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Assessing the Time-Squeeze Hypothesis: Hours Worked in the United States, 1969-89

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This study assesses the hypothesis that hours of work have risen in the United States in recent decades. Using the Current Population Surveys and the University of Michigan Time-Use Studies, we estimate changes in market and nonmarket hours worked between 1969 and 1989, finding evidence of a "time-squeeze." This trend is particularly pronounced among labor force participants who are neither under- nor unemployed. For this group, total annual hours of work have risen by 149.

Introduction

Some researchers have argued that hours of paid employment in the United States have been essentially stable during the postwar period (1989). On the other hand, a widely cited Harris Poll (1988, Table 1, p. 60) has found that hours have actually increased. According to Harris, between 1973 and 1987, median weekly hours of work rose from 40.6 to 46.8 and median hours of leisure fell from 26.2 to 16.6. However, these conclusions have not gone unchallenged. Researchers relying on data from time-use diaries have argued that leisure time has increased since 1965 (Juster and Stafford, 1990; Robinson, 1989). To date, this debate remains unresolved. Shortcomings of the existing studies make it difficult to reach definitive conclusions concerning the actual trend in hours. In this paper, we improve upon existing

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methods and provide new estimates of changes in working hours between 1969 and 1989.

One problem with existing studies is that many cover only market hours. However, calculations of nonmarket hours are also important, both to provide a comprehensive picture of working time and in order to avoid a spurious increase generated by shifts out of home production.¹ We have also calculated annual hours, rather than the more common weekly hours. The annual hours measure allows us to account for intrayear variations in labor force participation. We have corrected for business cycle effects, a correction that has not been made in any previous studies. The data sets we have used are the March Current Population Survey (hereafter CPS; for market hours) and the University of Michigan Time-Use Studies (for nonmarket hours). Detailed descriptions of our data and methodologies can be found below. To our knowledge, ours are the only recent estimates of total annual hours to use these data sets.

Our research reveals that on a per capita basis, for the population over age 18, average annual market hours increased by 7 percent, or 86 hours, between 1969 and 1989. For labor force participants, market hours have risen by 53. However, this figure is artificially deflated by the inclusion of a growing number of labor force participants who report that they worked fewer hours (during the calendar year under consideration) than they wished—the under- and unemployed. Excluding these workers, we find that labor force participants who are fully employed (who account for over 80% of the labor force) are now working an average of 138 more hours per year in the market. These are the people for whom evidence of reduced leisure—or time-squeeze—is strongest.

Trends in nonmarket hours are less uniform. For the population as a whole, nonmarket hours have fallen by 60—a 5 percent reduction in time spent working in the home. For labor force participants, however, nonmarket hours rose—by 45. This is a result of the growth of nonparticipation among men, whose nonmarket hours are low, and the growth of participation among women, whose nonmarket hours are high. Considering only the fully employed labor force (as defined above), nonmarket hours have

¹Of course, there is still some debate about whether unpaid household production should be counted as work. The most controversial activity in this regard is child care. In our view, activities such as child care are work, despite their omission from the National Accounts. Home production (including child care) yields valued goods and services that are necessary to the functioning and reproduction of society. There are clear market substitutes for nearly all home production, as the growth of the service sector in recent years makes clear. There are numerous complexities and ambiguities in the measurement of any employment (Sen, 1975), and women's work should not be singled out. As economists are starting to recognize, the failure to include these activities in economic statistics is sexist (Folbre, 1991; Eisner, 1988; Waring, 1988).

risen by 11, for an increase in total hours of 149, a 5.6 percent rise from 1969.

Data and Methodology

Existing estimates of working hours tend to be partial in a number of respects. Most consider only weekly hours, ignoring weeks worked, which have been a more important source of variation in work time in recent decades (Juster and Stafford, 1985, 1990; Owen, 1969, 1989). Smith (1983) and Greis (1984) do calculate annual hours. However, Smith's calculations span only from 1977 to 1981, and Greis's end in 1979. Furthermore, Greis uses establishment data, which is downward-biased due to the growth of the informal sector and multiple jobholding. (See Greis, 1984; Owen, 1989; and appendix B below on differences between the household and establishment series.)

A second problem is that estimates of hours worked typically focus on market hours, excluding the household sector altogether (Owen, 1969, 1989; Greis, 1984; Smith, 1983). The literature on time allocation does include both types of work (Juster and Stafford, 1985; Walker and Woods, 1976; Robinson, 1986). However, the time-use surveys are small and not all are nationally representative samples. Furthermore, the most commonly used surveys—the 1975–76 and 1980–81 University of Michigan samples—took place during major national recessions. A 1985 time-use study from the University of Maryland was not available at the time of this writing. (Comparison of the time-use results with our own is made in appendix B.) Only Fuchs (1986) has combined time-use data with what is—in our view—the more accurate CPS data. His study ended in 1979, however, before much of the purported rise in hours occurred.

In this paper, we provide calculations for both annual market and nonmarket hours worked by the population over age 18, for 1969, 1973, 1979, and 1989. All years are business cycle peaks (or in the case of 1989, the closest available year). Data for calculating annual market hours is taken from the March CPS Supplements for 1970, 1974, 1980, and 1990. Estimates of nonmarket hours are derived by applying information from the Michigan Time-Use Studies to the CPS. The methodology used in constructing both sets of estimates is described below.

Estimating Market Hours. Annual market hours were computed from the March CPS as "hours worked last week" multiplied by "number of weeks worked last year." For the hours per week measure, it would have been preferable to use "usual weekly hours last year"; however, this variable is not available before 1979. The "actual hours last week"

measure has two problems. First, last week may not be a representative week. Second, the weekly hours variable refers to a week during March of the survey year, but the weeks worked variable refers to the previous year. This is especially problematic when a person's occupation, industry, or labor force status changes. In these cases, we have estimated weekly hours as the average in the appropriate occupation, industry, and work status group.² (An appendix with further details on this calculation is available from the authors.) In all cases, "weeks worked last year" is used for the purpose of determining employment rates, and "weeks looking or on layoff last year" for the determining labor force participation.

The CPS definition of market hours includes all hours spent working, as well as any paid leave from work (paid holidays, vacation time, sick leave, etc.). Therefore, we have calculated separate estimates of paid leave, which we discuss below.

Estimating Nonmarket Hours. The methodology for estimating annual nonmarket hours is a two-step procedure, following Fuchs (1986). The first step involves the Michigan Time-Use Studies, in which participants keep diaries of all daily activities. The diary method is considered to be the most accurate measure of daily time-use information (see Robinson, 1985). Estimates of weekly hours of nonmarket work are constructed from the diaries, based on time spent in activities such as child care, cleaning, cooking, shopping for family needs, and house and garden care. (For a complete list of activities included, see appendix A.) Restricting nonmarket activities to child care, cleaning, and cooking does not substantively alter our results.³

Used alone, the Michigan data are unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. First, the sample overrepresents certain categories of workers (those with children, heads of households, and whites)—namely, those who tend to work above average hours at home and in the market. The major Michigan surveys are also biased because they were collected during two national recessions. In addition, the data is weekly, rather than annual.

²For 1979 and 1989, we have also calculated annual hours using the "usual weekly hours" variable. These calculations were also able to account for intrayear schedule variation between part-time and full-time work. The two methods generate systematic differences in the level of hours; however, the trends over time are virtually identical. The difference in levels is in part due to the time frame (last week vs. last year), but also because "actual hours" tend to be higher than "usual hours," probably because respondents do not include overtime hours in "usual hours."

³Some readers may be troubled by the inclusion of garden care due to its dual nature as both work and hobby. Its inclusion, however, has little effect since it represents a very small amount of average weekly time use.

and the sample size is inadequate to pick up the growth of weeks worked per year. Therefore, we have used the Michigan data to estimate a model of the determination of weekly nonmarket hours. The resulting coefficients are used to predict nonmarket hours for each person in the CPS (these coefficients are discussed in detail below). Weekly nonmarket hours are multiplied by 52 to arrive at annual nonmarket hours.

At the time of this writing, we had three time-use surveys available to us—1965, 1975–76, and 1980–81. The former was eliminated because it contains important sample restrictions, which have been shown to markedly bias its calculations of working time (see Robinson, 1980, and appendix B). The regression coefficients estimated from the 1975–76 survey were used to predict nonmarket hours for 1969 and 1973, and the coefficients from the 1980–81 study were used for 1979 and 1989.

For the years before 1975 and after 1981, this procedure is effective in capturing any changes over time that are driven by the variables identified by our model. However, this procedure cannot pick up any exogenous shifts in the constant term that occurred before 1975 or after 1981. These might include the effects of nondemographic or noneconomic factors, such as attitudes toward the gender division of labor. Unfortunately, there is no way to avoid this problem, given current data limitations. For this reason, we have more confidence in the precision of the estimates of market hours than in that for nonmarket hours.

The Growth of Market Hours

As can be seen in Table 1, the data provide support for the view that market hours have risen over the period under consideration. In 1989, the average adult American was working 86 more market hours, or nearly 11 more eight-hour days than in 1969. However, the average conceals diver-

TABLE 1
ANNUAL HOURS, POPULATION AVERAGES

	1969	1973	1979	1989	Change 1969–89
Market hours	1204	1203	1225	1290	86
Men	1738	1708	1618	1599	-139
Women	735	761	875	1011	276
Nonmarket Hours	1213	1196	1206	1153	-60
Men	686	701	860	847	161
Women	1675	1631	1514	1431	-244

gent patterns for men and women. As is well known, women have been increasing their hours of market employment (by 276 hours). Men, on the other hand, have on average reduced their market hours (by 139 hours).

The bulk of the increase is due to a rise in weeks worked, rather than weekly hours. On average, weekly hours have risen only slightly, from 27.0 to 27.9 (Table 2). Among employed men weekly hours of market work fell slightly (42.8 to 42.3), and among employed women they rose (35.2 to 36.1). This result is consistent with previous findings of long-term stasis in weekly hours since the late 1940s (Owen, 1989). In contrast, weeks worked rose by 2.4 weeks a year between 1969 and 1989 (not shown). Employed women are working 4.5 additional weeks per year (39.0 to 43.5). Among employed men, the rise is more modest (46.3 to 46.6).

As is well known, labor force participation rates have also risen in the last 20 years: the percentage of the sample in the labor force rose from 68.5 percent in 1969 to 71.6 percent in 1989. Women's participation rose from 53.1 percent to 63.5 percent, while men's fell from 86.6 percent to 80.5 percent. The decline of men's market hours is largely the result of this lower participation. As a result, the distribution of market hours worked by men has become more bimodal between participants and nonparticipants. Among women, the opposite tendency has occurred, as participation rates rise and specialization in household work becomes less common.

It is typically held that shifts in an economy's industrial and occupational

TABLE 2
WEEKLY HOURS

	1969	1973	1979	1989
Market Hours	27.0	27.0	27.3	27.9
Men	36.9	36.3	34.6	33.7
Employed	42.8	42.5	42.3	42.3
Not Employed	0	0	0	0
Women	18.3	18.8	20.8	22.6
Employed	35.2	35.1	35.3	36.1
Not Employed	0	0	0	0
Nonmarket Hours	23.3	23.0	23.2	22.2
Men	13.2	13.5	16.5	16.3
Employed	12.0	12.2	14.5	13.8
Not Employed	20.3	21.0	25.9	25.9
Women	32.2	31.4	29.1	27.5
Employed	24.2	23.8	23.5	22.5
Not Employed	40.9	40.0	37.1	35.8

TABLE 3
ANNUAL HOURS, LABOR FORCE PARTICIPANTS ONLY

	1969	1973	1979	1989	Change 1969-89
Market Hours	1751	1737	1731	1804	53
Men	2007	1987	1962	1987	-20
Women	1385	1392	1451	1593	208
Nonmarket Hours	893	897	974	938	45
Men	628	637	756	725	97
Women	1271	1255	1239	1182	-89

composition affect average hours, on account of substantial differences in hours between sectors and occupations. However, we find that the rise in market hours occurred within occupations and industries. We find that if the industrial structure is held constant at its 1969 configuration, there would have been a virtually identical rise in hours, indicating no net effect of changes in industrial composition (not shown).⁴ Similarly, the changing age structure of the population is not responsible for the rise in market hours. If the age structure had not changed from its 1969 configuration, the trend in hours would also have been virtually unchanged (not shown). The movement of the baby-boom cohort into the age category where hours are highest (25-44 years) has just been canceled by the growth of the over-65 cohort, having very low market hours.

Among labor force participants, annual market hours rose by 53, a 3 percent rise over their 1969 level (Table 3). Women's hours rose by 208; men's fell by 20. However, the inclusion of unemployed and underemployed persons in the labor force averages has artificially reduced the upward trend in annual market hours, given that the unemployment rate at business cycle peaks has risen steadily, from 3.4 percent in 1969 to 5.3 percent in 1989.⁵ This suggests that it is important to distinguish between voluntary and involuntary changes in hours, which previous studies have not done.

Persons subject to involuntary leisure have been a steadily growing percentage of the labor force. We define as "labor market-constrained" those who fall into the following categories and report that additional work was

⁴It is not possible to hold the detailed occupational structure constant on account of changes in occupational codes after 1980. However, at a highly aggregated level, we found that hours rose within occupations.

⁵For an explanation of the rise of unemployment in the 1970s and 1980s, see Margin and Schor (1990).

TABLE 4
PERCENT OF LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCING LABOR MARKET CONSTRAINT

	1969	1973	1979	1989
In Labor Force, Constrained	7.2	9.8	16.2	14.5
No Work All Year	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.6
Part Year/Part-Time	1.0	1.8	4.0	3.9
Full Year/Part-Time	0.2	0.3	0.9	1.3
Part Year/Full-Time	5.6	7.0	10.5	8.7
In Labor Force, Unconstrained	92.8	90.2	83.8	85.5
Full Year/Full-Time	59.0	58.8	57.4	61.6

desired but not available: those who did not work at all during the year, worked part-year/part-time, worked full-year/part-time, and worked part-year/full-time. (Part-year is defined as less than 50 weeks per year, and part-time is less than 35 hours per week.)

The percentage of the labor force that is labor market-constrained has been higher at each business cycle peak in our sample, rising from 7.2 percent in 1969 to 14.5 percent in 1989 (Table 4). Roughly two-thirds of those experiencing labor market constraints are part-year/full-time workers. The share of the labor force in this category rose substantially over this period. The shares in every other constraint category are smaller, but show fourfold or more increases. (On the rise in involuntary part-time work, see also Tilly, 1991.)⁶

If we exclude the constrained portion of the labor force from our measures, the data reveal a much greater rise in work, and strong support for the time-squeeze hypothesis. *Among those persons who are fully employed, market hours have increased by 138, a 7.7 percent increase* (Table 5). This is the equivalent of 17 more eight-hour days per year. Hours for constrained workers have fallen by 246 per year, revealing a growing gap between those who are able to secure market work and those who are not. We define as "unprovided hours" those that labor market participants indicate they would like to work, but during which they are unable to find employment. We find that the average of "unprovided hours" among those constrained in the labor market rose from 718 per year in 1969 to 803 in 1989. Summing across the entire constrained labor force, this implies an aggregate level in

⁶One labor market constraint we have been unable to take account of is "involuntary" retirement. Among older workers, the fraction of involuntary retirees appears to be much higher than Bureau of Labor Statistics (N.d.) estimates assume. A survey conducted in 1989 by the Commonwealth Fund found that among the nonworking population of men ages 55-64 and women ages 50-59, 43 percent report that they would prefer to be working (Commonwealth Fund, 1990).

TABLE 5
ANNUAL HOURS, UNCONSTRAINED LABOR FORCE ONLY

	1969	1973	1979	1989	Change 1969-89
Market Hours	1786	1798	1855	1924	138
Men	2054	2060	2093	2126	72
Women	1406	1436	1558	1693	287
Nonmarket Hours	889	888	939	900	11
Men	621	626	727	688	67
Women	1268	1248	1204	1142	-126

the economy of 14.6 billion unprovided market hours of work in 1989, up from 4.2 billion in 1969.⁷

Market hours have risen for both men and women who are unconstrained in the labor market. For fully employed men, there has been a 3.5 percent increase since 1969, as they work 72 more hours per year. Fully employed women have added 287 hours, a 20.4 percent increase since 1969. For women, this is the equivalent of seven additional 40-hour weeks of market work each year.

As noted above, the biggest change for women is that they are working a greater fraction of the year. They are less likely to leave paid work during the summer recess in order to care for children; they take less time off for the birth of a child (see Mellor and Parks, 1988). Women's pattern of labor force participation is coming to look more and more like men's.

Adjustments to Market Hours. The CPS data includes paid time off in its definition of work time.⁸ To calculate the change in paid time off we have used unpublished Bureau of Labor Statistics data on the ratio of paid hours relative to hours worked (Bureau of Labor Statistics, N.d.). Unfortunately, prior to 1981, these data are only available for the manufacturing sector. Therefore, we have used manufacturing sector data for 1969 to 1981 and all-economy data thereafter. Surprisingly, these data show no net

⁷Constrained labor force participants give information to the CPS on the schedules they would prefer to be working. We attributed average hours to each constrained participant based on the schedules of unconstrained workers in the same occupation and industry (or, where these are not available, in that race, age, and gender group). In the case of discouraged workers, we did not include those weeks during which they were not looking for work or experiencing layoff. Thus, these estimates are conservative.

⁸The CPS does have information on how many workers are on vacation or holiday during the survey week. But the survey week occurs in March, a month during which both vacations and holidays are underrepresented.

increase in paid time off between 1969 and 1989. A 3.4-day increase in paid time off between 1969 and 1981 has been eliminated by a 3.7 decline between 1981 and 1989, leaving a net decline in paid time off of .3 days, or roughly 2.5 hours per year. (An appendix with further details of these calculations is available from the authors.)

Commuting time has also risen, further decreasing leisure time. The length of the average daily trip to and from work remained steady between 1969 and 1975, but rose thereafter. According to a 1985 time-use survey, the average commuting time for employed workers rose from 181 hours per year in 1975 to 204 hours in 1985, an increase of 23 hours.⁹ Combining trends in paid time off and commuting, it appears that we have understated the upward trend in market hours by about 25.5 hours per employed person.

The Decline of Nonmarket Hours

Models of Nonmarket Hours Determination. We have estimated models that predict nonmarket hours (for men and women separately) on the basis of demographic, economic, and social factors. We included all variables that are theoretically identified as well as those that previous research has found to be significant determinants of nonmarket hours (see Fuchs, 1986; Manchester and Stapleton, 1991; Hartmann, 1976; Walker and Woods, 1976). The variables included fall into the following categories: factors that affect the amount of necessary household labor (number of children, both under and over age 3), demographic variables relating to the social division of labor (age, marital status, status as homemaker,¹⁰ household or family head,¹¹ and race; gender is implicitly included here by estimating equations separately for men and women), and economic variables that relate to the division of resources between home and the market (market hours worked and family income). Variables for number of children (Children 0–2 and Children 3–18) are specified as square roots in order to capture the economies of scale present in child rearing.¹² In addition to those listed above,

⁹The 1975 and 1985 estimates are calculated from Robinson (1986, Table 3, p. 36), as weighted averages of employed men and women only. Data for earlier years is from the U.S. Department of Commerce (1963); and Current Population Reports (1976) and (1980).

¹⁰Homemakers are those, male or female, who say that the primary reason they are not in the labor force is because of family and homemaking responsibilities.

¹¹Household head refers to the person in whose name the housing unit is owned or rented or the spouse thereof.

¹²Manchester and Stapleton (1991) capture economies of scale by including both dummy variables for the presence of children and the actual number of children. We found that when the number of children was modeled as a square root, the equation consistently outperformed specifications using either dummy variables or number of children.

variables for years of education, residency in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical area (SMSA), presence of children under 18 other than one's own, total number of family members, size of dwelling, interaction terms for single and working parents, and number of large-household appliances were tested but found not to contribute to the standard error of the equation (see Szalai, 1972, p. 125, for evidence that household appliances do not reduce hours worked in the household). Variables that were shown to affect nonmarket hours but could not be used because they were not available on the CPS were type of dwelling, home ownership, and size of lot.

These equations were estimated with ordinary least-squares regression (OLS) for both the 1975–76 and the 1980–81 Michigan Time-Use Studies.¹³ The 1975–76 study was nationally representative of individuals 18 years old and over. The 1980–81 study interviewed a subset of these same individuals, including only those who were household heads or their spouses. In order to eliminate any spurious coefficient changes due to sample selection bias, the equations were estimated for only those individuals who were included in both samples. This restricted sample is limited to those over age 23, and household heads and their spouses. It also underrepresents racial minorities. To adequately include the effects of youth, race, and household head status, coefficients for these variables were estimated for the entire 1975–76 sample and then added to the restricted sample equations. Interaction terms for these variables were tested on the full sample, and those that were found to be statistically significant were retained. The constant terms for the restricted sample equations were adjusted for the addition of these other coefficients.¹⁴

The means of the independent and dependent variables are shown in Table 6. The equations used to determine nonmarket hours can be found in Table 7.¹⁵ As expected, the determination of men and women's nonmarket hours differs markedly. The major factors influencing women's

¹³Fuchs (1986) and Manchester and Stapleton (1991) also use OLS. To account for the possibility that market and nonmarket hours are simultaneously determined by the wage, we used a 2SLS procedure that took the wage (or imputed wage, in the case of nonemployed persons) as exogenous. The results were comparable, indicating the lack of a significant simultaneity bias.

¹⁴While this procedure is not ideal, it is the only way to use all currently available information. We also estimated the nonmarket hours for all years using only the equation estimated on the full 1975–76 sample; this procedure yields virtually identical results for women, but yields a somewhat lower estimate of men's nonmarket hours in the 1980s. This is due to a sharp rise in the constant term in the men's equations between the two time-use studies. From a 1985 survey Robinson (1986, 1988) found a similar rise in men's nonmarket hours between 1975 and 1985. Thus, not using the 1980–81 data would result in a serious underestimate of men's nonmarket hours for the 1980s.

¹⁵Although specifications vary, these results are comparable to those found by others who have analyzed the same data (namely, Fuchs, 1986, and Manchester and Stapleton, 1991).

TABLE 6

MEANS OF DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FROM MICHIGAN TIME-USE STUDIES, 1975-76 AND 1980-81^a

	Men		Women	
	1975-76	1980-81	1975-76	1980-81
Nonmarket Hours per Week	14.6	17.8	32.6	31.6
Age 18-24	.09	0	.11	0
Age 45-64	.25	.30	.34	.33
Age 65+	.11	.18	.15	.25
Children 0-2 (square root)	.16	.11	.12	.07
Children 3-18 (square root)	.68	.67	.58	.56
Market Hours	35.1	32.9	16.1	15.8
Marital Status	.80	.80	.64	.61
Homemaker	—	—	.33	.27
Head of Household	.99	1	.99	1
Head of Subfamily	—	—	.003	0
Family Income (in 1975 or 1980 dollars)	16,938	29,735	14,487	22,419
Black	.032	.025	.044	.040
Other Race	.024	.020	.015	.014
Black × Children 0-2	.022	.007	.013	.006
Black × Children 3-18	.047	.050	.042	.047
Age 18-24 × Children 0-2	.021	0	.042	0
Black × Age 18-24	0	0	.002	0
N	188	188	228	228

^aFigures given are for samples restricted to those included in both 1975-76 and 1980-81 surveys

hours of household work (as measured by the beta coefficient) are Market Hours, Children 0-2 and Children 3-18, Marital Status, Homemaker, and the age-group variables. For women, marriage raises annual hours of household work by about 200; the presence of one child under age 3 adds an additional 550 hours. A woman working 40 hours per week in the market is estimated to work roughly 22 fewer hours per week in the home than will her counterpart who is a full-time homemaker. For men, both the actual and the explained variation are far less.¹⁶ The factors affecting their household work significantly are Market Hours, Children 0-2, Children 3-18, and Household Head. The impact of these factors on the household labor done by men is far less than it is for women; the presence of a young child, for example, adds only 161 hours annually, while marriage "costs" men about 100 hours per year in household labor.

¹⁶A low percent of variation explained does not preclude accurate forecasting where there is little true variation to explain (see Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1981, p. 208)

TABLE 7

NONMARKET HOURS EQUATIONS^a
OLS ESTIMATION
DEPENDENT VARIABLE IS NONMARKET HOURS PER WEEK
(STANDARD ERRORS IN PARENTHESES)

	Men		Women	
	1975-76	1980-81	1975-76	1980-81
Constant	14.6	21.1	27.8	32.2
Age 18-24	-1.6 (2.6)	-.29 (2.0)	-3.8 (3.4)	-3.6 (2.3)
Age 45-64	1.5 (1.8)	1.3 (1.9)	2.7 (2.3)	1.8 (2.4)
Age 65+	-.42 (2.9)	-2.4 (3.0)	-.94 (3.2)	-5.7* (3.1)
Children 0-2	3.5* (1.9)	2.7 (2.5)	13.3** (3.0)	7.7** (3.3)
Children 3-18	2.0* (1.0)	1.8 (1.2)	3.9** (1.4)	3.8** (1.6)
Market Hours	-.29** (.05)	-.34** (.05)	-.44** (.06)	-.46** (.06)
Marital Status	.72 (1.8)	3.5* (2.1)	3.7** (1.9)	4.2** (2.1)
Homemaker			3.8** (2.1)	1.8 (2.1)
Head of Household	5.7* (2.5)	5.7* (2.5)	3.6 (2.5)	3.6 (2.5)
Head of Subfamily			5.3 (5.6)	5.3 (5.6)
Family Income (in 1975 or 1980 dollars)	.0001 (.0001)	-.0001* (.00004)	.0001 (.0001)	-.0001 (.0001)
Black	2.7 (3.1)	2.7 (3.1)	-1.9 (3.2)	-1.9 (3.2)
Other Race	3.4 (2.7)	3.4 (2.7)	-1.9 (3.7)	-1.9 (3.7)
Black × Children 0-2			-13.3** (5.7)	-13.3** (5.7)
Black × Children 3-18	-6.1** (2.7)	-6.1** (2.7)	-3.6 (3.0)	-3.6 (3.0)
Age 18-24 × Children 0-2			-7.8** (4.0)	-7.8** (4.0)
Black × Age 18-24	-7.1 (5.9)	-7.1 (5.9)		
Adjusted R ²	.22	.27	.49	.39

* Significant at the .10 level; ** significant at the .05 level.

^aThe 1970 CPS does not include race categories that matched that available in the time use studies or the later CPSs. Thus, the coefficients used for the 1970 CPS were calculated omitting the Other Race variable.

Estimates of Nonmarket Hours. We have applied these regression coefficients to the CPS in order to predict hours of household work for the whole population. We find that average nonmarket hours have declined by 5 percent in the last 20 years, from 1,213 to 1,153 per year. Although men's nonmarket hours have risen by 161, this rise has not offset a 244-hour decline for women. These changes stem from two possible sources: shifts in regression coefficients between the two equations and changes in the distribution of the underlying characteristics. Table 8 shows the decomposition of overall changes in nonmarket hours into changes in coefficients and changes in means, and their interaction, expressed as shares of the total change (following Oaxaca, 1973). For women, 85 percent of the decline in nonmarket hours is attributable to changes in the underlying variables; the rise in Market Hours and the concomitant declines in Homemaker, Children 0-2, and Children 3-18 account for the largest share. For men, the rise in nonmarket hours is largely attributable to an exogenous shift in the constant term of the equation.¹² Nevertheless, changes in the labor market have had some effect—the decline in market hours accounts for a quarter of the rise in men's nonmarket hours.

Thus, as women have left the home, men are entering it, doing on average an additional 161 hours of work there per year. As a consequence, for the whole population, the ratio of men's nonmarket hours to women's rose from .41 to .59 between 1969 and 1989. This increase has been driven by the exit of men from the labor force; as men leave the labor force, they increase their hours of household work. This same trend, however, has reduced the average of domestic hours worked by those not in the labor force. This is because nonemployed males do much less domestic work than do their female counterparts. (The average difference over the period was about 800 hours per year.)

While shifts in the gender composition of the labor force have been the largest factor in the decline in nonmarket hours, falling rates of marriage and childbearing have also been significant. The percentage of the population that is not married (or has no spouse present) rose from 31.4 percent in 1969 to 40.6 percent in 1989. At the same time, people are having far fewer children. The percentage of the sample with no children has risen from 57.7 percent to 67.3 percent. The percentage with two or more children has fallen from 28.7 percent to 19.0 percent. For women, these shifts account for 25 percent of the decrease in household work done (Table 8).

¹²This result derives partly from the small size of the coefficients in the men's equations—when the responsiveness of coefficients is low, a large change in the mean of a variable will have little effect on the dependent variable.

TABLE 8
SHIFT SHARE DECOMPOSITION OF CHANGES IN NONMARKET HOURS AS SHARE OF CHANGE IN NONMARKET HOURS, 1969-89^a

Variable	Men			Women		
	Change in Means at Old Coeffs	Change in Coeffs at Old Means	Interaction Term	Change in Means at Old Coeffs	Change in Coeffs at Old Means	Interaction Term
Constant		2.259			-.996	
Age 18-24	.012	.079	-.009	-.035	-.011	.002
Age 45-64	-.041	-.021	.005	.031	.067	-.011
Age 65+	-.002	-.095	-.008	.004	.166	.021
Children 0-2	-.039	.034	.009	.064	.162	-.027
Children 3-18	-.144	-.036	.014	.130	.014	-.004
Market Hours	.277	-.509	-.041	.517	.041	.015
Married	-.030	.719	-.116	.073	-.068	.009
Homemaker				.162	.164	-.085
Household Head	-.087	.024	-.001	.006	.013	-.000
Subfamily Head				-.002	.000	.000
Family Income	.059	-1.264	-.126	-.020	.570	.062
Black	.006	.003	.000	.006	.001	.000
Black × Children 0-2				-.006	.001	-.000
Black × Children 3-18	.015	.005	-.002	-.008	.000	-.000
Age 18-24 × Children 0-2				-.038	.011	-.005
Black × Age 18-24	.008	.000	-.000			
Total	.064	1.131	-.195	.886	.137	-.022

^aDecompositions are based on equations that omit the variable for Other Race.

For men, these factors have reduced the rise in household hours by 20 percent.

Conclusion

Our research provides support for the existence of a "time-squeeze" (see also Hochschild, 1989, and Schor, 1991). On both a per capita and a labor force basis, Americans are working longer hours, as measured by the net impact of changes in market and nonmarket hours (Table 9). The increase for the population as a whole is only 27 hours, a 1.1 percent rise, but for those who are fully employed, total annual hours have risen by 149, or 5.6 percent. Both men and women have experienced this decline in leisure. This is true at any given point in the marriage/child-rearing life cycle. For women, the rise in total hours has occurred because higher market hours have not been fully compensated for by fewer nonmarket hours. For men, the rise in total hours has been the

TABLE 9
TOTAL ANNUAL HOURS
POPULATION AND UNCONSTRAINED LABOR FORCE

	1969	1973	1979	1989	Change 1969-89
Population	2417	2399	2431	2444	27
Men	2424	2409	2478	2446	22
Women	2410	2392	2389	2441	31
Unconstrained Labor Force	2675	2686	2794	2824	149
Men	2675	2686	2820	2814	139
Women	2674	2584	2762	2835	161

result of an exogenous rise in household hours worked, regardless of demographic status.

Mitigating this time-squeeze at the aggregate level is the fact that individuals are shifting into less time-consuming "lifestyles," with lower rates of marriage and childbearing. Had the percentage of the sample with children and the percentage of the sample married not fallen over time, there would have been no decline in nonmarket hours and market hours would have risen even more. Thus, time-squeeze has been attenuated by the decline in marriage and birth rates. While the former has more obscure causes, the rise in women's market hours has discouraged childbearing (Smith and Ward, 1985). Therefore, these demographic trends are partly endogenous to the pattern of hours.

Appendix A: Activities Included in Estimates of Nonmarket Hours

Indoor Household Activities

Meal Preparation
Meal Cleanup
Laundry and Clothes Care
Indoor Cleaning and Chores
Repairs and Maintenance
Care of Houseplants

Outdoor Household Activities

Gardening
Outdoor Cleaning and Chores
Repairs and Maintenance
Home Improvements

Child Care

General Child Care
Help with Homework
Helping/Teaching Children
Reading to/Conversations with Children
Playing with Children
Medical Care to Children
Babysitting (unpaid)
Travel Related to Child Care

Obtaining Goods and Services

Shopping
Apartment/House Hunting
Obtaining Services (except Personal Care)
Travel while Obtaining Goods and Services

Miscellaneous Household

Pet Care
Car Care and Maintenance
Household Paperwork
Care of Other Friends or Relatives

Appendix B: Comparison of Data Sources on Hours

Time-Use Surveys. Researchers involved with the Michigan and Maryland time-use surveys have reported that their data shows a rise of leisure time and a decline in working hours (Robinson, 1986; Juster and Stafford, 1991). There are numerous differences between the methodologies of the time-use surveys and our own, so that a clear comparison is difficult to make. However, a closer look at the claims of these researchers shows that their conclusion is unfounded. They report a large rise in leisure time between 1965 and either 1975 or 1981. We believe this is a statistical artifact due to differences between the 1965 sample and later samples. The 1965 time-use sample includes only members of urban households where the household head is employed and excludes individuals over age 65, whereas the 1981 sample includes household heads and spouses, irrespective of employment status, and was undertaken during the country's most severe postwar recession. In their comparison of hours between 1965 and 1981, Juster and Stafford (1991) have eliminated nonurban households and those 65 years old and over from the 1981 data. However, they have not corrected for the fact that in the 1965 sample all household heads were employed. This is especially important because 1981 was a recession year. Furthermore, the

downturn in economic activity causes a spurious downward trend in market hours even among employed workers, because their hours tend to fall during recessions. Furthermore, there are other grounds for believing that the 1965 survey is an unreliable indicator. Robinson has found that of a 57-minute-per-day decline in housework by women that showed up between 1965 and 1975-76, over 60 percent was spurious, due to the restrictions in the 1965 sample. (See Robinson, 1980, Table 2, p. 62.) For these reasons, we find the claim that leisure time has risen unconvincing.

Time-use researchers have argued that because the CPS does not register the decline in hours worked found in their data, it is less reliable (Stafford and Duncan, 1985). We are skeptical of this conclusion, for the reasons we have given above. However, it should be noted that part of the difference is due to the fact that Stafford and Duncan have excluded on-the-job training, coffee breaks, and a variety of other on-the-job activities from their measure of work hours, while these are included in the CPS. In addition, the Michigan studies measure weekly hours only and their sample sizes are too small to reflect accurately the substantial rise in weeks worked per year found in the CPS.

Market Hours as Measured by Establishment Surveys. An alternative source of data to the CPS is from business establishments. It is generally thought that the CPS may be prone to more biases due to inaccurate recall from respondents. However, the establishment data also have drawbacks, the most serious of which is their omission of informal and underground employment. Because there has been a substantial upward trend in these forms of work, use of establishment data imparts a downward bias over time. For this reason, we did not rely on establishment data for this study. Another drawback to the payroll series from establishments is that employees with two jobs are double-counted, so that any average hours figures, such as average weekly hours, understate hours.

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In the above-mentioned sectors, 12- or 24-hour shifts, deemed 'inhuman', will disappear.

8. Employees in SMEs and construction site workers are paid by the day.

9. The 'perfect employee' (about 15 million) works for a large firm, 44 hours (down to 40 after 1994) a week and enjoys a two-day weekend; his 'imperfect' counterpart (about 22 million) works in an SME for 46 hours (down to 44 after 1994) per week and has fewer than two days off a week, excluding 'exceptional' workers of 48 hours per week (9 million in commerce, the cinema, health services, hotels and restaurants). With regards to the national goal of a working week of less than 40 hours and a two-day break for all in 1997, there remain many difficulties for the 'imperfect employee' in following, even step-by-step, the new habits of the 'perfect'.

MORE WORK FOR SOME, LESS WORK FOR OTHERS

Working hours in the USA

Sam Rosenberg

Unlike Europe, the issue of working time reduction has virtually disappeared from US national political debate. In recent years US policy makers have not viewed a shorter working week as an effective tool for lowering unemployment. The labour movement, which has historically called for reductions, has been relatively silent on this issue in recent times. This article is divided into three main sections. The first provides data on the duration, nature and structure of working time in the USA. Given the minimal governmental regulations regarding working time patterns, the second section analyses how working time arrangements have been regulated through collective bargaining agreements in the 1980s. The foreseeable future patterns in working time are investigated in the third section.

In the USA, the issue of working time reduction has virtually, though not entirely, disappeared from the national political debate. Government policy makers do not view currently, and have rarely viewed historically, the shortening of the standard working week to be an effective policy tool for lowering unemployment. Furthermore, the labour movement, which has historically called for shortening working time to increase employment opportunities, is now relatively silent on this matter.

Nor is reducing the standard working week thought to be an effective *quid pro quo* for the introduction of more flexible working hours in general, and shiftwork in particular. Although some forms of working time flexibility benefit workers, employers are the driving force behind the push for more flexibility in scheduling daily and weekly working hours. However, at the same time that unions have felt compelled to concede this extended freedom to management, they have often been forced to agree to working more hours for the same pay.

In addition, increasing opportunities for shiftwork so as to lengthen the weekly

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TABLE 1. AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS OF NON-AGRICULTURAL WORKERS BY INDUSTRY AND FULL OR PART-TIME STATUS, SELECTED YEARS, 1968-89

Industry	1968		1973		1979		1989	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Total	43.4	18.6	43.1	18.5	42.7	19.4	43.7	20.0
Mining	44.9	22.6	44.4	22.3	45.9	20.6	47.0	20.6
Construction	41.0	20.0	40.9	19.9	41.3	20.3	42.8	20.9
Manufacturing	42.3	22.3	42.4	22.4	42.1	21.0	43.4	22.0
Transportation, public utilities	43.4	19.5	43.2	20.0	43.4	21.2	44.3	21.3
Wholesale, retail trade	44.4	19.1	43.9	19.5	43.4	20.0	44.1	20.5
Finance, insurance, real estate	41.6	19.2	41.4	19.5	41.1	19.3	42.6	20.8
Services	42.7	16.8	42.4	19.2	41.8	18.6	43.0	19.7
Public administration	41.6	21.2	41.6	17.8	41.4	20.3	42.2	18.1
Self-employed	52.4	15.3	50.6	16.8	48.7	17.7	48.2	18.6

Note:—

Sources: Author's calculations from unpublished data from the US Department of Labor, and data from *Employment and Earnings*, January 1980, page 184; *Employment and Earnings*, January 1990, page 199.

duration of utilization of equipment is not part of the national debate on working time. While US policy makers are concerned with improving labour market efficiency and international competitiveness, they do not consider more shiftwork to be crucial for attaining these goals.

Thus, the US policy environment and collective bargaining context differs from that in European countries such as France and Germany.

Length, nature and structure of working time

Length of working time

There is no trend towards a shortening of weekly and annual working hours of full-time workers. In fact, weekly and annual working time of full-time workers increased in the USA in the 1980s.¹ Table 1 shows the average full-time working week was 43.4 hours in 1968, and 43.7 hours in 1989.² The full-time working week declined slightly but steadily from 1968 to 1979. That trend was reversed in the 1980s. The working week of the average full-time worker was one hour longer in 1989 than in 1979. A similar trend is found in virtually all industrial groupings in the 1980s. For example, the average full-time working week in manufacturing rose from 42.1 hours in 1979 to 43.4 hours in 1989.

Overtime hours also increased in the 1980s from their level at the end of the 1970s. Average weekly overtime hours of production workers in manufacturing were 3.6 in 1968, 3.8 in 1973, 3.3 in 1979, and 3.8 in 1989.

Furthermore, the proportion of all employed workers working 40 hours a week or more rose in the 1980s. In 1989, 19.1% of all workers were doing so. This is in contrast to 18.3% in 1968, 17.1% in 1973, and 16.5% in 1979. Executives, administrators, managers, sales workers and professionals are most likely to work such long hours.

Not only did the length of the average working week increase in the 1980s, workers also received less time off for vacations and holidays. Paid days off for

manufacturing workers rose from 17.9 days in 1967 to 23.1 days in 1979. However, the trend was reversed in the 1980s. In 1988, workers in manufacturing received only 21.8 days off with pay, 1.1 fewer days than in 1979. Due to data limitations, similar calculations can only be done for all non-farm business workers in the 1980s. Their days off with pay fell from 19.8 in 1981 to 17.9 in 1988.³

Nature of working time

Part-time workers also worked longer hours, and the share of part-time employees has grown. Table 1 shows that in 1989, the working week of the average part-time worker was 20.0 hours, 1.4 hours longer than it had been in 1968. Between 1979 and 1989, the working week of the average part-time worker increased in most industrial sectors.⁴

Women comprise about 65% of part-time workers. Between 1968 and 1989, the proportion of employed persons working part-time increased from 15% to 18%. The increase in the rate of part-time employment was most rapid in the 1970s. During the 1970s, half the increase in the employment share of part-time workers was accounted for by employment growth in trade and services—two industries that are heavy users of part-time employment. But in all major industries, with the exception of services and mining, there was an increase in the rate of part-time employment. This implies that there were changes in firms' policies regarding the nature of employment. However, between 1979 and 1989 growth in the rate of part-time employment within industries was virtually negligible.⁵

Some of those holding part-time jobs are moonlighting — holding two or more jobs. The existence of moonlighting leads to an undercounting of the actual number of part-time jobs, because the approximately 75% of multiple jobholders working at one full-time and one part-time job are counted as full-time workers. Since 1975, the rate of moonlighting has been rising. In May 1989, 6.2% of all employed persons were working at two jobs, the highest rate of moonlighting than at any time in the 30 years of record keeping by the US Department of Labor. The growth in moonlighting is predominantly due to an increase in the multiple-job-holding rate of women. Workers whose primary jobs were in managerial and professional fields and service occupations had the highest rates of moonlighting.⁶

Temporary workers and other forms of flexible staffing arrangements have become more important components of employers' strategies for adjusting to short-term fluctuations in output demand. Those supplied by temporary help agencies increased from 400 000 in 1980 (0.1% of the labour force) to 1 700 000 in 1988 (0.9% of the labour force).⁷ They are most likely to work in clerical or industrial help jobs. Firms also utilize 'direct hire' temporaries for many professional and technical occupations.

But the quantitative importance of flexible staffing arrangements should not be exaggerated. A Bureau of National Affairs survey of more than 400 firms found that agency temporaries, short-time hires, and on-call workers, while commonly used, only represent 1.5% of a user firm's workforce.⁸

Structure of working time

While the standard working week (40 hours in five days) is still the norm, new forms of work schedules are emerging. However, these new work schedules still apply to relatively few workers.

TABLE 2. FULL-TIME MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION AND RELATED WORKERS ON LATE SHIFTS IN ALL METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1959-89 (%)

Year	% Employed on second shift	% employed on third shift	Total % employed on late shifts
1959-60	16.4	6.4	22.8
1967-68	18.7	7.3	26.0
1975	21.3	7.6	28.9
1980	20.4	8.0	28.1
1989	19.2	8.0	27.2

Sources: The data for 1959-80 are taken from King and Williams, *op cit*, reference 13, page 27. The unpublished data for 1989 were provided by the US Department of Labor.

In 1985, 50.4% of all non-agricultural workers worked 40 hours in five days. Among full-time workers, this figure rose to 62.2%. The five-day working week is even more prevalent than the 40-hour week. In 1985, nearly three-quarters of the workforce, and more than four-fifths of those employed full-time worked a five-day week.⁹

While there is some evidence of a growth in compressed working weeks, use of such schedules by employers is relatively rare. A 1985 survey of employers conducted by Goodmeasure Inc for the American Management Association found that compressed work schedules were most likely to be found in the entertainment and healthcare industries and in the government. Only 15% of employers surveyed used compressed working weeks, and few of these were implemented company-wide.¹⁰

Job sharing and flexitime are two innovations in work scheduling designed to increase the ability of workers to juggle work and childcare responsibilities. In the 1985 survey of employers by Goodmeasure Inc, 11% of the employers reported using job sharing. More than half the user firms had started their job-sharing programme within the previous five years. Job sharing is not offered to all workers within these firms. Clerical workers are most likely to be eligible for such arrangements.¹⁰

Flexitime was more prevalent with 35% of the employers offering such programmes. Half the employers had started their programmes since 1980.¹¹ In May 1985, about 24% of all non-farm wage and salary workers were on flexitime. It is quite prevalent in the federal government, and more likely to be found in service-producing industries than in goods-producing industries. Part-time workers were more likely than full-time workers to vary their starting and ending hours.¹²

The structure of working time also concerns shiftwork. It is clear that there was a steady growth in the number of full-time manufacturing workers on late shifts from 1959-60 to 1975. Table 2 shows that the proportion of full-time manufacturing production workers actually employed working late shifts rose from 22.8% in 1959-60 to 28.9% in 1975.¹³ In the following years, there was a slight decline in the likelihood of working late shifts.

