Response to the Request for Information (RFI) from the Bipartisan Bicameral Congressional Paid Leave Working Group on Paid Leave

We commend the Bipartisan Bicameral Congressional Paid Leave Working Group for the opportunity to provide a response to this request for information and hope this helps create solutions that help millions of working Americans around the country. Paid leave is necessary for all workers, but, in particular, for survivors of gender-based violence who have additional, critical needs. As the Working Group explores paid leave policies, we urge you to include paid safe leave to take time away from work to seek services or safety for workers who are, or whose family members are, victims of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, stalking, trafficking, or other forms of gender-based violence and/or harassment.

The National Network to End Domestic Violence, the National Alliance to End Sexual Assault, and The National Domestic Violence Hotline are organizations committed to preventing and addressing gender-based violence, including domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking.

1. What should the federal role be, if any, in providing, promoting, and/or incentivizing paid leave? And how should this interact with the role of state government programs, and/or employer programs?

Guaranteeing access to paid leave would benefit workers, employers, and our economy, particularly for survivors of gender-based violence. Paid leave should encompass paid family and medical leave, paid sick leave, and paid safe leave. “Safe leave” generally refers to time away from work to address needs that arise in relation to sexual assault, stalking, domestic violence (including family violence), other forms of gender-based violence and harassment, or other forms of violent victimization. Survivors of violence sometimes need time off from work to ensure the safety of themselves and their families as they navigate the aftermath of their abuse. Only the federal government can create a federal baseline policy that guarantees comprehensive paid leave rights to all American workers nationwide. Without a national policy, there are substantial disparities in access, which have only grown in recent years. Existing solutions based on where employees work or who they work for have not created access for all, and it is past time for the federal government to provide a basic level of benefits to all workers that states and employers can build upon if they so choose.

A universal paid leave program applicable to all working individuals is essential. All Americans will need paid leave at some point in their lives and deserve the peace of mind of knowing it will be there when they need it. For the millions of survivors of gender-based violence, paid safe leave provides ways to navigate safety, time to maintain their economic security, and the chance to find healing. Only through a universal program can we ensure fair and equitable access for all workers.
Federal solutions should heed the lessons learned from long-established state programs. States have provided paid leave for decades through a social insurance approach, delivering benefits that work for both workers and employers at an affordable cost. Eighteen (18) states and the District of Columbia guarantee a right to paid time away from work that can be used for safe leave purposes. Fifteen (15) states and the District of Columbia provide explicit paid safe leave protections under their state-paid sick time laws, though exact coverage varies by state.¹

A lack of federal solutions creates an incomplete and inadequate set of protections, hindering the ability of survivors to get the support they need. Even where they have protections, many survivors are unaware of the availability of paid or unpaid safe leave until it is too late to meaningfully exercise that right.² Thus, the millions of workers whose lives are touched by violence each year in the U.S. are forced to make impossible choices between employment and safety and recovery from violence. **This is why all American families deserve access to paid safe leave in addition to paid family or medical leave.**

2. What types of leave should a potential federal program cover, at what length, and why? How should different types of leave be prioritized? Should different types of leave be treated differently or does doing so create adverse effects?

A federal paid leave program should include paid family and medical leave, paid sick leave, and paid safe leave. Years of experience at the state level have generated important best practices that should be reflected in a federal paid leave program, including:

- **Purposes:** In addition to covering a workers’ own serious health conditions, parental bonding, caregiving for seriously ill loved ones, needs in relation to military deployment, a federal paid leave program should include the needs of workers to address the impacts of gender-based violence including sexual and domestic violence:
  - To seek, receive, or secure counseling;
  - To seek or secure temporary or permanent relocation or take steps to secure an existing home;
  - To seek, receive, or follow up on assistance from an organization or agency providing services to victims;
  - To seek legal assistance or attend legal proceedings, including preparation for or participation in any related administrative, civil, or criminal legal proceeding or other related activities;
  - To seek medical attention for physical or psychological injury or disability caused or aggravated by the covered acts; or
  - Other steps necessary to protect or restore their physical, mental, emotional, and economic well-being or the well-being of a family member recovering from covered acts.
● **Family definition:** A federal paid leave program should have an inclusive family definition, ensuring that workers can care for all those they consider family, including loved ones to whom they may not have a legal or biological relationship. In the context of gender-based violence, victims may be isolated from their biological relations.

