Opting Out, Scaling Back, or Business-As-Usual? An Occupational Assessment of Women's Employment[1]

Liana Christin Landivar[2]

Published in *Sociological Forum*:
Landivar, Liana Christin. 2014. "Opting Out, Scaling Back, or Business-As-Usual? An Occupational Assessment of Women's Employment." *Sociological Forum* 29(1): 189-214.
DOI: 10.1111/socf.12075

[1] An earlier version of this article was presented at the 2010 meetings of the American Sociological Association. I thank Melissa Chiu, Jennifer Cheeseman Day, David Johnson, Rose M. Kreider, Ana J. Montalvo, and Sirius Fuller for their helpful comments. I would also like to thank Karen A. Cerulo and several anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback and insights. The views expressed are the author's and not necessarily those of the U.S. Census Bureau or the U.S. Federal Government.

[2] Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor; Maryland Population Research Center, University of Maryland, College Park; e-mail: liana.c.landivar@gmail.com.

Opting Out, Scaling Back, or Business-As-Usual? An Occupational Assessment of Women's Employment

Abstract

After decades of growth, women's labor force participation stagnated in the 2000s, prompting widespread interest in work-family balance and opting out. However, much of the research and media attention is limited to small samples of women in managerial and professional occupations. Using data from the 2009 American Community Survey, this study examines mothers' labor force participation and work hours across 92 occupations to assess whether mothers in non-managerial and non-professional occupations exhibit similar work patterns. I find that mothers in managerial and professional occupations are the least likely to remain out of the labor force but most likely to work reduced hours. The results indicate that there is significant occupational variation in women's work-family strategies, and these comparisons provide insight into the differential structures of disadvantage that encourage different work-family outcomes.

Key words: Opting out; Occupation; Work hours; Women's employment; Gender

Opting Out, Scaling Back, or Business-As-Usual? An Occupational Assessment of Women's Employment

Introduction

Mothers' employment is a topic of intense media and academic scrutiny. Popular *New York Times* articles have described a retrenchment of mothers' labor force participation, particularly among highly educated women (Belkin 2003; Story 2005). Recent work by Pamela Stone (2007) shows that women in "elite" occupations have a difficult time negotiating reduced schedules and obtaining support to manage work-family balance from their spouses and employers. As a result, they may "opt out" or be "pushed out" of the labor force. Women continue to perform the majority of childcare in the United States, and time spent with children is not on the decline (Robinson and Godbey 1999). If anything, parents are spending more time with their children today than in the 1970s, according to time diary studies (Sayer 2007). Perhaps because of these commitments, women reduce their labor force participation when they have children (Blau and Kahn 2005). Not only are mothers more likely to exit the labor force, they are more likely to reduce their work hours if they remain employed (Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000).

Although the impact of having children on women's labor supply has diminished over the years, when, whether, and how much mothers work continues to vary by education, birth cohort, race and ethnicity, age, and household income, among other characteristics (Boushey 2008a; Percheski 2008). These characteristics are also associated with a person's occupation, and each occupation may provide a different set of advantages and disadvantages to combining work and family responsibilities. For instance, professional occupations may provide more

access to paid leave and higher wages (Boushey 2008b), enabling women to combine caretaking (own or purchased) with work more easily. On the other hand, some professional occupations have long average work hours (Hilgeman 2009), a factor that makes work-life balance more difficult.

An important limiting factor to existing research on opting out is its focus on affluent, educated, mostly White, married women due, in part, to a small sample size (e.g., Blair-Loy 2003; Epstein et al. 1999; Stone 2007). These compelling studies provide admirable detail on the work-family time bind, and their sample of professional and managerial women wield authority and privilege other women do not. However, less advantaged women may not have the same set of challenges or options. Joan Williams (2010) critiques the absence of research on the working class and the disproportionate focus on managerial and professional workers. Williams claims that working class families have less employment flexibility, are at increased risk of mandatory overtime, lack employment benefits, and are more likely to have to work on-site. These structural employment differences merit expanding the opt-out discussion to a more diverse demographic to have a fuller grasp of the work-family challenges and potential solutions.

This research expands the opt-out discourse to a wider range of women to understand differences between women who exit the labor force and those who do not. Using nationally representative data for women in a wide range of occupations, I show who is more likely to leave employment or scale back on work hours. I use the 2009 file of the American Community Survey (ACS). These data are cross-sectional. As such, I cannot measure whether women are exiting the labor force or scaling back in response to recent childbearing. Instead, I measure the

association between labor force participation, work hours, and the presence of children. Women are characterized as exiting the labor force if they had a job within the last 5 years but are not currently in the labor force. Scaling back is operationalized as the work-hour gap between mothers and non-mothers within the same occupation and with similar demographic and economic characteristics.

This article presents 2 main findings. First, I show that it is women in long-hour managerial and professional occupations who are least likely to exit the labor force, but most likely to scale back. Although Stone (2007) and Epstein and her colleagues (1999) might contend that management demands and inflexibility, along with long hours of work required in professional occupations, prompt women to exit the labor force, I show that mothers in these occupations are not more likely to be out of the labor force. Rather, women in occupations with long weekly work hours are less likely to exit employment.

Second, I assert that there is a critical difference between working part-time and working reduced hours. Although mothers in managerial and professional occupations show some degree of scaling back when they have children, their work hours are more consistent with working a reduced schedule, rather than working a part-time schedule. I provide evidence to show that studies that do not use a continuous work hour variable will miss the mechanism by which mothers scale back their work hours. Typically, mothers in occupations with normatively full-time hours will remain full-time workers scaling back their hours by about 2 hours per week (e.g., scaling back from 38 to 36 hours per week).

Prior Research

Women's Increased Labor Force Participation

Women's labor force participation has risen throughout the past two centuries. With changes in federal legislation (e.g., Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Equal Pay Act of 1963) and increased educational attainment, job opportunities for women have become more varied and rewarding. Several studies document women's increased labor force attachment, as women's employment patterns have increasingly resembled men's. Blau and Kahn (2005) argue that there has been a reduction in women's wage elasticity since the 1980s as they became less responsive to husbands' wages. Labor force attachment has also increased by birth cohort (Percheski 2008).

Approximately 66 percent of married couples with children under 18 are dual-earner couples (Kreider and Elliott 2009). Although the majority of women are employed, mothers are more likely to leave paid employment than are non-mothers, and mothers are more likely to work shorter hours if they remain employed (Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000). These differences are frequently attributed to the time constraints created by work and family responsibilities. While the effect of having a child (on women's employment) has declined over the years, differences remain. Boushey (2008a) shows that having a child reduced the likelihood of employment by 22 percent in 1978 and by 13 percent in 2005.

Occupational Norms and Hours of Work

Workers in the United States operate in a context of few regulations on work hours. Although work-hour regulations are a significant predictor of hours worked in European countries (Hilgeman 2007), the United States does not have similar regulatory provisions. The

Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA) provides limited guidelines that apply to most, but not all, of the workforce. The FLSA requires overtime pay for non-exempt workers after 40 hours of work in a given week (with some exceptions), but does not establish a limit on the number of hours individuals age 16 and over can work. Because of scarce regulations, work hours are generally established through employer-employee negotiation, allowing for greater potential diversity in work-hour outcomes at the individual level.

Gender differences in work hours stem from several different factors, but a primary one is parental status. Parenthood tends to reduce women's work hours and increase men's, creating a gap between men's and women's labor supply and between mothers' and non-mothers' labor supply. Men also outearn women, which leads to further work-family specialization, resulting in greater differentiation in male-female work hours (Becker 1991). Although long-hour occupations tend to be well remunerated, long hours are not driven exclusively by the desire to earn more. In the United States, individuals with high wage rates or in managerial positions are often exempt from overtime compensation. Even if longer hours of work do not result in higher earnings among salaried employees, individuals who work in demanding professional and managerial occupations may invest more hours to indicate ambition and commitment to the job to increase retention or attract promotion opportunities. Occupations with better working environments and more individual control over the content of work may also lend themselves to longer hours of work. Hochschild (1997) argues that employers invest resources in creating more attractive work environments and stronger work cultures, in part, to encourage employee commitment and longer hours of work.

Work hours are affected by a person's individual characteristics. However, individuals

are also subject to occupational norms and requirements imposed by employers or necessitated by working conditions. Occupations are said to have a distinct subculture that is evident across work organizations. As part of such subcultures, individuals who are in the same line of work may be exposed to similar working conditions and normative expectations that guide their work behavior. One plausible result of this occupational standardization is the creation and enforcement of weekly work hour expectations in certain occupations. Physicians, lawyers, and managers, in particular, adhere to a "long hours culture" (Rutherford 2001; Bacik and Drew 2006). Individuals who do not meet these time-norm standards are stigmatized and may suffer career consequences (Epstein et al. 1999).