More disaggregated analyses of patterns of shift working of all production workers in manufacturing paint a somewhat different picture. Controlling for industry, they point to a slight increase in the likelihood of shift working in the 1980s.¹⁴

The previous data on shiftwork are just for manufacturing firms. Yet only 18.5% of the employed worked in manufacturing in 1989. Turning to the labour force as a whole, in May 1985, 15.9% of all full-time and 47.5% of all part-time workers were shiftworkers.¹⁵

TABLE 3. SHARE OF FULL-TIME SHIFT WORKERS BY INDUSTRY, MAY 1985

Industry	Share of full-time workers on shifts (%)
Agriculture	10.6
Mining	21.9
Construction	2.5
Manufacturing	17.9
Transportation, public utilities	20.6
Wholesale trade	8.1
Retail trade	26.3
Finance, insurance, real estate	6.1
Services	17.1
Government	12.8

Source: Mellor, *op cit*, reference 12.

TABLE 4. SHARE OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME SHIFT WORKERS BY OCCUPATION, MAY 1985

Occupation	Share of full-time workers on shifts (%)	Share of part-time workers on shifts (%)
Total	15.9	47.5
Managerial	7.4	28.2
Professional	9.7	36.8
Technical	15.5	49.2
Sales	17.2	50.2
Admin Support, including clerical	8.0	33.3
Service	38.4	55.9
Precision, craft, repair	13.0	24.3
Machine operator	23.7	31.2
Transportation, moving	26.2	60.1
Handler, labourer	21.1	59.3
Farm, forest, fishing	10.1	48.2

Source: Mellor, *op cit*, reference 12.

Table 3 shows that more than one-quarter of all full-time workers in the retail trade were shiftworkers in May 1985. While not shown in the table, close to one-half of all full-time employees in eating and drinking establishments worked other than a normal day schedule. Approximately 20% of full-time workers in mining, and in transportation and public utilities, and 17% of full-time workers were shiftworkers.¹⁶

The data in Table 4 demonstrate that within each broad occupational grouping, part-timers are more likely than full-timers to be shiftworkers. For example, while 21.1% of full-time handlers and labourers were shiftworkers, 59.3% of their part-time counterparts worked under such arrangements. Similarly 33.3% of administrative support (including clerical) workers on a part-time schedule were shiftworkers in contrast to 8.0% on a full-time schedule. And while 8.6% of full-time managers and professionals worked outside of a standard day shift, 34.9% of part-time managers and professionals were shiftworkers.

Thus, it is clear that at least for the USA the development of shiftwork and the growth of part-time employment are part of the same phenomenon. The increase in part-time employment mainly reflects employer, not employee decisions. Since 1973, there has been a significant secular rise in the percentage of employees who work part-time but would prefer full-time employment.¹⁷ Furthermore, full-time workers are not particularly satisfied with shiftwork. While 30% of full-time workers

cited voluntary reasons, 70% gave involuntary reasons for working shift work, with the major reason given that it was a requirement of the job.¹⁶

Working hours, work scheduling and the industrial relations system.

There are minimal federal governmental regulations of working time for those 16 years of age and older. The existing laws do not specify the number of hours to be worked daily, weekly or annually, the hours in the day when work can occur, the number of days per week to be worked, the specific days on which work can occur, or the amount of vacation time that must be provided to workers. Rather, they only require that a premium be paid for hours worked in excess of the stated amounts.

The major piece of federal legislation regulating working time is the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. As of 1940, its overtime provision stated that covered employees, mainly non-supervisory personnel in the private sector, be paid a minimum of one-and-a-half times the regular hourly rate for all hours worked above 40 hours per week.

Since governmental regulations minimally influence working-time patterns, the industrial relations system is the primary arena wherein working hours are determined. And in the 1980s, at least, employers gained the upper hand in many collective bargaining situations. In 1989, union and employee association membership was only 16.1% of the employed.

Rather than reducing working time and introducing more shiftwork to increase capital operating time, US employers pushed for more flexibility in scheduling work, lengthening weekly and annual working time and changing work rules to lower costs of production and increase effective capital-operating time. The trading off of a shortening of the working week for increased opportunities for shiftwork is rarely found in collective bargaining agreements.

In the 1960s and 1970s, unions successfully negotiated for working time reductions, without any loss in pay, on a weekly or annual basis. But during the severe recession of the early 1980s and in the years that followed, many of the unions which had earlier emphasized the shortening of working time as a means of job creation granted concessions in the area of paid time off. Ironically, unions justified the lessening of paid time off as a means of preserving jobs.

In 1983, in negotiations with the major steel producers, the United Steelworkers Union was forced to give up the extended vacation plan, vacation bonuses, and one paid holiday. In 1982, the United Auto Workers (UAW) agreed to give up the equivalent of approximately two weeks of paid time off annually for workers in the automobile industry. Paid holidays and paid vacation time were also reduced in other sectors including the rubber industry and retail food stores. Some rest periods were eliminated in meatpacking, the automobile and steel industries.

Not only was paid time off given up in many sectors, but absences also declined, especially in goods-producing industries.¹⁷ Many companies, including the members of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, implemented stricter absenteeism policies.

The length of working time was not the only matter focused on by labour and management. The daily and weekly scheduling of working time was also in dispute. For management, the issue was scheduling flexibility. For workers, the result was often a decline in overtime pay and/or the elimination of premium pay for Saturday and Sunday work, and more inconvenient work schedules.

The tyre industry provides a particularly useful example of changing management practices regarding work scheduling. During the 1930s, a six-hour day and six-day week work schedule was standard practice. By the end of the 1970s, this work schedule had virtually disappeared. Since 1979, local negotiations throughout the industry have resulted in a shift to a seven-day continuous operation work schedule. The working week is often 40 hours, and premium pay for weekend work, if part of the regular 40-hour working week, has been largely eliminated.¹⁸ In the early 1980s, premium pay for weekend work was also cut in other industries such as aluminium, retail food stores, steel, trucking and textiles.

An economic expansion began in 1983, lasting until the end of the decade. But companies were still interested in lengthening working time and gaining increased scheduling flexibility. For example, in 1988 International Paper, which ran a continuous 24-hour day, 362-day year operation, was able to force its workers to give up their three holidays at Christmas and their time-and-a-half pay for working on Sundays.

In 1990, flexible work scheduling was one of the issues in dispute in the 40-month strike by the United Mine Workers against the Pittston Coal Group. As part of the settlement, the company won the right to operate around the clock—except for the first shift on Sunday, Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. Furthermore, the firm gained flexibility in scheduling work. It will now have three options: to run a conventional eight-hour, five-day shift; to run a 10-hour, four-day shift; or to run 28-day rotating shifts.¹⁹

In addition to desiring more flexibility in scheduling their full-time workers, employers also wish to increase their utilization of part-timer workers. The role of part-timers has been a central issue in collective bargaining in, for example, trucking, airlines and the US Postal Service.

Yet employers are not always able to gain their demands regarding work scheduling. In the 1990 negotiation with the UAW, General Motors (GM) was interested in having the union accept three-shift production plans at US factories. Given the excess capacity in the automobile industry, the UAW feared that three-shift production throughout the company would allow GM to shut more US plants. It successfully resisted this demand.

However, in 1990 Chrysler workers at a highly profitable mini-van plant in St Louis, Missouri did agree to three-shift production. In return, they received a shorter working week with no loss of weekly pay. Two shifts had been working 54 hours per week. To minimize cost, the company wished to reorganize these two shifts into three crews, each working four 10-hour days with no overtime pay. The workers instead pushed for a third shift to be hired. An agreement was reached whereby each shift would work seven hours a day Monday–Friday, and nine hours on two out of three Saturdays. The workers would receive 40 hours pay for their 35 hours on Monday–Friday and time-and-a-half for work on Saturday.²⁰

In addition, GM workers at the Lordstown, Ohio plant agreed to three-shift production, with each shift working four 10-hour days per week. To gain this change in work scheduling, the company was forced to agree to provide work at the Lordstown plant for all workers employed at an adjacent GM automobile plant that was scheduled to close.

Furthermore, towards the end of the 1980s workers were able to regain some of the concessions they had made regarding the length of working time. And many workers who had not made concessions in the 1980s have recently been able to win improved holiday and vacation provisions in their contracts.

Working time in the foreseeable future¹¹

Four working-time patterns stand out in the 1980s. First, the working hours of many full-time workers were lengthened. Second, the working time of other employees was shortened (or less than desired), and more precarious. Third, work schedules became more diverse. Fourth, increased employer flexibility in work scheduling was at the centre of many collective bargaining disputes.

What do these trends foretell for the rest of the 1990s? Two distinct scenarios are possible. The first is an employee-driven one, predicated on a predicted labour shortage. The second is an employer-driven one, based on the continuation of an existing labour surplus and a weak labour movement.

Although the US economy is currently in recession, much attention has been devoted to an anticipated labour shortage by the end of the decade. There will be an inadequate supply of labour given the relatively low birthrates in the 1960s and 1970s. There will be a mismatch between highly skilled jobs and undereducated workers.¹²

While the analysis underlying these reports has been effectively challenged,¹³ and a labour shortage may not emerge, it is still useful to draw out its implications for working-time patterns. Employers facing a tight labour market would be forced to create compensation packages and work schedules more in line with workers' desires. Given the growth in dual earner couples and female-headed households, more 'family-friendly' working-time arrangements would be likely to evolve. Work schedules would become more diverse, with, for example, more job sharing and flexitime. The quality of part-time and part-year work would improve, with pay and benefits more closely resembling those received by similar full-time workers. Temporary work and part-time work would become less precarious and job ladders may strengthen for contingent workers. Those workers facing involuntary 'voluntary' retirement would be fewer and would be better able to find employment elsewhere. The bargaining power of unions would strengthen. The trend towards longer working time with no additional compensation would cease and perhaps begin to reverse itself.

It is more likely, however, that a labour surplus will remain even when economic growth returns. First, the ongoing 'corporate restructuring' may result in the permanent loss of many full-time jobs. Second, the existing slump is more serious than the official unemployment rate, hovering at around 7%, suggests. Labour force growth has stagnated. Many have dropped out or not entered due to perceived poor job prospects. Within this group are many elderly who have retired either voluntarily or involuntarily, but are ready to work. Louis Harris and Associates has estimated that nearly 2 million non-working people of 50-64 years of age are ready and able to work. Those outside the labour force represent a source of labour able to be tapped if economic conditions improve.

Furthermore, the official unemployment rate masks the breadth of the slump. Approximately 20% of the labour force was jobless in 1991, not much below the 22% of the labour force who were out of work for all or part of 1982, when the unemployment rate was 9.7%. Thus, a relatively large share of the labour force is currently cycling through periods of unemployment.

If a labour surplus is combined with a continuation of cost-cutting strategies by US employers, then working-time patterns in the 1990s will be a continuation of those in the 1980s. The labour surplus will help to weaken the bargaining power of organized labour and individual workers. The working week will remain at the high

level of the 1980s. Paid time off will not increase. Some full-time jobs may be transformed into part-time and temporary positions, and more people will exhibit relatively short job tenure. However, even with a labour surplus, more diverse work schedules will continue to be developed. They are not particularly expensive for employers to institute, where feasible, and they allow employers to gain access to more highly qualified workers.

The employer-driven and employee-driven scenarios have been developed without bringing in the role of the federal government. The federal government can influence the nature of future working-time arrangements. A federal full employment programme would increase the relative bargaining power of labour, thereby increasing the likelihood of an employee-driven path to new working-time arrangements in the 1990s. It can have a more direct influence through legislation such as mandating the minimum length of paid annual vacations, increasing the overtime premium and making it effective at less than a 40-hour working week, and requiring pro-rated benefits for part-time or temporary workers.

A worker-centred approach is more desirable. But a labour shortage is not on the horizon. A strengthened labour movement is required to organize part-time and temporary workers, and to push such an agenda at the bargaining table and in the political arena. Whether this will come about remains to be seen.

Notes and references

1. The data in Table 1 are derived from the household survey (Current Population Survey) which measures hours actually worked by individuals. Those moonlighting—holding two or more positions—are given a position corresponding to the total hours worked at all positions.
2. Persons on full-time schedules include those working 35 hours or more during the survey week, and those who worked from one to 34 hours for non-economic reasons, and usually work full-time. The remaining people who worked from one to 34 hours are considered to be on part-time schedules. The years in the table were business cycle peaks.
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4. C. Lilly, 'Reasons for the continuing growth of part-time employment', *Monthly Labor Review*, 113(3), March 1991.
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6. R. S. Belous, *The Contingent Economy: The Growth of the Temporary, Part-Time and Subcontracted Workforce* (Washington, DC, National Planning Association, 1989), page 16.
7. K. G. Abraham 'Flexible staffing arrangements and employers' short-term adjustment strategies', in R. A. Hart (editor), *Employment, Unemployment, and Labor Utilization* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1988), page 296.
8. S. L. Smith 'The growing diversity of work schedules', *Monthly Labor Review*, 109(11), November 1986.
9. Bureau of National Affairs, *The Changing Workplace: New Directions in Staffing and Scheduling* (Washington, DC, Bureau of National Affairs, 1986), page 53.
10. *Ibid.*, page 63.
11. *Ibid.*, page 51.
12. E. E. Mellor 'Shift work and flexitime: how prevalent are they?', *Monthly Labor Review*, 109(11), November 1986.
13. Shifts are defined in the following way. The first shift, or day shift, is a work period in which half or more of the hours fall between 8am and 4pm. The second shift, or evening shift, is a work period that is scheduled to end at or near midnight. The third shift, or night shift, is a work period that is scheduled to start at or near midnight. See S. L. King and H. B. Williams, 'Shift work pay differentials and practices in manufacturing', *Monthly Labor Review*, 108(12), December 1985, page 26. These data on shiftwork are derived from the Area Wage Survey programme of the US Department of Labor.
14. King and Williams, *ibid.* S. Rosenberg 'The workweek of capital and the workweek of labor: the United States experience', *Economies et Sociétés*, 23(9-10), September-October 1991.
15. The data are generated from a survey where shiftwork describes those schedules other than a

'regular daytime schedule'. Shiftworkers are considered to be those who state that they work other than a 'regular daytime schedule'. It is a self-identified notion of shift rather than one based on the time that a person begins and ends the working day. Because of changes in the definition of shiftwork, there is no consistent series on trends in the extent of overall shift working in the USA. Although not strictly shiftwork by this definition, weekend work is common. About a quarter of all workers normally work on Saturday, while about one in eight usually work on Sunday.

16. In 1984, data from the Area Wage Surveys showed 24.9% of full-time production workers in manufacturing were shiftworkers (King and Williams, *op cit.* reference 13, page 27). Yet, Mellor *op cit.* reference 12, finds only 17.9% of full-time employees in manufacturing were shiftworkers in 1985. This discrepancy is likely to stem from two factors. First, different definitions of shiftwork are used in the two analyses. Second, in manufacturing there are many non-production workers who are less likely to be shiftworkers than are the 'production workers'.
17. B. E. Ichimowski and A. E. Preston 'New trends in part-time employment', in *Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting* (Madison, WI, Industrial Relations Research Association, 1986; R. C. Ehrenberg, P. Rosenberg and J. H. Part-time employment in the United States', in R. A. Hart (ed.), *Employment, Unemployment, and Labor Utilization* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1988).
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THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF REDUCING AND REORGANIZING WORKING TIME

Gilbert Cetté and Dominique Taddéi

This article goes beyond the often ideological debate for and against a reduction in working time and analyses the effects of shorter working time at company and country levels. Logic and experience dictate that such reductions must be accompanied by a process of work reorganization and include financial compensation for those working shorter hours. However, while these three ingredients are indissoluble, not all firms can proceed at the same pace and in the same ways. Nevertheless, the article shows that, as long as implementation proceeds in a decentralized and selective manner and is accompanied by a judicious reorganization of these hours, it could be extremely beneficial to all parties—companies, the state and individuals, both workers and producers.

While ideological or doctrinal debates about the effects on employment of a reduction in working time often become very heated, economic analysis over the past 10 years has not left us with particularly clear-cut conclusions. Using recent studies, we show that the effects of a reduction in working time, either at company or country-level, essentially depend on the way in which it is implemented. Such a reduction is closely linked to two other areas—the reorganizations of working practice (notably the possible extension of shiftwork) which accompany it, and the financial compensation which it implies. These three components must be taken into account simultaneously when conducting both theoretical and empirical analysis. In order to avoid any confusion, we have called this triad 'reduction-reorganization of work' (henceforward RRW). It can be seen further that when RRW is undertaken by firms it usually gives rise to the joint negotiation of these three factors by management and unions.

A long chain of events leads RRW to influence the level of business activity

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CHANGES IN WORK HOURS OF MALE EMPLOYEES, 1940-1988

MARY T. COLEMAN and JOHN PENCAVEL*

This paper examines changes in work hours of male employees as reported in Decennial Censuses from 1940 to 1980 and in the 1980 and 1988 Current Population Surveys. Aggregate data analyzed in previous research do not reveal the changes in hours that have occurred among workers of different skills. Although median weekly hours were virtually constant from 1940 to 1988, the upper tail of the hours distribution fell for those with little schooling and rose for the well-educated. Hours declined for young and older men (especially black men), but changed little for white men in their prime working years.

Most of the research into work hours conducted by economists over the past 25 years has focused on explanations for cross-sectional differences among individuals in their hours of work. Special attention has been directed to measuring the effect of wages and nonwage income on hours. By comparison, there has been little analysis of changes in work hours over time. The studies that have approached this question have used highly aggregative data to determine whether average hours have fallen in the years since 1940. Hours are generally believed to have fallen before 1940; the issue is whether this decline in average hours

ended or moderated over the following 50 years.

The research to date seems to have arrived at few robust conclusions. Thus, Jones (1974), Kniesner (1976), and Owen (1979) report little evidence for a trend decline in hours of work, but that conclusion relies heavily (sometimes exclusively) on data pertaining to production workers in manufacturing, a group increasingly unrepresentative of the total population of employees in the United States. By contrast, Greis (1984) claims to have found a decline in average annual working hours since 1947.¹ Most recently, in a book that has received remarkable popular attention, Schor (1991) maintains that "in the last twenty years the amount of time

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¹ Jones (1985) casts serious doubt on Greis's findings. Ehrenberg and Schumann (1982) compute a rising trend between 1956 and 1977 in production workers' average weekly overtime hours, though only for nondurable manufacturing would this trend be judged as significantly different from zero by the usual statistical criteria. Further clouding the existing picture, time diary data suggest considerable reductions in weekly hours at work for pay for men between 1965 and 1981: average hours (excluding commuting time) fell from 46.8 to 40.5. See Juster and Stafford (1991).

Americans have spent at their jobs has risen steadily. . . . Working hours are already longer than they were forty years ago" (Schor 1991:1).

Most of this research draws inferences from establishment data collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.² The procedure has been to examine average hours worked at the level of two- or three-digit industries (or often at a higher level of aggregation). Virtually none of the variables that in cross-section studies of hours appear to be associated with differences in work behavior are taken into account. Therefore, it is not surprising that the issue of how hours worked have changed since 1940 is quite unresolved.

The purpose of this paper is to report on changes in male employees' hours worked since 1940, as shown in Public Use Microdata files of the Decennial Censuses of Population. We supplement these Census data with information from the March 1980 and March 1988 files of the Current Population Surveys to compile a record of almost 50 years of observations on hours worked. These household surveys offer a perspective on hours worked different from that provided by establishment data. For instance, in the latter, a multiple job-holder is counted as two or more distinct people with two or more jobs. In our work, each individual's hours on all jobs are aggregated to provide a measure of total labor supply. Also, the household surveys collect a great deal of information on other characteristics of the workers, and these characteristics can be taken into account in measuring the movement over time in the hours of particular groups of people.

Because of the emphasis in previous

research on the behavior of average hours, we pay particular attention to changes in the average. We have computed average hours within schooling-experience-year cells for white and black men separately and tracked the behavior of these averages by cohort.

We also provide information on changes in the distribution of hours around the average and find changes that have been unreported in the literature to date. For instance, whereas median hours have altered very little, there have been movements in the distribution that generate changes in average hours. The changes for skilled workers have been quite different from those for unskilled workers. We document the movement in average hours by computing differences in average hours by cohort, by schooling, and by work experience. We determine whether movements in work behavior are associated with differences in cohort size, hourly earnings, and cyclical conditions.

Changes in the Hours and Weeks Distributions

Samples Selected

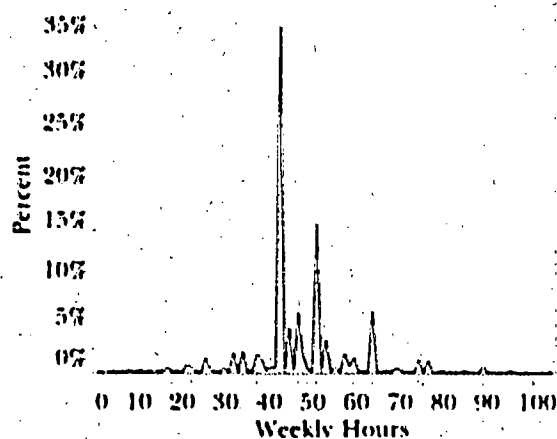
The samples described below all consist of wage and salary employees³ aged between 16 and 64 years with positive earnings and weeks worked reported for the year prior to the survey and with positive hours of work in the week prior to the survey.⁴ We label the data by the year of the survey, but it should be remembered that the weeks worked and earnings data relate to the year before the survey.

The two questions of which we shall make most use ask for the number of hours worked for pay during the previous week and for the number of weeks worked during the past year. Each individual's

² Schor (1991) combines data from the *National Income and Product Accounts* for 1948-68 with data from the Current Population Surveys for 1969-87. She says she has "corrected" the data for the rise in unemployment and underemployment, but she does not specify how this correction was effected. She also does not mention the fact that until the mid-1970s the CPS data provide hours and weeks worked only within intervals, and she does not describe how she computed mean hours and weeks for these years. Her focus appears to be on *average* work behavior.

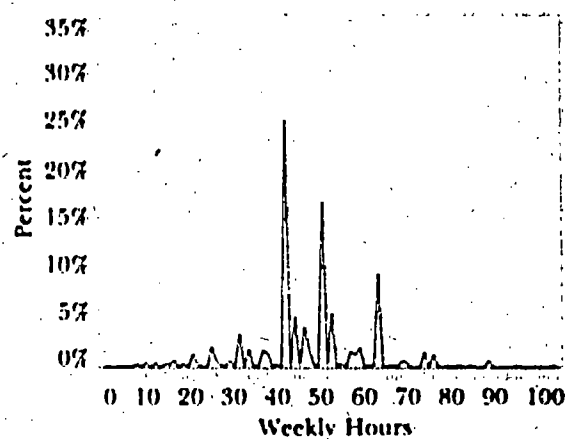
³ The 1940 Census provides information on work behavior for only wage and salary employees, so we restricted our analysis in subsequent years to these workers also.

⁴ Excluded are people outside the civilian work force and those resident in group quarters. In 1940, weekly hours were not recorded for those at work on public emergency programs, so these people are also omitted.



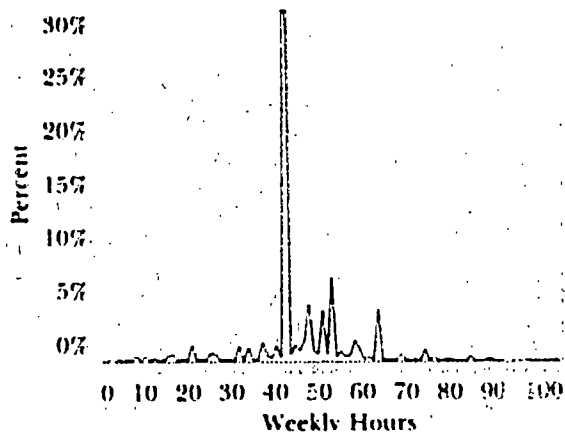
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1940.

Figure 1. Weekly Hours of Work:
White Men, 1940.



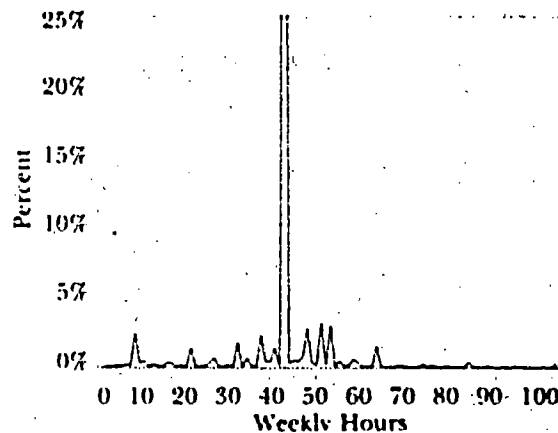
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1940.

Figure 3. Weekly Hours of Work:
Black Men, 1940.



Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

Figure 2. Weekly Hours of Work:
White Men, 1980.



Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

Figure 4. Weekly Hours of Work:
Black Men, 1980.

annual hours worked are defined as the product of his hours worked in the week prior to the survey and his weeks worked in the previous year. For the most part, the wording of the questions on work behavior in these surveys has changed little over time. The major exception is the treatment of weeks worked for part-time workers. In the 1940 Census, enumerators were asked to estimate the number of equivalent full-time weeks worked by the part-time worker, with a full-time work week defined as 40 hours.³ Subsequent

Censuses asked simply for weeks worked over the past year. The 1940 data on weeks worked therefore differ from those for subsequent years. Because relatively few men work part-time, however, the differences introduced are likely to be smaller for men than for women.

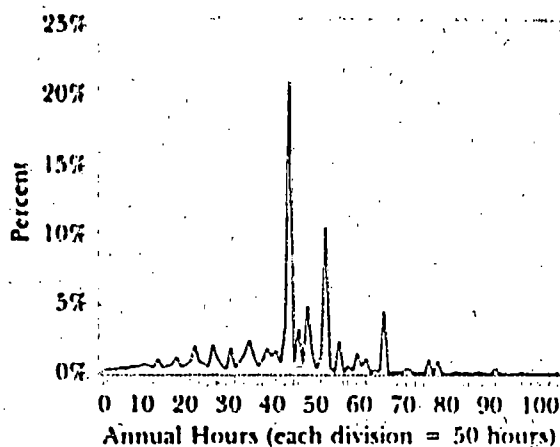
Vacations with pay and paid sick leave are counted as weeks worked, so this information on weeks of work indicates firms' costs of employing workers more

³ The documentation accompanying the Census supplies an example:

A spinner states that he worked full time for 20 weeks, was on paid vacation for 2 weeks and worked part-time for 30 weeks. He states that he regards the part-time weeks as equivalent to

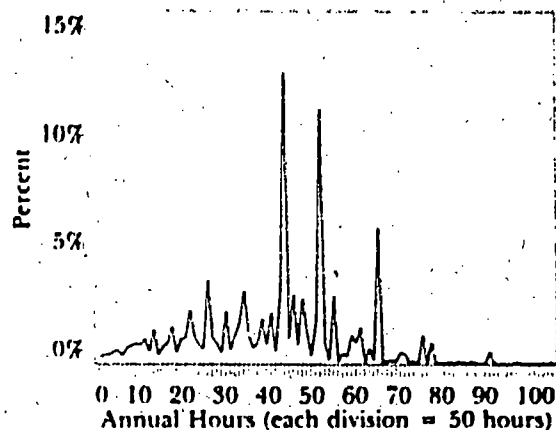
about one-half of full-time, or 15 full-time weeks. The number of equivalent full-time weeks worked is 20, plus 2, plus 15 or 37 weeks. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census, Volume 3, "The Labor Force,"* Part 1, p. 299)

Summer vacations of school teachers who did no other work during the summer were not counted as time worked.



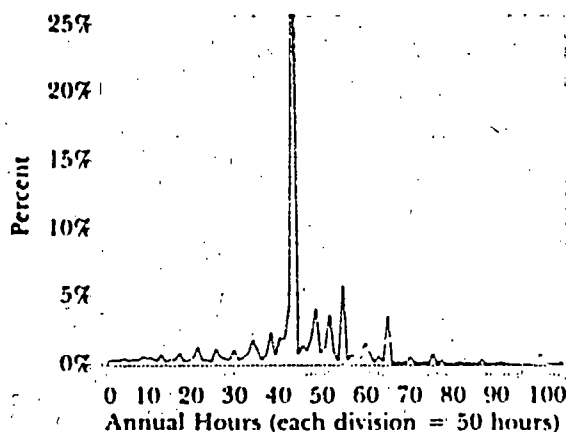
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1940.

Figure 5. Annual Hours of Work:
White Men, 1940.



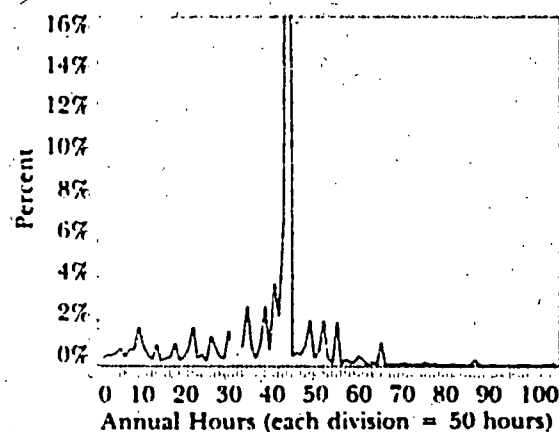
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1940.

Figure 7. Annual Hours of Work:
Black Men, 1940.



Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

Figure 6. Annual Hours of Work:
White Men, 1980.



Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1980.

Figure 8. Annual Hours of Work:
Black Men, 1980.

accurately than it does actual time at work. Weekly hours is supposed to relate to hours actually worked, not those usually worked or hours scheduled.⁶

⁶ Also relevant to the frequency distributions reported below is the fact that in the 1960 and 1970 Censuses, the weekly hours and annual weeks data are recorded only as categorical variables. There are eight categories of hours and six categories of weeks. We proceeded by assigning to each individual the midpoint of the category to which he was allocated. Other procedures that we experimented with had little effect on our results. Nevertheless, the reader should keep in mind this additional source of error in measuring the observations for these years. Weekly hours are top coded at 98 hours in the 1940 Census and at 99 hours thereafter. The percentage of observations top coded is never greater than 0.3. In all the calculations below, individuals at the truncation point were assigned their coded values.

The Patterns for White and Black Workers

Distributions of weekly hours and annual hours from the Censuses for 1940 and 1980 are plotted in Figures 1 through 8. Weekly hours have a distinct peak at 40, with the spike being more pronounced in 1980 than in 1940. Weekly hours tend to be skewed to the right, though this pattern is more evident for white than for black men. There are spikes in weekly hours at 44, 48, and 60 hours, but these are less pronounced in 1980, when the 40-hour work week is much more the norm.

Annual weeks are strongly concentrated at 52, with the concentration being greater in 1980 than in 1940. Annual hours, represented by the product of weekly hours and annual weeks, peaks at 2,080

Table 1. Hours and Weeks Worked of White Men, 1940-88.

Year	Mean	Median	St. Dev.	Percentiles			
				10	25	75	90
Weekly Hours							
1940	44.1	40	11.93	32	40	48	60
1950	43.4	40	10.88	36	40	48	56
1960	43.3	40	9.41	37	40	45	54
1970	43.1	40	9.46	37	40	45	54
1980	42.9	40	11.44	35	40	48	56
1980/S	42.9	40	13.30	30	40	50	60
1988/S	42.4	40	10.75	35	40	46	55
Annual Weeks							
1940	45.0	52	11.63	26	40	52	52
1950	46.3	52	10.57	30	45	52	52
1960	48.4	52	8.60	33	52	52	52
1970	49.4	52	7.38	44	52	52	52
1980	48.1	52	9.10	37	50	52	52
1980/S	48.6	52	8.84	39	52	52	52
1988/S	46.6	52	11.74	26	50	52	52
Annual Hours							
1940	2018	2080	793	900	1600	2496	2925
1950	2025	2080	709	1040	1800	2340	2808
1960	2111	2080	607	1320	1940	2314	2808
1970	2138	2080	582	1610	1940	2314	2808
1980	2088	2080	694	1188	1976	2392	2860
1980/S	2114	2080	774	1040	1920	2496	3120
1988/S	2012	2080	726	910	1920	2340	2704

Note: "/S" denotes values from the March Current Population Surveys. The base data sets are the 1940 through 1980 Census of Population Public Use Microdata Samples and the 1980 and 1988 March Current Population Surveys, Annual Demographic Files.

hours, with a particularly pronounced spike in 1980. In general, the spikes in the hours and weeks distributions for these male workers are much more prominent in 1980 than 40 years earlier.⁷

The concentration of white men's weekly hours at 40 throughout the period means that their median weekly hours have not changed since 1940; for black men, the median has stood at 40 hours since 1950. Similarly, the clustering of

annual weeks at 52 in all years implies that median weeks have not changed at all. On the other hand, the shapes of the distributions around these central tendencies have changed. Summary statistics provided in Tables 1 and 2 show a slight downward trend in arithmetic mean weekly hours of work, a consequence of a decline in the upper tail of the weekly hours distribution: weekly hours at the 75th percentile fell from 48 for white men and 50 for black men in 1940 to 46 and 40, respectively, by 1988. Mean annual hours changed little for white men, but fell for black men.⁸ The variation among workers

⁷ The percentages of observations at the spikes are as follows:

Spike	White		Black	
	1940	1980	1940	1980
40 Weekly Hours	35	49	25	69
52 Annual Weeks	59	70	50	60
2,080 Annual Hours	21	36	12	44

⁸ Schor (1991) claims that between 1969 and 1987 "men are working nearly one hundred (98) more hours per year, or two and a half extra weeks" (Schor 1991: 29). Her Table 2.1 gives annual hours of 2,054 in 1969 and 2,152 in 1987, both numbers larger than our entries for either white or black men in 1970 and 1988. (In fact, because of our convention of dating the observations by the year of the survey, both our observations and Schor's relate to the same years.) Our data

Table 2. Hours and Weeks Worked of Black Men, 1940-88.

Year	Mean	Median	St. Dev.	Percentile:			
				10	25	75	90
Weekly Hours							
1940	44.5	44	13.10	32	40	50	60
1950	42.8	40	10.84	36	40	48	56
1960	40.4	40	10.38	37	40	45	54
1970	40.2	40	8.98	37	40	40	54
1980	39.6	40	10.19	35	40	40	56
1980/S	39.3	40	11.05	30	40	40	60
1988/S	39.6	40	9.26	35	40	40	55
Annual Weeks							
1940	43.1	52	12.18	26	36	52	52
1950	45.3	52	11.05	30	40	52	52
1960	45.5	52	11.21	33	44	52	52
1970	47.8	52	9.00	44	49	52	52
1980	46.3	52	11.00	37	48	52	52
1980/S	47.2	52	10.61	39	50	52	52
1988/S	44.5	52	13.74	26	43	52	52
Annual Hours							
1940	1960	2080	853	900	1344	2496	2925
1950	1959	2080	714	1040	1600	2340	2808
1960	1865	2080	682	1320	1664	2080	2808
1970	1941	2080	582	1610	1740	2080	2808
1980	1856	2080	655	1188	1750	2080	2860
1980/S	1887	2080	699	1040	1664	2080	3120
1988/S	1809	2080	718	910	1560	2080	2704

Source: See note to Table 1.

(as indicated by the standard deviation or by the difference between the 75th and 25th percentiles) in weeks worked shows a downward trend from 1940 until 1970, at which point it starts to rise. At least in part, this pattern reflects variations over time in the incidence and duration of unemployment.⁹

for 1970 are taken from the Census, whereas hers are drawn from the CPS. A more important possible reason for the discrepancy between her numbers and ours, however, is suggested by a footnote to Schor's Table 2.1, which reads, "Includes only fully employed labor force participants." The appendix to her book does not explain how she "corrected for . . . unemployment and underemployment."

⁹The national unemployment percentages over this period were as follows:

Year	All Workers	White Men	Black Men
1939	17.2		
1949	5.9	5.6	9.6
1959	5.5	4.6	11.5
1969	3.5	2.5	5.3
1979	5.8	4.5	11.4
1987	6.2	5.4	12.7

These unemployment rates are positively correlated with the standard deviation in annual weeks in Tables 1 and 2.

Disaggregation by Schooling

The statistics above, which relate to all male white and black wage and salary workers, indicate that hours and weeks worked changed little between 1940 and 1988 except at the upper tail of the distribution of weekly hours. This absence of change among all workers, however, conceals changes at a lower level of aggregation. One variable that has clear relevance in this connection is education.

Tables 3 and 4 provide descriptive statistics from the Censuses for the years 1940, 1950, and 1980 and from the CPS for 1988 for workers with 12 or fewer years of schooling and for workers with 16 or more years of schooling.¹⁰ This break-

¹⁰We present values for 1950 as well as 1940 because of the slight difference between the definition of weeks worked in 1940 and the definition in subsequent Censuses and because the general level of economic activity in 1940 differed considerably from that of the later years. As mentioned earlier, the hours and weeks worked data for the Censuses of 1960 and 1970 are organized into groups, and calculation of means and other statistics are affected to some degree by this procedure.

Table 3. Hours and Weeks Worked of White Men by Schooling, 1940-88.

Measure	≤ 12 Years of Schooling				≥ 16 Years of Schooling			
	1940	1950	1980	1988	1940	1950	1980	1988
<i>Weekly Hours</i>								
Mean	44.0	43.3	42.2	41.3	44.6	43.7	44.8	44.9
Standard Deviation	12.1	10.9	11.3	10.8	10.0	10.5	11.2	10.1
Median	40	40	40	40	42	40	40	40
25th Percentile	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
75th Percentile	48	48	46	45	48	48	50	50
Skewness	0.47	0.71	0.47	0.37	1.23	0.88	0.78	0.70
<i>Annual Weeks</i>								
Mean	44.7	46.1	47.5	45.2	48.0	47.4	49.2	49.5
Standard Deviation	11.9	10.6	9.7	13.0	9.0	9.8	7.4	7.8
Median	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
25th Percentile	40	45	49	45	50	50	52	52
75th Percentile	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
Skewness	-1.62	-2.02	-2.59	-1.88	-2.65	-2.45	-3.46	-3.75
<i>Annual Hours</i>								
Mean	1,997	2,018	2,033	1,909	2,156	2,087	2,214	2,243
Standard Deviation	806	799	698	746	652	679	656	616
Median	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
25th Percentile	1,560	1,760	1,920	1,680	2,000	1,920	2,080	2,080
75th Percentile	2,496	2,340	2,340	2,080	2,496	2,400	2,600	2,600
Skewness	0.02	0.01	-0.17	-0.44	0.68	0.05	0.19	-0.20

down shows that among white men, weekly hours of work at the 75th percentile fell from 48 to 45 for those with little schooling but rose from 48 to 50 for

college graduates. These changes in the upper tail result in a reduction in mean weekly hours of 2.7 hours for those with little schooling and a slight increase in

Table 4. Hours and Weeks Worked of Black Men by Schooling, 1940-88.

Measure	≤ 12 Years of Schooling				≥ 16 Years of Schooling			
	1940	1950	1980	1988	1940	1950	1980	1988
<i>Weekly Hours</i>								
Mean	44.5	42.8	39.5	39.0	43.3	42.1	40.4	42.5
Standard Deviation	13.1	10.9	10.2	9.1	12.8	10.5	10.3	10.0
Median	44	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
25th Percentile	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
75th Percentile	50	48	40	40	48	48	40	43
Skewness	0.01	0.39	-0.02	-0.14	0.63	0.96	0.28	2.04
<i>Annual Weeks</i>								
Mean	43.1	45.2	46.1	43.3	45.1	46.4	47.6	48.0
Standard Deviation	12.2	11.1	11.3	14.6	11.0	9.8	8.9	10.3
Median	51	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
25th Percentile	36	40	48	40	40	40	48	52
75th Percentile	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
Skewness	-1.25	-1.76	-2.16	-1.52	-1.72	-1.95	-2.52	-2.84
<i>Annual Hours</i>								
Mean	1,957	1,953	1,840	1,738	2,015	1,971	1,943	2,070
Standard Deviation	853	715	659	729	857	700	633	692
Median	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
25th Percentile	1,323	1,600	1,680	1,380	1,440	1,440	1,820	2,080
75th Percentile	2,496	2,340	2,080	2,080	2,496	2,288	2,080	2,184
Skewness	-0.01	-0.11	-0.52	-0.65	0.25	0.34	-0.17	0.26

Table 5. Mean Hours and Weeks Worked of White Men by Experience, 1940-88.

Calendar Year	Years of Experience								
	All Years	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	> 36
Weekly Hours									
1940	44.1	43.6	44.5	44.4	44.3	44.4	44.5	43.8	43.6
1950	43.4	41.4	43.9	44.0	44.2	44.7	43.4	43.0	42.8
1980	42.9	38.4	43.5	44.6	44.9	44.9	44.5	43.6	42.4
1988	42.4	36.3	43.3	44.4	44.6	44.4	44.2	43.8	41.5
% Change, '88 - '40	-3.85	-16.74	-2.70	0	0.68	0	-0.67	0	-4.82
Annual Weeks									
1940	45.0	40.2	44.3	45.2	46.4	46.5	46.4	45.7	45.3
1950	46.3	41.5	46.0	47.2	47.3	47.2	47.1	46.7	46.2
1980	48.1	42.9	48.3	49.0	49.8	49.8	50.0	49.7	49.4
1988	46.6	38.8	47.5	48.3	48.9	49.1	49.0	48.6	46.5
% Change, '88 - '40	3.56	-3.48	7.22	6.86	5.39	5.59	5.60	6.35	2.65
Annual Hours									
1940	2,018	1,791	1,997	2,037	2,078	2,089	2,089	2,040	2,013
1950	2,025	1,744	2,036	2,091	2,103	2,082	2,061	2,027	2,002
1980	2,088	1,707	2,117	2,194	2,243	2,243	2,229	2,177	2,103
1988	2,012	1,476	2,078	2,158	2,195	2,189	2,171	2,140	1,958
% Change, '88 - '40	-0.30	-17.59	4.06	5.94	5.63	4.79	3.93	4.90	-2.73

mean hours for college graduates. Among black men, weekly hours fell for both groups, but the reduction for college graduates is much smaller than that for the group with 12 or fewer years of schooling.

Among both white and black men, mean annual hours fell for those with little schooling and rose for college graduates. Among white men, annual hours worked rose for both schooling groups at the 25th percentile, but at the 75th percentile annual hours fell for the less schooled and rose for college graduates. Among black men, annual hours rose at the 25th percentile and fell at the 75th percentile for both groups.

Thus, changes in hours worked are evident in the upper tail of the hours distribution, and the changes are greater for those with little schooling than for those with a college education. For example, 14.2% of white men with 12 or fewer years of schooling were working more than 55 hours per week in 1940, compared to only 7.2% in 1988; and the corresponding percentages for white men with 16 or more years of schooling are 11.8 in 1940 and 11.2 in 1988. Similarly, among white men with 12 or fewer years of schooling, 13.3% were working more

than 2,750 hours in 1940, but only 7.5% in 1988; and the corresponding percentages for white male college graduates are 12.0 in 1940 and 14.7 in 1988.¹¹

Disaggregation by Work Experience

Tables 5 and 6 present mean values of hours and weeks in 1940, 1950, 1980, and 1988 by estimated years at work.¹² Among white men, in 1940 the weekly hours of work varied little with years of experience. The values for 1950, however, trace out the familiar inverted U shape, a pattern that is even clearer in 1980 and 1988. Correspondingly, average weekly hours fell for new labor market entrants and for

¹¹ The percentage of black men with 12 or fewer years of schooling who worked more than 55 hours per week fell from 18.1 in 1940 to 3.7 in 1988, and the percentage working 2,750 hours per year fell from 15.5 in 1940 to 3.5 in 1988. Among black men with 16 or more years of schooling, the percentage working more than 55 hours per week fell from 14.5 to 7.7 over those years, and the percentage working more than 2,750 hours per year fell from 15.9 to 8.7. Thus, as is the case for white men, the changes are more pronounced for those with relatively little schooling.

¹² Work experience is defined as current age less years of schooling less six. All individuals for whom this value is positive are included in the samples.

Table 6. Mean Hours and Weeks Worked of Black Men by Experience, 1940-88.