● **Wage replacement:** A federal paid leave program should ensure that the wage replacement rate (the percentage of their own income workers receive while on leave) is high enough that workers can afford to use the benefit, particularly for low-income workers or workers with unstable work situations.

● **Duration:** A federal paid leave program must guarantee at least 12 weeks of paid leave which includes the needs of survivors of gender-based violence and harassment.

● **Job protection and Non-Discrimination:** A federal paid leave program must protect workers’ jobs, ensuring that they can return to work following leave and can use their rights without retaliation or interference.

● **Universal coverage:** A federal paid leave program must cover all workers, including employees and independent contractors, part-time and full-time workers, and public and private sector workers, regardless of industry or employer size and should cover all workers beginning from the first day of employment.

● **Safe Leave:** Safe leave should cover leave to address the impacts of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, stalking, family violence, sexual harassment, trafficking, other forms of gender-based violence or harassment, or another qualifying act of violence if the time needed for leave is for the individual or individual’s family member as described above. Future paid leave legislation should include as permissible reasons for taking the leave the various reasons survivors of violence need safe leave and integrate multiple methods of certification of qualifying needs. As survivors experience violence in addition to illness or other conditions, paid safe leave should be considered additive to family or medical leave and articulated within separate leave provision.

3. Please describe your recommended framework/s, focusing on what you believe could be a bipartisan and passable solution/s to expanding paid leave nationally?

To create a bipartisan and passable solution to a national paid leave program, it is essential to consider frameworks which address concerns from both sides of the aisle, including flexibility of the program, coverage, cost allocations including minimizing burdens of employers, timelines for implementation and measures to assess efficacy.

Many states and municipalities have passed paid leave policies with bipartisan support. In Oregon and Maine, both Democrat and Republican members of the legislature voted to support
legislation that called for 12 weeks of paid family leave. Even states that passed programs with support from only one political party have seen their programs continue when political winds shift, which is a testament to their value to working people, businesses, and the economy.

4. Please describe alternative ways any proposed framework can be financed, including possible payfors. What financial mechanisms should be considered to expand paid leave?

The federal government should follow the models of six states (Maine, New Jersey, Connecticut, Oregon, Colorado, Minnesota) that provide paid safe leave protections for at least some survivors through their state-paid family and medical leave laws, through social insurance systems. Note that all six of these states also have paid sick time or paid time off laws, such that workers in those states have additional important protections. These states provide an example of how to include violence survivors in a broader ecosystem of workplace protections.

It bears mentioning that there are some paid leave models that fall short of the well-established and successful social insurance model. Issuing tax credits to companies offering paid leave, creating private family leave insurance products, cutting other vital public benefits to pay for paid leave, and proposals that only cover new parents do not offer the meaningful financial support necessary to meet the wide-ranging needs of those who need paid leave options.

5. How can proposed paid leave frameworks avoid creating unintended distortions, such as marriage penalties, reductions of private sector paid leave coverage, etc.?

Avoiding unintended distortions is incredibly important for survivors of gender-based violence as marital relationships could prove challenging. There should be an individual-based eligibility system that does not implicate households and the framework should ensure that each individual is eligible for leave regardless of marital status.

6. Should government support for paid leave be focused only on the most vulnerable individuals in our society, or on all Americans regardless of means or need?

All Americans deserve access to paid leave, and the most vulnerable individuals may require special considerations such as income assessments and confidentiality practices. Designing a program that works well for the most vulnerable individuals in our society, such as survivors of gender-based violence, also will ensure that it works well for all Americans. Millions of workers experience domestic violence, sexual assault, trafficking, stalking, family violence, and other forms of violence every day. Millions more are supporting family members, grieving the loss of a loved one, or seeking healing and safety due to violence. In 2016, nearly half of all women, more than one-third of transgender individuals, and four out of ten men reported experiencing domestic violence in their lifetime. Across the country, Americans experience rape, trafficking, gun violence, or other forms of violent victimization, at a rate of 23.5 victimizations per 1,000
persons age 12 or older. This violence impacts people in every state and of every race, religion, and socio-economic status. While some communities are at greater risk of victimization, it is imperative that any paid leave program be open to all workers and not be determined by means or need.

8. What does research say about the impact of providing paid leave on worker health, job satisfaction, economic mobility, child development, breastfeeding rates and related health outcomes, fertility rate, infant mortality, elderly health, public assistance levels, family income, and recruitment and retention efforts?