Occupations also provide different benefit packages, which could have a direct effect on individuals' work-hour options. Work-schedule flexibility, blurring of the boundaries between work and home, telework, and paid parental or sick leave is more characteristic of managerial and professional occupations. Mandatory overtime and unpredictable schedules impacts work-life balance among those in service and production occupations (Enchautegui-de-Jesus 2009). Because individuals' work hours are established based on their own characteristics in addition to the occupational norms of their chosen line of work, analyses on work hours must take into account both factors. Mothers' employment is a perfect example. Women's work hours are affected by their parental status, but we should also expect to find significant occupational variability in mothers' work hours. That is, having a child may not have the same association with employment or work hours in all occupations. Occupations offering flexibility may have more workers that scale back their work hours, while those that do not, may have higher opt-out rates.

Mothers' Employment Within Occupations

Several recent studies examine the effect of parenthood on women's careers within selected industries or occupations: lawyers (Epstein et al. 1999), health care industry (Garey 1999), "elite" managerial and professional women (Stone 2007), "privileged" managerial and professional couples (Becker and Moen 1999), and the financial industry (Blair-Loy 2003). These studies use qualitative interviews with a small sample of women to illustrate work-family dynamics within particular industrial and occupational settings.

Stone (2007) conducted intensive life history interviews with 54 highly educated women who were married with children and had left elite careers. Stone finds that there is a "choice gap" in that women quit as a last resort after unsuccessful attempts at combining demanding careers with parenthood. The occupations' long hours were seen as a "fundamental obstacle" (p. 222) to mothers' employment. Neither husbands nor employers were accommodating to work-family, dual-demands and husbands' income was usually sufficient to provide a choice for their wives to stay home.

Blair-Loy (2003), finds similar themes among the 81 female finance and business executives in her study. About one third had left their jobs while two thirds remained employed after having children. While some women had been able to negotiate part-time arrangements, they typically worked long part-time hours and felt resistance from co-workers and employers for "violating the work devotion ethos" (p. 23). Epstein and her colleagues (1999) report similar reactions to part-time work in the legal profession, based on their 125 interviews with attorneys. Full- or part-time hours were evaluated in comparison to their co-workers', not to a standard full-time cut off (i.e., 35 hours a week), hence some women were working "part-time"

at 40 hours a week. This type of scaling back was also evident in Becker and Moen's (1999) study that focused on women in managerial and professional occupations. They show that scaling back is one type of work-family strategy women employ, as women are more likely to place limits on their work hours, opting to increase efficiency within fewer hours of work.

Garey (1999) focused on women in the health care industry. She interviewed 37 women in a variety of occupations including nurses, nursing directors, janitors, and clerical and administrative assistants. Garey finds that women negotiated work schedules, some working night shifts, to "be there" for their children. The women in her study described employment as being part of their identity, as well as a necessary source of income. Even though attaining a part-time schedule may have been easier to negotiate with an employer in these occupations than among women in managerial and professional occupations, part-time schedules were not always viable because some could not afford to work a reduced schedule.

What these studies have in common is that women with children find work-life balance elusive. The lack of flexibility among employers, the long-hour demands of the job, the lack of cooperation of partners, the absence of work-family policies, the stigma for using available workplace benefits, and among some, the unaffordability of reducing hours, all contribute to the imbalance. While these studies provide excellent in-depth analyses, they lack a comparative approach. It is unclear whether women in all occupations experience these barriers or if these differ by occupation, and given these constraints, how women in different occupations respond based on availability of resources and options. While women in managerial and professional occupations may be primarily concerned with long hours and inflexibility, women in service

occupations cite concerns with unpredictable schedules and lack of income to provide viable choices (Enchautegui-de-Jesus 2009). These needs lend themselves to different policy solutions.

Research Questions and Contributions

This research expands the literature in two important ways. First, I examine the likelihood of labor force exit using a large sample of diverse women in a wide range of occupations using hierarchical models. Because prior research on opting out has been limited in sample and constrained to a narrow set of occupations (for an exception, see Day and Downs 2008), it is unclear whether their findings extend to women in non-managerial and professional occupations. On one hand, long hours of work may encourage labor force exit among managerial and professional women. On the other hand, women in working-class occupations may not have the resources to sustain a labor force exit.

RQ 1: *Are women in managerial and professional occupations more likely to exit the labor force?*

Second, I examine the magnitude of scaling back on work hours among employed women. I use a continuous work-hour variable to show patterns of variation in work hours by occupation among mothers and non-mothers while controlling for a variety of individual characteristics. A continuous work-hour variable can more precisely reflect differences in work hours between mothers and non-mothers. According to previous research, women in managerial and professional occupations should be the least likely to scale back because of a culture of long work hours and inflexible work demands. I argue that women in these occupations will show a greater degree of scaling back, which will reduce their likelihood of labor force exit.

RQ 2: *In which occupations is scaling back prevalent? What is the magnitude of scaling back among mothers of preschoolers?*

RQ 3: *Does schedule flexibility increase scaling back among mothers of preschoolers?*

Data

Data for this study come from the 2009 internal file of the American Community Survey (ACS). The ACS provides detailed demographic, social, economic, and housing data obtained from approximately 3 million households. The ACS is the largest household survey in the United States, which allows me to examine women's employment patterns in a large number of occupations with statistical precision. By using the Census Bureau's internal, non-public file of the 2009 ACS, I have access to a larger number of cases with greater occupational detail, and I can incorporate variables that have not been top coded.[3] Because of concerns with potential recessionary effects in the 2009 data, I performed identical analyses using 2005-2007 ACS data. The results show substantial similarities and my conclusions remain unchanged.

The Current Population Survey (CPS) supplements the analyses with additional occupational characteristic data not available in ACS. The CPS variables were obtained from the Annual Social and Economic supplement (March 2008), Contingent Worker supplement (February 2005), and Work Schedules supplement (May 2004).

I perform two primary sets of analyses: odds of being out of the labor force and degree of scaling back among women with children. For the first set of models, the sample consists of women ages 18-54 who are currently employed or who had a job in the last five years,

[3] The Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) is a sample of the American Community Survey (ACS). PUMS files have about half of the cases available in the full ACS file.

accounting for 87 percent of all women in this age group. Occupational information is gathered for the person's current job, if the person is employed, or her last job if she is not employed but had a job in the last five years. This provides the data necessary to examine labor force participation of women who are either presently in an occupation or who were in an occupation but have left the labor force.

The second set of models retain women ages 18-54 who have been employed in the past year. While employment status and occupational information are collected for the previous five years, work hours are collected for the current job or most recent job held in the past 12 months. About 58 percent of women ages 18-54 have been employed in the past year.

Methods

To assess labor force participation and work hours, I perform two separate analyses. The first set of analyses evaluates the likelihood of mothers' employment in 92 occupations using hierarchical logistic models. These models allow me to examine an individual's probability of being in the labor force while controlling for individual and occupational characteristics. By allowing the individual characteristics' effects to vary by occupation, I can predict labor force participation taking into consideration the person's specific occupation.

The second set of analyses retains currently employed women who report working at least one hour in a usual week to assess mothers' and non-mothers' work hours within 92 occupations. Work hours are top coded at 79 to reduce model bias due to extreme outliers. These analyses use hierarchical linear models to evaluate the occupation-specific effect of having a child. Individual characteristics in both models are grand-mean centered, with the exception of parental status. Estimates can be interpreted as the odds ratio of being in the

labor force for a woman without children who is at the mean on all characteristics in the hierarchical logistic models, or the average work hours for a woman without children who is at the mean on all characteristics in the hierarchical linear models. To estimate the effect of parenthood, one would add the effect of having a preschool-aged child to the estimate.

Measures

The dependent variable in the hierarchical logistic models is *labor force participation*. This is a binary variable with a value of 0 if a person is in the labor force and 1 if the person is not in the labor force. Individuals who are unemployed or temporarily absent from work (e.g., on sick leave or maternity leave) are considered part of the labor force.[4] The second dependent variable, used in the hierarchical linear models, is a continuous measure of *usual hours worked per week*, ranging from 1 to 79.