Calendar Year	Years of Experience								
	All Years	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	> 36
Weekly Hours									
1940	44.5	43.0	44.9	44.3	45.6	44.4	44.8	44.2	43.7
1950	42.8	40.9	42.7	42.3	43.4	43.3	43.7	42.6	42.9
1980	39.6	36.7	40.1	40.5	40.4	40.5	40.4	40.3	39.5
1988	39.6	33.8	41.0	40.5	41.7	41.5	40.7	41.0	39.9
% Change, '88 - '40	-11.01	-21.40	-8.69	-8.54	-8.55	-6.53	-9.15	-7.24	-8.70
Annual Weeks									
1940	43.1	37.2	41.3	42.5	44.1	44.0	44.5	43.5	43.9
1950	45.3	41.6	45.0	45.5	46.4	46.7	46.7	45.6	45.2
1980	46.3	40.9	45.7	47.2	47.6	48.3	48.3	48.2	48.1
1988	44.5	34.4	44.2	46.8	47.6	48.1	48.1	47.9	47.3
% Change, '88 - '40	3.25	-7.53	7.02	10.12	7.94	8.09	8.09	10.11	7.74
Annual Hours									
1940	1,960	1,653	1,902	1,929	2,044	1,989	2,037	1,965	1,955
1950	1,959	1,717	1,927	1,949	2,024	1,982	2,053	1,977	1,962
1980	1,856	1,541	1,853	1,920	1,936	1,957	1,960	1,956	1,913
1988	1,809	1,239	1,843	1,914	2,007	1,962	1,980	1,971	1,906
% Change, '88 - '40	-7.70	-25.05	-3.10	-0.78	-1.81	-1.36	-2.80	0.31	-2.51

those with many years of experience, but hardly changed for those with between 11 and 35 years of experience.

Among white men, annual weeks worked fell for new labor market entrants, but increased almost uniformly for all other groups. Although average annual hours for all white men changed very little, there is considerable variation in annual hours worked by experience: those with few years of experience and those with many years of experience worked fewer hours in 1988 than in 1940, whereas those with 11 to 25 years of experience worked about 5-6% more.

Among black men, average weekly hours of work fell between 7% and 9% for all experience groups except new labor market entrants, for whom weekly hours fell a remarkable 21%. Annual weeks worked rose by 7% to 10% except for those with 1-5 years of experience. Average annual hours decreased slightly for all experience groups except, once again, new labor market entrants, whose average annual hours fell by one-quarter.

In general, Tables 5 and 6 suggest that life cycle profiles in work behavior changed markedly between 1940 and 1988. The inverted U shape commonly

associated with the age-hours profile is much more pronounced in recent years than in 1940 and 1950.

Disaggregation by Major Industry

Much of the research analyzing the time-series movement in hours worked has concentrated on manufacturing industry, even though since 1940 manufacturing employment has represented only about one-third to one-fifth of total employment. It is useful, therefore, to ascertain whether the hours patterns in manufacturing industry are similar to those in other industries.

Tables 7 and 8 provide some descriptive statistics on the work behavior of white and black men in ten major industrial groups. Median weekly hours in manufacturing did not change between 1940 and 1988, whereas in most other industries they fell during that time, with most of the drop occurring between 1940 and 1950. Average weekly hours rose in manufacturing, but fell in most other industries—especially the service sector, where employment has grown most rapidly.¹³

¹³ When averaged over the four gender/race groups (white men, black men, white women, and

Table 7. Mean and Median Hours and Weeks Worked of White Men by Industry, 1940-88.

Industry	Mean				Median			
	1940	1950	1980	1988	1940	1950	1980	1988
<i>Weekly Hours</i>								
Agriculture	51.4	51.3	46.7	46.4	50	50	44	42
Mining	35.3	39.8	46.9	46.8	36	40	40	40
Construction	40.7	40.3	40.5	41.6	40	40	40	40
Manufacturing	40.4	41.3	43.1	42.9	40	40	40	40
Transp. & Pub. Util.	44.5	43.4	43.7	43.6	44	40	40	40
Wholesale Trade	45.6	44.7	44.0	44.4	44	40	40	40
Retail Trade	49.9	46.9	41.9	40.0	48	48	40	40
Fin., Ins., & R. Est.	46.2	43.8	43.4	43.0	44	40	40	40
Services	46.2	43.8	42.5	41.8	45	40	40	40
Public Admin.	45.6	43.4	43.2	42.5	44	40	40	40
<i>Annual Weeks</i>								
Agriculture	43.0	43.4	45.2	39.5	52	52	52	52
Mining	39.0	39.3	47.9	46.0	41	40	52	52
Construction	39.3	42.7	46.4	43.2	40	49	52	52
Manufacturing	44.6	46.8	49.2	48.4	52	52	52	52
Transp. & Pub. Util.	47.3	48.0	49.1	48.7	52	52	52	52
Wholesale Trade	48.0	48.0	49.4	48.5	52	52	52	52
Retail Trade	46.6	46.2	46.2	44.1	52	52	52	52
Fin., Ins., & R. Est.	49.2	48.7	49.5	48.7	52	52	52	52
Services	45.2	45.7	46.7	46.4	52	52	52	52
Public Admin.	49.4	49.2	49.9	49.4	52	52	52	52
<i>Annual Hours</i>								
Agriculture	2,270	2,286	2,187	1,917	2,400	2,340	2,080	2,080
Mining	1,429	1,599	2,243	2,133	1,400	1,600	2,080	2,080
Construction	1,630	1,746	1,902	1,820	1,600	1,960	2,080	2,080
Manufacturing	1,824	1,940	2,130	2,088	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
Transp. & Pub. Util.	2,123	2,091	2,160	2,131	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
Wholesale Trade	2,203	2,157	2,187	2,175	2,288	2,080	2,080	2,080
Retail Trade	2,358	2,195	2,002	1,848	2,496	2,288	2,080	2,080
Fin., Ins., & R. Est.	2,283	2,147	2,161	2,121	2,288	2,080	2,080	2,080
Services	2,122	2,036	2,024	1,993	2,160	2,080	2,080	2,080
Public Admin.	2,264	2,142	2,168	2,120	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080

Similarly, average annual hours rose in manufacturing by around 200 hours and rose also in mining, construction, transportation, and public utilities. By contrast, annual hours fell in the service sector. In short, work hour movements in manufacturing do not seem to typify those in the economy in general.

black women), manufacturing industry average weekly hours from the Census of Population suggest an absence of change similar to that implied by the BLS data on production workers:

Source	1940	1950	1980
BLS	38.1	40.5	39.7
Census of Population	39.8	40.7	40.7

Changes in Average Values

As is clear from the frequency distributions of hours and weeks worked of white and black male workers organized by schooling, work experience, and industry, although median hours changed very little between 1940 and 1988, the shapes of the distributions did change. Those changes will be reflected in movements in the values of arithmetic means. When disaggregated by schooling and by experience, these movements in arithmetic means are not the same for white and black men: average weekly hours tended to rise for well-educated white men, but to fall for well-educated black men; average weekly hours fell for black men in all experience

Table 8. Mean and Median Hours and Weeks Worked of Black Men by Industry, 1940-88.

Industry	Mean				Median			
	1940	1950	1980	1988	1940	1950	1980	1988
<i>Weekly Hours</i>								
Agriculture	45.7	47.6	39.6	35.2	48	50	40	40
Mining	34.0	41.1	42.4	42.9	35	40	40	40
Construction	41.1	38.7	38.7	39.6	40	40	40	40
Manufacturing	40.6	40.8	40.3	40.9	40	40	40	40
Transp. & Pub. Util.	42.4	41.9	40.3	41.5	42	40	40	40
Wholesale Trade	46.9	45.3	40.0	41.0	48	40	40	40
Retail Trade	50.4	46.1	38.6	36.8	48	48	40	40
Fin., Ins., & R. Est.	50.3	45.3	39.4	40.7	48	40	40	40
Services	47.4	43.2	38.4	39.0	48	40	40	40
Public Admin.	43.1	42.1	40.5	40.3	42	40	40	40
<i>Annual Weeks</i>								
Agriculture	41.5	42.9	42.5	33.2	45	50	50	40
Mining	39.5	39.5	47.1	52.0	40	40	52	52
Construction	37.6	41.8	43.1	41.2	40	48	50	50
Manufacturing	42.7	45.9	47.5	46.8	50	52	52	52
Transp. & Pub. Util.	44.7	43.4	48.0	46.8	52	52	52	52
Wholesale Trade	44.3	46.9	47.0	46.4	52	52	52	52
Retail Trade	45.4	44.6	44.4	40.1	52	52	52	52
Fin., Ins., & R. Est.	48.9	48.6	47.3	47.4	52	52	52	52
Services	45.4	45.0	44.9	44.3	52	52	52	52
Public Admin.	46.7	49.1	48.2	48.7	52	52	52	52
<i>Annual Hours</i>								
Agriculture	1,940	2,078	1,702	1,234	2,000	2,080	1,960	1,290
Mining	1,369	1,663	2,004	2,229	1,400	1,600	2,080	2,080
Construction	1,584	1,641	1,692	1,646	1,600	1,800	2,000	1,960
Manufacturing	1,758	1,881	1,926	1,929	1,972	2,080	2,080	2,080
Transp. & Pub. Util.	1,947	2,001	1,943	1,962	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
Wholesale Trade	2,104	2,119	1,902	1,928	2,184	2,080	2,080	2,080
Retail Trade	2,306	2,092	1,758	1,578	2,496	2,080	2,080	2,000
Fin., Ins., & R. Est.	2,461	2,216	1,881	1,939	2,496	2,080	2,080	2,080
Services	2,212	1,976	1,758	1,781	2,340	2,080	2,080	2,080
Public Admin.	2,029	2,075	1,965	1,997	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080

groups, but were unchanged for prime-age white men.

Because variations in the values of the arithmetic mean have been analyzed extensively,¹⁴ we pay special attention to understanding the movements in average values. It is widely agreed that average work hours fell in the forty years from 1900 to 1940, but the presence of a downward trend since 1940 has been less apparent and, indeed, many researchers appear to believe that there is little evidence of such a trend.¹⁵

¹⁴ See, for instance, Golden (1990), Greis (1984), Jones (1974), Kniesner (1976), and Owen (1979).

¹⁵ Kniesner (1976:14-15) writes,

During the first forty years of this century the average workweek of full-time male workers declined at a rate of

A very large number of observations are contained in the surveys from 1940 to 1988. To make the analysis manageable, we classify workers into cells defined by their years of schooling and by their years since leaving school. There are many other ways to organize the data, of course, but the association between various dimensions of labor market behavior on the one hand and schooling and various age or experience indicators on the other hand has been well documented.

approximately 8 percent per decade. Since 1940 their hours of work have remained constant. Even when published data are carefully adjusted for underreporting of vacations and holidays, there is no downward trend in the full-time workweek over the past three decades.

We define five schooling classes: 0-11 years, 12 years, 13-15 years, 16 years, and 17 or more years.¹⁶ We shall refer to those with 12 years of schooling as high school graduates and those with 16 years of schooling as college graduates. We define eight adjusted age categories according to the years estimated to have elapsed since the conclusion of formal education: 1-5 years; 6-10 years; 11-15 years; 16-20 years; 21-25 years; 26-30 years; 31-35 years; and 36 or more years. Hence, for each race in any survey year, there are 40 schooling-age cells, and because we analyze seven surveys (from 1940 to 1988), we have 280 cells in all.¹⁷ Arithmetic mean values of weekly hours, annual weeks, and annual hours were computed within each cell.¹⁸

Using the age-calendar year cells as observations, we specified the following equation to describe the patterns in average work behavior within each schooling category:

$$(1) \ln H_p = a_0 + \sum_j a_j X_j + \sum_k b_k C_k + u_p$$

¹⁶ The public use files for the 1950 Census do not distinguish those with 16 years of schooling from those with more than 16 years of schooling.

¹⁷ In fact, we have not 280 but 272 cells for each race, because (as mentioned in footnote 16) the 1950 Census microdata files do not allow us to distinguish between those with 16 years of schooling and those with more than 16 years of schooling.

¹⁸ Other points in the frequency distribution of hours and weeks worked were also computed within these schooling-experience cells. The small changes noted in the previous section in the work behavior of the median worker are also characteristic of those within these schooling-age cells. There is a tendency for weekly hours to be higher in 1940 than in subsequent years and for those who graduated from college to work more hours than those with less schooling, but beyond these patterns the median values show remarkable invariance. Of the 192 cells in the years between 1950 and 1988 for men with 16 years of schooling or less, median weekly hours of work are 40 for all but 13 cells, six for white men and seven for black men. Similarly, the median values for virtually all the weeks worked cells for white and black men are 52. Weekly hours worked have not changed at the 25th percentile, but there is a decline at the 75th percentile (except perhaps for white men with a college education). Annual weeks worked show no change at the 75th percentile, nor at the 25th percentile except for those with little schooling, for whom weeks worked have increased.

H_p denotes, alternately, average weekly hours, annual weeks, and annual hours by experience for group j in calendar year t ; X_j indicates a dichotomous variable for experience group j , and there are seven such variables; C_k is a dichotomous variable for cohort k , with each cohort defined according to the decade in which it is estimated to have entered the labor market (nine cohorts are identified in the data, starting with those who entered the labor market in the first decade of this century and concluding with those entering in the 1980s);¹⁹ and the effects of other variables are incorporated in the term u_p .²⁰

It is important to note that equation (1) excludes interactions between the effects of cohort and experience. We did, however, estimate equations permitting various interactions of this form, and we found that among those with 13-15 years of schooling or less, cohort effects in weekly hours were different across experience categories.²¹ These effects were not evident for those with more schooling and (except for those with less than 12 years of schooling) were not present in the equations for annual hours. Moreover, even where the cohort-experience interactions were statistically significant, their economic significance was moot: the magnitudes of the cohort

¹⁹ Thus, the pre-1910 cohort are those observed in the 1940 Census with more than 30 estimated years of market experience. The 1980s cohort are those observed in the 1988 Current Population Survey with less than ten years of market experience.

²⁰ Heteroskedastic disturbances were found when equation (1) was fitted by conventional least-squares. We investigated the consequences of alternative schemes of weighting the average value in each cell by some function of the number of men underlying its computation. The results presented below correspond to the application of least-squares after multiplying each cell by the square root of the number of underlying observations. In some cells, of course, particularly those for black men in the 1940, 1950, and 1988 surveys, there are few observations from which to calculate average values.

²¹ These cohort-experience interactions suggest that the negative cohort effects in weekly hours were greatest for those with the least experience and those with the most experience, a finding suggested also by the data in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 9. Cohort and Experience Effects in Average Weekly Hours of White Men.
(Standard Errors in Parentheses)

Independent Variable	Years of Schooling				
	≤ 11	12	13-15	16	≥ 17
Experience					
6-10	0.226 ^p (0.033)	0.051 (0.008)	0.108 (0.011)	0.047 (0.008)	0.061 (0.011)
11-15	0.200 (0.035)	0.056 (0.009)	0.116 (0.012)	0.052 (0.009)	0.076 (0.012)
16-20	0.202 (0.035)	0.060 ^p (0.009)	0.123 ^p (0.013)	0.064 ^p (0.010)	0.081 (0.012)
21-25	0.189 (0.036)	0.054 (0.010)	0.102 (0.015)	0.063 (0.011)	0.091 ^p (0.014)
26-30	0.183 (0.036)	0.048 (0.010)	0.102 (0.015)	0.058 (0.012)	0.089 (0.015)
31-35	0.175 (0.036)	0.032 (0.011)	0.077 (0.016)	0.037 (0.013)	0.077 (0.017)
≥ 36	0.158 (0.033)	0.003 (0.010)	0.053 (0.016)	0.012 (0.013)	0.029 (0.019)
Cohort					
1910-19	-0.011 (0.029)	-0.026 (0.029)	-0.042 (0.048)	-0.057 (0.040)	-0.031 (0.064)
1920-29	-0.020 (0.029)	-0.027 (0.028)	-0.055 (0.045)	-0.062 (0.033)	-0.045 (0.063)
1930-39	-0.020 (0.030)	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.066 (0.044)	-0.066 (0.032)	-0.046 (0.061)
1940-49	-0.024 (0.029)	-0.029 (0.026)	-0.067 (0.043)	-0.067 (0.031)	-0.044 (0.061)
1950-59	-0.034 (0.034)	-0.038 (0.027)	-0.056 (0.044)	-0.061 (0.031)	-0.029 (0.061)
1960-69	-0.053 (0.041)	-0.048 (0.027)	-0.062 (0.044)	-0.057 (0.031)	-0.023 (0.061)
1970-79	-0.219 (0.041)	-0.069 (0.027)	-0.102 (0.044)	-0.045 (0.032)	-0.005 (0.061)
1980-87	-0.217 (0.066)	-0.090 (0.029)	-0.122 (0.046)	-0.069 (0.033)	-0.004 (0.063)
Dependent Variable Mean	3.74	3.78	3.77	3.79	3.81
Standard Error of Estimate	3.86	0.40	0.38	0.12	0.21

Note: The superscript p denotes, for each schooling group, the experience category with the largest estimated coefficient.

effects estimated from the more general model are within one standard error of those from the more parsimonious specification, equation (1). The general inferences about changes in average work behavior to be drawn from these data are evident from the estimates of equation (1), so it is these more straightforward results we present.

Tables 9 through 12 report the estimated coefficients attached to the experience dummies and to the cohort dummies in equa-

tion (1). The estimates of the experience effects use labor market entrants as the reference group. Among white men, the peak in weekly hours (Table 9) tends to come later for those with more schooling. Peak average weekly hours are 25% above the average hours of labor market entrants for white men with less than 12 years of schooling and 9% above labor market entrants' weekly hours for those with 17 or more years of schooling. The tendency for hours to peak later for those with more schooling is also

Table 10. Cohort and Experience Effects in Average Annual Hours of White Men.
(Standard Errors in Parentheses)

Independent Variable	Years of Schooling				
	≤ 11	12	13-15	16	≥ 17
Experience					
6-10	0.402 (0.042)	0.134 (0.010)	0.203 (0.016)	0.111 (0.012)	0.121 (0.015)
11-15	0.412 (0.045)	0.159 (0.011)	0.222 (0.018)	0.132 (0.013)	0.166 (0.017)
16-20	0.433 (0.044)	0.173 (0.012)	0.232 ^p (0.019)	0.147 (0.014)	0.171 (0.017)
21-25	0.440 ^p (0.046)	0.176 ^p (0.013)	0.219 (0.021)	0.149 (0.016)	0.197 (0.019)
26-30	0.435 (0.045)	0.170 (0.013)	0.222 (0.023)	0.153 ^p (0.017)	0.202 ^p (0.021)
31-35	0.430 (0.046)	0.156 (0.014)	0.203 (0.025)	0.125 (0.019)	0.197 (0.024)
≥ 36	0.410 (0.041)	0.123 (0.013)	0.177 (0.023)	0.093 (0.019)	0.134 (0.027)
Cohort					
1910-19	-0.001 (0.036)	-0.033 (0.038)	-0.031 (0.072)	-0.064 (0.058)	-0.029 (0.091)
1920-29	-0.008 (0.037)	-0.034 (0.036)	-0.054 (0.067)	-0.069 (0.048)	-0.038 (0.088)
1930-39	0.015 (0.037)	-0.036 (0.035)	-0.049 (0.065)	-0.067 (0.046)	-0.029 (0.087)
1940-49	0.041 (0.036)	-0.010 (0.035)	-0.047 (0.064)	-0.046 (0.044)	-0.021 (0.086)
1950-59	0.024 (0.043)	-0.021 (0.035)	-0.022 (0.065)	-0.039 (0.045)	0.017 (0.086)
1960-69	0.011 (0.052)	-0.020 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.065)	-0.023 (0.045)	0.040 (0.086)
1970-79	-0.184 (0.052)	-0.035 (0.036)	-0.051 (0.066)	-0.006 (0.045)	0.085 (0.087)
1980-87	-0.372 (0.083)	-0.099 (0.038)	-0.144 (0.069)	-0.025 (0.047)	0.073 (0.089)
Dependent Variable Mean	7.56	7.65	7.65	7.70	7.71
Standard Error of Estimate	6.17	0.68	0.85	0.26	0.42

Note: The superscript p denotes, for each schooling group, the experience category with the largest estimated coefficient.

suggested, though less strongly, by the analysis of average annual hours of white men (Table 10).

For black men, the peaks in the experience-hours profiles are not so clearly related to schooling. According to the estimates in Table 11, peak weekly hours exceed those of labor market entrants by 13% for black men with less than 12 years of schooling and by 6% for those with 17 or more years of schooling. The difference between peak hours and the hours of

labor market entrants tends to fall with schooling. In general, for both black and white men, differences in hours worked among the experience categories are small except for recent labor market entrants and those with more than 30 years of experience.

In measuring work behavior differences by cohort, the reference group is the pre-1910 cohort. For white men (Tables 9 and 10), in accounting for average weekly hours the estimated coefficients tend to

Table 11. Cohort and Experience Effects in Average Weekly Hours of Black Men.
(Standard Errors in Parentheses)

Independent Variable	Years of Schooling				
	≤ 11	12	13-15	16	≥ 17
Experience					
6-10	0.121 ^p (0.019)	0.047 ^p (0.007)	0.063 (0.009)	0.051 (0.016)	0.032 (0.014)
11-15	0.087 (0.021)	0.034 (0.009)	0.057 (0.011)	0.057 ^p (0.020)	0.053 (0.015)
16-20	0.095 (0.021)	0.043 (0.009)	0.065 ^p (0.011)	0.045 (0.022)	0.062 ^p (0.016)
21-25	0.061 (0.021)	0.030 (0.010)	0.039 (0.014)	0.047 (0.029)	0.029 (0.018)
26-30	0.060 (0.021)	0.013 (0.011)	0.024 (0.015)	0.052 (0.030)	0.033 (0.020)
31-35	0.039 (0.022)	-0.006 (0.013)	0.008 (0.018)	0.032 (0.032)	0.014 (0.025)
≥ 36	0.018 (0.020)	-0.016 (0.013)	-0.014 (0.018)	0.013 (0.037)	-0.036 (0.028)
Cohort					
1910-19	-0.020 (0.026)	-0.043 (0.077)	0.026 (0.091)	0.059 (0.128)	0.021 (0.143)
1920-29	-0.080 (0.021)	-0.012 (0.067)	-0.029 (0.079)	-0.016 (0.105)	0.028 (0.137)
1930-39	-0.100 (0.021)	-0.124 (0.066)	-0.049 (0.077)	-0.021 (0.101)	0.006 (0.135)
1940-49	-0.116 (0.021)	-0.150 (0.066)	-0.077 (0.077)	-0.045 (0.101)	-0.036 (0.135)
1950-59	-0.145 (0.023)	-0.166 (0.066)	-0.086 (0.077)	-0.044 (0.101)	-0.059 (0.135)
1960-69	-0.176 (0.025)	-0.179 (0.066)	-0.092 (0.078)	-0.057 (0.102)	-0.082 (0.135)
1970-79	-0.251 (0.029)	-0.201 (0.066)	-0.137 (0.078)	-0.056 (0.102)	-0.057 (0.135)
1980-87	-0.385 (0.091)	-0.204 (0.070)	-0.136 (0.081)	-0.021 (0.110)	-0.080 (0.142)
Dependent Variable Mean	3.69	3.70	3.70	3.71	3.72
Standard Error of Estimate	0.84	0.17	0.13	0.13	0.07

Note: The superscript p denotes, for each schooling group, the experience category with the largest estimated coefficient.

increase in absolute value for more recent cohorts for all except the well-educated. In other words, there is evidence that average weekly hours have declined over time among those with 13-15 years of schooling or less. Among those with 16 years of schooling, weekly hours for each cohort are about 6% below those for the pre-1910 cohort. With respect to annual hours, no trend across cohorts is evident. Among those with 13-15 years of schooling or less, the cohorts entering the labor

market in the most recent two decades appear to work less than previous cohorts, but this does not seem to be a part of a downward linear trend. For those with 17 or more years of schooling, recent cohorts work more than older cohorts. Schor's (1991) well-publicized claim that work hours have risen over the past two decades finds support only in the results for college graduates.

For black men (Tables 11 and 12), evidence of a trend decline in average

Table 12. Cohort and Experience Effects in Average Annual Hours of Black Men.
(Standard Errors in Parentheses)

Independent Variable	Years of Schooling				
	≤ 11	12	13-15	16	≥ 17
Experience					
6-10	0.270 (0.028)	0.142 (0.010)	0.138 (0.014)	0.093 (0.021)	0.072 (0.021)
11-15	0.268 (0.030)	0.154 (0.011)	0.154 (0.017)	0.139 (0.026)	0.118 (0.024)
16-20	0.298 ^p (0.030)	0.170 (0.012)	0.171 ^p (0.018)	0.110 (0.029)	0.128 ^p (0.025)
21-25	0.283 (0.031)	0.173 ^p (0.014)	0.170 (0.020)	0.142 (0.034)	0.098 (0.028)
26-30	0.292 (0.031)	0.163 (0.014)	0.154 (0.024)	0.129 (0.040)	0.105 (0.031)
31-35	0.289 (0.032)	0.152 (0.017)	0.142 (0.029)	0.162 ^p (0.042)	0.119 (0.038)
≥ 36	0.266 (0.029)	0.143 (0.017)	0.126 (0.029)	0.113 (0.049)	0.043 (0.044)
Cohort					
1910-19	0.003 (0.037)	0.005 (0.099)	0.167 (0.146)	0.087 (0.170)	0.072 (0.219)
1920-29	-0.055 (0.030)	-0.118 (0.086)	0.080 (0.126)	-0.036 (0.139)	0.052 (0.210)
1930-39	-0.035 (0.030)	-0.111 (0.085)	0.077 (0.124)	-0.052 (0.135)	0.046 (0.207)
1940-49	-0.034 (0.030)	-0.123 (0.085)	0.064 (0.123)	-0.019 (0.134)	0.021 (0.206)
1950-59	-0.049 (0.033)	-0.129 (0.085)	0.070 (0.124)	-0.020 (0.134)	0.025 (0.207)
1960-69	-0.073 (0.037)	-0.127 (0.085)	0.082 (0.124)	-0.002 (0.135)	0.019 (0.207)
1970-79	-0.213 (0.042)	-0.153 (0.086)	0.028 (0.124)	0.006 (0.136)	0.061 (0.207)
1980-87	-0.701 (0.132)	-0.208 (0.090)	-0.006 (0.131)	-0.007 (0.145)	-0.068 (0.217)
Dependent Variable Mean	7.52	7.55	7.55	7.58	7.59
Standard Error of Estimate	1.77	0.29	0.33	0.23	0.17

Note: The superscript p denotes, for each schooling group, the experience category with the largest estimated coefficient.

weekly hours is quite apparent for those with little schooling. Thus, compared with the pre-1910 cohort, high school graduates who entered the labor market in the 1930s worked 12% less, those who entered the labor market in the 1950s worked about 15% less, and those who entered in the 1970s worked 18% less. A negative trend is also apparent in annual hours of work for those with 12 years of schooling or less. Evidently, for both white and black men, different levels of educational attain-

ment have been associated with different trends in average work hours.

The hypothesis that the cohort effects reported in Tables 9 through 12 follow a linear trend cannot, in most cases, be rejected for those with 12 or more years of schooling, but it can be rejected for white and black men with less than 12 years of schooling.²² When con-

²² The values of the F statistic corresponding to the hypothesis of linear cohort effects is in excess of

Table 13. Annual Percentage Change in Average Weekly and Annual Hours Worked of White and Black Men, by Educational Attainment, 1940-88.

Independent Variable	Years of Schooling				
	0-11	12	13-15	16	17+
White Men					
Weekly Hours	-0.167* (0.049)	-0.083* (0.016)	-0.082* (0.026)	0.010 (0.021)	0.078* (0.024)
Annual Hours	-0.086 (0.069)	-0.023 (0.024)	-0.030 (0.043)	0.094* (0.028)	0.236* (0.036)
Black Men					
Weekly Hours	-0.293* (0.030)	-0.183* (0.025)	-0.196* (0.033)	-0.075 (0.053)	-0.158* (0.047)
Annual Hours	-0.145* (0.056)	-0.107* (0.034)	-0.105 (0.055)	0.074 (0.071)	0.016 (0.067)

Note: For these estimates, the cohort trend variable assumes the value of zero for the cohort estimated to have entered the labor force before 1909, 0.1 for the cohort entering in 1909-18, 0.2 for the cohort entering in 1919-28, and so on up to the value of 0.8 for the cohort entering in 1979-87. Hence, each entry estimates the annual percentage change in hours; thus, for the weekly hours of white men with 0-11 years of schooling, the entry of -0.167 means that over ten years the weekly hours of these men are estimated to have fallen 1.67 percent.

* Denotes a coefficient with an estimated t-value greater than two in absolute value.

strained to follow a linear trend, the annual percentage change in average hours for each group is estimated as shown in Table 13.

For white men with 13-15 years of schooling or less and black men at almost all schooling levels, there are statistically significant negative trends in weekly hours worked. These negative trends are, however, usually small in magnitude. The largest negative trend is that for black men with 0-11 years of schooling; if these men worked 45 hours on average in 1940, then the negative trend (0.293% per year) implies a decline to 43.7 hours in 1950 and to 38.9 hours in 1990. White men at the highest schooling level display a small but statistically significant positive trend in weekly hours. With respect to annual hours worked, black men with a high school education or less display negative trends, whereas well-educated white men display positive trends. In general, there are meaningful differences in patterns of

work behavior over time across workers with different levels of schooling.²³

We have focused above on movements in weekly and annual hours. The general pattern of the results for annual weeks may be inferred from the difference between the estimates for weekly hours and those for annual hours. In those instances in which the cohort effects in weekly hours are negative, the corresponding cohort effects in annual hours are usually smaller in absolute value, implying that the cohort effects in annual weeks are positive. The latter, however, are not always significantly different from zero at conventional levels. For both white and black men, these cohort effects in annual weeks are generally larger for more recent cohorts. Those with little schooling are an exception to this pattern; for this group, the cohorts entering the labor market in the 1970s and 1980s display smaller (positive) effects than do the preceding three cohorts. This result is consistent with evidence suggesting that, over the past two decades, time spent unemployed and outside

2.25 in the following cases: for white men, those with 0-11 years of schooling for both weekly and annual hours, those with 12 years of schooling for annual hours, and those with 13-15 years of schooling for annual hours; and for black men, those with 0-11 years of schooling for annual hours.

²³ The hypothesis that the variations in work behavior across cohorts and by experience are the same for people with different schooling is resoundingly rejected for all dimensions of work behavior and for both white and black men.

the labor force has increased secularly for the least skilled individuals (Juhn, Murphy, and Topel 1990).

Other Influences on Average Hours

At this point, we turn to the question of whether movements in average work hours may be associated with certain other variables. There are many possible candidates for consideration, of course, but we focus on three variables that may be relevant for understanding variations in work hours over time.

The first variable is concerned with the influence of the business cycle on hours worked. Weekly hours in manufacturing industry are well known to be cyclically sensitive—indeed, this measure is sometimes used as a “leading” indicator of business conditions—but outside of manufacturing industry the cyclical movement of weekly hours is considerably attenuated and, in some of the service industries, nonexistent.²⁴ Moreover, the cyclical character of weekly hours in manufacturing has been established for production workers only. Nevertheless, as our observations are from years corresponding to different points in the cycle, it is natural to determine whether our inferences regarding trend movements in hours are affected if we control for the state of the business cycle. Hence, we augment equation (1) with a business cycle indicator, namely, the annual proportionate change in real GNP.²⁵

²⁴ “We found that, on average, hours worked in nonmanufacturing industries conform less frequently to business cycles, lead in fewer instances, lead by fewer months, and show greater dispersion of turning points than hours worked in manufacturing. . . . Average hours worked in some of these [nonmanufacturing] industries—wholesaling and retailing are examples—may show little cyclical fluctuation altogether; hours in other industries, such as building, may experience cycles that are well known to deviate systematically from those shown by business activity at large; and the behavior of hours in personal service industries may well be dominated by factors that are only loosely related to those determining hours in factories” (Bry 1959:90).

²⁵ The percent change in real GNP was measured as an average of the year of the survey and the year

Second, we investigated the presence of a relationship between hours and cohort size. Arguments that the level and structure of wages are affected by the size of new cohorts entering the labor market during any period (for example, Welch 1979) caused us to wonder whether increases in the numbers of new workers are associated not only with decreases in their wages relative to the wages of more experienced workers, but also with changes in their work hours. That is, changes in the number of new labor market entrants may cause employers to readjust their optimal combination of number of workers and hours per worker. To ascertain whether an association exists between movements in average work hours and cohort size, we add to equation (1) a variable measuring (in each calendar year for each schooling group) the logarithm of the ratio of the number of workers in any experience group j to the total number of workers in all experience groups.²⁶

Third, for many decades, economists have been particularly interested in the relationship between work hours and wage rates. Initially, this interest arose from the familiar static characterization of utility-maximizing consumption and work decisions according to which real wages and nonwage income condition hours choices. More recently, the problem has been recast as an intertemporal problem according to which, holding constant an individual's marginal utility of wealth, current wages and hours of work are necessarily positively correlated. To deter-

preceding the survey. Equations were fitted also using simply the change in real GNP in the survey year, and the results were very close to those reported below. We examined two other cyclical indicators, namely, the deviation of real GNP from its trend and the unemployment rate for white men aged 35–44 years. Again, with respect to inferences on the trend movement in hours, the results from applying these other cyclical indicators are similar to those reported below.

²⁶ If $N(t, j, s)$ denotes the number of workers at calendar time t in experience group j with schooling attainment s , then the cohort size variable, $Z(t, j, s)$, added to equation (1) is defined as $\ln[N(t, j, s)/\sum_s N(t, j, s)]$. This variable was computed separately for white men and black men.

Table 14. Instrumental Variable Estimates of Equation (2): White Men by Schooling Levels.
(Standard Errors in Parentheses)

Variable	Years of Schooling				
	0-11	12	13-15	16	≥ 17
<i>Weekly Hours</i>					
C_t^j	-0.159* (0.067)	-0.101* (0.024)	-0.116* (0.030)	0.050* (0.019)	0.087* (0.035)
G_t	-0.057 (0.488)	0.616* (0.285)	1.398* (0.397)	-1.407* (0.263)	0.044 (0.280)
Z_{jt}	-0.154* (0.018)	0.016 (0.014)	-0.064* (0.017)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.008 (0.021)
$\ln W_{jt}$	-0.009 (0.048)	0.065* (0.030)	0.164* (0.045)	-0.181* (0.032)	-0.003 (0.025)
<i>Annual Hours</i>					
C_t^j	-0.337* (0.093)	-0.125* (0.031)	-0.161* (0.049)	0.135* (0.025)	0.211* (0.052)
G_t	-0.963 (0.677)	-0.346 (0.379)	1.020 (0.644)	-2.073* (0.336)	-0.133 (0.416)
Z_{jt}	-0.204* (0.025)	0.009 (0.018)	-0.068* (0.028)	0.001 (0.012)	0.019 (0.031)
$\ln W_{jt}$	-0.083 (0.067)	0.065 (0.040)	0.238* (0.072)	-0.244* (0.041)	0.005 (0.037)

* Denotes a parameter with an absolute value estimated to be at least twice its standard error.

mine whether movements in average work hours between 1940 and 1988 are associated with wages, the logarithm of average real hourly earnings²⁷ is added to equation (1).

The result of these three amendments is the estimating equation

$$(2) \quad \ln H_{jt} = a_0 + \sum_j a_j X_{jt} + b C_t^j + c_1 G_t + c_2 Z_{jt} + c_3 \ln W_{jt} + u_{jt}$$

where C_t^j represents a cohort trend, G_t is the proportionate change in real GNP, Z_{jt} is the cohort size variable described above, and W_{jt} is average real hourly earnings for experience group j in calendar year t . Estimates of the parameter b now measure trend movements in hours after holding wages, cohort size, and the effects of the business cycle constant. Instrumental variable estimates of equation (2) fitted to each schooling group separately are presented in Table 14 for white men and in Table 15 for black men.²⁸

²⁷ Each worker's hourly earnings are defined as annual earnings divided by annual hours worked. The average of these hourly earnings was then formed within each experience-schooling cell for each calendar year and divided by the consumer price index.

²⁸ Average real hourly earnings are treated as endogenous, and instrumental variables are calendar

The general inferences formed in the previous section about trend movements in hours are largely unaffected when the effects of the business cycle, cohort size, and wage rates are taken into account. For both white and black men, there are negative trends in work hours for those with 13-15 years of schooling or less, and most of these trends are statistically significant by conventional criteria. For instance, the estimate of -0.161 for the annual hours of white men with 13-15 years of schooling implies a decline of 8.05% over 50 years (that is, $-0.161 \times 0.5 = 0.0805$), so that if average hours were 2,000 in 1940 the downward trend would produce annual hours of 1,839 in 1990.

For white men with a college education (16 or more years of schooling), the cohort

year dummies, cohort dummies, cohort dummies interacted with calendar year dummies, and Z_{jt} . This treatment is virtually equivalent to using cohort-calendar year mean values of hourly earnings in equation (2). The results in Tables 14 and 15 correspond to those fitted by weighted least-squares, with the square roots of the number of underlying observations as weights, though the parameter estimates are similar to those computed without applying these weights.

Table 15. Instrumental Variable Estimates of Equation (2): Black Men by Schooling Levels.
(Standard Errors in Parentheses)

Variable	Weekly Hours				
	0-11	12	13-15	16	≥ 17
<i>Weekly Hours</i>					
C_t^I	-0.066 (0.090)	-0.106* (0.040)	-0.187* (0.058)	0.131 (0.081)	-0.003 (0.101)
G_t	-0.904 (0.519)	-0.385 (0.473)	-0.114 (0.404)	-0.543 (0.870)	-0.005 (0.751)
Z_{μ}	-0.065* (0.018)	0.054 (0.037)	-0.030 (0.029)	0.019 (0.036)	-0.001 (0.037)
$\ln W_{\mu}$	-0.122* (0.038)	-0.070 (0.039)	-0.012 (0.034)	-0.153 (0.080)	-0.068 (0.060)
<i>Annual Hours</i>					
C_t^I	-0.173 (0.168)	-0.135* (0.055)	-0.187* (0.089)	0.147 (0.128)	0.125 (0.153)
G_t	-3.276* (0.965)	-1.303 (0.661)	-1.124 (0.622)	0.071 (1.364)	0.749 (1.134)
Z_{μ}	-0.121* (0.033)	0.083 (0.052)	-0.061 (0.045)	0.083 (0.056)	0.038 (0.056)
$\ln W_{\mu}$	-0.166* (0.055)	-0.061 (0.055)	-0.019 (0.052)	-0.035 (0.125)	-0.018 (0.091)

* Denotes a parameter with an absolute value estimated to be at least twice its standard error.

effects are positive and statistically significant by customary criteria. The estimate of 0.211 for the annual hours of white men with 17 or more years of schooling implies an upward trend of 10.55% over 50 years. This trend is less evident for well-educated black men.

With respect to the effects of other factors on hours, the estimates in Table 14 and 15 suggest little consistent cyclical movement in working hours. The weekly hours of less well-educated white men tend to be procyclical, but no such pattern is apparent for black men. More often than not, there is no statistically significant association between cohort size and hours, but when the association is significant, it is negative: larger cohorts are associated with some work sharing. For instance, a 10% increase in cohort size is associated with a 1.5% drop the weekly hours of white male high school dropouts.

Finally, there is not a common pattern in the estimated effects of wages: for white men, the partial association between hours and wages tends to be positive for those with 13-15 years of schooling or less and negative for those with more schooling; for black men, the

association is always negative, though only for the least educated is this association measured with precision. These results do not support the interpretation of equation (2) as mapping the intertemporal substitution of work hours within a life cycle framework.

Hence, the primary conclusion is that the trends in average hours of work we identified in the initial analysis are evident even controlling for the state of the business cycle, the size of cohorts, and average hourly earnings. These trends are negative for those men (both white and black) with relatively little schooling and are positive for white men with 16 or more years of schooling.

Conclusions

The principal conclusion from the results reported in this paper is that patterns of hours of work of male wage and salary workers changed between 1940 and 1988 in ways not evident in the aggregate data analyzed in the research on this topic to date. Although median weekly hours were virtually constant over that period, the distribution of hours around that median

changed in ways not previously reported. The upper tail of the hours distribution fell for those with relatively little schooling and rose for well-educated white men. Hours fell substantially for young and older men and especially for black men, but changed little or even increased for white men in their prime working years.

With respect to average (that is, arithmetic mean, not median) hours, we find small but statistically significant downward trends for those with relatively little schooling and small positive trends for well-educated white men. Most of the production workers covered in the aggregate data on hours probably have less than a college education, so the frequent claim that the aggregate data reveal a small negative trend is consistent with our findings. A rising trend in the work hours of the well-educated also squares with reports of longer hours among professional and managerial workers.²⁹ Our finding that the experiences of skilled workers have differed from those of unskilled workers is consistent with other research documenting changes over the past three decades in skill differences in unemployment and non-participation.³⁰ Schor's (1991:29) claim that since 1969 "hours have risen across a wide spectrum

of Americans and in all income categories" is inconsistent with our findings except, perhaps, those for college graduates. We conjecture that her results are the product of her methods of "correcting" for unemployment and underemployment.

An issue for further research is the extent to which conventional economic analysis may provide an explanation for these patterns. Movements in average hourly earnings and in the sizes of cohorts and the state of the business cycle have been shown not to affect materially the trends in work hours. These factors, however, may operate in some fashion that is not captured by our representation.³¹ These issues clearly merit attention, as do the corresponding patterns for women. We are currently investigating the changes in hours worked by women, and we are finding that the hours-schooling relationships estimated in this paper also hold for women. That is, the average well-educated female worker is tending to work more hours in the labor market, while the average less-educated woman is working fewer hours. We hope to report on these and other matters in the July 1993 issue of this *Review*.

²⁹ See Kilbourn (1990).

³⁰ For instance, from their examination of prime-age men drawn from annual Current Population Surveys, Juhn, Murphy, and Topel (1990) write,

Rising joblessness has been heavily concentrated on less skilled individuals. For persons in the bottom 10 percent of the wage distribution, we estimate that jobless time increased by nearly 16 percentage points (8 weeks) between the late 1960s and the late 1980s. In contrast, for workers above the

median of the wage distribution there was virtually no change in non-working time over this period. (p. 5)

³¹ That is, the cohort effects may interact with experience or the effect of hourly earnings may itself have changed over time. We should add that a number of alternative specifications of equation (2) have been fitted, with results comparable to those reported in Tables 14 and 15.

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OVERWORKED? OVERWHELMED?



by Cheryl Russell

When you work hard, it's easy to believe that you're overworked. Full-time employees in the U.S. worked an average of 163 hours more in 1987 than in 1969. That is an extra month of work, reports economist Juliet B. Schor in *The Overworked American*. Some of us are beginning to protest. Last year, striking workers at the General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, opposed mandatory overtime. Many Americans now say that time is a more precious resource than extra money.

The long work hours Americans complain about may even be a drag on the economy. Overworked consumers presumably have less time to pay attention to advertising, shop around,

The number of hours people recall working is significantly greater than the number they record in diaries.

or experiment with new products and services. But Americans may not work as much as they think they do, according to a new analysis by John P. Robinson, a time-use researcher

and sociology professor at the University of Maryland in College Park, and Ann Bostrom, professor of public policy at Georgia Tech University in Atlanta.

When you compare data on the length of the work week collected by the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) with those collected through time diaries, you find that people's memories aren't all they could be. The CPS, which Schor used for her book, asks people to recall the number of hours they worked "last week." In contrast, time diaries ask people to keep track of their activities, minute by minute, over one or two days. Robinson and Bostrom find that, on average, the number of hours people recall working is significantly greater than the number they record in diaries.

The average gap between estimated and actual work time has grown over the years, from one hour a week in 1965 to

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seven hours in 1985. Also, in general, people who recall working longer hours report a larger gap between how much they say they work and how much they really work. Among those who estimate a work week of 40 to 44 hours, time-use diaries record 2 fewer actual work hours. Among those who estimate that they work between 50 and 54 hours, time diaries record fewer hours. And of those who recall working 75 or more hours, time diaries record 25 fewer hours of work.

Which numbers are correct? Robinson and Bostrom argue that diaries are more accurate because they capture everything people do in a day and because they can't add up to more than 24 hours. Respondents to the CPS may report what they regard as a "normal" work week, not the hours they actually worked. Also, some respondents do not know whether to include lunch breaks or commuting time, while others may define "work week" as the number of hours for which they get paid rather than the time they spend doing their job.

The gap between estimated work hours and recorded work hours is growing, say Robinson and Bostrom, because of "the increase in service jobs with no fixed hourly schedule... the rise in flexible work schedules in general... and the increased blending of work and nonwork time." Most women who work in the paid labor force, for example, also do the majority of the chores in their households. Many accomplish this by squeezing personal and household tasks into their work hours. When people recall the hours they worked last week they may include some of this personal time. But when they record their activities in detailed diaries, they reveal the time they spend on personal tasks. This may explain why women display larger discrepancies in reported versus actual work hours than men do.