**What the Lack of Paid Safe Leave Means for Families**

Experiencing violence can mean missing work. Without paid safe leave, it also means missing a paycheck. Across the board, those who experience sexual and domestic violence, stalking, and other forms of harassment and violence miss work as a consequence of their experiences. Moreover, many survivors report being demoted or even losing their jobs as a result of absences due to violence and harassment. A 2020 survey found that 76 percent of survivors of domestic violence said that their partners made it hard to keep a job. A 2022 survey of survivors of crime found that one-third reported difficulty with school or work as a direct result of their victimization. One in six survivors of violence lost a job or were demoted due to needing time off work. Another study found that victims who were stalked lost an average of 10.1 days of paid work per year, those who were raped lost an average of 8.1 days per year, and those who experienced physical violence lost 7.2 days per year. Some of those absences may be paid, but many are not, depriving workers of the income they need to support themselves and their families. Paid safe leave will keep survivors in the workforce while limiting the economic harms of abuse.

**Economic Insecurity Endangers Survivors and Community Safety**

A primary reason domestic violence survivors are unable to leave an abusive relationship is a lack of economic security to support themselves. Compounding this, deepening economic insecurity increases vulnerability to violence and makes it more difficult to leave a violent relationship. Survivors of violence are often caught between two barriers; they need work to be able to leave a violent situation, but the violence they’re subjected to severely impacts their ability to work. The consequences of violence compromise economic security—and with it, safety.

Life stressors like job insecurity are among the factors that can increase a survivor’s risk of developing PTSD and can have lasting impacts on employment and housing stability for people who have experienced violent victimization. According to a 2022 survey, more than 9 in 10 people with an arrest or conviction record have been a victim of a crime, compared to less than half of people (44%) who do not have a record. Eighty-six percent of incarcerated women were victims of violence prior to incarceration. Experiencing violence is also a central risk factor for
chronic houselessness and substance-use disorders. These effects are not limited to the survivor but also impact community safety. One study found that more than half (59%) of mass shootings between 2014 and 2019 were related to domestic violence, where at least one of the victims was a partner or family member of the shooter. Thus, providing survivors of violence with adequate time to heal and get to safety is violence prevention and a way to make us all safer.

**Paid Safe Leave Can Make Justice a Meaningful Choice**

The economic impacts of violence also affect a survivor's ability to meaningfully pursue their versions of justice and accountability. Researchers have found that job loss and economic pressure are the primary reasons survivors of violence decline to pursue protection orders and other safety measures. Safe leave promotes consistency and participation in the legal system, giving survivors further options for justice. As 15 states do not guarantee unpaid leave for any crime victims, many survivors are forced to choose between working and participating in the justice process. Ensuring survivors of crime can actually attend court will save the courts and the criminal legal system resources lost due to rescheduled hearings and dismissed cases. Furthermore, by facilitating the logistics of participating in the justice system, paid safe leave gives survivors a meaningful choice in their engagement with the justice system.

**Paid Safe Leave Advances Equity in the Workforce**

Some communities experience disproportionate rates of violence, which can make it harder for these populations to obtain and maintain employment or education. Specific communities are also made more vulnerable to violence due to economic marginalization, histories of oppression, and harmful stereotypes. The cyclical and compounding effects of economic marginalization, violence, and resulting economic instability entrench inequality. Paid safe leave will advance equity in the workforce.

Women of color and immigrant women experience disproportionately high rates of gender-based violence and harassment. Almost two-thirds of non-Hispanic multiracial women (63.8%), more than half of non-Hispanic American Indian or Alaska Native women (57.7%), more than half of non-Hispanic Black women (53.6%), about half of non-Hispanic white women (48.4%), two-fifths of Hispanic women (42.1%), and more than one-quarter of non-Hispanic Asian or Pacific Islander women reported intimate partner violence in their lifetimes. Alaska Native and Indigenous women experience extraordinarily high rates of gender-based violence and other forms of violence.

