center
Rotating shift work

Fixed night shifts

Working long hours

Heavy lifting

Prolonged standing

Preterm birth

Miscarriage

Sources: Cai et al. (2019); Cai et al. (2020); Croteau et al. (2020); Hamad, Modrek, & White (2018); Pac et al. (2019); Tanaka (2005); Chatterji & Markowitz (2012); Dagher & Dowd (2014); Avendano et al. (2015)
Miscarrying at Work: The Physical Toll of Pregnancy Discrimination

Women in strenuous jobs lost their pregnancies after employers denied their requests for light duty, even ignoring doctors’ notes, an investigation by The New York Times has found.
Low income workers least likely to have paid and unpaid leave

Access to Family Leave, All Civilian Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation average wage</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOWEST QUARTILE</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND QUARTILE</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD QUARTILE</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGHEST QUARTILE</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paid leave as a policy solution?

A study of San Francisco’s Paid Parental Leave Ordinance
Parental leave getting a big boost at S.F. City Hall

By Heather Knight  Updated 8:24 am, Sunday, April 3, 2016

Historic SF parental leave law kicks in

By Emily Green  Updated 9:35 am, Tuesday, January 3, 2017
### 2017 paid parental leave policies in California and SF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CA Paid Family Leave (PFL)</th>
<th>SF Paid Parental Leave Ordinance (PPLO)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effective date</strong></td>
<td>• July 1, 2004</td>
<td>• January 1, 2017 (employers with 50+ employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• July 1, 2017 (35+ employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• January 1, 2018 (20+ employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Benefit amount</strong></td>
<td>• In 2017, 55% wage replacement up to 6 weeks</td>
<td>• 100% of weekly salary, subject to a cap, for 6 weeks bonding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eligibility</strong></td>
<td>• Paid into California’s State Disability Insurance (SDI) program</td>
<td>• Worked for employer for ≥180 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Unable to work for ≥ 8 days due to the need to bond with new child</td>
<td>• Work ≥8 hours/week and 40% time in San Francisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Receiving PFL bonding benefits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Payers and wage replacement rates for postnatal parental leave in San Francisco, California

Source: Goodman et al. (2020a)
Study overview

• Stakeholder interviews: implementation went well
• Employer survey: acceptable (SSM Pop Health, 2020)
• EDD administrative data findings: little effect on leave
• Mother’s survey findings: why? (Health Affairs, 2020)
(1) Early Stakeholder Perceptions

(Semi-structured interviews)
Early Implementation Findings

• PPLO positively received, going well in 2017
• Stakeholders from labor groups and government expressed surprise at lack of opposition from business community
• Credit this to outreach and education efforts
• Government stakeholders convened meetings early on where business groups could inform policymaking process and offer amendments.
The lack of opposition was kind of amazing. There was never a “we can’t do this”; only “these are things to change.”

Labor Advocacy Group

Never wholesale strong opposition but concerns from small business community about what this meant to them from a labor cost perspective and ability to manage requirements; from larger employers, it was more about compliance with local and state requirements. Opposition was not to the policy overall from an objectives perspective, but more focused on what it meant from a cost and implementation perspective. We did work through the legislative process to ameliorate these concerns. This is why the phase-in was added at the end (to give smaller businesses more time to adjust).

Former Aide to Supervisor Scott Weiner
Challenges Identified by Stakeholders

1) Employers say benefits calculations are complicated
2) Tipped worker benefits even more complex
3) Confusion when a worker has multiple employers
4) Delays receiving benefits
(2) Bay Area Parental Leave Survey of 2018 Employers

(N=297 telephone interviews in SF and surrounding counties, with HR rep at employers size 20+)
Over 75% of employers are familiar with PPLO.
Significant increases in employer self-reported paid-parental leave offering (DD = 20 percentage points, wild cluster bootstrap p<.05)
PPLO did not lead to benefit cuts or price increases