For businesses, the actual amount of time people work may not be as important as their attitudes. Even if people don't work at paid jobs as much as they think, they believe that

Demomemo

Percent of workers on flexible schedules, by employer:

Local government	8%
Private sector	15
State government	18
Federal government	27

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1994

*American Demography/May '95
17(3)*

continued on page 51

Trend Cop

continued from page 8

they're very busy. Thirty-eight percent of Americans say they "always feel rushed," according to a 1992 survey. One reason is rapid social change. Women may put in fewer paid work hours than they recall, but they put in more hours than women used to. The trend has been particularly dramatic for married mothers. More than two-thirds of wives with children under age 18 are in the paid labor force, up from about one-fourth in 1960.

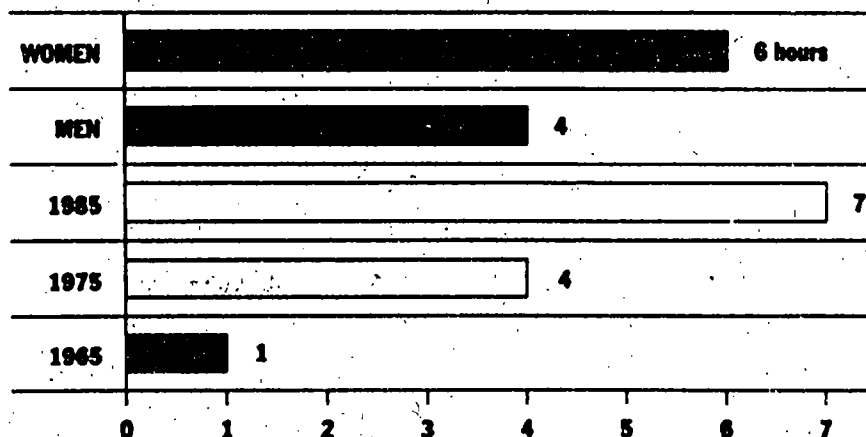
The myriad obligations of modern life also keep people busy. Although women no longer spend long hours washing laundry by hand and preparing meals from scratch, Americans have added things to their routines that were unheard of decades ago. People now manage the tasks of weekly recycling, daily dental flossing, three-times-a-week exercising, and transporting children to and from day care. According to Robinson, women of the mid-1980s with school-aged children spent 11 hours a week simply driving around, versus 9 hours for other women.

Chores aren't the biggest time gobbler for most Americans, however. The true culprit may be all that leisure time we have to fill. Despite claims of overwork, time-use diaries show that Americans have more free time than they used to. But free time doesn't seem as free as it once did. There are more TV channels to watch, more amusement parks to visit, more movies to rent, more magazines to read, more online networks to explore, and more pressure to spend leisure time wisely. Playtime itself sometimes seems too much like work. Is it any wonder that so many people feel so rushed?

The pace of life in the 1990s keeps us frantic even when we're trying to have fun. Consumers need products and services that can help them cut through the genuine clutter. They also need an escape from the chaos of everyday life. Marketers who can offer either true time savings, or the mere illusion of precious time, will go a long way toward overcoming the plight of the overwhelmed.

Memory Gaps

*Women overestimate their work weeks more than men do.
(excess of estimated over diary-recorded weekly work hours, 1965-85)*

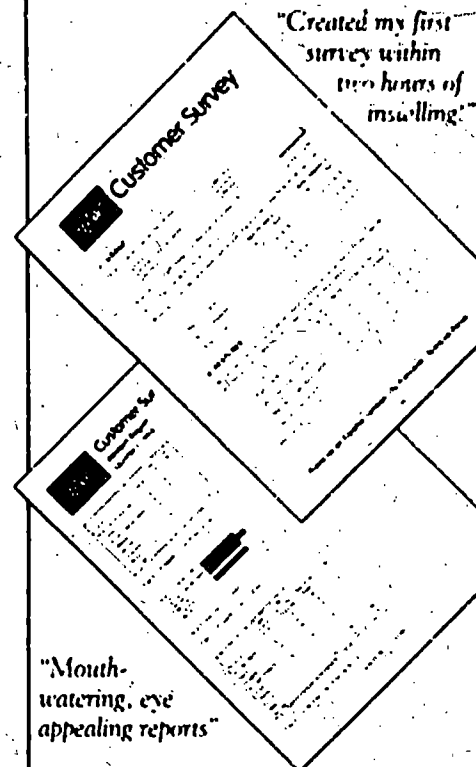


Source: Robinson and Rostron, Monthly Labor Review, August 1991, Bureau of Labor Statistics

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DO LABOR MARKETS PROVIDE ENOUGH SHORT-HOUR JOBS? AN ANALYSIS OF WORK HOURS AND WORK INCENTIVES

JAMES B. REBITZER and LOWELL J. TAYLOR*

This paper examines the role that work incentives play in the determination of work hours. We use a conventional efficiency wage model to analyze how firms respond to worker preferences regarding wage-hours packages. In contrast to previous work, we study markets in which workers have heterogeneous preferences. In this context we demonstrate that job offers will specify both wages and work hours and many individuals will not be able to work their preferred number of hours. We show that the labor market equilibrium may be characterized by a less than optimal number of short-hour jobs.

I. INTRODUCTION

Female labor force participation has increased dramatically over the past three decades. Much of this change is due to the increased participation of married women and women with children.¹ In households where both adults participate in the labor force, or where there is a single working parent, individuals will often have greater demands on their time at home and may therefore desire patterns of work hours that differ from other workers. Given the gender-based division of labor in most American households, many of the women entering the labor force may prefer shorter (and perhaps more flexible)

work weeks.² Furthermore, as sex roles adjust to accommodate the changing work and career aspirations of women, it is reasonable to expect that increasing numbers of men will also prefer shorter work weeks. The prospects for equality of economic opportunity between men and women rest in large measure on how well and how rapidly labor markets accommodate the hours preferences of workers who desire this flexibility.

In this paper we ask whether labor markets will provide the optimal number of short-hour jobs in response to an increase in demand for short hours on the part of employees. According to the simple textbook model of the determinants of work hours, the answer to this question is clearly yes. Firms have an incentive to elicit information about their hours preferences because this allows them to offer

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1. In 1950 the labor force participation rate of married women was 29.5 percent compared to 51.1 percent in 1980 (Goldin [1990, 17]). The 1950 figure includes women over age fourteen, while the 1980 figure includes only women over fifteen years old. In 1970 the labor force participation rate of women with children under eighteen was 42.1 percent. By 1985 this figure was 62.1 percent (Bergmann [1986, 2]).

2. Fuchs [1986] estimates that in 1979 women spent 1,497 hours per year on non-market work compared to 595 hours for men. Non-market work includes activities like shopping, yard work and child care. Leete-Guy and Schor [1990] estimate that on average women in 1979 spent 1514 hours per year on non-market work. This figure declined to 1442 in 1987. The comparable figures for men were 860 and 853 respectively (Leete-Guy and Schor [1990, Table 2]).

labor contracts that minimize cost. Similarly, workers have an incentive to reveal their preferences to firms because this information is used to construct wage and hours packages in which workers are asked to work the utility-maximizing number of hours at the market-clearing wage.

Labor market outcomes may be considerably more complex, however, in a setting where firms rely on work incentives to regulate the effort exerted by employees.³ We find that in a simple efficiency wage model (along the lines of Shapiro and Stiglitz [1984] and Bowles [1985], but with a heterogeneous work force) workers' hours preferences may provide an indicator of their responsiveness to the work incentives. In this setting employers will in general not be able to elicit accurate information about hours preferences from employees. We show that this market failure may lead in turn to labor market equilibria that are characterized by an underprovision of short-hour jobs. We find further that the shortage of short-hour jobs most likely occurs in high-wage labor markets.

Our model suggests that the simple textbook analysis of hours determination relies upon the wrong market metaphor. The conventional approach presumes that the determination of work hours is similar to the determination of car colors. Workers have an incentive to reveal their true hours preferences and employers have an

incentive to solicit these preferences for the same reason that consumers have an incentive to reveal their color preferences and car makers have an incentive to solicit these preferences.

In our view, a more appropriate market metaphor for hours determination is the market for health insurance. Employees have an incentive to portray themselves as desiring long hours for the same reasons that purchasers of health insurance will want to portray themselves as having no health problems. Insurance providers must be concerned about the unobservable characteristics of individuals who are attracted to the various insurance contracts they offer. We suggest that employers face similar concerns when offering wage and hours packages.

The paper proceeds as follows. In the next section (section II), we analyze the determination of wages and work hours when firms use dismissal threats to motivate a homogeneous group of workers. Section III examines the case where workers have heterogeneous preferences with respect to hours of work. In section IV, we discuss the empirical plausibility of our model. Section V provides concluding remarks.

II. WAGES AND HOURS WITH HOMOGENEOUS WORKERS

A Simple Model of Work Incentives

In this section, we develop a model in which firms use dismissal threats to regulate the intensity with which their employees work. Models based on dismissal threats are analytically convenient and match nicely with the employment-at-will legal doctrine that governs labor law in the United States. However, the logic of our argument would not be appreciably altered if incentives revolved around promotion probabilities rather than separation probabilities.

The setup is quite simple. The economy is composed of a large number of firms each making use of the same concave

3. A number of previous studies have concluded that work incentives may influence the determination of hours of work. Lang [1989] and Lazear [1981] argue that work incentives may cause employers to offer wage-hours packages under which employees do not perceive themselves to be working optimal hours. Bulow and Summers [1986] argue that reliance upon work incentives may cause employers to seek to avoid hiring employees having preferences for short hours. Bulow and Summers' consideration of heterogeneous workers focuses primarily on the case where different hours preferences (and turnover propensities) are known to the employer because they vary by an observable characteristic, gender. For a discussion of the effects of worker heterogeneity on unemployment and wages, see Weiss [1990].

employees. Second, awareness of the signaling value of work hours influences the process by which work hours are determined. Evidence favoring these propositions will not in and of itself constitute proof that labor markets provide an insufficient number of short-hour jobs. Such evidence would, however, give added weight to the possibility of market failures of the sort we describe in this paper.

Empirical investigation of these behavioral propositions requires the development of data sources that are quite different from the microeconomic data sets typically used by labor economists. In addition to information on work hours and compensation, it would be necessary to collect detailed information about the incentive systems used in organizations, managers' perception of the value of work hours as indicators, employee beliefs about managers' perceptions of work hours, and employee preferences regarding trade-offs of income for non-work time. In order for data of this sort to be meaningful, empirical research will necessarily have to focus on narrowly defined organizations and labor markets.

As a first step in investigating the behavioral assumptions underpinning our model, we are currently studying data we have collected from associates and partners working in large corporate law firms.²⁴ Law firms are a convenient vehicle for such an investigation because they have a simple and uniform incentive scheme that applies to nearly all the associates in the firm. In addition, the legal profession has experienced an unprecedented influx of women (and men married to women with careers) while work hours have remained relatively fixed at high levels (Rosen [1992]).

V. CONCLUSION

Firms look for workers whose attitudes and preferences make them responsive to the work incentives prevalent in the firm. These incentives often involve promises to provide (and threats not to provide) income in the future. Thus, preferences towards income and leisure will be important to firms in deciding whom to hire.

In this paper we have presented a model of wage and hours determination in which firms use dismissal threats to elicit high levels of work effort. In our model workers who prefer long hours will be more responsive to dismissal-based incentive schemes than other workers. Whenever possible, employers will therefore put job seekers with preferences for short hours at the bottom of the queue of workers seeking jobs.

In order to avoid unemployment or employment in low-wage positions, job seekers will not reveal their true preferences for income and leisure. We demonstrate that the response by employers may result in the provision of fewer short-hour jobs than is optimal. In the context of a model of labor market segmentation, the shortage of short-hour jobs will occur in the high-wage, primary sector.

The logic of the model we present suggests that labor markets will not adjust smoothly to the changes brought about by the rise in female labor force participation. In the absence of some intervention in the market, firms will find it difficult to provide the optimum number of short-hour jobs in response to the increasing numbers of female and male workers seeking to balance job and family responsibilities.

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24. See Landers, Rebitzer and Taylor [1994].

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WORK / FAMILY FOLLOWUP

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psychologist. The child grew so anxious that he brought home failing grades. 'The parents were devastated,' she says; their overprotective tactics backfired and 'only instilled shame.'

Evan Imber-Black, director of family and group studies at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, sees teenagers of affluent families showing more than the usual rebellious behaviors. The kids, a type who a few years ago would have been excited about their future, are wondering, 'What is this all about, anyway?' she says. Meanwhile, instead of addressing their children's doubts, the parents are 'putting on the usual pressure about getting college applications in and all that,' deepening the kids' sense of meaninglessness.

Job loss, however, can be a positive lesson in resiliency for kids. Ms. Rosenberg recalls a laidoff manager for a drug firm whose wife responded by calling a family meeting. She asked her husband to keep her and their four children, ages six through 15, informed about his job search. The family, in turn, found ways to support him. One child gave up her room so he could have an office. Two teens helped pare the family budget and got part-time jobs.

WHEN THE CHILDREN complained about making sacrifices, their mother consoled them, then quickly refocused them on the benefits of pulling together. When the father went for retraining, the family talked about how everyone needs to adapt to change. When the father got a new job, 'the whole family felt it was their success,' Ms. Rosenberg says.

The bottom line: The power of families is enormous in mediating the messages kids get about job loss. In a study of 115 unemployed workers by Boston University and Jandl Associates, Lynnfield, Mass., some fundamental family strengths, including communicating, cooperating and reaching out for community support, determined whether family members fared well or fell apart after a job loss. At stake, therapists say, are kids' hopefulness and confidence about jobs and the world of work.

As a parent, I'm not ready for this. My husband and I have had our share of job changes and stints of unemployment in recent years, causing family stress. I'm not eager to add my kids' likely anxieties about job security to a parental worry list that already includes drug abuse, drive-by shootings and sex on the Internet. It's easier to repeat the same old saws -- 'A college degree is your ticket to success' or 'The world is your oyster' -- even though they don't work anymore, than to teach the resiliency and adaptability our kids will need as 21st century workers.

But if the world of work is to be anywhere near as alluring to my kids as it has been to me, I'm not sure I have a choice.

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Access No: 9606260039 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: WORK & FAMILY: JOBS AND THE FAMILY SPARK POLITICAL HOOPLA
BUT FEW NEW ANSWERS
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Jun 26, 1996 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (857 words) Type: Commentary
Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Families & family life; Work environment; Politics;
Conferences
Names: Gore, Albert Jr

Abstract: Sue Shellenbarger discusses the politics surrounding work and family. Shellenbarger, who attended a work-family conference moderated by Vice President Gore, says that besides the bully pulpit, 'it's politically impossible for government to do much to ease work-family conflict beyond framing the debate.'

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Article Text:

YOU'LL HAVE to excuse me.

I'm trying to take notes for this column on the work-family conference Vice President Gore moderated with President Clinton, but I'm blinded by the glare of TV lights. My view of the stage is blocked by 50 other reporters and a jungle of cameras.

You see, I'm not used to this kind of hoopla. I'm more used to covering groups of work-family advocates that could convene in a phone booth and who have to fight to make themselves heard in the corner office, let alone in the White House.

But here I am, smack in the middle of a big political hullabaloo.

Some 1,200 managers, school officials, researchers, union representatives, family advocates and politicians gathered Monday in Nashville to hear Messrs. Clinton and Gore lead a conference on finding better ways to integrate work and family. Satellite links to 38 states drew thousands more, with fanfare that was unthinkable five years ago.

'Politicians have been relatively silent' on work-family issues until now, says Roger Brown, CEO of Bright Horizons Children's Centers. 'For those of us who have been laboring in the field for years, having it hit the political radar screen is good.'

With politicians from both parties groping for the electorate's pulse on 'family values,' Democrats are staking out work-family angst among a raft of other family-related matters. Republicans, meanwhile, stress a balanced budget and tax cuts to put more money in families' pockets.

Monday's meeting drew the largest attendance of five annual gatherings Mr. Gore has moderated on family topics -- suggesting that the Democrats have hit upon a hot-button topic.

EVENTS IN THE workplace clearly have a broader spillover effect on the American family than most other single factors. A Yankelovich poll of 1,003 parents, released at the conference, showed 62% believed their families had been hurt by changes they had experienced at work, such as more stress or longer hours.

On Monday, an assortment of speakers from CEOs to forklift drivers talked about how to ease such stresses. Saturn Corp. lets workers help plan schedules, leading to a compressed work week that gives employees three-day weekends while holding down overtime-pay costs, said Bob Boruff, a Saturn vice president. Denise DeCourcey, a worker at a Nashville hospital, told how her employer's child-care subsidies and other supports foster loyalty.

And President Clinton proposed a modest broadening of the Family and Medical Leave Act and amending the Fair Labor Standards Act to let workers choose compensatory time instead of pay for overtime work.

But the conference generated few new solutions. Indeed, experts in the audience were buzzing over what they saw as a gaffe by the president. Stressing the value he places on family, Mr. Clinton described how he had supported two aides who resigned because their long hours were causing family problems. He told them, 'If they ever thought their families were really suffering, they ought to quit.'

'He got it exactly wrong,' said one researcher. Instead of praising aides and showing them the door, a more family-friendly approach would

have been exploring ways to help them stay, like flexible hours or work-at-home setups.

To be sure, the conference did shift the tone of the public debate as Vice President Gore repeatedly emphasized that work and family should no longer be seen as warring elements of life. He urged employers to view workers' desire for a healthy personal life as a powerful source of motivation to work smarter. The strategy will prove 'a key source of economic competitiveness,' he said, a view supported by recent Ford Foundation-funded research.

After the conference, you can expect more moves from the White House, feting family-friendly CEOs and urging better benefits.

BUT BEYOND that, it's politically impossible for government to do much to ease work-family conflict beyond framing the debate. Though the conference raised a litany of child-care woes, broad government support for better child care or labor-law revisions allowing hourly workers more flexibility are unlikely.

What's needed first is a shift in American culture. In the conference's most unsettling moment, Arlie Hochschild, the University of California-Berkeley sociology professor whose 1989 book 'The Second Shift' recast thinking on gender roles, spoke of research she is completing at a big company.

Though workers at the company were stressed, she said, few took advantage of flexibility policies on their employer's books to spend more time with family. One unconscious reason, she suggested, is that work has become more rewarding for some people than family life. People receive companionship and support from co-workers, while family life, amid rising divorce and complicated family structures, requires hard emotional work. In a cultural shift, she says, 'work has become a form of home and home has become a form of work.'

Until we get back in touch with the parts of ourselves that are willing to invest deeply in family and insist in the workplace on our ability to do so, such conferences are likely to generate more light than heat.

Note to readers: Thanks to pledges from several of you, Patty Miller's children, mentioned here last week, won't be home by themselves this summer; they'll be going to camp.

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Access No: 9604170034 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: WORK & FAMILY: BUSY PARENTS LET KIDS OFF THE HOOK WHEN
ASSIGNING CHORES
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Apr 17, 1996 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (928 words) Type: Commentary
Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Families & family life; Dual career couples; Housework
Abstract: Sue Shellenbarger comments on the task of assigning chores to children. Many dual-earner parents are finding that kids are tending to withdraw from domestic responsibilities, especially in families with two college-educated parents.

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Access No: 97784503 ProQuest - The Washington Post Ondisc
Title: ONE IN FOUR U.S. FAMILIES CARES FOR AGING RELATIVES;
GROWING COMMITMENT TAKES TOLL, SURVEY FINDS
Authors: Susan Levine, Washington Post Staff Writer
Source: Washington Post, Final Edition
Date: Monday Mar 24, 1997 Sec: A SECTION p: 13
Length: Long (769 words) Type: News National
Subjects: Families & family life; Older people; Polls & surveys;
Social conditions & trends

Abstract: The dramatic effect of this country's rapidly graying population is hitting home, with a nationwide survey released today showing nearly one in four households involved in the often stressful, time-consuming task of caring for an aging relative.; The comprehensive look at care-giving found that 22.4 million families are providing physical and emotional assistance to older relatives or friends - a threefold increase from a decade ago. Their help, whether out of love or duty, requires significant commitment: The average caregiver devotes 18 hours a week, although some 4.1 million caregivers provide at least 40 hours a week. And typically, they do so for more than four years.; 'We're not talking about the son who calls his mother on Sundays and says, 'How are you?' We're talking about enormous amounts of time,' said Gail Hunt, executive director of the National Alliance for Caregiving, which conducted the study with the American Association of Retired Persons and Glaxo Wellcome, the world's largest prescription drug company.

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Article Text:

NASHVILLE, Mar 23-- The dramatic effect of this country's rapidly graying population is hitting home, with a nationwide survey released today showing nearly one in four households involved in the often stressful, time-consuming task of caring for an aging relative.

The comprehensive look at care-giving found that 22.4 million families are providing physical and emotional assistance to older relatives or friends -- a threefold increase from a decade ago. Their help, whether out of love or duty, requires significant commitment: The average caregiver devotes 18 hours a week, although some 4.1 million caregivers provide at least 40 hours a week. And typically, they do so for more than four years.

'We're not talking about the son who calls his mother on Sundays and says, How are you?' We're talking about enormous amounts of time,' said Gail Hunt, executive director of the National Alliance for Caregiving, which conducted the study with the American Association of Retired Persons and Glaxo Wellcome, the world's largest prescription drug company.

The picture it draws of American families belies the growing perception that they are unwilling to take responsibility for their own and should ease some fears of intergenerational conflicts. According to the report, caregivers spend about \$2 billion a month out of pocket on groceries, medicine and other aid to their relatives.

'This survey raises some very important points,' said Robyn Stone, acting assistant secretary for aging at the Department of Health and Human Services. 'Think about the demographic imperatives of a baby boom generation, when one in five people will be over 65. We haven't even begun

looking at the implications of that.'

The corporate world is becoming aware of the pressures many employees are trying to handle and their effect on the bottom line. A 1996 report by the Conference Board noted that increasing numbers of workers refuse relocation because of elder-care issues, and even among those who stay in place, the demands can be great.

This latest study found that 64 percent of caregivers are full- or part-time workers and that their jobs often suffer because of responsibilities to older relatives. Some eventually quit completely or take early retirement.

The costs of absenteeism, shortened or interrupted workdays, decreased productivity and replacing employees who leave are at least \$11.4 billion a year -- and may exceed \$29 billion, according to a separate analysis of the survey results.

'These are unbelievable numbers,' said James Weil, a vice president at Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

A combination of demographic factors has brought the country to this point, but changes in the American family complicate the response. Women remain the caregivers nearly three-fourths of the time, but the vast majority of them now work.

And because many had children later in life, they are caring simultaneously for both ends of the age spectrum. The survey found that 41 percent of caregivers for the elderly also had children under 18.

'Each day is a struggle,' Donna Ratliffe, 38, told a group at the American Society on Aging's annual conference here. The Nashville mother of two has been caring for her 87-year-old grandmother since she broke her hip in 1995. The grandmother moved into the bedroom of one of her great-grandsons, and Ratliffe eventually quit work because of the older woman's round-the-clock needs.

'Something new comes up every day,' Ratliffe said.

Although last fall's random telephone poll recorded anyone caring for a relative or friend who is 50 or older, the average situation involved a 77-year-old woman who lived alone and had a chronic health condition. Twenty-two percent had dementia.

The demands of providing everything from transportation and grocery shopping to help with dressing, bathing and meals carry a personal price. Nearly half of caregivers said they had given up personal activities, hobbies and vacations, while 15 percent admit to physical or mental health problems.

Hunt, with the caregivers alliance, is greatly concerned about them and whether business and government will address their burgeoning concerns.

If family caregivers aren't supported,' she said, 'the dimensions of the issue are great enough that the taxpayer ultimately will end up paying.'

CARING FOR SENIORS

In the United States, 22.4 million households are involved in caring for older relatives or friends who are 50 or older. The typical care recipient was a 77-year-old woman.

PROFILE OF CAREGIVERS

72 percent are women

30 percent are caring for two or more elderly relatives or friends

64 percent are employed full time or part time.

41 percent also are caring for children under 18

SOURCE: 1997 National Caregiving Survey, sponsored by the National Alliance for Caregiving, American Association of Retired Persons and Glaxo Wellcome.

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Access No: 97793749 ProQuest - The Washington Post Ondisc
Title: FINDING THE TIME TO JUST BE A FAMILY; PARENTS SAY DEMANDING SCHEDULES MAKE BONDING A CHORE
Authors: Jacqueline L. Salmon, Washington Post Staff Writer
Source: Washington Post, Final Edition
Date: Sunday May 4, 1997 Sec: A SECTION p: 1
Length: Long (1301 words) Type: Feature Illus: Photograph
Subjects: Families & family life; Social conditions & trends; Values; Schedules

Abstract: Marcia and David Kaplan, two D.C. lawyers with 10-hour workdays and weekends crammed with chores, found that while their family was getting larger, the amount of time they spent with their children kept shrinking.; They tried having a family dinner hour, then gave it up because their children were too hungry and cranky by the time they both were home from work at 7:30 p.m. But Marcia Kaplan, who grew up in a large extended family, was determined to re-create the closeness that enveloped her as a child.; So the Kaplans have come up with something much more radical: They resolved that whatever they did on the weekends, they would do it as a clan, even if it was not always very efficient. Since then, Marcia, David, 11-year-old Zachary, 8-year-old Daniel and 3-year-old twins Jack and Samantha have been virtually inseparable on Saturdays and Sundays, whether they're at the grocery store, the hair salon or the soccer field.

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Article Text:

Marcia and David Kaplan, two D.C. lawyers with 10-hour workdays and weekends crammed with chores, found that while their family was getting larger, the amount of time they spent with their children kept shrinking.

They tried having a family dinner hour, then gave it up because their children were too hungry and cranky by the time they both were home from work at 7:30 p.m. But Marcia Kaplan, who grew up in a large extended family, was determined to re-create the closeness that enveloped her as a child. So the Kaplans have come up with something much more radical: They resolved that whatever they did on the weekends, they would do it as a clan, even if it was not always very efficient. Since then, Marcia, David, 11-year-old Zachary, 8-year-old Daniel and 3-year-old twins Jack and Samantha have been virtually inseparable on Saturdays and Sundays, whether they're at the grocery store, the hair salon or the soccer field.

'It is very important for me to have that sense of the family,' she said. 'We just schedule our weekends around what we have to do, and we make sure everyone does it together.'

The Kaplans' solution may be unusual, but the problem is one that confronts more and more families these days. With parents often working different shifts and children's schedules getting increasingly crowded, the time when the whole family is truly together is being cut into thinner and thinner slices.

On a typical weekday evening, at least one parent is still at work or ferrying the children to after-school activities. Family dinner is eaten in shifts as parents and children whirl in and out of the house.

Come the weekends, everyone scatters again. Mom drives one child to the soccer game while Dad takes the other to basketball practice. Or the children watch videos or play on the computer while their parents catch up on housework and errands.

Sacrificed to this frenetic pace of life are the collective pauses of the day that draw family members closer to each other, many parents acknowledge.

'It's a big issue for us,' said Natalie Roy, a working mother of two girls who have plunged into a dizzying array of activities, including gymnastics and soccer, and French, violin and ballet lessons. Roy and her husband, who live in Arlington, still try to have dinner as a family each night, even if it means eating at 8:30 p.m.

'We carve out that time,' Roy said, but 'it's tough.'

Parents are right to be concerned about the squeeze on family time, child-rearing specialists say, and it involves more than nostalgia. Specialists say that children benefit intellectually and socially when the whole family is together -- by listening to adult conversation, learning to relate to siblings and getting a clearer sense of the family's moral values.

Those common activities 'are the glue of family life,' said William Doherty, a professor of family science at the University of Minnesota. 'Without them, people drift apart.'

A recent study of more than 270,000 children in 600 communities nationwide found that children who spent at least four evenings a week at home with their families and had frequent, in-depth conversations with their parents were more likely to succeed in school and less likely to have sex and use alcohol or drugs. The study, conducted by Search Institute, a Minnesota-based nonprofit organization that specializes in research on children, involved students in grades 6 through 12.

Another study taped the dinner conversations of 65 Boston area families for eight years and found that preschoolers who were exposed to mealtime discussions among parents and siblings did better on vocabulary and reading tests in elementary school than those who weren't.

The conversations expanded the children's vocabulary and improved their ability to tell a story or give an explanation, said Diane Beals, an assistant professor of education at Washington University in St. Louis who worked on the study.

An increasing number of family and child therapists are prescribing more family time for their patients. Diane Puckett, a family therapist for the Women's Center in Manassas, often sits down with parents and gets them to commit to the days and hours they'll spend on family activities.

'Otherwise,' she said, 'they'll keep putting it off.'

But many parents say that coordinating everyone's busy schedule is hard and that sibling squabbles can make 'family time' feel like prison time.

'I sort of have to force family time on the four of us,' said Gwen Rhett, a single mother of three girls who lives in Largo.

Rhett said that whenever she tries to organize a family outing, such as going to a movie or bowling, her two teenage daughters grumble that they'd rather be out with friends, and her 11-year-old complains that she'd prefer staying home and watching her favorite Nickelodeon TV shows.

Television, computers and video games play a large role in separating of members from each other, researchers say. So does the proliferation of organized sports for children.

Even the increased size of today's homes tends to divide families, said Laura Pappano, a researcher at Radcliffe College who is writing a book about the phenomenon of scattered families. There was an enforced togetherness in the days when houses had 'three kids to a bedroom or four to a bathroom every morning,' Pappano said. In spacious houses, she said, it's easy for adults and children to lead 'parallel lives.'

It takes energy and imagination to pull a scattered family back

together, parents say.

Cathy Myers and her husband, Fred, who live in Falls Church, periodically drag their two teenage children out of bed on weekend mornings for family hikes in Fairfax County's Riverbend Park.

'We just have to be real flexible in finding the time when we can get everyone together,' Myers said.

Phyllis Greene, of Mitchellville, tried to cordon off Saturdays as family time for her husband, Carl, and their six children. The problem was that her family hated her handpicked excursions.

So she hit upon the idea of letting the children choose the activities. Now, the children take turns proposing ventures for Saturdays, such as playing basketball or going to the movies, and everyone is a lot happier, Greene said.

Kathy and Richard McKinless, both accountants, declared Wednesday night as family night in their Arlington household. No working late at the office. No trips to Scout meetings or to sports or music practices. Each Wednesday, the McKinlesses and their four children, ages 4 to 13, dine together at home and then watch a movie or play cards.

Shireen Dodson, of Northwest Washington, said her family's main activity together is attending church on Sundays. Other than that, she said, family time is 'whenever we can steal a moment.'

On Saturdays, Dodson said, household members always are heading out in different directions. Dodson drives her 6-year-old and 11-year-old daughters to Girl Scout meetings and birthday parties. Her husband, Leroy Fykes, a lawyer, goes into the office, then sometimes meets their 16-year-old son for basketball at the local YMCA.

If too many days or weeks go by without a family gathering, Dodson said, it's her children who start demanding it.

'They will say, It's been a while since when we've been together,' ' Dodson said. ' When can we do stuff as a family?' '

Caption:

Marcia Kaplan reads a book to her children, from left, 3-year-old twins Samantha and Jack and 8-year-old Danny, while hairstylist Shahin gives Kaplan's son Zachary, 11, a haircut.

Caption:

The Kaplan family spends time together at Shahin's hair salon in Northwest Washington. At left, Samantha, 3, gives twin brother, Jack, a kiss while his hair is blow-dried. The twins' mother, Marcia, watches in the background. Above, Marcia Kaplan sits near Samantha, who is getting her hair cut. Jack and brother Danny, 8, play in the background.

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Access No: 96761454 ProQuest - The Washington Post Ondisc
Title: SOCIAL CHANGE SHOWS SIGNS OF SLOWING; FAMILY
CHARACTERISTICS APPEAR MORE STABLE
Authors: Barbara Vobejda, Washington Post Staff Writer
Source: Washington Post, Final Edition
Date: Wednesday Nov 27, 1996 Sec: A SECTION p: 3
Length: Long (1217 words) Type: News National Illus: Chart
Subjects: Social conditions & trends; Families & family life;

Divorce; Births; Reports
Companies: Bureau of the Census

Abstract: The dramatic social trends that have inspired bleak predictions about the future of the American family, including high divorce rates and out-of-wedlock births, are showing signs of stabilizing, according to a Census Bureau report released Nov 26, 1996.

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Article Text:

The dramatic social trends that have inspired bleak predictions about the future of the American family, including high divorce rates and out-of-wedlock births, are showing signs of stabilizing.

The changes, underscored in a government report issued yesterday, also involve two other important components of the nation's households. The proportion of people living alone, which had risen rapidly since the 1970s, has plateaued, according to the Census Bureau, and a steady decrease in family size over recent decades has slowed. 'We're at a place where the whole thing has flattened out,' said Ken Bryson, a Census Bureau researcher and author of the annual report, 'Household and Family Characteristics.'

For two decades, the study has detailed the widespread social and economic changes that have redefined the American family. But in recent years, the Census Bureau and other government agencies have begun to see those trends slow and, in some cases, reverse. Some of this is attributed to the aging of the massive baby boom generation.

Among the most important of those signs was a reversal in the rate of babies born to unmarried mothers, a shift reported last month by the National Center for Health Statistics. The rate, which declined for the first time in nearly 20 years, has fallen 4 percent since 1994.

Also, the Census Bureau, which had in previous years projected that half of couples marrying would eventually divorce, in recent years lowered that projection to four in 10.

Despite frequent attention to the disintegration of the family, yesterday's report indicates that the vast majority of American families -- 78 percent -- are still headed by married couples.

While divorce and births to unmarried women are still common, most children at any one time are living with a married couple. That is due in part to the tendency of parents who divorce to remarry and because many women who give birth out-of-wedlock eventually marry.

Experts are careful not to minimize the problems of single-parent families, particularly their increased incidence of poverty. But they note that the frequent focus on these households by politicians, advocates and the news media has overshadowed the fact that the majority of the nation's children are living in two-parent homes.

'The main point is that there is a lot of variety in families,' said Kristin Moore, who heads Child Trends Inc., a nonprofit research group in Washington. 'Some are very stressed and having a hard time making it, but a lot of children are growing up in strong and effective families. Couples that wait to marry until they're 26, buy a house, find stable employment and have wanted children, they're not very newsworthy, but their numbers aren't small.'

Moore said that while middle-class children are enjoying better-than-ever health care, educational technology and other benefits, those at the bottom of the income scale continue to suffer serious problems. And even some of those in two-parent families have experienced the break-up of their parents' marriage and a difficult transition into a new family structure.

Even as the Census Bureau report cites a slowdown in social change, it nevertheless emphasizes how, over the past generation, these changes have altered the nation's demographic profile.

Among the most striking developments has been the increase in families maintained by men or women -- mostly women -- with no spouse present. While married-couple families grew by 20 percent since 1970, for example, the number of female-headed families increased by 122 percent.

Historically, most American households have been made up of families -- defined by the Census Bureau as two or more people living together who are related by birth, marriage or adoption. In 1940, for example, 90 percent of households were 'families.' But by 1970, the figure had fallen to 81 percent, and by 1995, it was down to 70 percent, although the rate of decline has slowed in recent years.

The increase in so-called non-family households is explained largely by the increase in the number of people living alone. More than half of those one-person households -- 60 percent -- are women and most of those are elderly.

While much attention has been devoted to the plight of the 'sandwich generation,' families taking care of children and elderly parents simultaneously, yesterday's report said such families are relatively uncommon. Last year, about 600,000 families contained children under age 18 and elderly people living in the same household.

Bryson said demographers are watching to see whether the social trends that have stabilized in recent years are reinvigorated by the children of baby boomers as they move further into adulthood.

The first wave of those children, known as the 'baby boom echo,' are now in their mid-twenties and beginning to form families. They could follow the pattern of their parents, who fueled high rates of divorce, unmarried births, delayed marriage and living together outside of marriage. Or they could avoid those choices.

'Some people expect to see a substantial rebound from the kind of change we saw in the 1970s . . . a shift back into more traditional living arrangements,' Bryson said. 'What we want to see is what happens next. . . . Anything's possible.'

Caption:

THE AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD

1970 1995

Families headed by married couples	87%	78%
People per household	3.14	2.65
Households made up of married couples with children		
40%	25%	
Households made up of five or more people		
1 in 5	1 in 10	
Households made up of people living alone		
1 in 6	1 in 4	
Families headed by women with no husband present		
5.6	12.2	
Families headed by men with no wife present		
1.2	3.2	
Households in metropolitan areas	2 in 3	4 in 5
Families with no children under 18 at home		
44%	51%	

NOTE: A household is defined as an individual or group of people who occupy a housing unit; a family is a group of two or more people, one of whom is the householder, living together and related by birth, marriage or adoption.

SOURCE: Census Bureau

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Access No: 96732363 ProQuest - The Washington Post Ondisc
Title: WORK VS. FAMILY -- TOO MANY SECRETS
Authors: Amy E. Schwartz
Source: Washington Post, Final Edition
Date: Tuesday Jul 2, 1996 Sec: A OP/ED p: 15
Length: Long (968 words) Type: Op-Ed
Subjects: Families & family life; Social conditions & trends; Media coverage
Names: Clinton, Bill

Abstract: Amy E. Schwartz notes the difficulties in the work-family struggle, questioning why remarks on the subject by Pres Clinton during his 1996 speech at Glendale Community College's commencement did not receive more press coverage.

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Article Text:

Earlier this month, as the annual flood of fathering and mothering rhetoric from Father's Day and Mother's Day crested and began to ebb, President Clinton added a few well-chosen but wholly unreported drops of verbiage to the topic in a speech at Glendale Community College. After reiterating his Princeton commencement offer of a tax credit to ease payment of tuition -- the part of the speech that got the headlines -- the president pointed out that his listeners, working at jobs and classes and child-raising simultaneously, are engaged in 'hard, hard work.'

We need, he said, to think about how a society would look 'in which people can succeed at work and at home':

How can you be successful in your job or in a series of jobs over a lifetime and be successful in building a family? How can you do well raising children as well as going to work every day, and if necessary, going back to school over and over again for a lifetime? And if you think about it, any great society that forces people to make a choice in the end is going to fail. If you have to fail at home in order to succeed at work, we're in trouble. But if the only way you can succeed at home is to fail at work, we're in trouble.

This is so sensible an observation, in line with the fears and preoccupations of a vast cohort of young parents, and yet so glaringly absent otherwise from the usual exhortations to those parents -- especially, still, mothers -- to spend more time with their kids, that its failure to attract any press coverage was unnerving. No news story I saw so much as mentioned the work-family part of the speech, though wire services carried the full transcript; some stories discussed the tuition tax credit plan, others led with Clinton's gracious remarks on the occasion of Bob Dole's Senate retirement.

The same relative silence marked the next week's 'Family Reunion' summit in Nashville, where both the First and Second Couples talked at length about work and family issues. It wasn't on front pages when the president issued a call for corporations to adopt a variety of small-scale 'family flexibility' policies that are supposed to let parents coordinate their hours better -- for instance, a guarantee of 24 hours' unpaid leave

a year to attend school functions or teacher meetings.

Doesn't anybody think this stuff worth discussing? The president's words were unusual in being framed so as to apply to both fathers and mothers, recognizing the career-family issue as a struggle for both parents even if one is the major breadwinner and the other has taken a few years off. But congressional Republicans too have taken up the flexibility theme. A group of Republican women offered a proposal that avoids mandating anything and leaves the actual granting of flextime in employers' hands. But it shares enough points with Clinton's plan that the Dole campaign responded to the latter by accusing the president of stealing yet another conservative initiative.

That flexibility for both parents would be claimed as a conservative issue shows how far this discussion has moved since the last wave of Father's Day rhetoric. A year ago, when the day featured the first big Washington rally of the Christian men's group Promise Keepers, the argument most often heard from that and other evangelical groups was not just that children suffer if their fathers desert them -- everyone now seems to agree on that -- but that the modern, involved 'new father' who did his bit with child care was somehow also an 'absent father.' Why? Because his involvement amounted to blurring away the presence of a traditional daddy-not-mommy person, one who went out to work and was demanding and distanced.

This year, that silly argument is fading. The 'Father Facts' booklet produced by the National Fatherhood Initiative, a moderate group, has a section on father-work conflict and supportive employer policies and notes that 'about 20 percent of preschool children in 1991 were cared for by their fathers -- both married and unmarried -- while their mothers worked.' (It also cites a Harvard study that showed involved fathers over four decades advancing faster, not slower, in their careers.)

For evidence that these changes are well-kept secrets, ignored by the culture even when the president and Congress debate them, consider the New York Times science section the day Clinton spoke at Glendale. In it, a profile of the noted biologist Shirley Tilghman, recently elevated to the National Academy of Sciences at age 49, described how she had addressed a group of young female scientists at Yale and told them that they, like her, could raise children while having a successful career as a scientist.

The women, Tilghman said, didn't believe her. They told her that her experience would be impossible today and that they expected to have to make a choice between 'gametes and glory.' Repeated surveys of college-age students have conveyed similar results: A majority of women students -- but far fewer men students -- dread those choices and think career-family issues will be a terrible struggle.

When people try to imagine work and family life, a lot depends on what stories they hear told and retold. How many times by now have we heard the story of a parent -- usually, not always, a mother -- deciding that family is more important than job, that you can never make up for slighting your kids, that you should read to them more and give them quantity, not just quality time? Enough, already: Let's finish the stories. Once you've decided to do all this, then what? How do you manage? What happens next?

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

Title: FIGHT OVER FAMILY VALUES'
Authors: E. J. Dionne Jr.
Source: Washington Post, Final Edition
Date: Friday Jun 28, 1996 Sec: A OP/ED p: 21
Length: Long (768 words) Type: Op-Ed Illus: Photograph
Subjects: Values; Families & family life; Presidential elections;
Social conditions & trends

Abstract: E. J. Dionne Jr comments that the 'family values' debate of 1996 centers around a lot of Americans' worry that the US is creating a society in which kids are more likely to become criminals, saying that practical questions may finally be put on the table in the 1996 presidential debate on the issue.

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Article Text:

'I'm not worried that my kids will be the victims of crime,' said the single mother of two and the holder of two jobs. 'I'm worried that they'll commit crime.'

That surprising comment, quoted last week by House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt, was one mother's way of summarizing a lot of different problems in one mouthful. She was saying that (1) she had to spend too much time working outside the home, so (2) didn't have enough time to raise her kids properly, (3) didn't trust the influences her kids would come under (from television and perhaps their own friends) and (4) felt responsible for the possibility that her kids would turn out wrong. Welcome to the new 'family values' debate of 1996. It's different from the old family values debate because this time both political parties are playing hard to define its terms.

We all can be forgiven a certain skepticism. We know in advance that the rhetoric we'll hear comes straight from the polls and focus groups. We know in particular that President Clinton's proposals on school uniforms, curfews, the V-chip and flexibility for parents in the workplace are targeted straight at a crucial swing constituency in this election: middle-class married couples, mostly in the suburbs, worried that they are losing control over their kids' upbringing.

But none of this should be allowed to trivialize a debate that actually matters. What's involved is a struggle between two conceptions of what the 'family values' issue really means. On one side is the view championed mostly by Republicans that what's wrong with the country's families was caused either by bad government programs or bad values that engulfed the culture during the 1960s.

On the other side are Democrats who argue that the problems with our 'values' are rooted in economic problems faced by families. In this view, the values of most parents are just fine, thank you. What is driving parents crazy is a lack of time with their children (because they have to work too much) and a sense that public institutions aren't giving them enough help. In an effort to wrap all this discontent together in one package, the Democrats this week staked their battle to recapture Congress on a manifesto entitled 'Families First.'

Of course partisans on either side of this debate inject their arguments with some subtlety. Republicans will acknowledge some role for government. They will talk a lot about the failure of the public authorities to control crime and also criticize the performance of the public schools.

Democrats know they'll be accused of thinking that government has all the answers. 'People don't want big-government solutions, and they don't want empty promises,' the Families First document asserts, more than a

trifle defensively. In his speech on families this week, the president went out of his way to sound like the Bill Bennett of 'The Book of Virtues' and the war on Hollywood. Parents, said Clinton, worried that 'even if I teach my kids good values, will something in the society, in the culture, change my child's life or destroy it?'

Now here's the surprising possibility: This debate could be constructive. For years, 'family values' has been rhetoric used to split the electorate. For Republicans 'family values' has been a way to cast the Democrats as advocates of an alien, permissive culture. Democrats charged that Republican talk about 'family values' was a way of toeing the Christian Coalition line and trashing gays and single mothers.

This time, practical questions may be put on the table. Clinton's proposals on workplace flexibility and leave time for parents to go to teacher conferences may be modest, but they speak to a real problem. The congressional Democrats' efforts to provide full health coverage for kids are modest too, but they raise the right issue. For their part, the Republicans could do the country a favor if they gave up refighting the '60s culture wars and instead promoted a real argument over the quality of public education.

