FAMILIES AND THE LABOR MARKET, 1969-1999:

ANALYZING THE "TIME CRUNCH"

MAY 1999

A Report by the
Council of Economic Advisers

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The American family has experienced dramatic changes over the last three decades – changes in the amount of time parents work for pay; changes in income and who earns it; changes in family size; and changes in how child care and household tasks are accomplished. This report assesses some of these changes and the challenges they create. The report seeks to further our national discussion concerning balancing work and family and to encourage a discussion of policies that could help strengthen American families. The major conclusions of the report include:

- **Increase in Hours Worked.** The hours American parents work in paid jobs have increased enormously since 1969 due to a dramatic shift of mothers' time from the household to the labor market. In 1969, 38 percent of married mothers worked for pay; in 1996, 68 percent did so. Both married mothers and single parents are working more for pay today than 30 years ago.

- **Reductions in Time Available for Children.** Although the evidence on time use within families is limited and needs further study, the increase in work from 1969 to 1996 has produced a reduction in the time available for parents to spend with children. The increase in hours mothers spend in paid work, combined with the shift toward single-parent families, resulted in families on average experiencing a decrease of 22 hours a week (14 percent) in parental time available outside of paid work that they could spend with their children.

- **Burdens on Women.** Virtually all of the increase in total hours families spend on paid work has come from increases in women's hours. While annual hours of paid work by all wives increased greatly – by 576 hours, or 93 percent – husbands' hours of paid work decreased slightly from 1969 to 1996. The "time crunch" falls heavily on employed women who spend over one third less time on child care and household tasks than women without paid jobs, but still have 25 to 30 percent less free time.

- **Changes in Family Income.** The average American family is better off economically today than in 1969. Not everyone has gained by working harder, however. Since 1969, the top quarter of families gained, while the lower quarter lost and the middle has remained nearly constant in per capita income, adjusted for inflation. The situation of lower-income families has been improving, however, in the strong economic expansion of the 1990s.

- **Rise of the Single Parent.** At the same time, the share of families with a single parent has expanded greatly since 1969. Single parents have half as much total time as two parents have and typically have less than half as much potential income. The rising number of single parents has increased the proportion of families that are "cash-strapped" and "time-poor."

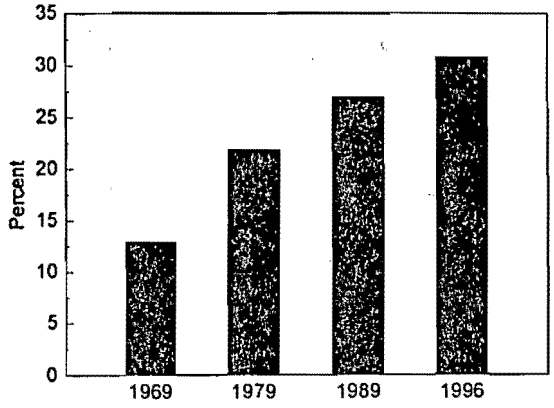
- **Need for Policies to Help Families.** Increased time in market work among parents raises a key set of challenges to policy-makers seeking to help promote strong families, including the need for flexibility in paid work hours, the need for available and affordable child care, the need for effective ways to support the earnings of families with low-wage earning parents, and the need to encourage two-parent families to form and stay together.

I. INTRODUCTION

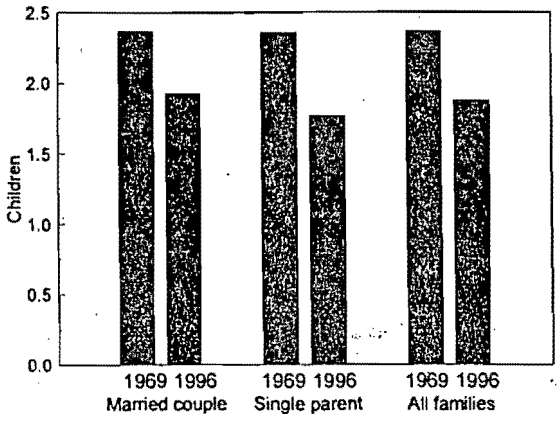
Dramatic changes have occurred over the last thirty years in how families combine work and family life. Clearly one of the most significant changes in the last three decades is the increasing amount of time women have devoted to market work – work that is performed for wages. Combined with hourly earnings increases among women, this means women's earnings have gone up substantially, while their time available in the home has declined. In contrast, men's average hours of paid work and earnings have remained relatively stable. As a result, families have higher incomes, but they have less time for other activities. In short, American families have been in the midst of change – change in time worked for pay; change in income and by whom it is earned; change in family size; and change in how child care and household tasks are accomplished. This report assesses these changes since 1969 for families with children under age 18.

Two other important trends in family life are also likely to affect the well-being of families with children, occurring along with changes in their income and time allocations. First, the share of families with children that are headed by a single parent has increased significantly (see figure 1). Since single parents typically have both lower incomes *and* less total adult time available for work in the home than married-couple families, this trend tends to increase the proportion of families who are "cash-strapped" and "time poor." Second, families have decreased in size as the average number of children in families with children has declined (see figure 2).

1. Single Parent Families as Share of All Families



2. Average Number of Children per Family



This paper will examine how families with children are faring in the face of all these changes. Key questions to be addressed include:

- How much have hours of market work increased for families?
- How have the extra hours worked by families affected family incomes? How have these trends differentially affected families that differ in skill level, minority status, and number of parents in the household?
- How have these changes in market work and income affected how families use their time in the home? In particular, how have these changes affected parental time available for children?

Some have argued that Americans are facing more and more of a "time bind" as they work longer and longer hours in order to attain an increasing standard of living.[1] Others have argued that, even with increases in hours of paid work, families are not realizing significant income gains, or that families are working harder and harder "just to stay in the same place."[2] No such "one size fits all" characterization adequately captures the variety of experience in different segments of the population. Different types of families have experienced different changes in paid work time and income.

II. ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

In general, we find that parents today are spending more time in paid work and have increased resources available to them. For most groups, family income has increased and family size is smaller. The average American child – particularly if he or she is living in a family headed by a married couple – is better off economically today than in 1969.

There are some groups for whom the economic picture is not as rosy. The continuing increase in the share of children living in single-parent families has substantially diminished the economic progress that families with children would otherwise have made, limiting both their income and their time. Less-educated parents, who have not experienced the wage gains of other parents, are working more hours without a commensurate increase in income. It is encouraging to note, however, that most of these families have experienced income gains in recent years during the strong economic expansion of the 1990s, making it somewhat easier for them to combine work and family life effectively.

Underlying and reinforcing the trends toward more paid work time and smaller families has been the long-term growth of women's wages. Rising wages pull women into the labor market by making it more expensive for them to stay at home, in terms of foregone income. Higher wage levels for women in the labor market, combined with changes in social attitudes toward market work among women, have dramatically changed participation rates among women in the labor force since 1969. There is little indication that this pattern will be substantially reversed in the near future.

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[1] Hochschild (1997); Schor (1991).

[2] Bluestone and Rose (1997).

III. TRENDS IN HOURS OF MARKET WORK

The most dramatic change in the time allocation of families has been in time spent at work for pay. Since 1969, both married-couple and single-parent families have substantially increased their annual hours of paid work. These increases have come almost entirely from the women in these families, who are working more outside the home – more weeks in the year and more hours in the week – than they did thirty years ago. However, while the increase in paid work time has been widespread, the size of the increase has varied considerably across families, depending on the number of parents, their education, whether they have a preschool-age child, and their race or ethnicity.

The estimates of annual hours of work presented in this section are based on the March Current Population Survey (CPS), a large representative survey of about 50,000 households each year.[3] While the CPS is the only large-scale representative sample which consistently measures hours of work and family incomes on an annual basis and is therefore the standard data set used for labor market analyses, some have argued that the CPS may be inaccurate because individuals may not be able to recall accurately their usual hours of work during the last year.[4] In section V of this report we discuss alternative estimates of paid work time based upon "time diaries," which require individuals to maintain detailed accounts of how they spent their time during a day.

For this analysis, we use the same definition of a "family" as the Census Bureau: all related individuals living together in the same household. We restrict the analysis to families whose head is at least eighteen years old and where there is a child under age 18. A mother (or couple) and her (their) children living in a household headed by another family member are part of the head's family, and an unmarried parent co-habiting with a domestic partner is classified as a single parent. Throughout this paper, unless otherwise specified, the terms "husbands," "wives," and "married women" refer only to those with children.

As shown in figures 3 and 4, annual hours of paid work have increased substantially for both married-couple and single-parent families. (All families with children under 18 are included in figures 3 through 6, including parents with zero hours of paid work.) A person who works forty hours a week for 50 weeks a year (a traditional "full-time" job) will work 2,000 hours in a year. For two-parent families (figure 3) annual hours of paid work increased by 497 hours (18 percent) from 1969 to 1996; for single-parent households (figure 4) they increased by 297 hours (28 percent).

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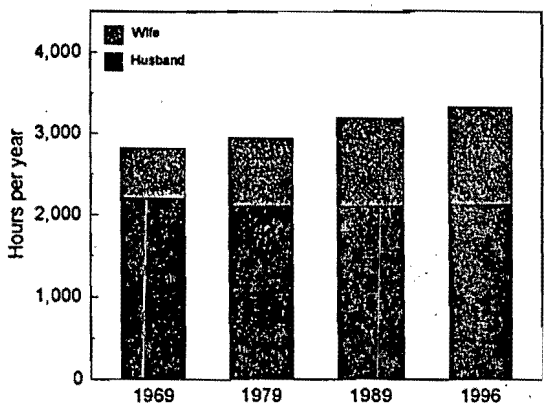
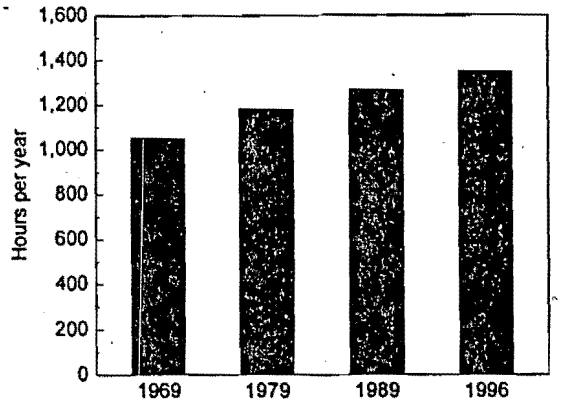
[3] We are using the March 1970, 1980, 1990, and 1997 CPS data sets. The data collected each March refer to the previous calendar year. Thus we refer to data for 1969, 1979, 1989, and 1996. We chose those years because they represent peak years (or upswing, in 1996) in the business cycle and thus permit valid historical comparisons. For 1979, 1989, and 1996, information on annual hours of work was derived from two questions which ask how many weeks each individual worked in the previous year and how many hours they "usually worked" in the weeks they worked. Multiplying weeks worked by usual hours worked per week provides a measure of annual hours of work. The 1969 data are not strictly comparable to later years due to differences in data reporting. We have developed an imputation procedure to make these data more comparable to information in later years.

[4] Juster and Stafford (1991); Robinson and Godbey (1997), chapter 4.

3. Annual Hours of Work, Married-Couple Families



4. Annual Hours of Work by Single Parents



Virtually all of the increase in families' hours of market work has come from increases in women's hours. Conceptually, the increase in women's hours can be divided into three components: more women are employed, employed women are working more hours per week, and employed women are working more weeks per year.

The most dramatic change has been in the percentage of women employed. In 1969, 38 percent of married women with children worked for pay, while in 1996, 68 percent did so – a 79 percent increase in employment. The increase in employment for single mothers has been less dramatic: 53 percent worked for pay in 1969 and 66 percent in 1996.

Average annual hours worked by those who worked for pay also increased over time, showing that not all of the increase in hours came simply from more women entering the labor force. This increase was much greater for wives (who experienced a 24 percent increase) than for single parents (who experienced an 8 percent increase). This is not surprising since on average, single parents in 1969 worked more hours per year for pay than wives did in 1996. Both hours worked per week and weeks worked per year increased for wives and single parents, among those who worked for pay. Each of these components of annual hours, like the total, increased more for wives than for single parents. Increases in weeks worked per year were more dramatic than increases in hours worked per week.

While annual hours of paid work by all wives increased greatly – by 576 hours, or 93 percent – husbands' hours of paid work decreased slightly from 1969 to 1996. This is the result of husbands working both slightly fewer weeks per year and hours per week. These trends are consistent with estimates reported elsewhere in the literature, based on a variety of data sources.[5]

The increase in families' hours of paid work has been widespread throughout the population. All types of families – whether defined by the head's education level, spouse's education level,

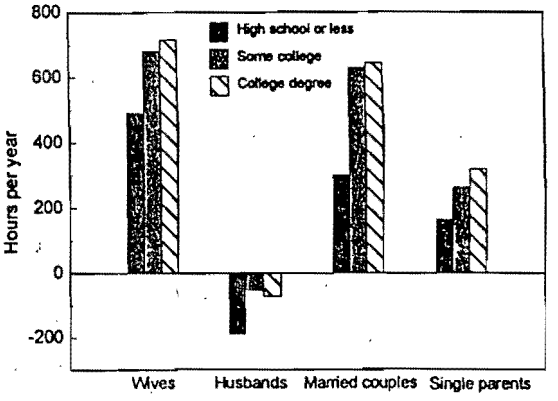
[5] Ellwood (1998), Rones, Ilg and Gardner (1997) and Leete and Schor (1994) used CPS data, Bluestone and Rose (1997) used data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, and McGrattan and Rogerson (1998) used decennial Census data. All of these studies show increases in hours of work for women and decreasing or stable hours of work for men when nonemployment is taken into account.

presence of young children, or race or ethnicity of the household head – have experienced substantial increases in hours of paid work from 1969 to 1996. In virtually every case, the increase in family hours of paid work reflects increases by wives and by single parents, rather than by husbands.

While the basic trends have been similar, the magnitude of the increase in hours of paid work has differed substantially across different demographic groups. In part, this is because some groups, such as women with preschool-age children, had lower hours to start with and therefore more room for expansion than others.

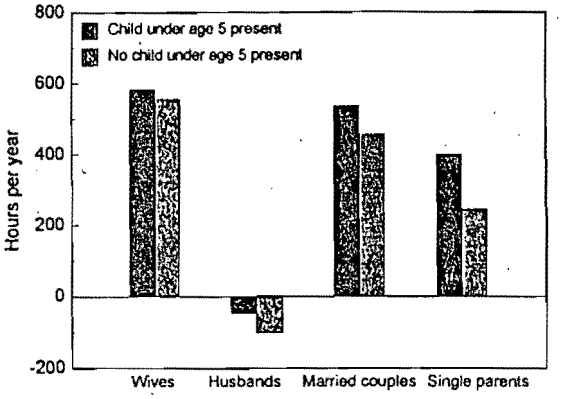
- *Families whose head had gone to college have increased their hours of paid work much more than those whose head had less education* (see figure 5). For married couples with a college-educated husband, annual hours of paid work increased by 644 hours (23 percent) – more than twice the increase for couples in which the husband had a high school diploma or less. The difference was due to the wives' hours increasing more and the husbands' hours decreasing less in the college-educated families. For single parents with a college degree, hours of paid work increased by 320 hours (20 percent), compared to 165 hours (16 percent) for single parents with a high school diploma or less.

5. Change in Annual Hours Worked, 1969-96
by Education Level of Head of Household



- *Families with a young child increased their hours of paid work more than those with only school-age children* (see figure 6). For single parents with a child under age five, hours of paid work increased by 400 hours (50 percent), compared to 246 hours (21 percent) for single parents without a young child. For married couples, hours of paid work increased by 537 hours (20 percent) for families with a child under age five, compared to 457 hours (15 percent) for families without a young child.

6. Change in Annual Hours Worked, 1969-96
by Presence of Child Under Age 5



Why have parents changed their hours of paid work? Trends in wages and trends in paid work hours influence each other. Rising wages tend to draw more individuals into the labor force, while falling wages tend to reduce participation. In turn, more work experience leads to faster wage growth, and vice versa. As a result, wages and paid work time tend to move up or down together.

Trends in hours of paid work for both men and women have roughly paralleled the trends in their wages since 1969 (discussed in section IV-A below).[6] However, the magnitudes of the changes in paid work time are still not completely understood, and are not easily explained by changes in key economic variables.[7] The increases in paid work among women seem to be more closely related to increases in their own wages than to the changes in their husband's wages over this period.[8] Increased work among women may be affected by such hard-to-measure factors as changes in assumptions about women's role in the family, diminished discrimination against women in the workplace, or falling barriers to women entering non-traditional occupations. Highly educated women have benefited more from diminished discrimination than have women with less education, as higher-level professional and management jobs have opened up to them. Whatever the reason, large increases in market work hours among women have substantially changed the time allocation and income of families.

IV. TRENDS IN FAMILY INCOME

The upward trend in hours of market work raises questions about trends in family well-being. A family's economic well-being is typically measured by its income. Earnings are the largest part of family income, which also includes transfer payments such as welfare and unemployment insurance, interest, dividends, and other unearned income such as child support. Earnings come from wages and/or salary, plus any overtime, tips, or commissions. Rising work hours should lead to rising incomes, but the magnitude of this effect depends on changes in wages and other income sources that might be occurring at the same time.

A. Wages

During the same period in which women's hours of paid work have increased, inflation-adjusted wages have been increasing for women on average. Female college graduates' wages have risen more than wages among the less educated. In fact, female high school dropouts' wages have stagnated or even declined slightly. Men's wages have grown very little on average. They have fallen for men without college degrees and remained virtually constant for men with at least a BA.[9] Because fringe benefits have grown since 1969, workers' hourly compensation (including the value of fringe benefits) has improved more than their wages alone.

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[6] Blank (1997), chapter 3; Juhn and Murphy (1997).

[7] Blau (1998); Danziger and Reed (1997).

[8] Juhn and Murphy (1997).

[9] Blau (1998). These are the trends in mean weekly earnings of full-time workers aged 25-64. Other wage measures such as average hourly earnings or median weekly earnings show slightly different trends, but all show a similar relationship between education levels.

As we discussed above, these wage changes are positively related to changes in hours of work. More educated women have shown the largest increase in their market work, and their earnings have gone up even faster as wages and hours of work rose together. Less educated men have experienced both declining wages and declining hours of work, leading to earnings reductions.

B. Total Family Income

Putting the trends in wages and hours together, to what extent have increases in hours of paid work within families translated into increases in family income? To answer this question, we present estimates of average family incomes, by income component, to provide one assessment of how the changes in hours have affected the standard of living of families in the United States.[10] Our income measure is based upon before-tax cash income only, including cash benefits such as welfare and unemployment insurance benefits, and does not include other family resources, such as fringe benefits, food stamps, and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). While these other resources and taxes are important, they are difficult to measure accurately or consistently for individual families. Because food stamp use grew rapidly in the 1970s and the EITC expanded greatly in the 1990s, the income measure we use omits more of the resources available to low-income families today than in the 1960s. Our estimates therefore understate the gains made by low-income families since 1969.[11]

1. Trends in Income by Family Structure

Trends in income and in the various components of income (earnings, government transfers, other sources of income) have varied across different types of families.[12] Both married-couple families and single-parent families achieved increases in inflation-adjusted income from 1969 to 1996 (see figures 7 and 8). However, even though single parents had substantially higher rates of growth in paid work hours, married-couple families experienced a much larger average increase in income.

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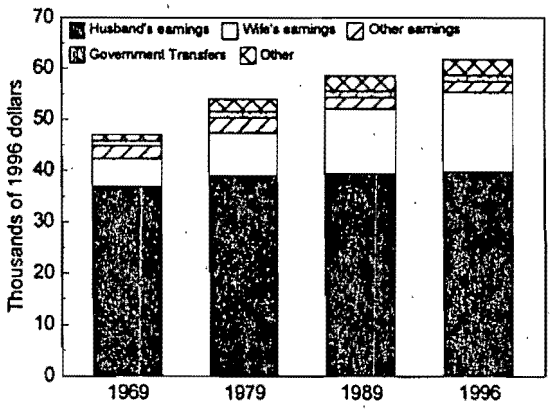
[10] To adjust for changes in prices over time, these estimates use the CPI-U-X1 price index measure. The CPI-U-X1, an alternative to the CPI-U (Consumer Price Index for Urban Consumers), uses the rental equivalence approach to improve the treatment of home ownership costs.

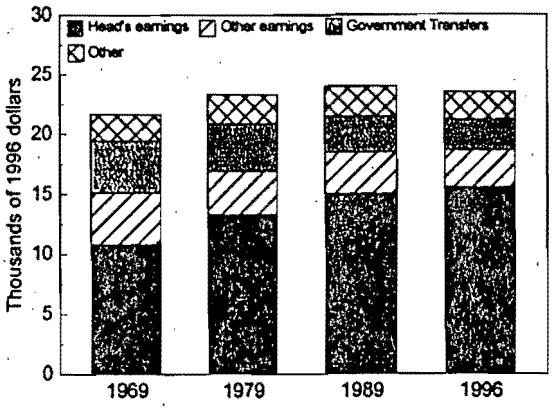
[11] For estimates of changes in family incomes using a broader definition of income, see Levy (1996).

[12] Throughout the following analysis we use mean (that is, average) income, rather than the median or another indicator of the distribution. Changes in mean income can be decomposed into changes in means of the components of income, whereas changes in the median cannot. There has been a more positive change in mean income than in median income, as disproportionate growth in the upper tail of the income distribution pulls up the mean without affecting the median. We multiplied topcoded values by 1.45 before taking the means of the distributions so that the means would not be underestimated.

7. Average Family Income of Married Couples



8. Average Family Income of Single-Parent Families



- *The incomes of married-couple families increased by more than their increase in paid work time.* Their average family income increased by almost a third from 1969 to 1996 ($14,800 in 1996 dollars), while their annual hours of paid work increased by less than a fifth.

- *For single-parent families, incomes increased by much less than paid work time.* They also increased much less than the incomes of married-couple families over this period, after adjusting for inflation. Average income of single-parent families increased by less than ten percent ($1,920 in 1996 dollars) from 1969 to 1996, while their paid work hours increased by more than a quarter.

Increases in the earnings of wives and single parents generated most of the income growth from 1969 to 1996. Single parents' earnings increased more than their total family incomes did, as earnings increases were offset by a forty percent decline in average government cash transfer payments. For two-parent families, increases in the wives' earnings represented two thirds of the increase in family income, with the remainder attributable to an increase in the husbands' earnings and an increase in unearned income from sources other than government transfer payments.

Among both wives and single parents, increased earnings reflect an increase in hours of work and an increase in hourly earnings rates. Rising earnings among wives reflected a startling 93 percent increase in their hours and a 52 percent increase in their earnings per hour. For single parents, hours of work increased by 28 percent, while hourly earnings increased by 17 percent.

2. Trends in Income by Other Demographic Characteristics

As with hours of paid work, trends in average family incomes differ substantially across groups of families classified by education, race or ethnicity, or presence of young children. Income growth has been greater for families whose head is highly skilled, for families headed by a non-Hispanic person, and for families with preschool-age children.

- *More highly educated families had greater income growth from 1969 to 1996.* Married couples' income grew by almost a third if the husband had a college education, but less than ten percent if the husband had a high school diploma or less. For single parents, inflation-adjusted incomes grew by eight percent if they had a college degree, but incomes fell by four percent for single parents with a high school diploma or less. Much of this difference in income growth reflects larger hours increases for highly skilled wives and single parents, and earnings declines for low skilled husbands. Erosion of the purchasing power of cash welfare benefits also helps explain why the inflation-adjusted incomes of less-educated single parents fell.

- *Average income growth for whites and blacks was substantially higher than for Hispanics.* Among families headed by a white person, average incomes grew for both married couples (18 percent) and single parents (2 percent) from 1979 to 1996.[13] For blacks, average incomes grew by 18 percent for two-parent families and by 6 percent for single-parent families. Finally, for Hispanics, average incomes fell for both married couples (4 percent) and single parents (3 percent). The results for single parents are striking, given the relatively large increases in hours worked for pay by Hispanic single parents over this period. The results for married couples are less surprising, given that Hispanic couples increased their hours of paid work only about half as much as white or black married couples. An increasing share of recent immigrants with lower education and wage levels in the Hispanic population also helps explain why Hispanics' incomes fell. In addition, wages and cash welfare benefits declined.

- *Families with a child under age five had greater average income growth than families with older children.* For married couples, average incomes increased by 38 percent for families with a child under age five, compared to 27 percent for families with only older children. For single parent families, mean incomes increased by 17 percent for those with young children, but by just 6 percent for families with only older children.[14]

3. Recent Trends in Family Income

Trends in family income from 1992 to 1996 are considerably more favorable than the longer term trend since 1969. Even families headed by single parents with a high school diploma or less, whose real income deteriorated from 1969 through 1992, made income gains from 1992 to 1996 during the sustained period of economic expansion under the Clinton Administration.

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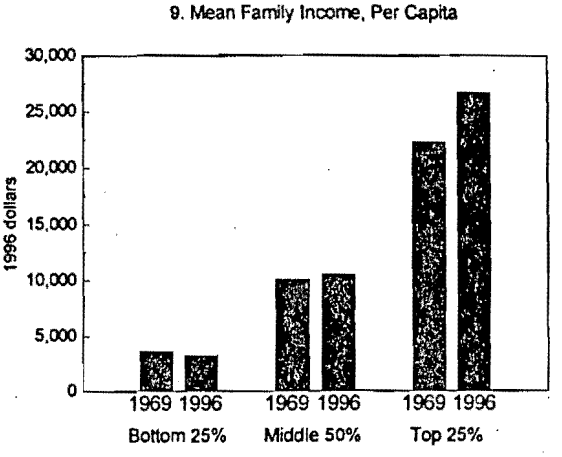
[13] Our race and ethnicity comparisons begin in 1979 because the CPS did not identify Hispanics in 1969.

[14] Of course, having a younger child often implies being a younger parent. We do not control for the age of the parent in this analysis.

C. The Distribution of Family Per Capita Income

To assess the implications of income growth for families with children, we need to take account of the increasing share of single-parent families, whose incomes are lower and grew much less than the incomes of married-couple families (see section IV-B-1 above). We also need to consider the decrease in family size, because a given family income provides more resources per child when there are fewer children in the family. Moreover, because less-skilled, lower-income parents have had slower income growth than highly skilled, higher-income parents, it is important to consider the trends in income for lower-income and higher-income families, not just the average family.

Figure 9 presents estimates which incorporate the combined effects of the increasing share of single-parent families and decreasing average family size, to assess changes in incomes for families with children. To reflect changes in the share of single-parent families, the diagram shows changes for the *combined* family income distribution of single-parent and two-parent families. In addition, as a crude way of adjusting for the differences in family size between two-parent and one-parent families and for the decreases in family size over time, family incomes are presented in per capita terms. (This is a crude measure because it does not cost twice as much to support two people as one. On the other hand, two do cost more to support than one. The true measure of equivalent income for different family sizes lies somewhere between per capita and total income.) The figure shows the change in average income per person for the lowest quarter, the highest quarter, and the middle half of the distribution of all families' per capita incomes.



These estimates indicate that while there has been substantial growth in income per person for families with high per capita income, income per person has been either stable or decreasing for other families when 1996 is compared with 1969. During the economic expansion from 1992 to 1996, however, families with lower per capita incomes also experienced rising income per person.

- *Since 1969, the top quarter of families gained, while the lower quarter lost and the middle half remained nearly constant in per capita income terms, after adjusting for inflation.* The top quarter gained 20 percent ($4,420 in 1996 dollars) from 1969 to 1996, while families in the lower quarter of the per capita income distribution had declines of 11 percent ($410). For families in the middle half of the per capita income distribution, average income per person has remained relatively constant, with income gains of 4 percent ($452).

Since family size has been decreasing, it follows logically that increases in mean income are less dramatic, and decreases are more dramatic, when calculated on a family basis rather than on a per capita basis.

V. HOW DO FAMILIES RESPOND? IMPLICATIONS FOR FAMILY TIME USE OUTSIDE THE JOB

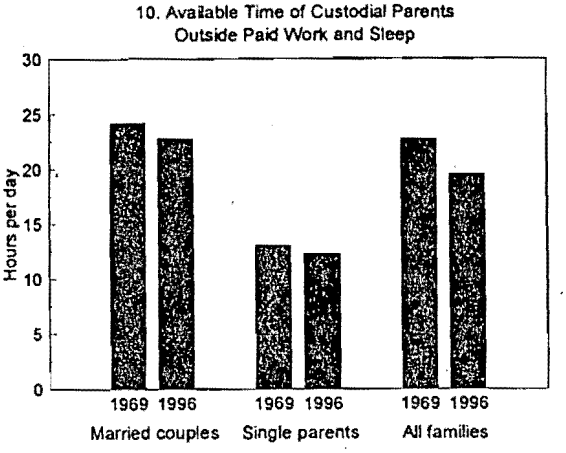
The trends in hours of paid work and family incomes described above have had a major impact on family life. Increasing hours of paid work may mean higher incomes, which provide more resources for parents and children. But increasing paid work time also means less time for other activities. The evidence on time allocation to non-market activities is much more limited than the data on hours of paid work and income, and conclusions must therefore be more tentative.

The CPS, with its larger sample size, only allows us to examine hours spent in paid work (and therefore hours available for other activities) along with changes in family size and structure. We have limited data on what people actually do with the time they do not spend in paid work, mainly from time-use diary studies. These studies have complete data only for a small sample of people. We begin with the CPS data regarding basic trends and then discuss the more detailed time-use diary data.

A. Trends in Current Population Survey Data

What can the CPS tell us about how the changes of the past several decades have affected the number of home hours that families have available for caring for children and maintaining a household? The data indicate that families have less total time to devote to unpaid activities, including time with children, because they are spending more time in the labor market and because the share of families with a single parent is growing.

Figure 10 shows the trends in non-market time that custodial parents potentially had available to spend with all their children, after subtracting time spent at paid work and allowing eight hours per day for sleep. We emphasize the fact that this is only time potentially available in the home; there is no information in the CPS about how parents actually spend their time outside paid work. Figure 10 shows that from 1969 to 1996, both married-couple and single-parent families experienced a decrease in time not spent on paid work. The overall decrease is greater than the decreases within either family type because the proportion of single-parent families increased over this period.



It can also be noted that changes in family size would affect the parental time potentially available per child. Statistics indicate that despite increases in paid work hours for each type of family, the amount of non-market time potentially available *per child* has increased for both married-couple and single-parent families since 1969. This measure is obviously misleading because it

assumes that a single child who spends time with a parent gets twice as much parental attention as each of two children who spend that same time with a parent. In any event, the increasing number of single-parent families has meant that overall, the average amount of family time potentially available per child has remained relatively constant when single-parent and married-couple families are considered as a whole.

B. Time Use in the Home Estimated from Time-use Diaries

Fortunately, we have a supplementary source of data: time-use diary surveys, which ask respondents to keep a detailed diary recording how they spend their time during a specific day. These surveys provide an alternative, more accurate method of measuring paid work time, as well as time spent in various kinds of unpaid activities, such as commuting, housework, child care, shoppir , recreation, and personal care. The trends in hours of paid work time and non-market time described above are based on data which report individuals' estimates of their usual hours worked per week in the previous year. Such estimates may not accurately portray the actual hours worked for pay because the question is somewhat ambiguous and respondents may not be able to report accurately on a "usual" week in the few minutes allowed during the CPS interview. Time-use diary measures tend to show shorter paid work hours and sometimes even different trends than the CPS.[15]

Unfortunately, such time-use diary surveys are conducted much less frequently and with much smaller samples than the CPS. The latest available data were collected in 1985; results of a survey done in 1992-94 are not yet publicly available. Because of the small samples, time-use diary surveys cannot be used to examine trends for smaller subgroups of the population, such as single parents or blacks. Moreover, the individuals who complete the diaries may not represent the U.S. population as well as the CPS sample does. These surveys do, however, provide information about how much time is spent in different types of unpaid work at home, such as child care and housework, in leisure pursuits, and sleep.

1. Averages

Time-use diaries indicate that the entry of many mothers into the workforce has placed them into what can be termed a "time crunch." While both employed and nonemployed women have managed to keep the amount of time spent with children relatively constant, many more women with children have moved from the "nonemployed" to "employed" category. The "time crunch" is best illustrated by the fact that in any single year, employed women spend over one third less time on child care and household tasks than women without paid jobs, but still have 25 to 30 percent less free time.[16]

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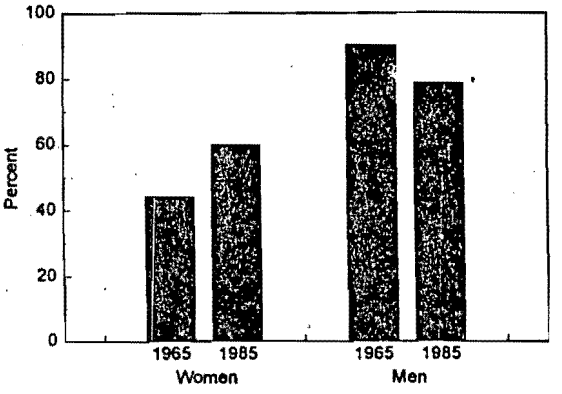
[15] Robinson and Godbey (1997), chapter 5.

[16] Robinson and Godbey (1997), Tables 3 and 6.

Time-use surveys conducted in the U.S. in 1965 and 1985 show that employed mothers spent virtually the same amount of time taking care of children in 1985 (6.7 hours per week) as in 1965 (6.3 hours per week). Mothers without paid jobs also maintained a consistent amount of time with children, spending 12 hours a week on child care in both years. The child care category in the time diaries includes only time spent on direct caregiving, not time shared with children while engaging in other activities.

When the shift of women into employment (shown in figure 11) is taken into account, mothers' time in child care declined by 10 percent overall, from ten to nine hours per week. Fathers did not make up the difference; their child care time remained about 2.6 hours per week from 1965 to 1985. This suggests that the increase in market work among women has reduced parents' total child care time.