The key independent variable in this study is the *presence and age of own children in the household*. Presence and age of own children is measured using two binary variables to indicate whether the respondent lived with at least one preschool-aged child (age 0 to 5) or a school-aged child (age 6 to 17). Non-mothers is the reference category. Women with children in multiple age groups are coded by the age of their youngest child. For the purposes of these analyses, "non-mothers" are women who do not have any own children ages 0 to 17 in the home. Although I control for the presence of a school-age child in the models, I focus my analyses on mothers of preschool children because they have lower employment rates

[4] The Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics count the unemployed as part of the labor force. Sensitivity analyses were conducted to determine whether including the unemployed significantly altered the pattern of results. The main findings presented remain unchanged even when unemployed women were excluded.

compared with mothers of school-age children and non-mothers. These analyses also focus on mothers rather than fathers. Initial analyses included fathers, but after control variables, there was little occupational variation in fathers' labor supply. Most fathers worked full-time and averaged 40 or more hours per week. Occupational variation was a key predictor of labor supply only among women. Results presented in the figures are for mothers of preschool children.[5]

Binary control variables include *marital status*, *presence of a person 65 and over in the household*, *race*, *ethnicity*, *educational attainment*, *school enrollment*, *class of worker*, and *industry*. Continuous measures include *age*, the *natural logarithm of earnings*, and the *natural logarithm of family income*. As earnings are only available for the past 12 months, I created a synthetic earnings measure to predict potential earnings for women who are not currently working but had a job between 1 and 5 years ago. Measures that were used to predict earnings include occupation (402 categories), educational attainment, race, ethnicity, and age. The synthetic earnings measure was only necessary in the hierarchical logistic models (labor force participation) where the universe is women ages 18-54 employed within the past 5 years. Sensitivity analyses were conducted to verify that the inclusion of the synthetic measure did not significantly alter findings. Respondent earnings were subtracted from the final family income amount.[6] Models are stratified by occupation, and the 92 occupational groupings employed in the analyses are consistent with the occupational nesting hierarchy provided by

[5] Figures for mothers of school-age children are excluded due to space requirements, but are available on request.
[6] Models using wage rate (hours-adjusted earnings) rather than earnings yielded the same conclusions.

the Standard Occupational Classification 2000. Descriptive statistics for all ACS variables are provided in Table 1.

-Table 1 here-

Supplementary measures from CPS include: *percent with a flexible schedule*, *percent with health insurance coverage*, *percent unionized*, *percent hourly employees*, *percent temporary workers, percent female*, *percent on-call workers*, and *average hours worked* in the occupation. These occupational characteristic variables are based on responses of men and women ages 18-64. Individuals have a *flexible schedule* if they respond in the affirmative to being able to choose starting and ending work day times. *Health insurance coverage* is the percentage of individuals within an occupation having coverage through an employer or union policy. Schedule flexibility and health insurance coverage follow a roughly normal distribution, so these variables are grand mean centered and are kept as continuous measures (0 to 100 percent). Estimates presented in the models are based on a 10 percentage-point increase in the dependent variable (e.g., 10 percentage-point increase above the average with a flexible schedule). *Average work hours* in an occupation represents the mean usual work hours of workers in a given occupation. Estimates presented in the models are based on a 10-hour increase in average hours worked. *Percent female* is recoded into 3 categories: 0 to 20 percent female (male-dominated occupation), 21 to 79 percent female (balanced occupation), and 80 to 100 percent female (female-dominated occupation). The reference category is male-dominated occupation. Union membership, on-call work, and temporary work are left-skewed with a strong concentration close to 0 percent. Hourly work was bimodal. These measures are recoded as binary variables. *Union membership* is the percentage of people in an occupation who are

union members or members of an employee association that is similar to a union. If 16 percent or more of the workers in an occupation were unionized, this was considered an occupation with high levels of unionization. *On-call* workers include individuals who are on-call workers (they may have regularly scheduled hours in addition to on-call hours) or are day laborers. If 6 percent or more of the workers in an occupation were day laborers or on-call, this was considered an occupation with high levels of on-call workers. If 41 percent or more of the workers in an occupation were paid by the hour, this was considered an *hourly* occupation. If 6 percent or more of the workers in an occupation were *temporary* workers, this was considered an occupation with high levels of temporary workers.

Results

These analyses reveal two primary findings. First, mothers' odds of exiting the labor force are about 2.4 times higher than non-mothers', but women in managerial and professional occupations are less likely to exit than mothers in other occupations. Women employed in agricultural and construction occupations are more likely to exit the labor force when they have young children, compared with women in other occupations. Second, women in managerial and professional occupations scale back to a greater degree than women in other occupations, suggesting that women in managerial and professional occupations have more flexibility and resources to allow for these reductions. On average, mothers of preschoolers work 2 hours less per week than non-mothers after controlling for occupation and individual characteristics. Overall, mothers were more likely to be out of the labor force in 95 percent (87 of 92) of the occupations, and among those employed, scale back in 75 percent (69 of 92) of the occupations. In 3 percent of the occupations (3 of 92), having a preschool child neither

increased the likelihood of exiting the labor force nor reduced work hours among mothers of preschoolers.

Labor Force Participation

Table 2 shows the labor force participation rates for mothers and non-mothers, along with the adjusted labor force participation rates (model estimates with control variables), by 6 occupation groups. Without controlling for compositional effects, the rate of labor force exit among mothers of preschoolers ranges from 15 percent in management and professional occupations to 32 percent in agriculture occupations. After controlling for variation in individual characteristics across these occupations, all non-managerial and professional occupations show statistically significant higher odds of labor force exit compared with women with preschool children in management and professional occupations. Mothers in agriculture occupations are 97 percent more likely to exit the labor force when they have preschool children, followed by construction (76 percent), service (37 percent), production (35 percent), and sales and office (32 percent).

-Table 2 here-

Figure 1 shows the distribution of labor force exit of mothers and non-mothers by 92 occupations, categorized into 6 occupation groups. This figure suggests that although mothers exit the labor force at higher rates than non-mothers, there is a significant amount of non-employment for non-parenting related reasons, as non-mothers also have high labor force exit rates in some occupations.

-Figure 1 here-

Because of significant variation in employment rates among women without children, mothers' labor supply needs to be considered in comparison to women without children to more accurately parse out the labor supply gap. Figure 2 shows the likelihood of labor force exit by 92 occupations after controlling for individual characteristics. Taking advertising managers as an example, we see they have among the highest odds of labor force exit relative to non-mothers: mothers are nearly four times more likely to exit the labor force. Advertising managers do not have notably high rates of labor force exit: 17 percent among mothers of preschoolers (Figure 1). However, labor force exit is low among non-mothers at 5 percent. In contrast, an occupation with relatively high labor force exit among mothers, cashiers (32 percent exit the labor force), has a lower odds ratio of labor force exit contingent on parental status (2.6) than advertising managers (3.9) because non-mothers also exit the labor force at fairly high rates (20 percent). The parenthood gap in labor force exit shrinks in occupations with low retention. Instead of attributing the high levels of labor force exit solely to parenthood, we must look to additional demographic and occupational characteristics to explain these patterns.

-Figure 2 here-

Table 3 shows that all of the individual characteristic variables in the model are significant predictors of labor force exit, except for presence of a school-age child. Women with preschool-age children are 2.4 times more likely to exit the labor force than women without children, but having a school-age child does not increase the odds of labor force exit. While some mothers may temporarily leave the labor force when they have a preschool-age child, they return to the labor force as children enter school. Household resources and human capital are both significant predictors of labor force exit. Women who are more highly educated and

earn more are less likely to leave the labor force, perhaps facing higher opportunity costs. On the other hand, women with access to household resources, such as higher levels of family income, are more likely to exit than those with lower family income. The models show that Black and Hispanic women are less likely to leave the labor force than White and Asian women. As Black and Hispanic women are less likely to be married, have lower levels of family income, and are disproportionately represented in non-managerial jobs, they may have fewer options enabling them to remain out of the labor force.[7] However, Black and Hispanic women are less likely to exit the labor force even after controlling for these variables. Presser and Ward (2011) find that Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to work nonstandard and non-day schedules. Although this creates family strain and marital instability, Blacks and Hispanics may be able to share caretaking with a spouse or partner by working at different hours or on different days. These findings would be consistent with lower rates of labor force exit when they have children, but cannot be measured here because of a lack of information on work schedules.

-Table 3 here-

Turning to occupational predictors (model 3), we see that women who work in occupations that are female-dominated are less likely to exit the labor force than women in balanced occupations or in male-dominated occupations. Provision of health insurance also reduces the odds that women will exit the labor force by about 8 percent for every 10 percentage point increase in coverage. Women who are in female-dominated occupations, in contrast to male-dominated occupations, may be able to obtain support for work

[7] Space constraints limit the discussion and visual presentation of labor force exit and scaling back by race and ethnicity. For a full discussion focused entirely on variation by race and ethnicity, see Landivar (2013).

accommodations (formally or informally) and those with healthcare coverage may have incentive to remain employed because of the provision of benefits.

The only factor that significantly increased the odds of labor force exit is working in an occupation with a large number of temporary workers. Temporary work entails less attachment to an employer and as such, it is not surprising that these women would be more likely to exit. Surprisingly, having a flexible schedule is not significant, indicating that other factors are motivators for women in making the decision of whether or not to remain employed. Union membership, hourly work, and on-call work were also not significant.

Scaling Back

Mothers of preschool children working in managerial and professional occupations work reduced hours relative to women without children in these same occupations. Table 2 provides the average hours scaled back by occupation group, as well as the adjusted hours worked based on a regression model that controls for individual characteristics. Women in management and professional occupations scale back about 2.5 hours, on average. Women in agriculture, construction, and sales and office scale back by about an hour, while women in service and production occupations scale back by half an hour or less.

