Can Parental Leave Policies Change Leave-Taking Norms? Evidence from Immigrants*

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Abstract. When a public policy makes it less costly to take maternity leave, take-up rates are likely to increase as a direct consequence of the lower costs, but if enough people take leave, leave-taking may increase further as norms adjust. This paper provides evidence of these indirect impacts by considering how leave-taking by foreign-born mothers in the U.S. respond to maternity leave policies in their home countries. Because immigrants in the U.S. are not exposed to home country policies but do bring with them norms from their home countries, the impacts of additional weeks of paid leave in home countries on leave-taking behaviors of immigrants can be seen as evidence of a role played by norms. Exploiting variation in the timing of emigration in conjunction with the timing of changes in home country leave policies, we show that even in models controlling for country of origin fixed effects, changes in home country policies yield changes in leave-taking among immigrants in the United States. Interestingly, more recent immigrant arrivers are more affected by current day norms in their home countries than the norms associated with the policies in place when they migrated, a finding potentially explained by the increased role of social media in the transmission of norms.

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1. Introduction

Women's choices regarding work and childcare vary remarkably even among mothers facing similar labor market conditions and institutions. Views regarding the appropriate role of women in society and whether specific behaviors are interpreted as signals of a woman's devotion to her child or career can vary dramatically depending on context. This paper considers the role of public policies in shaping social norms focusing on whether changes in maternal leave policies lead to changes in leave-taking behaviors at least partially through changes in norms.

Social norms are behavioral regularities based on shared beliefs about how people should behave. Norms not only differ across societies, but they tend to be specific to different social categories. For example, what is considered an appropriate number of hours for women to work may be substantially different from what is expected from men, especially among new parents, and these expectations differ across countries and across time. Deviations from a society's norms can result in social sanctions, in the form of gossiping or social exclusion, as well as internal sanctions, such as self-imposed guilt and loss of identity. While there is a large and growing theoretical and empirical literature suggesting that gender norms matter and tend to be very persistent (see Guiliano 2020 for a review), much less is known about how they change in general, and very little is known about public policies influence what is considered appropriate behavior for mothers.

Even without changing a society's fundamental values, public policies can shape norms through their effects on the interpretation of certain behaviors. For example, in a country with no federal paid leave taking policy (like the United States), a new mother who is on maternity leave for several months after giving birth may be perceived as less dedicated to her career than a similar mother living in a country with a very generous paid maternity policy (like Canada) who takes the same leave. At the same time, the U.S. mother who takes only a few months of leave after birth would still be perceived as a dedicated mother while a mother in Canada who takes less than a year of leave may not be. In this paper, we provide some insight on whether changes in the weeks of paid leave available to mothers affect people's views regarding

working mothers who do (or do not) take time away from work after having a child, and specifically whether these changed attitudes are enough to change actual leave taking behaviors.

It is generally challenging to empirically identify the impacts of norms. One technique that has been used by researchers to separate the effects of culture from the effects of economic conditions and institutions is to study the behaviors of immigrants and their offspring (e.g. Fernandez and Fogli 2009). When migrants move to a new country, they are subject to the host country's laws and economic conditions but can bring with them their home country's cultural norms. These norms are often transmitted to their children and are sustained, perhaps even strengthened, within ethnic communities.

Our paper explores whether policies can change norms by considering whether immigrants from countries with more generous parental leave policies take more leave after the birth of a child in the United States. An increase in mandated weeks of leave in a person's home country would directly decrease the costs of taking more leave for people in that country leading to longer leaves. In addition, as more women in that country take longer leaves, what it means to be a "good mother" may evolve to include more time away from the workplace after giving birth. At the same time, longer leave-taking may no longer be interpreted as lack of dedication to a person's job or career. While immigrants in the U.S. cannot be directly affected by the policy's decreased costs of taking more leave, their views about the behaviors of a dedicated mother and worker can be affected by home country policy changes. Thus, because immigrants are not eligible for the leave-taking provisions in their home countries, any impact of home country parental leave policies on immigrants' leave-taking behaviors might be interpreted as evidence of the importance of norms in determining leave-taking behaviors.

While a correlation between home country policies and immigrant behaviors might be interpreted as evidence of the importance of norms, it is difficult to determine whether the policies themselves change norms or whether home countries with stronger leave-taking norms enact more generous leave-taking policies. Our main contribution to the literature is to include country of origin fixed effects in our model thereby examining whether *changes* in policies are associated with *changes* in norms among immigrants from the same country of origin. Immigrants from the same country of origin would have similar baseline

views regarding working mothers, but those who had left their home countries before a more generous leave policy was enacted would have less exposure to the new norms generated by the home country policy change compared to those leaving after the policy enactment. To assess whether a policy change might yield cultural change, we exploit variation in the magnitude and timing of changes in the number of weeks of leave available to new mothers in an immigrant's home country in conjunction with variation in the immigrant's year of migration, or in some cases—year of childbirth.

Our primary source of data is the 1990 and 2000 US Census 5-percent Public Use Microdata files along with the 2003-2006 and 2010-2013 waves of the American Community Survey (ACS) all of which were obtained from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) (Ruggles et al. 2015). The baseline sample is limited to foreign-born women who are either working or absent from work (but employed) and whose youngest child is under the age of 1. Information on the total duration of paid leave available (from both maternity and parental leave) in these women's home countries by year is available for the years 1970 to 2013 for 28 countries from the OECD Gender Data Portal (OECD 2017). For our primary specifications, we merge these country-year level data with our individual-level Census and ACS data by country of origin and year of migration so that for each foreign-born new mother in our sample, we can determine how many weeks of paid leave were available to mothers in her home country in the year before she migrated to the United States.

Our first set of results confirm a correlation between home country generosity of leave policies and the likelihood that an immigrant in the U.S. is on maternity leave within the first year after giving birth. To assess whether changes in policies lead to changes in leave-taking norms, we next add country of origin fixed effects to the model. Estimates from models with country of origin fixed effects suggest that as the total duration of paid parental leave available in the country of origin in the year prior to migration increases by one week, the probability of being on maternity leave within the first year post-childbirth increases by 0.12 percentage points. These results predict that there is an 18 percentage point difference in the likelihood of being on leave between immigrants coming from Slovakia, which has the longest average duration of

paid leave weeks and those from Australia, which has the shortest duration. Tests for robustness suggest that these results are not driven by any particular country.

There are two main potential challenges in interpreting these findings. The first is determining whether the changes in leave-taking behaviors among the immigrant women in our sample are driven by changes in norms about leave-taking as opposed to other unobserved characteristics that happens to be correlated with the timing of their arrival in the U.S. relative to the timing of changes in leave policy in their home countries. The second issue is that, even if we were to definitively conclude that the leave-taking behaviors were driven by actual changes in leave-taking norms, it is difficult to determine whether the home country policies changed the norms or whether changes in home country norms caused the policies to change.

While these are two distinct difficulties, the steps we take to show that we are identifying causal impacts of the policies themselves, as opposed to impacts of changes in home country norms that may not be driven by policies, also alleviate concerns about identification more generally. First, we add controls for home country level variables that change over time, such as GDP per capita and female labor force participation rates, to the model. Our main estimates remain the same. Next, we show that our results do not seem to be driven by increased preferences toward traditional family structures. In fact, increasingly generous home country leave policies tend to be associated with decreased fertility rates and delayed marriages among the immigrants in our sample. More generous leave policies have no statistically significant impacts on the likelihood that working age women are employed, and conditional on working, the home country policies are not associated with the likelihood that women work long hours. All of these results suggest that our estimates of interest are not driven by preferences for more traditional families.