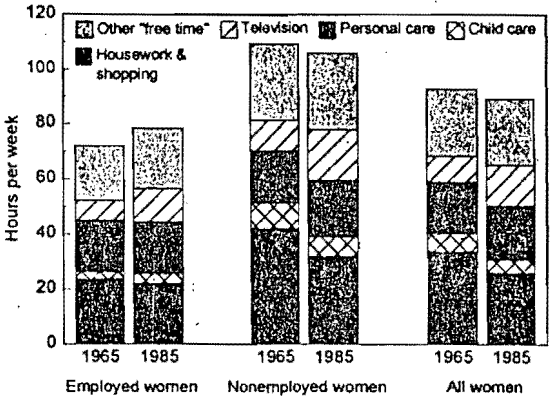
11. Percent Employed



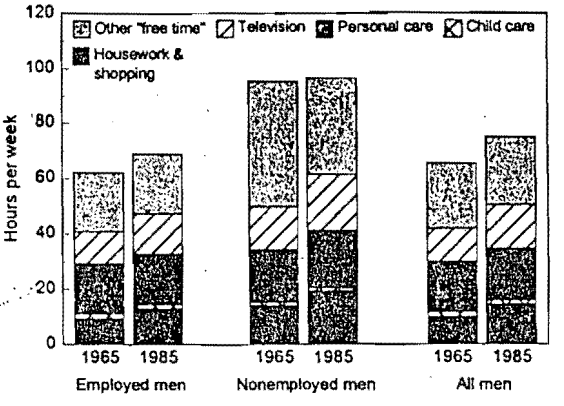
Source: Time-Use Diary Surveys (Robinson & Godbey 1997)

Mothers have reduced their child care time by much less than they have increased their time in paid work because they have cut back on other activities. Women have markedly reduced time they spend on household chores (see figure 12). Men have somewhat increased the time they spend on housework (see figure 13), but it does not make up for all of the reduction by women. Since the "child care" category only captures activities that are directly focused on taking care of the child, any reductions in time parents spend with children while they are primarily engaged in another activity, such as cooking, cleaning, or shopping, are not reflected in the time-use data.

12. Women's Division of Time
Outside Paid Work and Sleep



13. Men's Division of Time
Outside Paid Work and Sleep



Time spent in commuting to work increased 13 percent (2.5 minutes per trip) between 1983 and 1995, according to a Federal Highway Administration survey.

2. Differences among Families

The effect of women's increased hours in the labor market on families is likely to vary between college-educated parents, whose incomes have been rising because their hours and wages both increased, and less-educated parents, whose incomes may have fallen despite increased work hours because of falling wages. The effect of women's increased hours in the labor market on families is also likely to vary between married couples, who can shift some housework and child care from working wife to husband, and single parents, who cannot. Within married-couple families, moreover, there are likely to be differences across education levels in this shifting of tasks, as child care time by fathers rises with their education. Unfortunately, the time-use diary survey samples are too small to be broken down into these subsamples. Thus, the above-quoted estimates are based on average trends and may miss important distinctions between high- and low-income groups, or between single-parent and two-parent families.

VI. KEY POLICY ISSUES RELATED TO THESE CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

The changes in American families and work patterns have created new opportunities, but also present significant policy challenges to private employers and government. In this section we identify four areas of policy that are important in helping families seeking to balance work and family life: increasing the flexibility of market work; supporting income among low-income working families; improving access to high quality and affordable child care; and encouraging the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

A. Increasing the Flexibility of Paid Work

To an important extent, the effect of parents' market work time on children depends on when and where it is performed. By shifting from work in the home to work in the market, many women find themselves with far less flexibility in responding to family needs. Key employment arrangements that affect hours flexibility for parents include:

- *Flexible work arrangements* (defined as allowing workers to vary the time they begin or end work). These arrangements are an increasingly popular approach to decreasing the tension between work and family. In 1997, 28 percent of full-time wage and salary workers had flexible work schedules. This was up sharply from 15 percent in 1991, the most recent prior year when data were collected.[17]

Maintaining high productivity need not be inconsistent with allowing flexibility in work arrangements, as many private sector employers have discovered. The Federal government has led by example, instituting "flextime" which allows employees some discretion in when they work their allotted hours. The President has proposed a flextime initiative that would allow *all* workers to take

[17] Data on alternative work arrangements comes from the 1991 and 1997 May supplements to the CPS.

"time-and-a-half" overtime compensation in the form of compensatory time for family and medical leave purposes or vacation instead of cash.

- *Flexibility in shift work.* This approach enables parents to share child care more easily by working different shifts. In order for shift work to make combining paid work and child care easier, however, the choice of shifts must be voluntary. For those workers who cannot determine their own schedules, the combination of shift work and work in the home is a potential source of stress and expense. Non-standard working hours may make it difficult both to find time to spend with children when they are awake and not in school and to arrange for child care while working. In 1997, 83 percent of full-time wage and salary workers were on regular daytime schedules, 4.6 percent were on evening shifts, 3.9 percent were on employer-arranged irregular schedules, 3.5 percent were on night shifts, and 2.9 percent were on rotating shifts.

This Administration has also played a major role in increasing flexibility among families by helping enact the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), which enables workers to take up to 12 weeks unpaid leave to care for a new baby or ailing family member without jeopardizing their jobs. Since its inception in 1993, millions of workers have taken advantage of the FMLA to spend necessary time with their families. The President has also proposed expanding the FMLA to cover more workers and to allow FMLA-covered workers up to 24 hours per year for parent-teacher conferences or to accompany a child, spouse, or elderly parent for routine medical and dental care.

- *Working at home for pay.* This arrangement can increase parents' flexibility. In 1997, 3.3 percent of all wage and salary workers were doing work at home for pay, up from 1.9 percent in 1991. An additional ten percent of all wage and salary workers in 1997 were doing work at home without receiving extra pay for it. Nearly 9 out of 10 workers who were paid for work at home were in white-collar occupations.

B. Giving All Parents, Especially Low-Income Parents, More Choices

While incomes have been rising for most people, families at the bottom of the income distribution, particularly the less educated and single parents whose inflation-adjusted incomes were lower in 1996 than in 1969, still face serious economic hardship. Many low-income parents are forced to work harder and spend less time with their families just to make ends meet. Recent policy changes that have helped these families cope include:

- Expansions in the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), to ensure that persons who work hard on their jobs can take home enough money to support their families;

- Providing a $500-per-child tax credit to help offset the expense of raising children;

- Increases in the minimum wage from $4.25 in 1993 to $5.15 in 1997;

- Expanded child support enforcement provisions, which help ease the economic burden on single mothers and enforce responsibility for economic support of children on both parents;

- Major welfare reform legislation that has helped single mothers move from welfare to work;

- Employer tax credits to help create jobs for welfare recipients;

- Substantial expansions in support for vocational education, community college, and skill development among persons in lower-income families, including the creation of Hope Scholarships, increases in the maximum Pell Grant, and the passage of the Workforce Investment Act of 1998.

These steps, and the strong economy and steady economic growth of the last six years, have combined to create jobs, reduce unemployment, and raise wages for all workers – especially the less skilled who are most affected when jobs are scarce.

C. Improving Access to High Quality, Affordable Child Care

Most parents adjust to an increase in their paid work time by increasing their use of child care providers. The availability, cost, and quality of child care are crucial to the well-being of our children and the ability of parents adequately to balance the needs of work and family.

The primary child care arrangements for preschool-age children of employed mothers in the fall of 1994 were divided roughly equally among care in the child's home (by a relative or nonrelative), care in another home (by a relative or nonrelative), and care in an organized child care facility. Since comparable data were first collected in 1986, the trend shows a slight increase in the proportion of children receiving care in their own homes, relatively fewer children receiving care in another home, and relatively more children receiving care in an organized facility. In addition, the share of monthly income spent on child care by those purchasing this service rose from 6.3 percent to 7.3 percent between 1986 and 1993.[18]

The Clinton Administration has consistently emphasized the importance of child care availability and quality. Since 1993, child care subsidies for low-income families have grown by 80 percent. In addition, the Administration's budget proposal for the fiscal year 2000 includes a variety of proposals to help make child care more affordable and improve its quality, including an investment of $7.5 billion over five years in the Child Care and Development Block Grant; combined with the funds provided in welfare reform, this new investment would enable the program to serve over one million additional children by fiscal 2004. Also, the President's budget includes $5.1 billion over five years to increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit for three million

[18] The earliest comprehensive data on families' child care arrangements were collected by the Bureau of the Census in 1977. The earliest data that are compatible with the most recent data are from fall 1986. We use the 1986 data for consistency.

families earning under $60,000 a year, and $3 billion over five years in a proposed Early Learning Fund to improve the quality of care children receive.

In addition, the Administration is addressing the need for after-school care for children. Since 1970 the percentage of married couples who work full time, year round and have school-age children has nearly doubled (from 18.7 percent in 1970 to 37.3 percent in 1997). Today, the parents of over 28 million school-age children work outside the home. This has led to a strong demand for quality programs to ensure that children are safe and learning in the hours in which they are not supervised by a parent. In fact, experts estimate that every day roughly 5 to 7 million children are left unattended at home. The Clinton Administration has responded to this demand by increasing its investment in after-school programs from $40 million to $200 million in the 1999 fiscal year, which is estimated to reach roughly 400,000 children this year. And the President's fiscal year 2000 budget would triple the investment in these programs to $600 million.

Together, these initiatives help parents ensure that their children are receiving quality care while they work.

D. Encouraging Two-Parent Families

When two-parent families form and stay together in a supportive relationship, many of the economic and emotional stresses of balancing work and family are eased. Two-parent families have greater earning potential and more potential time to spend with their children than single-parent families. Among the recent policies which have helped maintain married-couple families, the eligibility rules for Medicaid and other programs have been changed so as not to penalize two-parent families for staying together.

VII. CONCLUSION

This study indicates that there has been a large-scale shift of time spent by women from the home to the labor market over the last generation. For most families, this change has led to an increase in family income. The study also indicates that there has been a very large shift from married-couple to single-parent families over the last 30 years, reducing both income and parental time available for many children. While smaller family sizes have helped offset the increase in market work, many parents find it difficult to balance jobs and children.

This report demonstrates that single parents face the most difficulties. They have only half as much total time available as two parents, and single mothers typically have less than half as much earning power as a married couple because women's wages are lower than men's. Lack of income limits most single parents' ability to purchase time-saving goods and services and high quality child care. Thus, they face a severe "time crunch" as well as a "money bind."

Men without college educations have faced declining wages. While increased work by their wives has helped maintain their families' standard of living, it is still difficult for these families to afford child care. Moreover, less-educated workers are less likely to have jobs that permit parents to arrange their hours to accommodate family needs.

More educated parents, whose increased time in the labor market has been rewarded with considerably higher incomes than in 1969, can more easily afford high quality child care, household help, and other time-saving goods and services. Married-couple families, particularly those where the husband has a college degree, have seen substantial improvements in their economic situation over the last three decades. Even these couples, however, face the stress involved in balancing increased work and family.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to speculate about the causes of changing work and family patterns, what is clear is the magnitude of the change and the importance of the challenge. There is no more vital task for our society than raising our children well. Parents in all different income brackets and settings face every day the extraordinary task of dividing their time to maximize familial, economic and personal well-being.

It is the responsibility of employers and public policy-makers to continue the search for methods to help productive workers function as effective parents and responsible family members. If children, families, and our communities are going to withstand the stresses of the trends of the last 30 years, employers and public policy makers have a responsibility to do everything they can to help parents balance work and family. Workplaces and work hours must become more flexible, parents need more supports and more choices, and more children need to live with solid families in their lives.

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Married mothers' work patterns: the job-family compromise

Today's married mothers are twice as likely to work full time all year than their predecessors of 20 years ago

Howard V. Hayghe
and
Suzanne M. Bianchi

Married mothers form a significant segment of the female work force. Likewise, the families of these working mothers account for a sizable share of all families, and contain almost half of the Nation's children.[1] Consequently, married mothers' market work (or work for pay or profit) plays a role in the lives of sizable numbers of families and children.

Over the past two decades, the proportions of mothers (living with their husbands) who were in the labor force rose dramatically. By 1992, two-thirds of all married mothers were working or looking for work, including more than half of those with children under age 6. These familiar statistics (labor force participation rates) present only a snapshot—taken at a very specific point in time—of married mothers as workers. They do not indicate how much time these mothers spend engaged in market work over any sort of extended period. Using only the participation rate data, therefore, makes it difficult to determine the significance of married mothers' employment with regard, not only to family life, but also to women's labor force trends as a whole.

To understand more clearly how married mothers affect female labor force participation patterns overall, as well as the family/work interface, analysts need to examine measures of the amount of time these mothers spend at work and how that has changed over the years. The amount of time married mothers spend working for pay affects, not only their families and children, but also the mothers' personal economic outcomes.[2] In addition, the labor market experience of today's married mothers may influence the educational and career choices of their daughters, as well as the marriage and family formation patterns of the younger generation.

This article examines the issue of time spent in market work by looking at married mothers' work experience during calendar year 1992. The data are based on information collected yearly in March in the Current Population Survey.[3] The term "work experience" refers to the number of weeks married mothers worked during the period of a calendar year and whether they worked full time or part time. Differences in work experience by a variety of personal and family characteristics—including husbands' annual work experience—are also examined. Additionally, this article traces the broad trends in married mothers' work experience over the past 20 years.[4]

Work experience, 1992

About 18 million married mothers—or nearly three-fourths of the total—worked at some time during the 1992 calendar year. More than 9 million—nearly 4 out of 10—worked year round full time.[5]

The impact of child-care obligations on the amount of time married mothers choose to work during the year can be discerned from table 1 which compares the work experience of married

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mothers with that of women without children and with that of men in 1992. (It should be noted that the 20 to 54 year age interval for women and men without children and all men was selected for these comparisons because almost all parents fall into that age category. Younger or older persons—who are unlikely to have children under 18—have considerably different work experience patterns.) As can be seen, 73 percent of the married mothers had work experience during 1992, and only 37 percent worked year round full time. By contrast, 85 percent of the women with no children had work experience and 54 percent were year-round full-time workers. Likewise, 92 percent of the men worked at some time during 1992 and 66 percent worked year round full time.

Among the men, annual work experience also differed by the presence of children, although in this case, the differences ran in the opposite direction. Those who were not fathers were significantly *less* likely to have worked at all during the year, or to have worked year round full time than those who were fathers.

Child-care obligations. Many married mothers' work patterns differ by the needs of their children. Thus, while 78 percent of mothers whose youngest child was school age (6 to 17 years old) worked at some time in 1992, the proportion was lower—67 percent—among those whose youngest child was under 6 (table 2). The older children spend much of the year in school and, when they are not in school, may not require the kind of close parental supervision as do preschool children. Thus, 43 percent of the mothers whose youngest child was of school age worked year round full time, compared with 31 percent of mothers with children under 6. Roughly the same proportions of each group of mothers were part-year and/or part-time workers, but mothers of preschoolers were about half again as likely as the mothers of older children to stay at home all year. Clearly, child-care responsibilities affect the annual work experience of married mothers, an effect that is much greater for mothers of young children.

Race and Hispanic origin. Hispanic mothers are less likely to work during a year than their white or black counterparts. About 6 out of 10 Hispanic mothers worked at some time during 1992, compared with a little more than 7 out of 10 white mothers and 8 of 10 black married mothers (table 3). Likewise, Hispanic married mothers were also less likely to work year round full time. While these differences may reflect different notions of family life and child rearing, they may also reflect the fact that Hispanic mothers have a more difficult time finding jobs, as indicated by their higher unemployment rate.[6]

Table 1. **Work experience of persons in 1992 by selected characteristics, March 1993**

[Numbers in thousands]

Work experience	Parents		Persons 20 to 54 years old		
	Married mothers	All fathers	Women with no children under 18	Men	
				Total	With no children under 18
Total	24,706	26,182	30,616	62,625	36,443
Worked in 1992	18,018	24,784	26,007	57,282	32,498
As percent of total	72.9	94.7	84.9	91.5	89.2
Percent of total who:					
Worked full year in 1992[1]	47.9	77.9	63.5	69.2	62.9
Full time[2]	36.8	76.1	54.1	65.6	58.0
Part time[2]	11.1	1.8	9.4	3.6	4.9
Worked part year in 1992[3]	25.1	16.8	21.5	22.2	26.2
Full time[2]	12.0	14.5	12.8	17.4	19.4
40 to 49 weeks	4.4	6.6	4.9	6.9	7.0
27 to 39 weeks	2.8	3.6	2.9	4.1	4.5
1 to 26 weeks	4.8	4.3	5.0	6.4	7.9
Part time[2]	13.1	2.3	8.7	4.8	6.8
40 to 49 weeks	3.4	0.6	2.7	1.2	1.6
27 to 39 weeks	2.7	0.5	1.8	0.9	1.4
1 to 26 weeks	7.0	1.2	4.2	2.7	3.8
Did not work in 1992	27.1	5.3	15.1	8.6	10.8

[1] Fifty to 52 weeks.

[2] Full time is defined as 35 hours a week or more. Part time is less than 35 hours.

[3] One to 49 weeks.

NOTE: Based on the fact that nearly all parents are 20 to 54 years old, data for men and women 20 to 54 years old with no children under 18 were constructed by subtracting parents from estimates for all 20- to 54-year olds.

Table 2. **Work experience of married mothers in 1992 by age of youngest child, March 1993**

[Numbers in thousands]

Work experience	With children 6 to 17, none younger	With children under 6	
		Total	Under 3
Marries mothers, total	12,764	11,942	7,168
Worked in 1992	10,004	8,013	4,776
As percent of total	78.4	67.2	66.6
Percent of married mothers who:			
Worked full year in 1992[1]	55.2	40.0	36.3
Full time[2]	42.6	30.6	27.7
Part time[2]	12.6	9.4	8.6
Worked part year in 1992[3]	23.1	27.1	30.4
Full time[2]	11.2	12.7	15.2
40 to 49 weeks	4.2	4.6	5.6
27 to 39 weeks	2.7	2.8	3.4
1 to 26 weeks	4.3	5.3	6.2
Part time[2]	11.9	14.4	15.2
40 to 49 weeks	3.6	3.1	3.1
27 to 39 weeks	2.8	2.7	2.8
1 to 26 weeks	5.5	8.6	9.4
Did not work in 1992	21.6	32.9	33.4

[1] Fifty to 52 weeks.

[2] Full time is defined as 35 hours a week or more. Part time is less than 35 hours.

[3] One to 49 weeks.

For all three groups, the younger the children, the less likely the mothers were to have worked during the year. However, black mothers whose youngest child was under age 6 were more likely

to have worked during the year than their white or Hispanic counterparts. This was true as well among black mothers whose youngest child was 6 to 17. Moreover, the difference in the proportions with work experience between those with school-age children and those with preschoolers was somewhat less among blacks (7 percentage points) than among whites or Hispanics (approximately 12 percentage points).

All three groups of mothers followed the same pattern with regard to year-round full-time work; namely, the younger the children, the less likely the mother was to work all year full time. And, whatever the age of the youngest child, black mothers were much more likely than the others to be year-round, full-time workers.

Working parents. In 7 out of 10 of the 24.7 million two-parent families, both the mother and father worked at some time during 1992. The proportion was higher among families in which the youngest child was 6 to 17 years old than among those with younger children. In a similar fashion, the percentage of families in which both parents were year-round full-time workers (almost 30 percent overall) differed markedly by the ages of the youngest child (table 4).

Given the high proportion of black married mothers who were year-round full-time workers, it is not surprising that the proportion in which both of the parents worked year round full time was larger than that among white two-parent families. By contrast, not only were Hispanic mothers less likely to work year round full time than their white or black counterparts, but so were Hispanic fathers. As a result, both parents were year-round full-time workers in just 2 out of 10 Hispanic families, compared with about 3 out of 10 white families and nearly 4 out of 10 black families.

Trends, 1970–92

A dramatic gain in the proportion of married mothers with work experience was concentrated among those who were year-round full-time workers, resulting in some significant changes in family work patterns.

In 1970, a little more than half of all married mothers worked at all during the year. By 1992, nearly 3 out of 4 did so. The proportion of married mothers who worked year round full time grew from 16 percent in 1970 to 37 percent in 1992. This percentage-point rise was about equal to the decline in the proportion who stayed at home and did not engage in any market work during the year (table 5).

These trends reflect many broad-based changes in American society. Culturally, it has become increasingly acceptable, perhaps even

Table 3. Work experience of married mothers in 1992 by race and Hispanic origin: age of youngest child, March 1993

[Numbers in thousands]

Work experience	White				Black				Hispanic origin			
	Total	With children 6 to 17 only	With children under 6		Total	With children 6 to 17 only	With children under 6		Total	With children 6 to 17 only	With children under 6	
			Total	Under 3			Total	Under 3			Total	Under 3
Married mothers, total	21,702	11,207	10,495	6,341	1,863	992	871	495	2,441	1,082	1,359	837
Worked in 1992	15,758	8,786	6,972	4,205	1,481	819	663	357	1,407	704	704	404
As percent of total	72.6	78.4	66.4	66.3	79.5	82.6	76.1	72.1	57.6	65.1	51.8	48.3
Percent of married mothers who:												
Worked full year in 1992[1]	47.3	55.0	39.1	36.0	55.4	59.8	50.2	41.9	36.2	45.7	28.6	25.2
Full time[2]	35.6	41.7	29.1	26.9	49.1	52.6	44.9	36.0	29.5	37.6	23.2	20.4
Part time[2]	11.7	13.3	10.0	9.1	6.3	7.2	5.3	5.9	6.7	8.0	5.5	4.8
Worked part year in 1992[3]	25.2	23.4	27.4	30.4	24.2	22.5	25.9	30.2	21.4	19.3	23.2	23.2
Full time[2]	11.5	10.9	12.3	14.7	15.3	15.1	15.6	19.6	13.6	12.0	14.8	15.6
40 to 49 weeks	4.2	4.0	4.4	5.5	5.6	6.0	5.2	5.9	4.2	4.6	3.9	3.7
27 to 39 weeks	2.6	2.6	2.7	3.2	4.3	4.2	4.4	4.8	3.3	3.0	3.5	4.9
1 to 26 weeks	4.7	4.3	5.2	6.0	5.4	4.9	6.1	8.9	6.1	4.4	7.4	7.0
Part time[2]	13.7	12.5	15.1	15.7	8.9	7.4	10.3	10.6	7.8	7.3	8.4	7.6
40 to 49 weeks	3.5	3.7	3.3	3.1	2.1	1.7	2.5	2.8	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.1
27 to 39 weeks	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.9	1.6	1.4	1.7	3.0	1.8	1.5	2.1	1.8
1 to 26 weeks	7.3	5.8	8.9	9.7	5.2	4.3	6.1	4.8	4.7	4.3	5.1	4.7
Did not work in 1992	27.4	21.6	33.6	33.7	20.5	17.4	23.9	27.9	42.4	35.0	48.2	51.6

[1] Fifty to 52 weeks.

[2] Full time is defined as 35 hours a week or more. Part time is less than 35 hours.

[3] One to 49 weeks.

NOTE: Detail for race and Hispanic-origin groups do not sum to totals because data for the "other races" group are not presented and Hispanics are included in both the white and black population groups.

Table 4. **Work experience of fathers and mothers in two-parent families in 1992 by age of youngest child, race, and Hispanic origin, March 1993**

[Numbers in thousands]

Parents' work experience	Total	With children 6 to 17, none younger	With children under 6	White	Black	Hispanic origin
Two-parent families, number	24,706	12,764	11,942	21,702	1,863	2,441
Percent in which:						
Both parents worked during year	70.1	74.8	65.0	70.0	74.1	54.1
Father only worked during year	25.1	19.6	31.0	25.8	16.6	38.8
Mother only worked during year	2.2	3.5	2.1	2.6	5.4	3.6
Two-parent families, percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Father worked year round[1] full time[2]	78.1	78.4	77.7	78.8	71.7	67.3
Mother worked year round[1] full time[2]	29.5	34.3	24.3	28.6	38.0	21.3
Mother worked less than year round full time[3]	28.2	27.8	28.6	29.2	21.8	17.9
Mother did not work	20.4	16.2	24.9	21.0	11.9	28.0
Father worked less than year round full time[3]	17.2	16.1	18.3	17.0	19.1	25.6
Mother worked year round[1] full time[2]	5.7	6.3	5.1	5.5	7.8	6.5
Mother worked less than year round full time[3]	6.7	6.4	7.0	6.7	6.6	8.4
Mother did not work	4.7	3.4	6.2	4.8	4.7	10.8
Father did not work	4.8	5.5	4.0	4.2	9.2	7.1
Mother worked year round[1] full time[2]	1.6	2.0	1.2	1.5	3.2	1.8
Mother worked less than year round full time[3]	1.2	1.5	0.9	1.1	2.1	1.6
Mother did not work	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.6	3.8	3.6

[1] Fifty to 52 weeks.

[2] Full time is defined as 35 hours a week or more. Part time is less than 35 hours.

[3] Worked 1 to 49 weeks, either full or part time.

NOTE: Detail for race and Hispanic-origin groups do not sum to totals because data for the "other races" group are not presented and Hispanics are included in both the white and black population groups.

expected, for mothers to be breadwinners as well as caregivers. Also, marriage and childbearing patterns are changing. Women are marrying later, and giving birth later (to fewer children).[7] Thus, they have the opportunity to develop strong ties to the labor market that can withstand the pressures of marriage and child rearing. Also important were the economic conditions—including inflation, unemployment, and slow wage growth—that characterized significant periods of the last two decades. Finally, married mothers who work contribute such a significant proportion of family income[8] that many families would be financially hard-pressed without the mothers' earnings.

Age of youngest child. Rapid gains between 1970 and 1992 in the work experience rate of mothers with preschool children were almost equaled by gains among mothers of older children. Thus, the gap between the two groups barely narrowed. In 1970, about 44 percent of the mothers with preschoolers worked at some time during the year; this rose to 67 percent in 1992, a 23-percentage-point gain. Over the same period, mothers of school-age children posted a 20-point increase, as their work experience rate advanced from 58 percent to 78 percent. For both groups of mothers, the source of the rise was the same: increasing proportions who were year-round full-time workers. In 1970, about 23 percent of the mothers with school-age children worked year round full time, as did 10 percent of the mothers of preschoolers. Twenty-two years later, the proportions had reached 43 percent for mothers with school-age children and 31 percent for those with preschoolers.

Race. Work experience rates for both white and black married mothers rose over the period. While the rates for the blacks have been consistently higher, the gap has narrowed. By 1992, there was a 4-percentage-point gap between the work experience rates for the mothers of school age children and a 10-point difference between the rates for mothers with preschool-age children. In 1970, the differences measured 12 percentage points (school-age children) and 18 percentage points (preschool-age).[9]

The proportions of married mothers working year round full time have not displayed the same narrowing tendencies by race as the overall proportions with work experience. Even though white married mothers have gained rapidly in this

particular measure of labor market participation, so have black married mothers. In 1970, about 15 percent of white mothers were year-round full-time workers, compared with 27 percent of the black mothers. By 1992, the proportions were 36 percent (for white mothers) and 49 percent (for black mothers). In both years, the difference was around 12 percentage points.

The early 1990's

Data for the 1990–92 period suggest that the long-term upward trend in mothers' work experience rates may be slowing, or, perhaps, the rate may have plateaued. (Of course, several more years of data are required before a definitive conclusion can be drawn.) In 1990, about 73 percent of married mothers worked at some time during the year, a figure that rose to 74 percent in the following year. In 1992, the proportion returned to 73 percent. This break in trend, however, did not extend to the proportion who were year-round full-time workers, which continued to grow, rising from 34 percent in 1990 to nearly 37 percent in 1992. It is not clear if these movements might reflect the sluggish and uncertain economic conditions that prevailed during the period or some fundamental change in married mothers' work experience patterns, or both.

Over the 1990–92 period, the work experience rate for mothers with children under 6 changed little, remaining in the 67- to 68-percent range. The work experience rates for both white mothers of children under age 6 and their black counterparts changed little. The work experience rates of mothers whose youngest child was 6 to 17 years old fluctuated over the same period, but the end result was about the same as for the mothers of preschool children—little change. From 1990 to 1991, the work experience rate for these mothers rose from somewhat less than 78 percent to a little more than 79 percent. But, by 1992, it had returned to its 1990 level.

Work and lifestyle patterns

As the proportions of mothers who worked rose—particularly those working year round full time—family work patterns changed. In 1970, as shown on table 6, just 1 two-parent family in 8 included both mother and father who were year-round full-time workers. This proportion has more than doubled since then, with much of the increase taking place among families with chil-

Table 5. **Work experience trends of married mothers by age of youngest child and race, selected years 1970–92**

[Numbers in thousands]

Year and race	With children under 18					With children 6 to 17, none younger					With children under 6				
	Population	Percent who worked during year			Percent who did not work during year	Population	Percent who worked during year			Percent who did not work during year	Population	Percent who worked during year			Percent who did not work during year
		Total	Year round full time[1]	Other[2]			Total	Year round full time[1]	Other[2]			Total	Year round full time[1]	Other[2]	
Total															
1970	24,602	51.3	16.4	34.9	48.7	12,784	57.7	22.8	34.9	42.3	11,819	44.4	9.6	34.8	55.6
1975	25,361	53.7	18.1	35.7	46.3	13,543	59.5	23.4	36.1	40.5	11,819	47.0	11.9	35.2	53.0
1980	25,217	63.4	23.7	39.7	36.6	13,492	68.0	28.9	39.1	32.0	11,725	58.1	17.7	40.4	41.9
1985	25,003	73.9	31.3	42.6	27.1	12,788	72.8	34.6	38.2	27.2	12,217	63.0	22.7	40.3	37.0
1990	24,393	72.8	34.0	38.7	27.2	12,294	77.6	40.0	37.6	22.4	12,099	67.9	28.0	39.9	32.1
1991	24,416	73.5	35.7	37.9	26.5	12,491	79.2	42.2	37.0	20.8	11,925	67.6	28.8	38.7	32.4
1992	24,706	72.9	36.8	36.1	27.1	12,764	78.4	42.6	35.8	21.6	11,942	67.1	30.6	36.5	32.9
White															
1970	22,512	50.2	15.4	34.7	49.8	11,788	56.9	21.8	35.0	43.1	10,723	42.8	8.4	34.4	57.2
1975	22,893	52.8	17.0	35.8	47.2	12,362	58.7	22.3	36.4	41.3	10,531	45.9	10.8	35.1	54.1
1980	22,541	62.8	22.3	40.5	37.2	12,136	67.7	27.7	40.1	32.3	10,405	57.1	16.1	41.0	42.9
1985	22,056	67.3	27.0	40.3	32.7	11,249	72.2	32.7	39.4	27.8	10,808	62.2	20.9	41.3	37.8
1990	21,504	72.7	32.4	40.3	27.3	10,823	77.6	38.3	39.3	22.4	10,686	67.7	26.4	41.3	32.3
1991	21,488	73.4	34.4	39.1	26.6	10,987	79.3	41.0	38.3	20.7	10,501	67.3	27.4	39.9	32.7
1992	21,702	72.6	35.6	37.0	27.4	11,207	78.4	41.7	36.7	21.6	10,495	66.4	29.1	37.3	33.6
Black															
1970	1,910	64.2	27.2	37.0	35.8	861	68.6	34.8	33.8	31.4	1,049	60.6	21.1	39.5	39.4
1975	1,971	64.5	29.8	34.7	35.5	990	69.4	37.0	32.4	30.6	981	59.5	22.5	37.0	40.5
1980	1,924	69.8	36.5	33.3	30.2	1,025	69.8	40.2	29.5	30.2	899	69.7	32.3	37.4	30.3
1985	1,965	76.1	45.0	31.0	23.9	1,038	78.3	50.4	27.9	21.7	926	73.5	39.1	34.4	26.5
1990	1,846	78.9	48.9	30.0	21.1	938	80.5	53.0	27.6	19.5	908	77.3	44.6	32.7	22.7
1991	1,870	78.4	48.7	29.7	21.7	986	79.8	53.3	26.4	20.2	884	76.7	43.3	33.4	23.3
1992	1,863	79.5	49.1	30.4	20.5	992	82.6	52.6	30.0	17.4	871	76.1	44.9	31.2	23.9

[1] Worked full time (35 hours or more a week) 50 to 52 weeks.

[2] Worked either full or part time (less than 35 hours a week) for 1 to 49 weeks.

Table 6. **Work experience of mothers and fathers in two-parent families by age of youngest child, selected years,1970–92**

[Numbers in thousands]

Parents' work experience	With own children under 18			With children 6 to 17, none younger			With children under 6		
	1970	1990	1992	1970	1990	1992	1970	1990	1992
Two-parent families, total	24,703	24,393	24,706	12,784	12,294	12,764	11,919	12,099	11,942
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Both parents had work experience	50.3	70.9	70.1	56.5	75.1	74.8	43.6	66.6	65.0
Both parents worked year round full time[1]	13.2	28.0	29.5	18.7	32.9	34.3	7.3	23.0	24.3
One parent worked year round full time[1]	29.8	36.0	33.9	31.7	36.1	34.1	27.8	36.0	33.7
Father	27.0	31.0	28.2	28.2	30.4	27.8	25.8	31.7	28.6
Mother	2.8	5.0	5.7	3.5	5.7	6.3	2.0	4.2	5.1
Neither parent worked year round full time[1]	7.2	6.8	6.7	6.1	6.1	6.4	8.5	7.6	7.0
One parent only had work experience	48.4	27.5	28.0	41.9	23.2	23.2	55.3	31.8	33.1
Father	47.4	25.6	25.1	40.7	20.7	19.6	54.6	30.5	31.0
Worked year round full time[1]	39.1	21.0	20.4	34.7	17.1	16.2	43.8	24.9	24.9
Mother	1.0	1.9	2.8	1.3	2.5	3.5	.7	1.3	2.1
Worked year round full time[1]	.4	1.0	1.6	.6	1.3	2.0	.2	.8	1.2
Neither parent worked during year	1.3	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.7	2.0	1.1	1.6	1.9

[1] Year round full time is defined as 50 to 52 weeks, 35 hours a week or more.

dren under 6. The proportion of families with preschool children in which both parents worked all year, full time, more than tripled since 1970, from 7 percent to 24 percent. Similarly, the proportion of such families among those with school-age children nearly doubled, reaching 34 percent in 1992.

At the same time, the proportion of families that might be termed "traditional"—those in which the father worked year round full time and the mother stayed home all year—declined. By 1992, only 2 out of 10 two-parent families fit this description, down from 4 out of 10 in 1970. This decline was about the same among families with school-age children as among those with preschoolers. Nonetheless, the families in which the youngest child was under 6 years old remained more likely to fit the so-called traditional model than was the case among families in which the youngest child was 6 to 17 years old.