Figure 3 shows the average work hours among mothers and non-mothers in all 92 occupations. This figure shows that women without children work longer hours and mothers in management and professional occupations scale back the most, though the number of hours scaled back is modest. Because scaling back may not necessarily be of a large magnitude, studies that use a “one-size fits all” definition of part-time work (i.e., less than 35 hours a week) will miss the mechanism by which most women with children scale back their work hours.

There are some occupations with normative hours that fall below the 35-hour part-time cut off. Therefore, this cut off would not pick up scaling back or find meaningful work-hour distinctions between mothers and non-mothers. Equally, there are many long-hour occupations in which mothers may scale back, but not below the 35-hour cut off.

-Figure 3 here-

Although it may seem intuitive to think that long work hours would be a tremendous barrier to combining work and family, women in occupations with the longest work hours are less likely to leave the labor force. Though these occupations are often the subject of research on opting out, these occupations have low rates of labor force exit: physicians (6 percent), other health practitioners (10 percent), and lawyers (12 percent). In contrast, occupations with shorter work hours have high rates of labor force exit: cashiers (32 percent) and waiters (27 percent). Figure 4 presents the average number of hours scaled back by occupation. Occupations among those with the largest number of hours scaled back include physicians (-9 hours), other health practitioners (-5 hours), and lawyers (-4 hours).[8] However, because of the long work hours in managerial and professional occupations, many women who cut back on work hours are still working full-time hours. Physicians with children, for example, still average 38 hours of work per week.

-Figure 4 here-

[8] These results hold even after controlling for average hours worked in an occupation (not shown), indicating the larger reduction in hours worked in some managerial and professional occupations is not just an artifact of working longer hours and having more hours to cut back on.

Results in Table 4 show that factors that reduce labor force exit may not be the same factors that reduce scaling back. For instance, higher levels of educational attainment reduce the odds of labor force exit, but women with higher levels of educational attainment scale back more than those with a high school diploma. While being married is associated with labor force exit, it has no effect on women's work hours. Factors strongly correlated with work hours are earnings, presence of children in the household, and race and ethnicity. Women who earn more are less likely to scale back on hours of work. Women with preschool-age children scale back about 2 hours per week and maintain approximately the same level of scaling back with school-age children. Black, Asian, and Hispanic women are less likely to scale back than White women, indicating that studies that do not take race and ethnicity into account may not generalize findings to non-White women.

Different occupational factors also drive labor force exit and scaling back. While schedule flexibility has no significant association with labor force exit, flexibility is correlated with work hours. Table 4 shows that every 10 percentage-point increase in schedule flexibility in an occupation is associated with a 20 minute per week reduction in hours worked. Health insurance coverage is associated with scaling back: a 10 percentage-point increase yields about a half-hour reduction in hours worked. Being in an occupation with hourly and on-call workers also reduces hours worked among mothers. Factors that increase hours worked among mothers include temporary work, longer average hours in an occupation, and a greater share of female workers in an occupation.

-Table 4 here-

The ability to have a flexible schedule may allow women in managerial and professional occupations to adjust their hours, as having flexible hours accounts for 27 percent of the variance in scaling back (Figure 5). Because scaling back is of a small magnitude, they may still be working full-time hours. In contrast, women in low-wage service and sales occupations often work part-time hours because that is all that is available. Employers may limit their weekly work hours as a cost-cutting mechanism and to avoid providing fringe benefits (Tilly 1991), rather than for work-life compatibility. Women in low-wage agricultural and service occupations show the smallest amount of scaling back between mothers and non-mothers (e.g., food preparation workers, child care workers), indicating little occupational responsiveness to parental status.

-Figure 5 here-

Business-As-Usual

Children affect the labor supply of most mothers. Mothers of preschoolers exit the labor force or reduce their work hours more than non-mothers in almost all occupations examined. Of the 92 occupational groupings examined here, only 3 occupations show no labor supply correlation with having children.[9] That is, having preschool children neither increased the likelihood of labor force exit nor reduced mothers' work hours. These occupations are within male-dominated production occupations. When including men in the sample, the distribution of work hours in these occupations shows a strong cluster around a 40-hour work-week.

Although it is not possible to fully assess here why having children does not affect labor supply in these occupations, occupations that are male-dominated may provide less flexibility in

[9] The occupations are: plant and system operators, motor vehicle operators, and material moving workers.

working reduced schedules. Women may find themselves in the position of tokens, lacking meaningful support networks or accommodations. Kanter, in her 1977 ethnography of corporate structure, shows that tokens exhibit higher rates of turnover and have fewer role models and allies. Women's lack of numerical power may reduce the pressure on companies to offer flexible schedules, parental leave, and other benefits. Because these occupations lack flexibility, women may not have the option to scale back, and instead conform to the normative 40-hour work week if they do remain employed.

Discussion

These analyses reveal significant differences in labor force exit and scaling back by occupation. Women in agricultural and construction occupations are more likely to leave the labor force when they have children, while women in managerial and professional occupations are the least likely to exit. On the other hand, women in managerial and professional occupations scale back the most when they have young children – more than twice as much as any other occupation group.

These differences across occupations may affect women's work-family balance strategies. Having a more flexible schedule may provide women with greater freedom to accommodate work and family demands. However, the same flexibility that allows professional workers to work flexible hours may lead to greater boundary permeability between work and home life (Schieman et al. 2009). Individuals may feel greater pressure to continue their work days at home (e.g., taking phone calls, checking email) and not all of these additional hours may be easily quantifiable or reported. However, compared to non-mothers in the same occupation,

mothers who have greater flexibility in determining work schedules do scale back on their hours of work even if they work in long-hour occupations.

Managerial and professional occupations tend to be salaried and earn higher wages. Women in salaried occupations may be able to exchange hours of work with increased productivity and intensity within the hours worked. Although, as Epstein and her colleagues (1999) show, if this is a formal reduced hour arrangement, salaries might be adjusted accordingly and it may be associated with other types of career penalties. However, the combination of these two factors – flexibility and wages – may be a partial explanation for why managerial and professional women scale back. They have some degree of flexibility to do so, and women in the more lucrative subset of managerial and professional occupations may be able to sustain a reduction in wages.

Service and production occupations, with an overrepresentation of Black and Hispanic hourly workers, provide little employee flexibility and are more likely to require on-site work. They may not be able to negotiate reduced schedules, and if they do, they may face unaffordable pay reductions. Given that in the United States part-time work is penalized (Kalleberg 2000), women might be less likely to scale back if the resulting hours will be part-time. These occupations are also characterized by irregular and unpredictable schedules which make obtaining child care difficult (Enchautegui-de-Jesus 2009). Workers may not be eligible for parental leave or other benefits that would increase compatibility between work and family obligations. If employees are eligible for benefits, they may be subject to a substantial waiting period, and high turnover may keep them ineligible for benefits for long periods of time

(Lambert 2009). Because these occupations require less extensive training, employers may be less inclined to offer benefits and work schedule flexibility to retain workers.

This lack of flexibility may extend to women's ability to negotiate reduced hours. Work-hour reductions are described in several studies as informal arrangements and special favors and usually only available to women with greater authority and longer tenure (Epstein et al. 1999; Blair-Loy 2003). In contrast, several European countries offer part-time and flexible work protections. Gornick and Meyers (2003) document some of these protections: England grants part-time workers the right to holidays, benefits, leave provisions, pensions, and protected pay; Sweden allows parents to work 6 hours per day at prorated pay until children are 8 years old; Belgium allows workers to work 80 percent of their regular hours for up to 5 years; the Netherlands prohibits all differential treatment of part-time workers. These types of protections, in the United States' context, would have to take into account the very different experiences of the "overemployed," who may benefit from protections and reduced work-hour options, and the "underemployed" in low-wage occupations who cannot get enough hours of work and lack employer-provided benefits. Additionally, these measures would have to consider unintended consequences. In so far as part-time work remains highly female-dominated, its facilitation could exacerbate inequalities in male-female wages and work hours, occupational trajectories, and career attainment. As Stone (2007), Epstein and her colleagues (1999), and Blair-Loy (2003) insightfully show, women who reduce their hours are at greater risk for marginalization, may be given less important or interesting work, are more vulnerable to layoffs, and are viewed by employers and co-workers as less committed to their work.

Conclusion

Mothers' odds of exiting the labor force are about 2.4 times higher than non-mothers', but there is significant variation by occupation. Mothers in agricultural and construction occupations are the most likely to exit the labor force when they have young children. Women with children also tend to work a few hours less than women without children, with a varying degree of scaling back across occupations. While women in managerial and professional occupations are the least likely to leave the labor force, they are the most likely to scale back on hours of work. Because work hours are not entirely standardized by occupation (Hilgeman 2009), women have more flexibility in these occupations and may be able to modify hours in response to family circumstances.