In the final section of the paper, we explore how these norms regarding leave-taking are sustained over time and space. In the first part of the paper, we implicitly assume that immigrants are exposed to home country norms before migrating to the U.S., but then after arriving, lose at least some of their connections to the home country. For this reason, we measure home country mandated leaves in the year before migration and link that measure to all women from the same country migrating in the same year

regardless of when they give birth. Another possibility, however, especially given the proliferation of social media and relatively low costs of international travel in recent years, is that immigrants remain tightly connected to norms in their home country many years after migration. If this is the case, then we might expect that home country policies in the year of giving birth matter more for leave-taking behaviors of immigrants than home country policies in the year before migration. To examine this question, we start by including both variables in the same regression. We find that leave policies at the time of migration in general are more influential in leave-taking decisions. However, after splitting the sample based on whether foreign born mothers arrived in the U.S. before or after the year 1992, we show that in recent years, mothers are more the norms associated with the current day policies while mothers in 1980 and 1990 were more influenced by policies in place in their home countries in the year before they migrated.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section, background on parental leave policies in the U.S. and across the world is provided along with a review of the literatures on social norms as well as on parental leave taking. In Section 3, we present the data and descriptive statistics. This is followed in Section 4 with a discussion of our empirical strategies. Our baseline results are shown in Section 5 as are tests of robustness, checks for heterogeneity, and our analyses of how home country norms affect immigrant behaviors. Section 6 explores how changing social connections over time impacts norms regarding family leave. Conclusions are provided in Section 7.

2. Parental Leave Policies and their Impacts

Currently, every OECD country with the exception of the U.S. offers between 14 and 20 weeks of maternity leave with wage replacements ranging from 70 to 100 percent (Ruhm 2011). Additionally, three-quarters of OECD countries provide at least a few days of paid leave specifically for fathers, with 12 countries offering paid paternity leave for 2 months or longer (OECD, 2016). In addition to explicit maternity and paternity leaves, countries also often offer a period of parental leave, which can be taken by either parent. These leaves are often at least partially paid.

The primary source of parental leave in the US is the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Passed by Congress in 1993, the FMLA grants 12 weeks of unpaid, job protected leave a year to employees who meet certain criteria.[1] California, Hawaii, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island currently offer paid leave through their temporary disability programs, five states (California, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Washington, and New York) and Washington DC have explicit paid family leave policies, and three states (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Oregon) have passed paid leave legislation and are currently collecting contributions for the program. Other states do not have paid leave policies, and new mothers must rely on employers to provide paid leave. According to a 2012 survey, 25 percent of working mothers return to work within two weeks of giving birth (Lerner, 2015). As U.S. policymakers at the state and federal level grapple with establishing new parental leave policies, it is important to consider the benefits of more generous leave policies to parents and children as well as the costs to employers, taxpayers, and society more generally, both in the short run and in the long run.

There is a large literature showing that more generous leave policies result in more and longer leaves. Researchers have found increased take up rates and longer leave lengths with the implementation of both unpaid and paid leaves (Han et al., 2009; Rossin-Slater et al., 2013; Bartel et al., 2015).

Several papers find beneficial impacts of more generous leave policies in terms of child health and development. Using several different policy changes in different contexts for identification, leave policies have been associated with decreases in child mortality (Ruhm, 2000; Tanaka, 2005), decreases in low birth weight (Tanaka 2005), and increases in breastfeeding (Baker and Milligan, 2008; Pac et al., 2019) and on-time vaccinations (Choudhury and Polachek, 2019), as well as improvements in elementary school children's health as measured by obesity, ADHD, and hearing-related problems (Lichtman-Sadot and Bell, 2017).[2] There is also evidence that more generous leave policies improve mothers' mental health (Lee et

[1] In order to be eligible for leave, employees must have worked at least 1,250 hours in the previous 12 months and work at a firm with 50 employees or more. Due to these eligibility constraints, only around half of private sector employees are able to take advantage of leave through the FMLA.

[2] Similar to our analysis, Ruhm (2000) and Tanaka (2005) exploit changes in the length of paid leave across countries and time. Baker and Milligan (2008) examine the impact of a policy change in Canada that extended leave duration

al., 2020; Bullinger, 2019). In general, these beneficial impacts were not accompanied by worse labor market outcomes for mothers (Bana, et al., 2017; Waldfogel 1999; Lalive and Zweimuller 2009).[3]

However, other analyses failed to identify these and other positive impacts of leave-taking policies. For example, a policy increasing leave duration from 6 to 12 months in Canada did not result in meaningful improvements in child health (Baker and Milligan, 2008) or in child development (Baker and Milligan, 2010). A policy change in Germany also did not have any long-term impacts on children's cognitive abilities despite resulting in large decreases in the speed at which mothers returned to work (Dustmann and Schonberg, 2012).

Another set of studies identify adverse impacts of parental leave policies. From a theoretical perspective, more generous leave policies, especially when not accompanied by father leave quotas, may result in discrimination against women of childbearing age. Because of depreciation of human capital, especially long leaves may make it difficult for women to return to the labor force at all. A policy expanding leave benefits (without job protection for the duration of the expended benefits) in Germany reduced employment as well as income of mothers six years after childbirth (Schonberg and Ludstek 2014). While job protected leave expansions in the UK resulted in increases in the likelihood of returning to work post childbirth in the short run, in the long run, they led to fewer women holding management positions and other jobs with the potential for promotion (Stearns 2018).

From the perspective of society, sudden and large leave-induced reductions in employment in particular sectors may have unintended negative consequences in particular sectors. Friedrich and Hackmann (2018) show that a parental leave policy in Denmark resulted in a large reduction in employment of nurses which in turn led to worse care provided in hospitals as well as quite substantial increases in mortality rates among old-age residents of nursing homes.

from 6 months to 12 at the end of the year 2000. Lichtman-Sadot and Bell (2017) consider the impact of the California Paid Leave policy.

[3] Waldfogel (1999) considers the impact of the FMLA, Lalive and Zweimüller (2009) exploit a series of reforms granting extensions of leave-length in Austria, and Bana et al. (2017) examine the California Paid Leave policy.

We might conclude from this literature that although there are children and parents that benefit quite substantially from more generous leave policies, there is little benefit in other contexts, and more importantly, there can also be real costs to these types of policies perhaps especially when individuals take longer leaves and when a large number of people in a particular sector take-up longer leaves. Given these costs and benefits, some of which may depend on the length of leave and the number of people on leave at the same time, designing optimal policies can be made very difficult even if policymakers knew exactly when and how new parents would respond to changes in policies. If in addition to this type of difficulty, people respond not only to the direct impacts of policy changes but also to the indirect effects as a result of changing norms, then there may be multiplier effects of policy changes. In cases like this, long run take-up rates may differ quite substantially from short-term take-up rates potentially leading to unanticipated economy-wide disruptions in the long run.[4] In this paper, we do not distinguish between long run and short run impacts. Instead we provide evidence that changes in leave-taking policies can lead to changes in norms, one potential source of multiplier effects.