Among black as well as white families, the proportion in which both parents were year-round full-time workers was about twice as large in 1992 as in 1970. The source of these gains was somewhat different for black families than for white families. Among whites, the growth was almost entirely attributable to increases in the proportion of married mothers working all year full time. Among black families, part of the gain was because black fathers—in addition to the mothers—were more likely to work year round full time in 1992 than in 1970.

Many changes in family life style have accompanied these increases. One such change is the growing importance of the mother as a family breadwinner. Working mothers provide a significant, and slowly growing, portion of family income—as much as 40 percent in situations where they are year-round full-time workers.[10] With regard to the family division of household labor, fathers appear to be participating somewhat more in household tasks[11] and are becoming increasingly involved as caregivers to their children while the mothers work.[12] Nonetheless, the data show that, in general, married mothers remain the primary caregivers and homemakers even though increasing numbers and proportions also work year round full time.

Conclusion

In drawing conclusions from work experience data, it must be recognized that the statistics provide information only about work patterns in discrete calendar years. For many married mothers, staying at home may be a relatively temporary expedient intended only to meet a pressing family need.[13] For example, the mother of a newborn infant who worked for only a few months in 1992 may have been a year-round full-time

worker in 1991 and will resume year-round full-time work as soon as her new child is old enough to be placed in some sort of day care arrangement. For others, year-round full-time work may also be a necessary, albeit temporary, expedient to help overcome family financial difficulties.

Despite these limitations, the data clearly show that today's married mothers are not only more likely to work, but they are also far more likely to do so on a year-round full-time basis than their predecessors of 20 years ago. Even so, year-round full-time work remains far from the norm. The majority of married mothers juggle market work and family obligations by working part year and/or part time, or by staying home while their children are young. Thus, married mothers continue to demonstrate that caring for their children personally, especially when the children are very young, remains a high priority in their lives.

Footnotes

[1] As of March 1993, about 30 percent of the approximately 57.6 million women labor force participants are married mothers, and their families make up about one-fourth of the total 68.8 million U.S. families. By contrast, unmarried mothers (widowed, divorced, separated, or never-married) make up only 10 percent of female labor force participants and their families accounted for just 8 percent of all families.

[2] Interruptions, for whatever reason, to market work can have an effect, not only on current earnings, but also future earnings and benefits. For a discussion of this subject, see, Shirley P. Burggraf, "How should the costs of child rearing be distributed?" paper presented at the 1992 annual meeting of the Southern Economics Association in Washington, D.C.

[3] Work experience data are derived from information gathered by supplemental questions to the Current Population Survey (CPS) each March. These questions are designed to elicit information about the number of weeks worked and usual hours worked during the prior calendar year.

The CPS is a monthly survey of a scientifically selected sample of about 60,000 households designed to represent the civilian noninstitutional population. The survey is conducted nationwide for the Bureau of Labor Statistics by the Bureau of the Census. The main purpose of this survey is to collect information about the current employment status of each household member 16 years old and over. The data are used to assess monthly labor market developments. In addition, supplementary questions on special subjects—such as an individual's work experience over the course of a calendar year—are regularly added.

[4] Howard V. Hayghe and Suzanne M. Bianchi, "Changes in the labor force role of married mothers," 1993 Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section, paper presented at the 1992 Winter Conference of the American Statistical Association, Washington, DC.

[5] Full year (year round) is defined as 50 to 52 weeks. Part year is 1 to 49 weeks. Full time is defined as 35 hours or more a week. Part time is 1 to 34 hours.

[6] In March 1992, for instance, the unemployment rate for Hispanic married mothers was 10.5 percent, compared with 7.6 percent for blacks and 5.5 percent for whites. For an in-depth discussion of Hispanic labor market participation see, Peter Cattan, "The diversity of Hispanics in the U.S. labor force," *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1993, pp. 3–15.

[7] See Howard V. Hayghe, "Contributions of working wives to family income," *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1993, p. 42.

[8] Hayghe, "Contributions of working wives," table 3.

[9] This data series was not tabulated for Hispanics prior to 1988.

[10] Hayghe, "Contributions of working wives," table 3.

[11] See John P. Robinson, "Who's doing the housework?" *American Demographics*, December 1988, pp. 24–28; and John P. Robins and Jonathan Gershuny, "Historic changes in the household division of labor," *Demographics*, November 1988, pp. 537–52. Also, see Cathleen D. Zick and Jane L. McCullough, "Trends in married couples time use: evidence from 1977–78 and 1987–88," *Sex Roles*, vol. 28 no. 1991 pp. 459–88.

[12] See Martin O'Connell, "Where's Papa? Fathers' role in child care," *Population Trends and Public Policy*, Washington, DC, Population Reference Bureau, September 1993.

[13] See Jonathan R. Veum and Philip M. Gleason, "Child care: arrangements and cost," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1991, p. 15.

1997: Married couple

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Ruby, many of these tables include historical info. Please read the title, as some of them appear to contain the same information. I believe the last table (Table 3-7) includes the data on family and marital status that you were looking for. Please call if you have further questions.

Randy

Average weekly hours at work in all industries and in nonagricultural industries by gender, annual averages, 1948-98

	All industries			Nonagricultural industries		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1948	42.8	*	*	41.6	*	*
1949	42.1	*	*	40.9	*	*
1950	41.7	*	*	40.7	*	*
1951	42.2	*	*	41.3	*	*
1952	42.4	*	*	41.6	*	*
1953	41.9	*	*	41.1	*	*
1954	40.9	*	*	40.0	*	*
1955	41.6	*	*	40.9	*	*
1956	41.5	43.8	36.5	40.9	43.0	36.7
1957	41.0	43.4	36.1	40.5	42.6	36.4
1958	40.6	42.9	35.8	40.1	42.2	36.0
1959	40.5	42.8	35.6	40.0	42.2	35.7
1960	40.5	43.0	35.4	40.0	42.4	35.6
1961	40.5	43.0	35.3	40.1	42.5	35.5
1962	40.5	43.2	35.2	40.1	42.6	35.4
1963	40.4	43.2	35.1	40.1	42.7	35.2
1964	40.0	42.8	34.7	39.7	42.3	34.8
1965	40.5	43.3	35.1	40.2	42.9	35.2
1966	40.4	43.2	35.2	40.1	42.9	35.2
1967	40.4	43.3	35.2	40.0	42.8	35.2
1968	40.1	43.0	34.9	39.7	42.6	34.8
1969	39.8	42.9	34.8	39.5	42.5	34.8
1970	39.1	42.0	34.2	38.7	41.6	34.0
1971	39.3	42.2	34.3	38.9	41.8	34.2
1972	39.4	42.3	34.5	39.0	42.0	34.4
1973	39.3	42.4	34.4	39.0	42.0	34.3
1974	39.0	42.0	34.3	38.7	41.6	34.2
1975	38.7	41.6	34.1	38.4	41.3	34.0
1976	38.7	41.7	34.1	38.4	41.4	34.1
1977	38.8	41.9	34.2	38.5	41.6	34.2
1978	39.0	42.1	34.5	38.7	41.8	34.4
1979	38.9	42.0	34.5	38.6	41.7	34.4
1980	38.5	41.5	34.5	38.3	41.2	34.4
1981	38.1	41.1	34.1	37.9	40.7	34.1
1982	38.0	40.9	34.1	37.7	40.6	34.0
1983	38.3	41.2	34.5	38.1	41.0	34.4
1984	38.8	41.8	34.9	38.5	41.5	34.9
1985	39.0	42.0	35.2	38.9	41.8	35.2
1986	39.1	42.1	35.4	38.9	41.9	35.3
1987	39.0	42.0	35.3	38.8	41.8	35.3
1988	39.4	42.4	35.7	39.3	42.2	35.7
1989	39.6	42.6	35.8	39.4	42.4	35.8
1990	39.4	42.3	35.8	39.3	42.1	35.8
1991	39.2	42.0	35.8	39.1	41.9	35.8
1992	38.9	41.7	35.6	38.8	41.6	35.6
1993	39.4	42.2	36.0	39.3	42.1	36.0
1994	39.2	42.2	35.5	39.1	42.1	35.6
1995	39.3	42.3	35.6	39.2	42.2	35.7
1996	39.3	42.3	35.7	39.2	42.2	35.7
1997	39.5	42.4	36.0	39.4	42.3	36.0
1998	39.3	42.2	35.8	39.2	42.2	35.9

* Indicates that data are not available.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey (CPS)

NOTE: Data prior to 1967 are for workers age 14 and over. Data from 1967 to the present are for workers age 16 and over. Data for 1994 and later years are not directly comparable with data for 1993 and earlier years because of the introduction of a major redesign of the CPS questionnaire and collection methodology. Data for 1990 and later years are not strictly comparable because of the introduction of 1990 census-based population controls. For additional information, see "Revisions in the Current Population Survey Effective January 1994" in the February 1994 issue of Employment and Earnings.

Table 1. Nonagricultural wage and salary workers at work and their average hours by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin, 1997 annual averages

[Numbers in thousands]

Characteristic	Total at work	Average hours	
		Total at work	Persons who usually work full time
Age and sex			
Total, 16 years and over	112,207	39.4	43.1
16 to 24 years	17,542	32.4	41.2
25 to 54 years	82,198	41.2	43.4
55 years and over	12,468	37.1	42.5
Men, 16 years and over	59,606	42.3	44.6
16 to 24 years	9,065	34.3	42.1
25 to 54 years	50,540	43.7	44.9
55 years and over	6,712	39.9	43.8
Women, 16 years and over	52,602	36.1	41.0
16 to 24 years	8,477	30.4	40.1
25 to 54 years	44,125	37.2	41.2
55 years and over	5,756	33.9	40.5
Race and Hispanic origin			
White, 16 years and over	94,371	39.5	43.3
Men	50,924	42.5	44.9
Women	43,447	35.9	41.1
Black, 16 years and over	12,806	38.7	41.4
Men	6,001	40.6	42.7
Women	6,805	37.0	40.2
Hispanic origin, 16 years and over	11,089	38.6	41.6
Men	6,581	40.6	42.5
Women	4,507	35.7	40.0

Table 2. Percent distribution of nonagricultural wage and salary workers by sex, age, and hours of work, annual averages, selected years, 1976-97

Characteristic	1976	1985	1989	1993	1997
Men					
16 to 24 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	34.1	35.9	36.7	40.2	40.0
35 to 39 hours	5.1	5.4	5.6	6.2	6.4
40 hours	38.5	36.3	35.6	33.0	32.5
41 to 48 hours	11.3	9.9	9.3	8.2	8.8
49 hours or more	11.1	12.6	12.8	12.4	12.3
25 to 54 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	10.4	9.8	9.1	10.7	10.8
35 to 39 hours	4.3	4.2	4.0	4.1	4.6
40 hours	48.9	46.5	43.7	42.7	40.2
41 to 48 hours	14.2	13.8	14.2	13.3	15.1
49 hours or more	22.2	25.7	29.0	29.2	29.4
55 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	18.4	19.1	21.4	23.0	22.9
35 to 39 hours	4.7	5.0	4.9	4.6	5.2
40 hours	50.7	46.6	43.5	41.9	38.6
41 to 48 hours	11.5	11.2	10.6	9.9	11.1
49 hours or more	14.7	18.1	19.7	20.6	22.2
Women					
16 to 24 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	43.3	44.5	46.1	50.5	52.2
35 to 39 hours	9.8	9.1	8.4	8.1	8.2
40 hours	37.8	34.1	32.8	29.4	27.5
41 to 48 hours	5.9	6.9	6.7	5.9	6.3
49 hours or more	3.2	5.3	6.0	6.0	5.7
25 to 54 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	31.4	28.2	26.1	26.5	26.8
35 to 39 hours	11.6	10.5	9.7	9.4	9.8
40 hours	43.8	43.5	43.3	42.4	39.6
41 to 48 hours	7.5	8.9	9.9	9.8	11.3
49 hours or more	5.7	8.9	11.0	12.0	12.4
55 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	38.4	39.4	39.5	40.4	40.1
35 to 39 hours	11.7	11.5	11.4	9.9	10.2
40 hours	38.5	37.5	35.3	35.2	32.7
41 to 48 hours	6.5	6.0	6.7	6.5	8.3
49 hours or more	4.9	5.6	7.1	7.9	8.7

NOTE: Detail may not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 3. Percent distribution of persons at work by class of worker and hours of work, 1976 and 1997 annual averages

Class of worker	Hours of work				
	1 to 34 hours	35 to 39 hours	40 hours	41 to 48 hours	49 hours or more
1976					
Nonagricultural workers[1]:					
Wage and salary	24.5	7.3	44.6	10.6	13.0
Self-employed	27.4	4.4	22.8	9.0	36.4
Agricultural workers	30.7	4.8	14.4	8.2	42.0
1997					
Nonagricultural workers[1]:					
Wage and salary	24.0	7.1	37.9	12.1	18.9
Self-employed	32.8	5.6	21.6	7.7	32.3
Agricultural workers	30.4	5.1	22.4	7.6	34.4

[1] Excludes unpaid family workers.

NOTE: Detail may not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Hours distribution for persons at work in nonagricultural wage and salary jobs, 1976-1998 annual averages, selected years

(Percent)

Year	1-34 hour	35-39 hour	40 hours	41-48 hours	49 hours or more
1976	24.5	7.3	44.6	10.6	13.0
1985	23.7	7.1	42.9	10.6	15.7
1989	22.7	6.8	41.4	11.1	18.0
1993	24.0	6.7	40.3	10.6	18.5
1994	25.4	7.6	36.2	12.5	18.4
1997	24.0	7.1	37.9	12.1	18.9
1998	25.7	7.1	36.5	12.0	18.8

NOTE: Data from January 1994 forward are not comparable to those for earlier years due to the redesign of the Current Population Survey.

March 1998
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TABLE 15. PRESENCE AND AGE OF OWN CHILDREN OF CIVILIAN WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND MARITAL STATUS

	TOTAL	WITH NO OWN CHILDREN	TOTAL WITH OWN CHILD UNDER 18	6 TO 17 NONE UNDER 6	14 TO 17 NONE YOUNGER	6 TO 13 NONE YOUNGER	UNDER 6 TOTAL	3 TO 5 NONE YOUNGER	UNDER 3
TOTAL RACE									
TOTAL									
TOTAL	106141	70670	35471	19178	5547	13631	16294	6836	9458
IN LABOR FORCE	63900	38253	25647	15028	4403	10625	10819	4737	6082
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	60.2	54.1	72.3	78.4	79.4	77.9	65.2	69.3	62.2
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	42241	32417	9824	4150	1143	3006	5474	2099	3376
EMPLOYED	60889	36680	24209	14370	4244	10126	9839	4365	6454
FULL-TIME	44511	26858	17653	10882	3433	7450	6771	3124	3646
PART-TIME	16378	9823	6555	3487	811	2677	3068	1261	1807
UNEMPLOYED	3011	1573	1438	658	160	498	780	352	428
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	4.7	4.1	5.6	4.4	3.6	4.7	7.3	7.4	7.3
TOTAL RACE NEVER MARRIED									
TOTAL	24808	20672	4136	1530	275	1255	2606	1049	1557
IN LABOR FORCE	16885	13888	2997	1242	218	1024	1755	769	986
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	68.1	67.2	72.5	81.2	79.3	81.6	67.3	73.3	63.3
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	7923	6784	1139	288	57	231	851	280	571
EMPLOYED	15626	13082	2544	1096	204	892	1448	627	822
FULL-TIME	10271	8361	1910	875	167	708	1035	474	561
PART-TIME	5356	4721	634	221	37	184	413	153	260
UNEMPLOYED	1259	806	453	146	14	132	307	143	164
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.5	5.8	15.1	11.8	6.6	12.9	17.5	18.5	16.7
TOTAL RACE MARRIED, SPOUSE PRES.									
TOTAL	55241	29580	25661	13641	3918	9722	12021	4607	7213
IN LABOR FORCE	34136	16007	18129	10474	3071	7403	7655	3224	4431
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	61.8	54.1	70.6	76.8	78.4	76.1	63.7	67.1	61.4
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	21105	13573	7533	3167	847	2320	4366	1384	2782
EMPLOYED	33028	15581	17447	10138	2984	7154	7309	3091	4218
FULL-TIME	24333	12060	12273	7380	2363	5016	4893	2110	2783
PART-TIME	8695	3521	5174	2758	621	2136	2416	981	1435
UNEMPLOYED	1108	426	682	336	87	249	346	133	213
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	3.2	2.7	3.8	3.2	2.8	3.4	4.5	4.1	4.8
TOTAL RACE MARRIED, SPOUSE ABSENT									
TOTAL	4000	2168	1831	1077	304	773	755	407	347
IN LABOR FORCE	2683	1292	1391	857	242	615	534	299	235
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	67.1	59.6	76.0	79.6	79.7	79.6	70.7	73.3	67.7
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	1316	876	440	219	62	158	221	109	112
EMPLOYED	2476	1201	1275	798	219	579	477	273	204
FULL-TIME	2007	1003	1004	651	184	468	353	216	137
PART-TIME	469	198	271	147	36	111	124	57	67
UNEMPLOYED	207	91	116	59	22	37	57	26	31
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.7	7.1	8.3	6.9	9.3	6.0	10.6	8.6	13.2

Table 3-7 Average weekly hours for workers 25-54 years of age and percent working full time, year round by family relationship and presence and age of children,

Sex, family relationship, and presence and age of children	Average weekly hours[1]				Percent working full-time, Year round			
	1969	1979	1989	1998	1969	1979	1989	1998
Family relationship								
Men								
Married	44.2	43.6	44.1	44.2	83.7	80.7	80.9	82.5
Maintaining a family w/o spouse	41.6	42.4	41.2	41.5	74.5	68.2	68.3	71.0
Living alone	41.7	41.7	42.3	42.3	68.3	64.3	68.1	68.8
Women								
Married	33.2	32.8	34.3	34.9	22.5	29.8	41.1	46.1
Maintaining a family w/o spouse	36.0	36.6	37.3	36.9	39.5	44.2	48.4	52.6
Living alone	38.5	38.5	39.4	39.6	62.2	60.7	65.6	64.0
Presence and age of own children								
Men								
No own children under 18	41.9	41.9	42.2	42.3	72.8	68.6	69.7	69.7
Children 6-17, none younger	44.5	43.7	43.9	44.4	84.9	81.0	80.2	82.1
Children 3-5, none younger	44.6	43.9	44.1	44.3	84.8	81.4	79.6	83.3
Children under 3	44.4	43.9	44.3	43.6	83.4	79.9	79.7	81.5
Women								
No own children under 18	36.7	36.5	37.6	38.0	44.6	47.8	57.2	58.8
Children 6-17, none younger	33.1	33.5	35.0	35.6	25.8	33.7	43.3	48.6
Children 3-5, none younger	32.0	31.5	33.2	33.4	15.4	23.6	32.8	39.0
Children under 3	30.3	28.9	30.4	30.9	6.7	14.8	25.0	31.8

1 Data for 1998 are not directly comparable with data for earlier years. For more information, see th Explanatory Notes in the January 1999 edition of *Employment and Earnings*.

31.8 avg

33.3 15.9

avg wkly hrs for wkrs 25-54 yrs of age

Avg wkly hours

March Marital + Family Supplement March '98 BLS

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
Division of Labor Force Statistics
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Room 4675
2 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20212
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MARCH98

TABLE 15. PRESENCE AND AGE OF OWN CHILDREN OF CIVILIAN WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND MARITAL STATUS

	TOTAL	WITH NO OWN CHILDREN	TOTAL WITH OWN CHILD UNDER 18	6 TO 17 NONE UNDER 6	14 TO 17 NONE YOUNGER	6 TO 13 NONE YOUNGER	UNDER 6 TOTAL	3 TO 5 NONE YOUNGER	UNDER 3
TOTAL RACE									
TOTAL									
TOTAL	106141	70670	35471	19178	5547	13631	16294	6836	9458
IN LABOR FORCE	63900	38253	25647	15028	4403	10625	10619	4737	5882
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	60.2	54.1	72.3	78.4	79.4	77.9	65.2	69.3	62.2
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TOTAL RACE NEVER MARRIED									
TOTAL	24808	20672	4136	1530	275	1255	2606	1049	1557
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PART-TIME	5356	4721	634	221	37	184	413	153	260
UNEMPLOYED	1259	806	453	146	14	132	307	143	164
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.5	5.8	15.1	11.8	6.6	12.9	17.5	18.5	16.7
TOTAL RACE MARRIED, SPOUSE PRES.									
TOTAL	55241	29580	25661	13641	3918	9722	12021	4807	7213
IN LABOR FORCE	34136	16007	18129	10474	3071	7403	7655	3224	4431
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	61.8	54.1	70.6	76.8	78.4	76.1	63.7	67.1	61.4
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	21105	13573	7533	3167	847	2320	4366	1584	2782
EMPLOYED	33028	15581	17447	10138	2984	7154	7309	3091	4218
FULL-TIME	24333	12060	12273	7380	2363	5018	4893	2110	2783
PART-TIME	8695	3521	5174	2758	621	2136	2416	981	1435
UNEMPLOYED	1108	426	682	336	87	249	346	133	213
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	3.2	2.7	3.8	3.2	2.8	3.4	4.5	4.1	4.8
TOTAL RACE MARRIED, SPOUSE ABSENT									
TOTAL	4000	2168	1831	1077	304	773	755	407	347
IN LABOR FORCE	2683	1292	1391	857	242	615	534	299	235
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	67.1	59.6	76.0	79.6	79.7	79.6	70.7	73.3	67.7
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	1316	876	440	219	62	158	221	109	112
EMPLOYED	2476	1201	1275	798	219	579	477	273	204
FULL-TIME	2007	1003	1004	651	184	468	353	216	137
PART-TIME	469	198	271	147	36	111	124	57	67
UNEMPLOYED	207	91	116	59	22	37	57	26	31
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.7	7.1	8.3	6.9	9.3	6.0	10.6	8.6	13.2

Table 57. Employment status of all ever-married women and married women, spouse present, by presence and age of children, March 1960-88

(Numbers in thousands)

Year	All ever-married women[1]							Married women, spouse present						
	Civilian labor force							Civilian labor force						
	Total	Percent of population	Employed			Unemployed		Total	Percent of population	Employed			Unemployed	
			Number	Percent		Number	Percent of labor force			Number	Percent		Number	Percent of labor force
				Full time[2]	Part time[3]						Full time[2]	Part time[3]		
	With no children under 18 years old													
1960	9,096	35.0	8,639	80.9	19.1	457	5.0	5,692	34.7	5,420	82.0	18.0	272	4.8
1961	9,824	37.2	9,163	80.3	19.7	661	6.7	6,186	37.3	5,777	80.7	19.3	409	6.6
1962	9,662	35.6	9,173	79.7	20.3	489	5.1	6,158	36.1	5,865	79.3	20.7	291	4.7
1963	9,784	35.8	9,351	80.3	19.7	433	4.4	6,366	37.4	6,125	80.6	19.4	241	3.8
1964	10,091	36.3	9,584	80.7	19.3	507	5.0	6,545	37.8	6,255	80.8	19.2	290	4.4
1965	10,358	36.5	9,958	82.0	18.0	399	3.9	6,755	38.2	6,497	80.8	19.2	258	3.8
1966	10,864	37.0	10,520	81.8	18.2	344	3.2	7,043	38.4	6,811	82.0	18.0	232	3.3
1967	11,048	36.7	10,657	81.8	18.2	391	3.5	7,168	38.9	6,897	81.8	18.2	271	3.8
1968	11,343	37.6	11,002	79.6	20.4	341	3.0	7,564	40.1	7,374	79.9	20.1	190	2.5
1969	11,798	38.3	11,451	80.2	19.8	347	2.9	7,853	41.0	7,616	80.7	19.3	237	3.0
1970	12,146	38.8	11,734	78.8	21.2	412	3.4	8,174	42.2	7,903	78.9	21.1	271	3.3
1971	12,329	38.4	11,765	79.0	21.0	564	4.6	8,455	42.1	8,076	79.1	20.9	379	4.5
1972	12,852	39.5	12,257	78.8	21.4	595	4.6	8,842	42.7	8,422	79.3	20.7	421	4.8
1973	13,257	39.2	12,736	78.7	21.3	521	3.9	9,175	42.8	8,818	79.0	21.0	357	3.9
1974	13,668	39.7	13,120	78.5	21.5	548	4.0	9,456	43.0	9,106	78.7	21.3	350	3.7
1975	14,078	40.0	13,104	77.9	22.1	978	6.9	9,832	43.8	9,136	78.2	21.8	696	7.1
1976	14,354	39.8	13,451	77.2	22.8	903	6.3	9,996	43.7	9,384	77.4	22.6	612	6.1
1977	15,028	40.7	14,065	78.3	23.7	965	6.4	10,427	44.9	9,800	76.4	23.6	627	6.0
1978	15,367	40.8	14,704	77.2	22.8	664	4.3	10,502	44.6	10,090	76.9	23.1	410	3.9
1979	16,168	42.2	15,508	77.3	22.7	662	4.1	11,178	46.8	10,761	76.4	23.6	417	3.7
1980	16,454	41.9	15,713	77.6	22.4	742	4.5	11,246	46.0	10,741	77.0	23.0	505	4.5
1981	16,944	42.4	16,067	77.0	23.0	877	5.2	11,426	46.3	10,871	76.4	23.6	554	4.9
1982	17,489	42.4	16,354	77.0	23.0	1,095	6.2	11,769	46.2	11,121	76.2	23.8	668	5.7
1983	17,576	42.2	16,447	76.4	23.6	1,129	6.4	12,076	46.6	11,383	75.6	24.4	693	5.7
1984	18,185	42.8	17,204	76.8	23.2	982	5.3	12,315	47.2	11,744	75.3	24.7	571	4.6
1985	19,080	43.8	18,078	78.0	22.0	982	5.2	12,784	48.2	12,184	77.6	22.4	600	4.7
1986	19,187	43.6	18,221	78.0	22.0	966	5.0	12,874	48.2	12,285	77.3	22.7	590	4.6
1987	19,470	43.9	18,638	78.5	21.5	833	4.3	13,201	48.4	12,732	77.7	22.3	468	3.5
1988	20,227	44.7	19,525	77.6	22.4	701	3.5	13,526	48.9	13,127	76.3	23.7	399	2.9
	With children under 18 years old													
1960	8,018	30.4	7,501	73.2	26.8	517	6.4	6,561	27.6	6,167	71.2	28.8	394	6.0
1961	8,712	32.7	8,015	72.3	27.7	697	8.0	7,080	29.6	6,560	70.6	29.4	520	7.3
1962	8,835	32.9	8,224	72.2	27.8	611	6.9	7,329	30.3	6,851	70.5	29.5	478	6.5
1963	9,277	33.9	8,617	72.3	27.7	660	7.1	7,695	31.2	7,178	70.5	29.5	517	6.7
1964	9,527	34.5	8,936	72.1	27.9	591	7.3	7,916	32.0	7,371	69.8	30.2	545	6.9
1965	9,582	35.0	9,044	73.4	26.6	538	6.6	7,959	32.2	7,468	71.1	28.9	491	6.2
1966	9,850	35.8	9,381	71.6	28.4	469	4.9	8,135	33.2	7,812	69.5	30.5	323	4.0
1967	10,582	38.2	10,003	72.2	27.8	578	5.5	8,750	35.3	8,302	70.5	29.5	448	5.1
1968	11,078	39.4	10,522	70.0	30.0	556	5.0	9,257	36.9	8,825	67.7	32.3	432	4.7
1969	11,569	40.8	11,058	71.2	28.8	530	4.6	9,742	38.6	9,331	68.9	31.1	411	4.2
1970	12,122	42.0	11,374	69.1	30.9	748	6.2	10,203	39.7	9,594	67.0	33.0	609	6.0
1971	12,229	42.2	11,320	67.6	32.4	908	7.4	10,119	39.7	9,408	64.9	35.1	711	7.0
1972	12,737	42.9	11,914	69.3	30.7	824	6.5	10,493	40.5	9,873	66.2	33.8	620	5.9
1973	13,100	44.1	12,323	69.8	30.2	776	5.9	10,778	41.7	10,208	67.9	32.7	569	5.3
1974	13,678	45.7	12,831	69.3	30.7	848	6.2	11,085	43.1	10,457	66.4	33.6	628	5.7
1975	14,306	47.4	12,833	67.9	32.1	1,475	10.3	11,529	44.9	10,402	65.3	34.7	1,127	9.8
1976	14,764	48.8	13,482	69.1	30.9	1,281	8.7	11,817	46.1	10,873	65.8	34.2	944	8.0
1977	15,322	50.9	14,038	69.5	30.5	1,282	8.4	12,254	48.2	11,327	66.5	33.5	927	7.6
1978	15,899	53.0	14,767	70.4	29.6	1,126	7.1	12,635	50.2	11,837	66.9	33.1	799	6.3
1979	16,372	54.5	15,224	70.1	29.9	1,148	7.0	13,044	51.9	12,211	66.5	33.5	834	6.4
1980	17,297	56.7	16,102	70.8	29.2	1,196	6.8	13,654	54.1	12,849	67.3	32.7	805	5.9
1981	17,843	58.3	16,528	70.2	29.8	1,315	7.4	14,035	55.7	13,124	66.5	33.5	911	6.5
1982	17,854	58.9	16,215	68.6	31.4	1,639	9.2	13,967	56.3	12,806	65.0	35.0	1,161	8.3
1983	17,922	59.5	16,098	69.3	30.7	1,824	10.2	14,151	57.2	12,952	65.7	34.3	1,200	8.5
1984	18,494	61.2	17,021	70.8	29.4	1,472	8.0	14,541	59.8	13,572	67.4	32.6	968	6.7
1985	18,906	62.8	17,442	70.9	29.1	1,464	7.7	14,932	60.8	13,949	68.0	32.0	983	6.6
1986	19,419	63.5	18,063	71.2	28.8	1,356	7.0	15,323	61.3	14,398	68.3	31.7	925	6.0
1987	20,036	65.6	18,767	71.0	29.0	1,269	6.3	15,958	63.8	15,102	68.3	31.7	855	5.4
1988	20,143	66.2	19,054	72.6	27.4	1,089	5.4	16,225	65.0	15,452	69.5	30.5	773	4.8

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 57. Employment status of all ever-married women and married women, spouse present, by presence and age of children, March 1950-88—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

Year	All ever-married women[1]							Married women, spouse present						
	Civilian labor force							Civilian labor force						
	Total	Percent of population	Employed			Unemployed		Total	Percent of population	Employed			Unemployed	
			Number	Percent		Number	Percent of labor force			Number	Percent		Number	Percent of labor force
				Full time[2]	Part time[3]						Full time[2]	Part time[3]		
With children 6 to 17 years old														
1950	5,120	42.5	4,828	74.2	25.8	272	5.3	4,087	39.0	3,885	72.1	27.9	202	4.8
1951	5,529	45.3	5,192	73.6	26.6	337	6.1	4,418	41.7	4,162	71.4	28.6	257	5.8
1952	5,501	44.9	5,234	73.2	26.8	267	4.9	4,445	41.8	4,254	71.4	28.6	191	4.9
1953	5,718	44.6	5,381	73.5	26.5	337	5.9	4,689	41.5	4,424	71.8	28.2	265	5.7
1954	5,934	45.8	5,635	73.1	26.9	299	5.0	4,866	43.0	4,627	70.7	29.3	239	4.9
1955	6,000	45.7	5,739	75.0	25.0	261	4.4	4,836	42.7	4,652	72.5	27.5	184	3.8
1956	6,043	46.5	5,807	71.7	28.3	236	3.9	4,949	43.7	4,786	67.5	30.5	163	3.3
1957	6,443	48.6	6,173	72.4	27.6	270	4.2	5,269	45.0	5,068	70.7	29.3	201	3.8
1958	6,955	49.7	6,724	71.6	28.4	231	3.3	5,699	49.8	5,527	69.1	30.9	166	2.9
1959	7,376	50.7	7,137	71.9	28.1	239	3.2	6,146	48.6	5,973	69.8	30.2	173	2.8
1970	7,567	51.5	7,192	70.3	29.7	375	5.0	6,268	49.2	5,990	68.2	31.8	299	4.8
1971	7,682	52.0	7,447	68.4	31.6	436	5.5	6,429	49.4	6,095	65.8	34.2	334	5.2
1972	8,260	52.6	7,848	70.2	29.8	412	5.0	6,715	50.2	6,415	67.0	33.0	301	4.5
1973	8,277	52.9	7,876	70.7	29.3	401	4.8	6,672	50.1	6,381	67.8	32.2	291	4.4
1974	8,527	53.8	8,197	69.2	30.8	330	4.6	6,811	51.2	6,534	66.3	33.7	277	4.1
1975	8,819	54.8	8,139	68.1	31.9	681	7.7	7,012	52.2	6,511	65.5	34.5	500	7.1
1976	9,286	56.2	8,679	69.6	30.4	607	6.5	7,288	53.6	6,865	66.1	33.9	432	5.9
1977	9,911	58.3	9,288	70.2	29.8	623	6.3	7,707	55.5	7,276	66.7	33.3	430	5.6
1978	10,185	59.9	9,671	71.2	28.8	514	5.0	7,867	57.1	7,541	67.5	32.5	325	4.1
1979	10,450	61.5	9,974	71.5	28.5	576	5.5	8,106	59.0	7,704	67.8	32.2	402	5.0
1980	11,010	64.3	10,435	72.6	27.4	575	5.2	8,428	61.7	8,055	68.7	31.3	372	4.4
1981	11,298	65.5	10,528	72.0	28.0	710	6.3	8,432	62.5	7,983	67.5	32.5	449	5.3
1982	11,061	65.9	10,177	71.0	29.0	884	8.0	8,277	63.2	7,693	67.1	32.9	583	7.0
1983	10,953	66.2	10,009	71.8	28.2	944	8.6	8,292	63.8	7,733	68.0	32.0	560	6.7
1984	11,145	68.1	10,429	72.9	27.1	716	6.4	8,322	65.4	7,904	69.3	30.7	418	5.0
1985	11,419	70.1	10,840	73.0	27.0	779	6.8	8,526	67.8	8,054	69.7	30.3	472	5.5
1986	11,636	70.6	10,958	73.1	26.9	678	5.8	8,750	68.4	8,326	69.4	30.6	424	4.8
1987	11,854	72.4	11,281	74.2	25.8	693	5.8	9,007	70.6	8,563	71.4	28.6	444	4.9
1988	12,106	73.6	11,566	75.0	25.0	540	4.5	9,269	72.5	8,918	71.8	28.2	351	3.8
With children under 6 years old														
1950	2,696	20.2	2,653	71.3	28.7	245	8.5	2,474	18.8	2,282	69.6	30.4	192	7.8
1951	3,183	22.1	2,823	70.2	29.8	360	11.3	2,661	20.9	2,398	69.1	30.9	263	9.9
1952	3,334	22.8	2,990	70.3	29.7	344	10.3	2,884	21.3	2,597	68.9	31.1	287	10.0
1953	3,559	24.4	3,236	70.2	29.8	323	9.1	3,006	22.5	2,754	68.3	31.7	252	8.4
1954	3,593	24.5	3,201	70.2	29.8	392	10.9	3,050	22.7	2,744	68.3	31.7	306	10.0
1955	3,682	25.3	3,305	70.7	29.3	377	10.2	3,117	23.3	2,810	68.8	31.2	307	9.8
1956	3,807	26.2	3,574	71.5	28.5	233	6.1	3,186	24.2	3,026	69.5	30.5	160	5.0
1957	4,139	28.7	3,830	72.0	28.0	309	7.5	3,491	26.5	3,334	70.2	29.8	247	7.1
1958	4,123	29.2	3,798	67.3	32.7	325	7.9	3,564	27.6	3,298	65.3	34.7	266	7.5
1959	4,223	30.4	3,932	69.8	30.2	291	6.9	3,596	28.5	3,358	67.4	32.6	239	6.6
1970	4,555	32.2	4,182	67.1	32.9	373	8.2	3,914	30.3	3,604	64.9	35.1	310	7.9
1971	4,347	31.4	3,973	66.0	34.0	474	10.9	3,690	29.6	3,313	63.3	36.7	377	10.2
1972	4,478	31.9	4,066	67.7	32.3	412	9.2	3,778	30.1	3,449	64.9	35.1	329	8.4
1973	4,824	34.2	4,447	67.9	32.1	377	7.8	4,104	32.7	3,827	66.4	33.6	277	6.7
1974	5,152	36.6	4,694	69.4	30.6	458	8.9	4,274	34.4	3,923	66.6	33.4	351	8.2
1975	5,488	38.9	4,694	67.7	32.3	794	14.5	4,518	36.7	3,892	64.9	35.1	627	13.9
1976	5,477	39.7	4,802	68.3	31.7	675	12.3	4,520	37.5	4,008	65.5	34.5	512	11.3
1977	5,411	41.1	4,752	68.2	31.8	661	12.2	4,547	39.4	4,051	66.1	33.9	497	10.9
1978	5,706	43.6	5,096	68.5	31.5	612	10.7	4,768	41.7	4,294	65.9	34.1	474	9.9
1979	5,922	45.2	5,352	67.5	32.5	572	9.7	4,939	43.3	4,507	64.4	35.6	431	8.7
1980	6,229	47.0	5,667	67.4	32.6	561	9.0	5,227	45.1	4,794	64.9	35.1	433	8.3
1981	6,605	49.1	6,000	67.0	33.0	605	9.2	5,603	47.9	5,141	64.9	35.0	462	8.2
1982	6,793	50.9	6,038	64.5	35.5	756	11.1	5,690	48.7	5,113	61.9	38.1	577	10.1
1983	6,970	51.4	6,090	65.3	34.7	880	12.6	5,859	49.9	5,219	62.4	37.6	640	10.9
1984	7,348	53.0	6,562	66.9	33.1	786	10.9	6,219	51.8	5,668	64.7	35.3	551	8.9
1985	7,488	54.3	6,802	67.5	32.5	685	9.1	6,406	53.4	5,895	65.7	34.3	511	8.0
1986	7,783	55.2	7,104	68.4	31.6	678	8.7	6,573	53.8	6,072	66.8	33.2	501	7.6
1987	8,082	57.5	7,506	66.2	33.8	577	7.1	6,952	56.8	6,539	64.4	35.6	413	5.9
1988	8,037	57.6	7,466	68.7	31.3	549	6.8	6,956	57.1	6,595	66.5	33.5	421	6.1

See footnotes at end of table.