Because scaling back averages to about 2 hours per week, it is critical to include a continuous work-hour measure when assessing work-hour differences between mothers and non-mothers. A full-time/part-time measure is inadequate to tease out their labor supply differences, as much of the scaling back is occurring *within* part-time and full-time jobs rather than *across* the 35-hour threshold. There is a critical difference between *reduced hours* and *part-time hours* which should be differentiated in the literature. A more apt description of mothers' employment is that mothers of preschoolers work reduced hours.

There are limitations to the findings presented here as they are based on cross-sectional data. Longitudinal evidence of scaling back would bolster these findings. Unfortunately, longitudinal studies do not have sample sizes large enough to accommodate a detailed occupational assessment as performed here. I carried out secondary analyses with panel data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) on 3 large occupational

aggregations: managerial and professional, sales and office, and service. Although the patterns obtained with SIPP data were similar to what I found using ACS, the sample size was too small and margins of error too large to yield meaningful conclusions. There is strong reason to believe that the cross-sectional approximation is reliable. First, a large set of demographic, economic, and household characteristics are controlled for. Second, the occupations showing the largest amount of scaling back are managerial and professional occupations. If these results were an artifact of occupational switching after women had children, it is highly unlikely that this occupational category would show the largest amount of scaling back. Managerial and professional occupations typically have significant educational or certification requirements, and require longer hours of work than some of the other occupational categories, making them particularly unlikely candidates as occupations to scale back into. For instance, it is highly unlikely that a cashier would "scale back" by becoming a lawyer. These findings should be robust and comparable to longitudinal analyses, particularly for major occupational groups.

Although mothers show a higher rate of labor force exit, research shows that mothers also have a more difficult time getting hired, so opting out may not accurately describe these women's circumstances (Correll et al. 2007). Given these issues with re-entry, we might also consider the difficulties with "opting in" across different occupations. Expansion of parental leave legislation may help reduce some of these difficulties with employment re-entry, as mothers who have parental leave coverage are more likely to return to work for the same employer than women without coverage (Waldfogel 1998). Yet in light of the recent recession, workers may have even greater difficulties obtaining a job, particularly one with benefits and flexibility. This is also taking place in a context of minimal protected entitlements for working

parents. Federal family leave provisions are unpaid and do not cover all of the labor force. Quality child care often comes at a high cost. Work hours are mostly unregulated. Balancing work and family responsibilities, given these conditions, remains a challenge and still poses a barrier to retaining and increasing labor supply among women.

References

Bacik, Ivana and Eileen Drew. 2006. "Struggling With Juggling: Gender and Work/Life Balance in the Legal Professions." *Women's Studies International Forum* 29: 2: 136-146.

Becker, Penny Edgell and Phyllis Moen. 1999. "Scaling Back: Dual-Earner Couples' Work-Family Strategies." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61: 4: 995-1007.

Becker, Gary S. 1991. *A Treatise on the Family.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Belkin, Lisa. 2003. "The Opt-Out Revolution." *The New York Times*, October 26.

Blair-Loy, Mary. 2003. *Competing Devotions: Career and Family among Women Executives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Blau, Francine D. and Lawrence M. Kahn. 2005. "Changes in the Labor Supply Behavior of Married Women: 1980-2000." NBER Working Paper 11230.

Boushey, Heather. 2008a. "'Opting Out?' The Effect of Children on Women's Employment in the United States." *Feminist Economics* 14: 1: 1-36.

-----. 2008b. "Family Friendly Policies: Helping Mothers Make Ends Meet." *Review of Social Economy* 66: 1: 51-70.

Correll, Shelley J., Stephen Benard, and In Paik. 2007. "Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?" *American Journal of Sociology* 112: 5: 1297-1338.

Day, Jennifer Cheeseman and Barbara Downs. 2008. "Opting-Out: An Exploration of Labor Force Participation of New Mothers." U.S. Census Bureau Working Paper. Retrieved May 21, 2013 (http://www.census.gov/people/io/files/Opting-Out-paper.pdf)

Enchautegui-de-Jesus, Noemí. 2009. “Challenges Experienced by Vulnerable Hourly Workers: Issues to Consider in the Policy Conversation,” In Ann C. Crouter and Alan Booth (eds.), *Work-Life Policies*: pp. 207-217. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs, Carroll Seron, Bonnie Oglensky, and Robert Sauté. 1999. *The Part-Time Paradox: Time Norms, Professional Life, Family, and Gender*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Garey, Anita Ilta. 1999. *Weaving Work and Motherhood.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Gornick, Janet C. and Marcia K. Meyers. 2003. *Families That Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hilgeman, Christin. 2009. “The Hours We Work: Are They Occupationally Determined?” U.S. Census Bureau Poster. Retrieved May 21, 2013 (http://www.census.gov/people/io/files/hilgeman.pdf)

-----. 2007. “Cross-National Variation in the Gap in Employment Hours among Couples.” Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine, CA.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1997. *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work.* New York, NY: Henry Holt.

Kalleberg, Arne L. 2000. “Non Standard Employment Relations: Part-Time, Temporary, and Contract Work.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 341-365.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks.

Kaufman, Gayle and Peter Uhlenberg. 2000. “The Influence of Parenthood on the Work Effort of Married Men and Women.” *Social Forces* 78: 3: 931-949.

Kreider, Rose M. and Diana B. Elliott. 2009. “America’s Families and Living Arrangements: 2007.” *Current Population Reports* P20-561. U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, D.C.

Lambert, S. J. 2009. “Making a Difference for Hourly Employees,” In Ann C. Crouter and Alan Booth (eds.), *Work-Life Policies*: pp. 169-196. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press.

Landivar, Liana Christin. 2013. “Labor Force Participation among Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White Mothers in 20 Occupations,” In Marla H. Kohlman, Dana B. Krieg, and Bette J. Dickerson (eds.), *Notions of Family: Intersectional Perspectives*: pp. 263-286. Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Percheski, Christine. 2008. “Opting Out? Cohort Differences in Professional Women’s Employment Rates from 1960 to 2005.” *American Sociological Review* 73: 3: 497-517.

Presser, Harriet B. and Brian W. Ward. 2011. “Nonstandard Work Schedules Over the Life Course: A First Look.” *Monthly Labor Review* 134: 7: 3-16.

Robinson, John P. and Geoffrey Godbey. 1999. *Time for Life: The Surprising Ways Americans Use Their Time*, Second Edition. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Rutherford, Sarah. 2001. “‘Are You Going Home Already?’: The Long Hours Culture, Women Managers and Patriarchal Closure.” *Time & Society* 10: 2-3: 259-276.

Sayer, Liana C. 2007. “More Work for Mothers? Trends and Gender Differences in Multitasking,” In Tanja van der Lippe and Pascale Peters (eds.), *Competing Claims in Work and Family Life*: pp. 41-55. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Schieman, Scott, Melissa A. Milkie, and Paul Glavin. 2009. “When Work Interferes with Life: Work-Nonwork Interference and the Influence of Work-Related Demands and Resources.” *American Sociological Review* 74: 4: 966-988.

Stone, Pamela. 2007. *Opting Out? Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Story, Louise. 2005. "Many Women at Elite Colleges Set Career Path to Motherhood." *The New York Times*, September 20.

Tilly, Chris. 1991. "Reasons for the Continuing Growth of Part-Time Employment." *Monthly Labor Review* March: 10-18.

Waldfogel, Jane. 1998. "Understanding the 'Family Gap' in Pay for Women with Children." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 12: 1: 137-156.

Williams, Joan C. 2010. "The Odd Disconnect: Our Family-Hostile Public Policy," In Kathleen Christensen and Barbara Schneider (eds.), *Workplace Flexibility: Realigning 20th Century Jobs for a 21st Century Workforce*: pp. 196-219. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Table 1: Characteristics of Women Ages 18-54 Employed in the Last 5 Years

	Mean	Standard Error
Age	36.3	0.01
Race		
White [ref]	0.74	0.01
Black	0.13	0.01
Asian	0.05	0.01
Other	0.06	0.01
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	0.14	0.01
Not Hispanic [ref]	0.86	0.01
Presence and age of own children		
At least 1 preschool-age child (<6)	0.11	0.01
At least 1 school-age child (none <6)	0.17	0.01
No children under 18 [ref]	0.72	0.01
Person 65+ in household	0.20	0.01
Marital status		
Married	0.50	0.01
Not married (single, separated, divorced, or widowed) [ref]	0.50	0.01
Enrolled in school	0.17	0.01
Educational Attainment		
High school or less [ref]	0.33	0.01
Some college	0.37	0.01
College degree or higher	0.30	0.01
Earnings	28,620	37
Synthetic earnings	28,270	21
Family income	80,550	87
Class of worker		
Private for-profit [ref]	0.78	0.01
Government	0.16	0.01
Self-employed	0.06	0.01
Industry		
Agriculture	0.01	0.01
Construction	0.01	0.01
Manufacturing	0.07	0.01
Wholesale	0.02	0.01
Retail [ref]	0.13	0.01
Transportation and warehousing	0.02	0.01
Information	0.02	0.01
Finance, insurance, and real estate	0.08	0.01
Professional, scientific, and management	0.10	0.01
Education and health care	0.33	0.01
Arts, entertainment, accommodation, and food services	0.12	0.01
Other services	0.05	0.01
Public administration	0.04	0.01

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey

Table 2: Percentage of Mothers of Preschoolers Out of the Labor Force and Average Hours Scaled Back by Major Occupation Group

	Percent Out of the Labor Force	Average Hours Scaled Back	Odds Ratio: Out of the Labor Force (Logistic Regression Coefficient)[1]	Average Hours Worked (OLS Regression Coefficient)[2]
Average	25%	0.6	--	--
Occupation Group				
Management, professional, and related	15%	2.5	1.00 [ref]	35.1[ref]
Service	22%	0.3	1.37***	35.4***
Sales and office	23%	0.9	1.32***	35.3**
Agriculture	32%	1.2	1.97***	37.9***
Construction, extraction, maintenance, and repair	28%	1.2	1.76***	37.0***
Production, transportation, and material moving	24%	0.5	1.35***	36.4***

*Note: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests).*

[1]Logistic regression model (not shown) controls for age, race, ethnicity, person 65+ in the household, marital status, educational attainment, earnings, class of worker, industry, and family income.