3. Identity, Norms, and Leave-Taking Decisions

3.1 Conceptual Framework

As discussed previously, norms can be thought of as behavioral prescriptions specific to a person's social category. Culture—those customary beliefs that ethnic, religious, and social groups transmit from generation to generation (Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales (2006)—certainly shape norms, but norms refer specifically to behaviors while culture encompasses behaviors as well as the values guiding prescriptions about behaviors. Failing to abide by the norms of a society can result in external punishments such as social exclusion or shaming, but internal punishments, in the form of guilt and anxiety, also serve to sustain norms.

[4] Despite the implementation of the FMLA and the more generous state-level policies, there has been no increase in leave-rates among mothers in the U.S. in the past twenty years. Although leave rates among fathers have increased threefold since the mid-1990s, even today, very few fathers take more than a couple of weeks of leave after a child is born (Zagansky 2017).

One way to frame internal sanctions is with a model whereby people derive utility by acting in ways that affirm their self-image or identity (Akerlof and Kranton 2000).[5] For the purposes of our analysis, imagine that some women identify as both mothers and workers. There are societal prescriptions for both of these identities in terms of ideal behaviors, and the closer one's behaviors are to these ideals, the higher the person's utility (see Akerlof and Kranton (2000) for a formal theoretical model of this basic idea). For example, working on weekends when necessary may be a prescription for an ideal worker while planning enriching family activities on weekends may be a prescription for an ideal mother. Given their specific time and income constrains, working mothers make time allocation decisions to maximize their utilities which depend on what they perceive as their most important identities as well as the specific prescriptions for these identities.

While the importance of their different identities can be rather stable over an individual's lifetime, society's prescriptions attached to these identities can change in response to changing conditions. For example, a massive marketing campaign during World War II showing women doing factory work without loss of femininity is likely to have changed the prescriptions for a "woman" identity, at least temporarily.[6] In this paper, we assume that a public policy extending weeks of paid leave available to mothers would have the immediate and direct effect of increasing the number of new mothers taking longer leaves. In the next section, we discuss several papers providing evidence of this in different contexts. We then hypothesize that as more new mothers take longer leaves, social prescriptions about what it takes to be an ideal mother and worker will adjust to involve more leave-taking.[7] In the end, leave taking will increase both because

[5] Akerlof and Kranton (2000) use the term prescriptions instead of norms in their seminal paper on identity because, as explained in their footnote ?, deviations from norms can be punished both by society and internally. In their model of identity, people abide by society's prescriptions in order to maintain their own self-concept—not to avoid social punishments. We remain agnostic about whether individuals abide by society's expectations because of internal or external punishments, and so we use the terms norms and prescriptions interchangeably.

[6] This example was taken from Akerlof and Kranton (2000). Interestingly, although the campaign intended to motivate women to join the labor force only temporarily, it had many long run impacts. Sons of mothers who joined the labor force even temporarily during WWII were more likely to have working wives many years later (reference) presumably because having a working mother while they were growing up changed their views on whether an ideal mother/wife works outside of the home.

[7] For our purposes, it actually does not matter if, in response to an extension of weeks of paid leave, notions of the ideal mother change to require longer leaves or if the social sanctions and/or utility loss from failing to take long leaves increase. Either way, society's expectations regarding leave taking adjust in response to the policy.

the direct costs of leave decrease with longer paid leaves and because society will expect longer leaves from new mothers. Women who take shorter leaves will not be viewed as ideal mothers by society and perhaps more importantly by themselves. Using the terminology in Akerlof and Kranton (2000), women taking short leaves after such a policy change would suffer an identity loss from failing to live up to the standards of an ideal mother. At the same time, if in response to the policy change, standards of an ideal worker adjust, then those women who take longer leaves could still be considered dedicated workers. For both reasons, norms will adjust to involve longer leaves.

3.2 Epidemiological Approach

While theories of identity and cultural norms can generate many useful theoretical predictions, it is generally difficult to empirically separate the impacts of culture and norms from the impacts of economic factors (for example, policies extending paid leave) that are correlated with them. To isolate the impact of culture, researchers typically examine whether the behaviors of immigrants vary systematically with the behaviors of people in their home countries—a technique referred to in the literature as the epidemiological approach. Immigrants live and work within the labor markets and institutional structures of their host countries, but their beliefs and values often reflect their origin cultures. While they cannot bring with them the economies and laws of their home countries, they do bring with them home-country norms and often transmit these informal rules of behavior to their native-born children. Thus, immigrants living in the same host country, and so subject to the same economic conditions and institutions, can behave very differently if they come from different source countries and so have different cultures and norms.

Fernandez and Fogli (2009) show that second-generation immigrant women are more likely to participate in the labor market and have higher fertility rates if female labor force participation rates and fertility rates are higher in their origin countries, a result indicative of the role of culture in determining labor supply and childbearing decisions. Similar approaches have been used to uncover the impact of culture and norms on living arrangements (Giuliano 2007), participation in the stock market (Osili and

Paulson 2008), son preference (Almond, Edlund, and Milligan 2013), divorce tendencies (Furtado, Marcén, and Sevilla 2013), smoking (Christopoulou and Lillard 2015), gender gaps in math achievement (Nollenberger, Rodríguez-Planas, and Sevilla 2016), having a mortgage (Rodríguez-Planas 2018), domestic violence (Gonzalez and Rodrigues-Planas 2020), disability insurance take-up (Furtado, Papps, and Theodoropoulos 2020) and even the likelihood of parking illegally on New York City streets (Fisman and Miguel 2007).

Our paper makes two main contributions to this general literature. First, we are among the first to link immigrant behaviors to specific home country policies, as opposed to home country behaviors or self-reported norms. To our knowledge, the only other analysis to do this shows that home country policies regarding the protection of private investment from expropriation increases the likelihood that immigrants in the U.S. participate in the stock market (Osili and Paulson 2008). Their results suggest that laws and institutions can have impacts on beliefs and preferences even for individuals who are no longer subject to those laws and institutions. By examining the impact of mandated weeks of leave available to women in home countries on leave-taking behaviors of immigrants in the U.S, we can examine how home country policies can change general perceptions regarding the virtue of a particular behavior, leave-taking, as opposed to beliefs about the ability of institutions to provide protection against risk.

Our main contribution to the norms literature, however, is in examining how a specific *change* in policy may result in *changes* in norms. Despite the fact that culture is known to evolve in response to globalization, technological change, and socioeconomic development (Inglehart and Weizel 2005), most of the literature tests for the impact of culture using measures of culture that do not change over time. There are a few exceptions. Guiliano (2007) uses two cohorts of second-generation immigrants in the U.S. to explore the relationship between home country norms regarding family living arrangements and whether adult second-generation immigrants live with their parents. Christopoulou and Lillard (2015) show that variation in smoking in the United Kingdom by cohort can predict smoking behaviors of immigrants from the UK in the Australia and the U.S., a result suggesting not only that culture matters for smoking, but also

that smoking culture changes over time. In addition to examining a different outcome, our paper builds on this work by explicitly linking home country *policy* changes to changes in *behaviors* in a host country.

There is evidence that law changes can influence people's attitudes in analyses that do not use the epidemiological approach. Using survey data on attitudes from several European countries and exploiting variation in the timing of law changes, Aksoy et al. (2020) show that granting legal relationship status to same-sex couples led to improvements in attitudes toward sexual minorities. Not only do we consider a very different type of law change, we examine actual behaviors instead of self-reported attitudes. This is important because law changes may affect what people say in surveys---perhaps responding with what they feel are the socially acceptable 'right answers'---without actually changing their true beliefs and therefore behaviors.

