

WORKING LATER IN ILLINOIS:
Work Schedules, Incomes and Parents' Access To Child Care

by

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PREFACE

In May 2004 the US Census Bureau fielded a special supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS), covering some 57,000 households across the nation to collect information on families' work schedules and occupations, as well as standard demographic information. The sample included 4,721 Illinoisans, of whom 2,213 were employed adults ages 18 and over, and 1,940 reported their work schedule information, a sample large and representative enough to provide reliable information on the interaction of work and family life in Illinois.¹ Despite some data limitations, the 2004 sample provides the best available information on families, work and child care in Illinois. This report analyzes this information together with other available child care, employment and other data.

We had written and circulated a draft report on the Current Population Survey's previous work schedules supplement of May 2001 when the May 2004 data were released. Research Assistant Niwako Sugimura conducted most of the data analysis for the 2001 report under the supervision of Research Director David Alexander. Research Associate Marcia Stoll and David Alexander wrote this report and analyzed the 2004 data.

¹ The U.S Bureau of the Census conducts the monthly CPS for US Department of Labor. Special work schedule supplements appeared in 1985, 1991, 1997, 2001 and 2004. Since the survey questions have been re-worded over the years, historical comparisons are problematic for many topics. See Appendix A for an examination of the representativeness of the survey sample.

Executive Summary

WORKING LATER IN ILLINOIS: Work Schedules, Incomes and Parents' Access To Child Care

Illinois Action for Children Research Department

New research using federal government data shows that substantial numbers of Illinoisans work nonstandard schedules. Some 41 percent or about 2½ million Illinois employees work either weekends or predominately non-daytime hours. The larger portion works weekends, but 19 percent or about 1.2 million employees work mostly non-daytime hours. In families with children under age 14, including single parent families and two-parent families with both parents employed, 42 percent work nonstandard hours.

While nonstandard work schedules are found in some higher income occupations in Illinois such as nurses and doctors, they are more commonly concentrated in occupations that pay below the typical Illinois income, such as retail sales and building cleaning occupations. The trend, moreover, is probably upward: In the ten occupations with the largest projected job growth, 48 percent of employees work nonstandard schedules.

Among the substantial challenges nonstandard work schedules present to Illinois working parents, one is finding suitable child care. According to state data, relatively few center-based and licensed home child care programs in Illinois offer care during evening, night or weekend hours.

Many working parents, then, must respond to the mismatch between child care and nonstandard work schedules in one of two ways. They might stagger their work schedules so that one parent is always free for child care. This is obviously an option only for families with two parents. Other parents must find another relative, friend or neighbor to provide informal child care. (In this case parents must still coordinate their child care and work schedules with that informal provider.) Working nonstandard schedules, then, tends to force working parents to use either staggered parental care or informal family, friend or neighbor care.

Lower earnings in jobs with nonstandard work schedules and the high cost of child care programs also tend to push parents toward staggering their work schedules or using informal child care. According to Illinois data, center-based and licensed home child care for one infant averages a prohibitive 15 percent of the typical family income (25 percent for an infant and a three-year old). Since family, friend and neighbor child care tends to be substantially cheaper than center and licensed home programs, working parents are likely to favor such informal care for reasons of cost as well as schedule.

Data show that in fact a majority of children in Illinois do receive informal care from relatives, friends and neighbors rather than licensed or center-based care. Many children probably receive staggered parental care, although we do not have good data on this practice.

Findings of the new research are consistent with the view that Illinois parents with fewer employment opportunities must accept nonstandard work schedules offered to them. For example, Illinois parents with lower than average earnings are more likely to work nonstandard schedules.

This is true, for example, for both married couples and single mothers. These parents must arrange child care in ways described above: find the relatively few formal child care programs that offer night, evening or weekend hours; stagger their work schedules so that one parent is always available for child care; or find informal child care with family, friends or neighbors.

Dramatic new findings are also consistent with the view that other Illinois parents choose their desired formal, parental or informal child care arrangement, and then work nonstandard schedules to match their child care arrangement.

- Forty-one percent of surveyed Illinois mothers with nonstandard work schedules say they work these schedules in order to obtain better child and family care arrangements. More say they work these schedules for this reason than for any other reason.
- About 16 percent of fathers with nonstandard work schedules attribute their nonstandard schedules to obtaining better child and family care arrangements.
- Employed Illinois couples are more likely to work at least one nonstandard schedule if they have children under age 14. By contrast, Illinois couples are less likely to work nonstandard schedules if they do not have a child under 14.

We need more research to understand these phenomena. First, we need precise data on all types of Illinois families: How many families use informal care or stagger parental care because of their work schedules, and how many families work nonstandard schedules in order to coordinate with preferred child care arrangements.

Second, to the extent that 42 percent of working parents do have fewer child care options because of their work schedules, or have fewer work schedule options because of their preferred child care arrangements, they must make difficult family choices. Many of these choices will reduce the quality of other aspects of their family or working lives. Couples who stagger their work schedules have less time to spend together. Parents who work evenings, nights or weekends in order to obtain better child care arrangements, moreover, have less time to spend with relatives and friends who work other schedules. We need more research to understand how these parents make their decisions and what effects the decisions have on children and parents alike.

The report concludes with a summary of policies related to child care and work to improve the quality of family life in Illinois. A range of public policies is available to expand the number of options regarding work and child care for parents and to raise the quality of the existing options. The State of Illinois already pursues some policies to achieve this goal, such as providing financial Child Care Assistance to parents and increasing parental understanding about the quality of existing child care options. The report also reviews other policy options without making specific recommendations.

INTRODUCTION

Some 41 percent of working adults, and 42 percent of working parents in Illinois regularly work during non-traditional hours and/or days². They work predominately evening shifts, night shifts, rotating shifts, split shifts or variable shifts, and/or weekend hours – not the traditional workweek of five days from Monday through Friday. The fact that so many working Illinoisans have non-traditional work schedules has far-reaching implications for the way they live their lives, relate to their families, friends and communities and arrange for their children’s care.

The general trend toward such non-traditional work schedules over the past several decades has been noted, but never documented as well as the Current Population Survey data set that we use. In earlier years, researchers attributed the trend to employers seeking to lower their business costs by operating facilities more hours each week, or even continuously around the clock. More recently, observers note that employers who operate in the global economy also want to do business around the clock in 24 time zones. Retail and other businesses in turn extend their hours to serve these global businesses and their employees.

In this report we focus not on such large economic trends among employers but on the ways that families interact with the trend.

Some of the well-known effects of working non-traditional schedules include serious challenges to the quality of one’s family and work lives. To have a parent working a non-traditional schedule can disrupt a family’s ordinary interactions. Working evenings, nights, weekends, rotating shifts, variable shifts or weekends can make it more difficult to maintain relationships with those family members and friends who keep other hours. At work, a non-traditional schedule can reduce one’s opportunity to participate in workplace programs. It tends, furthermore, to marginalize some people by making it difficult for them to participate culturally and socially outside of work. Working off hours, then, can diminish one’s access and status on the job and in society as a whole. With diminished capacity to interact freely with family, friends and community, moreover, a non-traditional work schedule undercuts some social bases of one’s self-respect.³

In addition to placing such burdens on our family and work life, working non-traditional schedules forces parents to make difficult decisions about bearing and caring for children. This report focuses on the hard choices that Illinois families regularly make about their child care arrangements in conjunction with their work schedules. In particular, we examine the ways that families’ work schedules influence their child care choices, and *vice versa*. We also consider how family income, the cost of child care and family structure influence this choice.

Definitions

We begin by defining the way we use key concepts.

² Using somewhat different definitions of work schedules, Presser found that 39.5 percent of employees nationwide work non-traditional schedules in 1997. Presser, *ibid.*, Table 2.1, pp 16-17. Presser’s excellent analysis of the 1997 Current Population Survey national sample served as a model for this study of the 2004 Illinois sample.

³ Other major effects include the health effects, notably those of working nights and rotating shifts, including sleep deprivation. For a summary, see Harriet B. Presser, *Working in a 24/7 Economy* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003), pp 9-10.

The large variety of **work schedules** makes them difficult to categorize. For our purposes, Illinoisans in the labor force either work a **traditional workweek** of five weekdays, Monday through Friday, during the daytime, or *they do not*. Those 41 percent of employed Illinoisans in **non-traditional or nonstandard work schedules** work predominately *evenings, nights, split shifts* (for example, working both breakfast and dinner shifts in a restaurant), *rotating shifts* (for example, evenings this week and nights next week) or *variable shifts* as their employers irregularly move them around; or they work on *weekends*. It will not be a surprise to the reader that some occupations are more likely than others to have employees working such nonstandard work schedules.

Sometimes this report separates those who work *weekends* from those who work nonstandard *hours* - evenings, nights, rotating shifts, split shifts and variables shifts. Since these groups overlap to a large extent, however, the report often combines them into the single group of Illinoisans who work some form of non-traditional schedule. As we shall see, despite the substantial differences that exist between weekend work and, say, evening work, the parents who work either kind of nonstandard schedule need to make similar difficult choices about their child care arrangements.

Parents must decide on **child care arrangements**, including both (1) the type of care children will receive and (2) the hours or schedule of such care. Three common types of care parents can choose among are *child care centers, licensed family child care homes*, and less formal care by non-parental *family, friends, neighbors, babysitters and nannies* (which the State of Illinois considers “license-exempt care”). Child care schedules can include any hour in a 24 hour day, across any day in the week.

As we shall see, type of care and schedule of care are often connected. Child care centers rarely offer evening, overnight or weekend hours of care. Only a small minority of licensed homes offers such care. Perhaps the majority of arrangements in which family, friends or neighbors provide child care, on the other hand, include some care during such nonstandard hours. Finally, cost of care and type of care are closely connected. Child care in centers and licensed homes tend to cost parents more than what friends, family and neighbors charge.

Families in this analysis are either single parent or dual-parent families, with or without children. They either may have a single wage-earner or be dual-earner families. The report looks at each **type of family** (or **family structure**) insofar as its work schedule includes substantial nonstandard hours.⁴

Goals and Research Questions

Public policy makers need to know whether many parents work nontraditional schedules because they cannot find acceptable and affordable child care. Policy makers also need to know whether parents who work nontraditional schedules for reasons other than child care (reasons such as economic necessity or other commitments) have trouble finding acceptable and affordable child care during these non-traditional working hours. To the extent that these are widespread issues in

⁴ We would like to include information about other relatives who are available to a family as child care providers. One of the limitations of the Current Population Survey is that it does not gather sufficient data on the availability of other relatives and close neighbors for child care.

Illinois, the state has sound reason to adopt policies that support these parents' access to acceptable and affordable child care.

The report finds that many parents choose their child care arrangement in order to accommodate their work schedules and that others choose their work schedule in order to accommodate their child care choices. For many families, moreover, work schedules and access to child care are further influenced by both their level of income and their family structure.

Consequently, our public policy concerns about child care and work schedules breaks down into several research questions and sub-questions:

Who Works Nonstandard Schedules in Illinois?

1. How many Illinoisans work nonstandard schedules?
2. How are nonstandard work schedules distributed across the following groups:
 - Men and women
 - Part-time and full-time employees
 - Parents of children of various ages and non-parents
 - Occupational and income groups

What Reasons Do Illinoisans Give For Their Working Nonstandard Schedules?