LGBTQIA+ people also experience disproportionate rates of violence and face broader barriers to employment. According to the CDC, there is a higher prevalence of lifetime experiences of intimate partner violence (IPV) among bisexual and lesbian women than among heterosexual women. A 2020 meta-analysis found that compared with cisgender individuals, transgender
individuals were 1.7 times more likely to experience any IPV, 2.2 times more likely to experience physical IPV, and 2.5 times more likely to experience sexual IPV.\(^{30}\)

People with disabilities face concomitant high rates of unemployment, underemployment, and violence.\(^{31}\) In 2010, 39% of women raped in the 12 months preceding the survey had a disability at the time of the rape.\(^{32}\) 7.1% of women with disabilities reported experiencing physical violence by an intimate partner in the past year, more than twice the rate of women without disabilities.\(^{33}\)

Finally, workers in low-wage jobs, including undocumented immigrants, women, and people of color – some of the same workers who face higher risks of experiencing violence and the greatest barriers to accessing help\(^{34}\) – are less likely to have access to paid time away from work than higher-wage workers.\(^{35}\) Disproportionate experiences of violence, when left unsupported by paid safe leave, begets further economic marginalization. Experiencing violence often forces survivors into part-time or low-wage work.\(^{36}\)

Paid safe leave will support our economies' most vulnerable workers, advancing economic equity and decreasing future risk of violence.

**Paid Safe Leave Is Good for Business and the Economy**

Ensuring that survivors of violence have access to safety and healing also has widespread benefits for the entire economy. Paid leave will support businesses and the economy by reducing lost productivity and the costs of increased turnover.\(^{37}\) Violence creates various barriers to successfully applying for work, keeping a job, or completing an education or training program.\(^{38}\) This leaves many qualified and hardworking survivors out of the workforce entirely.

Furthermore, every year an estimated eight million days of paid work are lost by survivors of intimate partners, approximately 32,114 full-time jobs.\(^{39}\) This has consequences not only for survivors and their families but for our economy as a whole. A 2017 study estimated that rape alone cost the U.S. economy more than $1.6 trillion in lost productivity.\(^{40}\) By creating pathways to remain in the workforce and adequately support survivors of violence, the American economy will reduce lost productivity and retain talented and innovative workers.

**Paid Leave Will Support Child Well-Being**

Paid safe leave addresses two critical factors in child health and well-being; exposure to violence and economic insecurity.\(^{41}\) Research indicates that parents experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) often recognize and are concerned about the potentially harmful effects of the violence on their children, and consider their children in making decisions about help-seeking.\(^{42}\) However, economic insecurity is a central challenge for survivors of violence, particularly those with children.\(^{43}\) Paid safe leave will increase the economic security of survivors of violence, allowing them to heal from violence, alongside their children.\(^{44}\) Furthermore, family violence provisions in
paid safe leave will give parents essential time to help their children recover from abuse and harm.  

9. What lessons should the federal government learn from successful or failed attempts at expanding paid leave in U.S. states or other countries?

A growing number of workers have access to legally guaranteed safe time, but most do not have the full range of protections they need. At the federal level, Executive Order 1370634, issued by President Obama, ensures the right to paid sick and safe leave for federal contractors. However, no federal law guarantees the right to paid safe leave for any other workers.

Eighteen (18) states and the District of Columbia guarantee a right to paid time away from work that can be used for safe leave purposes. Fifteen (15) states and the District of Columbia provide explicit paid safe leave protections under their state-paid sick time laws, though exact coverage varies by state. Thirty-two cities or counties have paid sick leave laws that include safe leave. These laws guarantee covered employees the right to earn and use paid time off based on how much they work, typically up to around 40 hours per year. In addition, Maine, Nevada, and most recently Illinois have passed laws allowing covered employees to earn and use a limited amount of paid time off for any purpose, which can include safe leave needs.

For more extended needs, six states provide paid safe leave protections for at least some survivors through their state-paid family and medical leave laws, which provide benefits up to several weeks through social insurance systems. Note that all six of these states also have paid sick time or paid time off laws, such that workers in those states have additional important protections. These states provide an example of how to include survivors of violence in a broader ecosystem of workplace protections.