- Raised prices: 10%
- Reduced sick or vacation time: 0%
- Converted sick leave to PTO or PPL: 0%
- Reduced paid leave benefits for non-parents: 0%
- Deceased or delayed pay raises or bonuses: 0%
- Changed hiring practices: 0%
- Any change in compensation: 0%

Evaluation options: Yes, No, Don't know.
PPLO did not hurt profits, but helped morale
Firms reported compliance was difficult

- Difficulty understanding legal requirements
- Difficulty understanding responsibilities
- Difficulty administratively complying

- Not difficult at all
- Not too difficult
- Somewhat difficult
- Very difficult
Support for the PPLO, and for Payroll Tax funding

Support the PPLO

- Very supportive: 0%
- Somewhat supportive: 10%
- Neither supportive nor opposed: 20%
- Somewhat or very opposed: 30%
- 40%
- 50%
- 60%
- 70%
- 80%
- 90%
- 100%

More supportive of PPLO if funded by payroll tax instead of mandate

- Somewhat more supportive: 20%
- Much more supportive: 30%
- Somewhat more supportive: 40%
- Would not affect support: 50%
- Somewhat or much less supportive: 60%
- Neither supportive nor opposed: 70%
- Somewhat supportive: 80%
- Very supportive: 90%
- Somewhat or very opposed: 100%

Support for the PPLO, and for Payroll Tax funding
(3) EDD Administrative Data

(claims: counts and duration by sex, county and month)
Males in SF:
13% Increase in Parental Bonding Leave Claims
Females in SF pre-post PPLO:
No Change in Parental Bonding Leave Claims
(4) The Bay Area Parental Leave Survey of 2016 and 2017 Mothers

(n=1304 employed mothers)
Percent of women employed in San Francisco, California, who had knowledge of available maternity leave benefits before versus after the San Francisco Paid Parental Leave Ordinance (PPLO), and source of that knowledge, by Medicaid status, 2016-17

**Source**: Bay Area Parental Leave Survey of Mothers, 2016 and 2017. **Notes**: “Understood benefits” includes respondents who indicated that they understood “moderately well,” “very well,” and “extremely well.” “Employer helpful” includes respondents who said their employer was “somewhat helpful,” “moderately helpful,” “very helpful,” or “extremely helpful” compared with “not at all helpful.” Bars indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Percentages and confidence intervals are from weighted linear probability models (online appendix exhibit A8 contains additional detail; see note 22 in text).
Percent of employees eligible for supplemental wage replacement from the San Francisco Paid Parental Leave Ordinance, by Medicaid status, 2016-17

SOURCE Bay Area Parental Leave Survey of Mothers, 2016 and 2017. NOTES “Among employed, covered” indicates whether the respondent or partner had been employed by a private-sector employer with at least twenty employees for at least eight hours a week for at least six months before the baby was born. Bars indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Percentages and confidence intervals are from weighted linear probability models (online appendix exhibit A10 contains additional detail; see note 22 in text).
Many workers don’t have job protection during leave

Source: Bay Area Parental Leave Survey of Mothers – 2016 & 2017

Notes: CFRA=California Family Rights Act; NPLA=New Parent Leave Act. To meet minimum tenure and hours requirements, employees must have worked for their employer for at least one year and at least 1,250 hours in the past year.
Job Protection Substantially Lower Among Black and Hispanic parents – But SB1383 Helps

Notes: CFRA=California Family Rights Act; NPLA=New Parent Leave Act. To meet minimum tenure and hours requirements, employees must have worked for their employer for at least one year and at least 1,250 hours in the past year.
What contributes to low awareness and confusion?

• Eligibility is limited.
• Enrollment rules are complicated.
• PPLO did not seamlessly integrate with existing state PFL benefits.
• Employers found the PPLO confusing.
• Job protection is uneven.
• Employers were not a reliable source of information for many workers.
How to make paid leave policies more effective?