How are Parents' Decisions about Work Schedules and Child Care Interrelated? And How Do Family Income and Family Structure Factor in the Decisions?

1. Do nonstandard work schedules reduce families' access to child care?
 - When is child care available?
2. Are some family types more likely to work non-standard schedules?
 - Two-parent families with each parent working?
 - Women, married and single?
3. How does families' ability to pay for child care affect work schedules in Illinois or vice versa?
 - How affordable is child care in Illinois?
 - Are non-traditional work schedules associated with lower incomes?

The body of the report follows this set of research questions, showing which groups are most likely to work non-standard schedules and shedding light on the circumstances of family choice. We draw five general conclusions about work schedule, incomes and child care:

1. A substantial portion of Illinois parents – more than four in ten – works non-traditional schedules. Our analysis of Illinois job growth projections, moreover, suggests that this number will grow.
2. Paying for child care is a serious budget problem for many families and is related to working non-traditional schedules.

Earnings of employees in occupations with high proportions of nonstandard schedules tend to be lower than typical earnings in Illinois. Findings show that both

working couples and single women whose incomes are below typical Illinois earnings are more likely to work non-traditional schedules than those with higher incomes, regardless of whether they have children.

Many parents who must work nonstandard schedules, then, will not be able to afford more expensive child care, including center and licensed home care, and will tend to choose cheaper care from family, friends or neighbors.

3. Working nonstandard hours makes parents less likely to use child care centers and licensed child care homes for another reason. Research shows that relatively few child care centers and licensed child care homes offer evening, overnight and weekend hours. Even if they can afford to pay for center and licensed child care, then, parents who must work those hours might not be able to find it.
4. For those parents who have a choice of work schedules, on the other hand, the high cost of child care may be a reason for choosing a nonstandard schedule. Because daytime child care centers and licensed child care homes are typically quite expensive, a couple might choose to provide all of their child care themselves by staggering their work schedules: one parent provides child care while the other parent is on the job and *vice versa*. Similarly, a single parent might choose to work nonstandard hours if they have an affordable provider available during those hours – another family member, a friend or a neighbor.

Our findings support the view that some Illinois parents do choose a desired child care arrangement (out of either preference or cost factors) and then work non-traditional schedules to match their child care arrangement.

When surveyed, 41 percent of Illinois mothers and 16 percent of Illinois fathers with nonstandard work schedules say they work these schedules in order to obtain better child and family care arrangements.

Employed Illinois couples, moreover, are more likely to work at least one nonstandard schedule if they have children under age 14. By contrast, Illinois couples are less likely to work nonstandard schedules if they do not have a child under the age of 14.

Single mothers are also more likely to work nonstandard schedules if they have children under 14.

5. Illinois parents' work schedules and child care arrangements are therefore closely connected.

A brief sketch of policy options concludes the analysis. A wide range of policies is available to expand the number of parent options and to raise the quality of the existing options sufficiently to improve the quality of family life in Illinois. The State of Illinois pursues some policies in this direction, such as providing financial Child Care Assistance and improved education about the quality of existing child care options. The report reviews some other policy options as well, without making specific recommendations.

A note on how we analyze family decisions

Working parents must decide about the work they perform, the schedules they work and the types and schedules of their child care (their child care arrangements). In general the first two decisions – about occupation and schedules – affect their incomes, and the last – about child care arrangements – determines how much of their income they will need to pay for child care. It is because these decisions are complex and interconnected that families face difficult choices about work, their work schedules, family income and child-care arrangements.

In a number of places this report reveals that strong connections exist between factors in the decision making process, such as the correlation between working a non-traditional schedule and having children under age 14, or between working a non-traditional schedule and being a certain type of family. At those points, it is important to understand that behind the connections between factors, each factor might play a role in one family's decision-making process that is entirely different from the role it plays for another family. In fact, one family might see the factor as a cause in its decision, while the other family might see the factor as a consequence. The reader will find it useful to keep in mind this diversity in family decision-making processes.

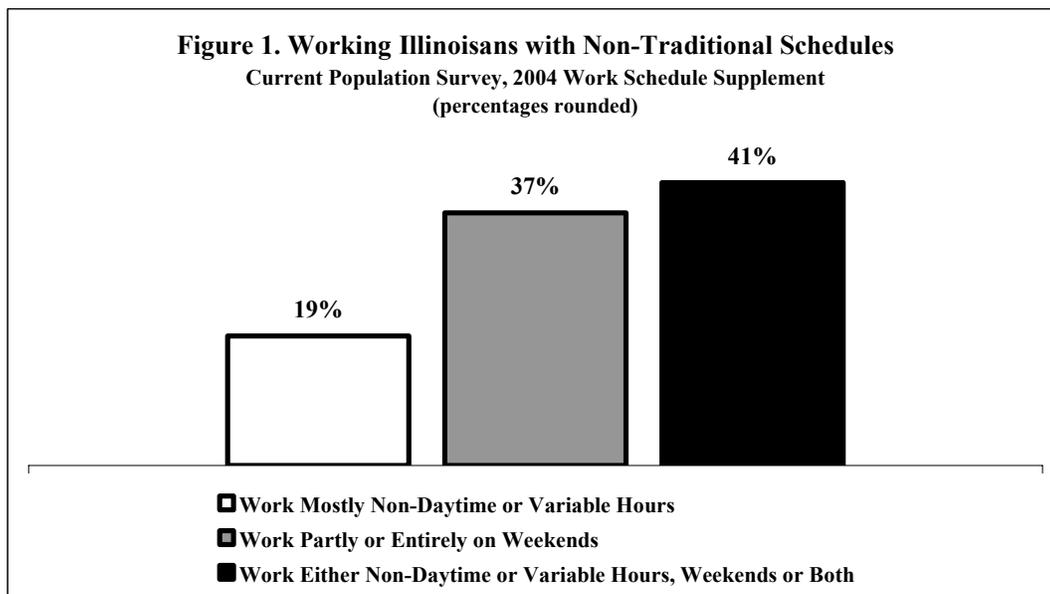
Appendix D discusses how we understand these decisions as complex, interconnected and diverse. To illustrate these features of family decisions it presents three models of family decision making processes. At several points in the report, the reader might be tempted to conclude that there is a single cause behind a pattern that we report. At such points the reader would do well to recall the diverse decision-making processes sketched in Appendix D.

Part One: WHO WORKS NONSTANDARD SCHEDULES IN ILLINOIS?

1. How many Illinoisans work nonstandard schedules?

The Current Population Survey sample includes 1,940 adult Illinoisans with paid employment who report their work schedules.⁵ Of these, 41 percent of working adults regularly work during non-traditional hours and/or days. That is, they do not predominately work the traditional workweek of five days from Monday through Friday.⁶ They work predominately evening shifts, night shifts, rotating shifts, split shifts or variable shifts, and/or weekend hours. Extending this proportion to the entire Illinois workforce, we find that about 2.5 million Illinois employees regularly work non-traditional schedules.⁷

Figure 1 breaks down the elements of a non-traditional work schedule into hours of work and days of work and shows the proportions of Illinoisans who work those elements. Since a number of later sections of this report follow the basic logic of this table, we will cover its parts carefully.



Hours:

The first column in Figure 1 shows the 19 percent of employed Illinoisans who responded positively to questions about whether they work predominately evening or night shifts (predominately 6PM to 6 AM), rotating shifts, split shifts or variable shifts. Extended to the Illinois workforce, this is

⁵ Of these, 1,951 reported hours or shift information, 1,943 reported days worked and 1,940 reported both or 1. Women made up about 47 percent of the sample. Appendix A shows that this sample is generally representative for Illinois.

⁶ The term “traditional” refers to a traditional cultural norm of working daytime hours, Monday through Friday. It remains the cultural norm for most Illinoisans.

⁷ Using somewhat different definitions of work schedules, Presser found that 39.5 percent of employees nationwide work non-traditional schedules in 1997. Presser, *ibid.*, Table 2.1, pp 16-17. Presser’s excellent analysis of the 1997 Current Population Survey national sample served as a model for this study of the 2004 Illinois sample.

equivalent to about 1.2 million employees.⁸ The remaining 81 percent reported working a majority of their hours during daytimes, between 6 AM and 6 PM.

Days:

The second column of Figure 1 shows that 37 percent of Illinoisans, more than 2.3 million employees, work partly or entirely on weekends: weekend days, evenings or nights. The other 63 percent work only Monday through Friday schedules (possibly daytime, evenings or nights).

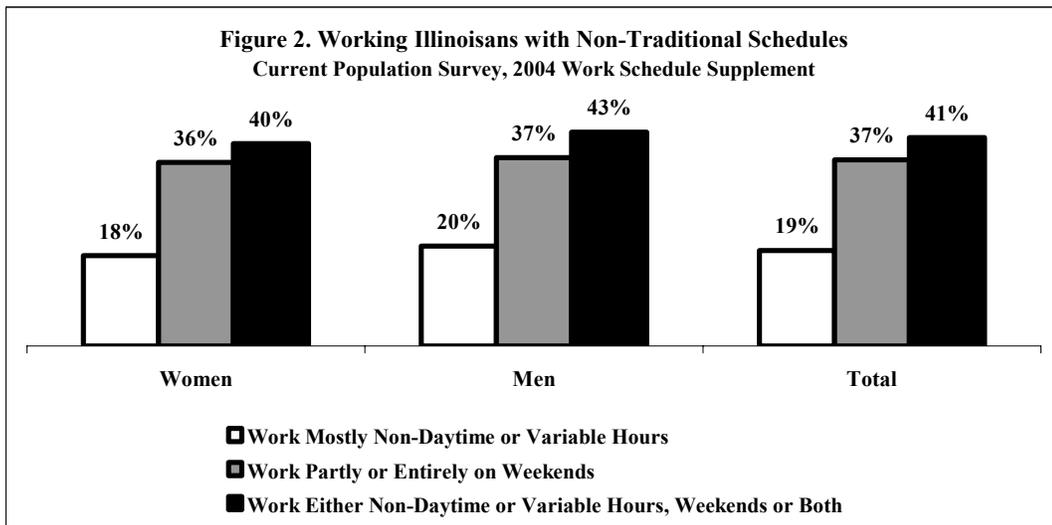
As the figure shows, about twice as many employed Illinoisans work on weekends as during non-daytime or variable hours. This proportion of roughly two Illinoisans working on weekends for each one working non-day or variable shifts holds true for most of the breakdowns we report later by family type, age of children and so on.

Hours and / or days:

The third column of Figure 1 combines the first two columns. It shows that 41 percent of Illinoisans work at least one kind of nonstandard schedule. Many Illinoisans work both kinds of schedules. In fact, about 15 percent of Illinoisans work predominately non-daytime or variable hours and weekends.