My guess is that a redefined family values debate will be to the Democrats' advantage. Republicans like the old debate just fine -- it's easy to trash 'Murphy Brown' -- and are reluctant to raise questions about how the economic system is disrupting families.

But whatever its partisan effects, the new debate is going to happen, if only because voters are telling pollsters they want it to. A lot of Americans are worried, with that single mother, that we're creating a society in which kids are more likely to become criminals. Ought that not be a big part of the 1996 debate?

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Access No: 96713123 ProQUEST - The Washington Post Ondisc
Title: VANISHING FAMILIES, DISPOSABLE MEN
Authors: William Raspberry
Source: Washington Post, Final Edition
Date: Friday Mar 29, 1996 Sec: A OP/ED p: 25
Length: Long (771 words) Type: Op-Ed
Subjects: Marriage; Social conditions & trends; Social research;
Blacks; Families & family life; Statistics; Women
Abstract: William Raspberry notes that the statistics regarding the drop of black women who have been married represent a series of disasters and foreshadow a trend involving white women as well. He wonders how marriage can be made a big deal again so that men will not be absent from families.

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Article Text:

Some statistics contain their own dissertations, providing enough ammunition to support virtually any theory that comes to mind.

Try this: 'In 1975, nearly 77 percent of black women in their late 20s had been married at some time in their lives. By 1990, the corresponding figure was 45 percent -- a drop of over 30 points in 15 years.' What can't you make of numbers like those? Or these: The percentage of

at-least-once-married black women in their early thirties declined from 87 percent in 1975 to 61 percent in 1990 -- 26 percentage points.

The statistics (from Nicholas Eberstadt, writing in the January/February issue of *Society* magazine) can be used as grist for virtually any social-policy mill: welfare reform, gender equity, criminal justice, job creation -- profound, and not necessarily negative, changes in America's economics and culture.

For me, the numbers represent a disaster -- no, a series of disasters.

To get one matter out of the way: The statistics on black women merely foreshadow a trend involving white women as well. As is so often the case, if you want to see how black problems would look wearing a white face, just wait a generation.

But as to the problem now at hand, why do I insist on seeing it in terms of disaster? To begin with, I doubt that the majority of these never-married women are single entirely by choice. I can't give you statistics here, but I can tell you from personal experience that an enormous number of eminently eligible black women are single because they can't find comparably eligible black men.

And where are the men? In a depressing number of cases they are unemployed, undereducated, in the clutches of the criminal justice system, involved in criminal activity or dead -- of violence or of disease, notably AIDS. Moreover, one need only look at the makeup of college enrollments to see that the proportion of men that might reasonably be considered 'eligible' for professional women continues to shrink.

It is possible to argue, of course, that nonmarriage, however socially awkward it may be for a time, is simply the result of a trend that has seen women become less economically dependent on men. Women no longer have to marry their financial security. (And at the other end of the income scale, women who have no financial security don't help themselves by marrying financially insecure men.) The role of the husband as protector and breadwinner has been on the decline for a long time, and we shouldn't be surprised to see the decline in marriage rates and stability.

All true, though not necessarily benign. Besides, we are not talking only about free-choosing adults. As Eberstadt notes:

'High rates of nonmarriage, of course, can no longer be interpreted as signifying high rates of childlessness. Paralleling the breakup of two-parent families is the rise of families that never formed. Over the past four decades, our country has experienced a veritable explosion of out-of-wedlock births.'

In 1960, for example, only about one birth in 20 was to an unmarried mother. By 1992, it was three in 10, and climbing. That's for all births, not just black births.

'As these large fractions should indicate,' Eberstadt says, 'out-of-wedlock birth is not only, or even predominantly, a black phenomenon. . . . In 1992, 37 percent of the country's illegitimate births were black; 63 percent were not.' Moreover, black teenagers accounted for fewer than one-eighth of the out-of-wedlock births of 1992.

We've learned to stop calling these children 'illegitimate,' but terminology is the least of their problems. They are extremely likely to be poor -- significantly poorer even than the children of divorce. They are more likely to spend some time as welfare dependents, with all the negative implications that involves. They (especially the boys) are far more likely than their two-parent counterparts to become involved in crime.

And even that isn't the end of the disasters. Nonmarriage doesn't mean just the absence of men from families; it means the transformation of men, and of boys. When men become unnecessary to their families, they are stripped of the socially acceptable purpose for their in-built aggressiveness. They don't stop being aggressive; they merely turn it to anti-social activity. Barbara Defoe Whitehead has written that if you

control for family makeup, you eliminate the relationship between race and crime and even of low income and crime.

One more thing: Children of never-married parents are more likely to become unwed parents themselves, continuing the disaster yet another generation.

I look at Eberstadt's statistics and ask myself: How can we start to make marriage a big deal again?

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Access No: 67540719970418 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: Caring for Aged Parents
Authors: David Chen
Source: New York Times, Late Edition (East Coast)
Date: Apr 18, 1997 Sec: B Metropolitan Desk p: 5
Length: Short (175 words) Type: News
Subjects: Baby boomers; Older people; Caregivers; Public opinion surveys; Parents & parenting; Medicine & Health; Aged; Life Styles; Families & Family Life

Abstract: Survey shows that baby boomers and their aging parents have vastly different views over how much financial responsibility and personal attention are involved in providing health care for parents; while 80 percent of children say that their parents' health condition has affected quality of their lives, 94 percent of their parents believe that there has been little effect; findings discussed (S)

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Article Text:

Baby boomers and their aging parents have vastly different views over how much financial responsibility and personal attention are involved in providing health care for the parents, according to a national survey.

While 80 percent of the children say that their parents' health condition has affected the quality of their life, 94 percent of their parents believe that there has been little effect. While 53 percent of the children anticipate that their parents will eventually move in with them, 22 percent of parents think so. And while 31 percent of the children feel that they will have to offer a great deal of financial support to their parents, only 18 percent of parents feel that way.

'There seems to be a lack of communication,' said Harriet Dronska, vice president and chief operating officer of Elderplan Inc., which conducted the survey of more than 500 people. Elderplan Inc., is part of the Metropolitan Jewish Health System, a Brooklyn-based organization providing health care programs to almost 20,000 people annually in the New York metropolitan area. DAVID CHEN

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Access No: 9300002730 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: SHIFTS IN FAMILIES REACH A PLATEAU, STUDY SAYS
Authors: PETER T. KILBORN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday Nov 27, 1996 Sec: A National Desk p: 18
Length: Medium (561 words) Illus: Graph
Subjects: FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE
Companies: CENSUS BUREAU

Abstract: The Census Bureau said in a study issued on Nov 26, 1996 that shifts in the structure of the American family appear to have leveled off in the 1990s, even as those changes have become embedded in the culture. Since 1970, families have become smaller; more are led by one parent, and more have mothers who work outside the home.

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Article Text:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26 -- Shifts in the structure of the American family appear to have leveled off in the 1990's, even as those changes have become embedded in the culture, the Census Bureau said in a study issued today.

Since 1970, families have become smaller; more are led by one parent, and more have mothers who work outside the home.

'In the 1970's and 1980's, we had a big shift from married couples with children to one-parent families and people living alone,' said Ken Bryson, the bureau's senior analyst for social and demographic statistics and the author of the study, which is based on a survey of 60,000 households in March 1995. 'What is most noteworthy is how little things have changed in the last five years.'

From 1970 to 1990, the number of married couples with children under 18 shrank from 40.3 percent of households to 26.3 percent; it was 25.5 percent in 1995. Divorce rates have soared, and the number of single-person households climbed from 17 percent of households to 25 percent, where it, too, has remained. The divorce rate has stabilized since 1990 at about 4.6 divorces per 1,000 people, after doubling from 1960 to 1990. Couples are also having children later.

Mr. Bryson said it was too early to know how the children of the baby boomers will approach family formation. But other analysts predict that as those children leave home, the number of divorces, which accounts for much of the decline in the number of married-couple families, could rise again.

'To the extent that marriages break up when children leave home, there could be another little rush of divorce,' said Heidi Hartmann, director of the Institute for Women's Policy Research here. 'Younger women are also continuing to become more economically autonomous. So they're better able to sustain a family on their own.'

The bureau also found evidence of the effects of shrinking paychecks, from the 1970's, when one check supported a family, to today, when two checks are needed to maintain a similar standard of living.

Mr. Bryson said the bureau lacked sufficient comparative historical data to show the change with any precision. But in 1995, he said, the survey found that in married couple families with children under six, 60 percent of the mothers worked, as well as 92 percent of the fathers.

While the number of married-couple households rose just 3 percent from 1990 to 1995, to 53.9 million, the number of single-parent families headed by women rose 12 percent, to 12.2 million. And the number of single-parent households headed by men, while far fewer, also climbed 12 percent, to 3.2

million.

In emphasizing that 70 percent of the nation's 99 million households meet its definition of families, or people bound by blood, adoption or marriage, the report did not treat gay households as a separate category. A gay couple was considered a household, not a family. A gay parent with children was counted the same as other single parents. Mr. Bryson said the sample of 60,000 was too small to yield useful information about gay couples.

The bureau found that fewer parents had minor children at home. In 1970, it said, children younger than 18 lived with their mother, father or both in 56 percent of families. By last year, that figure had slipped to 49 percent. But it said these families might still have older children or grandchildren living with them.

Caption:

Graph: 'HEAD COUNT: The Changing American Household' shows American household statistics for the years 1970, 1980, 1990 and 1995. (Source: Census Bureau)

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Access No: 9300152444 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: FAMILY INCOME FINALLY RISES
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Saturday Sep 28, 1996 Sec: 1 Editorial Desk p: 22
Length: Medium (340 words) Type: EDITORIAL
Subjects: UNITED STATES ECONOMY; EDITORIALS; FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE;
INCOME; STANDARD OF LIVING
Companies: CENSUS BUREAU

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Article Text:

The upbeat report by the Census Bureau this week on family incomes and poverty showed that the recovery is finally raising living standards for American families, rich and poor. Income of the typical household rose by almost 3 percent last year, the largest increase in a decade. For the typical black family, income last year was \$3,000 higher than in 1992. Poverty rates fell, with the percentage of blacks in poverty, 29.3 percent, falling to its lowest level since data were first collected in 1959. Child poverty fell faster than in any year since the mid-1970's. Even the nation's stubbornly high level of inequality fell more last year than in any year since the late 1960's.

Ordinarily, there would be nothing surprising about rising income and falling poverty in the fifth year of a recovery. But for too long this recovery was 'jobless,' producing meager gains in living standards. Even now wages are nearly stagnant. But at least in the past two years, employment has taken off. Family income is rising because more people are working and those who work are putting in longer hours.

The recent gains, though welcome, ought to be kept in perspective. Poverty would have to fall four more years at last year's rate just to reach the level that was achieved 23 years ago. Black poverty last year, the lowest in recorded history, remains far worse than white poverty.

Family incomes are rising, but remain below 1989 levels for all but the richest. Inequality has fallen for two years, but the average income of families in the bottom 20 percent is only one-twentieth as high as the average income of families in the top 5 percent. Child poverty remains at an obscenely high 20 percent.

Peering into the future, Congress made matters needlessly worse. The welfare bill that it passed, and the President signed, will throw millions of children and adults into poverty. Just as the economy opens the door to prosperity for families, rich and poor, Congress has slammed the door back shut for the most disadvantaged.

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Access No: 9300087305 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: MORE FATHERS ARE CHOOSING TO BECOME AT-HOME DADS
Authors: RENEE BACHER
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Feb 25, 1996 Sec: 13LI Long Island Weekly Desk
p: 6
Length: Long (1245 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE; MEN; CHILDREN & YOUTH

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Article Text:

JOHN CLEMENTS, 28, of Bellmore cooks, cleans and spends weekdays caring for his infant daughter while his wife works 11-hour days as an accountant. But he would prefer if you didn't call him 'Mr. Mom.'

'While I'm not really offended by it, I do think I'm a step above where Mr. Mom was,' he said. 'He was basically incompetent and a loser. He got fired from his job and then at home he would burn the food and explode the vacuum cleaner. I don't do that.'

Howard Harris, 44, of East Hampton is even less crazy about being compared to the character played by Michael Keating in the 1983 movie, which portrayed a father at home with his children. 'I don't like being compared to him because he didn't choose his situation, whereas I certainly did,' said Mr. Harris.

These men who are home on Long Island with their children can be counted among the two million who are believed to be part of a growing trend nationwide, according to a recent United States Census survey. Some of the men in these families are financially well off and have sold businesses, quit jobs or decided to continue their careers on a part-time basis from home offices while the children are in school. Others are struggling and juggling schedules but finding the payoffs of being primary caregivers well worthwhile.

'I had been bursting at the seams to have a child for years, said Mr. Clements, a freelance photographer who gave up his weekday production work in a wedding portrait studio and now primarily photographs weddings on Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays.

Consequently, he has little time with his wife but they feel their sacrifice is worthwhile since they are maintaining two incomes while their baby is at home with a parent rather than in day care.

While many of the at-home dads on Long Island with infants are still inside spooning baby food, watching Barney and enjoying the honeymoon

phase of their new roles, their older counterparts who have been out and about more have had to deal with some startling realities.

Peter Bayliss, publisher of At-Home Dad, a national newsletter based in Andover, Mass., said that some of his subscribers had been shunned by other parents; looked down upon because people assume they could not keep a job, excluded from mother-organized play groups where women want to chat about intimate matters with women only, and rejected as play-date hosts because some parents had the underlying suspicion that a man at home is not competent enough to watch their child (and might be a pedophile).

But on Long Island, at least in East Hampton, the attitude toward at-home dads seems to be one of acceptance, according to Arthur Klein, author of the forthcoming memoir 'Dad & Son' (to be published in March by Tortoise Books).

Mr. Klein, a former marketing executive who has been at home with his children Zoe, 14, and Isaac, 11, for more than a decade, said he had been somewhat concerned about suspicious mothers whenever his daughter wanted to have a friend sleep over (and his wife happened to be away on a business trip).

'It turned out not to be a problem, though,' Mr. Klein said.

The biggest problem at-home dads on Long Island seem to face is their isolation from other adults. Most do not know men in their shoes and feel awkward about making friends with the mothers they meet in the supermarket or park.

'It's still mainly women taking care of the kids where we live,' said Peter McDonnell, 33, of Coram, a former assistant comptroller who has a toddler, and a baby on the way.

'I get the feeling that the women I meet assume I'm with my child because it's some special occasion and I have to admit when I see another man with a kid I find myself thinking the same thing -- he must be doing this for the day, not full-time.'

Peter and his wife, Laura, who works as a probation officer in Nassau County, decided that since they were making the same salary but her benefits were better, it would be Peter who quit his job.

'We thought it was important that our child was brought up by one of us,' Peter said, 'and it turns out I like being home with Patrick a lot. It's much more fulfilling than what I used to do.'

But even the most fulfilled at-home dad deals with the conflict of the male ego. 'I don't care who you are, you always worry about what the other guy is going to think,' said Barry Hoag, 39, of Shirley, who vacillated over his fantasy of staying home for six months before finally quitting his job outside the home.

Mr. Hoag, who had managed a McDonald's for 10 years, and his wife Lynn, who works at a library, had, like the Clements family, arranged their schedules so that one of them was at home with the children.

But the Hoags have four children, not one, and Lynn Hoag is also going for her master's degree in library science while working. Last June the juggling and exhaustion got to be too much -- 'Your kids start getting affected when you don't have a family day,' Mr. Hoag said.

'We would come home and just take care of them rather than enjoying them. It got to be more of a chore than a pleasure. And family life should be pleasureable.'

The Hoags worked out their finances and realized that if they cut up their credit cards and pared luxuries they could get by on one salary. Since Lynn was taking a full course load and Barry was usually home more anyway, they decided it would be Barry who quit his outside job.

In the early weeks of caring full-time for his children (Giared, 14, Randy, 11, and 4-year-old twins, Justin and Elyssa, Mr. Hoag concedes that he had visions of himself doing it all perfectly.

'I thought I was going to be the male Donna Reed. You know, everything spotless and prim and proper. But with four kids the realization sets in

fast that it's not going to be that way.'

Still, the benefits of having a parent at home full-time, he said, have been enormous. His two adolescent sons had previously been having great difficulties in school, he said, but their scores, in seven months, have improved dramatically.

Robert Frank, a Chicago-based researcher who recently completed the largest study of at-home dads, would not be surprised. Among the conclusions he reached in his Ph.D. thesis for Loyola University was that women who work outside the home are more likely to be highly involved in the lives of their children than their male counterparts.

This means children in families where fathers are home full-time get the benefit of two highly involved parents rather than the one and a half that their peers in traditional households often receive.

Other benefits of dad staying home, Mr. Frank found, are children who seek out fathers for comfort twice as often and families in which both parents are confident and competent in the daily tasks involved in child rearing.

But when Howard Harris made the decision nine years ago to bow out of the corporate world to spend time at home with his three children, there was no such research available.

Mr. Harris's inspiration was that as a child he saw his father only at dinner and on weekends and knew he wanted more of a relationship than that with his own children.

'One song says it all to me, and that's 'Cat's in the Cradle' by Harry Chapin,' Mr. Harris said of a song about a busy father who can't find time for his son and a son who grows into a man who cannot find time for his father.

'I listen to that song I'm so grateful because that will never happen to me.'

Caption:

Photos: Barry Hoag, top, a father who stays at home while his wife works elsewhere. (Michael Shavel for The New York Times); Left, Peter McDonnell bathes his son Patrick. (Maxine Hicks for The New York Times)

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Access No: 9300158583 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: DON'T FORGET SOCCER DADS; WHAT'S A SOCCER MOM ANYWAY?
Authors: NEIL MacFARQUHAR
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Oct 20, 1996 Sec: 4 Week in Review Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1207 words) Illus: Chart, Photo
Subjects: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1996; WOMEN; FAMILIES & FAMILY
LIFE; ELECTION ISSUES; SUBURBS
Names: SCHROEDER, PATRICIA (REPR); WHITMAN, CHRISTINE TODD (GOV)
Abstract: Political analysts are forecasting that 'soccer moms' could be an important swing vote in the 1996 presidential and congressional elections. Believers in this mythic group of voters say the soccer mom embodies the concerns of a huge swath of suburban female voters.

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Article Text:

ONCE upon a time, like about three months ago, a soccer mom was just that.

She turned up where she was expected. Pacing the sidelines of her children's games, she wore T-shirts emblazoned with slogans like 'I don't have a life. My kids play soccer.' One soccer mom in Indiana died leaving a will asking that all memorial donations be made to her church league. A soccer mom at her most flashy might be found in a television commercial, peddling an improved brand of tuna fish.

Then suddenly, some time around the Republican convention, the Soccer Mom became mythic. The hands that steered the mini-van were also deciding whether to turn left or right in the Presidential election. If Bob Dole did not find a way to appeal to such women, they might swing the election for Bill Clinton. In his closing statement during last week's Presidential debate in San Diego, Mr. Dole even addressed soccer moms directly, saying he understood their problems.

In Campaign '96, the Soccer Mom became oracle.

Misleading

But there is some question whether the mythic version actually exists. The Soccer Mom is either on the threshold of joining the Silent Majority and the Angry White Male of previous elections in the Swing Voters' Hall of Fame, or of being banished back to the sidelines. Believers say the soccer mom embodies the concerns of a huge swath of suburban female voters. But doubters find the title too limiting or misleading and even soccer dads will tell you there just aren't that many.

'It is one of the most overused terms in America,' said Pat Schroeder, the Democratic Congresswoman, who as a former soccer mom said she personally never found much difference between suburban mothers and fathers when it came to politics. 'Everyone is talking about soccer moms -- what they can do to move them. I keep wondering about the demographics -- are the moms that different from the dads, and why?'

Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, the Republicans' soccer mom archetype, with both a son and daughter who played, is also skeptical of the term. 'It is unfair in the sense that there are soccer dads as well,' said Mrs. Whitman. 'I have a problem when you lump people into a group, because you lose a lot of people.'

Certainly the soccer moms were not previously considered a distinct breed. A rough computer scan of major American newspapers found just eight references linking soccer moms and politics before 1996, when the number suddenly jumped well past 100.

Susan B. Casey may well have coined the first political usage during Denver's 1995 municipal elections with her slogan 'A Soccer Mom for City Council.' It was, she thought, a way of denoting herself as everyneighbor.

'It has nothing to do with women or men -- 'soccer parent' just didn't sound like a good phrase,' said Mrs. Casey, who won. 'If I were a male I probably would have said soccer dad, but it wasn't meant to be an appeal to women. Soccer dads know that soccer moms are the same. Actually the dads I know are worse than the moms and kids -- they are much more involved.'

Defined in a strict sense, soccer moms can't possibly constitute a major bloc of the well over 50 million women who could be expected to vote in a Presidential election. The United States Youth Soccer Association puts the number of all players under age 19 at only about 2.5 million. In a state with a heavy suburban vote like New Jersey, there are roughly 145,000 such players. New York has about 131,000 and Connecticut 63,000.

A suburb with an active program like Montclair, N.J. -- population 38,000 -- boasts some 1,800 kids playing soccer. It takes 250 parent volunteers to keep the program running, but only about 10 percent of them are women. The New Jersey Youth Soccer Association said the pattern was similar throughout the state.

'Who is participating when you talk about making it happen on the field? It is predominantly men,' said Stanford L. Brown, 44, a Montclair coach. 'Soccer dads are more likely to take on the mantle of being the coach, even if they haven't played.'

His wife, Lili, one of the town's 15 women coaches, agrees. 'I am always pleading with women to take on coaching and to be involved, but I have only met with limited success,' said Mrs. Brown. 'Women say, 'No, no, no, I want my husband to do it so he interacts with his daughter.' '

Soccer moms also bristle at the term because they find it vaguely insulting. 'I hate to be a whole breed of something, but I admit I have a talented soccer player, so as long as it is Dr. Soccer Mom, because I have a Ph.D., I accept,' said Ann-Marie Nazzaro, the director of the town's YWCA.

Despite such reservations, pollsters and demographers find the term useful as a catch-all for suburban women, most married and working at least part-time outside the home, with children under 18 -- even if it distorts the role mothers perform in their children's athletic lives. They find it enough for mothers to drive their kids to the field.

Sneakers, Not Heels

'Soccer moms of the 1990's were the 'supermoms' of the 1980's,' said Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, president of the Polling Company, a Republican firm. 'Many of them have kicked off their high heels and replaced them with Keds to watch their kids. If you are a soccer mom, the world according to you is seen through the needs of your children.'

Since soccer moms only recently appeared on political radar screens, there aren't a lot of polling data to work with. But there has been a big change in the voting inclinations of white women.

In a New York Times/CBS Poll of September 1992, 48 percent of married white suburban women preferred President Bush and 27 percent favored Mr. Clinton. This September, 49 percent prefer Mr. Clinton and only 39 percent favor Mr. Dole, a shift of 22 percentage points in Mr. Clinton's favor. Now as then, white married men in general lean toward the G.O.P.

'What makes the soccer moms so key this time is that they are voting Republican for Congress and Democratic for President,' said Celinda Lake, the president of Lake Research, a Democratic polling firm.

Some experts on gender politics, however, believe that the state of a woman's marriage exerts stronger influence over her voting pattern than how she spends time with her children. 'Soccer mom is a bad label,' said Warren T. Farrell, author of 'The Myth of Male Power.' 'A better label would be the Potentially Rejected Moms or the 'First Wives' Moms. When she begins to fear the end of her marriage or it does end, she begins to look to the government to become a substitute husband. The Democrats play the role of the government as substitute husband better than the Republicans.'

As the election nears, the soccer mom may have to cede her pedestal as key swing voter. That category excludes too many undecided women, while the soccer mom probably has made up her mind by now.

'There are more than twice as many Waitress Moms as Soccer Moms,' said Ms. Lake, referring to blue-collar working women without college educations supporting children. 'Right now they are voting Democratic, but many of them are undecided. . . . If you want to know the truth, it is now the Waitress Moms who are critical.'

Caption:

Photo: A mother at her son's soccer practice in Brookdale Park in suburban Essex County, N.J. (Norman Y. Lono for The New York Times)

Chart: 'What's in a Name?'

Here is a demographic profile of 'soccer moms,' if they are defined as suburban women between the ages of 32 and 50 who have children under 18 and work at least part-time. The numbers are drawn from women in suburbs of the nation's 10 largest metropolitan areas.

6 in 10 are younger than 40.

8 in 10 are white.

8 in 10 are married.

1 in 6 is divorced or separated.

Nearly 2 in 3 have attended college.

2 in 10 work for government.

More than 5 in 10 make less than \$20,000 themselves, but nearly 6 in 10 have a household income of more than \$50,000.

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Title: MORE WORK OR LESS WORK CAN EQUAL NO TIME OFF; A VACATION
THIS YEAR IS OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR A GROWING NUMBER OF
AMERICAN FAMILIES
Authors: EDWIN McDOWELL
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Saturday Jul 6, 1996 Sec: 1 Financial Desk p: 31
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Subjects: TRAVEL & VACATIONS; PUBLIC OPINION; FINANCES; LABOR;
UNEMPLOYMENT & JOB MARKET; LIFE STYLES; FAMILIES & FAMILY
LIFE
Companies: SIMENSION RESEARCH CO

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Article Text:

To the millions of Americans fighting traffic this holiday weekend, it may seem as if just about everybody is going on vacation right now. And more than three-fifths of all families intend to take a chunk of time off this year. But Fred and Joanne Andres, who had hoped to go on a cruise, will not be among them.

Instead, the Andreses, who live in Yorktown, N.Y., are beginning a new life in Warren, Mich., where Mr. Andres is being transferred later this month. After 20 years in the personnel department of the General Motors factory in North Tarrytown, N.Y., Mr. Andres accepted the transfer after G.M. shut down the 96-year-old plant a week ago. Some 2,100 employees were transferred, laid off, discharged or chose to retire.

'It means having to leave the area where I've lived all my life, and we won't have time for a vacation,' said the 47-year-old Mr. Andres. 'But at my age and with the economy the way it is, it would be silly not to relocate.'

They will not be the only ones without a vacation this year. Even in

what is shaping up as a strong year for the travel industry, with many airlines, hotels and vacation resorts reporting robust business, many Americans are finding themselves without the time, flexibility or money to take an extended vacation. A substantial 38 percent of families say they have no plans to take a vacation in 1996, up from last year's 34 percent, according to Wesley Peters, whose Dimension Research company in Lombard, Ill., conducted the poll. And 14 percent of Americans who had traveled in the last year said earlier this year that they did not plan to travel on vacation this summer, up from 10 percent in 1993, according to the Travel Industry Association of America.

Some of the people forgoing vacations are among the millions who lost their jobs because of corporate reorganizations and found other full-time or part-time jobs with less job security, fewer vacation days, lower pay and fewer other benefits. Others, some of them downsized workers, are now running their own businesses and feel they cannot afford or spare the time off.

Between 1991 and 1995, the number of part-time workers increased to 23.2 million from 20.1 million, and the number of self-employed rose by 322,000, to almost 10.5 million, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Jeff Werkheiser is one who just does not have time for a vacation. For 13 years he worked at Bethlehem Steel in Pennsylvania, just like his mother, father, grandfather and two brothers, but he foresaw hard times for the company and its workers. So he enrolled in school part time to learn to become an electrician, and four years ago -- well before Bethlehem Steel shut down its last blast furnace in the city -- he struck out on his own. Today he has four employees and two vehicles on the road.

'We're doing so well I can't take a vacation,' Mr. Werkheiser said. The lesson he draws from his experience, he said, is simple: 'When something happens in your life, or is about to happen, don't just stand around and accept it. You have to move on.'

John Budriss of Flat Top, W. Va., a longtime banker who quit after a dispute with his boss, also will not get away on vacation -- not even for one of the long weekends that have substituted as vacations in prior years. Mr. Budriss, an expert witness who testifies at trials on bank-related matters, said it has been impossible to plan very far ahead this year, 'because trials are always getting postponed.' And if he could carve out a few free days, his wife, Celia Berge, cannot just pick up and take off from her job as the director of Tamarack, the West Virginia Turnpike Authority's \$16.2 million arts and crafts center in Beckley.

'Many professional couples have trouble finding time to go on vacation, even for a few days,' Mr. Budriss said, 'because they can't coordinate their schedules to be able to get away together.'

After working in and managing bookstores for 16 years, Amy Thomas of Berkeley, Calif., bought four stores of her own in the San Francisco Bay Area last year. Now, between running the business and trying to stave off competition from nearby mega-bookstores, a vacation amounts to wishful thinking.

'When my family came here from Ohio and Oklahoma at Christmas, I had to work the whole time,' Ms. Thomas said. 'If I can get away next year, my dream vacations are to take my three boys to Disneyland and to meet my family in the spring, when I don't have to worry about buying gifts.'

Business is so good at many temporary employment agencies that Jim Holland of Murfreesboro, Tenn., has twice had to cancel a scheduled vacation this year. 'With the economy picking up,' said Mr. Holland, whose Holland Group Inc. has 21 offices in six states, 'I guess I just won't be able to get in a vacation this year.'

Marvin Murray of Lexington Park, Md., is eager to go on a cruise to Australia, but it will not be this year, and likely not next year either. A civilian employee of the Navy, Mr. Murray puts in at least 10 hours a

day, six days a week, at the McDonnell Douglas Corporation in St. Louis as the leader of an eight-man team that is helping to upgrade the old F/ A-18 Hornet, the twin-engine fighter-attack plane that is the mainstay of the Navy and Marine Corps.

Mr. Murray said his team had to maintain 'a very aggressive schedule' in order to meet a series of deadlines, and 'everybody's overworked, because the Navy has been downsizing like everybody else,' But, he added, 'It doesn't seem to have hurt our efficiency -- only our vacation plans.'

While sweeping changes in the job market are contributing to the situation, the biggest reason people do not go on vacation in any given year is the sheer lack of money. And this year is no different. Thirty-seven percent of those who are not going on vacation this year told Dimension Research that they simply could not afford it.

Among them is Eunice Johnson, a single mother, with an 8-year-old son, who lives with her mother and works six days a week as a cook at a seafood restaurant in Litchfield Beach, S.C., 'I'd like to take Aaron to Sea World' in Orlando, Fla., she said, 'but I'd have to work a double shift for two weeks just to pay for tickets to get there.'

Money -- the lack of it, that is -- is also keeping Marianne Jones at home in Watsonville, Calif., this year, even though she is a travel agent and therefore eligible for attractive travel discounts. But with her daughter Diane soon to start her junior year at California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo, after having attended a community college for two years, the bill for room, board and tuition will total almost \$10,000.

'If you earn a reasonable salary,' Ms. Jones said, 'you don't get any college financial aid.'

Dennis Adams and Carl Newton will also not be taking vacations this year, along with many other members of the six unions that struck The Detroit Free Press and The Detroit News a year ago over a number of salary and contract issues.

Mr. Newton, a pressman at The Free Press since 1981, said that his wife recently started working in a department store and that he had to cancel a planned hunting trip in Montana. 'I also had to sell my camper,' he said, 'and now my truck is up for sale.'

Mr. Adams, who worked 26 years as a pressman, the last five with The Detroit News, said that since the strike he had worked a couple of weeks on another newspaper, but spends most days on the picket line while his family subsists on his wife's salary plus \$150 a week from the union.

'My wife and I love to travel,' Mr. Adams said, 'but I have a feeling I may never get to vacation again.'

Caption:

Photos: For Amy Thomas, who owns four bookstores in the San Francisco Bay Area, a vacation amounts to wishful thinking. She is too busy running her business and trying to stave off competition from mega-bookstores. (Darcy Padilla for The New York Times) (pg. 31); Eunice Johnson fills orders in a Litchfield Beach, S.C., seafood restaurant. She will skip a vacation this year because she cannot afford it. (Wade Spees for The New York Times) (pg. 33)

Title: FOR MORE AND MORE JOB SEEKERS, AN AGING PARENT IS A BIG FACTOR
Authors: JUDITH H. DOBRZYNSKI
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Jan 1, 1996 Sec: 1 National Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1610 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: LABOR; UNEMPLOYMENT & JOB MARKET; AGED; FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE; RELOCATION OF PERSONNEL

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Article Text:

Just over a year ago, after much soul-searching, Robert W. Crispin turned down a plum job as one of the top three executives of a prestigious company on the West Coast. He decided instead to stay in Hartford, within easy visiting distance of his ailing 90-year-old father-in-law in northwest Pennsylvania.

'We tried to figure out ways to deal with this,' Mr. Crispin said. 'We talked about opportunities to travel back to the East. But traveling transcontinental every couple of weeks is not easy, and I was very concerned about how my wife would agonize, and how much she would have to be away from me and my 14-year-old daughter.'

The company even offered to move Mr. Crispin's in-laws, but he thought that would be too disruptive.

Just when corporations were getting used to the 'trailing spouse' -- the wife or husband whose career puts obstacles in the way of business moves -- a new problem is cropping up. The graying of America is starting to create 'trailing parents,' who pose even bigger relocation hurdles.

Nobody knows the exact extent of the problem. But already an estimated 10 to 12 percent of the work force is responsible for caring for an aging relative, said Andrew Scharlach, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley. By 2020, Mr. Scharlach projects, one in three people will have to provide care for an elderly parent. The Conference Board, a business research group, estimates even more people will be affected -- as many as 40 percent before 2000.

With many more elderly parents to care for, more employees will face tough choices in deciding whether to move. 'This is a new factor in the job equation,' said Durant A. Hunter, president of Pendleton James & Associates, a search firm.

It is also a new wrinkle for the American economy, which has always depended on a high degree of mobility.

Like that first laugh line or gray hair, the problem is barely attracting notice -- yet. But as baby boomers start turning 50 in 1996, their parents, who are expected to live longer than any previous generation, will ascend into their 70's and beyond. Soon, more and more Americans will find themselves in the same position as Mr. Crispin, who is 48.

Companies are only beginning to deal with the implications of trailing parents. A few, like Apple Computer Inc., have sometimes agreed to foot the bill for moving elderly relatives rather than settle for a second choice in important personnel appointments. But many, fearing high costs, do not want to acknowledge the problem.

Besides, no matter who pays, moving elderly people to unfamiliar surroundings often causes problems. Whether they live with a child, in a nursing home, or on their own, they risk social isolation and increased dependence on their children.

'This was not on our radar screen a few years ago,' said Cris Collie, executive vice president of the Employee Relocation Council, a business-supported organization in Washington. 'But the growth in concern

is astronomical.'

Meanwhile, corporations are ever-eager for a mobile work force. In a study released in May, 80.9 percent of the 147 companies surveyed by Atlas Van Lines said they expected to transfer more employees in 1995 than in 1994. Sixty-two percent said they expected to move more people in 1999 than in 1994.

And those numbers do not include the outside talent that companies increasingly seek to fill crucial slots. But with a larger number of people looking after elderly relatives, corporations are likely to see some of their choices stymied -- even at top levels.

'I have had two or three cases in a row where it was definitely a factor,' said Mr. Hunter, the corporate headhunter.

Frederick W. Wackerle, a recruiter at McFeely Wackerle Shulman in Chicago, echoed the concern. In each recent search by his firm for a chief executive, 'there's been one candidate who has needed to stay close to an elderly parent in their 80's or 90's.'

Usually, recruiters said, such candidates temporarily drop out of the job-changing market, restrict how far they will move, or both. Mr. Crispin, for example, did move to a new job after his father-in-law died last spring. But the post -- as executive vice president and chief financial officer of the UNUM Corporation -- is in Portland, Me., still a relatively short flight from Pennsylvania, where his mother-in-law and his own parents, all in their 80's, live.

Not everyone is fortunate enough to stay in the running for a job. John F. Johnson, a recruiter at Lamalie Amrop International in Cleveland, said his firm recently considered candidates for a \$500,000-a-year job. 'One executive told us that he'd look at the opportunity, but might not pursue it because of elder-care responsibilities,' Mr. Johnson recalled. 'We decided not to pursue him.'

Mr. Johnson said the issue currently affects 'a very small minority of individuals in our work.' But he added, 'I don't always know if they will tell me about this.'

Relocation specialists agreed that people often do not volunteer the information, lest they be left out of the running for promotions. Even so, in a survey of employees at eight large companies conducted by Rodgers & Associates, a research firm in Boston, 37 percent of those who identified themselves as providing care for an elderly relative said they were not interested in relocating. By comparison, 26 percent of all employees said they would not be interested in such jobs.

And in the 1995 Atlas Van Lines survey, 'family ties' edged out 'spousal employment' for the second consecutive year as the primary reason employees turned down a relocation. It was cited by 64 percent of respondents. Concern for elderly relatives was undoubtedly a large part of that, relocation experts said.

Recent Census Bureau statistics show that Americans over all are moving less frequently in the 1990's than they have in decades past, though they still relocate more often than people in Western Europe and Japan. In a one-year period ending in March 1994, 16.7 percent of the population changed residences, down from the 20 percent that was typical in the 1950's and '60's.

Many companies have not yet decided how to respond to the elder-care problem. 'People are starting to voice it, but it has not become an outcry yet,' said T. J. Chiles Jr., director of work force diversity at the International Business Machines Corporation. Like many companies, I.B.M. -- whose initials, it was often said, stood for 'I've Been Moved' -- has no policy on moving elderly parents, unless they live with the employee. Then, they move with the household.

Sometimes, though, the rules are bending to circumstances. 'We do not move multiple households,' said Kathleen Curtis, relocation manager at Apple Computer. 'But we don't grill employees either. If they say parents

are living with them, we do it.'

Other trend-setting companies are winking at the rules, too. 'We will move the new hire or the transferee and their dependents living at home,' said Burke Stinson, a spokesman for the AT&T Corporation. He said if he were a transferee with a parent in a nursing home, 'I'd just make arrangements to move him or her into my home for a month before the move.'

In the Atlas survey, only 3 percent of the companies said they would move an elderly person who would not share the employee's home at the new location. In reality, though, these decisions are often made on an individual basis.

'Most companies are at the point where if someone's supervisor says, 'I want this to happen for this person,' they make an exception and pay for it,' said Steve Mumma of Atlas Van Lines.

But there are few hard-and-fast rules in this sensitive area. Before setting a policy, 'we'd have to see that people who are critical to us in managing our business are unable to accept assignments because of this,' said Mr. Chiles of I.B.M.

The trouble is, employers may not know how an employee's personal responsibilities affect his or her professional life. 'Transferees are not requesting help because there are so many other things that they are asking for,' said Donna J. Malinek, president of Forward Mobility, a relocation consulting firm in Bernardsville, N.J. 'They either turn down the transfer or they cope with moving the elderly parent themselves.'

That, in turn, can create family tensions, Ms. Malinek said. 'The spouse tends to do all the legwork to reconnect the elderly parent with the community, and that's an awful lot of work,' she said.

Help with those tasks -- already provided for employees who need to find schools for their children and job opportunities for their spouses -- may be as important to transferees with responsibilities for parental care as paying for the moving van.

When one man was transferred from Cupertino, Calif., to Modesto, Calif., last year, his ailing mother-in-law, a stroke victim in her mid-70's who was living in a convalescent home, moved with the family. The employer, a large consumer products company, paid for the move and also for Forward Mobility to identify appropriate nursing homes in Modesto. As part of its package, Forward Mobility also researched doctors, hospital contacts and home health aides.

But 'this is not standard policy among corporations,' said Bonnie E. Graziano, a manager at Forward Mobility. 'It's usually done on a case-by-case basis.' Companies that pay for help with child-care and other family issues are the most likely to approve it, she added.

There is no question that demand for such services will grow. 'It's when people reach the 70's,' said Dana Friedman, co-president of the Families and Work Institute, 'where problems start arising.'

Caption:

Photo: Robert W. Crispin turned down a job as one of the top three executives at a West Coast company to stay close to his ailing father-in-law. (Wade Spees for The New York Times) (pg. 46)

Access No: 9300101357 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: AMERICANS ATTACHED TO TRADITIONAL ROLES FOR SEXES, POLL
FINDS
Authors: TAMAR LEWIN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Wednesday Mar 27, 1996 Sec: A National Desk p: 15
Length: Medium (654 words)
Subjects: SOCIAL CONDITIONS & TRENDS; PUBLIC OPINION; GALLUP POLL;
FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE; UNITED STATES

Abstract: According to an International Gallup Poll of adults in 22 nations, Americans are more enamored of the traditional family structure, with a breadwinner father and a homemaker mother, than are people in many other countries. Nearly half of the Americans surveyed said that the ideal family structure was one in which only the father earned the living and the mother stayed home with the children, compared with only about one-fourth of those polled in Germany, India, Lithuania, Spain, Taiwan and Thailand. Other results of the study are discussed.

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Article Text:

Americans are more enamored of the traditional family structure, with a breadwinner father and a homemaker mother, than are people in many other countries, according to an International Gallup Poll of adults in 22 nations.

Nearly half of the Americans surveyed said the ideal family structure was one in which only the father earned the living and the mother stayed home with the children, compared with only about one-fourth of those polled in Germany, India, Lithuania, Spain, Taiwan and Thailand.

Of the nations surveyed, Hungary showed by far the most support for the traditional family structure, with two-thirds of the respondents saying such families were optimal. Respondents in Chile showed 49 percent support for that family structure. In the United States, that figure was 48 percent; in France and Japan it was 46 percent each.

The International Gallup Poll was based on interviews with a representative national sample of about 1,000 adults in each of 22 countries, excluding Africa and the Middle East.

It found that men and women around the world shared the perception that women are more emotional, talkative and affectionate than men, while men are perceived as more courageous, aggressive and ambitious.

In all but a few of the countries, most people said men and women were equally intelligent. Japan had the least agreement: only 16 percent of those surveyed there said men and women were equally intelligent, but those who believed that one sex was smarter were split evenly over which one.

There was a strong international consensus that having more women in politics would lead to better government, but those views did not extend to the workplace.

El Salvador was the only country in which people were evenly divided about whether the country would be governed better or worse if more women were in office. Even the men in almost every other country believed that female office-holders would improve things than believed they would make the government worse.

But there was no country in which a majority of those surveyed said they would pick a woman over a man for a boss if they were taking a new job and had a choice. And El Salvador, Honduras and India were the only

nations where even the women expressed a preference for female bosses.

In the United States, slightly less than half of those surveyed said they would choose a man as boss; 1 in 5 said they would choose a woman, and one-third had no preference.

Large majorities in each country said job opportunities should be equal for men and women, but in 12 of the 22 countries, large majorities also said equal opportunities did not exist.

In all but four countries, large majorities said the position of women compared with that of men had improved over the past five years. The exceptions were the formerly communist countries of Estonia, Hungary, Latvia and Lithuania.

While much has been written about increasing tensions between the sexes over issues like date rape, affirmative action and sexual harassment, the new poll puts the American sex wars in a somewhat reassuring international context.

On questions about resentment toward the opposite sex, Americans were in the middle of the charts, with 18 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women reporting that they were often, or very often, resentful of the opposite sex because of behavior that was typical of their sex.

Resentment ran far higher, among both sexes, in Chile, France and Lithuania and much lower, among both sexes, in Hungary and Taiwan.

The margin of sampling error for data from each country is plus or minus three percentage points. The poll was conducted from August through November 1995, by The Gallup Organization, which operates a wholly owned subsidiary or joint venture in each of the countries surveyed, except Estonia and Latvia, where data were collected under the auspices of SAAR and Baltic Data House, respectively.

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Access No: 9300089928 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: TRADITIONAL FAMILY STABILIZED IN THE 90'S, STUDY SUGGESTS
Authors: STEVEN A. HOLMES
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Thursday Mar 7, 1996 Sec: B National Desk p: 12
Length: Long (814 words) Illus: Graph
Subjects: SOCIAL CONDITIONS & TRENDS; FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE; UNITED STATES
Companies: POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU

Abstract: After two decades of social pressures that caused many to fear that it might dissolve, the traditional American family is making a comeback in the 1990s, the Population Reference Bureau Inc said on Mar 6, 1996 in issuing a profile of the country's population. The report said increases in the number of two-parent households with children, decreases in the divorce rate and other changes suggested that the American family was stabilizing.

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Article Text:

WASHINGTON, March 6 -- After two decades of social pressures that caused many to fear that it might dissolve, the traditional American

family is making a comeback in the 1990's, a Washington research group said today in issuing a profile of the country's population.

The report, by the Population Reference Bureau Inc., said increases in the number of two-parent households with children, decreases in the divorce rate and other changes suggested that the American family was stabilizing.

'We don't look and we don't function anything like we did 20 or 30 years ago,' Carol J. De Vita, author of the report, said today at a news conference. 'And it's true that the American family has undergone some very radical changes in the past 25 years. But what I want to emphasize is that the major changes in the family structure are probably passed.'

The group is a private, nonprofit research organization that uses Census Bureau data and other information to periodically paint demographic portraits of the country.