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TABLE 15. PRESENCE AND AGE OF OWN CHILDREN OF CIVILIAN WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OVER, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND MARITAL STATUS

	TOTAL	WITH NO OWN CHILDREN	TOTAL WITH OWN CHILD UNDER 18	6 TO 17 NONE UNDER 6	14 TO 17 NONE YOUNGER	6 TO 13 NONE YOUNGER	UNDER 6 TOTAL	3 TO 5 NONE YOUNGER	UNDER 3
TOTAL RACE									
TOTAL									
TOTAL	108141	70670	35471	19178	5547	13631	16294	8836	9458
IN LABOR FORCE	63900	38253	25647	15028	4403	10625	10819	4737	5882
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	60.2	54.1	72.3	78.4	79.4	77.9	65.2	69.3	62.2
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	42241	32417	9824	4150	1143	3006	5474	2099	3576
EMPLOYED	60889	36880	24209	14370	4244	10126	9839	4385	5454
FULL-TIME	44511	26858	17653	10882	3433	7450	6771	3124	3646
PART-TIME	16378	9823	6555	3487	811	2677	3068	1261	1807
UNEMPLOYED	3011	1573	1438	658	160	498	780	352	428
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	4.7	4.1	5.6	4.4	3.6	4.7	7.3	7.4	7.3
TOTAL RACE NEVER MARRIED									
TOTAL	24808	20672	4136	1530	275	1255	2606	1049	1557
IN LABOR FORCE	16885	13888	2997	1242	218	1024	1755	769	986
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	68.1	67.2	72.5	81.2	79.3	81.6	67.3	73.3	63.3
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	7923	6784	1139	288	57	231	851	280	571
EMPLOYED	15626	13082	2544	1098	204	892	1448	627	822
FULL-TIME	10271	8361	1910	875	167	708	1035	474	561
PART-TIME	5356	4721	634	221	37	184	413	153	260
UNEMPLOYED	1259	806	453	146	14	132	307	143	164
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.5	5.8	15.1	11.8	6.8	12.9	17.5	18.5	16.7
TOTAL RACE MARRIED, SPOUSE PRES.									
TOTAL	55241	29580	25661	13641	3918	9722	12021	4807	7213
IN LABOR FORCE	34138	16007	18129	10474	3071	7403	7655	3224	4431
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	61.8	54.1	70.6	76.8	78.4	76.1	63.7	67.1	61.4
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	21105	13573	7533	3167	847	2320	4366	1584	2782
EMPLOYED	33028	15581	17447	10138	2984	7154	7309	3091	4218
FULL-TIME	24333	12060	12273	7380	2363	5018	4893	2110	2783
PART-TIME	8695	3521	5174	2758	621	2136	2418	981	1435
UNEMPLOYED	1108	426	682	336	87	249	346	133	213
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	3.2	2.7	3.8	3.2	2.8	3.4	4.5	4.1	4.8
TOTAL RACE MARRIED, SPOUSE ABSENT									
TOTAL	4000	2168	1831	1077	304	773	755	407	347
IN LABOR FORCE	2683	1292	1391	857	242	615	534	299	235
LABOR FORCE PART. RATE	67.1	59.6	76.0	79.6	79.7	79.6	70.7	73.3	67.7
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	1318	876	440	219	62	158	221	109	112
EMPLOYED	2478	1201	1275	798	219	579	477	273	204
FULL-TIME	2007	1003	1004	651	184	468	353	216	137
PART-TIME	469	198	271	147	36	111	124	57	67
UNEMPLOYED	207	91	116	59	22	37	57	28	31
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.7	7.1	8.3	6.9	9.3	6.0	10.6	8.6	13.2

Table 57. Employment status of all ever-married women and married women, spouse present, by presence and age of children, March 1960-88

(Numbers in thousands)

Year	All ever-married women[1]							Married women, spouse present						
	Civilian labor force							Civilian labor force						
	Total	Percent of population	Employed			Unemployed		Total	Percent of population	Employed			Unemployed	
			Number	Percent		Number	Percent of labor force			Number	Percent		Number	Percent of labor force
				Full time[2]	Part time[3]						Full time[2]	Part time[3]		
With no children under 18 years old														
1960	9,096	35.0	8,839	80.9	19.1	457	5.0	5,692	34.7	5,420	82.0	18.0	272	4.8
1961	9,624	37.2	9,169	80.3	19.7	681	6.7	6,186	37.3	5,777	80.7	19.3	409	6.6
1962	9,662	35.6	9,173	79.7	20.3	489	5.1	6,156	36.1	5,865	79.3	20.7	291	4.7
1963	9,784	35.8	9,351	80.3	19.7	433	4.4	6,366	37.4	6,125	80.6	19.4	241	3.8
1964	10,091	36.3	9,584	80.7	19.3	507	5.0	6,545	37.8	6,255	80.8	19.2	290	4.4
1965	10,359	36.5	9,959	82.0	18.0	399	3.9	6,755	38.3	6,497	80.8	19.2	258	3.8
1966	10,864	37.0	10,520	81.8	18.2	344	3.2	7,043	38.4	6,811	82.0	18.0	232	3.3
1967	11,046	36.7	10,657	81.8	18.2	391	3.5	7,158	38.8	6,887	81.8	18.2	271	3.8
1968	11,343	37.6	11,002	79.6	20.4	341	3.0	7,564	40.1	7,374	79.9	20.1	190	2.5
1969	11,798	38.3	11,451	80.2	19.8	347	2.9	7,853	41.0	7,616	80.7	19.3	237	3.0
1970	12,148	38.6	11,734	78.8	21.2	412	3.4	8,174	42.2	7,903	78.9	21.1	271	3.3
1971	12,329	38.4	11,765	79.0	21.0	564	4.6	8,455	42.1	8,076	79.1	20.9	378	4.5
1972	12,852	39.5	12,257	78.6	21.4	595	4.6	8,942	42.7	8,422	79.3	20.7	421	4.8
1973	13,257	39.2	12,736	78.7	21.3	521	3.9	9,175	42.6	8,818	79.0	21.0	357	3.9
1974	13,668	39.7	13,120	78.5	21.5	548	4.0	9,456	43.0	9,106	78.7	21.3	350	3.7
1975	14,078	40.0	13,104	77.9	22.1	973	6.9	9,832	43.8	9,136	78.2	21.8	696	7.1
1976	14,354	39.8	13,451	77.2	22.8	903	6.3	9,896	43.7	9,284	77.4	22.6	612	6.1
1977	15,029	40.7	14,085	76.3	23.7	965	6.4	10,427	44.8	9,800	78.4	23.6	627	6.0
1978	15,367	40.6	14,704	77.2	22.8	664	4.3	10,502	44.6	10,090	76.9	23.1	410	3.9
1979	16,169	42.2	15,508	77.3	22.7	662	4.1	11,179	46.6	10,761	76.4	23.6	417	3.7
1980	16,454	41.9	15,719	77.6	22.4	742	4.5	11,246	46.0	10,741	77.0	23.0	505	4.5
1981	16,944	42.4	16,067	77.0	23.0	877	5.2	11,426	46.3	10,871	76.4	23.6	554	4.9
1982	17,439	42.4	16,354	77.0	23.0	1,085	6.2	11,789	46.2	11,121	76.2	23.8	668	5.7
1983	17,575	42.2	16,447	76.4	23.6	1,129	6.4	12,076	46.6	11,383	75.6	24.4	693	5.7
1984	18,165	42.8	17,204	76.8	23.2	962	5.3	12,315	47.2	11,744	75.3	24.7	571	4.6
1985	19,060	43.8	18,078	78.0	22.0	982	5.2	12,784	48.2	12,184	77.6	22.4	600	4.7
1986	19,187	43.8	18,221	78.0	22.0	966	5.0	12,874	48.2	12,285	77.3	22.7	590	4.6
1987	19,476	43.9	18,638	78.5	21.5	839	4.3	13,201	48.4	12,792	77.7	22.3	468	3.5
1988	20,227	44.7	19,525	77.6	22.4	701	3.5	13,526	48.9	13,127	78.2	23.7	399	2.9
With children under 18 years old														
1960	8,018	30.4	7,501	73.2	26.8	517	6.4	6,591	27.6	6,197	71.2	28.8	394	6.0
1961	8,712	32.7	8,015	72.3	27.7	697	8.0	7,080	29.6	6,560	70.6	29.4	520	7.3
1962	8,835	32.9	8,224	72.2	27.8	611	6.9	7,329	30.3	6,851	70.5	29.5	478	6.5
1963	9,277	33.9	8,617	72.3	27.7	660	7.1	7,695	31.2	7,178	70.5	29.5	517	6.7
1964	9,527	34.5	8,836	72.1	27.9	691	7.3	7,916	32.0	7,371	69.8	30.2	545	6.9
1965	9,682	35.0	9,044	73.4	26.6	638	6.8	7,953	32.2	7,462	71.1	28.9	491	6.2
1966	9,850	35.8	9,361	71.6	28.4	489	4.9	8,195	33.2	7,912	69.5	30.5	323	4.0
1967	10,582	36.2	10,003	72.2	27.8	579	5.5	8,750	35.9	8,302	70.5	29.5	448	5.1
1968	11,076	39.4	10,522	70.0	30.0	556	5.0	9,257	38.9	8,825	67.7	32.3	432	4.7
1969	11,599	40.8	11,069	71.2	28.8	530	4.6	9,742	38.6	9,331	68.9	31.1	411	4.2
1970	12,122	42.0	11,374	69.1	30.9	748	6.2	10,203	39.7	9,594	67.0	33.0	609	6.0
1971	12,229	42.2	11,920	67.6	32.4	909	7.4	10,119	39.7	9,408	64.9	35.1	711	7.0
1972	12,737	42.9	11,914	69.3	30.7	824	6.5	10,493	40.5	9,873	66.2	33.8	620	5.9
1973	13,100	44.1	12,323	69.8	30.2	776	5.9	10,776	41.7	10,208	67.3	32.7	569	5.3
1974	13,678	45.7	12,831	69.3	30.7	846	6.2	11,086	43.1	10,457	66.4	33.6	628	5.7
1975	14,306	47.4	12,833	67.9	32.1	1,475	10.3	11,529	44.9	10,402	65.3	34.7	1,127	9.8
1976	14,764	48.8	13,482	69.1	30.9	1,281	8.7	11,617	46.1	10,673	65.8	34.2	944	8.0
1977	15,322	50.9	14,039	69.5	30.5	1,282	8.4	12,254	46.2	11,327	66.5	33.5	927	7.6
1978	15,893	53.0	14,767	70.4	29.6	1,126	7.1	12,685	50.2	11,897	66.9	33.1	788	6.3
1979	16,372	54.5	15,224	70.1	29.9	1,148	7.0	13,044	51.9	12,211	66.5	33.5	834	6.4
1980	17,237	56.7	16,102	70.8	29.2	1,136	6.6	13,654	54.1	12,849	67.3	32.7	805	5.9
1981	17,843	58.3	16,528	70.2	29.8	1,315	7.4	14,035	55.7	13,124	66.5	33.5	911	6.5
1982	17,854	58.9	16,215	68.6	31.4	1,639	9.2	13,967	56.3	12,806	65.0	35.0	1,161	8.3
1983	17,922	59.5	16,098	69.3	30.7	1,824	10.2	14,151	57.2	12,952	65.7	34.3	1,200	8.5
1984	18,494	61.2	17,021	70.6	29.4	1,472	8.0	14,541	58.6	13,572	67.4	32.6	969	6.7
1985	18,906	62.8	17,442	70.9	29.1	1,464	7.7	14,932	60.9	13,949	68.0	32.0	983	6.8
1986	19,419	63.5	18,063	71.2	28.8	1,356	7.0	15,323	61.3	14,398	68.3	31.7	925	6.0
1987	20,036	65.8	18,767	71.0	29.0	1,269	6.3	15,958	63.8	15,102	68.3	31.7	856	5.4
1988	20,143	66.2	19,064	72.6	27.4	1,089	5.4	16,225	65.0	15,452	69.5	30.5	773	4.8

See footnotes at end of table.

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 5-17-99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 5-18-99

Subject: Gambling State Remarks Revised

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☑	☐	MOORE	☑	☐
PODESTA	☑	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☑	☐	REED	☑	☐
RICCHETTI	☑	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☑	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☑	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☑	☐	STEIN	☑	☐
CAHILL	☐	☐	STERN	☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	TRAMONTANO	☑	☐
JOHNSON	☑	☐	UCELLI	☑	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☑	☐
LEWIS	☑	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	Katzen	☑	☐
LOCKHART	☐	☑	Rabner	☑	☐
MARSHALL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Comments to Glastris/Shih

RESPONSE:

REVISED

Draft 5/15/99 1:45 a.m.
Glastris/Shih

99 MAY 17 10:28

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"NEW TOOLS FOR PARENTS IN THE NEW ECONOMY"
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
GRAMBLING STATE UNIVERSITY
GRAMBLING, LOUISIANA
MAY 23, 1999

When I heard that I'd been invited to Grambling State University, there wasn't much discussion about whether or not I would be here today. I was not about to miss a chance to see the "Best Band in the Land," the Grambling State Marching Tigers play without having to buy a ticket to the Super Bowl [*they have played in four*].

It is an honor to join the Class of 1999 – the last Grambling Class of the 20th Century -- on this very important day in your lives. In so many ways, the story of this fine institution embodies the African American experience in our 20th century. In 1901, a small group of farmers -- the children and grandchildren of slaves -- wrote a letter to Booker T. Washington, asking him for a teacher to help set an agricultural and industrial school in these piney woods. [*Quote from letter TK*] At a time when the doors of higher education remained locked to all but white students, Grambling gave young African-Americans the education and the pride they needed to rise above bigotry and injustice.

Today, Grambling is truly a university for the 21st Century. This beautiful campus has nurtured some of America's best educators and lawyers, preachers and public servants, nurses and businessmen. And it's not just the NFL that recruits here -- a legacy of your legendary coach Eddie Robinson and his successor, Superbowl MVP Doug Williams. America's top technology firms, know that Grambling State -- first among all American colleges in conferring Computer and Information Science degrees to African-Americans -- is the place to go for young talent.

You join in a proud tradition and I congratulate each of you on your achievement.

But I think the graduates here today will forgive me if I speak as well to your parents -- to the parents here and to all parents across America. They should be proud not only of you, but of themselves. To raise a child from an infancy to college graduation is no small feat. In fact, it is an epic accomplishment.

Every one of you has a story -- a story of sacrifice, of unconditional love given, of late night worries and silent hopes. Joyce [Gaines] of Vallejo, California, who took on two extra jobs so that her daughter Tieaesha could go to college. Even though she was suffering from five ruptured disks, Ms. Gaines commuted 100 miles each way to work for a company in Sacramento. It was worth it. Today Tieaesha is graduating with a degree in Sociology and plans to open a

home for abused children *[Tk other heroic stories of Grambling parents...a husband and wife who worked double shifts; a "sandwich generation" parent caring for both children and elderly relatives.]* Today, the burdens of parents are doubled, as they care not only for growing children but for aging parents.

We must do everything we can to make being a parent easier in America. This spring, in commencement addresses to the class of '99, I will be speaking about how a bold new economy is transforming virtually every facet of our lives. Next month, at the University of Chicago, I will talk about how we must put a human face on the dynamic but sometimes disruptive international marketplace. Today, I want to talk about how we must put children and families first in the new economy here at home.

When parents struggle as mightily as Joyce Gaines has to send their children to college, they are placing their faith in the idea that education will give their children a better life than they had. Never before has that faith been better placed. The class of '99 is entering a knowledge-based economy of unparalleled opportunity and possibility. We all know that this is the strongest peacetime economy in American history. We all know that it is an economy driven by information and fast-paced technological change, in which a college degree is essential for success. But what we are now beginning to glimpse is that the best may be yet to come. A productivity explosion, driven by investments in technology – from the email that links offices around the world to the computers used to track warehouse inventory – is now being fully felt throughout the economy. America has a tremendous capacity for more growth, greater investment, higher salaries, and even faster technological innovation. With your diplomas in hand, you will have the opportunity to participate in this exciting new economy, to help shape it, and to live lives of greater accomplishment than your parents ever dreamed of.

But as your parents can attest, we still have a long way to go before we have adapted to the demands of this new era. The modern economy is more productive, and we are more prosperous. But because the pace of work has picked up, parents feel more stress, and are bringing that stress home to our children at night. The modern economy has enriched our lives with lower-priced electronic gear and a growing variety of media entertainment. But too often, TV, radio, the Internet bombard children with images and ideas no parent would ever want them to see or learn. The modern economy is creating more jobs at higher wages, allowing parents to provide more for their children. But working parents find themselves with less and less time to give their children the loving attention they need to succeed as adults. Dr. Martin Luther King once wrote: "It is quite easy for me to think of a God of love mainly because I grew up in a family where love was central and lovely relationships were ever present." Every child still needs those ever present relationships.

Last year, I asked the President's Council of Economic Advisers to study the sweeping changes the new economy has brought to our families. It has been said that if every economist on Earth were laid end to end they still wouldn't reach a conclusion. But on this question a team of the nation's top economists has reached a conclusion, one that confirms our common sense

and common experience. They found that because more and more parents are working outside the home, they have less time for their children. The percentage of married women in the workforce has nearly doubled in a generation, from 38 percent in 1969 to 68 percent in 1996. At the same time, the percentage of single parent families has more than doubled. As a consequence, the average parent has tk fewer hours per week to spend at home.

The vast majority of today's parents do everything they can to give their children whole and happy childhoods. Mothers and fathers rise early to cook breakfast and pack lunches. They stay up late to check homework and read bedtime stories. They give up weekends to take children to practices and lessons and church. They do whatever it takes to do right by their children.

But no matter how hard they try, they worry that it is still not enough. They worry that waking up early and staying up late to make time for their children still might not be enough, when that child still has to go home alone to an empty house after school. They worry that all those days teaching a child to "just say no" might not be enough, when drug dealers and gang members wait on corners to tempt their children on the way home. They worry that all those Sunday morning sermons about a world of love might not be enough, when the TV programs their children watch, the music they listen to, the video games they play show a world of hate and violence and tawdriness. They worry that all those nights working overtime to buy a computer so that their child can visit some of the world's finest museums and libraries on the Internet might not be enough, when that same Internet can also lead them to recipes for pipe bombs and explosives.

We are in the midst of a transformation nearly as powerful and far-reaching as the one our nation experienced when we moved from farm to factory. Then as now, sweeping technological change brought wrenching social change. Families migrated to cities, husbands went to work in factories, and wives were left alone in cramped apartments, their children roaming the streets or, worse, toiling in dangerous factories. It was even harder for African American women, who have always had to work outside the home. America grew alarmed at conditions in the cities and responded with big, practical solutions--forming labor unions, starting settlement houses, banning child labor, and requiring that all children go to school.

Today, with families under new strain, the only solutions some people can think of are tax cuts and attacks on Hollywood. Hollywood must do better. And tax cuts will help some, if targeted to families that need them. But the new demands of the modern, 24 hour economy call for a new response, across the board. We cannot and must try to turn back the clock or block economic change. Rather, we must reshape our institutions in ways that give parents more and better ways to fulfill their responsibilities at home and at work. America made the industrial age safe for families. Today, we must make the information age safe for families.

We cannot ask government to raise our children. Yet we cannot simply tell parents -- "you're on your own, here's a tax cut, good luck." We have a duty to help parents -- to give them the tools they need to master the powerful forces of the new economy. We must give parents the

choices and the power to pass on their values to their children.

The right kind of America for families would recognize that the most precious commodity for parents today is time -- and that parents need tools to help carve out that time. Parents should not have to fear a boss' wrath because they left work to take a child to the doctor – or call in sick to attend a parent teacher conference or volunteer in a school. Parents should have more freedom to set their own schedules at work. They should be free to work overtime and choose to be paid in extra dollars or extra time off.

We can make this a reality if we expand the Family and Medical Leave Act, the first bill I signed into law back in 1993.

Second, the right kind of America for families would make sure that when parents are work, their children are safe and well cared for. More often than not, both parents work. That means that, for millions of families, finding quality child care is critical; today, many low-income families spend up to a quarter of their income on child care. We can change that, with the child care subsidies and tax credits in my balanced budget. Like it or not, the hours after the schoolbell rings and before parents come home from work are perilous hours. Most juvenile crime takes place between the hours of 3 and 6. Today, millions of working parents start eyeing the clock every day at three in the afternoon, wondering if their children have made it safely home from school, and wondering how they will fare, at home alone. We can change that. My balanced budget triples investment in quality after school care. We can take classrooms that are now dark and empty in the afternoons and fill them with the sounds of children playing and reciting their multiplication tables.

Third, the right kind of America for families would find new and pathbreaking ways to bring back an old idea: that children can be with parents when they work. I have experienced the benefits of this myself. When I was a boy, living with my widowed mother and her parents in Hope, Arkansas, I spent many delightful hours in my grandfather's tiny grocery store. I'd watch him chat with his customers, black and white, and usually poor. He'd give credit to whoever needed it, and they always paid him back. In that little family business, I absorbed lessons and values that would stay with me all my life.

And as a father, I have had the privilege of living, as it were, "above the store," first in the Governor's Mansion, then in the White House. I can "commute" from my office to the family dinner table in about three minutes when the lights are with me. Millions of other Americans in the new economy have discovered the benefits of working at home by telecommuting--working from home using a computer and modem. We can make that a reality for millions more by challenging more corporations to allow their employees to reach the office not by road but by the information superhighway.

In the right kind of America for families, parents who could not work at home could bring their school-age children to work. Dozens of innovative corporations around the country

have teamed up with school districts to build schools at worksites, and my balanced budget would encourage more of them. Employees who enroll their children at these schools can be summoned by the teacher at a moment's notice to lend support on a discipline problem or sooth their child over a skinned knee. They can get deeply involved in their children's schooling--a key factor in academic success. Workplace schools can bring parents and children closer together.

In the right kind of America for families, parents wouldn't have to worry that their children are watching violent programs on TV or visiting objectionable Web sites. We are making that happen, with new tools for parents. Soon, half of all TV sets sold in America will come with V-chips: devices parents can use to screen out sex, violence, or any program they don't want their children to see. And soon, with just the click of a mouse, 95 percent of all Internet users will be able to make offensive web-sites off-limits to their children.

If we provide these tools--to screen out bad influences, to bring home and work closer, to spend more time at home--we can help working parents succeed at the most important job of all: the job of raising children.

It is the responsibility of government to make these tools available. But is the responsibility of parents to use them. More working parents must take advantage of tools already available, such as family leave. More businesses must take a look at their own workplaces and see how they can make them more family friendly. And all across American society, we must get serious about putting our children first.

In a few years, many of you graduating today will be parents, and some of you already are. To raise your children well, you will have to make many sacrifices. But then, your parents made many sacrifices for you. I want all of you to take a minute to think of how you got to this day. How many of you would have made it if it weren't for your families? If it weren't for the precious hours your mom or dad found between shifts to help you with your homework, or read you a story. If it weren't for mornings your mother rose at the crack of dawn to go to work so that she could be home when you got back from school. If it weren't for the hugs and home-cooked meals that conveyed more powerfully than words, unconditional love, support and faith. Ask your parents today: "Was it worth it?'

Until you watch your own child graduate from school, you may never know just how proud your parents are today. But let me just add that all America is proud today. Congratulations.

Earnings of husbands and wives in dual-earner families

As married women have become increasingly likely to work in recent decades, their contribution to family earnings has grown as well—indeed, in 20 to 25 percent of dual-earner couples, wives earn more than their husbands; these trends may have affected family decisionmaking, giving some women more input into family financial and career decisions

Anne E. Winkler

As has been well documented, labor force participation rates among married women have increased dramatically in recent decades, rising from 35 percent in 1966 to 61 percent in 1994. The increase was even more dramatic for married women with children under 3 years: 21 percent to 60 percent over the same period. As a result, dual-earner couples are swiftly replacing the traditional married-couple model of a "breadwinner" husband and "homemaker" wife. From 1970 to 1993, the proportion of dual-earner couples increased from 39 percent to 61 percent of all married couples.[1] Moreover, recent work by Chinhui Juhn and Kevin M. Murphy suggests that wives are entering the work force largely in response to women's rising labor market opportunities, rather than due to declining opportunities for their spouses.[2]

As the number of dual-earner couples rises, new questions are raised about gender roles within marriages. In the past, it was reasonable to assume that the husband's career was primary and took precedence over the wife's career. However, since the 1980s, falling real earnings for men combined with rising labor force participation and real earnings for women probably have affected decisionmaking within some married-couple families. Data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) show that the proportion of dual-earner couples in which wives earned more than their husbands increased from 16 percent in 1981 to 23 percent in 1996.[3] The figures suggest the presence of a growing number of married couples in which traditional gender roles vis-à-vis labor market activity may be reversed—that is, the wife is the primary earner and the husband is the secondary earner. As further evidence of the changing roles of husbands and wives in the family, research by Francine Blau indicates that the amount of time spent by women doing housework has declined since the 1970s, although women continue to spend considerably more time than men doing such work.[4]

Because the distribution of earnings within dual-earner families may affect household decisionmaking as well as labor market decisions, this article seeks to gauge the relative economic positions of husbands and wives in these families, as defined by their paid labor market activity. Data on matched pairs of husbands and wives are drawn from the March 1993 Annual Demographic File of the Current Population Survey. The analysis complements and expands upon previous work by Howard Hayghe on the contribution to family income made by working wives.[5] Particular attention is paid here to quantifying the number of "nontraditional dual-earner couples," or those in which the wife is the primary earner and the husband is the secondary earner. In addition, the article examines the joint distribution of husbands' and wives' educational attainment and wages to highlight the implications of marital

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sorting on relative wage outcomes, as well as to ascertain the percentage of low-wage men married to high-wage women. The latter figure provides further evidence of the presence and extent of nontraditional couples.

Why look at spouses' relative earnings?

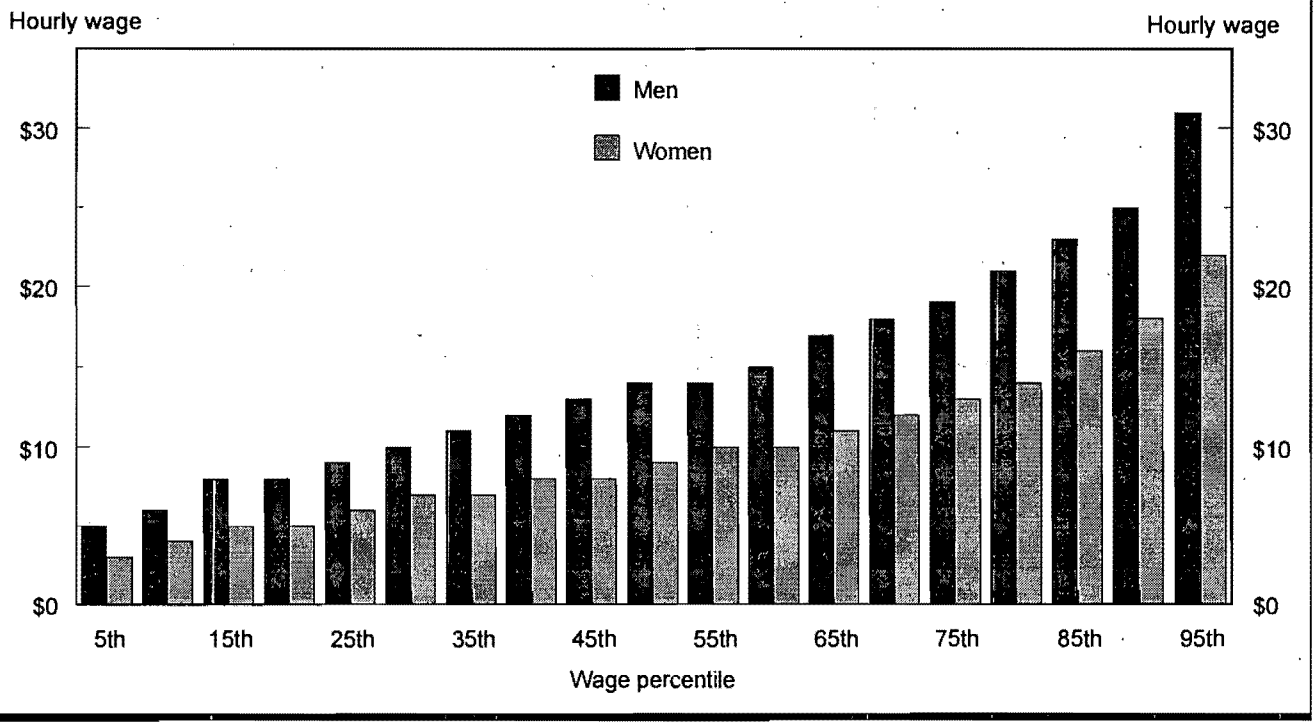
Examining the relative labor market earnings of husbands and wives provides insight into the status of women within dual-earner families. At least in some families, the greater the wife's relative earnings, the more control she is likely to have over family financial decisions. In the language of bargaining models of the family, as the relative income of wives rises, so does their "threat point"—the level of utility they would attain if they left the marriage—and thus also their bargaining power within the marriage.[6] Some research suggests, for example, that as wives' incomes rise relative to those of their husbands, household allocations more closely reflect the wives' preferences, such as greater resources transferred to children.[7]

Whose career takes precedence within the dual-earner family also likely affects labor market decisions and, hence, future earnings growth—that is, the individual with the primary career in the family is more likely to be able to initiate wage-enhancing moves to improve his or her career, and is less likely to be subject to moves with negative consequences initiated by the spouse. In addition, while the primary earner may never actually make a move like changing jobs, he or she may have more opportunities to investigate outside offers, present them to current employers, and bargain for higher wages at the current job.[8] As a result, the distribution of earnings within dual-earner families might even affect the size of the gender "wage gap."