2. How similar are nonstandard work schedules for women and men?

Whereas Figure 1 reports on the percentage of nonstandard schedules worked by all employed Illinoisans, Figure 2 presents the same information for women and men separately in the first two



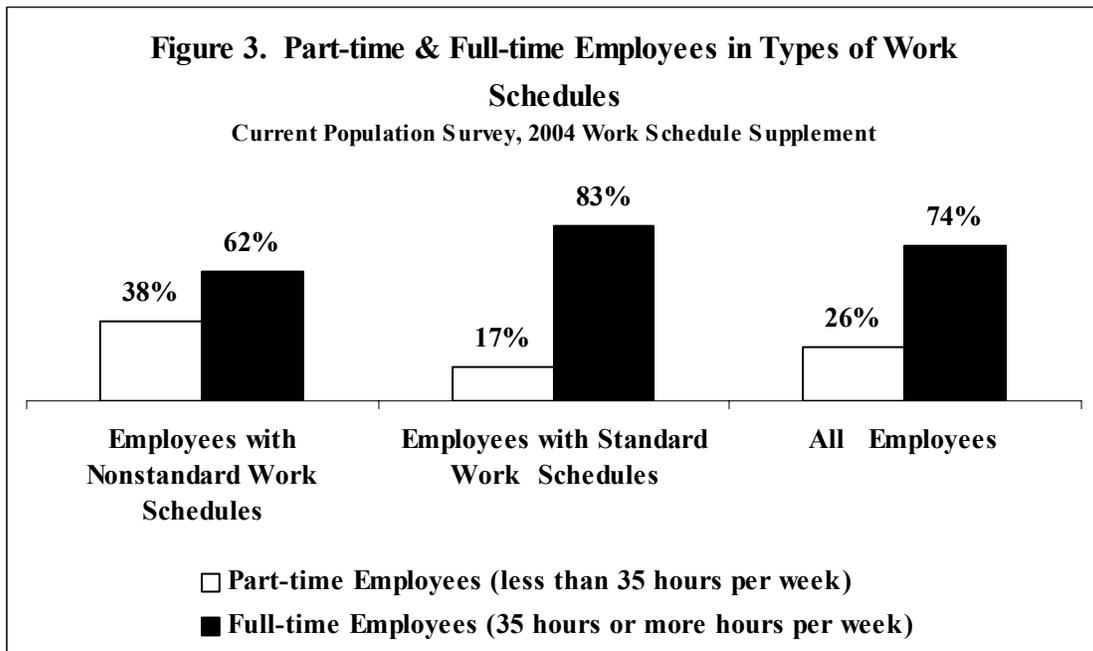
groups of columns, and repeats the totals from Figure 1 in the third group of columns. The black columns for women and men show that men and women work nonstandard schedules in roughly the same proportions – 43 percent for men and 40 percent for women.

This holds true for both schedules with evening, night, rotating or split or variable shifts (shown by the white columns) and for weekend work (the gray columns).

⁸ Of this 19 percent, about 49 percent reported working rotating shifts, split shifts or variable shifts, and the other 51 percent worked evening or night shifts. Throughout this report all percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percent. Note that in this survey even those who consider themselves daytime workers might work some hours outside of, say, 6 AM and 6 PM. In this respect, this report undercounts the number who work *any* non-day hours.

3. How similar are nonstandard work schedules for part-time and full-time workers?

Most Illinois employees work on a full-time basis – that is, at least 35 hours per week – whether they work standard schedules or not. In our sample, 74 percent of those employed work full time, as the last column in Figure 3 indicates, and 26 percent work part time. The majority of those with nonstandard schedules work full time: 62 percent. Those who work nonstandard schedules, however, are more likely to work part time than those who work standard schedules: 38 percent of employees with nonstandard schedules work part time, compared with 17 percent of those with standard work schedules.



4. How prevalent are nonstandard work schedules for employed parents?

A key to our analysis of families' access to child care and quality of family life in Illinois are the work schedules of Illinois parents. Table 1 shows the proportions of Illinois women and men who work non-traditional schedules and have at least one child under age 14 or one under age 6.

The first thing to notice in Table 1 is that substantial portions of Illinois parents work nonstandard schedules. In fact about 41 percent of employed men and 44 percent of employed women with children under age 14 work non-traditional schedules, similar to the proportion of all Illinois employees.⁹ About 17 percent of mothers and 20 percent of fathers with a child under age 14 work predominately evening, night, split, variable or rotating shifts. Some 38 percent of women and 33 percent of men with children under age 14 work weekend hours, and about as many with children under age 6 work those hours. So while mothers tend to work weekends in slightly larger percentages than fathers, a larger proportion of fathers work during evening, night and non-regular shifts.

⁹ See Appendix B for a discussion of additional differences by race and ethnicity.

Second, having a child changes the likelihood that employed Illinoisans work non-traditional schedules. It does not, however, make a very large percentage difference. In none of the rows in Table 1 does a woman's or man's having a child under age 14 amount to more than six percentage points difference in whether they work non-traditional schedules compared to their not having a child under 14.¹⁰

Third, having a child under age 14 affects men and women differently. Having a child under age 14 makes women somewhat more likely to take on non-traditional work schedules than women without children (44 percent to 38 percent). For men, however, it is the opposite. When they have children under age 14, men are *less likely* to work non-traditional schedules than when they do not have children (41 percent compared to 43 percent). Having a child, then, makes men and women more similar with respect to their likelihood of working nonstandard schedules

Table 1. Adult Illinoisans Who Work Non-Traditional Schedules, with & without Children						
	Women			Men		
	1. No Child Under Age 14	2. At Least One Child under Age 14	3. At Least One Child under Age 6	4. No Child Under Age 14	5. At Least One Child under Age 14	6. At Least One Child under Age 6
A. Work Mostly Non-Daytime Hours	18%	17%	20%	20%	20%	19%
B. Work Partly or Entirely on Weekends	36%	38%	38%	39%	33%	34%
C. A. and/or B.	38%	44%	47%	43%	41%	41%

Source: Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample.

It might seem surprising that about one-fifth of mothers go to work during evening hours when young children need to be fed and put to bed. There could be many complex reasons for this. The finding is certainly consistent with the view that many mothers have few opportunities in the labor market and cannot find any other work than that with nonstandard schedules. It is also consistent with the view we consider in the next section: many women choose jobs during non-traditional hours in order to obtain desirable child care arrangements. In this perspective, mothers care for children during normal working hours while their caregiver (a spouse, partner, relative, friend or neighbor) is out at work.

¹⁰ In terms of numbers of people, this is not small. Each percentage point of the large population of employed Illinoisans represents 60,673 people (though fewer have children under age 14). This is based on the three-month average employment level of 6,067,300 from May through July 2005, according to the Illinois Department of Employment Security, <http://www.ides.state.il.us/economy/cps.pdf> (accessed September 1, 2005). Each percentage point of employed women is over 28,500 women, while each percent of employed men is over 32,100 men (based on employment rates of men and women in the 2000 Census).

Then these mothers find a job during nonstandard hours or days when their caregiver is not on the job and has time to care for children.

There are no doubt also complex reasons why fewer men work non-traditional schedules when they have children present. Possibly some men take on child care responsibilities during evenings, nights or weekends when their spouse, partner or other caregiver works. National data do show that more fathers provide care when mothers have non-day jobs.¹¹

We will return to a number of these issues later.

5. What occupations and incomes make employees more or less likely to work nonstandard schedules?

Nonstandard work schedules tend to cluster in certain occupations. Table 2 shows the top ten occupations worked by Illinoisans with nonstandard schedules.¹²

The table ranks occupations that are high in nonstandard work hours (evenings, nights and variable hours) separately from occupations high in weekend work. Several occupations appear in the top ten of both rankings. For example, in the second row of Table 2, *cashiers* is the second occupation of those Illinoisans with nonstandard hours, employing 5.1 percent of all workers with nonstandard hours, and it is in second place among Illinoisans who work weekends, with 3.9 percent of those workers. Eight occupations appear in both rankings, with a total of twelve different occupations in the top ten of one or the other ranking.

Together these twelve large occupations employ over 36 percent of all Illinois workers with nonstandard hours and almost 33 percent of employees who work weekends. These occupations also tend to pay lower incomes. Of the twelve occupations, only one (*managers, all other*) paid typical earnings in 2004 above that year’s median Illinois family income of about \$ 60,377. Nine of the twelve occupations typically paid *less than half* of Illinois’ 2004 median family income (less than \$30,189) and less than the typical individual income in Illinois, \$28,806.

Table 2. Where They Work and What They Earn					
The Top Ten Occupations of Employees Who Work Nonstandard Schedules in Illinois, Ranked by Non-Day and Weekend Schedules, with Median 2004 Income For Occupation					
Rank in Current Population Survey				Percentage of All Survey Respondents with Non-standard Schedules in Occupation	
Works Non-	Works	2004	Occupation	Work Non-	Work

¹¹ While 20 percent of all fathers with children under age 5 who have employed mothers provide their children’s primary care, if the mother works most of her hours before 8 AM or after 4 PM, that percentage grows to 32 percent. About 36 percent of children under age 5 receive regular child care from fathers when mothers work the majority of their hours outside of the day shift, compared to 22 percent when mothers work most of their hours between 8 AM and 4 PM; the comparable percentages are about 29 and 18 percent respectively for school-age children. Siblings, grandparents and other relatives also provide more care under that circumstance. *Who’s Minding the Kids? Child Care Arrangements: Winter 2002*, U.S. Census Bureau, Oct. 2005, Figure 4 and Tables 2 and 4.

¹² Presser found comparable occupations in 1997 national data; see *Working in a 24/7 Economy*, Ch. 2, *ibid*.

Table 3. The Ten Largest Occupations in Illinois: Their Pay and Work Schedules

Rank in Illinois	Occupation	Median Income 2004 *	2002 Employment **	Percent Working Nonstandard Schedules #	Estimated Employees Working Nonstandard Schedules
1	Retail Salespersons	\$ 18,624	166,175	71%	118,150
2	Cashiers	\$ 16,119	150,901	73%	109,403
3	Laborers & Freight/StockMovrs, Hand	\$ 19,673	137,066	42%	57,989
4	Office Clerks, General	\$ 23,815	133,365	29%	38,142
5	General and Operations Managers	\$ 69,377	110,509	27%	29,469
6	Janitors & Cleaners, exc Maid/Hskpr	\$ 20,346	105,302	45%	47,597
7	Registered Nurses	\$ 48,954	99,073	69%	68,757
8	Managers, All Other	\$ 67,992	91,606	37%	33,854
9	Waiters and Waitresses	\$ 13,738	91,293	96%	87,915
10	Customer Service Representatives	\$ 28,510	86,660	46%	39,430
	Total, Top 10 Occupations	na	1,171,950	54%	630,708
	All Illinois Occupations	na	6,308,024	41%	2,586,290

* Illinois Department of Employment Security, 2nd quarter 2004.

** Illinois Department of Employment Security, Employment Projections.

From analysis of Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample.