Although it is highly respected and its former director of policy research, Martha Farnsworth Riche, is now director of the Census Bureau, some demographers and sociologists questioned the report, saying its conclusions were overly optimistic.

In the report, 'The United States at Mid-Decade,' Ms. De Vita said, the number of two-parent households with children increased by 700,000 from 1990 to 1995, reversing a 20-year decline. She also said that the divorce rate slowed to 20.5 divorces per 1,000 married women in 1994 from 23 divorces per 1,000 in 1980 and that the increase in the number of births to unmarried women slowed to a 2 percent annual average increase in the early 1990's, down from a 6 percent annual rise in the 1980's.

Ms. De Vita attributed these changes to the fact that the baby-boom generation, which makes up a third of the country's population, has entered middle age. After delaying marriage, and then often divorcing and marrying again, baby boomers are beginning to settle into the task of raising families.

'Middle age is the time of life when family responsibilities come to the fore,' Ms. De Vita said.

But Reynolds Farley, a sociologist at the University of Michigan, said: 'The numbers I have looked at don't show any reversal of these trends. There may be some moderation, but the overall trends remain the same.'

Mr. Farley said, for example, that the continuing increase in the nation's population means that there are more and more people reaching marriage age. That, he said, would account for the increase in the numbers of two-parent families. But he added that the decline in the percentage of two-parent families as a proportion of all households had not changed.

While the report painted an optimistic outlook for the traditional American family, it also provided evidence of other recent economic and demographic trends that have fueled anxiety in some segments of the population and helped propel the Presidential candidacy of politicians like Patrick J. Buchanan.

While the report noted that the number of legal immigrants was declining, it said 9 percent of the population was born in a foreign country, the highest level of foreign-born residents since the end of World War II.

The report also indicated that nearly 32 million people spoke a language at home other than English, a 40 percent increase from 1980.

Moreover, the report noted that as a result of higher birth rates and immigration, the country's minority population grew by 15 percent in the first five years of the decade, compared with 3 percent in the non-Hispanic white population. The Hispanic population grew by 20 percent, Asian 31 percent and black 8 percent.

Indeed, the report said that if current trends in immigration and fertility continued, the minority population and the non-Hispanic white population should be roughly equal by the middle of the next century.

In addition, the report showed that while the country had pulled out of

recession, median household income was 6 percent below its 1989 pre-recession peak, though it acknowledged that the measurements of income included only cash wages and not benefits like health insurance provided by employers.

The report is also striking in its depiction of the continued increase in the overall America population. The United States is the fastest growing country in the industrialized world, the study says. Fueled by immigration and a mini-baby boom as the baby-boom generation has had children, the United States grew by an annual rate of 1 percent in the first half of the 1990's, up slightly from the 0.9 percent growth in the 80's.

In contrast, Western Europe grew by an average of 0.4 percent annually and Japan's by 0.3 percent. At this rate, the United States population of 262.8 million could reach 300 million by 2010 and nearly 400 million by the middle of the next century.

Caption:

Graph: 'KEEPING TRACK: Family Portrait' shows number of two-parent families and the divorce-rate from 1970 to 1994.

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Title: IN AMERICA; CAN WE TALK?
Authors: BOB HERBERT
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Jul 8, 1996 Sec: A Editorial Desk p: 13
Length: Medium (672 words) Type: OP-ED
Subjects: SOCIAL CONDITIONS & TRENDS; FAMILIES & FAMILY LIFE; UNITED STATES
Companies: CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE (ORGN)
Abstract: Bob Herbert comments on the new national organization, the Campaign for America's Future, which will be composed of progressive thinkers and activists seeking to counter the debilitating and divisive policies of the right. Herbert cites the group's criticism of Republican economic policies.

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Article Text:

The founders of a new national organization, called the Campaign for America's Future, are asking the question, 'What kind of society do we want to have in the 21st century, and what will it take to build it?'

America's postwar economic engine is sputtering. Wages for high school graduates (most Americans do not have college degrees) have been declining for more than 20 years. Wages for college graduates have been disappointing for a decade. And despite the modest economic expansion during the Clinton Administration, the median wage for U.S. workers fell 3.3 percent from 1992 to 1994.

On Friday, a kernel of good news on the employment front caused a panic on Wall Street. The consensus: The Fed will have to raise interest rates to insure that any improvements in wages and employment do not get

out of hand.

Working people have been told for the better part of two decades that the way out of their economic morass was to cut taxes, especially for the wealthy, reduce to an absolute minimum the levels of corporate responsibility and accountability, beat up on the Federal Government (except for the military establishment) and reverse our decades-long commitment to humane treatment of the elderly, the sick and the poor.

'We've been there, done that, and it's not working,' said Roger Hickey, who will be the co-director, with Robert Borosage, of the new organization.

'Our goal,' Mr. Hickey said, 'is to make politics focus on the economic conditions of working people.'

The Campaign for America's Future will be officially launched at a press conference on July 17. The organization will be composed of progressive thinkers and activists seeking to counter the debilitating and divisive policies of the right.

'I think the bankruptcy of the conservative agenda is quite apparent,' said Mr. Borosage. He noted that a small percentage of Americans live lives of unimaginable luxury, while one of every four children is born into poverty, and more and more working families find themselves falling further and further behind in the chase for an ever more elusive American dream.

'In the end,' said Mr. Borosage, 'they've got Bob Dole running for President on the same agenda they have been arguing for decades. The same agenda that got us into the fix we're in.'

Which is not to say that the Clinton agenda has been so great. Bill Clinton has performed the startling (and confusing) feat of masquerading as a Republican while at the same time offering as his main re-election theme the fact that he is 'not Newt.' The voters, while not wild about Bill, seem to have moved in his direction primarily because he is not Dole.

Whatever emerges from this muddle, it will not be a compelling vision of America in the 21st century.

The Campaign for America's Future has set its sights somewhat higher. It hopes to spark a serious 'four-year national debate' aimed at increasing economic opportunities and reigniting the can-do spirit and sense of optimism that have been dimmed by the steady erosion of living standards for so many.

There is a hunger for such a debate that has long remained unsatisfied. Each election seems a bigger farce than the last. And behind the scenes in both parties big money calls the tune.

Mr. Hickey and Mr. Borosage believe it is possible to frame a national debate in a way that does not pit races and ethnic groups against one another, that does not pit the middle class against the poor, and that recognizes that the long-term health of the U.S. is intimately tied to what is good for the broadest spectrum of working people.

In a draft of a position paper that is to be released on the 17th, Mr. Hickey and Mr. Borosage wrote: 'The measure of the economy is whether it works for working people. It is not sufficient for the wealthy to prosper, speculators to strike it rich, corporations to profit, if working people are not sharing fully in the rewards produced by their labor and productivity.'

That once seemed so clear and fundamental. A point of national pride.

Access No: 9300003656 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: THE CHILDLESS FEEL LEFT OUT WHEN PARENTS GET A LIFT
Authors: KATHLEEN MURRAY
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Dec 1, 1996 Sec: 3 Financial Desk p: 12
Length: Long (1151 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: LABOR; WORKING HOURS; CHILD CARE; FAMILY LEAVES

Abstract: As employers keep adding family-friendly benefits like flexible working hours and day-care subsidies, and as managers bend rules to make life easier for working parents, many single and childless employees say they are getting short shrift on benefits. Although some companies have addressed the issue by offering cafeteria plans, many say those plans solve only part of the problem and are tired of picking up the slack for colleagues with family obligations.

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Article Text:

SCOTT WENZEL considers himself very much a family man. So why isn't he getting along with today's family-friendly workplace?

For starters, it annoys him that what he pays for health insurance to cover him and his wife subsidizes coverage for married co-workers with children. And with his office cubicle just 50 yards from an on-site day-care center, he is tired of having his phone calls interrupted by squealing toddlers and the clickety-clack of strollers rolling down the hall.

But it was recently, when he took a vacation day after his cat was hit by a car -- and he was criticized for doing so -- that he really became upset.

'If I had been staying home because I had a child with even a minor illness, people would have thought nothing of it,' said Mr. Wenzel, 34, a computer systems specialist with the Social Security Administration in Baltimore. 'But the things that matter in my personal life don't cut it in today's work environment. The attitude is, 'Kids are a good excuse; yours is a bogus one.' '

As employers keep adding benefits like flexible working hours and day-care subsidies, and as managers bend work rules to make life easier for working parents, discontent is growing. Many single and childless employees say they are getting short shrift on benefits. Although some companies have addressed the issue by offering cafeteria plans, which give employees a set amount of money to spend on a choice of benefits, many employees say those plans solve only part of the problem.

They are tired of working longer hours, traveling more or otherwise picking up the slack for colleagues with family obligations. In a 1995 survey of 129 executives by the Conference Board, nearly half the respondents said parents received more support from their companies than nonparents did. In April, 80 percent of employers and employees surveyed by Personnel Journal, a trade magazine, said single workers without children carried more of the burden at work than their married colleagues who had children, but their needs got less attention.

J. Walker Smith, a managing partner at Yankelovich Partners, a market research firm in Norwalk, Conn., sees it as both a generational conflict and a struggle between those who have children and those who don't. Baby boomers are searching for balance between work and family life, he said, and the generation coming up behind them is less willing to sacrifice

their personal lives for their jobs in an era of waning corporate loyalty. Many haven't accepted the notion that they must pay their dues. 'It's not surprising this antagonism has spilled over into the workplace,' he said.

No one is suggesting that the answer is the elimination of family benefits, but some parents still fear it could happen. Many of them struggle in jobs where they get no breaks, and many work as hard as or harder than colleagues.

'I really worry about the backlash; I'd hate to see work family benefits disappear,' said Leslie Smith, associate director of the National Association for Female Executives and the mother of a 4-year-old girl. 'There are women out there who are barely holding on, trying to juggle work and home. It's tough.'

But with two-thirds of the work force not raising children under 18, more employers are being forced to address the issue.

Lisa Barnes, a 38-year-old customer service representative for Xerox in St. Petersburg, Fla., remembers meetings two years ago at which co-workers complained that parents like her received day-care assistance, while others got nothing. 'It was a constant topic of conversation,' she said.

Today, Xerox offers employees as much as \$2,000 a year, to a lifetime amount of \$10,000, for expenses like day care or care for a parent. Employees can also receive the \$2,000 when they buy a first home.

'There's tension at times on both sides,' said Patricia Nazemeth, director of human resources at Xerox. 'But we tried to reinforce the message that we're taking everyone's needs into account.'

Other big companies have taken similar measures. Marriott International renamed its work-family unit the work-life department and recently added a telephone help line to give employees advice about child care, elder care, debt management, home remodeling and buying a car. At Aetna Inc., employees who want flexible hours must demonstrate that their request makes business sense. Whether they have children is not a consideration.

Michelle Carpenter, director of work-life strategies at Aetna, acknowledges that some employees complain that their supervisors give more work to them than to co-workers who are parents. 'I think sometimes it comes more down to management than the benefits we offer,' she said.

Ms. Barnes, the Xerox service representative, continues to feel tension when the weekly schedule comes out. Sometimes there is a perception, she said, 'that the people who get the flexible hours are the ones with children.'

NOT everyone is bothered by this. When Lisa Boyette worked in human resources at the Fluor Corporation in Irvine, Calif., she didn't mind that the flex-time rules were bent for co-workers with children because she enjoyed her job and was willing to put in the hours. At Southwest Airlines in Dallas, Libby Sartrain, the personnel manager, notes that many single employees with less seniority say they pick up shifts from colleagues with family responsibilities, both to make more money and to get ahead.

But others feel there are limits. Dan Morrissey, 27, said he left a job with an architectural firm in Chicago in part because he was tired of finishing work for a colleague who would leave early for his child's soccer games or doctor's appointments. The co-worker was also regularly excused from staff meetings because of his son's day-care schedule. 'I don't mind putting in the time to get ahead,' Mr. Morrissey said. 'But when other people don't have to play by the same rules and they're advancing at the same pace, it can get demoralizing.'

Samuel Culbert, a clinical psychologist and management professor at the business school of the University of California at Los Angeles, said many of his students had similar attitudes. He expects to see more companies and employees confronting these issues.

'Right now, saying you have to leave early to attend a Lamaze class or soccer game is politically correct,' he said. But leaving early to meet a friend or go work out is not, he said, although these activities may be

just as important to your mental health.

He said employees should help educate their bosses and make sure their own needs are met.

Eva Segovia, an anesthesiologist in Laguna Beach, Calif., discovered this a few years ago. At a previous job, she was often asked to work for colleagues who had children. She agreed at first, because she wanted to help. Then she started feeling exploited.

'Now I just say no,' she said. 'I have a life, too.'

Caption:

Photo: Scott Wenzel, who works at the Social Security headquarters in Baltimore, says childless employees subsidize the cost of health insurance for workers with families. (Marty Katz for The New York Times)

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Access No: 9505160131 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: PUTTING CHILDREN LAST
Authors: Mary Eberstadt
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Tuesday May 2, 1995 Sec: A p: 18
Length: Long (1421 words) Type: Commentary
Subjects: Parents & parenting; Families & family life; Child care; Children & youth

Abstract: Mary Eberstadt comments on the so-called busy, high-achieving '90s parent. Eberstadt says that during the same years in which underclass parents have increasingly been urged to take responsibilities, make sacrifices, and place their own children first, a great many middle- and upper-middle class parents have been enthusiastically consuming the opposite message-that parental needs come first-and putting them first benefits children.

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Article Text:

Over the past several years, something like a national consensus has formed around the proposition that many American children -- underclass children -- live in circumstances tantamount to crisis. And just as the rest of us now concur on that fact, so are we also agreed about what it is those children need most: in a word, parents.

Gratifying and important though that consensus may be, it has nonetheless exacted a moral irony. For during the same years in which underclass parents have increasingly been urged to take responsibility, make sacrifices, and place their own children first, a great many middle- and upper-middle class parents have been enthusiastically consuming the opposite message. From child-care experts to general-interest books and magazines, the cultural authorities to whom better-off parents turn for advice have become increasingly less solicitous of children and increasingly more solicitous of parents.

'Parents must turn their attention to taking care of themselves.' 'We are the best role models for our children. If they see us happy and content then they know it is possible for them to achieve that too.' Such

messages, drawn in this case from recent issues of a representative magazine called Washington Parent, make a point now ubiquitous in current child-care literature: Parental needs come first -- and putting them first benefits children.

Consider contemporary writings on working motherhood. For years, working mothers and their advocates have sought to ensure that work outside the home would carry no stigma -- an effort particularly compelling at a time when millions of mothers work because they must. To many experts and opinion-makers writing today, by contrast, working motherhood is seen as the better option. Here, for example, is T. Berry Brazelton, often called America's leading pediatrician, in the introduction to his book on 'Working and Caring': 'Research clearly demonstrates that, if a woman is successful and happy at work, she is more likely to be successful at home, and as a mother.'

By contrast, at-home mothers are increasingly portrayed as being overly involved with their children. As one writer warned last year in the Editorial Notebook section of the New York Times: 'Indeed, the most damage I did to any of my kids was during a period, shortly after graduating from college, when I was briefly swayed by the Leach Theory and stayed at home for some months with my first daughter. She was (of course) a bright child; she became my Project. I bombarded her with flash cards, organized activities for her. . . . Why are there no studies of the damage done to children by high energy women who have no business staying at home? . . . I think [my mother] was a better mom because she worked. I think I am too.'

Fathers are also said to benefit from Mom going out to work. As the American Academy of Pediatrics puts it in 'Caring for Your Young Baby and Child,' when the mother works outside the home, 'the father participates in household chores and childrearing as well as bread winning. This brings him much closer to the children and often makes him more emotionally supportive of his wife than he otherwise might be.'

In addition to producing better parents, working motherhood is also said to produce more successful children. Again, the American Academy of Pediatrics handbook: 'As a mother who successfully manages both an outside job and parenthood, you provide an excellent role model for your child. He will be proud of your achievements and feel motivated to become more independent, responsible, and achievement-oriented himself.'

Anita Shreve, author of several books on modern family life, believes that children may even become smarter once their mothers are out of the house. A 'higher I.Q.,' writes Ms. Shreve in her 1987 book, 'Remaking Motherhood,' is only one of the benefits that the children of working mothers may come to enjoy. Others include 'better social adjustment . . . more expansive sex-role ideology, greater self-esteem, greater confidence in one's abilities, a more positive view of women, better educational progress, more vocational options and a potential for greater economic independence.'

The idea that children are better off when left to the care of others is also a recurring theme in the expert and popular writings about day care. For years, of course, anxious parents have naturally sought assurances that day care would not turn out to be harmful. For years, too, those assurances have been given subject to certain caveats: that the quality of care is good; that the staff-to-child ratio is low; that the child is not an infant (though some say even this does not matter); and so on. Today, however, several authoritative sources make a rather different point. Day care, one frequently reads, is not only equal to home care -- it's even better.

Current studies, a psychologist tells the Washington Post, 'have assured most educators and researchers that children suffer no psychological harm, and may reap some emotional benefits, from day care and other non-family care.' 'If day care has any long-term effect on children,' echoes Susan Faludi, author of 'Backlash,' 'it seems to make

children slightly more gregarious and independent.' 'My kids got dropped off at day care,' Barbara Ehrenreich said last Mother's Day in the New York Times, 'and one is now finishing up at Brown, and the other went through Harvard and Oxford.'

Elsewhere, on the ideological frontier of current thinking, there is yet more positive news about leaving children to their own devices. Consider latchkey children. They, too, seem to be better off alone -- at least according to Stephanie Coontz, who writes in her highly acclaimed 1992 book, 'The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap,' that 'a North Carolina study found that teachers rated latchkey children as better adjusted socially than were children in either home care or child-care centers, while studies in Philadelphia and the South showed latchkey children performing equally well with others in school. Researchers also have noted positive effects of self-care on children's sense of self-discipline and responsibility.'

Ms. Coontz also manages a good word for experimentation with drugs, another behavior more common among children left alone than among those with a parent or sitter at home. Citing a 'fifteen-year study of San Francisco children reported in the May 1990 issue of American Psychologist,' she reports that ''those who tried illegal drugs in small amounts during adolescence tended to be healthier and better adjusted' than were either complete abstainers or frequent users.'

In sum, what today's enlightened parents are hearing -- and often paying for -- is the message that they are not so important to their children after all. If such is the theory, what about the practice?

Again, from Washington Parent: 'If you are running to the bus stop, or driving a child to day care, these can be important moments to solidify relationships before a long separation.' 'At least once a week there needs to be an unstructured play time with each child.' 'Whenever possible, each parent needs to spend at least 15 minutes of quiet time with each child at night.' 'Moments,' 'once-a-week play,' '15 minutes': The language of the appointment book, drawn in this case from an essay on 'A Healthy Family: Minimum Daily Requirements,' speaks loudly about the pace of domesticity on the fast track.

Just how absent is the busy, high-achieving '90s parent? Absent enough, to judge by a pamphlet put out by MCI Telecommunications, to seek technological fixes -- sending messages by fax, tape-recording bedtime stories, videotaping events that take place (for example, 'the soccer championship') while parents are away. Even the parent too busy to record his own bedtime stories can rely on the information age to ease the parental conscience. A prerecorded storytelling-by-phone service called Let's Imagine!!! is available now for 85 cents a minute.

At a time when more and more of the country's better-off parents imbibe rationales for putting their own desires first, the parents of the worst-off are increasingly being asked to hunker down and sacrifice for their children's needs. A little more consistency would seem to be in order.

Ms. Eberstadt is an affiliate scholar with the Institute for American Values in New York. A longer version of this article appears in the May issue of Commentary.

(See related letter: 'Letters to the Editor: What's a Mother to Do?' -- WSJ May 9, 1995)

(See related letter: 'Letters to the Editor: No One 'Right' Way, To Raise Children' -- WSJ May 16, 1995)

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Access No: 970204000018

ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc

Title: GENERATION Y: AT AGE 5, READING, WRITING AND RUSHING

Authors: Jonathan Kaufman Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

Source: The Wall Street Journal

Date: Tuesday Feb 4, 1997 Sec: B p: 1

Length: Long (1799 words) Type: News

Illus: Illustration; Table; Graph

Subjects: Series & special reports; Social conditions & trends;

Elementary school students; Families & family life;

Demographics; Children & youth

Names: Branch, Mary Rose

Abstract: A day in the busy life of 5-year-old Mary Rose Branch of Cambridge MA is described. Mary Rose is one of a bumper crop of four million children born in 1992 and is part of the so-called Generation Y, which is likely to be as influential in the 21st century as the original baby boom was in the 20th. Almost 60% of these youngsters live in homes where both parents hold jobs. As such, they are more independent, more worldly, and far busier than any kindergarteners before them. (Pt 2).

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Article Text:

[Second in a Series]

At 6:55 a.m., as sunlight filters onto her bedroom wall, Mary Rose Branch is hiding under the covers. 'Mary Rose,' her mother calls gently, 'honey, wake up.'

Up pops Mary Rose, brown hair askew. She pulls on a shirt and plaid jumper and sneakers with red lights that flash at every step. Her mother, Lillie Branch, a 37-year-old insurance executive, runs a comb through her hair.

So begins another crowded day for Mary Rose, a five-year-old in Cambridge, Mass., who is one of a bumper crop of four million children born in 1992. She is part of the so-called Generation Y, which is likely to be as influential in the 21st century as the original baby boom was in the 20th.

Almost 60% of these youngsters live in homes where both parents hold jobs. As such, they are more independent, more worldly -- and far busier -- than any kindergartners before them. Mary Rose, who started in day care when she was seven months old, can write her name and count to 100. She attends a public school in Cambridge that is more ethnically diverse and academically challenging than those attended by her parents. She uses a computer, takes ballet and watches Japanese animated superheroes on television.

Her parents, while proud of Mary Rose's precocity, have qualms about the pace of life that leaves them struggling to carve out relaxing family time amid the demands of their careers. Lillie Branch does errands on her lunch hours to free up weekends for Mary Rose. Steve Branch, also 37, is studying for a combined medical and doctorate degree and often rises at 4:30 a.m. so he can put in 12 hours at the laboratory and still be home for dinner. 'Do I feel like I'm being torn in a million pieces?' he says. 'Constantly.'

On weekday mornings, there's little choice but to rush. After gobbling down a waffle, Mary Rose peeks in on her pet mice, Jacob and Little Daddy.

And when it's time to go, she balks, telling her mother, 'I don't want to go to school. I want to stay home with you.'

After a five-minute standoff, Mrs. Branch coaxes Mary Rose into her purple backpack, and they climb into the car for the five-minute drive to the John M. Tobin Elementary School, a brick fortress that houses students through the eighth grade and draws from poor, middle-class and well-to-do neighborhoods across Cambridge.

Kindergarten is still a great divide of childhood, the first step into the real world. Nonetheless, Mary Rose strides confidently into school. Her cheerful classroom reflects her generation's diversity and numbers. The kindergarten includes seven blacks, four Hispanics and five children who do not speak English as their first language; nationwide, roughly 37% of kindergartners are nonwhite, while 25% fall under the poverty line. Tobin school is overcrowded, with 708 students this year, up from 620 six years ago. Spaces in its well-regarded kindergarten program are so scarce that the Branches decided to enroll Mary Rose last fall, before she turned five, rather than risk waiting another year.

At 8:20, as the students gather on the carpet for introductory 'circle time,' Mary Rose yawns. Before her stretches a six-hour school day followed by a three-hour after-school program.

And because she and most of her classmates are veterans of preschool, they already are moving rapidly into bona fide schoolwork. Mrs. Branch recalls that when she was in kindergarten, 'I learned to tie my shoelaces and make applesauce.' By contrast, Mary Rose is learning to write and announces, 'I'm going to learn to read this year.' A generation ago, formal reading instruction rarely began until the first grade.

Even so, when Mary Rose's mother hears other parents boast about their children's extra 'enrichment' classes and educational computer software, she says she wonders: 'Am I pushing her enough?' Mary Rose is impatient when she senses pressure. 'We don't learn anything at school, Mommy!' she'll say. 'We just do stuff.'

Today, like most days, the class breaks into small groups for painting or blockbuilding. Mary Rose practices writing the alphabet. Across the room, one child says of a block structure: 'This is a jail and inside the people are fighting.'

There's no shielding today's young from problems of the adult world. The school's 'weapons policy' required the Branches to sign a pledge that Mary Rose would not bring so much as a squirt gun to school. Its sexual-harassment rules forbid 'inappropriate touching' between students. When Mary Rose exuberantly hugs and kisses a boy in the class, her teacher reminds her: 'Give him a hug but save kisses for home.'

Down the hall in another kindergarten class is further evidence of how much life for children has changed over the past 30 years. A little boy arrives late and collapses in tears. His mother takes the teacher aside and explains that the boy's father moved out the previous night. When Father's Day rolls around, the teachers in Mary Rose's class plan to have the children make cards for fathers, uncles, grandfathers or 'special friends'; about half the students do not live with their fathers.

Discipline is harder too, Mary Rose's teachers say. They repeatedly have to admonish the children to stand in line or sit down for stories -- far more than they did even 10 years ago, they say. If a child continually misbehaves they will give him or her a 'time-out,' sitting alone in a corner for a few minutes. But some parents complain that even 'time-outs' are too harsh.

After lunch and a story, Mary Rose and her classmates lie down on mats for a rest. When the allotted 45 minutes is up, one boy is so sound asleep that the teachers can't rouse him. They drag the mat -- and the boy -- to one side of the room so the other kids can resume play. 'The children are exhausted,' says teacher Jan Sallum. 'Parents have the best intentions in the world, but it's a darn long day for a child.' Soon it is 2 p.m. and

dismissal time. Mary Rose heads downstairs and joins many of the other kindergartners for an after-school program, where today they make construction-paper collages. During recess she skips from friend to friend.

Her mother picks her up at 5 p.m. At home in the living room, Mrs. Branch sinks wearily into a chair and asks Mary Rose about her day. Mrs. Branch would prefer to work part-time, but the family needs her income while her husband finishes school -- and possibly even after he starts working. 'In this part of the country you need two incomes,' she says.

Mr. Branch is home early this evening and Mary Rose pounces on him. 'Mommies make the rules,' she says. 'The daddies have fun.'

Not always. The previous evening, after a 13-hour day at the lab, he sent Mary Rose up to watch television while he prepared dinner. Later, after she refused to turn off the TV at supper time and erupted in an angry outburst, he sent her to her room. 'It was a mistake to let her watch so much,' Mr. Branch says. 'But I was so tired.'

Tonight Mary Rose plays happily with her prized collection of 11 Barbie dolls, and then goes to her playroom to watch television while her mother fixes dinner. Mary Rose watches about seven hours a week, far less than the 23-hour average for her age. Her parents try to monitor it closely, taping programs like the animated 'Sailor Moon,' about a group of Japanese high-school girls who turn into superheroes. Though they often edit out violence, tonight Mary Rose watches impassively as the characters fight and one is set afire.

Her parents remember wistfully that as children they played outside after school with friends. But few children today -- in cities or suburbs -- have hours of free time or secure enough neighborhoods for unsupervised play.

'On weekends we try to make up for that by giving Mary Rose lots of time to do nothing -- just hanging out, staying in our pajamas, having a big pancake breakfast,' Mrs. Branch says. They also try to arrange play dates with other children.

After tonight's spaghetti supper, Mary Rose and her father go to the grocery store, where she giggles with delight as he pretends to cover her with loaves of bread and fruit.

When they get back, it's her bedtime. Her mother reads her two books -- one about babies, the other about fixing things. The best part of the day, Mrs. Branch says, is this after-dinner time when Mary Rose has her bath and they read. 'It's sacred -- just being able to spend time together,' she says.

At 8:35, her mother pulls up the covers and turns out the light. Mary Rose has been teasing her mother, pretending to dictate whether Mrs. Branch can sit on the living-room floor or on the couch after kissing her goodnight. 'You can sit on the sofa,' she finally decrees.

Until a few months ago, she had insisted that her mother stay with her and rub her back until she fell asleep. But all that's behind her now.

That Was Then, This Is Now
Overweight Children
Percentages

	1964	1991
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Boys	5%	12%
Girls	5%	14%

Source: National Center for Health Statistics
Single-Parent Households
Percentages

1960 9.8%

1995 27.0%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Preferred Discipline Methods
Percentages

	1962	1992
Spanking	59%	19%
Limiting TV	38	15
Scolding	17	15
Sending to bed	8	2
Cutting allowance	4	2
'Time-out'	NA	35

NA: Not available

Source: Bruskin/Goldring Research in Edison, N.J.

Top Kids' TV Shows

1963	1996
-- 'Quick Draw McGraw'	-- 'King of the Hill'
-- 'Tennessee Tuxedo'	-- 'Goosebumps'
-- 'Mighty Mouse Playhouse'	-- 'The Simpsons'

Source: Nielsen Media Research

Favorite Books

1960s

- 'Green Eggs and Ham' by Dr. Seuss
- 'Richard Scarry's Best Word Book Ever'
- 'Where the Wild Things Are' by Maurice Sendak

1995

- 'Pocahontas' Disney/Mouse Works
- 'Math Curse' by Jon Scieszka
- 'The Lion King' Adapted by Justine Korman

Sources: Publishers Weekly; N.Y. Public Library

Toy Fads

1960s	1990s
-- Hula Hoop	-- Nintendo 64
-- Silly Putty	-- Tickle Me Elmo
-- Slinky	-- Beanie Babies
-- Etch-a-Sketch	-- Melanie's Mall

Sources: Toy Manufacturers of America; The Wall Street Journal
Average Number of Cavities

1960s 12-15

1990s 3

Children ages 5 to 12

Source: Procter & Gamble

Kids' Money

1968 \$2.8

1995 \$20.2

In billions, current dollars

Allowances, gifts; children ages 4 to 12

Source: James U. McNeal, Texas A&M University

(See related letter: 'Letters to the Editor: Maybe a Rolodex And Fax
for the Crib?' -- WSJ March 5, 1997)

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Access No: 9609270149 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: PEOPLE PATTERNS: MORE SINGLE PARENTS ARE GETTING HELP FROM PARTNERS, STUDY FINDS
Authors: Diane Crispell of American Demographics magazine
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Friday Sep 27, 1996 Sec: A p: 9A
Length: Long (865 words) Type: News
Subjects: Families & family life; Cohabitation; Single parents; Children & youth; Demographics

Abstract: According to studies by Iowa State University and the University of Wisconsin-Madison, an increasing share of unmarried men and women with children are not on their own, but are living with a partner. In 1990, 28% of US families with children under 18 were headed by an unmarried mother or father. But when cohabiting couples with children are counted as two-partner families, the proportion who are 'true' single parents drops to 24%. Cohabiting couples with children were 4% of all families with children in 1990.

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Article Text:

An increasing share of unmarried men and women with children aren't on their own, but are living with a partner, according to an analysis by Steven Garasky of Iowa State University and Daniel R. Meyer of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

In 1990, 28% of U.S. families with children under 18 were headed by an unmarried mother or father. But when cohabiting couples with children are counted as two-parent families, the proportion who are 'true' single parents drops to 24%. Cohabiting couples with children were 4% of all families with children in 1990.

Families headed by unmarried parents were much rarer in 1960. At that time, 10.5% of families with children under 18 were headed by parents without a partner, and a tiny 0.1% were cohabiting couples with children. By 1980, 20% of families with children were headed by single parents, and a slightly more visible 1.4% were headed by cohabiting couples.

Between 1980 and 1990, the number of married couples with children under 18 fell 4%. At the same time, the number of single mothers grew 20%, and the number of single fathers grew 53%. But the number of cohabiting couples with children more than tripled over the decade, so the total number of two-parent families with children didn't decline.

The Race for Education

Blacks are catching up to whites in educational attainment, while Hispanics remain far behind.

In 1960, whites aged 25 and older were twice as likely as blacks to have four or more years of high school education, 43% vs. 20%. By 1995, the rate of high school completion had risen dramatically for both groups, but blacks had made faster progress, according to new data from the Census Bureau. In 1995, 83% of whites aged 25 and older were high school graduates, compared with 74% of blacks. The continuing racial gap is entirely confined to older adults. Among those aged 25 to 29, the rate of high school completion is virtually the same for whites and blacks, at about 87%.

The story is different for Hispanic-Americans. In 1970, the earliest year for which data on Hispanics are available, Hispanics and blacks aged 25 and older were about equally likely to have four or more years of high

school, 32% and 31% respectively, compared with 55% for whites. By 1995, the proportion of Hispanics with a high school diploma had grown, but only to 53%. The share is low even among the youngest Hispanics, at 57% for those aged 25 to 29.

Jennifer Day of the Census Bureau's education branch says that immigration accounts for at least some of the slower progress Hispanics are making. 'We looked at native-born vs. foreign-born Hispanics,' she said. 'And we found a big difference, especially in high school attainment.' As long as the Hispanic population of the U.S. is augmented by less-educated immigrants, its overall educational attainment will fall below national levels.

More Heat, Fewer Babies

The terms heat and passion may be synonymous, but hot summer nights don't always translate into births nine months later. Excessively high temperatures appear to depress human fertility rates, according to David A. Lam of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and Jeffrey A. Miron of Boston University.

Births in the Southern U.S. take a decided dip in April and May, nine months after the blazing heat of August. Temperature alone seems to account for much of the trough. In Southern states such as Georgia and Louisiana, statistically accounting for temperature removes most of the spring birth lull.

In some northern places, the heat of summer doesn't actually depress births in the spring, but it may limit what would otherwise be a spring peak. This appears to be the case in France, Canada, and the Netherlands, as well as northern parts of the U.S. The analysis implies that if temperatures didn't fluctuate from month to month, births would peak in March in Minnesota and in May in New York and Michigan.

A Triumph for Tonga

American athletes may have won the greatest number of medals during the 1996 Summer Olympic, but this doesn't make the U.S. the most winning nation. The per-capita medal rate was highest for the tiny South Pacific nation of Tonga, according to an analysis by Kelvin M. Pollard of the Population Reference Bureau, a nonprofit research organization in Washington.

The single silver medal in boxing won by a Tonga citizen meant that his country won the most medals per person, at a rate of 9.4 per million. The Bahamas also won a single medal, but has more than twice the population of Tonga, so it ranked second with a crude medal rate of 3.6 per million. Jamaica, Cuba, Australia and Hungary filled the third through sixth spots. By this reckoning, the U.S. ranked 40th, with 0.4 medals per million.

The general medal rate is a more refined measure of medals won per athlete. The U.S. places 10th on this list, with 15 medals per 100 participants. North Korea, Namibia, and Mozambique cluster at the top with 25 medals per 100 athletes. Tonga sent just five athletes to the Olympics and its general medal rate ranks fourth at 20 per 100, also known as 1 in 5.

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Access No: 9601180001 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: PARENTS GET RESTIVE AS OFFSPRING DELAY HAVING CHILDREN;
WOULD-BE GRANDPARENTS HAVE NEEDS THEY FREELY EXPRESS;
KNITTING BABY SWEATERS
Authors: Molly Baker Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Thursday Jan 18, 1996 Sec: A p: 1
Length: Long (1040 words) Type: News
Subjects: Social conditions & trends; Families & family life;
Grandparents; Parents & parenting; Family planning; Births;
Children & youth

Abstract: The social dynamics of changing family styles, cohabitation instead of marriage and the fear of permanent commitment are having a profound effect on would-be grandparents. Only 25% of all births in the US are to mothers in their early 20s, while 22% of all births are to mothers in their 30s. The lack of grandchildren can sometimes generate resentment on both sides of the generation gap.

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Article Text:

Caroline Levine's biological clock is ticking loudly. She is 57 years old and has no grandchildren.

'It dawned on me, as I was looking at the pictures of little kids and babies all of my friends were showing me, that if I want to look good at my grandchildren's college graduations, they'd better get here soon,' says Mrs. Levine, a New Jersey lawyer.

Her three childless adult children have lives of their own. Her only son and his fiancée plan to marry in May and have told her they will try to have a baby at the end of the fiancée's Ph.D. program, but that is cold comfort to Mrs. Levine: 'Seeing as she hasn't started the degree yet, I know they're just throwing me a bone.'

This world of would-be grandparents is populated by increasing numbers of parents waiting ever longer for their progeny to procreate. Only 25% of all births in the U.S. are to mothers in their early 20s -- a drop of about 10 percentage points since 1960; meanwhile, 22% of all births are to mothers in their 30s, up about 6 percentage points.

'The changing family styles, cohabitation instead of marriage, the fear of permanent commitment -- all of these social dynamics are absolutely discombobulating older people,' says Arthur Kornhaber, president of the Foundation for Grandparenting in Santa Fe, N.M. 'Older people are having a very difficult time watching the younger generation redefining priorities,' says Dr. Kornhaber, a former family practitioner.

RoseMarie Falk, a Denver mother of two children in their late 20s, says she can't walk by a store that sells baby clothes without going in to see what's new. She admits she has bought a few things, 'just to be ready.' What's missing is the baby. 'I'm 53, and I want to be a grandmother. . . . I don't care what else is going on, as long as I can be with my grandchildren,' she says.

Hopes flared last fall when Mrs. Falk's daughter and son-in-law planned a vacation to Hawaii. The family dubbed it 'the conception trip,' but with all the distractions of a tropical paradise, there was no issue. Conception is now on hold until graduate school is finished and careers are launched.

Willa Jacobs of Cheshire, Conn., had her two children when she was in her early 20s and had hoped to be a young grandmother. But neither of her sons, who are 25 and 28, is married, so she is accepting the fact that the clock isn't exactly working in her favor.

'When my son David told me that it might be getting serious with his girlfriend, I got very excited,' she explains. 'But then he said it could be a couple of years because of both of their careers.'

David Jacobs, who just started his own business in Chicago, says his mother is saving his baseball cards and Matchbox car collection and has

picked out several baby sweaters to knit 'just in case.' Even David's grandfather, a great-grandfather-in-waiting, is starting to get anxious.

'Every time I go to Baltimore, he shows me his special-occasion shoes that he's saving for my wedding and for when I have children,' David, the 28-year-old, says. 'He hasn't worn them since my brother's bar mitzvah back in 1983.'

The lack of grandchildren can sometimes generate resentment on both sides of the generation gap. 'A lot of us feel that our children are denying us this privilege of being grandparents,' says Mrs. Levine. 'I realize that it's not deliberate. But I think grandparenting is genetic -- you're programmed for it at a certain age -- and when it doesn't happen, you have to read -- just your thinking.'

But it is a two-way street. 'My mother had a real problem with our getting a second dog,' explains Whitney Ross, 29, of Manhattan. 'It was only after really talking to her that I found out she feared my husband and I had decided to raise dogs instead of children.'

'I'm not sure she's totally conscious about how often she mentions grandchildren,' says Ms. Ross, a high-school counselor. 'It's a Pavlovian response at this point -- she's talking to me, so she has to say something about grandchildren.'

Perpetuating the family line is a powerful force. 'People have a deep biological, psychological and spiritual need to leave themselves in the soul of a child,' explains Dr. Kornhaber. 'At 65, people say to themselves, 'I have all of these gifts. My body may be going down the tubes, but my soul is growing, and I've no one to give it to.' It can cause a terrific sense of frustration.'

It's certainly causing frustration for William Couch, of Watertown, N.Y., who is 65 and particularly keen to pass on his love of the outdoors to a third generation. 'We've got a cabin in the woods where I have about five shotguns and six fishing rods that have got to go someplace someday, so I'm ready for a little participation around here,' he says.

He also has to deal with peer pressure, he says. 'A lot of our friends have grandchildren, and some of them don't talk about anything else -- it can drive you out of your mind.'

Experts also find another motivator: the need for older people to refocus energies as careers wind down and children's careers take off.

Explains Jeff Ostroff, a researcher and consultant with Over 40 Marketing in Philadelphia, which advises companies on selling their products and services to older people: 'Having grandchildren is about the easiest way to get off the sidelines and back on the field. There's a great rubbing off of youth.'

But the urge can be redirected. Dr. Kornhaber, who has four children and two grandchildren, suggests to the many people who write and phone him that they get involved in schools and day-care centers. One group of aspiring grandfathers takes the sons of single mothers on weekend camping excursions. One woman started a weekly play-date in her home for three neighborhood children.

Mrs. Levine, the New Jersey lawyer, says that adoption cases are her favorite part of her law practice. 'I become a grandmother to every child I help with adoption. So, that fills some of my needs.'

PARENTS' JOBS

Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Nov 15, 1995 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (895 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Families & family life; Layoffs; Children & youth;
Employment security; Social conditions & trends

Abstract: As hundreds of thousands of heads rolled in corporate America in recent years, many adults are not aware of how much job insecurity affects their offspring. Job insecurity has become part of playground culture, and the messages kids are getting are mostly negative.

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Article Text:

ANNE PAUKER WAS washing lettuce in the kitchen of her Aberdeen, N.J., home when she overheard her children playing a new game. She and her husband had guests, and both families' kids -- ages 11, eight and two six-year-olds -- were playing with Barbie dolls. As Ms. Pauker listened, she realized Ken had lost his job and Barbie was counseling him on finding work.

The name of the game: 'Outplacement Barbie.' Parents in both families had been through layoffs, and to them, the game 'says a lot,' says Ms. Pauker, a management consultant. 'It means the children are thinking about this.'

As hundreds of thousands of heads rolled in corporate America in recent years, many adults haven't paid much attention to kids' reactions. In studying families of 100 layoff victims, Ruthan Rosenberg of Murray, Axmith & Associates, a Toronto outplacement firm, found that almost all the parents said their kids weren't affected.

'If parents get divorced, people are on the alert' to kids' fears, says Betty Carter, a Mount Vernon, N.Y., family therapist. 'But no one is paying that kind of attention to children whose parents are losing their jobs.'

Meanwhile, job insecurity has become part of playground culture, and the messages kids are getting are mostly negative. On a visit to my seven-year-old's school, I heard some kids yelling, 'You're fired!' When I asked my daughter to explain, she said they were playing a game: Each child must walk perfectly straight down a long line; if you swerve or waver, you're 'fired,' she said. To get your 'job' back, you try to walk absolutely straight along an even longer line, over and over until you do it perfectly. I said, 'That sounds pretty grim. How does anybody win that game?'

'The only way you can win is to keep your job,' she said.

IN MY OWN survey of 15 experts who talk with children everyday -- family therapists, psychologists and principals -- two-thirds said they see kids wrestling with anxieties about their parents' jobs all the time. A few examples:

When employers around Kennewick, Wash., laid off many parents, Terry Barber, principal of Amistad Elementary School, saw more kids sent to his office for misbehavior. Children are 'much more in turmoil' at such times, unable to play peacefully or concentrate in class, he says. 'They are taking out the tensions they sense from their parents.'

Though a Florida couple pretended in front of their children that all was well after the father, a plant manager, was laid off, their eight-year-old could see them counting pennies and worrying about how he was doing on his new job, says Marilyn J. Mason, a Minneapolis

Article Text:

AT THE END of a long workday, I was trying to teach my eight-year-old daughter how to open a can of dog food when she dropped the can opener on the kitchen counter in frustration. 'I can't make this thing work,' she said.

At a loss for words to guide her, I picked up the gadget and tried to figure out how to break down the task into simple steps so I could teach them to her. But as I was thinking, my daughter slipped away; I heard the door slam and saw her race past the window dribbling a soccer ball. I started to call her back. Then I checked the clock. It was late. I was tired. It would be easier to feed the dog myself, I rationalized. So I did.

Many dual-earner parents are making similar choices. Trends in such families suggest kids increasingly are 'withdrawing from domestic responsibilities,' say professors Linda Waite of the University of Chicago and Frances Goldscheider of Brown University in a study.

The pattern is strongest in families with two college-educated parents, where children were estimated to do 11% of household chores, compared with 20% in families with less-educated parents. Ironically, that's largely because men, particularly in highly educated couples, are doing more, Drs. Waite and Goldscheider found, based on data on married women nationwide, from a federally funded study of 10,000 women by Ohio State University over 15 years.

Instead of relieving women, husbands are doing housework that would otherwise be done by kids; for every eight chores done by husbands, children do seven fewer.

'The picture of family life that modern, egalitarian parents often present is one in which both parents are picking up after and waiting on their children,' the researchers say. With the exception of single-parent families, where kids do more, children are likely to do less housework as younger, more educated parents take the front lines. One likely result: A new generation with 'extremely low levels of competence in domestic skills,' they say.

THE RESEARCH spotlights an aspect of my family life that I hadn't examined. As a kid I did lots of housework, and conventional wisdom finds value in that. The American Academy of Pediatrics' latest tome on child-rearing declares doing household chores 'an important part of learning that life requires work, not just play.'

But as a parent, I let my son and daughter sluff off, and my own informal survey of 10 dual-earner parents of school-age kids shows more than half aren't teaching their children many household skills.