In another line of work, several studies have considered how the behavioral-responses of peers to a new leave-taking policy affect people's own leave-taking decisions. Dahl et al. (2014) show that, following a paternity leave program reform, coworkers and brothers of (exogenously determined) initial paternity-leave takers were especially likely to take leaves, and these effects are amplified over time within firms. More recently, Weltcke and Wrohlich (2016) use the same technique to examine the peer effects associated with a 2007 reform to the German leave policy. Their results show that maternal decisions regarding leave length are heavily influenced by the decisions of their coworkers. In both studies, the authors conclude that the main channel behind these peer effects is the transmission of information about the costs and benefits of leave, perhaps especially about how specific employers will react to leave-taking. Our study contributes to the literature of indirect effects of a policy change by considering the impacts of changes in many different policies on a population that is not subject to these policies. In doing so, we are able to isolate the impacts of these policies on changes in norms about leave-taking in general as opposed to information sharing about the details of any particular policy.

In a paper examining how culture, as opposed to information about the reactions to a particular policy, affects labor supply and fertility decisions, Steinhauer (2018) compares behaviors of women born into the French and German language regions at the language border in Switzerland. He documents that

German-born women are substantially less likely to be employed as mothers of young children and more likely to have remained childless compared to their French counterparts on the other side of the border. Since women on both sides of border are subject to the same laws and labor markets, Steinhauer (2018) attributes these differences to the cultural beliefs about whether mothers have an obligation not to work while raising children.

Most similar in spirit to our paper, Mussino, Tervola, and Duvander (2018) consider paternity leaves among fathers in Finland and Sweden, countries with similar economies but different paternity leave policies. The authors attribute differences in paternity-leave take-up among fathers born in the same country but exposed to different paternity-leave policies due to migration to the role of policy. They attribute differences among immigrant fathers who migrated at different ages or who are married to spouses of different origins to the role of culture. Their results suggest that although norms matter for leave-taking, they are less important than policy design. We contribute to this work by considering leave-taking among immigrants from several different origin countries, instead of just one other country. We also examine how changes in policies can change norms even among parents who are not themselves subject to these policies.

3. Data

The data for this study comes from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses as well as the 2000, 2003-2006 and 2010-2013 waves of the American Community Survey (ACS).[8] The sample is limited to foreign born women aged 18 to 64 who are currently employed, whose children were all born in the US, and their youngest child is under the age of 1. These women were most likely exposed to parental leave policies in their home countries but did not experience them firsthand for any of their children.

The Census and ACS do not specifically ask respondents if they are taking parental leave, but they do ask if they are temporarily absent from work in the week prior to the survey. Following Bartel et al. (2018), we use whether the woman has reported being temporarily absent for reasons other than a layoff as

[8] The data was downloaded from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) database (Ruggles et al, 2015). The analysis uses the 5% Census samples, the 0.13% ACS sample for 2000, and the 1% ACS samples beginning in 2005. The 2003 and 2004 ACS samples sample 0.42% of the population.

the dependent variable. Examples of such temporary leaves listed in the survey include parental leave, illness, and vacation. Since the sample is limited to women with an infant in the household, the leave is very likely to be parental leave.

The independent variable of interest is the total length of paid leave available in the country of origin in the year prior to migrating to the US. The data on total length of paid leave by year is available through the OECD Gender Data Portal (OECD 2017). We use the total duration of paid leave variable, which lists the number of weeks of paid leave (both from maternity leave and parental leave) for which mothers are eligible after childbirth. The data is available from 1970 to 2014 for 28 countries.[9]

Table 1 presents summary statistics of the variables relevant to the study by country of origin. The first column shows the average length of leave (in weeks) in each country of origin in the year before migration for the immigrants in our sample. This ranges from 161 weeks in Hungary to 0 weeks in Australia; Australia's paid leave policy was passed in 2011. The second column shows the proportion of immigrants who take parental leave in the US, which varies greatly among countries. For example, Austrian immigrants have the fifth longest average duration of paid parental leave in the sample but only 11% take leave in the US, whereas 40% of Swiss immigrants take leave even though they have the second shortest average duration of paid leave in the sample. These discrepancies suggest that home country policies are certainly not the main determinant of leave-taking among immigrants in the U.S., but they may still play a certain role especially after controlling for other characteristics of these immigrants. For this reason, we turn to regression analysis.

4. Empirical Strategy

To identify how country parental leave policies influence immigrant women's leave taking behavior in the US, we estimate the following linear probability model:

[9] The 28 countries are as follows: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary (beginning in 1985), Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales and "United Kingdom, country not specified"). This data was downloaded from the OECD Gender Data portal (OECD 2017).

$$A_{ijmt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L_{jm-1} + \beta_2 P_{st} + \beta_3 \mathbf{X_{ijmkt}} + \gamma_m + \gamma_t + \gamma_s + \gamma_k + \gamma_j + e_{ijmt}$$

for individual *i*, from country of origin *j*, who migrated to the US in year *m* and was surveyed in year *t*. The dependent variable, *A*, is a dummy variable equal to one if a woman reports being absent from work for reasons other than a temporary layoff during the reference week. The main right-hand side variable of interest, *L*, is the total duration of paid parental leave available in the new mother's country of origin in the year prior to migrating to the US. If the cultural norms associated with home country parental leave policies are important, and immigrants carry them over to the US when they migrate, β_1 will be positive. We control for state paid leave policies with the inclusion of *P*, which takes a value of one if the immigrant's state of residence in the U.S. has paid family leave in the year of the survey.[10] The vector **X** contains controls for individual characteristics such as marital status, age, educational attainment, and English language ability. All models also include year of migration fixed effects, γ_m, to account for differences across arrival cohorts in ways that generate differences in leave taking behavior, and survey year fixed effects, γ_t, to control for broad changes over time in the likelihood of taking leave. In addition to state of residence paid leave policy, our baseline specification also controls for state fixed effects, γ_s.

We recognize that some of the variation in leave-taking behaviors may be explained by whether employer firms offer generous leave policies as an employee benefit. We are unable to link workers to specific employers using our data, and even if we were, it is unclear that we would want to control for a firm's generosity in our baseline specification given that women who plan on taking leave would choose to work in more generous firms. What we do instead is to include occupation fixed effects, γ_k, in our preferred specifications. To the extent that firms with more generous leave policies tend to hire workers in specific occupations, we can gain insight into whether firm characteristics are a driving force of our results by comparing our estimates of interest with and without the occupation fixed effects. Given the possibility that

[10] California implemented paid family leave in 2004, followed by New Jersey in 2009. While other states (Rhode Island, New York, and Washington) also implemented state paid leave policies, these occur after our last year of data and thus are not included in the analysis.

norms-induced preferences for maternity leave drive occupation choice, we may interpret our estimates from models with occupation fixed effects as lower-bounds of the total effect.[11]

The main innovation of our study is its inclusion of country of origin fixed effects, γ_j. The country of origin fixed effects control for any unobservable characteristic which may be correlated with home country leave policies and leave taking in the US. This includes, but is not limited to, the norms regarding leave-taking that stay constant over time. In models with country of origin fixed effects, identification comes from variation in in the year of migration of the immigrants in conjunction with variation in the timing of policy implementation in home countries. For example, Austria, one of the first countries in Europe to implement a maternity leave policy, extended leave from 60 weeks to 112 weeks in 1990 but later reduced leave duration from 112 to 86 weeks in 1996. Thus, women who left Austria between 1990 and 1996 may find it more important, on average, to take time away from the labor force after giving birth than women who migrated after 1996 or especially compared to those who migrated before 1990. In contrast, because Australia implemented its first paid leave policy in 2011, if policies change norms, then we would expect Australians migrating after 2011 to take more leave than those migrating before that year.