Figure 4. Employees with Nonstandard Work Schedules in 10 Largest Illinois Occupations

2004 Current Population Survey & IL Dept. of Employment Security for 2002

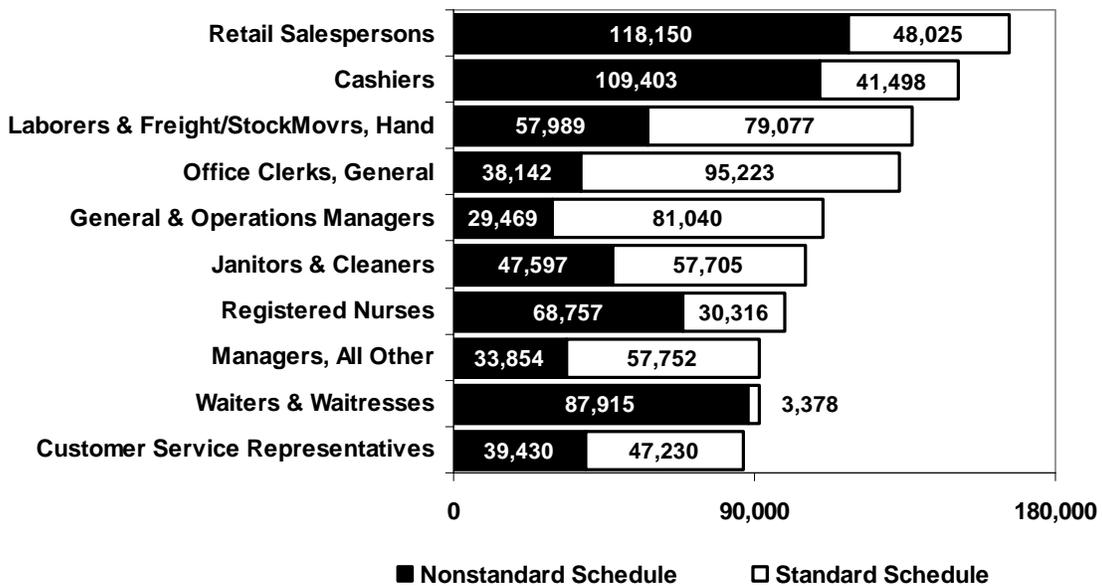


Figure 4 shows the proportions of employees with standard and nonstandard schedules in these occupations.

What about the future of occupations, income and work schedules in Illinois? Table 4 presents the ten Illinois occupations expected to grow the most new jobs between 2002 and 2012. Together the ten occupations are projected to contribute almost 24 percent of Illinois' job growth, or 147,626 jobs.¹³ These ten occupations also tend to have large numbers of jobs with nonstandard work schedules. Of the ten occupations, six have a higher percentage of employees working nonstandard schedules than the current Illinois average of 41 percent (see the last column of the table).¹⁴

If the expected trend holds in each of the top ten occupations, 48 percent of these new jobs, or over 70,000 new jobs, will have nonstandard work schedules by 2012. Table 14 does not include information on future incomes in these growing occupations, but the reader who compares the occupations in Table 4 with the current earnings information in Tables 2 and 3 will confirm that the median earnings in these occupations in Illinois tend to be lower than the typical individual income. Although predicting the future is always very risky, current trends suggest that the close relationship between below-average incomes and nonstandard work schedules will hold for many working people in Illinois.

Table 4. Nonstandard Schedules in the Ten Occupations with the Highest Projected Job Growth in Illinois, 2002 – 2012.

	Occupation	(1) Work Other Than Day Time	(2) Work Weekend	(3) Nonstandard Schedule: Either (1) or (2) or both
1	Registered Nurses	27%	56%	58%
2	Retail Salespersons	21%	79%	82%
3	Business Operations Specialists, AO	0%	0%	0%
4	Janitors & Cleaners	40%	20%	50%
5	Customer Service Representatives	22%	31%	34%
6	Waiters and Waitresses	46%	88%	92%
7	Food Prep & Service Workers, Fast Food ¹³	0%	0%	0%
8	General and Operations Managers	20%	40%	40%
9	Cashiers	35%	69%	72%
10	Truck Drivers, Heavy/Tractor Trailer	16%	38%	44%

Sources: Illinois Department of Employment Security & Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample.

¹³ Illinois Department Employment Security, <http://lmi.ides.state.il.us/projections/employproj.htm>, downloaded 3/22/05. These will provide one-quarter of Illinois' total projected increase of 620,376 jobs over that period. In Illinois, women hold 58 percent of the current jobs in these occupations, while Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Blacks each hold about 11 percent of these jobs, according to Current Population Survey data.

¹⁴ Fast Food Preparation & Service Workers were clearly under-represented in the Illinois sample of the Current Population Survey. It is implausible that no fast food industry workers in Illinois work nonstandard schedules, as the survey results would indicate because patrons frequent fast food restaurants evenings, nights and weekends. Since the fast food workforce is widely regarded as among the youngest and least stable industry workforces *as a whole*, moreover, it is more likely that the survey failed to reach or obtain completed surveys from these workers. Consequently it is possible that fast food workers make up a seventh high growth occupation with an above-average proportion of jobs with nonstandard hours.

Part Two: WHAT REASONS DO ILLINOISANS GIVE FOR WORKING NONSTANDARD WORK SCHEDULES?

The quality of our work and family lives depends in part on whether we can choose work schedules that make the best sense for our families. Sometimes the choice among alternatives is not clear. For example, two parents could work different schedules so that one of them is always available to care for their children. Yet they might be sacrificing time they could share with each other or with friends and relatives who work different shifts. If they choose to work different shifts, they are doing the best they can under the circumstances and improving the quality of their children's lives, but these circumstances may also have negative outcomes for the quality of their family and social lives.

The Current Population Survey supplement asked people who work nonstandard hours the reason they have the work schedule they do.¹⁵ For comparison we report first the answers of all Illinoisans, regardless of whether they have children, and then report parents' answers. Of Illinoisans who work nonstandard *hours* (just evening, night, variable, rotating or split shifts), a significant 11 percent reported that their primary reason for working their current schedules was to obtain better child or family care arrangements.¹⁶ Six percent of the men and 17 percent of women answered this way. By comparison 8 percent of respondents reported that the reason they worked their particular shift was that they could not get any other job (9 percent of men and 7 percent of women) and half said it was due to the nature of the job.

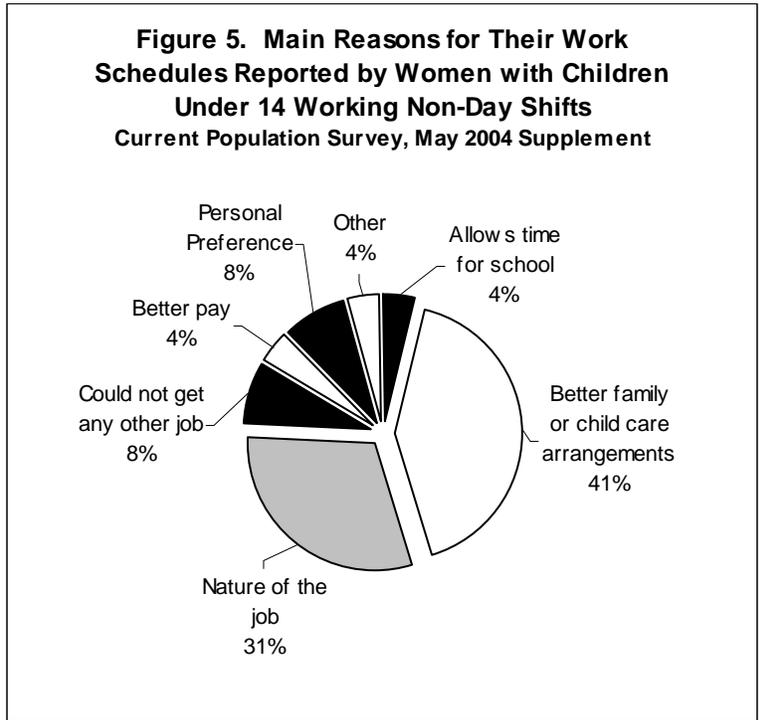
Looking at parents of children under age 14, far larger percentages of parents who worked nonstandard hours cited better child or family care as the primary reason for their work schedule if they had such children. Figure 5 shows that 41 percent of the mothers said that the main reason for their schedule is to obtain better child or family care arrangements.¹⁷ By contrast, only eight percent attributed their work schedule to economic necessity, reporting that they could not get any other job. About 31 percent attributed their work schedule to the nature of the job. Another 8 percent cite personal reasons for their work schedule. As for men with children under age 14, 16 percent cite better child or family care arrangements as the reason for their schedules.

¹⁵ Only 369 answered. They could choose from among these answers:

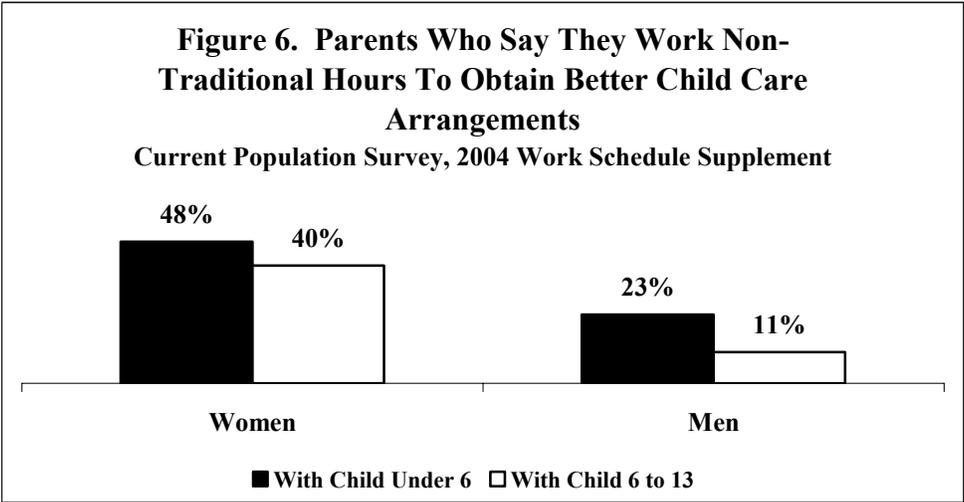
- Better arrangements for family or child care
- Better pay
- Allows time for school
- Could not get any other job
- Local transportation or pollution control program
- Nature of job
- Personal preference
- Some other reason
- No response or don't know

¹⁶ Only adults who work predominately evenings or nights were asked this question. People who work weekends were not asked why they work weekend schedules. The 11 percent of Illinoisans is almost twice as high as the national percentage of adults who cited child care as a reason four years earlier in 1997, Presser, *ibid*.

¹⁷ Again, mothers who work weekends were not asked this question unless they also work evenings, nights or variable shifts. The actual percentage that reported that the main reason for their work schedule is to obtain better child and family care arrangements was 41 percent. Because the group that answered this question is relatively small, however, we cannot confidently say much more than "between one-quarter and one-half of mothers who work evenings and nights report that the main reason for their work schedule is to obtain better child and family care arrangements."



Mothers of young children cite child or family care even more frequently as the reason for their working nontraditional hours. Figure 6 below divides the group of working parents who reported that better child care arrangements are the reason for their schedules into men and women and the age of their children. It shows that more mothers and fathers of children under age 6 cited better child or family care arrangements as a reason for their nonstandard schedule than parents of older children.



Part Three: CHILD CARE. How are work schedules related to access to child care, family structure and family income?

Families find that work and child care arrangements interact in complex and sometimes conflicting ways. Many parents need to place their children in care in order to go to work. Their jobs, in turn, not only must supply enough income to pay for their child care, but also place demands upon parents' time that make it difficult or easy to use child care. The three family decision processes described in Appendix D display that complexity. We now turn to the impact of those decisions on work schedules and child care.