[2]OLS regression model (not shown) controls for age, race, ethnicity, person 65+ in the household, marital status, educational attainment, earnings, class of worker, industry, and family income.

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey

Table 3: Likelihood of Being Out of the Labor Force for Women Ages 18-54: Odds Ratios From Hierarchical Logistic Regression Models of Individuals Clustered Within 92 Occupations

	Model 1	Model 2 Individual Characteristics[1]	Model 3 Individual and Occupational Characteristics
Dependent variable: labor force participation (1= not in labor force)			
Intercept	0.14 (0.06) ***	0.10 (0.04)***	0.11 (0.02)***
Individual Characteristics (Odds ratio displayed)			
Age		1.00 (0.00)***	1.00 (0.00)***
Presence of own children in household			
Preschool-age children		2.36 (0.04)***	2.35 (0.03)***
School-age children		0.97 (0.04)	0.97 (0.04)
Presence of person 65+ in household		1.14 (0.00)***	1.14 (0.00)***
Married		1.26 (0.00)***	1.26 (0.00)***
Education			
Some college		0.91 (0.00)***	0.91 (0.00)***
College degree or higher		0.82 (0.00)***	0.82 (0.00)***
Enrolled in school		1.52 (0.00)***	1.52 (0.00)***
Race			
Black		0.90 (0.00)***	0.90 (0.00)***
Asian		1.05 (0.00)***	1.05 (0.00)***
Other		1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Hispanic		0.85 (0.00)***	0.85 (0.00)***
Class of worker			
Government		0.85 (0.00)***	0.85 (0.00)***
Self-employed		0.94 (0.00)***	0.94 (0.00)***
Log of earnings		0.73 (0.00)***	0.73 (0.00)***
Log of family income		1.18 (0.00)***	1.18 (0.00)***
Industry (13)		Included[2]	Included[2]
Occupational Characteristics			
Occ. percent female			
21%-79%			0.81(0.09)*
80%-100%			0.69(0.10)***
Occ. percent flexible schedule (per 10 perc. point increase)			0.96 (0.00)
Occ. with large percent temporary workers			1.17 (0.07)*
Occ. with large percent hourly workers			1.12 (0.08)
Occ. with large percent on call workers			1.09 (0.08)
Occ. with large percent union workers			1.03 (0.07)
Occ. percent health insurance (per 10 perc. point increase)			0.92 (0.00)***
Average work hours in occupation (per 10 hour increase)			0.94 (0.01)
Likelihood ratio chi-square	71.06	67.61	67.61
N	943,173	772,513	772,513

*Note: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests). Standard errors are in parentheses.*

[1]Random effects are included and allowed to vary by 92 occupations. Random effects included are: intercept, presence of preschool-age children, and presence of school-age children. Coefficients for all 92 occupations are available upon request. These coefficients serve as the basis for Figure 2.

[2] Coefficients for 13 industries are available upon request.

Data sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey and the Current Population Survey March 2008, February 2005, and May 2004.

Table 4: Usual Weekly Work Hours among Currently Employed Women Ages 18-54: Hierarchical Linear Model Estimates of Individuals Clustered Within 92 Occupations

	Model 1	Model 2 Individual Characteristics[1]	Model 3 Individual and Occupational Characteristics[1]
Dependent Variable: Usual weekly work hours			
Intercept	37.50 (0.40)***	37.79 (0.23)***	36.85 (0.46)***
Individual Characteristics (In hours)			
Age		-0.01 (0.00)***	-0.01 (0.00)***
Presence of own children in household			
Preschool-age children		-1.96 (0.18)***	-1.98 (0.18)***
School-age children		-1.71 (0.16)***	-1.73 (0.16)***
Presence of person 65+ in household		0.13 (0.04)**	0.13 (0.04)*
Married		0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Education			
Some college		-0.40 (0.03)***	-0.40 (0.03)***
College degree or higher		-1.31 (0.04)***	-1.30 (0.04)***
Enrolled in school		-2.82 (0.04)***	-2.82 (0.04)***
Race			
Black		1.27 (0.03)***	1.27 (0.03)***
Asian		0.79 (0.05)***	0.79 (0.05)***
Other		0.42 (0.05)***	0.41 (0.05)***
Hispanic		0.81 (0.04)***	0.81 (0.04)***
Class of worker			
Government		0.18 (0.04)***	0.18 (0.04)***
Self-employed		0.28 (0.04)***	0.28 (0.05)***
Log of earnings		5.10 (0.01)***	5.10 (0.01)***
Log of family income		-0.23 (0.00)***	-0.23 (0.00)***
Industry (13)		Included[2]	Included[2]
Occupational Characteristics			
Occ. percent female			
21%-79%			0.27 (0.33)
80%-100%			0.90 (0.37)*
Occ. percent flexible schedule (per 10 perc. point increase)			-0.32 (0.01)***
Occ. with large percent temporary workers			0.80 (0.23)***
Occ. with large percent hourly workers			-0.61 (0.29)*
Occ. with large percent on call workers			-0.92 (0.32)**
Occ. with large percent union workers			0.26 (0.25)
Occ. percent health insurance (per 10 perc. point increase)			-0.57 (0.01)***
Average work hours in occupation (per 10 hour increase)			5.73 (0.03)***
Variance Components			
Intercept	14.65***	4.87***	0.62***
Residual	7696.65***	5571.16***	5571.2***
N	656,936	656,677	656,677

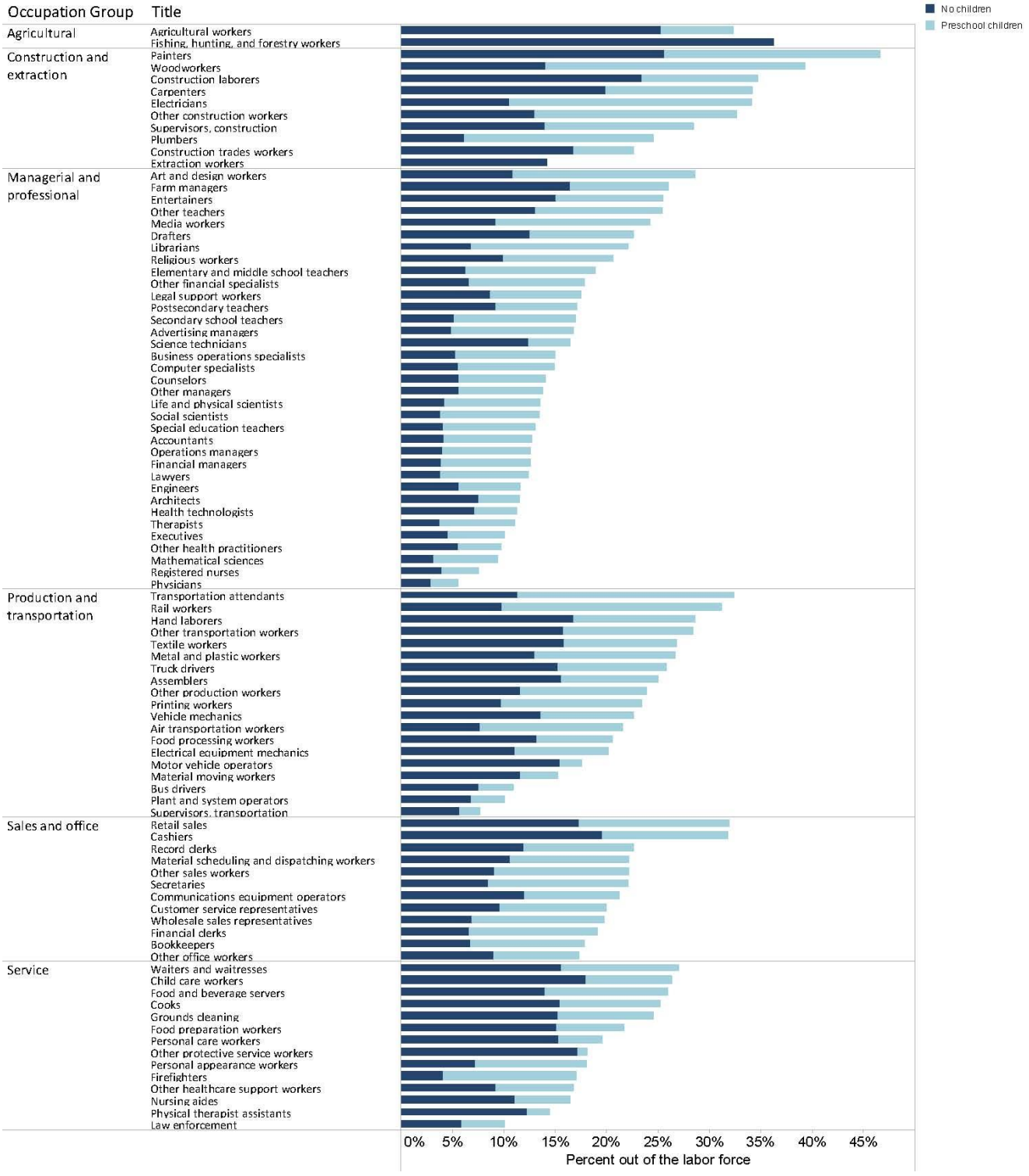
*Note: *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests). Standard errors are in parentheses.*