The identifying assumption in the model is that, conditional on the covariates included in our model, the timing of policy changes and years of migration can be thought of as exogenous to leave-taking behaviors of immigrants in the United States. Several other papers (Ruhm 2000, Tomaha 2005) have estimated plausibly causal impacts of changes in leave policies by exploiting country-year variation in the timing of leave policies. Our paper takes this approach one step further by combining the variation with the timing of policies in different countries with the timing of migration from different countries. We perform several robustness checks and tests for heterogeneity which will provide support for identifying assumptions.

5. Results

[11] We use the detailed version of 1990 occupation variable for our fixed effects. There are 286 unique occupation codes.

5.1 Baseline

Table 2 presents results for the baseline model. All specifications include the full set of demographic controls, but we gradually add migration and survey year, state, and occupation fixed effects. Without the inclusion of country of origin fixed effects, results in column 3 suggest that immigrants from countries with more generous paid leave policies are more likely to take leave in the US. Specifically, an additional week of home country paid leave increases the likelihood of taking leave in the US by 0.05 percentage points. While the magnitude of this coefficient is small, it is important to note that these home country policies are no longer binding once migrants come to the US, and we interpret the significant coefficient as evidence of parental leave norms influencing leave taking behavior in the US. Additionally, when comparing countries that have the shortest and longest duration of leave in the sample (0 weeks for Australia and 164 weeks for Slovakia), there is an 8.2 percentage point difference in the likelihood of taking leave.

To shed light on whether *changes* in home country leave policies *change* norms regarding leave taking behavior, we add country of origin fixed effects in column 4. The estimated coefficient on home country paid leave is positive, highly significant, and larger in magnitude than the previous estimates. It indicates that a one week increase in the duration of paid parental leave in the year prior to migrating to the US increases the likelihood of taking leave in the US by 0.12 percentage points, suggesting that migrants exposed to more generous leave policies are more likely to take leave in the US than migrants from the same home country who were exposed to less generous policies. For example, Slovakians exposed to 164 weeks of paid leave are 16.6 percentage points more likely to take leave than Slovakians who had only 26 weeks of paid leave available to them. Thus, we believe these results to provide evidence that changes in policies can change norms.

Table 3 explores the robustness of our estimates. Baseline results are replicated in column 1. First, we add state by year fixed effects to the model to explore whether immigrants from countries with more generous leave policies happen to live in states with more generous policies (other than paid leave policies). For example, while all states must adhere to the FMLA, several states offer more generous benefits than the legislation requires, including extending benefits to smaller firms (only firms with more than 50 workers

are subject to FMLA), relaxing work eligibility requirements, or extending the duration of unpaid leave. Results in column 2 show that even with the addition of these fixed effects, the coefficient estimate on home country paid leave remains positive and significant.

Next, we explore sample sensitivity in columns 3-6. We begin by removing Mexican immigrants from our sample; they are the largest immigrant group and there might be a concern that our results are being driven by selection of Mexican immigrants coming to the US in different years. Despite a large reduction in sample size, the coefficient estimate in column 3 remains positive and marginally significant. Lastly, columns 4 and 5 remove the outlier countries in terms of paid leave duration - Hungary, Finland, and Slovakia have the longest duration of paid leave, offering 161, 157, and 150 weeks of leave on average, respectively, while New Zealand, Switzerland, and Australia have the shortest durations, offering 1, 0.3, and 0 weeks of paid leave on average, respectively. When removing these countries from the sample, results are nearly identical to the baseline specification, and therefore we conclude the results are not driven solely by a particular country.

Lastly, another concern might be that our effects of paid leave policy on leave taking may be driven by women who recently became employed to access paid parental leave. Table 4 explores if there is selection into employment by examining the leave taking and labor force participation of women employed within the last five years. If women are simply entering the labor force right before they plan to have children in order to be eligible for paid leave, then we would not expect to see a longer work history. The results in column 3 suggest paid parental leave increases the likelihood of being on leave or out of the labor force for mothers with longer work histories. This evidence is consistent with leave policy changes being more relevant for women with high work force attachment.

5.2 Tests for Heterogeneity by Maternal and Child Characteristics

We also examine the heterogeneity of our results by maternal characteristics. Previous research on FMLA finds married women and college education women are more likely to take leave than their respective counterparts (Han et al, 2009), while more recent research on the introduction of California Paid Family

Leave finds increases in leave taking for unmarried or non-college educated women (Rossin-Slater et al, 2013). Appendix Table 1 investigates the heterogeneity in the effects of norms associated with parental leave by stratifying our sample by marital status and educational attainment. Results indicate that norms regarding home country paid parental leave influence the leave taking of all women, regardless of marital status or educational attainment.

We also explore the heterogeneity in impacts based on child characteristics, such as gender or birth order. Results in panel 1 of Appendix Table 2 shows norms associated with home country parental leave increase the likelihood of taking leave after the birth of the first child, and marginally significant effects for the second or higher parity birth. The second panel of Appendix Table 3 splits the sample by gender of the child. Home country parental leave norms appear to increase the likelihood of taking leave for mothers of daughters and sons by the same amount.

5.3 Home Country Paid Leave or Other Home Country Characteristics?

A potential concern with the analysis is that the timing of home country leave policies are correlated with other time-variant home country characteristics that may be driving our results. While it is impossible to control for all home-country characteristics, we can assess how sensitive our baseline results are to the inclusion of several controls for home country variables that may be of particular concern for our analysis.[12] As a first example, if home country gender norms are changing over time to become more family-centric and less career-oriented, then we may expect expansions in leave-duration as well as increased likelihoods that immigrants in the U.S. take more leave, even if the change in policy itself has no causal impact on norms. A potential measure of increased family orientation relative to career orientation for women is the home country labor force participation rate. The second column of Table 5 adds female labor force

[12] The additional home country variables (female labor force participation and GDP per capita) come from two sources – World Bank data and Our World in Data. The female labor force participation rate is missing for many countries prior to 1990 and so the sample is limited to individuals for which all additional home country variables are non-missing. The first column of Table 4 reproduces the baseline result with this smaller sample, and results remain similar to the full sample. The drastic decrease in sample size is mainly due to missing female LFP data from 1970 to 1990 for Mexico, which is the largest immigrant group in the sample.

participation rates to the model, again in the year prior to the immigrant's migration to the US. Results show that this addition has no effect on leave taking in the US and the coefficient estimate of parental leave norms remains unchanged.

Another potential driver of increased leave policies, specifically paid-leave policies, is whether countries can afford to pay workers while they are at home with their newborns. Richer countries may be more likely to have generous leave policies. At the same time, immigrants from rich countries may only come to the U.S. if they are offered particularly high salaries, and women with high salaries, or even more so women whose husbands earn high salaries, may be more likely to afford extended leaves in the U.S., specifically because extended leaves in the U.S. are typically unpaid. The third column of Table 5 adds GDP per capita in the home country in the year prior to migration to the model as a proxy for home country household income. The addition of this control does not seem to have a large impact on our estimate of the effect of home country norms. The last column of Table 5 adds both home country variables to the model and results do not appear much different than those presented in the baseline model.