Description of sample

As mentioned earlier, the sample was drawn from the March 1993 Supplement to the CPS. The data were restricted to dual-earner couples in which both the husband and wife were aged 25 to 64 at the time of the survey, and both were wage and salary workers with positive earnings in the year preceding the survey, 1992. Those with any farm or self-employment income were excluded.[9] All hours and earnings figures are based on labor market activity conducting during 1992. Hourly wages are computed for each spouse by dividing annual earnings by annual hours worked. To deal with CPS top-coding issues, the sample is restricted to those with computed hourly wages of $100 or less. (This restriction reduces the

Chart 1. Distribution of hourly wages for husbands and wives in dual-earner families, March 1993



sample by approximately 0.2 percent.) Given these sample restrictions, there were nearly 22 million dual-earner couples in the United States in 1993.

Given the well-known "earnings gap" between men and women, it is not surprising that the overall hourly wage distribution for husbands in dual-earner couples lies above the wage distribution for wives. (See chart 1.) The mean hourly wage was $15.42 for dual-earner husbands and $10.58 for wives. The chart also shows that the ratio of women's wages to men's wages is fairly constant at any percentile examined—from 65 to 72 percent.

Marital sorting

In describing relative wages and earnings of dual-earner couples, it is important to recognize that husbands and wives do not randomly pair together but rather tend to follow a process referred to as "positive assortative mating"—that is, more highly educated, higher wage men tend to pair with more highly educated, higher wage women; while less educated, lower wage men tend to pair with less educated, lower wage women. Table 1 cross-tabulates the respective education levels of husbands and wives in dual-earner couples, using five categories: less than high school, high school completion only, some college, 4 years of college, and more than 4 years of college. For each combination of educational attainment levels, the proportion of couples and their combined mean annual wage and salary earnings are shown. Summing the proportions along the diagonal that runs from the top left corner to the lower right corner shows that sorting by educational attainment is substantial. In 50 percent of dual-earner couples, husbands and wives had the same level of education. Furthermore, in nearly 80 percent of dual-earner couples, the husband had as much or more education than the wife, probably reflecting both gender differences in educational attainment and social custom.[10]

Table 1. Percent distribution and combined annual earnings of dual-earner couples by educational attainment level of both spouses, March 1993

Spouse's level of education	Husband, less than high school	Husband, high school graduate only	Husband, some college, no degree	Husband, 4 years of college	Husband, more than 4 years of college
Percent distribution					
Wife, less than high school	4.8	2.8	0.9	0.2	(1)
Wife, high school graduate only	4.6	21.6	8.9	3.5	.9
Wife, some college, no degree	1.3	7.0	11.6	5.0	2.2
Wife, 4 years of college	.3	2.2	3.5	8.0	3.7
Wife, more than 4 years of college	(1)	.5	1.0	2.0	3.7
Combined annual earnings					
Wife, less than high school	$28,581	$32,556	$41,304	$55,234	$60,996
Wife, high school graduate only	34,143	42,116	46,981	55,989	60,978
Wife, some college, no degree	39,035	46,337	50,975	61,648	69,363
Wife, 4 years of college	44,316	54,243	55,678	65,560	73,671
Wife, more than 4 years of college	42,146	61,310	63,738	73,572	85,179

[1] Proportion is less than 0.1 percent.

NOTE: The 25 cells in the percent distribution portion of the table sum to 100 percent; also, 21.9 million couples are represented.

Table 2. Percent distribution and combined annual earnings of dual-earner couples by wage quintile of both spouses, March 1993

Quintile of spouse's wage	Husband's wage in first quintile	Husband's wage in second quintile	Husband's wage in third quintile	Husband's wage in fourth quintile	Husband's wage in fifth quintile
Percent distribution					
Wife's wage in first quintile	6.5	4.1	3.6	3.0	2.5
Wife's wage in second quintile	5.1	4.7	4.0	3.2	3.1
Wife's wage in third quintile	3.4	4.5	4.0	3.8	3.5
Wife's wage in fourth quintile	2.2	3.6	4.9	4.9	4.4
Wife's wage in fifth quintile	1.9	2.6	3.9	5.3	7.5
Combined annual earnings					
Wife's wage in first quintile	$17,936	$27,202	$34,909	$43,463	$62,881
Wife's wage in second quintile	24,658	32,959	40,985	48,484	67,047
Wife's wage in third quintile	29,740	38,890	45,412	53,903	71,062
Wife's wage in fourth quintile	35,378	45,984	53,795	61,363	81,500
Wife's wage in fifth quintile	45,042	54,019	61,338	74,434	97,324

NOTE: The 25 cells in the percent distribution portion of the table sum to 100 percent; also, 21.9 million couples are represented.

Tables 2 and 3 are similar to table 1, except that they show the percent distribution of dual-earner couples by wage quintiles. (Table 2 is for all dual-earner couples, and table 3 is for those couples in which both the husband and the wife

worked full time, year round.) The tables indicate that positive assortative mating also occurs with respect to labor market outcomes. These results are not surprising, given the high degree of sorting by education level, and because the level of education is a key determinant of economic outcomes. If men and women married randomly, the proportions in each cell would equal 4 percent. Yet, both tables show that in nearly 30 percent of couples, the husband's and wife's wage was in the same quintile. Moreover, in nearly two-thirds of couples, the husband's wage was in the same or a higher quintile than the wife's wage.

Nevertheless, a comparison of tables 1 through 3 indicates that sorting is most pronounced by educational attainment, probably because many husbands and wives meet in school. On the other hand, a variety of factors, including differences in college major, availability of jobs, labor market discrimination, differences in occupational choices, household responsi-bilities, and family income effects, lead to a wider distribution of wage outcomes, even for those couples in which both spouses are highly educated.

Table 3. Percent distribution and combined annual earnings of dual-earner couples in which both spouses worked full time, year round by wage quintile of both spouses, March 1993

Quintile of spouse's wage	Husband's wage in first quintile	Husband's wage in second quintile	Husband's wage in third quintile	Husband's wage in fourth quintile	Husband's wage in fifth quintile
Percent distribution					
Wife's wage in first quintile	7.1	4.2	3.1	2.6	1.9
Wife's wage in second quintile	5.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	2.9
Wife's wage in third quintile	3.2	5.0	4.6	4.2	3.4
Wife's wage in fourth quintile	2.0	3.9	5.3	4.7	4.8
Wife's wage in fifth quintile	1.7	2.0	3.3	5.1	8.1
Combined annual earnings					
Wife's wage in first quintile	$25,167	$34,597	$42,612	$49,787	$73,628
Wife's wage in second quintile	32,950	40,315	48,267	54,887	74,724
Wife's wage in third quintile	39,031	45,758	52,381	62,167	79,196
Wife's wage in fourth quintile	44,402	52,467	60,045	67,104	86,702
Wife's wage in fifth quintile	55,377	65,850	71,720	82,093	108,870

NOTE: The 25 cells in the percent distribution portion of the table sum to 100 percent; also 10.4 million couples are represented.

Furthermore, the data indicate that the process of assortative mating results in considerable variance in earnings among dual-earner couples. As shown in table 2, for instance, combined wage and salary earnings ranged from $17,936 per year for couples in which both the husband's and wife's wage was in the lowest quintile, to $97,324 per year for couples whose respective wages were in the highest quintile.[11]

Relative earnings of husbands and wives

Table 4 shows mean hourly wages separately for husbands and wives, both in all dual-earner couples and in those in which both partners worked full time, year round. For both sets of couples, the data show that a substantial proportion of wives (25 percent) earned more than their husbands in 1992. Table 4 also shows median weekly "career" wages for husbands and wives in dual-earner couples. Each husband and wife was assigned a median weekly earnings figure that corresponded to his or her occupation.[12] The rationale for doing so is that occupational wages may better reflect career wages than current wages. This is especially relevant when trying to determine whether the wife's career or her husband's career takes precedence in the family. Husbands' and wives' careers may be at different stages. If, for example, a husband is on track to become a physician but currently is only a first-year resident, current wages would be a misleading measure of career wages. In addition, occupational wages are not as subject to short-term positive or negative wage fluctuations as are current wages. Notably, by the occupation measure, the proportion of wives who earned more than their husbands was 33 percent.[13]

Table 4 also provides figures on relative wages of dual-earner couples, stratified by selected quintiles into which the husband's wage falls. As would be expected, given positive assortative mating, as husbands' wages rise, wives' wages rise also. For instance, the mean hourly wage for husbands whose wage was in the lowest quintile was $6.06, compared with a mean wage of $8.09 per hour for their wives. For husbands whose wage fell into the top 20 percent, by contrast, their mean hourly wage was $28.14 and their wives' was $13.45.

Furthermore, the data indicate that wives earned more than their husbands in nearly 60 percent of the couples in which the husband's wage was in the lowest quintile, a result that holds whether current hourly wages or career wages are considered. Part of the explanation for this high percentage is the fact that the husband's wage has, by definition, been restricted to be low, while the wife's wage has not been similarly constrained. In sharp contrast, when the husband's wage was in the top quintile, only 6 to 7 percent of wives earned more than their husbands. It should again be noted that the results are related

to how the data were stratified—wives' wages are unconstrained and thus may lie in any quintile. Further, women generally earn less than men.

Table 5 differs from table 4 in that it considers relative *annual* earnings of husbands and wives—defined here as hourly wages multiplied by annual hours worked—and thereby allows the data to reflect labor supply responses to wages earned. By this measure, nearly 20 percent of wives earned more than their husbands, in the same range as the 25-percent figure obtained when relative *hourly* wages were considered.[14] Similarly, 55 percent of wives married to low-earner husbands earned more than their husbands, in the same range as the 60-percent figure shown in table 4.

Finally, like the study by Hayghe cited earlier, this study found that wives make an important contribution to family earnings. In all dual-earner couples, wives' earnings made up 35 percent of combined spousal earnings; in those in which both spouses worked full time and year round, wives' earnings made up 41 percent of combined earnings. Interestingly, regardless of whether dual-earner couples have very high or very low combined earnings, the wives' share of these combined earnings was fairly constant, at about 35 to 38 percent. (See the last 3 columns of table 5.)

Nontraditional couples

The figures discussed in the previous section suggest the presence of many "nontraditional" couples among dual earners, at least when it comes to labor market outcomes. As noted earlier, even among the sample at large, more than 25 percent of wives had current hourly wages that exceeded those of their husbands, and 20 percent of wives had greater annual earnings than their husbands. (This translates to wives earning more than their husbands in 4 to 6 million dual-earner couples.) Taken at face value, these figures suggest that in 20 to 25 percent of dual-earner families, there is a "role reversal" from the more traditional model—that is, the woman is the primary earner with the more lucrative position, and the husband is the secondary earner.

It might be argued that the figures just cited provide an upper-bound estimate of role reversal because, in many families, if a husband earns just a small amount less than his wife, he still may be perceived as the primary earner in the family because of traditional gender roles. Nonetheless, one must keep in mind that women, even those that are as qualified as men, tend to earn less than their male counterparts. From this vantage point, that such a large proportion of wives earned more than their husbands is quite notable.[15] Furthermore, a sizable proportion of wives, 15 percent, had wages that were 25 percent more than their husbands, and nearly 10 percent of wives had wages that were greater by 50 percent or more. Finally, nontraditional couples are especially common among dual-earner couples with low-wage husbands.

As further evidence of the presence of nontraditional

Table 4. Comparison of relative wages of husbands and wives in dual-earner couples by selected characteristics, March 1993

Characteristic	Total	Both worked full time, year round	Husband's wage in—		
			First quintile	Third quintile	Fifth quintile
Number of couples (in thousands)	21,857	10,377	4,371	4,371	4,371
Hourly wage comparisons[1]					
Wife's mean hourly wage	$10.58	$11.21	$8.09	$10.36	$13.45
Husband's mean hourly wage	15.42	15.24	6.06	13.67	28.14
Wife's wage as percent of husband's wage	68.6	73.6	133.5	75.8	47.8
Percent of dual-earner couples in which:					
Wife earns more than husband	25.2	25.4	57.2	20.6	6.5
Wife earns 25 percent more than husband	14.9	13.3	41.4	9.7	2.6
Wife earns 50 percent more than husband	9.7	7.4	31.6	4.8	1.0
Wife earns 100 percent more than husband	4.7	3.3	18.3	1.4	.4
Career wage comparisons[2]					
Wife's career wage	$464	$489	$415	$440	$529
Husband's career wage	526	533	322	505	756
Wife's wage as percent of husband's wage	88.2	91.7	128.9	87.1	70.0
Percent of dual-earner couples in which:					
Wife earns more than husband	32.8	35.3	63.9	28.6	5.8
Wife earns 25 percent more than husband	17.4	19.3	43.4	14.0	.6
Wife earns 50 percent more than husband	8.1	8.7	28.1	1.1	.2
Wife earns 100 percent more than husband	2.3	2.4	10.0	.0	.0

[1] Hourly wages are computed by dividing annual wage and salary earnings by annual hours worked.

[2] "Career wage" is defined as median weekly earnings associated with individual's occupation. (See text.)

NOTE: Data restricted to dual-earner couples in which both spouses were wage and salary workers, both had positive wages, and both were aged 25 to 64.

Table 5. Comparison of relative annual earnings of husbands and wives in dual-earner couples by selected characteristics, March 1993

Characteristic	Total	Both worked full time,	Husband's earnings in—			Family earnings in—		
			First quintile	Third quintile	Fifth quintile	First quintile	Third quintile	Fifth quintile
Number of couples (in thousands)	21,857	10,377	4,371	4,371	4,371	4,371	4,371	4,371
Annual earnings comparisons[1]								
Wife's mean annual earnings	$18,046	$24,079	$14,469	$18,141	$21,732	$7,782	$16,045	$31,267
Husband's mean annual earnings	33,028	34,870	10,085	29,492	62,810	12,796	30,080	58,174
Combined mean annual earnings	51,074	58,950	24,554	47,633	84,541	20,578	46,125	89,441
Wife's earnings as percent of husband's earnings	54.6	69.1	143.5	61.5	34.6	60.8	53.3	53.7
Wife's earnings as percent of combined earnings	35.3	40.8	58.9	38.1	25.7	37.8	34.8	35.0
Percent of dual-earner couples in which:								
Wife earns more than husband	19.9	20.7	55.4	13.9	2.4	29.6	18.2	15.7
Wife earns 25 percent more than husband	13.1	11.1	46.7	5.8	.6	23.5	11.3	9.2
Wife earns 50 percent more than husband	9.5	6.1	39.8	2.5	.1	19.7	7.8	5.2
Wife earns 100 percent more than husband	5.9	2.5	28.9	.5	.0	14.0	4.7	2.0

[1] Annual earnings defined as all wage and salary earnings from all jobs worked.

NOTE: Data restricted to dual-earner couples in which both spouses were wage and salary workers, both had positive earnings, and both were aged 25 to 64.

couples, table 2 indicates that, despite the process of positive assortative mating, in more than 400,000 couples (1.9 percent multiplied by 21.9 million) aged 25 to 64, wives at the very top of the their wage distribution were married to men at the very bottom of theirs. This is actually a lower bound estimate because it is based on the most extreme nontraditional pairing. Another way to look at the data in table 2 is to note that, contrary to popular perception, a similar percentage of very high-wage wives are paired with very low-wage husbands and vice versa. (This can be seen by comparing the proportion of couples in the lower left corner of the table with those in the upper right corner.) A similar pattern is found for the narrower set of dual-earner couples in which both spouses worked full time, year round. (See table 3.) One might argue that low-wage husbands are observed with high-wage wives only when current wages, which may be more subject to short-term fluctuations, are considered. An analysis of "career wages," however, would appear to refute that argument. Finally, it is important to note that a count of nontraditional couples would probably be considerably higher if families in which the wife is employed and the husband is completely out of the labor force (keeping house or caring primarily for children, for example) were included.

WHETHER THE HUSBAND'S OR WIFE'S CAREER takes precedence among dual-earner couples cannot be precisely determined because currently available survey data do not provide such information (none of the major surveys asks the question directly). By analyzing available information on earnings and occupations, however, we may reasonably draw some conclusions. The data presented here indicate that, although women tend to earn less than men, on average, a sizable number of dual-earner couples exists in which the wife is the primary earner. This is true even when more narrowly defined measures are examined, such as the proportion of couples in which the wife's wage exceeds those of her husband by 25 or 50 percent, or the proportion in which low-wage husbands are paired with high-wage wives. Arguably, these new kinds of couples may be altering the bargaining power in the family and, hence, family resource allocation. □

Footnotes

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: The author gratefully acknowledges helpful suggestions from David C. Rose and financial assistance from a grant provided by the University of Missouri.

[1] The figures cited are from Francine D. Blau, Marianne A. Ferber, and Anne E. Winkler, *The Economics of Women, Men and Work*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ, Prentice Hall, 1998), chap. 4.

[2] Chinhui Juhn and Kevin M. Murphy, "Wage Inequality and Family Labor Supply," *Journal of Labor Economics*, 15, no. 1, part 1, January, 1997, pp. 72–97.

[3] Bureau of the Census, Historical Income Tables-Families, Table F-19,

"Married Couple Families with Wives' Earnings Greater than Husbands' Earnings" (selected years); (http://www.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/f19.html), accessed Feb. 27, 1997.

[4] From the late 1970s to the late 1980s, the amount of time spent by women doing housework declined from 4 times that spent by men to 3 times that spent by men. See Francine D. Blau, "The Well-Being of American Women: 1970–1995," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 36, no. 1, March 1998, pp. 112–65.

[5] Howard V. Hayghe, "Working wives' contributions to family incomes," *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1993, pp. 39–43.

[6] For a review of this literature, see Shelly Lundberg and Robert A. Pollak, "Bargaining and Distribution in Marriage," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 10, no. 4, fall 1996, pp. 139–58; and Theodore Bergstrom, "Economics in a Family Way," *Journal of Economic Literature* 34, no. 4, December 1996, pp. 1903–34. See also specific papers by Mary Jean Horney and Marjorie B. McElroy, "Nash-Bargained Household Decisions: Toward a Generalization of the Theory of Demand," *International Economic Review* 22, no.2, June 1981, pp. 333–49; and Marilyn Manser and Murray Brown, "Marriage and Household Decisionmaking," *International Economic Review* 21, no. 1, February 1980, pp. 31–44.

[7] See Duncan Thomas, "Intra-household Resource Allocation: An Inferential Approach," *Journal of Human Resources* 25, no. 4, fall 1990, pp. 635–64; and "Like Father, Like Son: Like Mother, Like Daughter: Parental Resources and Child Height," *Journal of Human Resources* 29, no. 4, fall 1994, pp. 950–88. For other evidence of differing preferences between husbands and wives, see T. Paul Schultz, "Testing the Neoclassical Model of Family Labor Supply and Fertility," *Journal of Human Resources* 25, no. 4, fall 1990, pp. 599–634.

[8] One hypothesis that can be drawn from this discussion is that women's wages, on average, may be lower than those of otherwise similar men, not exclusively because of the fact that they are female, but also because they are, on average, more likely to be a secondary earner in the family. For a discussion and evidence, see Anne E. Winkler and David C. Rose, "The Impact of Career Hierarchy in the Family on Women's Wages," University of Missouri-St. Louis (July 1997).

[9] Age was restricted in order to limit the sample to those who had largely completed school but were not yet of retirement age. Workers with self-employment and farm income were omitted so that an hourly wage for each individual could be constructed.

[10] For a more detailed set of analyses that focus on the timing of schooling and marriage, see Robert D. Mare, "Five Decades of Educational Assortative Mating," *American Sociological Review*, February 1991, pp. 15–32.

[11] For discussions of the relationship between working wives, family income, and implications for inequality, see, for instance, Maria Cancian, Sheldon Danziger, and Peter Gottschalk, "Working Wives and Family Income Inequality Among Married Couples," in Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk, eds., *Uneven Tides: Rising Inequality in America* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1993), pp. 195–221; and Lynn Karoly and Gary Burtless, "Demographic Changes, Rising Earnings Inequality, and the Distribution of Personal Well-Being, 1959-1989," *Demography*, August 1995, pp. 379–406.

[12] CPS respondents are coded by detailed occupation on the basis of the kind of work they perform for their employers. In this study, husbands and wives were placed in 1 of 42 "career" categories, including such occupations as engineers; secretaries, stenographers, and typists; sales workers, retail and personal services; construction trades; motor vehicle operators; and so on. Then, the husband and wife were each assigned the published median weekly earnings figure that corresponded to their occupation. The figures are for both sexes combined and were taken from the Bureau of Labor Statistics periodical, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1993, table 56. Hence, if both spouses were employed as physicians, each was assigned the same "career" wage.

[13] Additional analysis indicates that it is generally the case that both measures, current and career wages, tend to provide the same information for a given couple regarding which spouse earns more than the other. The number of cases in which both provided the same information ranged from 66 percent to 93 percent, depending on the percentage threshold (25 percent more; 100 percent more) used. Another point worth mentioning is that the percentage of wives who earn more than their husbands may well change as the composition of dual earners changes. For instance, those wives who enter the labor market earliest may have different characteristics, both observable and unobservable (motivation, ambition), than those who enter later.

[14] In "Working wives," Hayghe obtained fairly similar estimates in percentage terms, but his absolute estimates differed due to different sample definitions. Hayghe's study estimated that about 9 million wives earned more than their husbands in 1991, while the figure here, based on wage and salary workers aged 25 to 64, is about 4.3 million.

[15] See Blau, Ferber, and Winkler, *The Economics of Women, Men and Work*.

Issues

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How long is the workweek?

Efforts to shorten the work week were top labor issues in the first four decades of this century and resulted in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. In the 1990s, time spent at work is still a key factor in determining the quality of jobs and one's standard of living. At one extreme, those in managerial and professional jobs who have been spared from the impact of corporate restructuring are perceived as having to work longer workweeks to protect their own positions. On the other end of the market, many newly created jobs have been stereotyped as low wage, part-time, poor-quality jobs.

This report examines trends in weekly working hours between 1976 and 1993 using data from the Current Population Survey (CPS), a representative national sample of households.[1] The data suggest that the average length of the workweek has risen only slightly since the mid-1970s; more important has been a change in the distribution of work hours. In this respect, the most noteworthy differences are an increase in the share of persons who are working very long workweeks—49 hours or more—and a decline in the share working 40 hours a week. A companion piece examines annual work hours and will be released at the same time as this report.

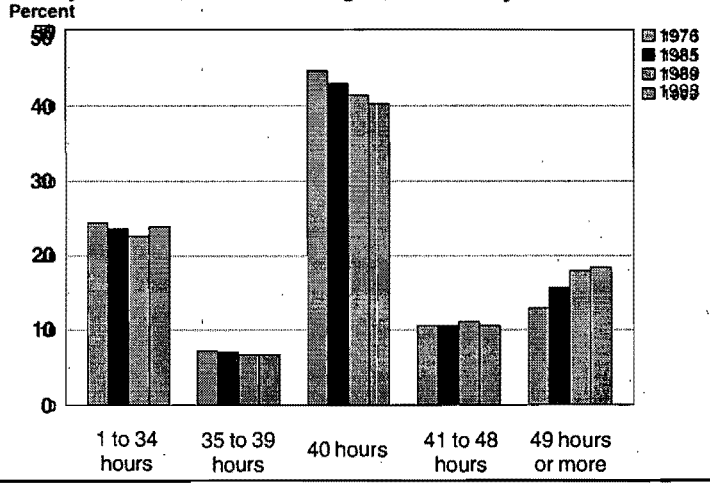
Average hours at work increase only 1 hour for men and 2 hours for women from 1976 to 1993. Part of these increases can be attributed to a changing age profile of the American workforce (see table). By 1993, baby-boomers—those born between 1946 and 1964—all had moved into the central working ages of 25 to 54. Meanwhile, younger and older workers comprised a declining share of employment. Workweeks typically are longer for workers age 25 to 54, and part-time employment is more common among younger and older workers.

To gauge the effect of the shifting age distribution on the change in workweeks, average hours in 1993 were calculated as if the age distribution of those at work had remained unchanged since 1976. As the tabulation below shows, after removing the effect of age, the workweek for men was virtually unchanged and women's weekly hours rose by only a single hour.

	Average hours		*Age-adjusted hours*
	1976	1993	1993
Men, 16 years and older	41.0	42.0	41.2
Women, 16 years and older	34.0	36.0	35.0

The small changes in the length of the workweek, adjusted or unadjusted, reflect offsetting increases and decreases in the hours-at-work distribution. Between 1976 and 1993, the proportion of nonfarm wage and salary workers who reported that they were at work exactly 40 hours per week declined, while the share working 49 hours or more rose. The proportions working

Distribution of hours at work of nonagricultural wage and salary workers, annual averages, selected years, 1976-93



[1] Data from 1994 onward are not stricly comparable to those from prior years because of a redesign of the CPS.

Percent distribution of nonagricultural wage and salary workers at work and their average weekly hours by age and sex, annual averages, 1976 and 1993

Characteristics	Total at work		Average hours	
	1976	1993	1976	1993
Total (thousands)	73,276	102,615	38.1	39.2
16 to 24 years	24.0	16.7	33.6	32.5
25 to 54 years	62.2	72.6	40.1	41.1
55 years and over	13.8	10.7	37.2	36.8
Men (thousands)	42,994	54,573	41.0	42.0
16 to 24 years	21.8	16.2	35.4	34.2
25 to 54 years	64.3	73.1	43.1	44.1
55 years and over	14.0	10.7	39.7	39.6
Women (thousands)	30,282	48,042	34.0	36.0
16 to 24 years	27.1	17.2	31.5	30.7
25 to 54 years	59.2	72.1	35.3	37.7
55 years and over	13.6	10.7	33.4	33.6

fewer than 40 hours and 41-48 hours remained fairly stable. (See chart.)

The growth in the share of workers reporting very long workweeks is not infrequently attributed to a shift in employment towards high-hour occupations such as managers, professionals, and certain sales workers. A detailed analysis of the growth in the number of persons working 49 hours or more from 1985 to 1993 shows that only 8.1 percent of the increase was produced by changes in the occupational mix. The rest was evenly divided between the impact of overall employment growth during the period and the rise in the share of long workweeks in every major occupational group.

For additional information on hours at work and a technical description of the Current Population Survey, contact Randy E. Ilg or Jennifer M. Gardner, Office of Employment and Unemployment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, DC 20212. Tel: (202)-606-6378. Information in this report is available to sensory impaired individuals on request. Voice phone: (202) 606-7828; TDD phone: (202) 606-5897; TDD message referral phone: 1-800-326-2577. This material is in the public domain and, with appropriate credit, may be reproduced without permission.

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How hours of work affect occupational earnings

In most managerial, management-related, sales, production, and transportation occupations, workers with longer hours earned at a higher hourly rate; the reverse was true for some jobs, including computer specialists, engineers, schoolteachers, and construction workers

Daniel Hecker

Analysis of long-term trends in hours of work has shown that a large proportion of full-timers in some major occupational groups put in long hours, and that persons working long hours generally have higher earnings.[1] Do the high earnings associated with longer workweeks simply reflect the greater number of hours worked, or is there a more basic difference between jobs that demand (or encourage) long workweeks and those that do not? In an article in the April 1997 issue of the *Review*, BLS analysts Philip L. Rones, Jennifer Gardner, and Randy E. Ilg noted that professional and managerial workers had both higher earnings and longer hours than did workers in other occupational groups, and suggested that some of the earnings difference might be due to the considerable responsibility associated with professional and managerial jobs. This article takes a more in-depth look at the relationship between hours and earnings, with a focus on detailed occupations.

Data and methodology

This article is based on 1997 data from the Current Population Survey, the monthly household survey that provides the basic measurements of the U.S. labor force and employment.[2] Data reflect usual weekly earnings and usual weekly hours on a worker's primary job only. Employment and usual weekly and hourly earnings data are tabulated for full-time workers in 12 major occupational groups and 87 detailed occupations.[3] For all occupations, data are provided for three "usual hours worked" categories: 35 to 99 hours (full time), 35 to 44 hours (also referred to in this article as a standard workweek), and 45 to 99 hours (also referred to as an extended workweek).[4] Where statistically reliable, data on weekly hours also are provided separately for persons working 45 to 54 hours and 55 to 99 hours per week. Classification by hours-worked categories permits comparisons within occupations of workers with different numbers of work hours, as well as comparisons between occupations of workers with roughly the same number of work hours per week. To facilitate comparisons, this article shows both weekly and hourly earnings. Data are presented separately by sex because women generally earn less than men, even in the same occupation, and have shorter workweeks. Because the primary focus is comparisons between hours-worked groups, data are presented only for occupations in which there were enough respondents with extended hours to provide statistically reliable earnings data.[5]

Data in this article are for wage and salary workers, those who work for someone else and receive a paycheck. They exclude self-employed workers,[6] who are more likely than wage and salary workers to have an extended workweek.[7] The self-employed comprised only about 8 percent of employed workers in 1997, but made up a much larger proportion of some occupations, such as physicians, lawyers, and food service and lodging managers. Thus, data that include the self-employed would show a greater proportion

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of workers with extended hours. Also, to the extent that the self-employed earn more or less than wage and salary workers, earnings would be different from those shown in this article.[8]

Unlike estimates from surveys of employers, those presented here relate to hours actually worked, not simply hours paid for. However, they do not indicate the schedule of hours. Although schedules vary, a typical 35-to-44-hour workweek consists of 5 workdays of between 7 and nearly 9 hours. An extended workweek might be at least 9 hours a day or additional hours on a sixth workday. For most jobs, work is performed between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., Monday through Friday. However, some jobs include evening, night, or weekend work; shifts that change periodically from days to evenings or nights; an irregular schedule arranged by the employer; or a split shift—two distinct work periods each day.[9]

Number of hours worked

Table 1 shows 1997 average weekly hours and the proportion of workers in each hours-worked category, by major occupational group. According to the table, about 3 out of 10 men and 3 out of 20 women usually worked more than 44 hours a week; 1 man in 10 and 1 woman in 30 usually worked more than 54 hours a week.[10]

Executives, officials, and managers were most likely to have extended workweeks—more than 5 out of 10 men and 3 out of 10 of women in this major occupational category did so. Administrative support workers; service workers; machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors; and handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers were least likely to work an extended workweek—no more than one-sixth of the men and one-tenth of the women in this category reported working such a schedule.

Table 2 presents data for detailed occupations, ranked by the percent of workers within them who have a standard workweek. Among these detailed occupations, two-thirds of male clergy, physicians, and firefighters had extended hours, as did at least half of female physicians, lawyers, and marketing managers.[11] In contrast, fewer than 8 percent of janitors and cleaners, secretaries, nursing aides, and bookkeepers had extended hours.

Earnings differences within occupations

Table 3 presents, for each hours-worked group, median weekly earnings, median hourly earnings, and occupational rank based on median weekly earnings. It shows that workers with an extended workweek have a wide range of earnings premiums. In half the cases, such workers earned at least 32 percent more per week than did those with a standard workweek, and about two-thirds earned more per hour. Male salesworkers (other retail commodities) with an extended workweek earned 76 percent more per week than co-workers with a standard workweek, and 36 percent more per hour. However, male elementary schoolteachers actually earned slightly less per week, and 74 percent as much per hour.

In nearly 90 percent of managerial, management-related, and sales occupations, weekly earnings of workers with an extended workweek exceeded those of workers with a standard workweek by at least 32 percent, and hourly earnings also were higher. For example, male financial managers with an extended workweek earned 54 percent more per week ($1,159 compared to $752), and 17 percent more per hour ($22.45 compared to $19.16) than did their counterparts who worked a standard workweek. (See table 3 and chart 1.)

Among professional specialty workers and technicians, two-thirds had premiums below 32 percent, and earned less per hour. Elementary, secondary, and special education teachers, as well as engineers and persons in computer occupations, with an extended workweek earned little more per week and much less per hour. Female college teachers with an extended workweek earned a third more per week, and for their male counterparts, the premium was 40 percent. Both male and female college faculty earned roughly the same per hour in both hours-worked groups. Female prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers with extended hours earned 56 percent more per week, and 17 percent more per hour. Male physicians showed a premium of 44 percent, but female physicians had an earnings advantage of only 6 percent.[12] There were relatively small differences in weekly earnings for most administrative support occupations among both women and men. Almost all precision production, craft, and repair and machine operator occupations enjoyed a premium for an extended workweek of fairly close to 32 percent, except that assemblers had a premium of 62 percent. (Within extended workweek categories for which data are not shown separately, persons working 55 to 99 hours earned more per week than did those working 45 to 54 hours in most occupations for which data were available. However, only male managers in marketing, advertising, and public relations earned more per hour.)

There are several explanations for higher medians, per week or per hour, for workers with an extended workweek. Workers paid by the hour obviously earn more per week; if they earn time and a half for hours worked beyond 40 per week, as specified by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FSLA), then they earn more per hour, as well.[13] Commission salesworkers who work longer hours obviously can produce more, and therefore earn more per week. (Because they are exempt from the overtime provisions of the FLSA, however, they are not likely to receive time and a half for work beyond 40 hours.)

As noted in the introduction, the authors of the April 1997 *Review* article asked if there is some basic difference between jobs with and jobs without long hours that contributes to earn-

Table 1. Usual weekly hours of persons employed full time, by sex and major occupational group, 1997

Sex and occupational group	Average weekly hours	Percent distribution of full-time workers, by hours worked		
		35 to 44 hours	45 to 54 hours	55 to 99 hours
Men				
Total employed	44	71	19	10
Executives, officials, and managers	47	47	33	20
Sales occupations	46	57	28	15
Professional specialty occupations	45	63	24	12
Management-related occupations	44	64	26	10
Transportation and material moving occupations	46	65	20	16
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	46	69	16	15
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	43	79	15	6
Technicians	43	79	16	5
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	42	83	13	4
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	42	83	13	4
Service workers	42	84	10	6
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	42	88	9	3
Women				
Total employed	41	85	11	3
Executives, officials, and managers	44	67	24	8
Professional specialty occupations	42	78	17	6
Transportation and material moving occupations	43	81	11	9
Sales occupations	42	82	14	4
Management-related occupations	42	84	13	3
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	42	84	13	3
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	41	89	9	2
Technicians	41	91	7	2
Service workers	41	92	6	3
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	41	92	7	2
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	41	92	6	1
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	40	94	5	1

ings differentials. To the extent that workers with extended hours are more likely to have greater responsibilities, higher skill levels, or more education; to have employers that pay high wages; or to have other characteristics associated with higher pay, the observed higher earnings for long hours may also reflect these factors.