1. Do nonstandard work schedules limit families' access to child care?

This section compares the schedules offered by formal child care centers and homes with work schedules of Illinoisans. Part One showed that 42 percent of working Illinoisans with children under age 14 work significant non-traditional hours – evenings, nights and/or weekends. Even with children under age 6, about 44 percent of Illinoisans work such schedules. Child care programs in Illinois, however, tend to provide only daytime care on Monday through Friday. For example, Table 5 shows that of 13,007 full-time child care centers and homes listed with Illinois' Child Care Resource and Referral Programs in 2004, only 16 percent offered child care during evening hours, 11 percent offered night hours and 8 percent offered care during weekend hours.¹⁸

TABLE 5. ILLINOIS CHILD CARE PROVIDERS WITH NON-TRADITIONAL CARE Source: Illinois Department of Human Services, <i>Illinois Child Care Report FY 2004</i>		
Type of Child Care	Total	Percent of all Listed Centers or Homes
Illinois Child Care Center and Home Providers Offering Full-time Care (of 15,900 listed)	13,007	100%
With Evening Schedule	2,102	16%
With Overnight Schedule	1,476	11%
With Weekend Schedule	1,141	8%
Allow Rotating Shifts	5,076	39%

Not all types of child care providers offer non-traditional schedules in the same proportion, however. To show how centers and homes differ in this respect, Table 6 presents information on about 5,376 full or part-time child care centers and 10,524 child care homes listed with Illinois' Child Care Resource and Referral Programs in 2004. Only about 15 percent of centers offered non-traditional hours of care compared to 59 percent of child care homes. For all categories – evening care, overnight care, weekend care and care during rotating shifts – homes offered non-traditional hours of care far in excess of centers.

¹⁸ Here standard hours are defined as 6 AM to 6 PM; evenings, 6:01 - 9:59 PM; and overnight care, 10 PM - 5:59 AM.

TABLE 6
ILLINOIS CHILD CARE PROVIDERS WITH NON-TRADITIONAL CARE
Source: Illinois Network of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies, June 2005

Type of Child Care	Total	Percent of all Listed Centers or Homes
Total Listed Child Care Centers	5,376	100%
Centers with Non-Traditional Care	780	15%
Evenings	85	2%
Overnights	22	0%
Weekends	39	1%
Rotating Shifts	705	13%
Total Listed Family Child Care Homes	10,524	100%
Homes with Non-Traditional Care	6,231	59%
Evenings	2,715	26%
Overnights	1,722	16%
Weekends	1,085	10%
Rotating Shifts	4,715	45%

Providers have a number of reasons for this pattern. Some have found that sufficient numbers of parents will not enroll their children during non-traditional hours. Parents, for example, may be reluctant to make their children sleep a significant amount of time away from home. Other providers would offer care if they could cover the additional expenses incurred by operating during non-traditional hours, such as bedrooms and kitchens. Other providers prefer not to work non-traditional hours themselves, or find the additional responsibilities of that work difficult.

Because child care is relatively scarce during non-traditional hours, especially at centers, many parents need to seek other options. If a spouse or partner is not available to provide care, some parents ask family members, friends and/or neighbors to care for their children in more informal arrangements while they work. They also might choose a work schedule that matches the availability of a spouse, a partner, family members, friends and/or neighbors.

At this point we would like to report on the child care choices families with different work schedules make. Unfortunately such data on child care choices are not available and represent one of the greatest gaps in research on the relationships between work and child care. In general, surveys that collect detailed data from families on their work schedules have neglected to ask families about their child care arrangements, and surveys that collect detailed data on families' child care arrangements

have not asked about family work schedules. In some instances limited data are available, and researchers have found that parents with nonstandard schedules are more likely to share parenting, use informal care and use multiple child care arrangements.¹⁹

Because of limitations in the Illinois data, this report proceeds with more limited ambitions. We look at connections between work schedules, family structure, income and occupation, draw implications for families' child care choices, and define questions for future research.

2. How do differences among types of families affect work schedules?

As we noted in the Introduction, a family's structure is a highly specific background to its decision concerning work, income and child care. Because parents have such variety and complexity in their immediate and extended families, it is difficult to generalize about their access to child care. Nevertheless, we do have important data on the two family types that have the most difficulty gaining access to child care: single working parents and those married couples in which both adults work outside of the home.

Examining the work schedules of married couples and single working parents will help us understand the work and child care schedules that both kinds of families have. Before beginning we should elaborate on some important limitations in the data collected by the Current Population Survey. First, for neither single working parents nor couples do we have data on other relatives, friends or neighbors who might be available for child care. Second, we particularly lack data on non-married couples. We have clear data on only two groups of parents in couples: dual earner married couples (married couples, both working) and married couples with only one spouse working. We will compare these to the work schedules of single parents.²⁰

Dual earner married couples, with and without children

¹⁹ Presser *ibid.*, Ch. 5 & 7, finds this with the National Survey of Families and Households. See also Wen-Jui Han, "Nonstandard Work Schedules And Child Care Decisions: Evidence From The NICHD Study Of Early Child Care," *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 2004, 19(2), 231-256. Julia R. Henly, Elizabeth O. Ananat, Sandra K. Danziger partially confirm these findings for low-income mothers' work schedules and child care in a single Michigan county in "Nonstandard Employment, Child Care Subsidies, and Child Care Arrangements," paper presented at the 27th annual meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington D.C., November 5, 2005, draft. For a discussion of the general issues, also see Julia R. Henly, "Managing Work And Child Care Responsibilities In The Retail Sector: Informal Relationships And Their Limits," Working Paper, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 2003.

²⁰ The Current Population Survey lets respondents answer about their family type from these alternatives:

- Married – spouse present
- Married - spouse absent
- Widowed
- Divorced
- Separated
- Never married

We call the group that includes everyone but "married - spouse present" either "all other women" or "single women" when we refer to women. The latter term signifies not a legal status but the fact that a spouse is not present. Obviously the Current Population Survey's categories are not comprehensive for analyzing the care of children. First, the classification ignores some family types, such as partners living together. Just because a married spouse is not present, moreover, does not mean that the spouse or other caregivers are unavailable to care for a child. We hypothesize that if such information were available for Illinois and the nation, we would observe even more pronounced differences.

Table 7 reports the work schedules of dual-earner married couples in Illinois with and without children of different ages. Column C shows that 50 percent of all dual-earner couples have at least one spouse working a non-traditional schedule. Table 7 also shows that spouses in dual-earner couples are much more likely to work weekends (45 percent) than work non-day or variable hours (24 percent).

Having children matters. Only a minority (about 45 percent) of dual-earner couples *without* children under 14 have a spouse working non-traditional schedules. With a child under age 14, however, the majority (about 57 percent) of dual-earning couples have at least one spouse working a non-traditional schedule. This perspective offers one of the more striking views of dilemmas of contemporary family life. Apparently a majority of working couples without children under 14 both prefer working standard schedules and succeed at getting them. Of those working couples who have such children, a majority have at least one parent working a nonstandard schedule.

	A. At Least One Spouse Works Nonstandard Hours	B. At Least One Spouse Works Weekends	C. At Least One Spouse Works Nonstandard Hours and/or Weekends
All dual-earners	24%	45%	50%
No child under 14	19%	43%	45%
Child under 14	30%	48%	57%
Child under 6	30%	51%	58%

Source: Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample.

Table 7 also shows one critical factor among dual earner couples: having children under age 14 increases the incidence of dual earner spouses working non-day or variable hours from 19 percent to 30 percent (Column A). By comparison, having such children also raises the percentage of spouses working weekends, but much less, from 43 percent to 48 percent (Column B).

One interpretation of this is that these parents take on evening and night work, and to a lesser extent, weekend work, in order to stagger child care, or in other words, to arrange for one parent or other family member to care for their children while a parent works. If this occurs widely, as we noted earlier, these work schedules for dual earning couples with children might well adversely affect the quality of their family life. We do not currently have data on these parents' actual use of child care to test whether this hypothesis is accurate.

Married and single women, with and without children

Table 8 shows that a higher percentage of *single women* work nonstandard hours than married women with a spouse present – 45 percent to 37 percent. This is true for both single women without children

(43 percent to 34 percent) and single mothers of children under age 14 (53 percent to 41 percent).²¹ Since many single parents do not have the option of staggering work schedules with another present parent, we might expect the single mothers to have a lower incidence of working nonstandard shifts so that they can be with their children evenings, nights and weekends.²² The fact that over one-half of single mothers work nonstandard schedules suggests that many either have fewer employment opportunities than married mothers or that they are more dependent on caregivers available only during evening, night and weekend hours.

Table 8. Percentage of Women Who Work Non-Traditional Schedules, by Presence of a Spouse & At Least One Child, by Age Group.

	Married, Husband Present	Single, Separated, Divorced or Widowed
All women working non-day or variable shifts and/or weekends	37%	45%
With no child under 14	34%	43%
With at least one child under 14	41%	53%
With at least one child under 6	43%	56%
With at least one child 6 to 13	42%	51%

Source: Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample. Includes women employed both part-time and full-time.

While more single mothers work nonstandard schedules than mothers with a present spouse, having a child under 14 makes a *similar* impact on the work schedules of both. In Table 8 the proportion of women who work nonstandard shifts grows ten percentage points with the presence of children for women without a spouse present (from 43 to 53 percent) and seven percentage points (from 34 to 41 percent) for women with a present spouse.

School-Age Children

We have generally not focused on parents of children in the school age group by itself, children ages 6 through 13. Table 8 allows us to do this. It confirms that more single women with school age children work nonstandard schedules than married mothers of those children, as is true for children of all age groups. It also shows something else. The final row of the table indicates that single women

²¹ The percentages include both part-time and full-time workers. They are lower for women employed only full-time.

²² Some single parents, however, have the other parent available or can find reliable family members, friends or neighbors to serve as caregivers with whom they do perhaps stagger work hours.

with children are somewhat less likely to work non-standard hours if their children are school age than if their children are under age six. Since we have no particular reason to expect that single mothers of children under age six have fewer daytime work options than single mothers of older children, we interpret this difference in work schedules to be a matter of choice rather than labor market opportunities.

3. How do the cost of child care and families' ability to pay for child care affect work schedules in Illinois? And how do work schedules affect families' ability to pay?

We have seen in detail that parents' use of nonstandard work schedules in Illinois is quite substantial and that few child care centers or licensed homes offer care during these nonstandard times. Consequently many parents cannot receive child care from established programs during the actual hours they work.²³ Many of these families rely on family, friend and neighbor care.

This outcome could be a matter of choice, in that many employed parents might prefer that a spouse, relative, neighbor or friend care for their child while they themselves are on the job, and thus choose a schedule that allows for that. As we have seen, many mothers report that they work nonstandard schedules for reasons of making better child care arrangements rather than for economic reasons.

The distinction between choosing schedules for better child care arrangements and working them for economic necessity is not always clear, however, for the following reasons. Many formal child care programs are expensive, as we shall see, and high costs limit the viable child care options. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many parents work nonstandard hours because standard child care programs are too expensive for them. In such cases, "making better child care arrangements" means choosing among available child care options that remain after eliminating the unduly expensive ones – often centers and licensed family child care homes.