5.4 Are These Impacts Causal Effects of Policy Changes?

We now turn an examination of whether home country leave policies specifically affect leave-taking behaviors of immigrants in the United States or whether changes in these policies happen to be correlated with other family or work-related norms of the immigrants. One potential problem relates to the fact that we do not have a perfect measure of maternity leave, we only know whether a person was absent from the workplace in the week before answering the survey. If immigrants who happen to have been exposed to more generous leave policies before migrating to the U.S. are more likely to be absent from work in general, then this might be what is being picked up by our baseline estimates. If instead, the baseline estimates are measuring indirect effects of home country *parental* leave taking policies, then only immigrant women with young children should be impacted by home country parental leave policies. The first panel of Table 6 examines leave taking behavior of women who should not be influenced by the norms associated with home

country leave policies – women with older children and women with no children at all. The impact of home country paid weeks of leave is practically zero and certainly statistically insignificant in both regressions.

Another potential concern is that the leave taking coefficient estimate is measuring the impact of home country norms but that these home country norms were evolving prior to the policy change. In fact, the changing norms may have been what caused the policy to change in the first place. We cannot rule out this possibility completely. However, we argue that a discrete change in leave-taking policy spurs stronger changes in the norms specifically related to leave-taking than norms related to other family-work related behaviors. If changes leave-taking among immigrants in the U.S. are explained by very general changes in home country preferences towards work or family (which might induce changes in home country leave taking policy among other types of policies), then we might see correlations between home country parental leave policies and several other work-family outcomes. If instead, the home country parental leave policy changes themselves change norms specifically related to leave-taking, then we might not see very strong impacts on other work and family behaviors.

To examine this empirically, we start by considering whether exposure to more generous leave policies is associated with preferences for more traditional families. Panel B of Table 6 explores this relationship by estimating the effect of paid parental leave on the likelihood of having a child, of ever having been married, and of being divorced. Results do not suggest countries with more generous paid leave have stronger preferences for traditional family values. While the policies do not seem to be associated with divorce likelihoods, if anything, women with more exposure to longer durations of paid leave postpone starting families, possibly until they could afford to take time off work after childbirth.

Another possibility might be that countries with more generous paid leave have different attitudes regarding work, potentially placing less value on careers for women. If this is the case, we might see immigrants with more exposure to longer leave durations having lower female labor force participation rates or women working fewer hours. As can be seen in Table 6 panel C, we do not find an effect of paid family leave on employment or work hours despite the much larger sample sizes.

6. Changes in Social Connections over Time

As discussed previously, there is no clear choice for when to measure home country parental leave policies. Measuring leave policies years before migration will allow migrants enough time to be exposed to any policy-induced changes in norms before migrating to the United States. At the other extreme, if immigrants in the U.S. continue to have close social contact with people in their home countries, then home country maternity leave policies in the year prior to giving birth, as opposed to migrating, may be what is most relevant for determining leave-taking for the immigrants in the United States.

As shown in Appendix Table 3, home country leave policies in the year prior to migration seem to be the most influential on average, but over time there has been a change in how migrants connect with family and friends in their home countries. The emergence of numerous social media platforms and their growing influence in today's society allows individuals from all over the world to connect with one another. This greatly reduces the cost of staying in touch with peer and familial networks back home for immigrants and can change the norms that influence their leave taking behavior in the US. For example, immigrants coming to the US in the 1970s or 1980s did not have as many opportunities to remain connected with friends and family back home and thus may still associate with the home country norms at the time they migrated. With the introduction and popularity of social media sites and smartphone applications, more recent generations of immigrants have more readily available options to remain in touch with those back home and thus be more informed about current day norms in their home countries.

To test whether current day policies are having relatively stronger impacts in more recent years, potentially as a result of the expansion of social media sites, we control for two parental leave length durations: (1) the duration of paid leave available in the year prior to migrating to the US and (2) the duration of paid leave available in the year in which the respondent was surveyed. We also split the sample based on when the immigrant came to the US. If in recent years, people are more sensitive to current day home country leave policies, we should see that immigrants arriving more recently should be more affected by the survey year policies whereas immigrants arriving many years before internet expansion should be more sensitive to leave policies in the year prior to migration.

Results presented in Table 7 confirm this prediction. Results in column 2 suggest migrants arriving before 1992 are driven by the norms associated with parental leave in the year prior to migration. The coefficient estimate for the policy duration in the survey year is insignificant. For those arriving in the US after 1992 (column 3), the opposite is true. Norms are associated with parental leave in the year prior to migration have no effect on their leave taking behavior in the US, whereas the survey year policy norms have a positive and highly significant effect. Columns 4 and 5 stratify the sample by arrival prior to and after 1996 and a similar pattern holds.[13]

7. Conclusion

When countries expand the number of weeks that parents can take off from work while continuing to get paid at least some fraction of their pre-leave salaries, the direct costs of taking additional leave decrease and so more people take more leave. At the same time, because these country-wide policies can increase leave-taking for a large fraction of the population, they may also affect norms regarding leave-taking after giving birth. As more women take longer leaves, the behavioral prescriptions for an ideal mother or ideal worker change, and when women do not abide by these prescriptions, they can experience both external sanctions and, perhaps more importantly, internal sanctions in the form of guilt and loss of identity.

In general, it is very difficult to distinguish the direct effects of policy changes from the indirect effects via changing prescriptions and norms. This paper aims to separate the direct effects of paid parental leave policies from the indirect effects by examining leave-taking behaviors among immigrants in the United States. The mothers in our sample are all subject to US laws and institutions and so home country policies should not have any direct impacts on behaviors. However, because immigrants typically bring their home country norms with them, home country policy-induced changes in norms can still affect their leave-taking behaviors in the United States.

[13] We see a similar pattern when stratifying based on arrival pre and post 2000, however the decrease in sample size for the sample of migrants arriving after 2000 causes the significance of the estimate for survey year policy norms to be only marginally significant.

Our results indicate that the norms associated with leave taking in the home country are important for explaining the parental leave taking behavior of immigrants in the US. An increase in paid leave in the home country increases the likelihood of taking leave in the US by 0.12 percentage points. We also present evidence suggesting that maternity leave policies have causal impacts on leave-taking norms; it does not appear to be the case that home country leave policies are associated with other types of work leaves among immigrants in the United States. Additionally, there is evidence to suggest leave taking norms are not associated with stronger family preferences, such as higher fertility rates or lower rates of divorce.

We end our analysis of leave-taking norms by examining changes in how norms are transmitted and sustained through the years. Years ago, immigrants would have brought their home country norms with them but while these home country norms may have depreciated as immigrants assimilated to U.S. culture, they would not have changed in response to home country changes in policy post-migration. In contrast, expansions in social media and decreases in the price of international air travel may have allowed for close contact among people living in different countries and so changes in home country norms may spill over to immigrants who have been living in the United States for many years. Consistent with this hypothesis, we find that in models with home country leave policies measured in both the year before migration and the year before childbirth, it is the policy in place in the year before migration that mattered more for immigrants who migrated before 1992 while it is the policy in place before childbirth that matters more for immigrants who migrated after 1992.