Many, of course, hire help or shun housework themselves. 'My son does no housework [because] I am a slob,' says a San Francisco attorney, adding that she and her husband clean so seldom that 'we don't have dust bunnies, we have dust elephants. When my kids play with mops and brooms, I know they've gotten it from the babysitter.'

Most parents said they value more their kids' activities outside the home. A retailing executive says her teenager is 'so busy becoming a young woman and doing things in the community and being a top honor student, that I don't care if she can clean a toilet bowl.'

Others value the self-esteem, organizational skills and sense of mastery children can learn from such tasks as making meals and ordering their environment, but they are so busy overseeing kids' schoolwork, music lessons and sports they don't have time to teach them.

'There's just so much to do that I don't want to fight about it,' says a New York brokerage manager. 'It's the way our competitive society is evolving. Mothers in the '50s weren't all that worried about how their kids were going to go out there and survive in the competitive world. And I'm not all that worried about whether my son is a slob.'

Are we missing anything here? The middle ground, perhaps. There's no way I want my kids to be chained to housework. But as Drs. Goldscheider and Waite point out, knowing how to sew, clean a house quickly or fix an appealing meal can be a means of sharing and giving for men and women alike.

WE'RE ALSO bypassing a chance to lighten working women's loads. After years of doing 75% of her family's housework while working full time, Rebecca Sher, a Needham, Mass., photographer, enrolled in night classes, putting her 'right over the edge,' she says. So she called a family meeting and laid out chores for her kids, 13, 11 and six. Now, she posts their duties on computer printouts; even the six-year-old does laundry. 'There are some unmatched socks,' Ms. Sher says, but the kids are learning good work habits and her housework share is down to about 40%.

A subtler loss may be the opportunity to teach kids a certain sense of humility, suggests Trudy DeSilets, a senior marketing manager and mother. She recalls a scene from the film 'Gandhi,' wherein the nonviolent leader, also a lawyer, insists his patrician wife clean latrines, just as he does. 'It's one way to learn that each man's labor is as important as another's,' Gandhi says. 'In fact, while you're doing it, cleaning the toilet seems far more important than the law.'

Some kids may be missing 'that sense of service to others,' Ms. DeSilets muses. 'I would change that if I could. But I'm not sure how.'

I'm not sure either. But I'm planning a modern-day adaptation: I'm going to take another shot at teaching my daughter to feed the dog. First, though, I'm buying an electric can opener.

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Access No: 9612110161 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: WORK & FAMILY: FAMILIES OF ELDERS HAVE A LOT RIDING ON
BUDGET DEBATES
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Dec 11, 1996 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (868 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Elder care; Federal budget; Families & family life;
Medicare; Medicaid; Health care policy; Home health care;
Adult day care
Abstract: The nation's growing legion of working care-givers to the elderly have much to lose in the expected debate in Congress over funding for Medicaid and Medicare. As more families send all able-bodied adults into the work force, they need home health aides or adult day care more than traditional families.

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Article Text:

LIKE MANY care-givers to the aged, Joan Corridon doesn't think of herself as having a stake in the expected congressional debate next year on curbing Medicaid spending.

Ms. Corridon, 58 years old, is about as self-reliant as anyone can get. She works full time and also cares for her 66-year-old husband, who has Alzheimer's disease. He goes to an adult day-care center most days so she

can keep her job as an administrator in her family's electrical-contracting business. As long as she works, Ms. Corridon can shoulder the care-giving burden alone.

But her husband's adult day-care center is 25% funded by Medicaid. If Medicaid funding for day care is cut, the center might have to raise fees or close, hurting Medicaid and non-Medicaid clients alike. The probable result, Ms. Corridon says: a Catch-22 situation in which she would need to earn more to pay for her husband's care but would have to quit or cut back her work if his center became unaffordable or unavailable. Her husband would then likely wind up in a nursing home and on Medicaid. It's a prospect she finds 'frightening.'

Though no one is framing the debate as a family care-giver issue, the nation's growing legion of working care-givers to the elderly have much to lose in the expected debate in Congress over funding for Medicaid and Medicare. The two programs have quietly extended in recent years into funding an expansion of home-care services -- a trend critical to working care-givers, who often need home-care supports to enable them to keep their jobs.

Stephen Crystal, a long-term-care policy expert at Rutgers University's Institute for Health, Health Care Policy and Aging Research, says Medicaid home-care funding tripled to \$10.33 billion in 1995 from \$3.40 billion in 1990. Medicare, which occasionally pays for skilled-nursing and other services at home, paid \$14.90 billion in home care last year, four times 1990's \$3.66 billion.

BECAUSE OF THAT growth, 'you'll see a lot of focus on home care' in the budget-cutting debate, say Stephen McConnell, senior vice president, public policy, Alzheimer's Association.

Advocates for working care-givers hope budget-cutters will approach home-care programs with a scalpel, not a hatchet. Families provide 80% of long-term care. And as more families send all able-bodied adults into the work force, they need home health aides or adult day care more than traditional families of the past -- those with a stay-at-home wife or daughter available full-time to provide care.

Any curbs on federal Medicaid funding would affect states in varied ways, but would force all to make tough decisions about allocating funds. Medicaid, a medical-assistance program for the needy, pays for 52% of U.S. nursing-home care and an estimated 20% to 33% of adult day care. The need is rising. Burton Reifler, a Wake Forest University professor and head of a national adult day-care demonstration program, sees demand for adult day-care centers tripling to 10,000 by the year 2000.

Medicare, which pays for acute-care for persons 65 and older regardless of financial resources, has increasingly paid for at-home skilled-nursing care, among other things. It's not clear how the trend to managed care will affect home care, though some observers expect cuts in long-term services.

The debate on the middle-class effects of Medicaid curbs so far has focused on nursing-home spending. Indeed, federal legislation passed last year, known as the 'throw-Granny-in-jail' law, slaps potential penalties of up to five years in jail and a \$25,000 fine on middle-class elders who engage in 'Medicaid estate planning,' or transferring assets to qualify for Medicaid-paid nursing-home care. Mostly unnoticed amid protests over such practices has been the crucial role of the working family care-giver in curbing nursing-home admissions.

THOUGH MICHELE Sendow's 79-year-old mother can't be left unattended, Ms. Sendow, an accountant, is able to continue working and caring for her mother at home because she is enrolled in an adult day-care center partly funded by Medicaid. Though her mother can afford day care with help from a private support organization, the estimated \$4,000-a-month cost of a nursing home would send her into a quick skid onto Medicaid, Ms. Sendow says.

Medicare also provides some support. Carolyn Johnson, a researcher, has been caring for her aged mother, who has multiple sclerosis, at home for 10 years. With some funding from Medicare for a few skilled-nursing services, Ms. Johnson has been able to continue to pay the \$12,000 to \$15,000 annual cost of home care from her mother's assets. In contrast, the \$30,000 to \$40,000 cost of a nursing home would have forced the older woman onto Medicaid years ago, Ms. Johnson says.

So far, the crucial role of working care-givers hasn't hit policy makers' radar screens. But as the largely dual-earner baby boom generation moves into the 50s, the peak life stage for elder care-giving, that may change. 'The role of the family in care-giving is a sleeper issue now,' says Lynn Friss Feinberg of the Family Care-giver Alliance, San Francisco, a nonprofit care-giver-support organization. 'But it's going to come to the forefront in the next three to five years.'

If you'd like to air work-life problems or opinions, call me on the Wall Street Journal Radio Network's 'Work and Family' program at 800-WSJ-TALK, or fax 503-636-6951.

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Access No: 9605220122 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: WORK & FAMILY: CARE-GIVER DUTIES MAKE GENERATION XERS
ANYTHING BUT SLACKERS
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday May 22, 1996 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (912 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Families & family life; Generation X; Elder care; Social
conditions & trends
Abstract: According to a new study of 1,000 people by the National
Council on the Aging and John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance,
a new survey has surprised long-term care experts by
showing that 24% of people under 32 have provided, or are
providing, hands-on, long-term care to a family member or
friend. Contributing factors to this trend are the AIDS
epidemic and a trend toward adult children living with
parents longer.

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Article Text:

IF YOU THINK of Generation X as a disaffected crowd with tattoos and pierced navels, meet John LaVaccare.

When his mother fell ill with Parkinson's dementia complex and his father moved out, Mr. LaVaccare, then in his teens, changed career goals from science to business so he could avoid graduate school and help care for her.

He landed a job as an accountant at a Big Six firm and lived with friends in Chicago's trendy Lincoln Park area. But it was too hard to manage his mother's care, so at 23 he moved in with his mother in a nearby neighborhood. He missed out on the lifestyle of a successful young bachelor. But he hung in as a primary care-giver for four years, when family members stepped in so he could attend medical school.

Does he regret the years of sacrifice? No, says Mr. LaVaccare, now 30

years old. 'I felt helping out at home was more important.'

There are a lot more John LaVaccare out there than you think. A new study of 1,000 people by the National Council on the Aging and John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance has surprised long-term care experts by showing that 24% of people under 32 have provided, or are providing, hands-on, long-term care to a family member or friend. That compares with 31% of the total population who has done so.

The study matches findings by Maury Hanigan of Hanigan Consulting Group, New York human-resource consultants, showing 'a strong sense of family, and a high priority placed on family' among Generation Xers. Those values often surprise employers trying to hire or transfer young workers, she adds.

The study also proves, again, that stereotypes are nearly useless in predicting the family conflicts of today's work force. As families fragment, scatter and re-form in nontraditional patterns, grandchildren often find themselves caring for grandparents; that was the case among 59% of the Generation X care-givers surveyed.

OTHER FACTORS: the AIDS epidemic and a trend toward adult children living with parents longer, says Leslie Faught of Working Solutions, Portland, Ore.

Behind the statistics lie poignant stories of young care-givers even more isolated than their older counterparts. 'If you're 21 or 22 and you're caring for somebody who is ill, how can your friends relate to you? They're starting careers, going to school, getting married, and you're tied to a bedpan,' says Suzanne Mintz of the National Family Caregivers Association, Kensington, Md.

In his 20s, Mr. LaVaccare missed the neighborhood basketball games and some of the dating his friends enjoyed. Though he was struggling to juggle care-giving with his demanding job, he didn't talk about his family role with co-workers. He became so immersed in it that he nearly lost his sense of self.

Only after he began using the resources at Alzheimer's Association, a national organization based in Chicago, did he understand 'that I had my own life,' he says. He attended a support group, where older care-givers encouraged him to meet his own needs. Now, as he completes medical school at University of Chicago, he says he's glad he realized 'a terminal illness isn't a good focal point for your life at age 23.'

Of all care-givers, the under-36 age group are the most likely to be depressed, says Lynn Friss Feinberg of the Family Caregivers Alliance, a nonprofit resource group in San Francisco. Among the care-givers the Alliance has helped, more Generation Xers than any other group needed additional medical care themselves and 25% had to quit jobs to provide care.

Heather Urban, 28, an administrative assistant for a Boston nonprofit concern, was ready to interview for higher-paying jobs when her father, a 61-year-old widower, had a disabling stroke. To keep him out of a government-funded nursing home, she quit her job and moved to California to care for him.

AFTER SHE brought her father home from the hospital, he grew depressed and began waking her up repeatedly through the night for help. Exhausted, 'I started to just go mental,' says Ms. Urban. 'I was crying all the time.'

Her father's doctor intervened, treating him for depression and insisting she spend at least an hour a day away from the house. She joined a swim class and a theater group. But she has given up dating. The men she knows 'really weren't accepting of my situation,' she says. She still misses the camaraderie of coworkers at her job; 'I miss feeling like there's some reason for me to be, besides Dad.'

Other Generation X care-givers must cut back at work at a time when they would like to go all-out for career. Helen Wong, 24, was working

overtime at an environmental-cleanup company and hoping to land a job as a government auditor when her father had a stroke. Ms. Wong, who lives at her parents' home, was so swamped by insurance paperwork and helping her father that she cut back overtime.

When she got the job offer she had hoped for, she hesitated. It required travel. 'What if something happens when I'm gone?' she worried. She took it, but schedules her days so tightly that she has no time for herself. On business trips, she calls home daily and keeps lists of '10,000 things' to do when she returns.

Ms. Wong sometimes yearns for a more carefree lifestyle. But she finds her parents' plight heartbreaking, she says. 'People say to me, 'Why don't you just move out?' But if I did, I wouldn't have peace of mind.'

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Title: WORK & FAMILY: MEET THE BODLANDERS: THEY MAY BE FUTURE IN CARING FOR ELDERLY
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Mar 27, 1996 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (855 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Elder care; Families & family life; Social conditions & trends

Abstract: Pressure is going to be even more intense in the future for working families who care for aged parents. However, there are some developments that could ease the burden, which include more flexible long-term care insurance and progress in home-care technology.

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Article Text:

IF YOU'RE WONDERING how the typical working family will care for aged parents in the future, consider the example of the Bodlander family. Lucy Bodlander, 80 years old, has had several strokes and can no longer care for herself. But her children, Deborah, a Congressional staffer, and Gerad, a reporter, are sharing her care in their homes in the Washington suburbs. Every other month, one sibling packs up their mother and her live-in aide and moves them to the other's house.

Their family pays most of the \$2,000 to \$3,000 monthly cost of the elder Ms. Bodlander's care, with some help from Medicare. Splitting the care-giving duties helps the siblings and their spouses hold down costs. While the setup 'takes an emotional toll' on everyone, Mr. Bodlander says, they take comfort in giving their mother the best possible care in the setting she prefers.

Like the Bodlanders, more families are likely to be caring for elderly family members at home, and at their own expense, in the future. Family and friends already provide 76% of long-term care for the disabled elderly. The squeeze on funding for Medicaid, which pays for about half of U.S. nursing-home beds, is likely to hold down nursing-home admissions amid growth in the aged population.

Families also are already paying a growing share of in-home care costs. A study by the Urban Institute and Duke University shows elders and their

families or friends, not government programs, paid for in-home care in 67% of all cases in 1989, up from 57% in 1982. The trend is likely to continue, says the Urban Institute's Korbin Liu.

'The pressure is going to be even greater on families and the disabled themselves' to provide long-term care in the future, he says.

THAT MEANS more working care-givers will be looking for creative ways to support elders at home. Here are some developments that promise to help:

More care-giver support.

Not every family is as cooperative as the Bodlanders. A study of 81 care-givers by Family Caregiver Alliance, San Francisco, showed many elders are sent to nursing homes not because of a change in their condition but because their care-givers were exhausted, isolated and lacked support from family and friends.

Fortunately, the crucial role of family care-givers is gaining recognition. The one-year-old National Alliance for Caregiving, Bethesda, Md., backed by six organizations on aging, offers information, referrals, research and training. The National Family Caregivers Association, founded in 1993 by two care-givers in Kensington, Md., offers networking and support. Organizations on aging and a growing number of employers also offer resources.

More flexible long-term-care insurance.

Long-term custodial care such as help with housekeeping or cooking, the kind most often needed by the aged, isn't covered by Medicare. Though Medicaid rules vary by state, Medicaid's home-care coverage is limited to people with low incomes and few assets and is a likely target of cost cuts.

Though private long-term care policies are costly, insurers increasingly offer flexible coverage for inhome care. UNUM Life Insurance offers a 'total home-care benefit' that reimburses disabled policyholders for home care by any caregiver, from an aide to a family member. More policies also cover adult day care, which can make the difference between keeping your job and quitting, says Gail Hunt of the National Alliance for Caregiving. Two caveats: Policies usually don't cover 24-hour-a-day home care; a family member has to help. Also, consumers should get advice before buying these complex plans.

Progress in home-health technology.

While technology to care for the aged at home is in its infancy, new gadgetry holds promise. So far, electronic monitors, worn on buttons or necklaces to call for emergency help, 'have saved so many people's lives,' says Barbara Lepis of the Peer Review Organization of New Jersey, a medical-review group.

IN THE FUTURE, telemedicine could ease home care by reducing the number of doctors' visits and emergency-room trips that elders make. In Lawrence, Kan., HELP Innovations is testing an interactive cable-television link that allows a nurse in a clinic to talk to elders at home and watch them check their blood pressure, blood sugar and temperature. In Minneapolis, American Telecare offers a device, with a video telephone and a stethoscope, that operates by phone line. Two hurdles: The technology remains expensive, and public and private insurers have yet to embrace it.

Innovations in home care.

Some companies are bundling inhome services for frail elders. Senior Source, a unit of A.D.S. Group, Newton, Mass., manages services from home repair to snow removal for \$55 a year.

Others are managing in-home care in new ways. Friends Life Care at Home, Philadelphia, a nonprofit Quaker-sponsored concern, enables members to stay home as long as possible by providing services from homemaking to skilled nursing. Up-front fees are \$6,500 to \$26,000, plus \$235 to \$250 a month. Membership has grown to 710 in five years; Friends Life Care may

replicate the program in Maryland.

One reason for its popularity, a spokesman says, is that it gives members a secure feeling that they can stay in control of their lives through planning. That's not a bad rule of thumb for any aging person.

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Access No: 9506130003 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: YEA TO THAT '90S DAD, DEVOTED TO THE KIDS... BUT HE'S OUT AGAIN?; AS FATHERS PUT WORK SECOND, COLLEAGUES CAN RESENT IT; MOMS FEEL SPECIAL ENVY
Authors: Joann S. Lublin Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Tuesday Jun 13, 1995 Sec: A p: 1
Length: Long (1377 words) Type: News
Subjects: Fathers; Parents & parenting; Working hours; Families & family life; Work environment; Management; Social conditions & trends

Abstract: More fathers than ever in the 1990s insist on playing a big role in raising their children, refusing to be slaves to their careers. However, resentment is growing among bosses and fellow workers, who get stuck picking up extra hours and work. Working moms feel a special envy about the dads' freedom.

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Article Text:

The American workplace has a new problem employee: the devoted dad. More fathers than ever insist on playing a big role in raising their children, refusing to be slaves to their careers. They are demanding shorter workweeks, time off to mind sick youngsters and reductions in business travel.

It's sure great for the kids. But on the job, a subtle resentment is brewing.

Tension comes mainly from co-workers miffed about picking up the slack or getting stuck late yet again while dear old dad darts out on time. Perhaps most surprising, there is even a quiet undercurrent of resentment among some working mothers. The moms say that newly assertive dads have helped make the workplace more 'family friendly.' Yet they sometimes say so with a trace of weary rancor. They feel that New Age fathers can wear their parental duties like a badge while they, nervous about looking unprofessional, must play down their role as mother.

Male and female attorneys at Podvey, Sachs, Meanor, Catenacci, Hildner & Coccoziello in Newark, N.J., agree that the law firm is flexible about child-care emergencies, but as individuals they feel different nuances to balancing work and family. Partner Barry Coccoziello says that 'people [here] have a sense of joy' because he is so involved with raising his two-year-old daughter; they cluck with approval when he occasionally misses work for her routine medical checkups.

Another attorney at the firm, Martha Lewis Marcus, is a lot more self-conscious. True, she is thrilled that, unlike at previous jobs, she no longer has to feign illness to stay home in Ridgewood, N.J., when her sons, aged nine and 12, get sick. But, just in case one of the boys might

fall ill, she always takes home a full briefcase of work so she won't feel guilty if she has to be absent.

She recalls an incident last month when she had to delay for several hours a client meeting because another partner had to take his daughter to the doctor for strep throat. Ms. Marcus of course empathized, but with a pang of jealousy.

'When a man brings a child to work or shows up late because he has to take a kid to the doctor, it is totally acceptable' simply because he is a man, the 43-year-old lawyer observes. 'Women have done it for years and tried to find every excuse' for such behavior. Otherwise, she continues, 'people [would] look at you and say, 'Oh, here she goes again.''

Resentment of fathers comes as workplace resentment against parents in general appears to be growing. One in five employees say they have been asked to handle extra work to fill gaps created by associates' family responsibilities, according to three recent surveys of 14,000 workers by consultants Hewitt Associates Lincolnshire, Ill.

Some fathers cause a slow burn among childless co-workers by exploiting their status as New Age dads. About two years ago, while chief executive of market researchers Yankelovich Partners in Norwalk, Conn., James A. Taylor arrived 40 minutes late for a crucial client meeting with six Volvo executives in suburban New Jersey. Though he was the session's lead speaker, the auto executives instantly forgave him when he explained that his teenage daughter had gotten into trouble at school.

'It would have been more difficult for a woman' to use that excuse, Mr. Taylor admits. 'But it's au courant and fashionable for a guy to walk into a meeting late and say, 'I'm sorry. I had a problem with my kid.''

The excuse, he boasts, showed that 'I'm a '90s kind of dad.'

Anne Clurman, a Yankelovich partner without children, says she admired his gutsy honesty at the Volvo meeting. But she is bothered that a mother giving the same excuse probably would have gotten a different reception, most likely rolled eyes. 'It's just another little indication of the double standard,' she says, sighing.

Susan Renaud, manager of the finance and accounting department at Ben & Jerry's Homemade Inc., became burned out by her 12-hour workdays a few years ago. Ms. Renaud, who doesn't have children, was going home as late as 9:30 p.m. while her dozen subordinates, all young parents, dashed out at 5.

Family obligations made 'it easy [for them] to leave at a reasonable hour,' says Ms. Renaud, who is 35. 'Somehow, a cat doesn't have the same weight as a kid. . . . And I don't have a cat. I don't have the time.'

To ease her burden, she hired two more people, a man and a woman, each with small children. What did she find? The new woman often stayed until 7 p.m., even though she felt torn about returning home so late to her two toddlers. She understood that 'you need to stay until you get the work done,' Ms. Renaud says.

But the man, whose children then were five and eight, never stayed past 5. 'His attitude was, 'I put in a good day, a long day, and now it's time to go home to my family,''

Ms. Renaud recalls. 'How could he just walk out at 5 p.m. and not offer to help when we were still here?'

When Ms. Renaud finally confronted him, he agreed to arrive a half-hour earlier every day. But he soon switched to another department at the South Burlington, Vt., maker of ice cream. The man declines to discuss the episode.

Such feelings stand to intensify as more young fathers adopt the modern mind-set. In addition, the high divorce rate and the rising number of employed mothers are prompting many fathers to take a larger role in raising their children.

James Pierobon, a Washington public-relations executive and single father, remembers a tense moment in autumn 1993 when he had to leave work at 6 one evening to pick up his daughter, Mimi, at an after-school event.

A childless male colleague at the company, Potomac Communications Group Inc., objected because the two men were rushing to complete a client's crash project.

'He said, 'Do you really have to go?'' recalls Mr. Pierobon, sensing 'that there was some resentment' over his early departure, even though it came after a full day's work.

The associate 'was surprised that I didn't have backup child-care arrangements. In this instance, I did not,' the 40-year-old PR man confesses. 'But I knew I could get the job done at home.' He completed the project by phoning in information later that night. The next day, he says, 'We delivered the work [on time]. Case closed.'

Of course, despite the broader leeway given to fathers these days, New Age dads still run into the old expectation that men should put their jobs first.

Tim Kelley has seen both sides. In May 1993, he rejoined the Wisconsin State Journal, a Madison newspaper, after a short stint with a Singapore magazine. After being back less than two months, the newspaper gave him six weeks off (half of it paid) when his son, Max, was born. Jealous older male co-workers with grown children grumbled behind his back about the generous deal. Some said, ''Hey, I never got that,''' recounts David Stoeffler, the paper's city editor.

Then, last summer, Mr. Stoeffler considered promoting Mr. Kelley to assignment editor from night city editor. The 32-year-old father said he would do it only if he could push back the starting time until 11 a.m., instead of 9, since it was often hard to get out before 9 at night.

'Otherwise, I would never see my kid,' he explains. His own father, a barbershop owner, worked 12-hour days. 'I just remember him not being around,' he says.

Mr. Stoeffler rejected Mr. Kelley's proposal because it would have worsened his own excessive workload. Instead, he picked a man willing to work long hours. (The winning candidate was happy to get off an even-worse night-shift schedule.)

Mr. Stoeffler, who has a 16-year-old daughter, isn't insensitive to the demands of having young children. 'It would have been hard to have been an editor when my daughter' was as young as Mr. Kelley's son, who is now almost two. Still, he warns that Mr. Kelley's intensive commitment to fatherhood could derail his advancement. 'Tim would like to be city editor someday,' Mr. Stoeffler says. 'Somebody may move in line ahead of him.'

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Access No: 970514000132

ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc

Title: WORK & FAMILY: LATEST BACKLASH AGAINST DUAL EARNERS IGNORES SOME REALITIES

Authors: Sue Shellenbarger

Source: The Wall Street Journal

Date: Wednesday May 14, 1997 Sec: B p: 1

Length: Long (895 words) Type: Commentary

Illus: Illustration

Subjects: Parents & parenting; Families & family life; Working mothers

Abstract: Sue Schellenbarger discusses recent media coverage that has been critical of families with two working parents. Schellenbarger claims that media coverage of dual-earner

parents has focused on the small minority of dual-earner parents who could choose to be good parents but fail to do so.

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Article Text:

THE UNSIGNED letter practically sizzled as it rolled off my fax machine.

'What have you been smoking out there on the Left Coast?' fumed the writer, angered by a column on how parents balance work and child-rearing. The letter blasted me, a working mother, as one of a class of uncaring narcissists who neglect their kids for the ego high they get from work.

Judging by the temperature of my fax (near meltdown) and recent media coverage, once-obscure work-family concerns are heating up. The headlines, like 'The Myth of Quality Time: How We're Cheating Our Kids' in Newsweek and 'Lies Parents Tell Themselves About Why They Work' in U.S. News & World Report, for example, are enough to give working parents a guilt rash.

'The Time Bind,' Arlie Hochschild's new book asserting that parents are choosing work as a refuge from family life, is helping fuel the uproar.

I think all the attention to the family side of the work-family equation is good. The work-family debate has long been too biased toward enabling people with families to get to work and stay there. It's time for the pendulum to swing the other way, and Dr. Hochschild has given it a thoughtful and needed push.

The outcry, however, amounts to a backlash. The message, as many interpret it: Dual-earner parents are greedy and neglectful; if they cared about their kids they'd cut spending so one parent could stay home.

I have nothing against traditional families. Many do a fabulous job raising kids. But I see some real distortions at work. First, the focal point of much of the media coverage is a stereotype that reflects only a small minority of the work force, based on the interviews, calls and letters that are the basis for this column and my talk-radio show: The work-obsessed professional careerist who could choose to be a good parent but fails to do so.

SECOND, A VAST middle tier of working parents, I estimate 30%, are already making choices in favor of more family time. They are part of what historian-author Neil Howe calls a continuing 'parenthood revival,' and they have long believed the quality-time argument is bunk.

Many still show up in statistics reflecting rapid growth in dual-earner couples, but they make their living far from the corporate fast track and often split parenting evenly. Their home-focused lifestyles are better reflected in the 7% annual growth in home-based self-employment, the accelerating 'voluntary simplicity' movement and the fatherhood movement.

Consider V.K. Blumenthal, a mother of two and sales manager who refuses to work more than part time. She has changed jobs and industries three times to keep her part-time hours, 'going backward' in status to her current job as a marketing manager for a small financial company. To preserve family time, the former TV director spends workdays in a tiny windowless room, cold-calling prospects.

To these parents, the notion that there's only one good way to blend work and family disregards the complexity of choices parents make over the long course of raising a child.

'Sure, I could quit and move to a trailer park in Omaha,' says a New York City communications manager who has passed up higher-status jobs and lives near work to preserve family time. 'But I want to bring my kids up here in this culturally charged environment. My personal belief is that my kids are happier here. And I don't want to walk around feeling guilty about it.'

Finally, another large segment of working parents hasn't any choice about how to blend work and family; they either work full time or go broke.

MERRY ELLEN KORPAN, a university administrative worker, would love to work part time. But her job is at least 8:30 to 5; her family needs her benefits (her husband gets none in his job) and the 60% of household income she contributes to paying their apartment rent and debt accumulated when her husband was unemployed. She feels 'an underlying frustration that I should be at home with the kids. But I can't be. People talk about mothers who work to buy another Mercedes. Well, excuse me, but I'm driving a Ford. I'm not working so we can have fabulous vacations.'

Chip Johanni, an insurance-company manager who works 50-hour weeks, would love to spend three-day weekends with his two children. But while his employer has offered compressed workweeks in the past, his manager said no when Mr. Johanni asked. Bosses see no reason to give workers four 10-hour days when they're already working five 10-hour days, he says.

Haranguing parents like these about making better choices reflects a dangerous naivete about the workplace and risks taking the heat off employers at a critical time for families. Many employers are growing less family-friendly, as layoffs wreck flexibility policies and larger-than-life workloads make reduced hours a prescription for failure on the job.

A careful reader of Dr. Hochschild's book knows even the family-friendly workplace conditions she studied had vaporized by the time she finished, wiped out by layoffs and management's loss of interest.

Until all parents have more authentic choices in the workplace, fixating on Ozzie and Harriet as role models isn't going to do most kids much good -- even if we send them to a trailer park in Omaha.

To discuss work and family on my talk-radio show, call 800-WSJ-TALK or fax me at 503-636-6951.

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Access No: 9607310178 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: WORK & FAMILY: IT'S THE TYPE OF JOB YOU HAVE THAT AFFECTS
THE KIDS, STUDIES SAY
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Jul 31, 1996 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (895 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Parents & parenting; Working conditions; Families & family
life; Social research
Abstract: Parents seldom think of children as having a stake in their
work beyond the paychecks they bring home. But new
research suggests that children are deeply affected by the
quality of their parents' work lives. What affects
children is how much parents' work tensions taint home life.

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Article Text:

THE HOUR IS LATE when a friend, sipping coffee after dinner, begins talking about her kids.

Over her employer's pleas that she stay, she recently quit a rigid,

frustrating executive job at a firm to start her own business as a real-estate manager in New Jersey. Some big clients have followed her unsolicited; she is working hard, feels in control of her life again and is happier than at any time in memory.

What she didn't foresee, she says, are the changes she is noticing in her daughter, age five. The child used to be miserable during her first hour at school, her teacher has told my friend, withdrawing to the fringes of the group for hours. Now, her daughter comes to school skipping and singing and jumps into class activities right away.

The only apparent cause, my friend says, is that she, the child's mother, feels better about her work and her life. In the past, with job frustrations consuming her, she says, 'my life was a frenzy. I was so intense that I didn't have time to hear and observe my kids.'

Parents seldom think of children as having a stake in their work beyond the paychecks brought home. But new research suggests children are deeply affected by the quality of parents' work lives.

A study by three researchers, first disclosed last month in a work-family meeting with Vice President Gore, found fewer behavioral problems in children whose mothers' have control over how, where and when their work gets done. The same effects appear in children of fathers who say they are satisfied with their work.

'Kids are the unseen stakeholders in the American workplace,' says Stewart Friedman, director of the Wharton Life Interests Project at the University of Pennsylvania and one of the researchers. He and co-researchers Jeffrey Greenhaus, professor of commerce and engineering, and Saroj Parasuraman, a management professor, both at Drexel University, plan a book on the sweeping interrelationships between work and family.

IN THE PAST, most studies about kids and the workplace focused on whether a mother's working outside the home hurts children, a question that is far too simplistic. Jobs differ; some drive you nuts, make you impossible to live with and pay so little that you can only afford lousy child care. Others lift your self-esteem, impart new skills and enable you to buy enriching care for your kids.

Assuming all jobs have the same impact is like assuming that driving a car affects everyone the same. If you have a safe car and drive it well, you and your family will benefit. If your car is a wreck and you drive it badly, you'll probably injure both yourself and your passengers.

Not surprisingly, the past studies found no consistent link between kids' development and the simple fact of mothers' employment. But new research is looking in a more realistic way at how parents' work affects kids. The findings: Whether they like it or not, employers have a big role in raising kids.

In their study of more than 800 managers and professionals, Drs. Friedman, Greenhaus and Parasuraman found that the greater a mother's degree of authority, freedom and control over decision making on the job, the fewer behavior problems in their four- to 17-year-old kids. A 28-item index was used to measure such child behaviors as shyness, withdrawal and aggressiveness.

The researchers also found that the amount of time parents spend working isn't linked to their children's behavior. What does have an impact is how much parents' work tensions taint home life. Parents whose jobs don't distract them from family when they are home, or interfere with their psychological involvement with their children, have better-behaved kids.

SEPARATELY, Toby Parcel and Elizabeth Menaghan of Ohio State University have found in several studies that children of mothers with more complex, responsible jobs have better home environments and, in turn, behave better and perform better over time on verbal, math and reading tests, after controlling for mothers' own education and mental skills. And Ellen Greenberger at University of California, Irvine, and others have found

that parents with more stimulating, challenging jobs are warmer, less harsh and more responsive in their parenting.

Parents know all this from experience. On a previous job in a banking concern where everyone put in lots of face time, Susan Cannon grew so frustrated with office politics that she had to struggle when she got home to be emotionally available to her toddler. Now, as co-founder of Global Marketing Partners in Glendale, Calif., she is free to call her own shots. Though she is still working long hours, 'I'm so happy and fulfilled, I feel as if I'm parenting better than I ever have,' she says.

Anne Lawler, a Seattle attorney, says the rigid culture at previous employers sometimes made it hard to respond to her kids' needs. Now, at a law firm she helped found, she has control over her time. She is able to drive one of her children to midday tutoring sessions, improving both his grades and her communication with him. During their drives, he opens up and shares concerns that he otherwise might not.

With such effects now documented in research, employers trying to create high-quality workplaces can take pride in a spinoff benefit: They're helping future generations of workers, too. It all gives new depth to that old term, 'family-friendly.'

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Access No: 970226000093

ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc

Title: WORK & FAMILY: PEOPLE ARE WORKING HARDER -- AND TAKING MORE HEAT FOR IT

Authors: Sue Shellenbarger

Source: The Wall Street Journal

Date: Wednesday Feb 26, 1997 Sec: B p: 1

Length: Long (913 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration

Subjects: Work ethic; Polls & surveys; Social conditions & trends; Families & family life; Personal relationships

Abstract: Overwork is surfacing as a point of conflict in more relationships in the 1990s. Many people are working harder, and personal relationships are often the first casualties. Yankelovich Partners says half the 1,000 workers it surveyed have much more to do at work than two or three years ago; 42% of those surveyed report spending less time with their spouses in the same period.

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Article Text:

BEING MARRIED to a workaholic can be hard work.

Consider the experience of a Chicago sociologist:

She was reading a novel in bed one evening while her husband, a physicist, worked late on his computer in the next room. She turned and saw him crawling into bed with his laptop.

'It was unbelievable!' she says. Angrily, she protested: 'Listen, you have gone too far this time!' Though he was 'thrilled at being able to get into bed with a computer and his wife -- a menage a trois with the two loves of his life,' the sociologist says, she insisted the machine go.

Overwork is surfacing as a point of conflict in more relationships. Many people are working harder, and personal relationships are often the

first casualties. Yankelovich Partners says half the 1,000 workers it surveyed have much more to do at work than two or three years ago; 42% of those surveyed report spending less time with their spouses in the same period.

Bonnie Michaels of Managing Work & Family, an Evanston, Ill., consulting firm, says that among 150 couples she sees each year in workshops and focus groups, those troubled by one partner's long work hours have doubled in five years.

Also, because both spouses tend to hold jobs, one is more likely to be savvy about the other's bad work habits. Bryan Robinson, a therapist and University of North Carolina professor who is studying the impact on the family of workaholism, says spouses complaining to him about overworked mates have doubled in the past 10 years.

'More spouses are bold enough to brush aside rationalizations for overwork and say, 'Yes, but there's more to life than that,' says Harvey L. Rich, a Washington, D.C., psychoanalyst.

Of course, not everyone who works a lot is a workaholic; the term defines those who are so neurotically obsessed with work that they lose touch with their feelings. But more people are acting like workaholics as job demands mount.

THE OVERWORKERS, deep in denial, can respond to complaints with a laundry list of sanctioned excuses: I'm supporting the family; I'm scoring points at work; my boss demands it. They are often the last to notice that relationships are suffering.

Jeffrey Ullman, founder and former CEO of a nationwide video-dating service, is writing a book with his wife on how overwork affects relationships; he says workaholics deny any adverse impact. Asked about their work habits, 'They say, 'No, I don't have a problem.' Meanwhile, the spouse is sitting there saying, 'Who do you think you're kidding?'' he says. Children are harmed, too, he adds.

Strained relations with children are what sparks some spouses to action. One New York securities lawyer has faced such a sharp increase lately in the billable hours demanded by his workaholic supervisor that he rarely sees his two small children, says his wife, a brokerage-house manager. When the kids showed no interest in sitting next to him at a rare family dinner together, he nearly wept. She has begun insisting he spend more time with the family on weekends.

Many partners find the cure for overwork has to be as extreme as the habit. Insisting that her fiance's 16-hour workdays leave too little time for her, Lisah Chen is pressing him to take an extended overseas vacation through Asia and Europe with her this summer, sans computer and cell phone. Leaving the country, concedes her fiance, Tom Tirone, owner of an investment-analysis firm in Champaign, Ill., might just be the only way to get him to slow down.

'When you're up to your ankles in mud in Ulan Bator [in Mongolia], you're not going to do any work,' he says. He vows not to call the office.

SOME RESORT to skillful subterfuge. After 10 years of supporting the marathon work hours of her successful entrepreneur husband, Marlene Amon secretly signed him up to coach their six-year-old son's basketball team. 'When the league called him and said, 'You're signed up as coach,' he was shocked,' Ms. Amon says. 'Now, he loves it.'

She also has started insisting he take time for dinner dates with her and golf games for his health.

As Azriela Jaffe's work hours as a career coach, consultant and author have spilled into the weekend, her husband, concerned for her spiritual life, often urges her to stop working at least all day Saturday to observe the Jewish sabbath. The Lancaster, Pa., entrepreneur often complies, something she would do less often without his urging, she says.

If both partners are open to change, a loved one's protests can spark

serendipity. Philip Song, a Long Beach, Calif., entrepreneur, says he 'was working like a dog' in his corporate real-estate firm when his wife began questioning the personal cost. She says they would lie in bed at the end of a grueling day and discuss the pressures facing him. She asked, 'Is the money you're making worth it?'

Her concern moved Mr. Song to focus on life beyond money and work. He switched to network marketing and works less than half as much, spending time with his wife daily and still making 'a healthy six-figure income,' he says. 'I decided, 'I can either moan and groan about this, or I can do something about it. So I did something, and I am so proud.''

To air work-life issues on my Work & Family radio program, which airs Saturdays from 10 a.m. to noon EST, call 800-WSJ-TALK anytime, or fax me at 503-636-6951.

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Access No: 970219000049

ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc

Title: WORK & FAMILY: KAREN NUSSBAUM PLANS TO FOCUS UNIONS ON FAMILY ISSUES

Authors: Sue Shellenbarger

Source: The Wall Street Journal

Date: Wednesday Feb 19, 1997 Sec: B p: 1

Length: Long (920 words) Type: Interview

Illus: Illustration

Subjects: Labor unions; Work environment; Employment practices; Families & family life; Employee benefits; Working mothers

Names: Nussbaum, Karen

Companies: American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations

Abstract: Unions' track record on work-family issues is uneven. Some unions have won employer family-care funds and other supports, but others have been too mired in battles over job security, or too heedless of changing work-family demographics, to focus on work-family matters. Karen Nussbaum, who in Jun 1996 was named the AFL-CIO standard-bearer on women's issues, could change all that. In an interview, Nussbaum discusses her plans.

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Article Text:

UNIONS' track record on work-family issues is uneven. Some unions have won employer family-care funds and other supports. But others have been too mired in battles over job security, or too heedless of changing work-force demographics, to focus on work-family matters. Karen Nussbaum, who last June was named the AFL-CIO standard-bearer on women's issues, could change that. Regardless of what you think about unions, Ms. Nussbaum, 46 years old, has an undeniable knack for getting the public's attention. In 1973 she organized 9to5, a group of women office workers that grew to 15,000 members and inspired the 1980 movie of the same title. In 1993, as President Clinton basked in a post-election honeymoon with women voters, she agreed to head the administration's Women's Bureau, where she grabbed headlines by shepherding a 250,000-woman survey that

showed 'balancing work and family' was the top concern. Last summer, deciding government lacked 'enough power to do what needed to be done,' she says, she took a 33% pay cut to head the new Working Women's Department of the 13 million-member AFL-CIO.

In an interview, Ms. Nussbaum talks about her plans:

Q: How will you promote work-family issues among unions?

A: Women tell us that work and family are the things they are most stressed-out about. We're going to build on what we have done in collective bargaining and increase our bargaining on work-and-family issues. We're creating a database on local unions' many achievements in work and family and we'll provide technical assistance to unions that want to do more. We also expect to be active in expanding family leave and improving child and elder care.

ANOTHER work-and-family issue is money. Women are hot about feeling they aren't paid fairly. They're told, 'Solve your [child-care] problem yourself.' But it's very hard to solve your problem yourself when your pay has remained stagnant for 20 years. Women need a credible advocate with the power to [bargain for higher pay]. There's one institution in the country that can do that if we make the changes we need to, and that's the union movement.

Work and family policies are also going to be part of a big outreach to working women overall. A survey will go out this month to one million working women in every walk of life, giving them an opportunity to talk to us about what they want changed. We'll follow that with a 20-city tour to talk to women in the workplace and community, and a Labor Day conference in Washington. AFL-CIO affiliates have 5.5 million women members, which makes us the largest women's organization in the country. But no one would ever suspect that because we haven't acted like it. Now, we're going to act like it.

Q: But how are you going to accomplish much, with union membership down to only 14.5% of the work force last year?

A: Nobody knows better than we do that our membership has been falling. That's why the AFL-CIO's primary focus is organizing. Our goal is to have every union devote 30% of its resources to organizing, up from 2% now. I know how hard that is, but it's our job to tell workers their current problems won't be solved until we represent majorities in every industry.

Q: Many employers say unions fight needed changes, such as proposals in Congress to allow workers to take comp time for overtime.

A: If you really want to give workers more control over their time, why not ban mandatory overtime? Why not provide paid leave? The real issue with these proposals is control. Who would control the hours worked and taken off?

WORKING PEOPLE tell us they have far less control over their time than they did 15 years ago; this wreaks havoc with families. Also, will the government be able to enforce the so-called voluntary aspects of the proposals? There are only 800 enforcement officers in the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division and six million enterprises in this country.

Q: How have employees' family concerns changed since 1973?

A: The concerns remain hauntingly the same, though the context has changed a lot. When we started 9to5 we were drawing up a Working Women's Bill of Rights. A roomful of 100 people was voting for approval, and two women in the back said, 'What about child care?' At that time, the other women said, 'Oh, we'll never get that. We shouldn't even ask for it.' And we didn't.

Now, child care rolls off the tongue of every politician, among other concerns. But while there has been lots of discussion of work and family, the benefits have accrued primarily to those at the top. The 75% of working women who earn less than \$25,000 a year for the most part have never looked a work-family benefit in the eye.

Q: What is combining work and family like for you?

A: I have three complicated children [and] . . . I have trouble getting them out the door every day. My husband and I both travel; we have debates about who gets to leave early for work, whose meeting is more important. We make it work. But it's a tremendous strain, and we make good salaries. Every day I think about the secretary who's making \$23,000 and raising three kids. How does she do it? She should be running the business, or the country.

To discuss work-life issues on my Work & Family radio show, call 800-WSJ-TALK from 10 a.m. to noon EST this Saturday, or fax questions to 503-636-6951.

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Access No: 9512130153 ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc
Title: WORK & FAMILY: SOME FIRMS MANAGE TO EASE FAMILY DUTIES AND AID PROMOTIONS
Authors: Sue Shellenbarger
Source: The Wall Street Journal
Date: Wednesday Dec 13, 1995 Sec: B p: 1
Length: Long (880 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration
Subjects: Families & family life; Work environment; Career advancement; Working mothers

Abstract: In theory, work-family programs aim to level the playing field for people with family duties, helping advance their careers without paying too high a family price. But in practice, many women who need to use them resist for fear of being relegated to the Mommy Track. But there's also evidence that aggressive career management can reduce the damage. Also, a handful of companies are integrating work-family and career-advancement initiatives with some success.

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Article Text:

THE SALES REP at a Wall Street securities firm, a mother of young children, doesn't want to be named because she's telling a workplace secret: Her firm 'prides itself on this big diversity effort and letting people work flexible schedules,' she says. 'But quite honestly, the feeling I get is that it's a cover-yourself sort of thing. If any manager actually tried to do this stuff, his or her efforts wouldn't be taken seriously.'

The sales rep would love to work a compressed week herself, but if she did, 'there would definitely be questions about how serious I am about my career.'

It's a Catch-22 for employers and employees alike: In theory, work-family programs, including flexible schedules, aim to level the playing field for people with family duties, helping them advance their careers without paying too high a family price. But in practice, many women (and men, too, though in smaller numbers) who need to use them resist for fear of being relegated to the Mommy Track. That brings work-family initiatives and efforts to eliminate the glass ceiling into direct conflict at many companies, breeding frustration at the top and

cynicism in the ranks.