Analysts of child care choice usually think of child care expense as affecting the *type of care* parents choose – whether they choose formal child care centers and homes or less expensive care by friends, family or neighbors – not so much the schedule of care. But expense can also affect the care schedule parents choose. For some parents, relatives are available to provide inexpensive care only at nights or on weekends. So parents may choose to work at those times. Because of the complex way that child care expense interacts with parents' choice of child care provider and their choice of work schedule, it is critical to integrate the affordability of child care in our analysis.

How affordable is child care in Illinois?

Two key economic elements, of course, affect child care access: the price parents must pay for care and their ability to pay that price, or their family income. In Illinois in 2004 the average cost for full-time licensed care for an infant in a child care center was \$9,086 while the average cost was \$6,544 for a pre-school age child.²⁴ Median family income in Illinois was \$60,387 in 2004.²⁵ Typical Illinois families would spend 15 percent of their income on average-priced care for an infant in a child care

²³ It might mean that parents' nonstandard schedules allow them to take their children to formal child care or education programs during the standard day.

²⁴ Illinois Network of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies, 2004.

²⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, the 2004 American Community Survey.

center. Paying the average child care center price for two children, one infant and one four-year old, would cost the typical Illinois family over 25 percent of its income.

Is 15 or 25 percent of a family's income too much to pay for child care? What is the proper proportion between child care expenses and income? There is no generally accepted level that analysts agree is the "proper" percentage. Researchers have concentrated instead on the amount that the average family actually pays. Most national studies since the 1990s found that two-parent middle-income families paid between 6 percent and 10 percent of their income for child care.²⁶ Using 10 percent as a rule of thumb, we calculate that a family in 2003 would have had to earn at least the State median family income, or between \$59,000 and \$87,000 for a single child in care, and up to \$146,000 for both an infant and a four-year old in care.²⁷ With a lower income the family would need to pay a higher percentage of its income for such care.

Figure 7 develops the story of child care affordability in more detail, in this case for Cook County for a family of four.²⁸ It presents the cost of care for just one child as a percentage of different family incomes ranging from \$10,000 to \$200,000. The chart's four lines are cost lines, with the highest cost line representing the high price of center care for an infant and the lowest cost level representing the more affordable price of family, friend or neighbor care. They show the cost of four kinds of child care as percentages of the different income levels on the horizontal axis. The chart is realistic in the sense that it includes the effect of receiving Illinois Child Care Assistance, which is available to a family of low income if all present parents are employed.²⁹

Figure 7 shows that with an income between about \$15,000 and \$35,000 a family of four would spend an average of between 5 percent and 15 percent of its income for full-time care for one child, depending on age and type of care (center, licensed home, or family-friend-or-neighbor). Licensed home and center care are more expensive on average, as noted above, while informal neighbor and relative care is on average less costly. It is Illinois Child Care Assistance alone that makes it possible for child care to fall below 13 percent of a working family's income at \$35,000. If the working family's income rises above \$35,000, the family ceases to be eligible for Illinois Child Care Assistance and most child care costs shoot up to a prohibitively high percentage of the family's income: 16 to 27 percent. Only family, friend and neighbor care change little as a percentage of income and remain affordable for families earning \$35,000.

Figure 7 shows that once a family's income rises above \$35,000 it takes an income of between \$66,000 and \$115,000 before the cost of most types of child care returns to 10 percent of the family's income. For a family earning less than \$66,000, only informal family, friend or neighbor child care is

²⁶ See for example, the National Child Care Survey, 1990 and *Child Care Expenses of American Families*, Urban Institute, 1997. The Census Bureau finds that child care payments average 6.9 percent for families with mothers and children under 15, and average 7.2 percent if the mother has a job. Having more children or lower incomes raises the percentages. *Who's Minding the Kids? Child Care Arrangements: Winter 2002*, US Bureau of the Census, Oct. 2005, Table 6.

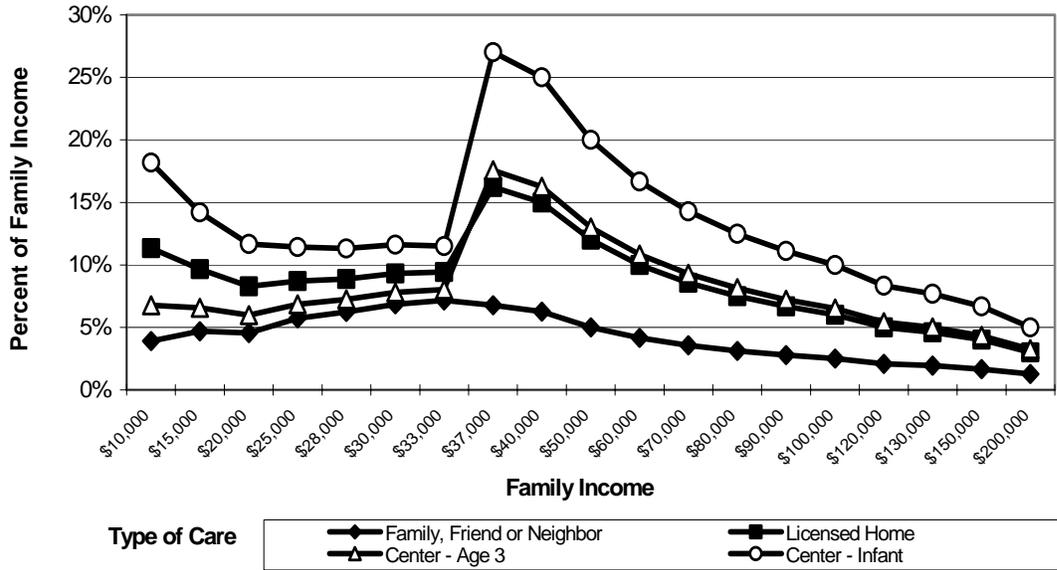
²⁷ If we used 6 percent as a rule of thumb, these incomes would be, respectively, \$98,300, \$145,000 and \$243,300.

²⁸ Since the Illinois Child Care Assistance Program reimburses child care providers at different rates in different parts of the state, a single chart for Illinois as a whole would be unreadable. For details, see the following:
http://www.actforchildren.org/uploads/documents/live/Cost_of_Care_1Child_Family_of_4_FY06.pdf.

²⁹ In some cases, the parent(s) can be in school instead of working. The chart assumes that parents receiving Child Care Assistance pay their assigned co-payment as well as the difference between the price their child care provider charges and the rate their provider is reimbursed by the Child Care Assistance Program.

affordable at 10 percent of family income.³⁰ These higher incomes, needless to say, are substantially above the typical family income in Illinois.

Figure 7. What Families Need to Spend on Child Care
Family Size of 4, 1 Child in Care



In short, most Illinois parents face a *dilemma of affordability* in child care. They need child care in order to take jobs; yet they have few affordable child care options. Most child care options cost a prohibitively high percentage of a family’s income in Illinois.

As we saw in Part One, Illinoisans who work non-traditional schedules tend to earn lower incomes and thus face the dilemma of affordability. Limited data also show that Illinoisans with children are more likely to work non-traditional schedules. This is true no matter their level of income, but is particularly true for families with lower earnings. We will look briefly at two examples of this, married couples and single women.

Married couples’ incomes, child care, and work schedules

First, Table 9 reports on dual earner married couples, those married couples in which both spouses are employed outside of the home, with at least one spouse working non-traditional schedules. The table divides those families of this type into a lower-income group, earning less than \$50,000 annually and a higher-earning group earning \$50,000 or more. This cutoff is reasonably close to the Illinois median family income of about \$55,546 reported in the 2000 Census. For these two income groups, Table 9 compares the percentages that have at least one spouse working nonstandard schedules, either

³⁰ If we chose 7 percent, instead of 10 percent, to illustrate the most a family should pay, families would need a much higher income: a minimum of \$155,000 according to Figure 7.

evenings, nights, variable hours split shifts or weekends. The lower income group is more likely to work nonstandard schedules.

Note that Table 9 does not tell us whether spouses work nonstandard schedules because they are lower-earning employees or they are lower-earners because they work nonstandard schedules. That question needs additional research. Table 9 does tell us that about 68 percent of all couples with incomes below \$50,000 have at least one spouse working a nonstandard schedule. As the affordability chart in Figure 7 above shows, this group will on average find access to child care in Illinois very expensive unless accommodating family, friends and neighbors provide the care. Even with Child Care Assistance they will pay between 6 and 18 percent of their income for other types of care, and without Assistance they will pay considerably more.

Table 9. Percentage of Dual-Earner Married Couples with at Least One Spouse Working Non-traditional Schedules, by income and age of child		
	Family income less than \$50,000	Family income \$50,000 or more
All dual-earners	67.9%	50.3%
No child under 14	56.1%	48.3%
Child under 14	79.1%	53.1%
Child under 6	79.2%	53.8%
Child 6 to 13	78.6%	57.4%

Source: Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample.

Single women’s incomes, child care, and work schedules

A similar pattern appears among single women, as Table 10 confirms. First the table divides single women into those earning under \$25,000 annually and those earning more than that. This cutoff is reasonably close to the typical individual income for women in Illinois of \$20,364 collected two years earlier for the 2000 Census. The table shows that income plays a role for single women similar to the role it plays for the couples. Those single women who earn less than \$25,000 annually tend to work nonstandard schedules in greater proportion than those earning more than \$25,000 (61.4 percent to 37.8 percent).

Table 10. Single Women Working Non-Traditional Schedules, by Income and Age of Child		
	Earning less than \$25,000	Earning \$25,000 or more
All single women	61.4%	37.8%
No child under 14	57.4%	36.6%
Child under 14	67.5%	40.7%
Child under 6	66.7%	42.5%
Child 6 to 13	71.4%	41.3%

Source: Current Population Survey, 2004, May supplement, Illinois sample.

Researchers need to investigate whether these women work non-traditional schedules because they have fewer labor market opportunities or because it is a preference, especially if it is related to their preferred child care arrangements. Whether or not their work schedules are a matter of choice, however, clearly these women will find family, friend and relative care the more readily available type of care and also generally less costly than other kinds of care.

Conclusions about affordability

As we have seen, many parents work a nontraditional schedule because that schedule is required by the only job they can find or the best job they can find. In this report we are interested not only in the options parents have in the labor market but also in two questions about the relatively high expense of child care and work schedules. First, what are the impacts of high child care expense on parents' choice of provider and on their work schedules? Second, what is the impact of parents' work schedules on their ability to pay for child care, and thus on their choice of provider?

The first question has been answered implicitly. Family, friend and neighbor child care is generally the cheaper for most family incomes than licensed or center child care. Of course parents do not choose child care based solely on its price.³¹ Nevertheless as the affordability chart shows, no matter whether a family has low earnings and is eligible to receive Illinois Child Care Assistance or enjoys a higher income, using family, friend or neighbor care will be cheaper. There is little wonder, then, that most Illinoisans use informal neighbor or relative child care if they have trusted providers available, and those with lower incomes have fewer child care options even if they work standard hours.³²

If, furthermore, a parent's preferred family, friend or neighbor child care provider works on a traditional schedule at another job, then the provider is available for child care only at nontraditional times. This could lead a parent to seek a job with a non-traditional work schedule.