Studies utilizing the epidemiological approach caution that this technique tends to bias the results towards finding that culture does not matter (Fernandez, 2010). Immigrants may not be representative of the people of their home countries. Their decision to migrate to the U.S. may be a result of associating more with the norms and culture of the U.S. than with the social conventions in their home countries. Moreover, even if they are representative of their home countries at the time they migrated, they are likely to have assimilated to the norms of the U.S. with time. Both of these two scenarios would make it more difficult for us to detect an impact of norms on leave-taking even if norms do in act play an important role.

Our results have important implications for both the culture and policy evaluation literatures. This study finds that changes in policy can impact and change norms. This is important to consider when implementing new policies because if norms change in response to policies, the long run impacts of policies can be quite different from short run impacts. A new maternal leave policy with relatively low initial take-up can have very high long run take-up rates if, as more people take leaves, taking longer leaves becomes expected of new mothers and is no longer interpreted as a signal of lack of career dedication. In situations where "too much" take-up can unintended harmful consequences, as might be the case with parental leave-taking, the potential for multiplier effects is an especially important issue to consider.

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Table 1: Sample Summary Statistics by Country of Origin

Country	Duration of Paid Leave	Absence	Age	Married	Less than High School	High School Degree	Some College	BA or Higher Degree	N
Hungary	160.72	0.31	32.38	0.92	0.00	0.07	0.42	0.52	21
Finland	157.52	0.21	33.76	1.00	0.00	0.01	0.06	0.93	16
Slovakia	149.92	0.40	34.97	1.00	0.00	0.26	0.21	0.53	10
Czech Republic	141.19	0.30	31.56	0.92	0.16	0.07	0.25	0.52	22
Austria	83.62	0.11	33.63	1.00	0.00	0.07	0.03	0.90	14
Sweden	54.09	0.23	33.18	0.92	0.00	0.03	0.20	0.77	40
Italy	45.48	0.05	32.72	0.89	0.06	0.22	0.31	0.41	133
Norway	42.86	0.14	32.94	0.91	0.04	0.05	0.25	0.66	22
Germany	39.54	0.14	28.87	0.73	0.03	0.16	0.38	0.43	639
Denmark	33.98	0.25	29.84	0.92	0.00	0.02	0.21	0.77	11
Japan	27.77	0.13	30.83	0.92	0.00	0.18	0.37	0.45	286
Canada	27.99	0.21	32.13	0.94	0.01	0.08	0.25	0.66	621
United Kingdom	27.33	0.16	32.35	0.85	0.01	0.12	0.25	0.62	439
France	18.69	0.23	33.15	0.98	0.01	0.03	0.17	0.80	114
Poland	16.44	0.22	31.44	0.92	0.01	0.17	0.36	0.47	254
Netherlands	15.86	0.32	34.17	0.83	0.01	0.06	0.31	0.63	49
Iceland	15.53	0.40	31.22	0.40	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.40	2
Belgium	15.18	0.22	30.94	0.86	0.04	0.04	0.30	0.63	26
Spain	14.79	0.14	32.62	0.89	0.01	0.06	0.17	0.76	96
Ireland	14.23	0.05	37.98	0.90	0.25	0.08	0.30	0.37	78
Greece	14.04	0.13	32.09	0.90	0.02	0.24	0.19	0.54	43
Portugal	13.35	0.17	31.78	0.92	0.10	0.22	0.18	0.50	101
Turkey	12.45	0.28	31.46	0.98	0.03	0.11	0.23	0.63	62
Mexico	11.65	0.14	28.96	0.68	0.43	0.30	0.19	0.09	6297
Korea	3.16	0.14	33.24	0.92	0.01	0.10	0.22	0.67	530
New Zealand	0.90	0.11	32.74	1.00	0.00	0.11	0.05	0.84	19
Switzerland	0.37	0.40	34.41	0.90	0.00	0.08	0.07	0.84	23
Australia	0.00	0.17	33.08	1.00	0.03	0.14	0.19	0.63	62
Total	**16.87**	**0.15**	**29.91**	**0.75**	**0.29**	**0.24**	**0.22**	**0.25**	**10,030**
	(18.78)	**(0.36)**	**(5.78)**	**(0.44)**	**(0.46)**	**(0.43)**	**(0.41)**	**(0.43)**	

Table 1 (Continued)

Country	Number of Children	Does Not Speak English	Speaks English, Not Well	Speaks English, Well	Speaks English, Very Well	N
Hungary	1.54	0.00	0.06	0.05	0.89	21
Finland	1.52	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	16
Slovakia	1.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	10
Czech Republic	1.46	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.96	22
Austria	1.71	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.74	14
Sweden	1.59	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.98	40
Italy	1.64	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.89	133
Norway	1.78	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.91	22
Germany	1.75	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.98	639
Denmark	1.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	11
Japan	1.57	0.00	0.03	0.11	0.86	286
Canada	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.98	621
United Kingdom	1.82	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.99	439
France	1.57	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.93	114
Poland	1.57	0.00	0.09	0.18	0.74	254
Netherlands	1.54	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.97	49
Iceland	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	2
Belgium	1.95	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.99	26
Spain	1.66	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.95	96
Ireland	1.48	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.74	78
Greece	2.17	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.95	43
Portugal	1.54	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.90	101
Turkey	1.52	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.93	62
Mexico	2.26	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.41	6297
Korea	1.62	0.02	0.05	0.16	0.77	530
New Zealand	1.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	19
Switzerland	1.83	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	23
Australia	1.51	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	62
Total	**2.06**	**0.10**	**0.17**	**0.16**	**0.57**	**10,030**
	(1.13)	**(0.29)**	**(0.37)**	**(0.37)**	**(0.49)**	

Notes: Summary statistics weighted using person weights. Countries are ordered by paid leave weeks, defined as the total length of paid leave available (includes both maternity leave and parental leave) in the home country. This variable was gathered from the OECD Gender Data Portal (2016). The other summary statistics were calculated from the 5% Public Use Microdata Sample of the1980, 1990, and 2000 Census and the 2003-2006 and 2010-2013 American Community Survey. The sample is limited to women who are currently employed with an infant in the household who migrated to the United States in 1970 or later. The United Kingdom includes England, Scotland, Wales, and "United Kingdom, country not specified."

Table 2 – Baseline Model

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	0.000547***	0.000565**	0.000539**	0.00120***
	(0.000194)	(0.000208)	(0.000213)	(0.000282)
Paid Leave Policy in State of Residence	0.0544***	0.00855	0.0274*	0.0273*
	(0.00673)	(0.0174)	(0.0138)	(0.0138)
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Migration/Survey Yr FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	N	Y	Y	Y
Occupation FE	N	N	Y	Y
Country of Origin FE	N	N	N	Y
Mean Share on Leave	0.144	0.144	0.144	0.144
Observations	10,030	10,030	10,030	10,030
R-squared	0.027	0.042	0.105	0.111

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. Specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed in the previous year and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household. The home country paid parental leave duration corresponds to the total length of paid leave available in the year prior to migrating to the US. Controls include age, age squared, educational attainment, marital status, and English-speaking ability.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3 – Robustness of Results

	(1) Baseline	(2) State-Year FE	(3) No Mexico	(4) No Hungary, Finland, Slovakia	(5) No Australia, Switzerland, New Zealand
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	0.00120***	0.000996**	0.000766*	0.00114***	0.00124***
	(0.000282)	(0.000365)	(0.000409)	(0.000303)	(0.000274)
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Migration/Survey Yr FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Occupation FE	N	Y	N	N	N
Country of Origin FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mean Share on Leave	0.144	0.144	0.167	0.143	0.143
Observations	10,030	10,030	3,733	9,983	9,945
R-squared	0.111	0.179	0.180	0.111	0.111

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. Specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed in the previous year and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household. The home country paid parental leave duration corresponds to the total length of paid leave available in the year prior to migrating to the US. Controls include age, age squared, educational attainment, marital status, English-speaking ability, and paid leave in the state of residence.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4 – Selection into Employment?