Hourly earners include most production workers in mining, manufacturing, and construction, and most retail salesworkers and cooks, truckdrivers, guards, and nursing aides. Clerical workers, police, and technicians, even if they are on an annual salary, may also receive pay for extra hours at time and a half. In most of these occupations, workers with an extended workweek do have higher weekly and hourly earnings. (See table 3.) However, in some occupations, such as electricians and nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants, median hourly rates are lower. Lower rates could be consistent with time and a half for overtime hours if workers with extended hours have lower base hourly rates than do those with standard hours—for example, younger workers or those working in establishments that pay low wages. (Interestingly, an analysis of 1985 data showed that persons aged 25 to 34 were most likely to put in extra hours at overtime rates.[14])

Workers selling insurance, real estate, automobiles, and other "big ticket" items typically receive at least part of their pay as commissions, based on the value of the products sold. Those with extended workweeks earn substantially more per week than those working a standard week. The fact that the former workers earn more per hour suggests that they also make more sales per hour, that they get larger commissions or bonuses for being top sellers, or that they have other characteristics associated with high earnings.

Most managerial and professional workers receive an agreed-upon weekly or yearly salary in return for at least 35 to 40 hours of work a week. Their employers are not required by the FLSA to pay extra for hours beyond 40, or to pay time and a half if they do pay an overtime premium. In fact, in some cases, it is well understood that an extended workweek is simply part of the job. Thus, for such workers, overtime pay is much less common, although for superior performance, they may receive compensation that may not be included in the data presented here, such as bonuses, extra benefits, or stock options.[15]

There is a wide range of job titles within most managerial and some professional occupations, suggesting wide variation in the characteristics generally associated with high earnings.[16] However, it is not possible to determine from CPS data

Table 2. Usual weekly hours of persons employed full time, by sex and detailed occupation, 1997

Sex and occupational group	Average weekly hours	Percent distribution of full-time workers, by hours worked		
		35 to 44 hours	45 to 54 hour	55 to 99 hours
Men				
Clergy	52	31	28	40
Physicians[1]	52	32	25	44
Firefighting occupations	51	33	26	41
Managers, food serving and lodging establishments	50	35	33	32
Lawyers	49	37	37	25
Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations	48	38	37	24
Salesworkers, motor vehicles and boats	49	40	34	26
Financial managers	47	42	39	19
Securities and financial services sales occupations	46	47	38	15
Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations	48	47	33	21
Farmworkers	51	50	23	28
Insurance sales occupations	46	52	36	13
Administrators, education and related fields	47	52	26	22
Real estate sales occupations	47	52	28	21
Other financial officers	45	52	35	13
Taxi cab drivers and chauffeurs	48	54	24	23
Tool and die makers	46	54	32	14
Sales representatives, mining, manufacturing, and wholesale trade	46	55	31	14
Supervisors, mechanics and repairers	46	55	26	19
Managers, service organizations, n.e.c.	46	55	29	16
Teachers, college and university	47	57	24	19
Extractive occupations	51	58	12	31
Truckdrivers	47	58	23	19
Industrial engineers	45	60	29	10
Teachers, secondary school	45	61	26	13
Sales occupations, other business services	44	64	26	10
Supervisors, production occupations	45	65	26	9
Operations and systems researchers and analysts	44	65	25	10
Accountants and auditors	44	66	26	9
Salesworkers, furniture, radio, TV, and appliances	43	66	28	6
Computer systems analysts and scientists	43	67	26	7
Teachers, elementary school	44	69	23	8
Civil engineers	43	70	21	9
Electrical and electronic engineers	44	70	23	7
Designers	43	70	23	7
Computer programmers	43	70	25	5
Machinists	43	72	23	5
Automobile mechanics	43	74	21	5
Supervisors, administrative support occupations	43	74	22	5
Production inspectors, checkers, and examiners	43	74	19	7
Officials and administrators, public administration	43	74	18	8
Supervisors, construction occupations	44	75	16	9
Industrial machinery repairers	43	76	18	6
Salesworkers, other commodities	42	78	16	5
Metalworking and plastic working machine operators	42	80	16	4
Welders and cutters	43	80	16	4
Mail carriers and postal clerks	42	81	18	2
Construction trades	42	84	10	5
Police and detectives, public service	43	81	13	6
Electrical and electronic equipment repairers	42	82	13	6
Cooks	42	82	11	7
Engineering technologists and technicians	42	83	14	3
Machine operators, assorted materials	42	83	12	4
Industrial truck and tractor equipment operators	42	84	13	3
Plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters	42	84	10	5
Electricians	42	85	11	4
Traffic, shipping, and receiving clerks	42	85	13	3
Assemblers	42	86	11	3
Guards and police, excluding public service	42	86	9	5
Carpenters	42	86	9	4
Construction laborers	42	87	10	3
Laborers, except construction	42	89	8	3
Janitors and cleaners	41	93	5	2

Table 2. Continued—Usual weekly hours of persons employed full time, by sex and detailed occupation, 1997

Sex and occupational group	Average weekly hours	Percent distribution of full-time workers, by hours worked		
		35 to 44 hours	45 to 54 hour	55 to 99 hours
Women				
Lawyers	46	46	36	18
Physicians[1]	49	45	24	32
Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations	45	50	37	12
Managers, food serving and lodging establishments	45	60	28	12
Teachers, college and university	45	61	22	16
Administrators, education and related fields	44	65	25	10
Teachers, secondary school	44	66	25	8
Financial managers	44	67	26	7
Teachers, elementary school	44	68	24	8
Engineers	43	70	25	6
Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations	43	70	22	7
Managers, service organizations, n.e.c.	43	72	21	7
Managers, medicine and health	43	73	20	7
Sales representatives, mining, manufacturing, and wholesale trade	43	74	20	6
Sales representatives, finance and business services	42	76	18	6
Operations and systems researchers and analysts	43	76	13	10
Computer systems analysts and scientists	42	78	20	3
Private household occupations	44	80	12	8
Teachers, special education	42	81	15	4
Other financial officers	42	81	13	6
Accountants and auditors	41	83	15	2
Supervisors, administrative support occupations	42	84	13	3
Teachers, prekindergarten and kindergarten	41	87	10	3
Registered nurses	41	90	8	1
Salesworkers, retail and personal services	40	92	6	2
Bookkeepers, accounting, and auditing clerks	41	93	6	1
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	41	93	4	3
Secretaries	40	95	4	1

[1]Data for physicians exlude persons working more than 74 hours a week because almost all such persons have very low earnings, and thus are presumed to be interns rather than licensed physicians.

n.e.c. = not elsewhere classified.

whether workers with an extended workweek are more likely to have these characteristics.

Managerial occupations include those overseeing thousands of employees and billion-dollar budgets, and others that involve only a few employees and much smaller budgets. For example, education administrators include county school superintendents; principals and vice principals of public, private, and trade and vocational schools; college academic deans and student services directors and officers; and directors of child day care services. Controllers, accounting managers, and financial directors and assistants of both large and small organizations are included within the category of financial managers, as are those with job titles such as bank branch managers and credit union managers. The level of educational attainment required for management jobs also may vary widely. For example, medicine and health managers include clinical department heads, such as medicine, nursing, physical therapy, and medical laboratory directors, who each have degrees in corresponding fields, at levels ranging from the associate through professional and doctoral degrees. The same occupational category also includes heads of administrative departments and medical administrative assistants, with a range of educational backgrounds.[17]

Within the occupation prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers, prekindergarten teachers tend to work in private preschools, day care centers, and nursery schools, where a college degree is not always needed, and wages are lower. Kindergarten teachers are more likely to work in public elementary schools, where most teachers have a bachelor's degree (and some, a master's), and wages are higher. College teachers include persons employed at 2-year colleges and religious-affiliated private colleges, where salaries are relatively low, as well as those at research universities and professional schools, where salaries are relatively high. The category includes faculty within four academic ranks, both tenured and untenured.

If college faculty with extended hours are more likely to be in research universities and professional schools, to hold tenure, or to have a full-time appointment, then the large observed weekly premium for longer hours also reflects a wide range of factors other than hours worked. Similarly, if faculty or those in other occupations holding M.D., Ph.D., and other advanced degrees work longer hours than those with less education, or if those with more responsibility work longer hours, then

Table 3. Usual weekly and hourly earnings of persons employed full-time, by sex, hours-worked group, and occupation, 1997

Sex and occupation	35 to 99 hours			35 to 44 hours			45 to 99 hours			Earnings ratio (45 to 99 hours/35 to 44 hours)	
	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings	Hourly earnings
	Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank			
Men											
Total employed	$581	–	$13.32	$505	–	$12.72	$775	–	$15.14	1.53	1.19
Executives, officials, and managers	889	–	19.69	747	–	19.01	1,039	–	20.21	1.39	1.06
Officials and administrators, public administration	872	13	21.01	833	10	21.09	1,073	10	20.72	1.29	.98
Financial managers	991	5	21.05	752	14	19.16	1,159	4	22.45	1.54	1.17
Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations	1,062	3	22.26	832	11	20.80	1,230	3	22.96	1.48	1.10
Administrators, education and related fields	951	8	21.15	839	9	21.18	1,146	6	21.12	1.37	1.00
Managers, food serving and lodging establishments	555	43	10.80	407	50	10.35	606	47	10.99	1.49	1.06
Managers, service organizations, n.e.c.	728	22	16.01	587	34	14.24	917	18	17.84	1.56	1.25
Management-related occupations	784	–	18.55	703	–	17.67	962	–	19.80	1.37	1.12
Accountants and auditors	792	15	18.58	707	18	17.75	942	14	19.63	1.33	1.11
Other financial officers	932	10	20.69	751	15	19.26	1,159	5	23.41	1.54	1.22
Professional speciality occupation	886	–	20.39	824	–	20.80	982	–	19.67	1.19	.95
Civil engineers	962	6	23.23	950	4	24.25	1,006	13	19.70	1.06	.81
Electrical and electronic engineers	999	4	23.66	955	3	24.44	1,108	8	21.47	1.16	.88
Industrial engineers	901	12	20.45	873	6	22.20	934	15	19.01	1.07	.86
Computer systems analysts and scientists	954	7	22.53	919	5	23.15	1,048	12	21.44	1.14	.93
Operations and systems researchers and analysts	922	11	21.49	867	7	21.44	1,052	11	21.53	1.21	1.00
Physicians[1]	1,470	1	28.09	1,134	1	28.36	1,631	1	27.96	1.44	.99
Teachers, college and university	935	9	20.70	818	12	20.78	1,145	7	20.58	1.40	.99
Teachers, elementary school	721	24	16.77	721	17	18.44	720	36	13.56	1.00	.74
Teachers, secondary school	772	18	17.79	758	13	19.20	794	27	15.25	1.05	.79
Clergy	591	38	11.71	432	47	11.09	624	43	12.02	1.44	1.08
Lawyers	1,262	2	26.09	1,057	2	27.05	1,400	2	25.76	1.32	.95
Designers	791	16	19.11	744	16	19.10	911	20	19.13	1.22	1.00
Technicians and related support occupations	666	–	16.15	635	–	16.06	828	–	16.44	1.30	1.02
Engineering technologists and technicians	641	33	15.44	618	30	15.44	767	33	15.45	1.24	1.00
Computer programmers	872	14	20.66	842	8	21.11	922	16	19.92	1.10	.94
Sales occupations	602	–	13.10	485	–	12.26	752	–	14.55	1.55	1.19
Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations	616	37	13.10	502	40	12.59	732	35	13.76	1.46	1.09
Insurance sales occupations	754	20	17.67	630	27	16.39	1,076	9	19.88	1.71	1.21
Real estate sales occupations	720	25	16.15	633	26	15.99	857	21	19.05	1.35	1.19
Sales occupations, other business services	684	29	15.04	528	37	13.14	832	23	16.99	1.58	1.29
Sales representatives, mining, manufacturing, and wholesale trade	735	21	16.68	664	21	16.79	838	22	16.54	1.26	.99
Salesworkers, motor vehicles and boats	590	39	12.12	451	45	11.31	668	39	12.50	1.48	1.11
Salesworkers, furniture, radio, TV, appliances	500	45	11.74	455	44	11.65	602	48	11.78	1.32	1.01
Sales workers, other retail commodities	390	55	9.42	329	58	8.53	578	52	11.57	1.76	1.36

Table 3. Continued—Usual weekly and hourly earnings of persons employed full-time, by sex, hours-worked group, and occupation, 1997

Sex and occupation	35 to 99 hours			35 to 44 hours			45 to 99 hours			Earnings ratio (45 to 99 hours/35 to 44 hours)	
	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings	Hourly earnings
	Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank			
Men—Continued											
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	$513	–	$12.48	$487	–	$12.29	$674	–	$13.46	1.38	1.10
Supervisors, administrative support occupations	688	28	15.66	651	23	16.09	752	34	15.24	1.16	.95
Mail carriers and postal clerks	689	27	16.97	679	20	17.05	775	29	16.20	1.14	.95
Traffic, shipping, and receiving clerks	410	54	10.12	396	52	10.04	514	54	10.62	1.30	1.06
Service workers	377	–	9.19	352	–	9.02	528	–	10.23	1.50	1.13
Firefighting occupations	725	23	14.46	634	25	15.94	767	32	13.82	1.21	.87
Police and detectives, public service	713	26	16.79	654	22	16.49	920	17	18.58	1.41	1.13
Guards and police, except public service	353	58	8.76	334	57	8.57	486	56	9.37	1.46	1.09
Cooks	303	60	7.37	287	60	7.21	413	60	7.92	1.44	1.10
Janitors and cleaners	334	59	8.46	325	59	8.45	430	58	8.56	1.32	1.01
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	306	–	6.97	290	–	7.22	341	–	6.20	1.18	.86
Farmworkers	278	61	5.87	247	61	6.15	313	61	5.60	1.27	.91
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	573	–	13.49	534	–	13.48	693	–	13.57	1.30	1.01
Supervisors, mechanics and repairers	769	19	16.70	683	19	17.20	831	24	16.18	1.22	.94
Automobile mechanics	496	46	11.76	469	43	11.81	588	51	11.68	1.25	.99
Industrial machinery repairers	567	41	13.50	534	36	13.50	678	38	13.49	1.27	1.00
Electrical and electronic equipment repairers	632	35	15.40	612	31	15.35	787	28	16.04	1.29	1.04
Supervisors, construction occupations	672	30	15.40	624	28	15.62	772	30	15.01	1.24	.96
Carpenters	490	48	12.01	477	41	12.06	593	49	11.70	1.24	.97
Electricians	639	34	15.66	623	29	15.85	770	31	14.89	1.24	.94
Plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters	618	36	15.08	606	33	15.30	704	37	14.14	1.16	.92
Mining and petroleum occupations	663	32	14.01	573	35	14.25	825	25	13.43	1.44	.94
Supervisors, production occupations	667	31	15.45	610	32	15.29	800	26	15.95	1.31	1.04
Tool and die makers	786	17	17.37	648	24	16.16	913	19	18.82	1.41	1.16
Machinists	578	40	13.39	527	38	13.29	655	40	13.48	1.24	1.01
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	448	–	10.81	416	–	10.46	740	–	12.21	1.78	1.17
Metalworking and plastic working machine operators	486	49	11.79	446	46	11.12	621	44	12.96	1.39	1.17
Machine operators, assorted materials	453	50	10.96	422	48	10.64	592	50	12.08	1.40	1.14
Welders and cutters	495	47	12.07	475	42	11.99	612	46	12.27	1.29	1.02
Assemblers	413	52	10.30	392	53	10.10	640	42	12.62	1.63	1.25
Production inspectors, checkers, and examiners	563	42	12.83	506	39	12.56	654	41	13.21	1.29	1.05
Transportation and material moving occupations	505	–	11.30	442	–	11.19	623	–	11.46	1.41	1.02
Truckdrivers	508	44	11.05	420	49	10.52	618	45	11.36	1.47	1.08
Taxi cab drivers and chauffeurs	413	53	8.43	372	55	9.59	445	57	8.29	1.20	.86
Industrial truck and tractor equipment operators	419	51	10.34	405	51	10.24	568	53	11.01	1.40	1.08
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers and laborers	350	–	8.66	333	–	8.54	457	–	9.26	1.37	1.08
Construction laborers	388	56	9.56	373	54	9.47	498	55	10.09	1.34	1.07
Laborers, except construction	362	57	8.88	352	56	8.94	425	59	8.61	1.21	.96

Table 3. Continued—Usual weekly and hourly earnings of persons employed full-time, by sex, hours-worked group, and occupation, 1997

Sex and occupation	35 to 99 hours			35 to 44 hours			45 to 99 hours			Earnings ratio (45 to 99 hours/35 to 44 hours)	
	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings	Hourly earnings
	Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank			
Women											
Total employed	$435	–	$10.75	$408	–	$10.38	$658	–	$13.16	1.61	1.27
Executives, officials, and managers	622	–	14.62	571	–	14.19	789	–	15.48	1.38	1.09
Financial managers	655	12	15.30	593	11	14.43	895	8	17.25	1.51	1.20
Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations	732	6	16.23	637	9	15.95	827	10	16.85	1.30	1.06
Administrators, education and related fields	660	10	15.41	580	12	14.68	843	9	17.08	1.45	1.16
Managers, medicine and health	624	13	15.12	562	13	14.21	904	6	17.22	1.61	1.21
Managers, food serving and lodging establishment	407	23	9.07	349	24	8.91	475	23	9.29	1.36	1.04
Managers, service organizations, n.e.c.	598	14	14.29	535	15	14.04	784	12	15.31	1.47	1.09
Management related occupations	579	–	13.89	544	–	13.59	729	–	14.99	1.34	1.10
Accountants and auditors	590	15	14.13	561	14	13.98	726	15	15.34	1.29	1.10
Other financial officers	577	17	13.76	535	16	13.45	728	14	15.01	1.36	1.12
Professional speciality occupations	664	–	16.07	634	–	16.19	772	–	15.45	1.22	.95
Engineers, all specialties	837	5	20.20	801	4	20.50	976	3	19.44	1.22	.95
Computer systems analysts and scientists	852	3	20.59	834	2	20.87	940	5	19.82	1.13	.95
Physicians[1]	1,106	1	34.53	1,071	1	27.92	1,135	2	21.76	1.06	.78
Registered nurses	707	7	17.85	692	6	17.79	898	7	18.54	1.30	1.04
Teachers, college and university	808	5	18.57	727	5	18.53	969	4	18.65	1.33	1.01
Teachers, prekindergarten and kindergarten	405	24	9.86	383	23	9.62	598	20	10.76	1.56	1.12
Teachers, elementary school	657	11	15.31	630	10	16.07	725	16	14.09	1.15	.88
Teachers, secondary school	695	8	16.33	685	7	17.52	707	18	13.95	1.03	.80
Teachers, special education	680	9	16.54	669	8	17.05	720	17	14.22	1.08	.83
Lawyers	957	2	21.33	807	3	20.23	1,184	1	23.34	1.47	1.15
Technicians and related support occupations	499	–	12.38	486	–	12.28	699	–	14.44	1.44	1.18
Sales occupations	357	–	8.84	317	–	8.27	602	–	12.18	1.90	1.47
Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations	438	20	10.27	386	22	9.83	566	21	11.62	1.47	1.18
Sales representatives, finance and business services	513	19	12.31	457	19	11.75	741	13	15.26	1.62	1.30
Sales representatives, mining, manufacturing, and wholesale trade	580	16	13.34	516	17	12.88	787	11	16.02	1.53	1.24
Sales workers, retail and personal services	271	26	6.89	266	26	6.78	425	25	8.22	1.60	1.21
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	404	–	10.23	398	–	10.19	528	–	10.98	1.33	1.08
Supervisors, administrative support occupations	525	18	12.81	505	18	12.78	654	19	12.88	1.30	1.01
Secretaries	411	22	10.43	409	21	10.47	446	24	9.39	1.09	.90
Bookkeepers, accounting, and auditing clerks	421	21	10.49	416	20	10.50	480	22	10.28	1.15	.98
Service workers, including private household	286	–	7.14	282	–	7.16	342	–	6.63	1.21	.93
Private household occupations	223	27	5.53	218	27	5.58	283	27	5.1	1.30	.91

Table 3. Continued—Usual weekly and hourly earnings of persons employed full-time, by sex, hours-worked group, and occupation, 1997

Sex and occupation	35 to 99 hours			35 to 44 hours			45 to 99 hours			Earnings ratio (45 to 99 hours/35 to 44 hours)	
	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings		Hourly earnings	Weekly earnings	Hourly earnings
	Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank		Amount	Rank			
Women—Continued											
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	298	25	7.37	295	25	7.48	356	26	6.6	1.21	.88
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	384	–	9.61	369	–	9.35	627	108	13.09	1.70	1.40
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	313	–	7.85	307	–	7.74	416	195	8.48	1.36	1.10
Transportation and material moving occupations	371	–	9.10	342	–	8.98	572	52	10.03	1.67	1.12
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers and laborers	299	–	7.52	294	–	7.45	406	55	8.48	1.38	1.14

[1]Data for physicians exclude persons working more than 74 hours a week because almost all such persons have very low earnings, and thus are presumed to be interns rather than licensed physicians.

n.e.c. = not elsewhere classified.

NOTE: There were not enough observations to provide reliable data for farming, forestry, and fishing occupations.

Dash indicates "not applicable," or that data meeting publication criteria were not available.

premiums for long hours also reflect the influence of these factors. Of course, these differences may also exist among craft, administrative support, or other occupations likely to be paid overtime. For example, within the occupation police and detectives, detectives or FBI agents, who usually earn more than other police officers, might also work longer hours. If so, the large pay differential would also be due to this factor.

In some other—primarily salaried—occupations, workers with extended hours have more modest weekly differentials, and earn much less per hour than do their counterparts who work fewer hours. There are several possible reasons. Earnings differentials between job titles within the occupation may be more modest; or earnings differentials may be large, but there is little connection between hours worked and earnings. For example, salaries of elementary, secondary, or special education schoolteachers increase with years of tenure, are much higher in public than private schools, and vary widely by geographic area, but experienced teachers or those in high paying schools or systems may not work longer hours.

Even though managerial and professional workers are not likely to receive pay for overtime work, they may work an extended workweek for a number of other reasons. It might simply take more than 44 hours to perform their job adequately, or their employer might require more hours as one of the terms of continued employment. A worker also might be seeking a promotion or a yearend bonus, in which case extra hours could eventually yield higher income, but not necessarily during the period of the survey. In addition, some workers simply are conscientious, or prefer work to other activities—at least up to a point. Of course, workers who receive pay for overtime work may also put in long hours for these same reasons.

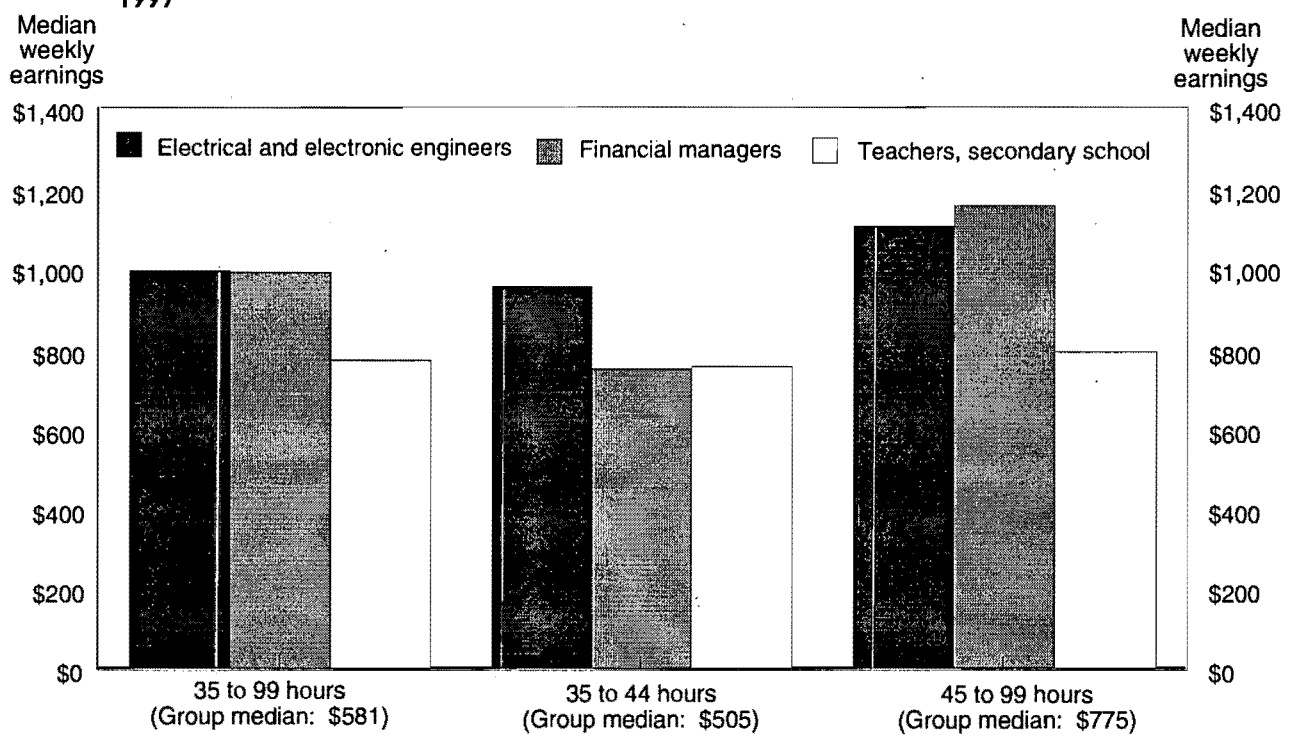
In summary, for most managerial and sales occupations, there is a large difference between weekly earnings of standard and extended-week workers. Workers with a standard workweek appear to pay a large financial "penalty" for their shorter hours, while those with an extended week appear to get a large "payoff" for their longer hours. In contrast, differences between earnings of standard and extended-week workers are small among engineers, computer scientists, and teachers. Workers in these occupations appear to suffer very little financially from having a standard workweek, but to gain little from an extended week.

Earnings differences between occupations

Two of the most common questions asked about jobs are: Which pay the most and how does one occupation compare with others in terms of earnings and hours of work? Data presented earlier suggest that rankings of jobs by earnings may vary, depending on which hours-worked group is studied. This section shows how rankings for the groups of workers who put in 35 to 44 hours and 45 to 99 hours differ from the ranking for all full-timers (35 to 99 hours).

Rankings differ most for men in managerial, management-related professional specialty, and sales occupations. Male and female physicians and male and female lawyers remain at the top of the earnings distribution. At the bottom of the distribution are found male farmworkers, laborers, janitors and cleaners, guards, and cooks, and female nursing aides and

Chart 1. Median usual weekly earnings of men in selected occupations, by hours-worked group, 1997



private household workers—no matter which hours-worked group is used.

Compared to the ranking for all full-timers, most executives, officials, and managers; management-related jobs; and salesworker occupations appeared lower on the 35-to-44-hour ranking, but were about the same or higher in the 45-to-99-hour ranking. For example, male insurance salesworkers ranked 20th in data for the 35-to-99-hours group, but 27th for those working 35 to 44 hours, and ninth for those working 45 to 99 hours. Engineers; computer specialists; and elementary, secondary, and special education teachers with a standard workweek ranked higher than all full-timers, while those with an extended workweek ranked lower. For example, male secondary schoolteachers ranked 18th in terms of earnings in the 35-to-99-hours-per-week group, but 13th in the 35-to-44-hours group, and 27th in the 45-to-99-hours group. (See table 3 and chart 1.) For most mechanic, repairer, and construction occupations, persons with a standard workweek also ranked higher than their counterparts in other work-hours groups.

Chart 1 also helps to explain how rankings vary. For all full-timers, electrical and electronics engineers, with a median of $999, rank fourth; financial managers, at $991, rank fifth; and secondary schoolteachers, at $772, rank 18th. However, among persons with a standard workweek, electrical engineers, at $955, ranked only modestly lower than all full-time electrical engineers, and they appear in third place. Financial managers earned only $752, much less than the median for all financial managers, and appear in 14th place. Secondary schoolteachers had only slightly lower earnings than did all secondary teachers, and are found in 13th place, ahead of financial managers. Among those with an extended week, financial managers earned $1,159, enough to put them in fourth place. Electrical engineers earned $1,108, only modestly more than all full-timers in their occupation, appearing in eighth place. Secondary schoolteachers earned $794 per week, only slightly more than did all full-timers in their occupation, appearing in 27th place. Looked at another way, electrical and electronic engineers with a standard week earned 89 percent more than the median for all men with a standard workweek, but those with an extended workweek earned only 43 percent more than the median for all men with an extended week. Secondary schoolteachers with a standard week earned 50 percent more than the median for all men with a standard workweek, but those with an extended workweek earned only 2 percent more than the median for all men with an extended week. Financial managers earned about 50 percent more in both cases.

High weekly earnings without long hours. Despite the overall lower weekly earnings associated with a standard workweek, in some occupations, workers with a standard workweek had high medians. Here, "high" is defined as a median that ex-

ceeded the median for all workers with an extended workweek—more than $775 for men and $658 for women. This includes, for men, 12th-ranked teachers, college and university, at $818 and the 11 occupations ranked higher: Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations ($832); officials and adminsitrators, public administration ($833); administrators, education and related fields ($839); computer programmers ($842); operations and systems researchers and analysts ($867); industrial engineers ($873); computer systems analysts and scientists ($919); civil engineers ($950); electrical and electronic engineers ($955); lawyers ($1,057); and physicians ($1,134). For women, this includes eighth-ranked teachers, special education, at $669 and the seven occupations ranked higher: Teachers, secondary school ($685); registered nurses ($692); teachers, college and university ($727); engineers ($801); lawyers ($807); computer systems analysts and engineers ($834); and physicians ($1,071).

In a few occupations, persons working standard hours had earnings medians greater than the median for all persons working 55 hours or more ($847 for men and $723 for women). These included, for men, seventh-ranked operations and systems researchers and analysts, at $867, and those ranked higher and, for women, fifth-ranked college and university teachers, at $727, and those ranked higher.

Not surprisingly, all of the occupations noted above generally require a college degree for entry. Physicians and lawyers require a professional degree, and most college teachers, a doctoral or professional degree. Engineers, computer systems analysts, and schoolteachers generally need a bachelor's degree, and registered nurses, an associate degree.

CONSIDERATION OF HOURS-WORKED provides an extra dimension to data on earnings. Within every occupation, there are some jobs with shorter hours and others with longer hours. For people willing to work only a standard workweek, or those comfortable with an extended week, some occupations appear more or less attractive than the earnings data for all full-timers would suggest. In some occupations, extended hours are likely to yield a large benefit; in others, extra hours may yield job satisfaction, but not much more money, at least within the period of the CPS survey. □

Footnotes

[1] Philip L. Rones, Jennifer Gardner, and Randy E. Ilg, "Trends in hours of work since the mid-1970's," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1997, pp. 3–14. See also G.H. Moore and J.N. Hedges, "Trends in labor and leisure," *Monthly Labor Review*, February 1971, pp. 3–11.

[2] The Current Population Survey is a monthly survey of 50,000 households conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

[3] In this article, full-time workers are defined as persons who work at least 35 hours per week in their primary job. Most other data published by BLS define full time as 35 hours or more at all jobs combined. Data on part-timers are not presented. Part-timers are defined as those working 34 hours or less in their primary job.

[4] A standard workweek often is defined as precisely 40 hours. See Peyton K. Elder and Heidi D. Miller, "The Fair Labor Standards Act: changes of four decades," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1979, pp. 10–16. See also Rones and others, "Trends in hours of work," p. 3.

[5] Some relatively large occupations that are not included are social workers and receptionists for women, and groundskeepers and gardeners for men.

[6] Earnings data for the unincorporated self-employed are not collected in the monthly Current Population Survey. Earnings data for the incorporated self-employed (who receive a salary) are collected, but are not tabulated or incorporated with earnings of wage and salary workers.

[7] See Rones and others, "Trends in hours of work," p. 10.

[8] This exclusion means that data are not presented for some occupations with relatively large numbers of self-employed workers, but too few wage and salary workers to provide statistically reliable data, such as architects, cosmetologists, and dentists.

[9] See "Workers on flexible and shift schedules in 1997," USDL 98–119 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Mar. 26, 1998). See also Shirley J. Smith, "The growing diversity of work schedules," *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1986, pp. 7–13.

[10] For a discussion of trends in the proportion of workers with long hours, see Rones and others, "Trends in hours of work."

[11] Data for physicians exclude persons working 75 hours a week or more. See footnote 12 for more information.

[12] Data for physicians exclude persons working 75 hours a week or more. Data from the Current Population Survey for physicians present a unique problem. The median earnings for men working 55 to 99 hours ($1,241 per week and $18.91 per hour) and for women working 45 to 99 hours ($933 per week and $17.48 per hour), were much less than earnings for those with fewer hours. Further analysis showed the cause: most respondents with the longest hours have weekly earnings well below $800 and hourly earnings of less than $10. It was assumed that most were interns and residents who are medical school graduates in paid on-the-job training, and are not yet licensed as physicians, but it was not possible to clearly identify them. These workers typically put in long hours for relatively low pay. However, almost all persons in the occupational category who reported working more than 75 hours per week had these very low earnings. Some with fewer hours, particularly women, also had very low earnings. The much lower hourly rates for women working 45 to 74 hours per week suggest that these data still include many residents and interns.

[13] See Elder and Miller, "The Fair Labor Standards Act"; Rones and others, "Trends in hours of work"; and *Minimum Wage and Overtime Hours Under the Fair Labor Standards Act* (U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, June 1998).

[14] See Darrell E. Carr, "Overtime work: an expanded view," *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1986, pp. 36–39.

[15] They were less than a third as likely as those in precision production, craft, and repair or operator, fabricator, and laborer positions to receive overtime, even though they were much more likely to have long hours. See Carr, "Overtime work," p. 38.

[16] See *Classified Index of Industries and Occupations, 1980 Census of Population*, PHC80-24 (Bureau of the Census, November 1982).

[17] See *Report on the American Workforce* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1997), p. 39. Data shown are for women only, but men had similar patterns.

Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey

Workers on Flexible and Shift Schedules in 1997 Summary

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WORKERS ON FLEXIBLE AND SHIFT SCHEDULES IN 1997

In May 1997, about 25.0 million full-time wage and salary workers had flexible work schedules that allowed them to vary the time they began or ended work, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor reported today. The proportion of workers with such schedules was 27.6 percent, up sharply from the 15.1 percent recorded when the data were last collected in May 1991. The increase in flexible work schedules was widespread across demographic groups, occupations, and industries.

These findings were obtained from a supplement to the May 1997 Current Population Survey (CPS), a monthly survey of about 50,000 households that provides the basic data on national employment and unemployment. The information presented in this release pertain to wage and salary workers who were at work during the May 1997 reference week and who usually worked 35 or more hours per week. The survey also collected information about the prevalence of shift work. For further information about the survey, see the Technical Note. Some of the highlights from the 1997 survey are:

--Men were somewhat more likely to be working flexible schedules than women (28.7 and 26.2 percent, respectively).
--Private-sector employees were more likely to have flexible work hours than those in the public sector (28.8 versus 21.7 percent).
--About 15.2 million persons normally worked a shift other than a regular daytime schedule.

Flexible schedules

Among whites, 29.6 percent of the men and 27.3 percent of the women had flexible schedules. In contrast, among blacks and Hispanics, the proportions were lower and there was little difference by sex. Overall, the proportions working flexible schedules among all groups has increased considerably since 1991. (See tables A and 1.)

Parents were more likely than workers with no children under 18 to work a flexible schedule, 28.9 and 26.8 percent, respectively. (See table 1.)

About 42.4 percent of executives, administrators, and managers and 41.0 percent of sales workers were able to vary their work hours. In contrast, less than one-quarter of those employed in administrative support roles or as service workers had such flexibility. Operators, fabricators, and laborers, and precision production, craft, and repair workers were the least likely to have flexible work schedules. (See table 2.)

Among private-sector employees, the proportion of workers with flexible schedules was much higher in service-producing industries (31.7 percent) than in goods-producing industries (23.3 percent). In the public

sector, flexible schedules were more common among federal government employees (34.5 percent) than workers in state (29.4 percent) or local government (13.1 percent), which includes public elementary and secondary schools. (See table 2.)

Table A. Flexible schedules and shift work of full-time wage and salary workers by sex, race, and Hispanic origin, May, selected years, 1985-97

Characteristics	Percent with flexible schedules			Percent with alternate shifts		
	May 1985	May 1991	May 1997	May 1985	May 1991	May 1997
Sex						
Total, 16 years and over	12.4	15.1	27.6	15.9	17.8	16.8
Men	13.1	15.5	28.7	17.8	20.1	19.1
Women	11.3	14.5	26.2	13.0	14.6	13.7
Race and Hispanic origin						
White	12.8	15.5	28.7	15.3	17.1	16.1
Black	9.1	12.1	20.1	19.9	23.3	20.9
Hispanic origin	8.9	10.6	18.4	15.5	19.1	16.0

NOTE: Data for May 1997 are not strictly comparable with data for earlier years because the 1997 data incorporate 1990 census-based population controls and the effects of a major redesign of the Current Population Survey introduced in January 1994. Data exclude the incorporated and unincorporated self-employed.

Shift work

Among full-time wage and salary workers, 82.9 percent were on regular daytime schedules; alternate schedules worked included evening shifts (4.6 percent), employer-arranged irregular schedules (3.9 percent), night shifts (3.5 percent), and rotating shifts (2.9 percent). Men were more likely than women to work an alternate shift (19.1 and 13.7 percent, respectively). Blacks were more likely than either whites or Hispanics to work such shifts. Since May 1991, the proportion of full-time wage and salary workers on alternate schedules edged down. (See tables A and 3.)

The prevalence of shift work was greatest among workers in service-oriented occupations, such as protective service (55.1 percent)--which includes police, firefighters, and guards--and food service (42.0 percent), and among those employed as operators, fabricators, and laborers (27.0 percent). It was lowest for managers and professionals (9.4 percent) and those in administrative support occupations (8.8 percent). (See table 4.)

In private-sector industries, the percent of workers on alternative shifts was highest in eating and drinking places (47.2 percent) and lowest in construction (3.7 percent). Although shift work was generally less common in the public sector, nearly half the local government workers employed in "justice, public order, and safety"--the category that includes police and fire departments--were shift workers. (See table 4.)

Beginning and ending hours

The May 1997 supplement also provided data on the specific times persons worked during the survey reference week. About 67.0 percent of all full-time wage and salary workers began work at times between 6:30 A.M. and 9:29 A.M., with the greatest concentration around 8 A.M. Three-fifths usually left between 3:30 P.M. and 6:29 P.M., with times around 5 P.M. by far the most frequently reported. (See table 5.)

- Workers on Flexible and Shift Schedules Technical Note
- Table 1. Flexible schedules: Full-time wage and salary workers by selected characteristics, May 1997
- Table 2. Flexible schedules: Full-time wage and salary workers by occupation and industry, May 1997
- Table 3. Shift usually worked: Full-time wage and salary workers by selected characteristics, May 1997
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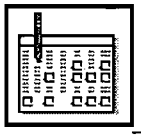

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EXCERPT

February 1990, Vol. 113, No. 2

Hours at work: a new base for BLS productivity statistics

Mary Jablonski, Kent Kunze, and *Phyllis Flohr Otto*

In August 1989, the Bureau of Labor Statistics began publishing productivity statistics and for major sectors of the U.S. economy that are based on a new measure of labor input: hours at work. Previous productivity statistics were based primarily on hours paid, which come from employer payroll records. The switch to hours at work was accomplished with data from one of the newer BLS surveys, the Hours at Work Survey.[1]

This article reports on the conversion to hours at work and the resulting effects on productivity statistics. It describes the Hours at Work Survey, which yields ratios of hours at work to hours paid, and presents results from the survey. The historical series of ratios constructed for the period prior to the Hours at Work Survey are discussed. The article concludes with a brief description of how the ratios of hours at work to hours paid are used to produce the new hours measures.

Conversion to hours at work

On August 3, 1989, the Bureau of Labor Statistics began using hours at work in its productivity and cost measures for the major sectors: business, nonfarm business, manufacturing, and nonfinancial corporations. All of the measures for these sectors that involve hours were altered, including output per hour and compensation per hour. The measures are published eight times a year in a Department of Labor news release, "Productivity and Costs," and also appear in Bureau of Labor Statistics publications, such as the *Monthly Labor Review* and *Employment and Earnings.*[2]

In the previous measures, hours of all persons consisted of hours paid of employees in the private nonfarm business sector and hours worked of self-employed persons, unpaid family workers, employees of government enterprises, and, in the business-sector measures, farm employees. Hours paid are based on information from the Current Employment Statistics program (also known as the establishment survey), which collects data from firms' payroll records each month. Hours paid of employees accounted for about 85 percent of total hours in the old business-sector hours measure. Hours worked of self-employed persons, unpaid family workers, employees of government enterprises, and farm employees are from the Current Population Survey, a monthly household survey.[3]

In the new measures, the hours paid of employees in private nonfarm business are replaced by a measure of their hours at work that was developed with the results of the Hours at Work Survey. Because the measure of hours at work excludes paid leave, which is composed of hours that are not devoted to the production process, it is preferred to hours paid as a measure of labor input for productivity statistics.[4]

This excerpt is from an article published in the February 1990 issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*. The full text of the article is available in Adobe Acrobat's Portable Document Format (PDF). See How to view a PDF file for more information.

▸ Read abstract ▸ Download full text in PDF (594K)

Footnotes

[1] The Hours at Work Survey was first presented in Kent Kunze, "A new BLS survey measures the ratio of hours worked to hours paid," *Monthly Labor Review,* June 1984, pp. 3-7; in a subsequent research summary, "Hours at work increase relative to hours paid," *Monthly Labor Review,* June 1985, pp. 44-46, Kunze updated the survey results.

[2] Table C-9 in *Employment and Earnings* continues to show hours paid of employees. This table is prepared by the Bureau's Office of Productivity and Technology, as are the productivity and cost measures.

[3] The establishment survey does not cover the farm sector or self-employed and unpaid family workers, so hours worked for those individuals are taken from the Current Population Survey. This survey requests the hours worked in the survey week of each employed person in the household. Because it is a much smaller survey, and because respondents often provide information on household members other than themselves, the Current Population Survey is

[4] If hours paid and hours at work grow at the same rate, then for the measurement of productivity growth, it does not matter which measure of hours is used. However, if there is a divergence in the rates of growth over time, using hours paid rather than hours at work will yield an incorrect productivity growth rate.

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Trends in hours of work since the mid-1970s

Although there has been little change in the average number of hours worked each week since the mid-1970s, the proportion of persons working very long workweeks has risen, and there has been a growing trend toward year-round work among women

Philip L. Rones, Randy E. Ilg, and Jennifer M. Gardner

Efforts to shorten and standardize the length of the workweek were at the forefront of labor market issues in the first four decades of this century, culminating in the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.[1] After long and hard-fought legal and political battles, the act allowed for a maximum workweek of 44 hours, which then would decline to 40 hours in the third year after enactment. Although employers still could demand longer workweeks, hours worked beyond the legal maximum would require time-and-a-half pay.

While workweek issues have fallen from the fore in recent decades, they still touch upon many key labor market topics and trends. For example, arguably the two most dominant trends in the post-World War II work world have been the influx of women, particularly mothers, into the job market, and the steady decline in the retirement age. Women have increased their numbers in the work force and shifted their work schedules towards year-round, full-time employment. In addition, as work activity among older men was declining, those left working were increasingly likely to work part time.

Two important issues in the 1990s are worker displacement and the quality of jobs, both of which have workweek components. Even as the overall U.S. employment numbers have risen substantially, millions of jobs have been lost each year to corporate and government restructuring. A common perception is that those spared such job loss, particularly those in managerial and professional jobs, have been compelled to work longer workweeks to protect their own positions. As for the quality of jobs, newly created jobs often have been stereotyped (incorrectly) as part-time, low-wage, poor-quality jobs.[2]

This article examines trends in hours at work from two perspectives. First, trends in the average workweek and changes in the distribution of hours worked since the mid-1970s are examined. Then, the focus is expanded to estimate *annual* work hours. This figure is affected not only by the length of the workweek, but also by the extent to which people work at all, and the number of weeks that they work during the year. Lastly, the appendix provides a discussion of the differences between hours data collected following the redesign of the Current Population Survey (CPS), implemented in January 1994, and those obtained prior to 1994. Because of the effect of those changes on work-hour estimates, trend data in the article are restricted to the period through 1993.[3]

Measuring hours of work

Estimates of the length of the workweek can be obtained from workers themselves or from their employers. Employer-based surveys count the total number of jobs held by workers, so average hours calculated from those data are reported per *job,* not per worker. Workers, of course, can work at more than one job. Also, workweek estimates from employers generally are for hours paid (including paid annual and sick leave) rather than actual hours worked. Another shortfall of employer-based surveys for this analysis is that they typically lack demographic information—such as age, gender, and education—that are critical to un-

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derstanding workweek trends. Thus, if the focus is on workers and their work schedules, employer surveys will not suffice.[4]

For those reasons, data obtained from individuals were used in this analysis. The CPS provides comprehensive and consistent hours-at-work and employment time series data that can be obtained for many demographic characteristics.[5] Respondents to the survey are queried on their usual and actual hours at work. Additionally, each March, survey respondents are asked about their work experience in the prior year, including their typical work schedule and the number of weeks that they worked.

Average hours at work

In 1995, the average workweek for nonagricultural wage and salary workers[6] was 39.2 hours. That average varied considerably across worker groups, however. For instance, the average workweek for men was 42.1 hours, compared with 35.8 hours for women; persons aged 25 to 54 typically work more hours than do younger and older workers. (See table 1.) In addition, the length of the workweek varies by marital status. Married men, for example, spent the most time at work each week in 1995, averaging 8 hours per week more than married women.

Table 1. Nonagricultural wage and salary workers at work and their average hours by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin, 1995 annual averages

[Numbers in thousands]

Characteristic	Total at work	Average hours	
		Total at work	Persons who usually work full time
Age and sex			
Total, 16 years and older	107,656	39.2	43.0
16 to 24 years	17,282	32.6	41.3
25 to 54 years	78,682	41.0	43.3
55 years and older	11,692	36.7	42.3
Men, 16 years and older	57,362	42.1	44.5
16 to 24 years	8,989	34.7	42.3
25 to 54 years	42,124	44.1	44.9
55 years and older	6,250	39.6	43.7
Women, 16 years and older	50,294	35.8	40.8
16 to 24 years	8,293	30.4	40.0
25 to 54 years	36,558	37.4	41.0
55 years and older	5,442	33.3	40.3
Race and Hispanic origin			
White, 16 years and older	90,997	39.3	43.2
Men	49,114	42.4	44.8
Women	41,883	35.6	40.9
Black, 16 years and older	12,162	38.3	41.2
Men	5,826	40.0	42.3
Women	6,336	36.7	40.1
Hispanic origin, 16 years and older	9,645	38.5	41.5
Men	5,688	40.5	42.4
Women	3,956	35.6	39.9

Reflecting their younger age, men and women who never have been married tend to work the shortest workweeks.[7]

Average hours at work changed little over the period from 1976 to 1993, increasing by just 1.1 hours, on net, to 39.2 hours.[8] But during this period, the age distribution of the U.S. working population changed substantially, and in a way that influenced the length of the average workweek. By 1993, the baby-boomers—those born between 1946 and 1964—all had moved into the central working ages of 25 to 54. Meanwhile, workers in the younger and older age groups, which include many students and retirees, comprised a declining share of employment. Workweeks typically are the longest for workers aged 25 to 54, while part-time (and part-year) employment is most common among younger and older workers. These shifts in the age distribution, then, would tend to increase the length of the average workweek, all other things being equal.

To determine the effect of the shifting age distribution on the change in the average workweek for men and women, it is necessary to calculate average hours in 1993 assuming that the age distribution of those at work had remained unchanged since 1976.[9] As the tabulation below shows, after removing the effect of the shifting age distribution, average weekly hours for men showed virtually no change (edging up from 41.0 to 41.2 hours), and the average workweek for women increased by only a single hour:

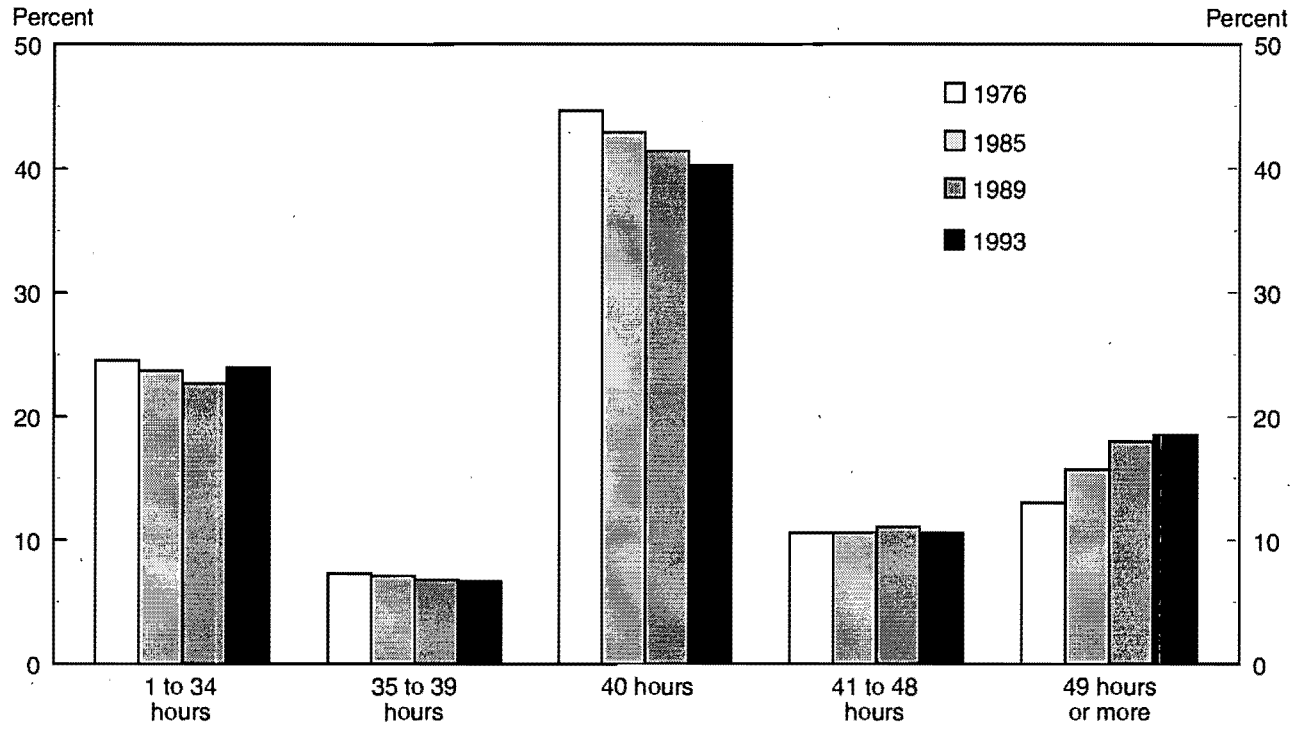
	Average weekly hours		
	Actual		*Age-adjusted*
	1976	*1993*	*1993*
Men, 16 years and older	41.0	42.0	41.2
Women, 16 years and older	34.0	36.0	35.0

The small changes in the length of the workweek, whether on an age-adjusted or unadjusted basis, reflect (and mask) offsetting increases and decreases in the hours-at-work distribution. As shown in chart 1, between 1976 and 1993, the proportion of nonagricultural wage and salary workers who reported that they were at work exactly 40 hours per week declined, while the share working 49 hours or more rose. (A more detailed discussion of this shift is presented later in the section on long workweeks.) The proportions working fewer than 40 hours and 41 to 48 hours remained fairly stable.

Age and sex

25- to 54-year-olds. Because the changing age distribution affects workweek trends, it is useful to look at more homogeneous groups of workers over time. Between 1976 and 1993, the average workweek for 25- to 54-year-old men and women both were up, on net. The increase was much greater for

Chart 1. **Distribution of hours at work of nonagricultural wage and salary workers, annual averages, selected years, 1976–93**



women, whose average workweek rose by nearly 2½ hours. (See chart 2.) During that 17-year period, however, the workweek fluctuated substantially with the business cycle. Men's hours were curtailed more severely in conjunction with the downturn of the early 1990s, and, even by 1993, had not yet regained their prerecession peak. Adult women, in contrast, experienced only a small dip in their average workweek, and that series quickly returned to its upward trend.

The slight increase in average hours worked between 1976 and 1993 reflects the greater share of both men and women who worked 49 hours or more per week. (See table 2.) For men, there was a corresponding decline in the share who worked exactly 40 hours per week, while among women, the shift into the longer workweek occurred mostly from the part-time category (1 to 34 hours) and from the 35- to 39-hour group.

Younger workers. In contrast to workers aged 25 to 54, the average workweek for younger workers edged down, on net, between 1976 and 1993. In 1976, 16- to 24-year-olds worked an average of 33.6 hours per week compared to 32.5 hours in 1993. While average hours at work were higher for young men than for young women (34.2 and 30.8, respectively, in 1993), the cyclical and long-term trends were nearly identical.

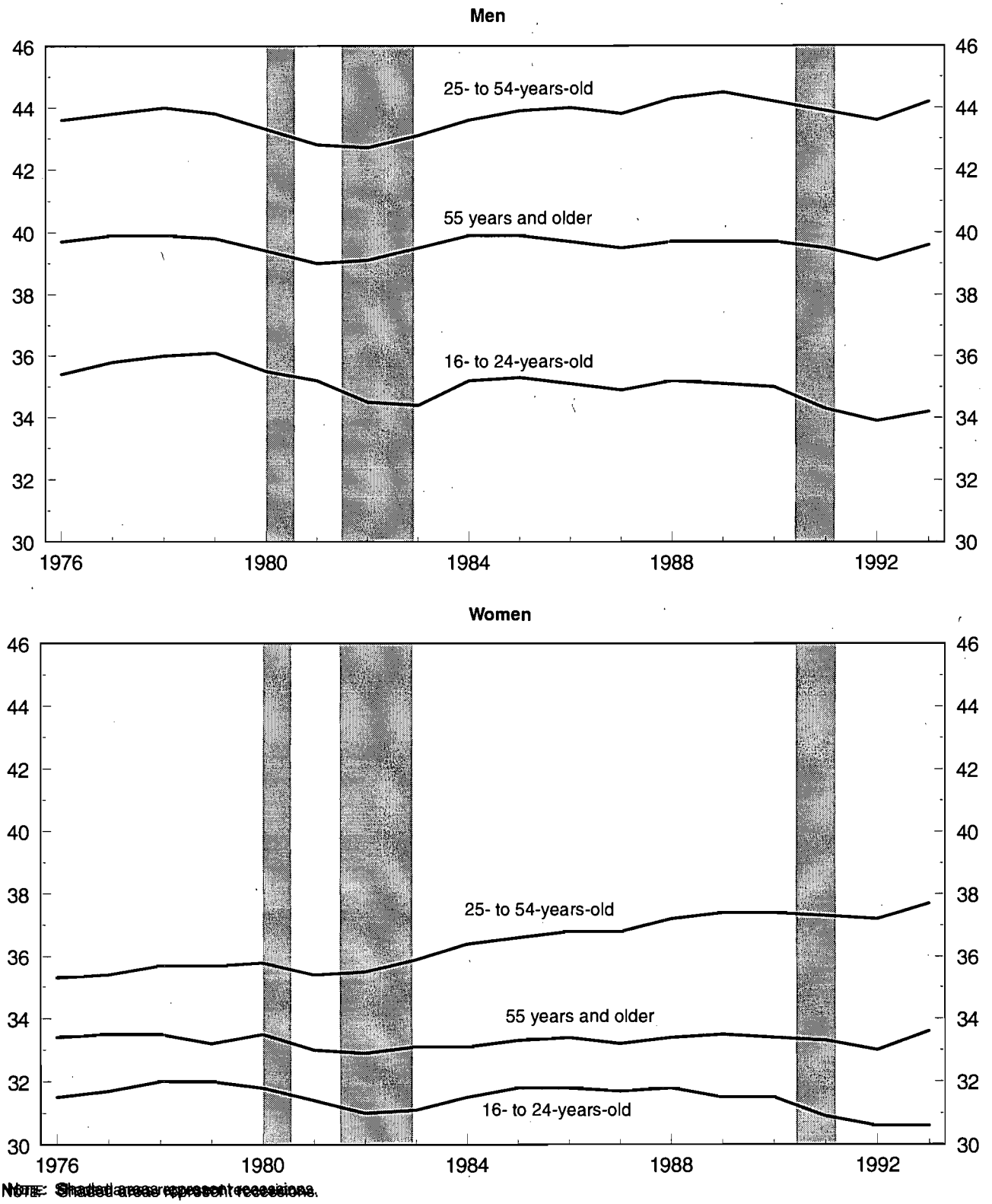
The overall decline in the number of hours worked among youth partly reflects changes in their school enrollment status. As the tabulation below shows, between 1976 and 1993, the proportion of all 16- to 24-year-olds who were enrolled in either high school or college increased from 44 to 51 percent. The rise in school enrollment occurred among both high school and college-age youth.

	Total	*High school*	*College*	
			Part time	*Full time*
1976	44.0	22.9	3.4	17.7
1993	51.2	24.2	4.6	22.4

In addition to rising enrollment rates among the college-age population, more college students were working in 1993 than in 1976 (53 versus 45 percent). This increase in employment occurred entirely among full-time college students, who worked, on average, about 20 hours per week. Thus, the shift toward shorter workweeks among the young largely reflects their increased tendency to be students, although even among nonstudents, average hours edged down slightly.[10]

Hours distribution data reinforce the contention that the decline noted in the average workweek among younger workers is due, in part, to an increase in school activity. The proportion of younger workers who work part time (1 to 34 hours

Chart 2. **Average hours worked for wage and salary workers in nonagricultural industries by sex and age, annual averages, 1976–93**



Note: Shaded areas represent recessions.

per week) has increased since the mid-1970s, while the share of those working 40 hours per week has declined.

Older workers. The average workweek for both men and women aged 55 years and older changed little over the 1976–93 period, and their hours seem to have been less affected by the business cycle than were those for other age groups. For older men in particular, the unchanged average workweek, on net, reflects increases in employment at both ends of the hours distribution. (See table 2.) Apparently, a growing share of those still in their "career jobs" were working very long workweeks, as was the case for workers aged 25 to 54. At the other end of the hours distribution, work activity among retirees (those receiving pensions) is on the rise, and these workers tend to work part time. "Both full- and part-time (less than 35 hours per week) work activity rose among all these groups of retirees [men aged 50 to 64], although a disproportionate share of the increase among those 50 to 61 years was in part-time work."[11]

Table 2. Percent distribution of nonagricultural wage and salary workers by sex, age, and hours of work, annual averages, selected years, 1976–93

Characteristic	1976	1985	1989	1993
Men				
16 to 24 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	34.1	35.9	36.7	40.2
35 to 39 hours	5.1	5.4	5.6	6.2
40 hours	38.5	36.3	35.6	33.0
41 to 48 hours	11.3	9.9	9.3	8.2
49 hours or more	11.1	12.6	12.8	12.4
25 to 54 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	10.4	9.8	9.1	10.7
35 to 39 hours	4.3	4.2	4.0	4.1
40 hours	48.9	46.5	43.7	42.7
41 to 48 hours	14.2	13.8	14.2	13.3
49 hours or more	22.2	25.7	29.0	29.2
55 years and older	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	18.4	19.1	21.4	23.0
35 to 39 hours	4.7	5.0	4.9	4.6
40 hours	50.7	46.6	43.5	41.9
41 to 48 hours	11.5	11.2	10.6	9.9
49 hours or more	14.7	18.1	19.7	20.6
Women				
16 to 24 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	43.3	44.5	46.1	50.5
35 to 39 hours	9.8	9.1	8.4	8.1
40 hours	37.8	34.1	32.8	29.4
41 to 48 hours	5.9	6.9	6.7	5.9
49 hours or more	3.2	5.3	6.0	6.0
25 to 54 years	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	31.4	28.2	26.1	26.5
35 to 39 hours	11.6	10.5	9.7	9.4
40 hours	43.8	43.5	43.3	42.4
41 to 48 hours	7.5	8.9	9.9	9.8
49 hours or more	5.7	8.9	11.0	12.0
55 years and older	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 to 34 hours	38.4	39.4	39.5	40.4
35 to 39 hours	11.7	11.5	11.4	9.9
40 hours	38.5	37.5	35.3	35.2
41 to 48 hours	6.5	6.0	6.7	6.5
49 hours or more	4.9	5.6	7.1	7.9

Note: Detail may not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

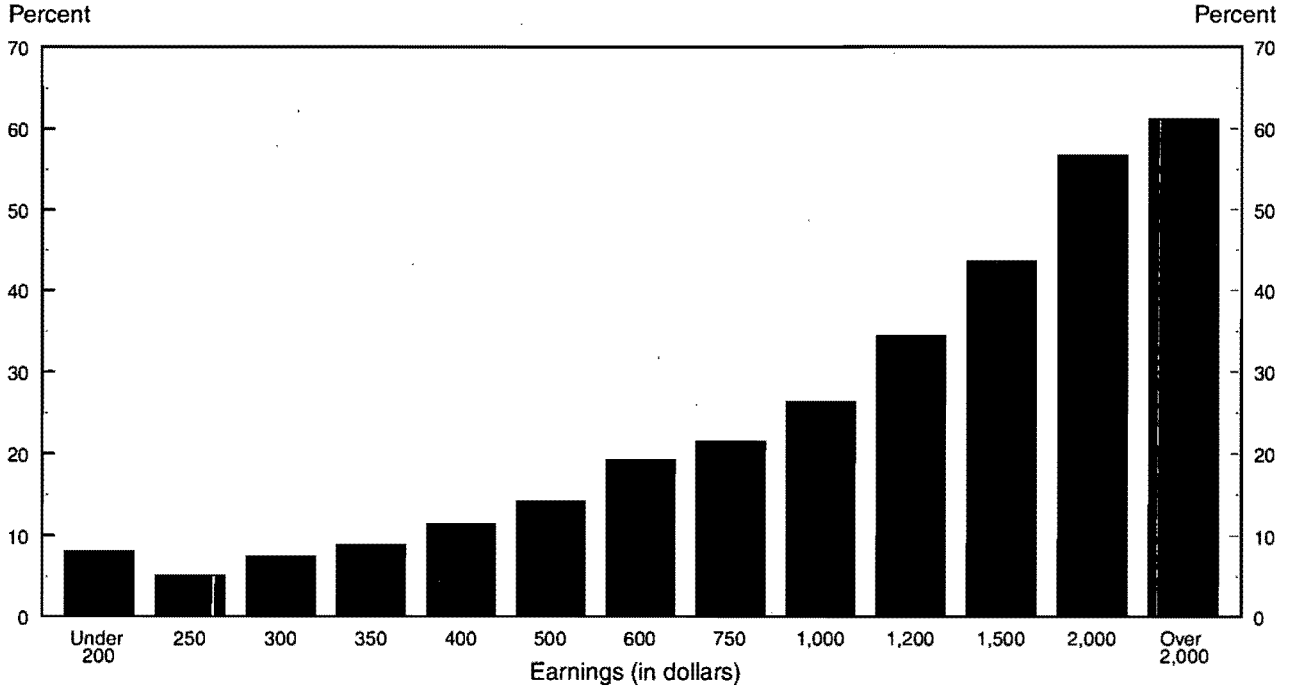
Long workweeks

Who is working longer workweeks? It is a simple arithmetic truth that persons who work longer workweeks earn more per week, on average, at equivalent hourly pay, than those who work shorter workweeks. For example, persons working 48 hours per week at $10 per hour would earn $80 more, before taxes, than those working 40 hours per week at the same hourly rate. (They also may earn an overtime premium.) In addition, data from the CPS clearly show that those with the highest earnings are the most likely to work very long workweeks.[12] (See chart 3.) What is not obvious from mathematical computations and survey data is which comes first: do the high earnings associated with longer workweeks simply reflect the greater number of hours worked, or is there a more basic difference between jobs that demand (or encourage) long workweeks and those that do not?

Chart 4 shows the share of workers in different occupations who worked 49 hours or more per week in 1985 and 1993. Professionals and managers were among those most likely to work very long workweeks. This may reflect the considerable responsibilities associated with many of these types of jobs, but also that employers often are not required by law to pay overtime premiums to workers in these occupations, as they must do for most hourly paid workers. Workers in these occupations also are among the highest paid: professionals and managers earned $680 and $661 per week, respectively, in 1993, compared to the median for all occupations of $459.[13]

In contrast, sales and transportation workers, who also have long workweeks, are not, on average, highly paid. In these cases, a large proportion of workers may work 49 hours or more per week due to the direct effect of hours on earnings—that is, the more they work, the more they earn. For example, commissioned salesworkers clearly have an incentive to work long workweeks. Indeed, full-time salesworkers employed by motor vehicle and boat dealerships worked nearly 50 hours per week, on average, in 1995. Likewise, transportation workers, both truckdrivers and drivers involved in saleswork, have among the longest workweeks of any occupation, averaging more than 46 hours each. In contrast, full-time salesworkers in apparel stores, occupations in which commissions are a less common form of pay, worked less than 39 hours, on average.

Chart 3. Proportion of full-time men in each earnings category who work 49 hours or more per week, 1995 annual averages



NOTE: Intervals reflect the upper bounds of the earnings categories.

NOTE: Intervals reflect the upper bounds of the earnings categories.

The 1985–93 occupational shift. Does the increasing share of workers who report that they are at work for 49 hours or more reflect a shift in employment towards long-workweek occupations? For both men and women, the share in every major occupational group that worked such a schedule increased over the 1985–93 period.[14] (See chart 4.) As stated above, the prevalence of long workweeks varies considerably by occupation. Such schedules are more highly concentrated in the managerial, professional, sales, and transportation occupations, and the rate of increase during the period was not consistent among all occupations.

The tabulation below shows the distribution of growth in long-workweek employment across three effects. The *occupational mix effect* is derived by estimating the number of persons who would have worked 49 hours or more in 1993 if the occupational mix had been the same as it was in 1985. The *within-occupation shift effect* reflects the extent to which the change in long-hour employment over the period is due to changes in the share of workers in each occupation who work 49 hours or more, as shown in chart 4. This measure applies the share who worked such schedules in each occupation in 1985 to the actual occupational employment distribution in 1993. The *employment growth effect* is a measure of the change that would have occurred simply as a result of the overall growth in employment. Thus, it gives the 49-hour-or-more group its "fair share" of the overall 1985–1993 growth.