Some parents, however, might very well have followed a different path in their decision making process, a path that starts with working a job with a non-traditional schedule – either by choice or necessity – and ends with choosing child care that fits that job both in terms of schedule and affordability. We have seen that many families who work non-traditional schedules will not find child care centers or licensed homes open for their children during their non-traditional work hours. They naturally gravitate toward family, friend and neighbor child care. Since those who work non-traditional hours tend to earn lower incomes, moreover, we see that earning lower income and seeking affordable child care also give parents a push in the direction of family, friend and neighbor child care. This answers our second question: to what extent do work schedules affect the affordability of child care and therefore the choice of caregiver? The tendency for this to happen is strong so long as nonstandard work hours correlate with lower rates of pay.

Whatever the decision path parents take, the connection between parents working non-traditional schedules and their using family, friend and neighbor care is substantial. According to one survey of parents with low incomes, 70 percent of parents who use family, friends or relatives for child care rely

³¹ Other things some parents like about family, friend and neighbor care include that fact that the provider is well-known to the parent and often more trusted by and responsive to the parent.

³² Presumably in this search, a parent might attribute her/his work schedule to “making better child care arrangements,” in responding to the Current Population Survey, even though affordability issues are at the heart of his/her choice.

on that type of care during nonstandard work hours. Some 54 percent needed at least some evening care, 16 percent needed some overnight care and 48 percent needed some weekend care.³³

³³ Since the surveyed parents had Illinois Child Care Assistance we know that they were working, in school or in transit during these hours. Steven G. Anderson, Dawn M. Ramsburg and Jeff Scott, *Illinois Study of License-Exempt Child Care: Final Report*, Illinois Department of Human Services, March 2005. p. 82. Note that these numbers are also consistent with parents being required to work non-standard schedules. The numbers are very substantial insofar as the majority of the 220,000 children with Illinois Child Care Assistance are in family, friend or neighbor care. Nevertheless we cannot easily put them into context: since the survey lacked a control group for comparison, we do not have percentages for parents who use center care or licensed-home care during nonstandard schedules.

4. Summary

Much like the nation as a whole, Illinoisans work nonstandard schedules in substantial numbers – 41 percent or about 2.5 million employees. The larger portion works weekends, but about 1.2 million employees work mostly non-daytime hours.³⁴ In families with children under age 14, a similar 42 percent work nonstandard schedules, and in some types of families the percentage runs above 50 percent.

If Illinois employment projections are accurate, the frequency of working nontraditional work schedules will increase.

Among the quality of life challenges these work schedules present to working parents, one substantial challenge is finding suitable child care. Only a minority of licensed and center-based child care programs offers evening, night or weekend hours. Many parents, then, must stagger their work schedules so that one parent is always free for child care, or they must find another relative, friend or neighbor to provide informal child care and coordinate child care and work with them.

In addition, the cost of child care programs and lower earnings in nonstandard work schedules tend to push parents toward staggered work schedules or informal care. Center-based and licensed home child care for an infant can average 15 percent of the typical family income (25 to 30 percent for two children). Family, friend and neighbor care tends to be significantly cheaper. The earnings of employees in occupations with high proportions of nonstandard schedules, moreover, tend to be lower than typical earnings in Illinois. Many of these employees will thus find center-based and licensed child care relatively even more expensive than does the typical Illinois family.

Illinois mothers say they work nonstandard schedules in order to obtain better child and family care arrangements, as do a substantial minority of fathers. Data show that a majority of children in Illinois receive informal care from relatives, friends and neighbors rather than licensed or center-based care, and many probably receive staggered parental care. We do not, however, have precise numbers of those families that use informal care or staggered parental care because of their work schedules, or inversely, families that choose nonstandard work schedules to match their arrangements for informal care or staggered parental care. Those numbers require further research.

This report establishes several correlations that are consistent with the view that many parents tailor their work schedules to match their child care arrangements or match child care to nonstandard work schedules, or both. Having children makes a difference to work schedule. Notable are these:

- Employed couples and single mothers are more likely to work nonstandard schedules if they have children under age 14. They are less likely to work nonstandard schedules if they have no child under 14.
- Employed women are more likely to work nonstandard schedules if they have a child under 14.
- If employed couples with children and single mothers have lower-than-typical incomes, they are more likely to work nonstandard schedules. Higher-income couples and single mothers have a lower rate of

³⁴ The 41 percent includes a small number (about 9 percent) who work solely during standard hours but in variable or rotating shifts.

working nonstandard schedules, as might be expected, but having children increases their rate of working such schedules as well.

Part Four: Public Policy Options Concerning Work Schedules and Child Care

The key role of child care schedules is critical in at least two public policy arenas:

- Developing child care programs (or child care supply) and child care support policies.
- Developing effective family support policies and family-friendly employment standards.

Below we review some policy options in each area. In this review our key assumption is that because of the adverse ways it affects the quality of family and working life, a nonstandard work schedule is often not what a family would choose if it had better options than it currently has. The point of the policy review, then, is to summarize ways that public policy can increase the number and quality of child care and work options available to families. We do not argue for any particular approach here.

Developing Child Care Programs and Assistance Paying for Child Care

A. Developing programs during non-traditional hours. We saw that few center or licensed home programs offer child care during non-traditional hours. One possible support for working parents and student parents is to design and subsidize more such programs for parents willing to use them. The public sector and the non-profit sector could cooperate in this. They would have to overcome problems the State of Illinois found in piloting such programming (See Appendix C). Another option for large employers of parents with nonstandard schedules is to offer on-site or near-site care. Programs offering satisfactory hours and quality could be subsidized. In developing new pilot projects for expanding the hours of care, policy makers could start with weekend care, since more parents with nonstandard work schedules work weekends than other hours (though that would miss some of the least well-off parents who tend to work evenings, nights or irregular schedules).

B. Providing higher levels of child care assistance to more families. Helping make child care more affordable during traditional hours will reduce the incentive of some parents to choose non-traditional schedules. This approach applies best to those parents who have four characteristics. They

1. Currently use family, friend or neighbor care for non-traditional hours;
2. Find much alternative child care unaffordable;³⁵
3. Are not averse to using other types of care than they are now using during standard hours if it is affordable and
4. Have the option of choosing traditional work schedules, if child care is accessible.

³⁵ We should note that a study conducted for the Illinois Department of Human Services found that some parents who use family, friend and neighbor care misunderstand the Illinois Child Care Assistance Program co-payment system. They believe that required family co-payments are higher for center care than for family, friend or neighbor care. See Steven G. Anderson, Dawn M. Ramsburg and Jeff Scott, *Illinois Study of License-Exempt Child Care: Final Report*, 2005. Better parent education on the how the program works might increase parents' views of their affordable options.

Probably not all parents would switch to traditional work schedules if available child care became more affordable during traditional hours. The hypothesis here is that if they have access to lower-cost child care of sufficient quality, some parents would choose to rely less on relatives who can care for children in the evening, at night, on weekends, or over split, rotating or variable shifts. Others would rely less on their spouse splitting child care duties.

The State of Illinois currently supports child care for working parents whose incomes are below 50 percent of the state median. Since it has helped some parents afford daytime weekday child care, that assistance has perhaps kept the percentage of Illinoisans working nonstandard schedules as low as 41 percent. The State should consider expanding this program in two ways to give more parents the option of working daytime weekday hours. First, the State could offer a higher level of assistance that reduces the family's cost of child care below the ten percent level (lowers the cost lines in Figure 7). Second, the State could offer assistance to families with higher levels of income, in order to reduce the sharp spike in cost in the lines in Figure 7 and bring child care below the range of 10 percent of family income.³⁶

C. Improving Opportunities for Children in Family, Friend and Neighbor Care

We have seen that parents with nontraditional work schedules and their attendant income levels may have little choice but to place their children in family, friend or neighbor care. The main concern for children in family, friend or neighbor care is that in many instances the children may not receive the educational and developmental services that better-schooled professionals in centers or licensed family child care homes can offer. To the extent that this concern is accurate, one policy option is to bring educational services to the child and the child's provider, rather than provide licensed programs during the non-traditional hours of care. Another is to tailor formal early education opportunities specifically for these children.

Illinois Action for Children is piloting one program model that does both. Through its Community Connections project, three, four and five year old children who participate in the state's child care subsidy program spend 12½ hours each week in pre-kindergarten classrooms and the balance of the week in home-based care.

- Caregivers participate in monthly group information and training sessions (including training on early education and early literacy curricula), led by the pre-kindergarten teachers and other appropriate trainers;
- Caregivers receive twice monthly home visits from the teachers and assistants, which focus both on the infants and toddlers and the pre-school-age children in their care;
- The home-based caregivers and the pre-kindergarten classrooms have access to significant early learning materials and program supplies;
- Parents, caregivers, and children together take monthly field trips;
- Parents and caregivers jointly participate in semi-annual conferences with the classroom teachers.³⁷

Effective Labor Standards and Family Support Policies

A. Labor Standards.

³⁶ Or at least these subsidies could move the spikes to higher levels of incomes.

³⁷ The authors are grateful to Lee Kreader for this summary.

Over the past thirty years the trends in federal and state government have been toward lower levels of regulating employers rather than increased regulation.³⁸ This partly explains why many employers choose to establish nonstandard work shifts in the first place. Regulations could, however, discourage many employers from using nonstandard work shifts. Employers might, for example, be required to pay high wage premiums for nonstandard shift work to reflect the relatively high social costs of such schedules on family and working life.

In place of or supplementing government regulation of labor standards, some nations support research and education into ways both to increase employees' productivity for employers and to improve citizens' work and family life. For example, research could calculate whether it is always more cost efficient for employers to operate nonstandard work shifts, and if there are cost savings for employers, whether these outweigh costs to families for working these shifts. Sound public policy might be built on those findings.

In a third approach to regulating work life, many nations also support employees associations such as professional groups or unions that conduct such research and negotiate with employers for more family-friendly employment policies.

Finally, regulations can substitute for higher levels of child care assistance for families by establishing higher wages. Possible regulations include living wage laws as enacted by a number of U.S. municipalities. Others options include the various public ways to institute family wages (see the next section).

B. Supportive Family Policies.

As an alternative to or supplement for business regulation, many European nations practice supportive family policies. Features of such policies can include the following.

- Paid family leave for bearing and raising children and right of return to job.
- Full support for part-time work, including full health insurance and pension accruals. Since, as we have seen, part-time workers are more likely to work nonstandard schedules, these supports would give families more options. If parents are working part-time for reasons of child care (or elderly care), moreover, richer health insurance and pension accruals could be attached to such care-giving.
- Very low cost child care for those who choose to work or study or even free universal systems as in France. The movement for universal pre-kindergarten in the U.S., for example, would establish part-day programs for all three-and-four-year-olds.
- Family wages for parents with children, including a number of monetary or in-kind payments (such as free child care or medical care) to parents. Another option is a refundable negative income tax or tax credit targeted to families with children in child care, although it is not clear that these forms of support *as instituted* have been rich enough to make a substantial difference for parents.

³⁸ Regulations that have increased options for families, such as the federal Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, which requires large employers to allow employees to take unpaid leave under certain circumstances, make it costly for employees to use the regulated benefit. Under some conditions, FMLA allows employers to substitute paid benefits for unpaid leave.