Beyond these laws, some states have laws that guarantee the right to unpaid leave in connection with various forms of violence. These protections are critical but are all too often out of reach for those who cannot afford to go without a paycheck, especially at particularly difficult or vulnerable moments. Some states only offer unpaid safe leave for survivors of specific crimes, usually domestic violence and sexual assault. And, many of these laws narrowly define violence or require specific “certifications” or proof of violence from law enforcement agencies. The requirement to report to law enforcement to qualify creates barriers, as many survivors of crime do not report to police. Nearly 6 in 10 violent victimizations are never reported to law enforcement. Reporting rates are especially stark when it comes to sexual violence – nearly 8 in 10 sexual assaults are not reported to law enforcement. Most states also have laws guaranteeing some form of unpaid leave or job protection for crime victims or witnesses, but these laws are often limited to very specific actions in relation to the criminal legal system, such as responding to a subpoena. And 15 states do not even guarantee unpaid leave for any crime victims.
Additionally, crime victim’s compensation (CVC) is available to survivors of crimes and in some cases can cover lost wages resulting from victimization. The specific requirements and eligibility of these funds vary state by state and by the type of crime experienced. In some cases, CVC can cover some lost wages resulting from victimization. Many survivors of crime are ineligible because they do not report their crime or do not report in the timeline required. Many survivors who do report to the police are unaware of their eligibility for compensation or face difficulty navigating the bureaucratic claims process. Furthermore, CVC is typically paid out months following a claim. A 2022 poll found that 96 percent of victims of violent crime did not receive victim compensation to help in their recovery. A review of the Illinois CVC program found that from July 2020 to July 2022, applications related to gender-based violence crimes did not result in compensation 75-100% of the time. CVC replacement of lost wages is often a resource available only on paper. Survivors need both CVC and paid safe leave.

The result is an incomplete and inadequate set of protections, despite important gains in recent years. Even where they have protections, many survivors are unaware of the availability of paid or unpaid safe leave until it is too late to meaningfully exercise that right. Thus, the millions of workers whose lives are touched by violence each year in the U.S. are forced to make impossible choices between employment and safety and recovery from violence. This is why all American families deserve access to paid safe leave.

10. What other information would you like us to consider as we attempt to chart a bipartisan path forward?

Paid leave, including paid safe leave, is vital for survivors of domestic and sexual violence. Survivors often need time away from work to prioritize safety and recovery from the physical and emotional impact of violence. States around the country have already understood this and many have enacted their own leave standards. Paid leave can break the cycle of violence, both serving as a tool of intervention and also prevention by reducing economic barriers that could hinder leaving an abusive relationship or entering one in the first place.

Safe leave should cover leave to address the impacts of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, stalking, family violence, sexual harassment, trafficking, other forms of gender-based violence or harassment, or another qualifying act of violence if the time is for the individual or individual’s family member as described above. Future paid leave legislation should include as permissible reasons for taking the leave the various reasons survivors of violence need safe leave and integrate multiple methods of certification of qualifying needs. As survivors experience violence in addition to illness or other conditions, paid safe leave should be considered additive to family or medical leave and articulated within separate leave provisions. In crafting legislation, we ask you to consult the experiences of survivors of violence and the advocates that serve them.


8 According to a forthcoming analysis by the Alliance for Safety and Justice of data from the National Crime Victimization Survey, 190,000 people report missing work each year after experiencing a direct physical attack. These include survivors of domestic violence, sexual assault, gun violence, robbery, and other assaults. This figure does not capture the many thousands more who miss work when a loved one is victimized or killed, and does not fully capture the impact of harm such as stalking or intimate partner violence.


25 As of November 2022, states with no guaranteed leave for crime victims include Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and the US Virgin Islands. Some of these states, such as North Carolina and North Dakota, do have limited GBV Safe Leave, but this leave does not cover all crime victims. The states that have no GBV Safe Leave to address domestic violence, sexual assault or stalking include; Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming and the US Virgin Islands. Survivors in some of those states may be able to use crime victim leave but this access often requires legal documentation. For detailed information on state specific statutes please see; Legal Momentum, and Futures Without Violence “State Guide on Employment Rights for Survivors of Domestic Violence, Sexual Assault, and Stalking.” Washington D.C.: Workplaces Respond National Resource Center, November 2022. https://www.workplacesrespond.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/State-Employment-Guide.pdf.


Boyens, Chantel, Michael Karpman, and Jack Smalligan. “Access to Paid Leave Is Lowest among Workers with the Greatest Needs,” July 2022, 17


58 As of November 2022, states with no guaranteed leave for crime victims include Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and the US Virgin Islands. Some of these states, such as North Carolina and North Dakota, do have limited GBV Safe Leave, but this leave does not cover all crime victims. The states that have no GBV Safe Leave to address domestic violence, sexual assault or stalking include; Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming and the US Virgin Islands. Survivors in some of those states may be able to use crime victim leave but this access often requires legal documentation. For detailed information on state specific statutes please see; Legal Momentum, and Futures Without Violence “State Guide on Employment Rights for Survivors of Domestic Violence, Sexual Assault, and Stalking.” Washington D.C.: Workplaces Respond National Resource Center, November 2022. https://www.workplacesrespond.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/State-Employment-Guide.pdf.


63 Ibid.