	Total	*Men*	*Women*
	(In thousands)		
Number at work 49 hours or more:			
1985	16,787	13,006	3,781
1993	21,909	16,093	5,816
1985–93 change	+5,122	+3,087	+2,035
Occupational mix effect	+416	+158	+258
Within-occupational shift effect	+2,341	+1,259	+1,082
Employment growth effect	+2,365	+1,670	+695

As the tabulation shows, the number of persons working long work schedules increased considerably (5.1 million) over the 8-year period. Nearly half of this gain (2.4 million for both sexes combined) can be attributed to the overall expansion in employment during the period—the employment growth effect. The shift into occupations in which long workweeks are the most prevalent—such as, managers, professionals, sales, and transportation—accounted for about 400,000, or 8.1 percent, of the gain for men and women combined. This occupational mix effect, however, was much larger for women than for men—12.7 versus 5.1 percent. The rest of the increase was due to the rise in the share of long

Chart 4. **Share of workers on full-time schedules working 49 hours or more per week by occupation, 1985 and 1993 annual averages**

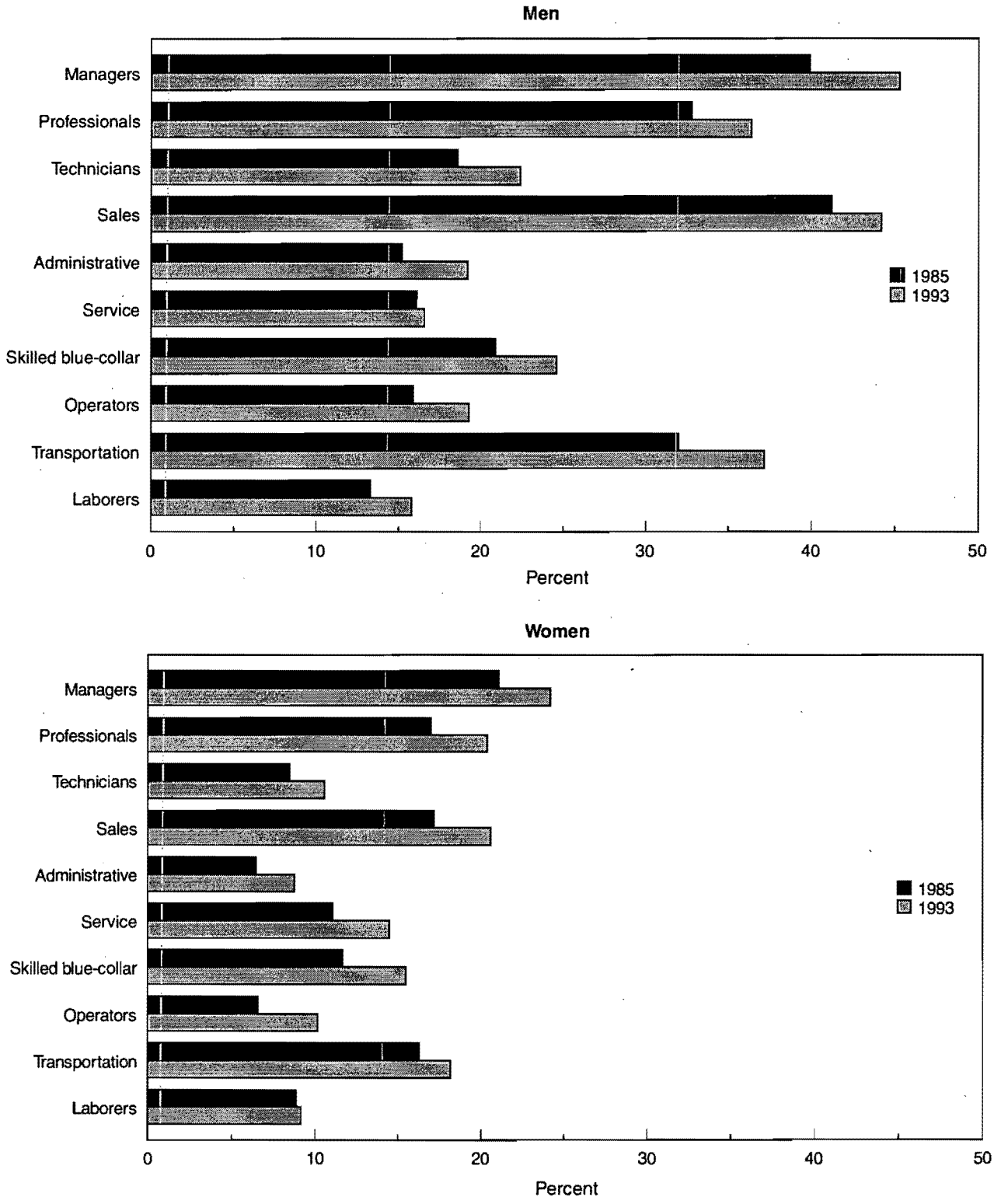


Table 3. Percent distribution of persons at work by class of worker and hours of work, 1976 and 1993 annual averages

Class of worker	Hours of work				
	1 to 34 hours	35 to 39 hours	40 hours	41 to 48 hours	49 hours or more
1976					
Nonagricultural workers[1]:					
Wage and salary	24.5	7.3	44.6	10.6	13.0
Self-employed	27.4	4.4	22.8	9.0	36.4
Agricultural workers	30.7	4.8	14.4	8.2	42.0
1993					
Nonagricultural workers[1]:					
Wage and salary	24.0	6.7	40.3	10.6	18.5
Self-employed	30.9	4.9	23.3	7.0	33.8
Agricultural workers	29.4	4.9	22.3	7.6	35.8

[1] Excludes unpaid family workers.

NOTE: Detail may not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

workweeks *in every occupation* for both men and women—shown as the within-occupation shift effect.

Self-employed and agricultural workers

Although a growing share of nonagricultural wage and salary workers have long workweeks, most still have a workweek that is fairly close to 40 hours. In contrast, the majority of the nonagricultural self-employed worked either very short or very long workweeks. (See table 3.) The proportion of the nonagricultural self-employed who worked at least 49 hours per week declined between 1976 and 1993, although it is still nearly double that for nonagricultural wage and salary workers. The share who worked part time (1 to 34 hours per week), on the other hand, rose. Unlike the trend for men, who comprise the majority of the self-employed, the proportion of self-employed women who work longer workweeks has increased since the mid-1970s, and the share working 1 to 34 hours per week has declined. As with the self-employed, agricultural workers are heavily concentrated at both ends of the hours distribution. The share of these workers in the 49-hours-or-more group declined substantially over the 1976–93 period, as the share working exactly 40 hours rose.

Annual work hours

So far in this article, it has been shown that the change in the average length of the workweek has been quite small since the mid-1970s, although a growing proportion of workers are putting in very long workweeks. But rephrasing the question from "What has been the trend in the length of the workweek?" to the broader "What has been the trend in hours at work over an entire year?" brings in additional variables that may identify more dramatic shifts. Indeed, data on annual work hours, rather than the average workweek, most often are used in inter-country comparisons of work hours. This allows for the differences in vacation time allowed and used among, say, Germany, Japan, and the United States to be factored into the work-hour discussion.

In addition to the length of the typical workweek, two other factors that can affect the total number of hours worked per year are the extent to which people worked at all during a particular year, and the total number of weeks that they worked during the year. In the previous calculation of average weekly hours, only persons who had worked were included. If an individual did not work at all, he or she was "out of scope"—that is, the individual was in neither the numerator nor the denominator of the average weekly hours calculation. Yet, we know that changes have taken place in the amount of time during the year that workers are spending on the job. BLS analysts reported that work activity is becoming less seasonal (that is, it is more likely to be year round), and this finding is consistent across industries and demographic groups.[15] Data collected each March in the CPS also show that U.S. workers, particularly women, have increasingly been working year round, as shown in chart 5. Indeed, more dramatic than any shift toward either full- or part-time work has been the trend toward year-round employment.

The following formula may be used to calculate the average number of hours a worker spends on the job during the year:

$$\text{Average annual hours at work} = NAW*AWH*52/NWY$$

where *NAW* is the number at work in an average week; *AWH* is average weekly hours at work; and *NWY* is the number at work during the year.

The aggregate number of hours worked during a *week* is the product of the number of persons at work in an average week (an annual average) and their average hours at work per week. This product is then multiplied by 52 weeks to obtain an estimate of the aggregate number of hours worked during the *year*. The divisor—the number at work at any time during the year—was obtained from the "work experience" questions asked each March in the CPS supplement.[16] In those questions, survey respondents are asked to recall their work activity during the previous calendar year, including the number of weeks in which they worked, as well as their usual

hours. Thus, aggregate hours worked during all of 1993, for example, obtained from the basic monthly CPS, would be divided by the number of persons who worked at all in 1993, obtained from the March 1994 survey. This produces an excellent measure of average hours worked for each worker during the year. A time series has been constructed from 1976 to 1993 for both men and women. The employment-based series show the effect of changes in the share of the population working and the extent of their work activity during the year on work hours. (See chart 6.)

Annual hours at work rose steadily for women until the late 1980s, when the rate of growth slowed slightly. The lack of sensitivity to business cycles during the early 1980s is somewhat surprising given that women, like men, are subject to cyclical swings in unemployment, a major determinant of the number of weeks worked during the year. As shown in chart 6, men work more hours than women during the year both because men work longer average workweeks, and because they are more likely to work year-round. Since the mid-1970s, however, men's annual hours have risen much less than women's, and appear to be more sensitive to the business cycles.

As shown in the following tabulation, employed women worked an average of nearly 20 percent more in 1993 than in 1976, adding 233 hours to their average work year. But as was shown with the weekly hours data, the age distribution of the working population changed substantially over this period; a much smaller share are now in the older and younger age groups, for which both the length of the workweek and the number of weeks worked tend to be relatively low. Adjusting for this age shift modestly reduces the 1976–93 change. Men's hours, after age-adjustment, were up 3 percent over the period, while women's were up 15 percent.[17]

	Men	*Women*
	(In thousands)	
Average annual work hours:		
1976	1,805	1,293
1993	1,905	1,526
1976–93 change	+100	+233
Age-adjusted change	+62	+193

These calculations still leave one important trend identified earlier unaccounted for: the change in the likelihood that an individual worked at all during the year. Over the 1976–93 period, men became less likely to work, largely due to earlier retirements, expansion of the Social Security disability program, increased school enrollments, and an increase in wives' employment. By contrast, women became far more likely to work over the period. (See chart 7.) Hence, using the population as the denominator in an annual hours calcula-

Chart 5. Work schedules of women aged 25 to 54, 1976 and 1993 annual averages

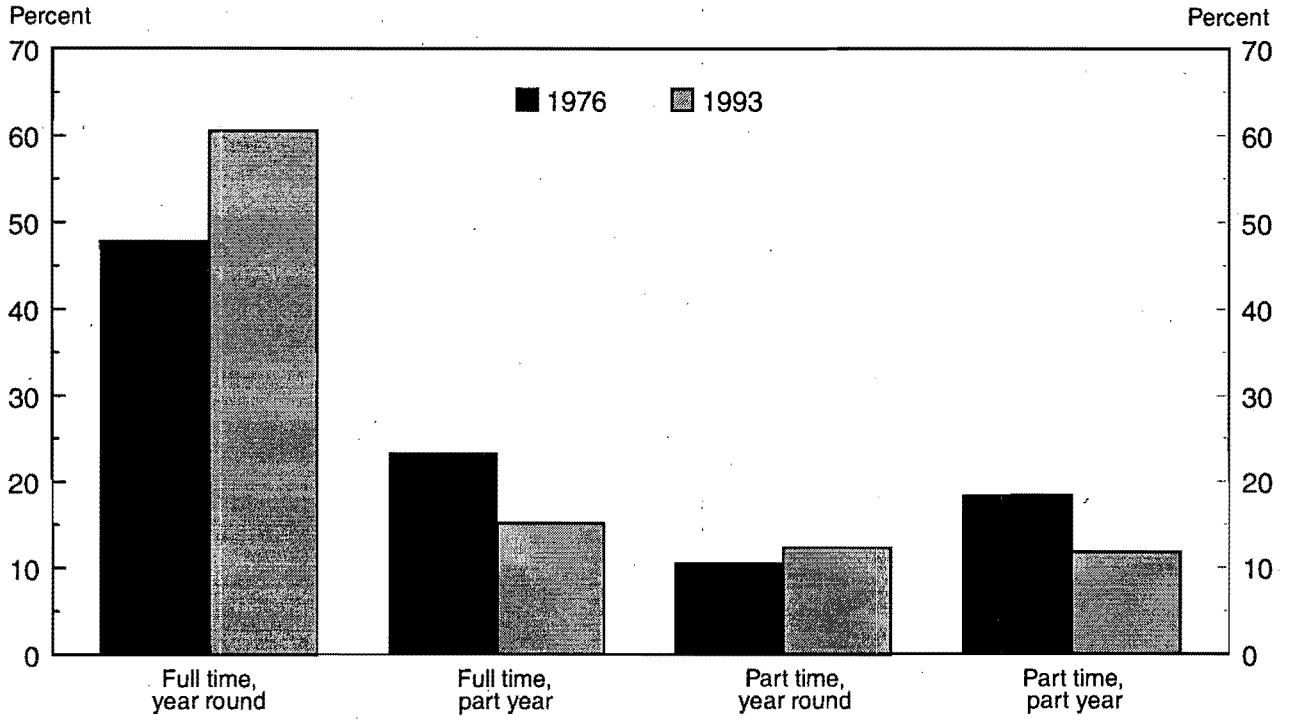
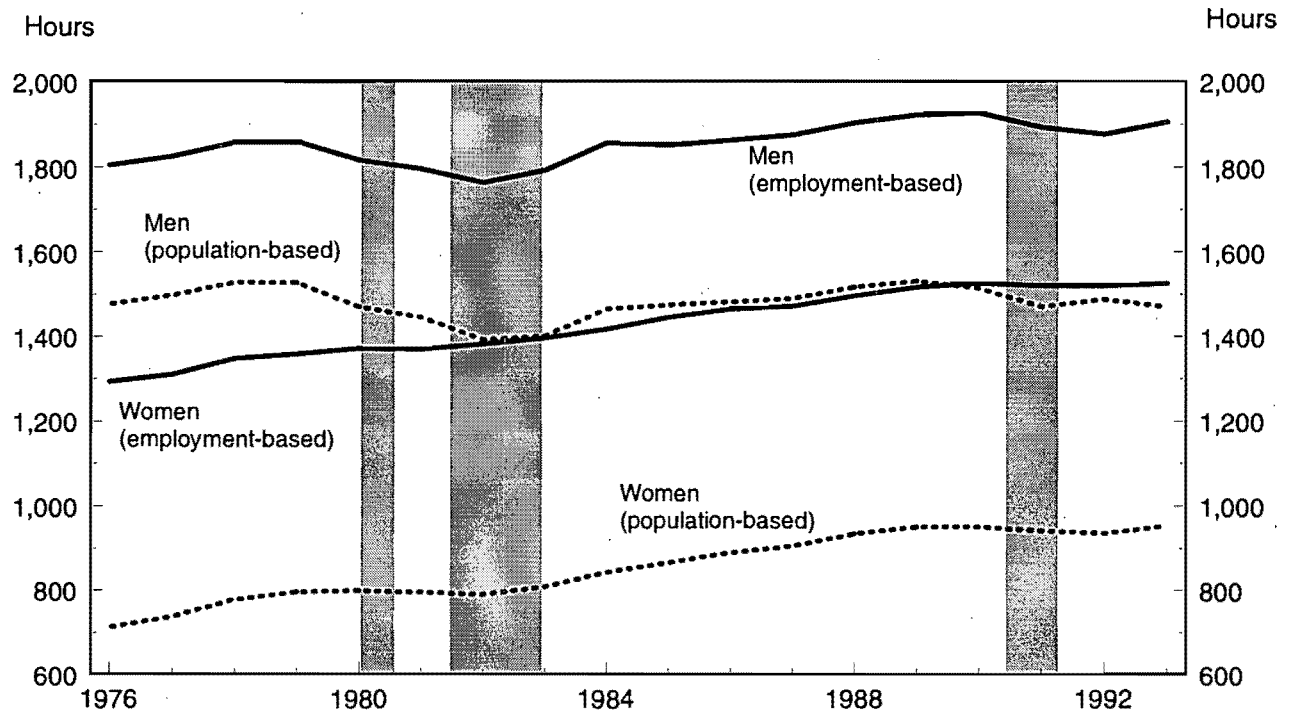
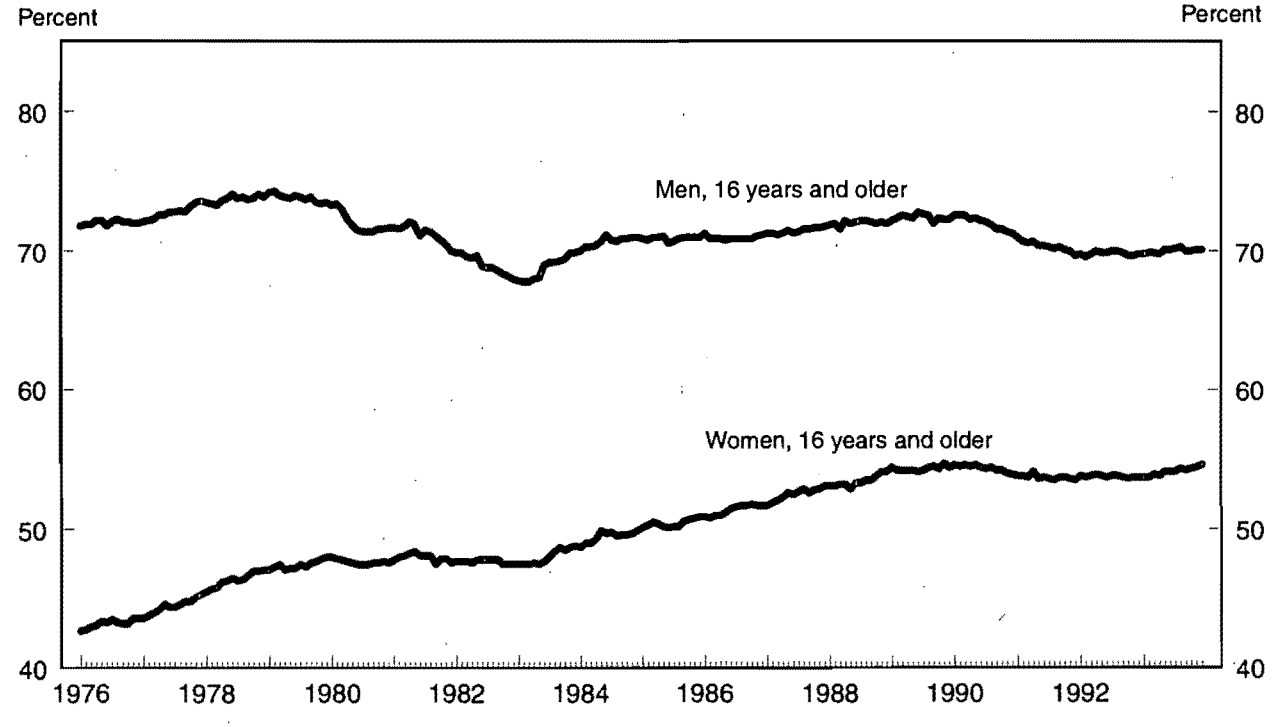


Chart 6. **Average annual hours at work for men and women, 1976–93**



NOTE: Shaded areas indicate recessions.

Chart 7. **Employment-population ratios for men and women, annual averages, 1976–93**



tion, rather than the number of persons who worked, should affect the change in hours between 1976 and 1993 considerably.

The population-based estimates shown in chart 6 were computed using the same numerator as in the equation above, but with the civilian noninstitutional population used as the denominator, instead of all those who worked. The population-based series for men showed no net change in annual hours worked since the mid-1970s. In fact, the slope of this line is essentially flat, in contrast to the employment-based series, because men, on average, have become somewhat less likely to work at all over time. For women, the population-based series is at a much lower level than the employment-based series. The increase, though, has been quite large, particularly on a percentage basis. Allocated across the population of women aged 16 and over, each individual worked a third more hours per year in 1993 than in 1976.

Looking at the more homogeneous (in terms of work schedules) group of 25- to 54-year-olds has two advantages: it avoids the need to age-adjust the data, and it eliminates the younger and older workers—the two groups with particularly low annual hours—from the calculation. For women in this age group, average hours per year rose *45 percent* over the 1976–93 period, from 888 to 1,290. For men in this group, by contrast, the average was virtually unchanged, at just over 1,900 hours. (See footnote 17.)

Summary

This article examined trends in working hours in the United States between 1976 and 1993 using the Current Population Survey, a large, representative national sample of households from which comparable data can be obtained for a long period of time. The survey estimates suggest that the average length of the workweek for most groups has changed little since the mid-1970s, although the distribution of work hours has changed. A noteworthy difference between the 1970s and the 1990s is the increase in the share of persons who are working very long workweeks—that is, those who are exceeding the "standard" of 40 hours by more than a full 8-hour day. This increase is pervasive across occupations, and the long workweek itself seems to be associated with high earnings and certain types of occupations.

More dramatic has been the increase in the work *year*, a measure more commonly used in inter-country comparison. For example, on an annual basis, Americans tend to work more during the year than most Europeans, but less than the Japanese. American women's increasing likelihood of working at all, and, when they do, to work year round, also has had a notable effect on the number of hours that they work during the course of the year. In contrast, men's work hours have changed little, on net, since the mid-1970s. □

Footnotes

[1] See Peyton K. Elder and Heidi D. Miller, "The Fair Labor Standards Act: changes of four decades," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1979, pp. 10–16.

[2] See Randy E. Ilg, "The nature of employment growth, 1989–95," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1996, pp. 29–36, for a discussion of the industries and occupations that experienced job growth in recent years.

[3] This trend analysis ends in 1993 due to the introduction of a redesigned Current Population Survey (CPS) in January 1994. The new CPS asked different questions to obtain average hours data than the pre-1994 survey, rendering the data not strictly comparable. See the appendix for a discussion of the effects on hours of changes in the CPS. Data for 1995 are presented, however, in the overall description of between-group differences in work hours.

[4] An additional limitation of the Current Employment Statistics survey, the Bureau of Labor Statistics employer-based survey most commonly used for average workweek data, is that the universe is restricted to private nonsupervisory workers on nonfarm payrolls. The excluded groups—agricultural workers, the self-employed, and many supervisory and professional workers—tend to have very different levels of work hours than do those who are covered.

[5] The Current Population Survey is a monthly survey of 50,000 (at present) households conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Another source of data on worktime comes from time diaries. This approach is discussed in John P. Robinson and Ann Bostrom, "The overestimated workweek? what time diary measures suggest," *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1994, pp. 11–23.

[6] This restricted group is presented because those excluded—nonagricultural self-employed and agricultural workers—have very different workweeks. Those differences are discussed later in the paper. In addition, the workweek decisions are conceptually very different for the self-employed than they are for "employees," who must match their own preferences with those of employers.

[7] Marital-status data are for all workers in nonagricultural industries, not just wage and salary workers.

[8] In 1993, full-time wage and salary workers in nonagricultural industries worked an average of 43.4 hours a week, about 4 hours longer than the average for all nonagricultural workers that age. The long-term trend in the workweek for full-time workers is similar to that for all workers, that is, fluctuating with the business cycle.

[9] To "age-adjust" the length of the workweek, first the age distributions of men and women at work in 1976 were applied to the 1993 employment total for each gender to generate a new 1993 distribution. Aggregate hours then were computed by multiplying the new employment figures for each age by the average hours worked in 1993. The aggregate hours for the age groups were then summed individually by sex to get total aggregate hours for men and women. These totals were then divided by male and female employment in 1993 to obtain an age-adjusted workweek that uses the age distribution of 1976 and the age-specific hours worked in 1993.

[10] Hours data for nonstudents were available only for 20- to 24-year-olds. In 1979, their average workweek was 40.4 hours, compared to 39.7 hours in 1993.

[11] Diane E. Herz, "Work after early retirement: an increasing trend among men," April 1995, *Monthly Labor Review*, pp. 13–20. This article includes a discussion of several possible reasons for the increased work activity among pension recipients.

[12] The data shown in chart 3 are for men but the relationship applies to women as well.

[13] Earnings data presented are for full-time (35 hours or more a week), wage and salary workers. Earnings data are not available for self-employed workers.

[14] These dates were selected because the occupational classification system used prior to the early 1980s was quite different from the one put into place in the CPS in 1983. Data beyond 1993 were affected by the redesign of

the CPS introduced in January 1994. The end of each year selected is more than 2 years after the end of the prior recession, so estimates of change should not be influenced by the business cycle. These data do include the self-employed.

[15] See Leo G. Rydzewski, William G. Deming, and Philip L. Rones, "Seasonal employment falls over the past three decades," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1993, pp. 3–14.

[16] Such an estimate cannot be derived from the basic monthly CPS.

[17] The basic CPS data include a break in the population (and employment) series between 1989 and 1990. Data from 1990 forward have been adjusted to 1990 census estimates, adjusted for the undercount. March work experience data, however, have not been so revised. Thus, a slight inconsistency exists between the numerator and denominator in the average annual hours calculation when pre- and post-1990 data are used. The effect on the data is minimal, particularly when long-term comparisons such as the 17-year period used here are made. See Robert J. McIntire, "Revisions in Household Survey Data Effective February 1996," *Employment and Earnings*, March 1996, pp. 8–14, for a discussion of the revisions to the population series.

Appendix: Changes in the CPS questionnaire concerning hours worked

Current Population Survey (CPS) data for January 1994 and forward are not strictly comparable with data for earlier years because of the introduction of a major redesign of the questionnaire and collection methodology. The principal reasons for the redesign were to obtain more accurate information on the labor market in general, and to expand the use of computer technology in the data collection process. Among the questionnaire changes were alterations to the questions on the number of hours actually worked during the reference week. The questions were modified to help respondents recall the exact number of hours they worked on their main job in the prior week. This appendix describes the differences in the questions asked to obtain hours-at-work data in the old and new surveys. In general, the changes emphasized the importance of precision in recalling the prior week's work activity, but do not alter the concept of hours at work.

In an effort to obtain more precise hours-at-work data, respondents to the new CPS have, since January 1994, first been told that the following questions focus on the exact number of hours they worked in the prior week. They then are asked if they lost or took off any hours from their jobs for any reason in the prior week. If yes, they are queried about the number of hours. Respondents also are asked if they worked extra hours at their job that they do not usually work, and if so, how many. It is only after these prompts are completed that respondents are asked how many hours they actually worked at their main jobs, and in addition, for multiple jobholders, how many hours they actually worked at their other jobs.

Prior to 1994, the questions asked to obtain data on actual hours, and their ordering, were slightly different. (See questions, below.)

Table A–1. Percent distribution of persons at work by sex and hours of work, 1993 and 1994 annual averages

Characteristic	1993	1994	Difference
Men	100.0	100.0	—
1 to 4 hours	.4	.7	0.3
5 to 14 hours	2.6	2.4	–.2
15 to 29 hours	8.1	8.4	.3
30 to 34 hours	5.7	6.3	.6
35 to 39 hours	4.5	5.3	.8
40 hours	41.1	37.1	–3.9
41 to 48 hours	12.1	14.3	2.2
49 hours or more	25.5	25.5	–.1
Women	100.0	100.0	—
1 to 4 hours	.8	1.1	.4
5 to 14 hours	5.1	5.4	.3
15 to 29 hours	16.5	17.3	.9
30 to 34 hours	9.8	10.2	.4
35 to 39 hours	9.2	10.2	1.0
40 hours	39.4	35.1	–4.3
41 to 48 hours	8.8	10.3	1.6
49 hours or more	10.5	10.3	–.3

NOTE: Detail may not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Data on actual hours were obtained by first asking the number of hours worked at all jobs in the previous week. The respondents then were asked about taking time off and working extra hours. The onus was placed on the interviewer to correct the original answer of hours worked, if necessary, based on responses to these questions. Also, nothing in the interview communicated the importance of precision to the respondent. In the pre-1994 survey, hours data were collected for all jobs combined.

Comparing the new and old CPS data suggests that the recall strategy associated with the new questionnaire does provide more accurate data on actual hours. (See table A–1.) For instance, the proportion of persons who reported working exactly 40 hours per week—a common, almost reflex, response—declined substantially between 1993 and 1994 for both men and women. In fact, this decrease was nearly as great as the cumulative effect of the long-term downward trend between 1976 and 1993. In addition, during the 1976–93 period, the share of survey respondents reporting that they had worked between 35 and 39 hours or 41 and 48 hours was unchanged. In 1994, with the revised questions, the share reporting hours in these two groups rose from the 1993 levels, indicating that respondents now were giving different, and apparently more precise, answers to the questions on hours actually worked.

The following questions were used to obtain data on actual hours worked in the new and old CPS:

New CPS	Old CPS
Lead-in: Now I have some questions about the exact number of hours you worked last week.	How many hours did you work last week at all jobs?
Last week, did you lose or take off any hours from (work/your main job), for any reason such as illness, slack work, vacation, or holiday?	Did you lose any time or take any time off last week for any reason such as illness, holiday, or slack work?
(If yes) How many hours did you take off?	(If yes) How many hours did you take off?
Last week, did you work any overtime or extra hours (at your main job) that you do not usually work?	Did you work any overtime or at more than one job last week?
(If yes) How many additional hours did you work?	(If yes) How many extra hours?
So, for last week, how many hours did you actually work at your (main) job?	(Interviewers are instructed to correct original answer if lost time was not already deducted or if extra hours were not included.)
(For multiple jobholders) Last week, how many hours did you actually work at your other job(s)?	

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Hours at Work

- In 1970, one in eight, two-parent families included both a mother and father who were year-round full-time workers. By 1993, that figure doubled. [BLS, Monthly Labor Review, 6/94]

- The proportion of families with preschool children in which both parents worked all year, full time, more than tripled between 1970 and 1993, from 7% to 24%. [BLS, Monthly Labor Review, 6/94]

- While the overall average hours at work changed little between 1976 and 1993, the average workweek for 25 to 54 year olds lengthened, showing a much greater increase for women. In 1976 more people worked 40 hours per week than in 1993, however, in 1993 more people worked 49 hours or more per week than in 1976. The overall average hours at work have remained constant in part because young people are working fewer hours (and more are attending school). [BLS, Monthly Labor Review, 4/97]

[In morning hope to receive 1997-98 figures]

13.6
'76

18% – 49 hrs
'89 → 8 wkrs in non agr. industries

49 hrs or more ↑ed over time

no just look at hrs at wk ever married or non-married we collect that data

Television and Families Statistics

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- 65% of homes have cable television.
- Children spend an average of 28 hours per week watching television. Over the course of a year, this is twice as much time than they spend in school.
- 54% of U.S. children have a television set in their bedrooms.
- 78% of American consider watching TV with their children to be a family activity.
- The average child watches over 20,000 commercials each year.

- Children witness 8,000 murders and 100,000 other assorted acts of violence by the time they graduate from elementary school, and an estimated 200,000 acts of violence, and 16,000 simulated murders, by the time they are teens.

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- Once a young person has experienced a major depression, he or she is at risk of developing another depression within the next five years. (CMHS, 1996)

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STILL LOOKING FOR:
Family spending trends
Recent stats on hours at work
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telec.

- ISTEA legis: allowed communities & US to use funds to help employers set up telecommuters pilot programs - dem models

- Self-employed - add cohort in by 1995
- loosened home office tax codes
  - home office deductions
  - transportation
  - HC
  - electronic expenses

Family and Work Trends and Statistics

Work At Home
Work at home can be divided into a number of categories

Telecommuting Trends
CyberDialogue, a New York based research and consulting firm, has been tracking telecommuting rates for over a decade and has released data showing a rapid increase in telecommuters. CyberDialogue's definition of telecommuters – which is more liberal than a traditional definition -- includes people who work for a central office from home at least once a month, independent contractors, and part-time, informal telecommuters.

1993: 7.3 million telecommuters
1996: 8.7 million telecommuters
1998: 15.7 million telecommuters

The rapid increase in telecommuters can be attributed to a number of factors including the decrease in cost of personal computers [need number], and a more compelling reason to use them – the Internet. Between 1993 and 1997 the number of home-based business owners who were on-line increased roughly eight-fold.

Mothers at Work
About 18 million mothers – or three-fourths of the total – worked at some time in 1992, whereas only about half of all married mothers worked during 1970. [BLS, Monthly Labor Review, 6/94]

Internet Facts

Today almost hlf of US households own personal computers compared to only one-fifth in 1992.

Today almost 30% of US households are connected to the Web, up from 3% in 1992.

Business to business e-commerce in 1998 is estimated at $43 billion, and business to consumer e-commerce (known as e-tailing) will rise from an estimated $3 billion in 1997 t0 $32 billion in 2000.

Demographics are changing reflecting a drop in the education level of on-line users from the affluent to the working class.

~~Part of the ... difficulty w/ the data~~

There is a difficulty aggregating the data

The data on ~~the incidences of~~ ~~...~~ the number of ppl who make a long commute is difficult to ~~compare~~ aggregate + trend in part bec. there has never been a uniform ~~trend~~ measuring system ~~nor has there been~~ or a substantial meas. sys. ↓ much data which chronicles trends yr to yr.

~~nor~~ ~~has there been many~~ ~~nor has it~~

~~But~~ However, we can say that

- ~~there~~ more people are working over 49 hrs a wk than ever

or more ppl ^than ever b4 are putting in longer than avg wk hrs. ~~From~~

~~This includes~~ ~~parents~~ ~~...~~ And more parents w/ ~~...~~ very yng children ~~...~~ are wkg ^full time than ever have b4 – a trend that ~~...~~ has kept rising over the last 20 yrs.

Also

Family and Work Trends and Statistics

Making A Living From Home

The number of people who make a living from their homes has increased. This category of worker can be subdivided into those who telecommute to a central corporate or governemnt office, owners of home-based business, and other self-employed "free agents."

The data on the number of people who make more of their income from home is difficult to aggregate and trend for a number of reasons. The government and corporate organizations, such as CyberDialogue, a New York based research firm cited below, that do measure these statistics use very different definitions for people who make their living from home (e.g. the definition of telecommuters ranges from people who telecommute once a month, to people who telecommute twice a week). In addition to a lack of consistent definitions, there has never been a uniform measuring system, nor has there been much data that reliably chronicle trends year to year.

Overall Work at Home Statistics

According to a report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) released in March 1998, more than 21 million people did some work at home in May 1997.

- Wage and salary workers made up more than half of all people who made a portion of their income from home, at almost 15 million.
- While the number of people who did some work at home only grew by 1.5 million since 1991, the number of people paid for the work they did at home increased substantially.
- In 1991, only 1.9 million wage and salary workers who worked at home got paid for their work while in 1997, 3.6 million wage and salary workers got paid for their work at home.
- More than 70% of people who made a portion of their income from home were married-couple families, and over 9 million of those who did some work at home had children under 18.

While the BLS statistics on people who "do some work at home" applies to people who telecommute more often tham once a month, home-based business owners, and other self employed people, but because the data is measured every six years, the short term trend line is more difficult to determoine. The follwing CyberDialogue statistics show a year to year trend in people who make a living from home, howeber the BLS and CyberDialoge numbers cannot be aggregated because they define people who made a portion of their income from home differently.

Anytype of wrk at home [tlecmtr, after hors, self emplyed]

90: 25.3 million
91: 27.9
92: 27.3
93: 28.7
94: 34.9

95: 40.9
96: 42.2
97: 52.1
98: 54.6

CyberDialogue
Operate Home Based Business:
1997: 8.7 million
1998: 12.6 million

Any self employed and any type of work at home[self employed homeworkers – not incl telecommuters]
1990: 11.2 million
1991: 11.6 million
92: 12.1
93: 12.4
94: 14.2
95: 15.6
96: 16.4
97: 18.3
98: 19.6

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