The career fears are partly justified. In a study of 45 women on flexible arrangements, Catalyst, a research and advocacy group, found that more than half said they got less challenging assignments and coworkers viewed them as lacking commitment.

But there's also evidence that the fears are overblown and that aggressive career management can reduce the damage. In the Catalyst study, 53% of participants won promotions while they were on flexible setups -- all women who were assertive in talking with bosses about their career goals. In another study, only one-third of women accountants on flexible schedules felt they took a backward step -- far fewer than the 58% of their peers on regular schedules who believed flexible setups would damage their careers.

THE ISSUE is assuming new importance as a fresh crop of women, chastened by watching baby boomers' stressed-out juggling act, enters the work force poised to press for employer support on both fronts, says Catalyst President Sheila Wellington. Based on a Catalyst study of women M.B.A. candidates at seven top business schools, 'today's businesswoman wants both career and family,' she says. 'A forced decision between one or the other is good for no one -- not the company, not women, not men, not the country.'

How can employers succeed on both fronts? A handful of companies -- Bank of Montreal, Sara Lee, Motorola, Hoechst Celanese and Dow Chemical, among others -- are integrating work-family and career-advancement initiatives with some success, and they have the numbers of women advancing into top management to prove it. This column and next week's offer a snapshot of some of their tactics.

Here are three basic strategies that set these companies apart:

Promoting jugglers at the top.

The executive-office culture at most companies lacks even a whiff of work-family overlap. Not so at Sara Lee. The company recently hired Janet Kelly, mother of a two-year-old and a five-year-old, as general counsel; it also promoted Judith Sprieser, mother of children ages seven and 11, three times since 1987, to her current post as chief financial officer. Both women set visible examples, often leaving the office in time for dinner with their families and working from home on off-hours. 'Seeing somebody make it work at a leadership level is important,' Ms. Kelly says. 'It gives people hope that there's help and understanding' at the top.

MAKING LINE JOBS flexible.

Flexibility is usually the province of employees on support staffs. Hoechst Celanese, like other companies mentioned here, gives managers an incentive to promote it in the line jobs crucial to advancement as well, tying managers' performance ratings and pay partly to how well they promote diversity through flexibility.

Monica Gallagher, a Hoechst sales rep, had long worried 'about how on earth I was going to fit children into my life and not have my career crash and burn,' she says. By last year, she was considering a career move to a product manager's job just as she was expecting her first baby. When she told one of her managers of her career fears, he not only encouraged her but helped her find a job-share partner in the product manager's post; 16 months later, she was promoted to area sales manager. Her confidence renewed, she says: 'Careers last for 30 years or so. I don't think job-sharing [temporarily] will hinder me.'

Easing transfers.

The transfers necessary to advance a career can raise tall hurdles for people with families; Dow Chemical is using some heavy artillery to demolish them. Beyond the usual moving expenses and job counseling for transferees' spouses, Dow this year began reimbursing spouses for income lost in a move and helping to pay to relocate a spouse's small business.

For Dow compensation specialist Ann Judge, the program eased a recent

transfer to Dow's Midland, Mich., headquarters from Houston. Though her husband had to leave a job he liked, Dow reimbursed him for lost income and paid some costs of his realizing a dream: setting up his own business. Given such support, Ms. Judge says, she'd think long and hard before leaving Dow.

Next week: Exploding family-related stereotypes about working women.

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ProQuest - The Wall Street Journal (R) Ondisc

Title: WORK & FAMILY: WORK-FAMILY ISSUES GO WAY BEYOND MISSED BALL GAMES

Authors: Sue Shellenbarger

Source: The Wall Street Journal

Date: Wednesday May 28, 1997 Sec: B p: 1

Length: Long (875 words) Type: News Illus: Illustration

Subjects: Working hours; Families & family life; Studies

Abstract: Work-life conflict is hitting employees of all kinds, and it's having a deeper impact on the workplace than most employers think. One of the most extensive corporate studies so far, an 18-month effort at Baxter Healthcare, shows work-life conflict is a sweeping concern, afflicting men and women.

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Article Text:

CONFLICTS BETWEEN work and personal life aren't just a family matter any more.

A New York attorney was working late after her boss, insisting she finish an urgent project, had gone home. As the offices around her emptied, she grew increasingly resentful. She had been planning for weeks to attend an event that evening. Near midnight, she finished work, but missed most of the event. Eventually, the incident and others like it drove her to quit.

What did she miss? A party thrown by her closest friends, an occasion her boss deemed unimportant, but that to her was essential to sustaining a life off the job. 'I'm a single woman and I'd like to meet someone. But when you work long hours, it's difficult.' Her boss had 'absolutely no respect for that,' says the attorney, who asked not to be named for fear of tainting her relationship with her new employer. 'I want a more balanced life.'

Work-life conflict is hitting employees of all kinds, and it's having a deeper impact on the workplace than most employers think. One of the most extensive corporate studies so far, an 18-month effort at Baxter Healthcare, shows work-life conflict is a sweeping concern, afflicting men and women, single and married people, and low-income and high-income workers alike.

The study, set for release next month, shows 30% of employees at Baxter, known for its family-friendly programs, struggled with work-life conflict at least weekly; 42% had looked for another job because of it. Contrary to the common belief that women with families are most pressed by demands from home, men, singles and dual earners without kids were among

the groups most likely to have considered changing jobs because of work-life conflicts.

BY PROBING the nature of work-life conflict in 125 focus groups and interviews and surveys with hundreds of employees, researchers found the most painful experience for employees, especially hourly workers, was not being treated with respect or afforded dignity as 'whole people' with lives off the job -- being ordered to work overtime on short notice or to change schedules abruptly, or being arbitrarily denied time off. Salaried employees said their efforts to find balance in life were frustrated by expectations for weekend and evening work and nonstop voice-mail availability.

Such conflicts in some units affected employees' behavior on the job, making them unwilling to put in extra effort, volunteer for overtime or talk positively with customers. 'Why should you bend over backward if they're not committing to you?' one employee in the study said. The opposite was also true, with employees who felt supported saying they would go the extra mile on the job, says Marci Koblenz of MK Consultants, an Evanston, Ill., human-resource firm that conducted the study with Alice Campbell, director of work and life at Baxter, Deerfield, Ill.

A separate study at two other employers highlights one reason lifebalance is such a broad concern. Mary Young of Boston University's Human Resources Policy Institute found long hours and a lack of clear work-time standards fed dissatisfaction among all workers, parents and nonparents alike. Post-layoffs, 'the old idea of 'a day's work' has little meaning,' Dr. Young says.

I see similar signals in my mail; the CFO of a marketing concern writes, 'Just because I'm single and childless doesn't mean I have the will or the desire to work a 12-hour day, six days a week.'

Many companies are recognizing employees' frustrations in a nominal way, giving work-family programs a broader 'work-life' label and rolling out perks like at-your-desk massages and pet-care subsidies.

BUT FROTHY perks do little to erase the unease of workers who feel their lives are fundamentally out of balance. At a past employer, says Tarrytown, N.Y., writer Caitlin Kelly, a policy of feting employees on their birthdays didn't ease their frustration over their huge workloads. Ms. Kelly especially resented the expectation that she work through lunch. Five days after her birthday party, she quit. 'I'm not five years old,' she says. 'I need a lunch hour, not a birthday cake.'

To foster commitment, the Baxter study identifies a hierarchy of work-life needs, similar to Maslow's, that must be met. Denial of the most basic needs cause the most pain (stress, low morale, marital conflict); these must be satisfied before higher needs come into play. The most basic work-life need, the study says, is respect; second is balance between time on and off the job; third is flexibility, and last are work-life programs, like seminars and referrals.

'If a work-life program isn't grounded in basic respect for employees, it's built on sand,' says Brad Googins of Boston College, an authority on work-life issues. Baxter executives are making balance a more mainstream concern, including it in standards for evaluating managers and adding work-life questions to its employee surveys.

The study helps fill a gap in work-life research. Management theoreticians have insisted an effective company can't be built on a foundation of strained personal relationships. We know now, from listening to employees of all kinds, that workers whose drive for balance is frustrated will respond in ways that undercut management goals. That's a finding worth thinking about.

To discuss work-life issues on my weekly 'Work & Family' radio program, call 800-WSJ-TALK or fax me at 503-636-6951.

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Access No: 39591919970601 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title: Child-Care Solutions in a New World of Welfare
Authors: Peter T. Kilborn
Source: New York Times, Late Edition (East Coast)
Date: Jun 1, 1997 Sec: 1 National Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1751 words) Type: News
Subjects: Welfare reform; Child care; Day care centers; Welfare (US);
Children & Youth; Workfare & Employment of Welfare
Recipients; Illinois; Child Care
Names: Holmes, Tanya

Abstract: Tanya Holmes, single mother from Chicago, cares for children of former welfare parents who have been pushed into work force; officials say women like Holmes may help make new welfare law work; Illinois pays Holmes up to \$90.65 a week per child for five or six children she normally cares for; child care is ticket off public assistance for former welfare recipients like Holmes; states, in allowing women to earn living by caring for children of others, both create jobs for welfare mothers and pave way for mothers of children they keep to go to work; photos (M)

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Article Text:

Chicago -- At the knee-high white plastic table in a living room crammed with toys and books, Tanya Holmes dealt out sheets of paper imprinted with letters of the alphabet and crayons to color them. 'Breana,' Ms. Holmes said, 'I'm going to give you purple. Tashad, you get green.' Lavonte Briggs, 4, asked, 'Can I have blue?'

Ms. Holmes ran these children like clocks, from coloring and counting to a stomping, tambourine-thumping rendition of 'B.I.N.G.O.'

'You've got to have a routine so they know what's next,' Ms. Holmes said. 'Routine is a key word in day care.'

Ms. Holmes, a robust and exuberant 22-year-old single mother who tends to children in her home, could hold another key, one that may be vital to solving a vexing question for the new world of welfare: As parents are pushed into the work force, who will take care of their children?

A promising answer, say many states, is licensing the kind of service that parents like Ms. Holmes provide, known as family day care.

To grant the license, states must be assured that the children are safe and well cared for and that they are being prepared for school. In return, Illinois pays Ms. Holmes up to \$90.65 a week per child for the five or six children she normally cares for, with an assistant.

There is another important benefit: For former welfare recipients like Ms. Holmes, child care is a ticket off public assistance. In allowing women to earn a living by caring for the children of others, the states both create jobs for welfare mothers and pave the way for the mothers of the children they keep to go to work.

'They get a two-fer,' said Wendell E. Primus of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a liberal research group in Washington.

While it is too soon to measure the new welfare law's effect on family day care, Illinois, which already has more than 9,000 providers of day

care like Tanya Holmes, is expanding the service. Among other things, it has begun a program to train mothers at Cabrini Green, Chicago's big housing project.

Nationwide, in part because of earlier programs to encourage recipients to work, the number of homes licensed to care for children climbed to 299,000 last year from 193,000 in 1988, according to the Children's Foundation, a research organization in Washington.

But licensed family care is eventually unlikely to meet the expected demand, child-care advocates warn. They predict that late next year, as the welfare law's mandate to work reaches the majority of the nation's four million welfare families, and as more of the working poor seek day care for their children, some parents will be left without any care. This, in turn, could encourage wider use of unqualified child-care providers.

In Chicago, as in some other big cities, an acute shortage of child care is already developing, confronting mothers with the agonizing choice of earning a paycheck while leaving their children untended or staying at home and losing their welfare check.

But states say it is in their own best interest to make the welfare overhaul work so that parents will not have to make such choices. The welfare law gives the states \$4 billion more in Federal support for child care over the next six years than they would have had otherwise, and many states are increasing their own spending beyond that.

A bustling economy has been a big help. In generating more and more jobs for everyone, the economy has helped drive down the number of welfare recipients and thus the costs of supporting them.

This has produced a windfall for states by freeing money from cash assistance programs and matching Federal welfare grants. In his budget proposal for the next fiscal year, Gov. Jim Edgar of Illinois, a Republican, is asking for \$350 million for child care, \$70 million more than this year. New Jersey is doubling its spending for child care over two years.

New York, Minnesota, Oregon and North Carolina are making similar uses of their savings from declining welfare recipients. Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin, a Republican, is raising the state's child-care subsidies enough so that a low-wage family's cost of care comes to no more than 16 percent of its income.

For many states, licensed family care has become a workable and cost-efficient compromise between day-care centers and the largely unregulated care of baby sitters.

For one reason, it is convenient. Unlike the typical day-care center, Ms. Holmes's home is just doors from those of many welfare recipients, so they can walk their children over. And it is relatively inexpensive. In cities like New York, Chicago and Boston, normal day care for just one child can cost as much as the \$190 that a minimum-wage worker earns in a week, or more than twice the cost of Ms. Holmes's care.

For child-care providers like Ms. Holmes, nearly all states require training, and they oversee the homes, with regulators typically stopping in unannounced.

Connecticut, for example, lets a licensed provider take in six preschool children, though no more than two infants, and the provider must have a high school diploma or 540 hours of experience as a child-care aide.

Georgia requires one worker, a high school graduate, to care for three children up to 1 year old and two workers to watch up to six children. Delaware requires that providers have considerable preparation beyond high school, for example, a college degree in child development or six months' experience.

Still, states' redoubled support of child care has not gone far enough in cities like Chicago, with high concentrations of welfare-recipient job seekers, in part because of the crunch of the working poor who are also

seeking day care.

The welfare law requires that recipients be working within two years and terminates their cash assistance in five, so by then they must be able to support themselves and their children. The result here is severe shortages of low-cost day-care workers and centers to handle a load that by all accounts is rapidly increasing.

'We get 110 calls a month for two openings a month,' said Thomas F. Layman, director of the government- and charity-supported North Avenue Day Nursery on the West Side of Chicago. North Avenue enrolls 175 in its day-care center and eight licensed-care homes.

Barbara Jacob, family services manager at the Lutheran Family Mission, which operates three centers and oversees the mission's 186 family care providers, said, 'We tell them it's going to be a year or two years before we can take their child.'

Faced with day-care shortages, Illinois like most states lets parents turn to the inexpensive, unregulated, sometimes indifferent, care provided by a neighbor or relative.

The state asks the child's parent and the child-care provider to sign a form stating that the day-care home is safe, with guns and poisons locked up, and that no one there abuses children. In return, the state pays the child keeper \$8.98 a day per child. For the child-care providers who are on welfare, the state counts their service as work, permitting them to keep their benefits.

But even as it subsidizes programs like this one, the state actually goes no further than that in regulating them. 'Nobody looks at the home except the mother,' said Michele Piel, manager of child-care development at the Illinois Department of Public Aid.

In a study two years ago, the Families and Work Institute, a research group in New York, determined that only 9 percent of such informal arrangements in several cities provided good quality care.

'This is make-do tripe,' said Marie C. Wilson, president of the MS Foundation for Women, which is sponsoring programs to train people to become licensed child-care providers. 'Look at what it does for a field we are trying to upgrade. It implies that anyone can do it.'

Ms. Holmes, by contrast, received training for four months last year at one of the Lutheran Family Mission's day-care centers. 'I went 3 times a week,' she said, '9 to 12.'

In the vestibule of Ms. Holmes's duplex, everyone, children and visitors, must take off their shoes. Ms. Holmes uses the parlor and adjoining room for most of her work. The walls are covered with shelves with books, toys, tapes of children's songs, plastic musical instruments and instructional materials.

Ms. Jacob of the mission said: 'She's a real active provider. She really does her curriculum and different types of learning things we want for the children.'

Like all the states' licensed providers, Ms. Holmes and her assistant, Shanda Dortch, 20, work under some supervision. The Department of Public Aid, which licenses her, sends an inspector once a year. The Federal Department of Agriculture, which provides the children's meals, visits once a year without warning to check on her kitchen.

Day-care managers from the mission and another, similar service, Chicago Commons, visit once a month, sometimes unannounced. They also telephone. 'They'll ask if there's anything I need,' Ms. Holmes said, 'or they check on the status of a particular child.'

In return, the mission and Chicago Commons refer the children of working welfare mothers and of the working poor and pay the providers state-subsidized fees of \$90.65 a week to care for children under 2 1/2 years old and \$66.50 a week for older children. On a scale based on incomes, the children's parents reimburse the state from 25 cents of the cost up to \$62 a week. Ms. Holmes has one private client who pays \$85 a

week.

This produces an income of about \$24,000 a year, Ms. Holmes said. But as an independent contractor, she must pay her assistant and her taxes and buy most of her equipment. The assistant is paid the minimum wage of \$4.75 an hour.

Ms. Holmes does not pay rent because her mother, who lives downstairs, owns the house.

She said she is relieved to be free of the dole but does not expect to live much better than she does now. 'If you are going to do child care,' Ms. Holmes said, 'you have to do it for the kids. Don't do it for the money.'

Caption:

Women like Tanya Holmes, caring for children at her home in Chicago, may help make the welfare law work. (Cynthia Howe for The New York Times) (pg. 1); Shanda Dortch is an assistant to Tanya Holmes, a former welfare mother who provides child care that allows women like her to work. (Cynthia Howe for The New York Times) (pg. 20)

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Title: WELFARE RULES INTENSIFY NEED FOR DAY CARE
Authors: JENNIFER PRESTON
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Monday Nov 11, 1996 Sec: B Metropolitan Desk p: 1
Length: Long (1143 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects: CHILD CARE; WELFARE (US); FEDERAL AID (US); WELFARE
RECIPIENTS, EMPLOYMENT OF; NEW JERSEY; NEW YORK STATE

Abstract: The new federal welfare law is creating a huge demand for subsidized child care, setting up an intense competition between working poor families and welfare recipients who are required to work for their benefits. With a limited number of child-care openings available, governments across the country are grappling with how to make room for children of more welfare families without displacing families who now receive day care subsidies.

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Article Text:

TRENTON, Nov. 10 -- The new Federal welfare law is creating a huge demand for subsidized child care, setting up an intense competition between working poor families and welfare recipients who are required to work for their benefits.

With a limited number of child-care openings available, governments across the country, including New Jersey's and New York's, are grappling with how to make room for the children of more welfare families without displacing families who now receive day care subsidies.

Almost two-thirds of the 1.5 million children now in federally subsidized child care nationwide are from working poor families, Federal officials said. The remaining slots are filled by children on welfare

whose families are participating in job-training, education or work-related programs.

Although more Federal money is available for day care under the new welfare rules, state governments say they will be pressed to meet this increased demand. Working poor families were never guaranteed child-care assistance. But many states, including New Jersey, have used state as well as Federal dollars to provide some subsidies. Most states have long waiting lists.

'If you want successful welfare reform, and you want low-income families to work, you need supportive child care,' said Helen Blank, director of the child care and development division at the Children's Defense Fund. 'And if you want low-income families who are working not to fall back on welfare, you need a strong child-care option. Because of the huge new demand, you may see families with limited choices, and most of the choices will not allow them to choose the child care that either helps them or meets their children's developmental needs.'

To help provide enough places for welfare recipients who are required to work for benefits beginning next year, Wisconsin has already rewritten its child-care rules to eliminate subsidies for many of the working poor. For a family of three, Wisconsin reduced eligibility this year to a maximum of \$21,420 a year, from \$27,996.

In New Jersey, 15,000 working poor families are on waiting lists for one of the state's 30,000 subsidized slots. Gov. Christine Todd Whitman promises to increase spending for child care, but not for the working poor. Spending for child-care slots for welfare recipients, who would be enrolled in the Governor's Work First program, will increase to \$107 million in the year 2000, from \$61 million this year.

Already this year, working poor families in New Jersey have lost approximately 500 subsidized child-care slots because of Federal cutbacks in the Social Services block grant. New Jersey has used the grant to subsidize almost 12,000 child-care slots a year for low-income families. Families have been notified they have three months to find alternative care.

Under Governor Whitman's welfare proposal, New Jersey would lower income eligibility slightly. A family of three with income of \$25,180 or less would qualify for child-care subsidies, compared with a current maximum income of \$26,206 for the same size family.

But Jacqueline Holmes, 31, a city clerk in Camden who makes \$400 a week, would be affected, like many other working poor people, because the state hopes to set up a system giving preference to welfare recipients. Ms. Holmes is the mother of two children, 19 months and 6 years old, and she relies on subsidized day care while she works. Next, the state would give preference to working poor families whose income is within 150 percent of the poverty level, or \$18,885 for a family of three. That means families making \$18,885 to \$25,180 will remain eligible for subsidies but are likely to remain on the waiting list longer.

'We are trying to put as many people in the tent as possible,' said James W. Smith Jr., assistant commissioner for the State Department of Human Services. 'We will never have enough money to give everybody child care, and we probably never will. We are trying to spread our dollars as far as possible and include as many people as we can.'

Ms. Holmes would still be eligible under New Jersey's proposed regulations, but would probably wind up on a long waiting list. She says she cannot afford the \$110 weekly rate of the private center she now uses without the \$70 child care subsidy.

'At one point, it was almost not worth working,' Ms. Holmes. 'Finally, I got on the waiting list and got a slot. Unless I knew he was being well taken care of, I wouldn't be comfortable working. I would always be in a tizzy.'

Although an additional \$567 million in Federal money is being

distributed among states this year under the new child-care block grant, child-care advocates say the new demand is expected to outstrip any added day care space.

Michael Kharfen, a spokesman for the United States Department of Health and Human Services, countered that states should be able to meet the needs of both groups. 'Now that the states have more resources and more flexibility,' he said, 'there really is an opportunity here for the states to meet the needs of families who are moving from welfare to work and for low-income working families.'

In New York, the Pataki administration is still drawing up a welfare proposal to comply with the new Federal law, and no decisions have been made on how to meet increased demand for child care.

'There are important questions and challenges to figuring out how you balance the needs of two deserving populations,' said Suzanne Z. Bennett, New York State's child care administrator, who is now reviewing income eligibility requirements for child care subsidies. 'We are talking about fundamentally redesigning a system, and we want to make sure we do it right.'

To help create new child-care slots, Wisconsin is also creating a new group of day-care providers, called provisional providers, who would not need to meet all the state's training requirements and would receive lower subsidy payments from the state. Child-care advocates worry that poor families will turn not only to the provisional providers, but also to untrained workers who offer the least expensive care.

'We don't think poor people are going to have good choices,' said Elinor Dockery, who oversees programming at Encompass Child Care Inc., a nonprofit organization operating eight child-care centers in the Green Bay, Wis., area. 'Currently, they are able to make choices among child care centers, or family child care that is highly regulated.'

'What are these people going to do? The grandmothers, the aunts and the uncles are out working, too. Who is going to be taking care of the children?'

In Camden, Ms. Holmes said she hoped she would be able to keep her child-care assistance. 'Your child's life has no dollar value,' she said. 'You have to take care of them. And I need to work. I have never been on welfare, and I never want to be.'

Caption:

Photos: The new Federal welfare law is creating a huge demand for subsidized child care. At Respond, a child care center in Camden, N.J., Velma Pritchett read to a group of children while holding another on her lap; Jacqueline Holmes of Camden relies on day care subsidies so she can work. Under the new rules, she would probably be put on a waiting list. (Photographs by Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times) (pg. B7)

Men Assuming Bigger Share At Home, New Survey Shows

By TAMAR LEWIN

Working men have begun to shoulder a far greater share of responsibility for child care and household chores, according to a new survey.

The study, by the Families and Work Institute, a nonprofit research group based in New York, suggests that since 1977, when the Department of Labor conducted a similar study, there has been a gradual convergence in the way men and women in the work force use their time.

"You look through all these numbers and you begin to hear a theme song about men and women," said Ellen Gallinsky, president of the institute. "There are real changes in what men and women are doing. For example, men put in 30 percent as much time on workday chores as women in 1977, but now it's up to 75 percent. We see that gap closing in lots of different areas."

One surprising result of the survey, the largest and most comprehensive of its kind in recent years, is that despite the rise in the number of dual-income families, children under 18 are getting somewhat more attention from their working parents than they did 20 years ago, mostly because of the change in fathers' behavior.

Ever since the 1970's, when large numbers of women entered the work force, working mothers have complained that they bore far too much of the load for the second shift, the

ers and fathers say they do not have enough time to spend with their children. Despite the increased time men are putting in, 56 percent of employed mothers said they wished the fathers would spend more time with their children, and 43 percent wished the men would do more household chores.

The Families and Work Institute survey found that working fathers spent an average of 2.3 workday hours caring for, and doing things with, their children, a half-hour more than the average reported in the Department of Labor survey 20 years ago. Working mothers spend more time with their children but their time commitment has not changed much since 1977. On their days off, both working men and women are spending about an hour more with their children than they did 20 years ago, with women devoting about 8 hours, and men 6.

Men are also spending more time, and women less, on household work than they did 20 years ago — and both sexes spend less time on personal activities than they used to. Over the last 20 years, women's workday time on chores has decreased by about half an hour a day, to 2.8 hours, while men's time has increased by nearly an hour to 2.1 hours in 1997.

Men spend about an hour and a half on personal activities on an average workday, half an hour less than 20 years ago. And women have about an hour and a quarter of personal time a day, down a little less than a half hour since 1977.

Elder care was a widespread responsibility. A quarter of those surveyed had provided care to an elderly relative during the preceding year. More than one-third of them had reduced their work hours or taken time off to provide that care, and men were just as likely as employed women to have done so. Workers with elder care responsibility spend an average of nearly 11 hours a week providing assistance, with men and women putting in equal time.

Employees generally are working 3.5 hours a week longer than they did 20 years ago — and 13 percent have more than one job.

On average, men work 49 hours a week while women, who are more likely to have part-time jobs, average 42. Men with children under 18 work slightly longer hours than other men, while women with children under 18 work fewer hours than other women.

Among men and women alike, 63 percent say they would like to work fewer hours, an increase of 17 percentage points since the Families and Work Institute asked the question in a 1992 survey.

Over all, the study found there was more negative spillover from job pressures onto home life than from family pressures into work life.

"Most of the early work-family programs companies put together were aimed at preventing family problems from spilling over into work," Ms. Gallinsky said. "Companies would offer help with finding child care or elder care so employees' work performance would not be affected. But what we found is that

TRENDS

Life With Father

A new survey shows that working men are spending more time with their children...

Time (hours) for children for married employees working 20 or more hours a week with children under 18.

WORKDAYS

	MEN	WOMEN
1977	1.8	3.3
1997	2.3	3.0

NON-WORKDAYS

	MEN	WOMEN
1977	5.2	7.3
1997	6.4	6.3

...and more time on chores.

WORKDAYS

	MEN	WOMEN
1977	1.2	3.3
1997	2.1	2.8

NON-WORKDAYS

	MEN	WOMEN
1977	4.0	5.7
1997	4.9	4.8

Source: Families and Work Institute

The New York Times

the spillover usually goes the other way. We say, 'It's the job, stupid.' Companies need to be looking for ways to address the stresses of work."

Employees have less sense of job security than in the past. Compared with the 1977 survey, more workers said that their jobs required them to work very hard and very fast, and that they never had enough time to get everything done. Today's workers are also much more likely than their 1977 counterparts to bring work home.

On the positive side, employees reported a surprising level of work place flexibility: Almost half said they could choose, within some range of hours, when to start and end their workdays. And 19 percent said they spent part of their regular workweek working at home.

The survey found that 85 percent of American wage and salaried workers lived with family members and had day-to-day family responsibilities. Nearly half have children under 18 living with them, and nearly 1 in 5 employed parents is single. Among employed single parents, about 27 percent are men.

The survey, conducted for the institute by Louis Harris and Associates, is based on 3,551 telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of employed adults. The margin of sampling error is plus or minus two percentage points.

The rise in dual-income couples since 1977 has been dramatic: two-thirds of the married male employees with children under 18 now have employed spouses, compared with slightly under half in 1977. When one member of a dual-income family has to take time off to care for a sick child, 83 percent of mothers say they are likely to be the one to take time off; only 22 percent of the fathers make that claim.

A surprising finding: children are getting more attention.

hours of child care and household chores it takes to keep a family going.

What particularly irritated many working mothers was that while they were frantically cooking, cleaning and arranging play dates, working fathers were spending more time on themselves than on caring for their children, a perception borne out by the data from 1977. But the new survey shows that has changed: working fathers now spend more time doing things with their children than they spend on themselves.

The survey authors caution that the time estimates are self-reported, and may be biased by workers' view of what the socially desirable response would be; the extent to which that bias may have changed, or been magnified, since 1977 is unknown. The authors also point out that time spent caring for children may overlap with time doing chores, like when a parent is talking to a child while doing the dishes.

But, they say, the data do seem to indicate a real shift in how much attention children of working parents are getting — although no effort was made to consider what parents actually do with their children in that time.

Still, 70 percent of working moth-

FYI
clipped on
balancing work

home family

EW

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1998

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WORK & FAMILY

BY SUS SHELLENBARGER

Good News at Last In Battle of the Sexes: Men Are Helping More

IT'S FASHIONABLE these days to highlight the ways—beyond the obvious—that men and women are different. Women communicate differently from men, linguists say. Women's brains work differently, neuroscientists say. Men are from Mars, women are from Venus, says author John Gray.

Now come workplace researchers telling us something really different: Men and women are a lot more alike than you may think.

The time men and women put in caring for family and doing housework, their reactions to work-family conflict, the ways they want to structure work around family—all are growing so similar that seasoned researchers are flabbergasted.

"Phenomenal" is how longtime workplace researcher Ellen Galinsky, of Families & Work Institute in New York, describes the changes in men's roles documented in the institute's National Study of the Changing Workforce, released today.

"We saw so little gender difference that it really took us aback," says veteran researcher Marcia Brumit Kropf at Catalyst in New York, of its recent study of working couples.

The notion of the '90s man as more sensitive and attuned to relationships isn't new. But up to now, the documented changes in men have been mostly attitudinal—showing, for example, that men feel stressed over work-family conflicts previously thought to affect only women.

Now, studies show that men are actually changing their behavior. Most of the changes cut across demographic groups and encompass men in both single- and dual-earner households, suggesting a mainstream shift among men toward greater involvement in nurturing. Here's the evidence:

MEN ARE SPENDING more time with their children. The Changing Workforce survey of 2,877 workers shows that fathers are spending a half-hour more each workday, and one hour more each day off, caring for and doing things with their children than in 1977.

• More men than women plan to provide care for elderly relatives. A survey of 1,015 Americans by the National Partnership for Women & Families, previously the Women's Legal Defense Fund, shows 56% of men and 53% of women expect to do so in the next 10 years.

• Men are doing more housework. The amount of time that employed, married men spend on cooking, repairs, laundry, bill-paying and other housework has risen nearly an hour per workday since 1977, regardless of whether they have working wives. The time that employed, married women spend fell by a half-hour, leaving only about a 45-minute daily gap between men's and women's chore time, the Workforce study shows. The gap in 1977 was three times that.

• Men drink alcohol and get depressed just as often as women when work and family clash. That's the conclusion of a four-year study by Michael Frone of the Research Institute on Addictions in Buffalo, N.Y.,

and others. The sexes are also equally prone to high blood pressure.

• Men want the freedom to join women in "sequencing" their careers—slowing job progress during family-focused stages of life, then speeding up again without prejudice from employers. A Catalyst study of 852 partners in dual-earner households found 65% of men want to do so, compared with 72% of women.

Andy Artis of Boise, Idaho, can attest to that. After throwing himself into work for 10 years, the former TV-station business manager took a cut



Carol Lay

in pay and benefits to take a job that allows time with his kids, ages nine and 11. As an ad-agency marketing director, he sets his own hours, staying home mornings to see them off to school and taking a break evenings to coach their teams.

Now 37 years old, Mr. Artis sees this relatively low-key career phase as lasting only about 10 of the remaining 35 years he plans to work. "During this window of time that I have some influence in my children's lives, they're my top priority," he says.

CHANGES THIS SWEEPING call for a new male icon, a Betty Friedan or Oprah Winfrey for the guy set. I asked experts whether any male cultural emblems of the recent past—Alan Alda? Robert Bly? Mrs. Doubtfire?—embody men's changing roles.

None of the above, says Mike Lafavore, editor in chief of Men's Health, a 1.5-million circulation magazine that has rocketed to a top spot among men's periodicals by knowing the '90s man cold. To his readers (median age 34), the new man is more like Jack Nicholson or Tom Hanks—seeking challenges and enjoyment both on and off the job, including "trying to be better parents, and getting closer to our wives, our children and to our friends." (Personally, I favor Tom Hanks; no way would Jack Nicholson ever change a diaper.)

Whatever the icon, the implications are far-reaching. Even in male-dominated industries, employers that ignore work-family concerns are apt to have increasing trouble filling openings. Assuming a healthy economy, growing numbers of men will flee workaholic corporate cultures, for family's sake.

On a personal level, the implications are simpler. No matter how isolated we may feel in our work-family conflicts, there's consolation in knowing that the values that unite men and women are more powerful than the differences that divide us.

In next week's column, three men describe the challenges of living the new male roles.

Call 800-WSJ-TALK or fax 503-636-6951 to air work-life issues on The Wall Street Journal Radio Network's "Work & Family" show.

The Benefits of Balancing Work and Home

The quality of people's jobs and the supportiveness we encounter in the workplace are powerful predictors of how productive we will be. But when work is so full of negatives that it spills over into our home life, it sets up a chain reaction that ultimately undermines our performance at work.

These are among the most important new findings of the National Study of the Changing Workforce, a project of the New York-based Families and Work Institute that surveys the labor force every five years. The study, begun 20 years ago, offers one of the most comprehensive comparisons of how work and family life have changed as women have emerged from the home and taken a central role in the workplace. The sample size for the 1997 survey was 2,877 employees.

The survey found that 85 percent of the workers live with family members or domestic partners and have daily family responsibilities. Nearly half are parents who have children younger than 18 who live with them at least half the time. One in five is a single parent, and 27 percent of them are men.

Americans are working extremely hard: 13 percent of us have second jobs and 83 percent of the moonlighters hold full-time primary jobs.

One of the best pieces of news out of the survey is that fathers are spending more time with their children, up 30 minutes since 1977 for an average of 2.3 hours a workday. Mothers spend about an hour more each day with children than do fathers, but their 3.2 hours a day has remained constant. Although children are receiving more time and attention from employed parents than in the past, 70 percent of the parents said they don't have enough time with their children.

More good news for employed mothers is that men are doing more household chores, spending about 2.1 hours on them each workday. While this is about three-quarters of an hour less than women, it represents a sizable shift in who is doing the housework: Women are spending about 30 minutes a day less on housework, and men are spending nearly an hour more than they were 20 years ago. Both, however, spend an average of a half-hour less on personal activities each day than in the past.

A quarter of the workers provided elder care during the preceding year, spending an average of 11 hours a week, with men and women providing the same amounts. "Surprisingly," the study noted, men were as likely to have taken time off from work to provide elder care as women.

For many workers, then, home life involves caring for children and the elderly as well as the routine chores of maintaining a household. There isn't room for a lot more stress. "Workplaces have become more supportive, and jobs have become more meaningful, and there is more autonomy and

more time to learn," says Ellen Galinsky, head of the Families and Work Institute, "but jobs have also become much more demanding. People are working longer hours, and work is more hectic. We're barraged. There's been a big increase in the number of people who don't want to work as many hours, a 17-point increase."

And what happens at work has a significant bearing on what happens at home, she says. "Instead of seeing family on one side and work on the other, we see a flow back and forth between what happens at both.

"I think parents define this issue as one of time. We don't really recognize how much work can spill over into our family life." The traditional view has been to keep family life out of the workplace, she says, and as a result we have failed to recognize the synergy that exists between the two. "So much has to do with how we treat each other at the workplace. There are things as employees that we can do to make the workplace better, and that rebounds back home."

Special work-life programs to assist workers in their personal lives fail to take into account that job pressure can exacerbate problems in workers' personal lives that, in turn, reduce their productivity at work. "This spillover is reflected in high stress levels, poor coping, bad moods, and insufficient time and energy available for important people in employees' lives—creating 'problems' that spill over into work and impair job performance," the study found. "Therefore, employers' actions not only toward increasing the supportiveness of workplaces, but also toward urging and helping employees 'get a life' off the job may be crucial to improving employee productivity in the long run—not to mention the obvious benefits to workers and their families."

The survey found 29 percent of the workers said they bring their negative job mood home, and a third said they were burned out by their jobs.

It's not the number of hours a person works, but the quality of the job that affects them the most, Galinsky says. "You could say, 'It's the job, stupid.' They are much more powerful in affecting your productivity and your life at home than most people have thought."

Research has shown a definite connection between parents' work satisfaction and how well children do on a range of measures, including emotional and intellectual development, she says. Work and family life "are not islands floating apart." Understanding the spillover between the two gives us an opportunity to make further progress in helping workers manage both. "If we paid attention to the level of how demanding jobs are and the quality of jobs and the supportiveness of the workplace, then you have a win-win for work and for family."

That would be a win for all of us.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1998

Working hours are longer, but workplaces seem nicer

By Karen S. Peterson
USA TODAY

Americans are asked to work longer, harder and faster than 20 years ago, but they also see the workplace as more supportive, flexible and satisfying, according to a major new study.

"The workplace has definitely gotten more demanding," says Ellen Galinsky of the Families and Work Institute, a nonprofit research organization. "On the other hand, workers are finding the workplace slightly more supportive, with job quality increasing."

The institute sponsored the survey with 15 major corporations.

The study shows the workday has increased 3.5 hours in 20 years, from 43.6 in 1977 to 47.1 hours. That includes paid hours plus hours workers put in on their own. To be included in this study, employees must have worked more than 20 hours a week.

One-third bring work home at least once a week, up 10% from 1977, although this may reflect new technologies that facilitate working from home, the report says.

Eighty-eight percent of employees say their jobs require them to work very hard, up from 70% in 1977; 68% have to work very fast, up 13% in 20 years.

At the same time, employees are more pleased with several

Study conflicts with some data

Statistics on the number of hours people work vary widely; some studies suggest the workweek is shrinking slightly.

Ellen Galinsky says the Families and Work Institute's data are not intended to refute data in other studies, but to provide the most in-depth look possible on how work actually affects family life, including how work spills over into family life and vice versa.

The institute's 1997 survey assessed 2,725 nationally representative employees. For the 1977 comparison, the institute took statistics from a special Department of Labor-sponsored survey of 1,298 workers that considered quality-of-life issues as well as slightly different definitions of the workforce than are generally used — excluding, for example, the self-employed and unpaid workers in families.

The study's co-sponsors include Allstate Insurance, Boeing, Citibank, Fannie Mae, General Electric, Johnson & Johnson, Merck & Co., IBM, Mobil and Xerox.

aspects of their job. Forty-five percent are able to choose, within a range, when they begin and end their workdays. And two-thirds (66%) can easily take time off during the workday for personal matters.

Most employees say their immediate supervisors are supportive. Compared with workers in 1977, today's employees have more autonomy (74% vs. 56%), more responsibility in deciding how their jobs get done (86% vs. 80%) and more say in what happens (71% vs. 59%).

David Gould, who teaches leisure studies at the University of Iowa, is not surprised that employees work longer hours: It still takes overtime to get

ahead, he says. "I see professionals who leave e-mails for their bosses at 8 p.m. so they will know employees are still working," he says. "Young professionals need a lot of face time in the office."

The wide-ranging report also finds that while most employees are fairly happy, only 33% rate general life satisfaction at the highest level; 31% give family satisfaction top marks; 51%, marital satisfaction.

Among other results: Fathers spend an average of 2.3 hours per workday caring for children, an increase of 30 minutes per workday since 1977. And 25% of wage earners have provided elder care in the last year.

Should parents who stay home get tax breaks?

By Stephanie Armour
USA TODAY

The way Heidi Brennan tells it, she has some of the toughest bosses around: her children.

The stay-at-home parent of five bristles when others say she's got it easier than those juggling a paying job and child care. Parents at home, she says, also deserve a break.

A tax break, that is.

Brennan, public policy director of Mothers at Home, a nonprofit advocacy group based in Vienna, Va., is among a growing number of at-home parents helping to rekindle a debate over who should be helped by the tax code.

A Senate hearing is slated April 22 for a bill sponsored by Republican Sen. John Chafee of Rhode Island that, among other things, would provide a tax credit of up to \$900 for at-home parents with children 3 years old and younger.

"This is not to take the place of income, but this provides a way to offset some of the expenses," says

Nicholas Graham, with Chafee's office. "Stay-at-home parents have expenses, too."

Sen. Chris Dodd, D-Conn., has introduced a child-care bill that would allow at-home parents with children under age 1 to claim a maximum credit of \$540. The tax credit would be phased out for families earning more than \$70,000.

And in a proposal that would aid working parents, President Clinton has proposed giving \$500 million in tax credits to businesses that expand or build child-care centers for their employees. The credits would cover 25% of costs but could not exceed \$150,000 a year. The credits are part of a \$21.7 billion child-care package backed by the administration.

Currently, only working parents get a dependent-care tax credit — which comes straight off their tax liability — for eligible child-care costs.

Depending on income level, the credit is 20% to 30% of up to \$2,400 of expenses for one child and up to \$4,800 for two or more children. For those with incomes exceeding \$28,000, the maximum credit is \$480 for one dependent and \$960 for two or more.

Some at-home parents question why businesses and working parents get a tax boost when they feel left out.

"There is discrimination against at-home parents," Brennan says. "Clearly, there's the mentality this is a wealthy choice or a life of leisure."

And others say the credit reflects a governmental in favor of hav-

"I don't think it's fair the way it is," says Martin Mayerchak, 36, a computer programmer in Minneapolis whose wife stays home with their two children. "For two-parent families, we should be encouraging one to be at home."

But supporters of the current system say a similar plan for at-home parents would give unfair subsidies for not working.



Is there a work-related issue on your mind? We want to hear your ideas for topics for WorkUSA, a monthly column in Money on workplace issues. The subjects can be weighty — such as how to manage workers with chronic illnesses. Or light — such as who controls the office thermostat. Fax or e-mail your ideas to us. By e-mail: work@usatoday.com By fax: 1-800-242-4595. Please include your name and a daytime phone number.

"Stay-at-home moms aren't working so they're not paying taxes," says Mary Beth Browder, 36, a lawyer who practices tax law in Wilmington, Del., and a mother of two. "Why do we want to work to give them money to stay home? It's ridiculous."

The Department of Labor reports that about 72% of women with children under age 18 were in the workforce in 1997, up from 47% in 1975.

The tax debate raises sensitive questions about work and family issues, including economic and cultural issues that can produce strong responses from both sides.

"We've wholesale rejected that it's OK for a woman to be in the home," says Margie Johnson, an at-home mother of seven in McLean, Va. "We did a disservice to our children by saying, 'You're not good enough for me.'"

But others say stigmas against at-home mothers are eroding as more women, struggling to balance work and family, second-guess career aspirations.

"The notion used to be that work was cool because men did it. Women don't have that illusion anymore," says Anita Blair of the Independent Women's Forum, a policy organization in Arlington, Va.

Many parents have no choice but to work, which is one reason Congress is also looking at more federal funds for low-income families with children.

Experts say the tax-credit debate diverts attention from the more pressing issue — how to guarantee affordable, quality child care.

"People would rather have a discussion in the abstract than deal with hard child-care choices," says Faith Wohl, president of New York-based Child Care Action Campaign, a nonprofit advocacy group. "With some political maneuvering, we've managed to change the debate."

Both working and stay-at-home parents deserve a financial break, many experts say, as well as the freedom to choose child-care arrangements.

"What it comes down to is you want to be sure kids have good care," says Helen Blank, director of child care at the Children's I Fund.

USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1998

What is Happening to Working Families?

Working Families
— GW

1. Changes in Work Patterns:
 - A. Trends in Employment, Part-Time vs Full-Time Status and Reported Hours
 1. Employment rates
by marital status, age of children, education, race and sex
 2. Part-time vs full-time employment
by marital status, age of children, education, race and sex
 3. Reported hours
by marital status, age of children, education, race and sex
 - B. Life Cycle Factors Related to Total Years of Work Experience
 1. Years of Education
 2. Timing of births and number of births
 3. Retirement Age
 - C. Explanations:
 1. Changes in educational attainment and prior work experience
 2. Changes in husband's earnings
 3. Changes in wage rates and in the male/female wage ratio
 4. Changes in tax / transfer system
2. Changes in Family Income and Hours of Work
 - A. Changes in Total Family Hours of Work
by number of parents in family, education, race, and income quintile
 - B. Changes in Total Family Income
by number of parents in family, education, race and income quintile
 - C. How much is the change in family hours and income related to changes in women's hours and earnings, men's hours and earnings, and other income sources?
3. Child Care and Time Spent With Children
 - A. Child Care
 - B. Trends in Time Spent with Children
4. Policy Implications: Issues in combining work and family
 - A. Child Care
 - B. Maternity and Family Leave
 - C. Part-Time Work Opportunities