*[1] Random effects are allowed to vary by 92 occupations and are statistically significant at the .001 level. Random effects included are: intercept***, presence of preschool-age children***, and presence of school-age children***. Coefficients for all 92 occupations are available upon request. These coefficients serve as the basis for Figure 4.*

[2] Coefficients for 13 industries are available upon request.

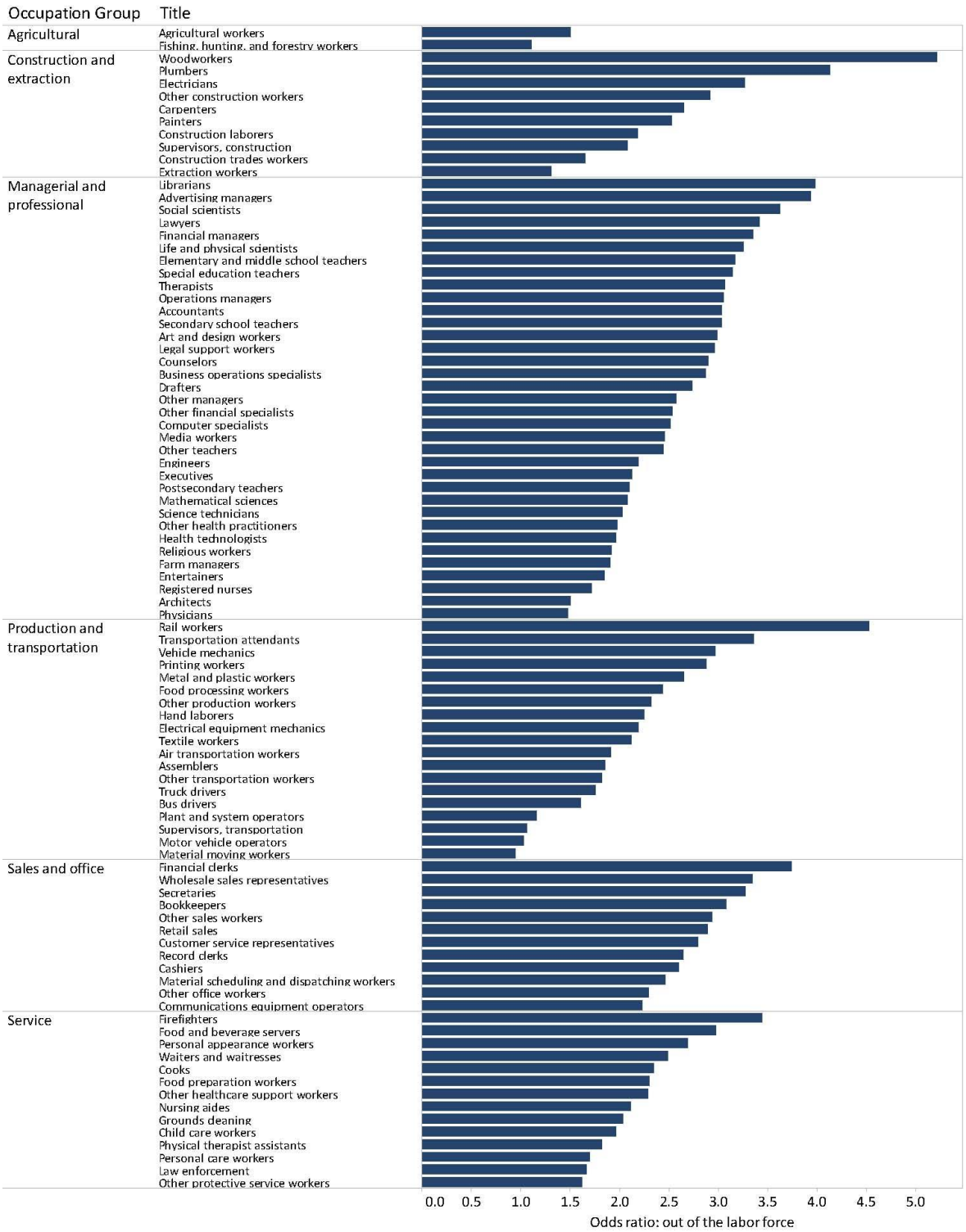
Data sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey and the Current Population Survey March 2008, February 2005, and May 2004.

Figure 1: Percentage of Women Ages 18-54 Who Are Out of the Labor Force by Occupation and Presence of Children



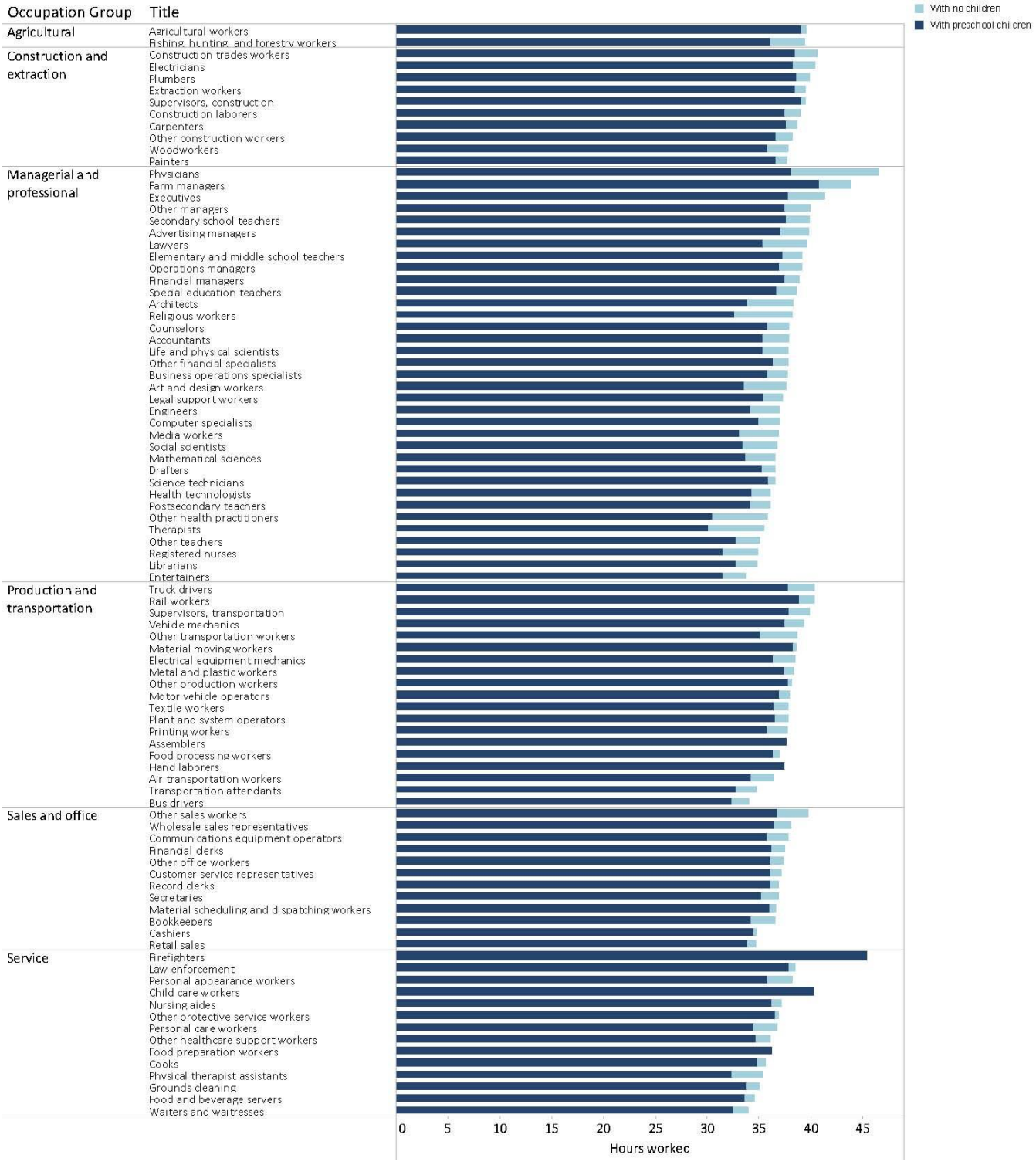
Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey

Figure 2: Estimated Odds of Being Out of the Labor Force for Women With a Preschool Child and Employed in the Last 5 Years Compared With Women Without Children by Occupation*



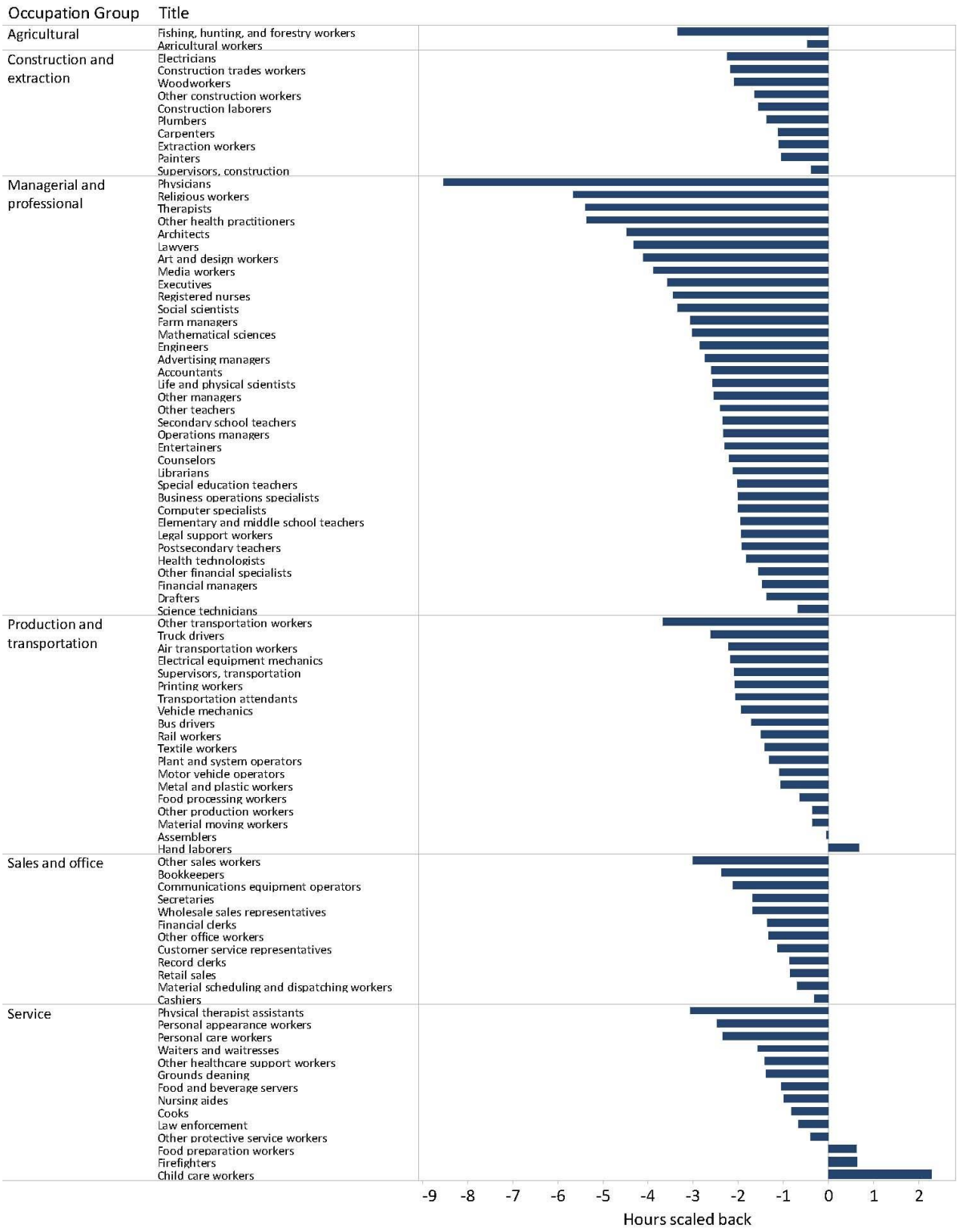
Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey
**Estimates based on occupation-specific coefficients obtained from hierarchical logistic regression model 2 (controls individual characteristics).*

Figure 3: Average Weekly Work Hours of Women Ages 18-54 by Occupation and Presence of Children



Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey

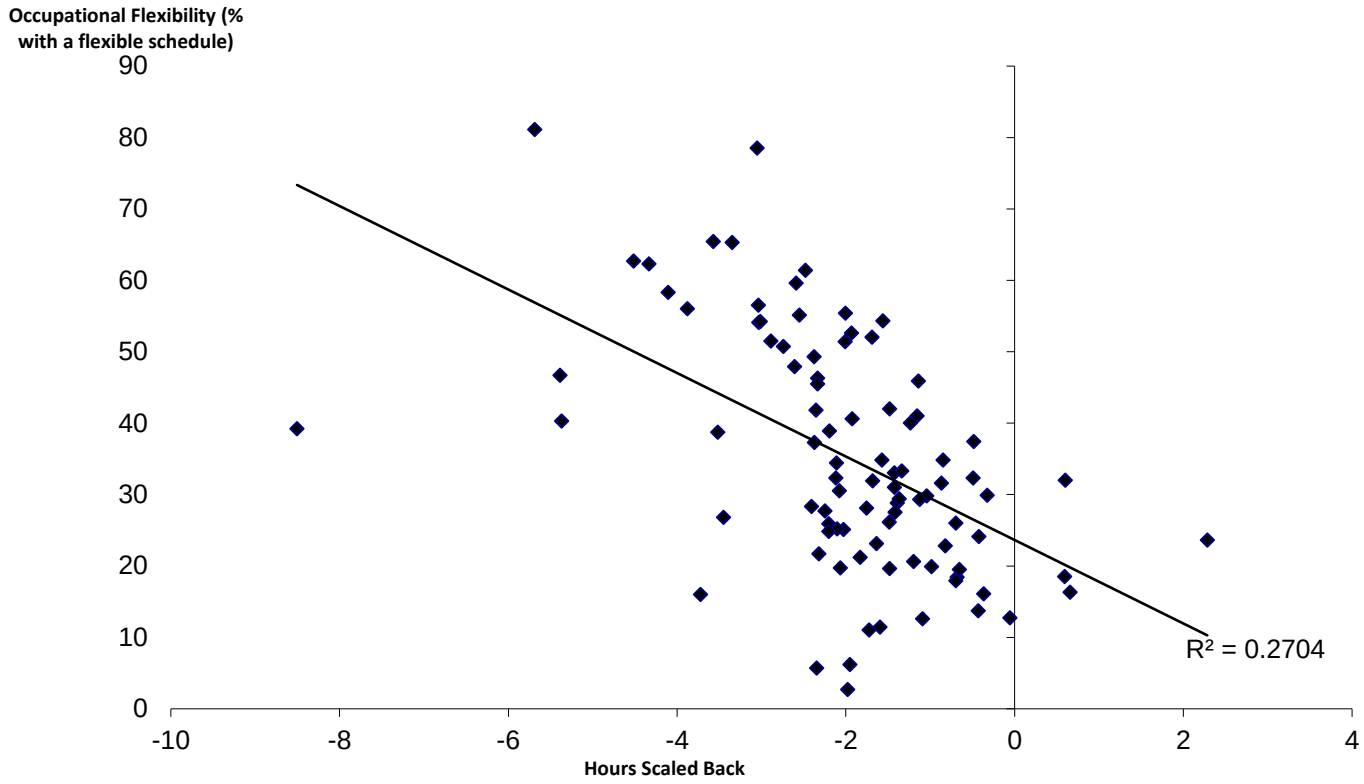
Figure 4: Estimated Scaling Back by Occupation for Currently Employed Women With a Preschool Child Compared With Currently Employed Women Without Children*



Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey

**Estimates based on occupation-specific coefficients obtained from hierarchical linear model 2 (controls individual characteristics).*

Figure 5: Association Between the Percentage of Workers in an Occupation with Work Schedule Flexibility and the Number of Hours Mothers of Preschoolers Scale Back



Data source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey and 2004 Current Population Survey Work Schedules Supplement