- Make paid parental leave universally available.
- Unify enrollment through a single government portal by place of residence, with Navigators.
- Allow employers to file claims on behalf of employees, with employee approval.
- Fully pay for family leave from a central, tax-financed fund.
Key Takeaways

• Work a core SDH, but has received little attention
• Impacts span lifecourse, but are particularly acute during perinatal period
• Work-related policies as a strategy to reduce MCH inequities
• Investment in our future: good for workers, good for employers!
Acknowledgements

• Will Dow, Holly Elser, Connor Williams

• Donna Levitt and Ellen Love (San Francisco Office of Labor Standards and Enforcement); Sharon Terman, Jenna Gerry and Julia Parish (Legal Aid at Work)

• Robert Wood Johnson Foundation research grant and Work Family Support Research Hub. The views expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the foundation.
Thank you

For more on our evaluation of the PPLO, visit:
http://www.populationsciences.berkeley.edu/PPLO

Additional resources:
Pregnant @ Work from Center for WorkLife Law at UC Hastings: https://www.pregnantatwork.org/
Extra slides
Difficulty Complying with PPLO

I think the biggest challenge that we have is dealing with the state for both disability and... paid family leave and trying to coordinate pay and make sure our employees are being paid correctly. I feel like maybe 40% of them are not being paid correctly by the state.

And the challenge is that we're happy to supplement but we don't know how much to supplement because getting the information from the state and how much they're being paid, um, has been the hard part. The first five days isn't covered and so we don't know exactly how much is being deducted so we tend to overpay them and then have to withdraw the money back and tell 'em, you know, “We wanna make sure you're whole, but we're not sure what whole means so if we short pay you we'll correct it, if we overpay you we're gonna have to correct it and get the money back.” And it's a hard concept sometimes to explain.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employee at maximum eligible salary ($2209/week)</th>
<th>Full-time employee at SF Minimum Wage</th>
<th>Part-time employee at SF Minimum Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assumed hours/week</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage ($/hour)</td>
<td>55.23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total salary over 6 week leave</td>
<td>$13,254</td>
<td>$3,600</td>
<td>$2,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer's responsibility</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(replacement rate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer cost</td>
<td>$5,301.60</td>
<td>$1,440.00</td>
<td>$723.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total annual payroll for 50</td>
<td>$5,743,400.00</td>
<td>$1,560,000.00</td>
<td>$1,560,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time employees at this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wage level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave cost as % of total</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
<td>0.09%</td>
<td>0.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payroll^4</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave cost/hour, spread across</td>
<td>$0.05</td>
<td>$0.01</td>
<td>$0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all employees</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

1 Maximum salary at which benefits are capped is projected to be $2209/week in 2018.
2 SF Minimum wage will be $15/hour as of 7/1/18.
3 Beginning 1/1/18, California AB908 will increase the state replacement rate to 70% for workers earning up to 1/3 of the statewide average weekly wage (SAWW), thus reducing employer responsibility to 30% for those workers. The 2018 California SAWW is projected to be $1207, 1/3 of which is $402. At the minimum wage of $15/hour that is equivalent to working 26.8 hours/week, or 67% of a 40-hour week.
It's been great, yeah. It's actually been good. We had been looking into somehow providing more benefits; specifically you know, maternity disability. Because that is the norm. The norm was going that way and so we just hadn't really gotten our act together to pull together a policy and this, essentially, helped us get there. So we're really making our employees whole. And we feel good about that.

Human Resources Manager, Staffing Firm
We are parents ourselves. We really believe in the importance of baby bonding and spending time with your young children... finding affordable daycare and child care and all of those things we really support, but we would much prefer to see it on a broad-based small tax that everybody would contribute to a small amount and have it be able to be drawn upon rather than, again, having it be said to the businesses, “You solve this problem. You're gonna take up the rest of what we haven't managed to cover in terms of our state policy.”

Co-Owner, Pharmacy