	(1) On Leave	(2) On Leave or Out of Labor Force	(3) On Leave or Out of Labor Force
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	0.00120***	0.000439	0.000800***
	(0.000282)	(0.000467)	(0.000276)
Controls	Y	Y	Y
Occupation FE	Y	N	Y
Sample	Employed (Baseline)	Employed within the last 5 years	Employed within the last 5 years
Observations	10,030	28,624	28,624
R-Squared	0.111	0.339	0.106

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. Specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household and are either currently employed or employed within the last five years. All models include state of residence, year of survey, year of migration, and country of origin fixed effects, along with the full set of control variables.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: Additional Home Country Variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	0.00113**	0.000118**	0.000898**	0.000949**
	(0.000461)	(0.000450)	(0.000426)	(0.000426)
Home Country Female LFP		0.000226		0.00202
		(0.00275)		(0.00272)
Home Country GDP Per Capita			2.89e-06*	2.82e-06
			(1.70e-06)	(1.74e-06)
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y
Migration/Survey Yr FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
State FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Occupation FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Country of Origin FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mean Share on Leave	0.150	0.150	0.150	0.150
Observations	5,433	5,433	5,433	5,433
R-squared	0.147	0.147	0.147	0.147

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. Specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed in the previous year and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household, and include a full set of both controls and fixed effects. Historical data on GDP per capita was gathered from the World Bank and female labor force participation rates were gathered from Our World in Data. The sample size falls due to missing data on female labor force participation.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6 – Placebo Regressions

Panel A: Alternate Sample		
	(1)	**(2)**
	On Leave	**On Leave**
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	0.00004	-0.00001
	(0.00004)	(0.00002)
Controls	Y	Y
Occupation FE	Y	Y
Mean of Dep. Variable	0.019	0.018
Sample	Employed with Children Age 5-17	Employed with No Children
Observations	111,739	256,392
R-Squared	0.019	0.012

Panel B: Family Related Preferences			
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**
	Infant	**Never Married**	**Currently Divorced**
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	-0.000186***	0.000520***	-0.000310
	(5.09e-05)	(0.000119)	(0.000188)
Controls	Y	Y	Y
Occupation FE	N	Y	Y
Mean of Dep. Variable	0.075	0.223	0.062
Sample	Age <45	All Working Age Women	Once Married
Observations	495,505	671,177	521,964
R-Squared	0.022	0.236	0.032

Panel C: Work Related Preferences		
	(4)	**(5)**
	Employed	**Work >50 Hours per Week**
Home Country Weeks of Paid Leave	-0.000952	-0.000119
	(0.000767)	(9.20e-05)
Controls	Y	Y
Fixed Effects	Y	Y
Mean of Dep. Variable	0.506	0.103
Sample	All Working Age Women	Employed and working more than zero hours
Observations	671,177	328,803
R-Squared	0.107	0.045

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. Since the sample varies across each of the specifications, the bottom row in each panel briefly describes the sample of women for each regression. All models include state of residence, year of survey, year of migration, and country of origin fixed effects, along with the full set of control variables.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7 – Social Connections and Culture over Time

	(1) Full Sample	(2) Arrival Before 1992	(3) Arrival 1992 or Later	(4) Arrival Before 1996	(5) Arrival 1996 or Later
HC Paid Leave Yr	0.00116***	0.00216**	-0.000224	0.00121***	-0.00139
Prior to Migration	(0.000279)	(0.000953)	(0.000934)	(0.000280)	(0.00113)
HC Paid Leave in	0.000660*	0.000112	0.00278***	-0.000225	0.00498***
Survey Year	(0.000354)	(0.000277)	(0.000901)	(0.000369)	(0.00148)
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mean Share on Leave	0.144	0.136	0.156	0.135	0.169
Observations	10,030	6,230	3,800	7,589	2,441
R-Squared	0.111	0.168	0.160	0.144	0.186

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. All specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household, and include the full set of both controls and fixed effects. This specification includes the total duration of paid leave in the home country in both the year prior to migrating to the US, as well as the duration available in the year in which respondents are surveyed (which can also be thought of as the current year policy for the respondents).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix Table 1 – Heterogeneity by Maternal Characteristics

Panel 1: Split by Marital Status	**(1)** **Married**	**(2)** **Not Married**
Home Country Paid Leave	0.00117***	0.000640**
	(0.000299)	(0.000261)
Mean Share on Leave	0.150	0.118
Observations	7,966	2,064
R-Squared	0.139	0.261

Panel 2: Split by Education	**(1)** **High School Degree or Less**	**(2)** **Some College or More**
Home Country Paid Leave	0.000939*	0.00143**
	(0.000476)	(0.000550)
Mean Share on Leave	0.119	0.171
Observations	5,259	4,771
R-Squared	0.175	0.154

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. All specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household and include the full set of controls and fixed effects.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix Table 2 – Heterogeneity by Child Characteristics

Panel 1: Birth Order	**(1)** **First Birth**	**(2)** **Second Birth**	**(3)** **Third or Higher**
Home Country Paid Leave	0.00146*** (0.000449)	0.00126 (0.000834)	0.00124* (0.000725)
Mean Share on Leave	0.157	0.140	0.129
Observations	3,878	3,348	2,804
R-squared	0.211	0.287	0.238

Panel 2: Child Gender	**(1)** **Girl**	**(2)** **Boy**
Home Country Paid Leave	0.00137** (0.000568)	0.00114** (0.000422)
Mean Share on Leave	0.137	0.151
Observations	5,104	4,926
R-squared	0.177	0.169

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. All specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household, and include the full set of controls and fixed effects.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix Table 3 – Additional Matching

	(1) 5 Yrs Prior to Migration	(2) 3 Yrs Prior to Migration	(3) 2 Yrs Prior to Migration	(4) 1 Year Prior to Migration	(5) Migration Year	(6) 5 Years Post Migration	(7) Survey Year	(8) 1 Year Post Survey Year
Home Country Paid Leave	0.00147***	0.00110***	0.000967***	0.00120***	0.000871**	0.000396	0.000620*	0.000750
	(0.000436)	(0.000357)	(0.000281)	(0.000282)	(0.000335)	(0.000543)	(0.000354)	(0.000497)
Observations	9,142	9,792	9,935	10,030	10,031	10,025	10,059	10,025
R-Squared	0.119	0.115	0.113	0.111	0.111	0.111	0.110	0.111

Notes: Standard errors clustered by home country. Specifications are conditional on the immigrant mother being employed in the previous year and having an infant (child under the age of 1) in the household. Controls include age, age squared, educational attainment, marital status, English-speaking ability, and paid leave in the state of residence. Year of survey, year of migration, state of residence, country of origin, and occupation fixed effects are included in all specifications.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1