- Parent education: It would also increase parents' options to help them understand what existing child care options are available and how to evaluate their options. An example of making parents' options better known appears in footnote 37 above. Improving parents' understanding of how to discern quality differences among child care options is also possible. This includes school-based education of future parents on child development and quality child care and supplying information on child care to current parents.
- Improving the quality and availability of all existing child care options would also support families' choices. For example, since most parents in Illinois currently use family, friend and neighbor care, it would help families to improve the quality of this type of care. A number of agencies in Illinois perform these kinds of services, including Illinois Action for Children, with funding from the Illinois Department of Human Services and several private funders.

Appendix A. Comparison of Survey Sample with Population of Working Illinoisans

The Current Population Survey was designed to be representative of the entire U.S. population, and not the population of any one state. Illinois is a large state, however, and the Current Population Survey collected information on a sample of about 4,721 Illinoisans, including over 2,213 working adults. This sample population is large enough to give reliable results if the sample is representative of Illinoisans.

To test whether the Illinois sample of the Current Population Survey represents the Illinois population well, we compared the working population sampled by the Current Population Survey to the entire working and nonworking Illinois population in the 2000 Census on broad demographic categories of age, marital status, race and Hispanic origin, numbers of children by child's age group and education level.

With a few exceptions, the Illinois sample reflects Illinois' adult population rather closely. Of over 72 subgroups of the population we examined, only one group in the sample of *employed* Illinoisans departed as much as ten percentage points from the portion of a corresponding group of all adults in the Illinois population. According to the 2000 Census, 18.2 percent of *all Illinois women* had less than twelve years of education. In the sample, only 7.6 percent of *employed women* had less than twelve years of education. Correspondingly the two groups of women with thirteen and sixteen or more years of education, who together make up 53.1 percent of all Illinois women, were somewhat over-represented in the sample, with 63.4 percent of working women.

While there is a difference between the group of *all women* and the group of *employed women*, we suspect that the education levels in the sample do reflect a small bias in our results toward work and family patterns of more educated women. Fortunately for the estimates, the effect of this bias is minimized.³⁹

Three other groups had representation in the sample that departs to a lesser extent from their representation in the Illinois population. The following were under-or-over-represented in the sample by 5 to 10 percentage points:

- **Men with fewer than 12 years of schooling were under-sampled:** 12.7 percent of sampled working men compared to 18.9 percent of employed men in the Illinois population.
- **Married men living with a spouse were over-sampled:** 60.5 percent of sampled working men compared to 55.3 percent of adult men in Illinois.
- **Widowed women were under-sampled:** 3.5 percent of sampled women, compared to 11.2 percent of adult employed women in Illinois.

³⁹ When one group is under-represented in a sample, there are statistical ways to adjust for their under-representation to give their patterns more weight in the results. In this particular case, applying such a procedure would very slightly decrease the proportion of women found to work nonstandard shifts. The difference is relatively small since the group of college-graduate women who *were over-represented* in the sample also pull the results in the same direction as would increasing the weight of the women without a high school degree. This largely cancels out the need to adjust in this case. For this reason, as well as simplicity, we opted not to adjust the raw results of our findings.

- **Younger women ages 18-29 were under-sampled (while women ages 45 and older were over-sampled):** 21.5 percent of sampled women compared to 26.7 percent of Illinois women.
- **Women with no children ages 6 through 13 were over-sampled (and those with such children were under-sampled):** 76.5 percent of sampled working women compared to 71.1 percent of adult women in Illinois.

The last two sampling differences in particular suggest that the percentages of Illinoisans working nonstandard schedules and the impact of these schedules on working families that we report in the text are probably slightly under-stated.

Overall, the Illinois sample of working adults is within an acceptable range of the Illinois population. While there are some discrepancies between the sample and the Illinois population, they are not serious enough to controvert the basic findings of the study if we understand the slight biases in the sample.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ In statistical terms the standard errors and confidence intervals for percentages for some sub-groups are relatively large. For example, see the confidence intervals for racial and ethnic groups in Table B in Appendix B.

Table A. Illinois Sample of Working Adults in May 2004 Current Population Survey Compared to Adults in 2000 Census

Selected Variables	2004 CPS Sample of						2000 Census of Illinois Adults						Difference Between CPS & Census (Census % minus CPS Sample %) #			
	Total		Male		Female		Total*		Male*		Female*		Total	Male	Female	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	% Points	% Points	% Points	
Family Characteristics																
Marital Status*																
	Married - spouse present	1,272	57.5%	706	60.5%	566	54.1%	4,884,629	53.2%	2,442,698	55.3%	2,441,931	51.2%	-4.3	-5.2	-2.8
	Other	941	42.5%	460	39.5%	481	45.9%	4,295,435	46.8%	1,971,805	44.7%	2,323,630	48.8%	4.3	5.2	2.8
	Married - spouse absent	22	1.0%	9	0.8%	13	1.2%	313,366	3.4%	181,893	4.1%	131,473	2.8%	2.4	3.3	1.5
	Widowed	45	2.0%	8	0.7%	37	3.5%	653,373	7.1%	118,305	2.7%	535,068	11.2%	5.1	2.0	7.7
	Divorced	232	10.5%	89	7.6%	143	13.7%	867,068	9.4%	369,002	8.4%	498,066	10.5%	-1.0	0.7	-3.2
	Separated	38	1.7%	17	1.5%	21	2.0%	175,044	1.9%	73,339	1.7%	101,705	2.1%	0.2	0.2	0.1
	Never married	604	27.3%	337	28.9%	267	25.5%	2,286,584	24.9%	1,229,266	27.8%	1,057,318	22.2%	-2.4	-1.1	-3.3
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	9,180,064	100.0%	4,414,503	100.0%	4,765,561	100.0%			
With children under age six*																
	Zero	1,889	85.4%	991	85.0%	898	85.8%	na	-	na	-	2,339,895	85.3%	-	-	-0.5
	One or more	324	14.6%	175	15.0%	149	14.2%	na	-	na	-	404,052	14.7%	-	-	0.5
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	na	-	na	-	2,743,947	100.0%	-	-	
With children age six to thirteen*																
	Zero	1,721	77.8%	920	78.9%	801	76.5%	na	-	na	-	1,950,385	71.1%	-	-	-5.4
	One or more	492	22.2%	246	21.1%	246	23.5%	na	-	na	-	793,562	28.9%	-	-	5.4
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	na	-	na	-	2,743,947	100.0%	-	-	
With of children under age																
	Zero	1,540	69.6%	821	70.4%	719	68.7%	na	-	na	-	1,727,890	63.0%	-	-	-5.7
	One or more	673	30.4%	345	29.6%	328	31.3%	na	-	na	-	1,016,057	37.0%	-	-	5.7
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	na	-	na	-	2,743,947	100.0%	-	-	
Demographic Characteristics																
Age																
	Eighteen to twenty-nine	479	21.6%	254	21.8%	225	21.5%	1,531,341	26.3%	799,213	25.8%	732,128	26.7%	4.6	4.1	5.2
	Thirty to forty-four	795	35.9%	423	36.3%	372	35.5%	2,230,840	38.2%	1,199,626	38.8%	1,031,214	37.6%	2.3	2.5	2.1
	Forty-five and older	939	42.4%	489	41.9%	450	43.0%	2,071,004	35.5%	1,094,327	35.4%	976,677	35.6%	-6.9	-6.6	-7.3
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	5,833,186	100.0%	3,093,166	100.0%	2,740,019	100.0%			
Race - Ethnicity																
	Non-Hispanic white	1,626	73.5%	845	72.5%	781	74.6%	4,297,828	73.7%	2,292,679	74.1%	2,005,148	73.2%	0.2	1.7	-1.4
	Non-Hispanic black	238	10.8%	106	9.1%	132	12.6%	655,926	11.2%	287,130	9.3%	368,796	13.5%	0.5	0.2	0.9
	Hispanic	255	11.5%	160	13.7%	95	9.1%	596,202	10.2%	360,016	11.6%	236,186	8.6%	-1.3	-2.1	-0.5
	Other	94	4.2%	55	4.7%	39	3.7%	283,230	4.9%	153,341	5.0%	129,889	4.7%	0.6	0.2	1.0
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	5,833,186	100.0%	3,093,166	100.0%	2,740,019	100.0%			
Education completed (years)																
	Less than twelve	228	10.3%	148	12.7%	80	7.6%	1,480,443	18.6%	718,789	18.9%	761,654	18.2%	8.3	6.3	10.6
	Twelve	668	30.2%	365	31.3%	303	28.9%	2,212,291	27.7%	1,012,748	26.7%	1,199,543	28.7%	-2.4	-4.6	-0.2
	Thirteen to fifteen	637	28.8%	289	24.8%	348	33.2%	2,202,888	27.6%	1,008,288	26.6%	1,194,600	28.6%	-1.2	1.8	-4.7
	Sixteen or more	680	30.7%	364	31.2%	316	30.2%	2,078,049	26.1%	1,054,577	27.8%	1,023,472	24.5%	-4.7	-3.4	-5.7
	Total	2,213	100.0%	1,166	100.0%	1,047	100.0%	7,973,672	100.0%	3,794,402	100.0%	4,179,269	100.0%			

* The CPS sample includes only employed civilians ages 18 & over. The Census counts *marital status* for the entire population 18 & over, regardless of employment status. The Census counts *children* of both employed civilian women and women in armed forces 16 & over. # A negative number indicates that the CPS oversampled that group in Illinois, while a positive number indicates that the CPS undersampled the group in Illinois.

Appendix B. Demographic Differences among Illinoisans with Non-traditional Schedules

The findings reported in this study indicate that some groups of Illinoisans work non-traditional schedules more or less than the Illinois average of 41 percent. For example, among dual earner couples with children under age of 14, some 57 percent have at least one spouse working nonstandard schedules. Or, among general office clerks, the fourth largest occupation in Illinois, only 29 percent work nonstandard schedules.

Additional groups of Illinoisans depart from working nonstandard schedules at the 41.4 per cent rate, but were not reported earlier. Table B below reports on some groups, as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, which do and do not work nonstandard hours at the 41.4 percent rate.

The third **bold** column of percentages in Table B shows the percentages of these racial and ethnic demographic groups that work nonstandard schedules. For each group, Table B reports on the total as well as men and women separately. An inspection of this column shows that no group falls exactly on the 41.4 percent average for everyone. The group that the Census calls *non-Hispanic white* employees comes perhaps the closest at 36.8 percent. A higher percentage of non-Hispanic black men and Hispanic and “other” women employees tend to work nonstandard schedules.

The two non-bold columns to the right of the third bold column give a *95 percent confidence interval* for the estimated percentage. That interval is a range in which the true percentage for the entire group in Illinois is likely to fall.⁴¹

We can apply more rigorous statistical criteria to determine which groups depart from the 41.4 percent average in a stricter sense. The double asterisks (**) indicate that the percentage of that group working non-standard schedules is statistically different from the Illinois percentage of 41.4 percent.⁴² Using these criteria, the following groups work nonstandard schedules at a rate statistically higher than the Illinois average: *Black men and all blacks, and Hispanic men and all Hispanics*. The groups that works nonstandard schedules at a rate statistically lower than the Illinois average are *Non Hispanic white women and men*.

We can also break down nonstandard work schedules into *nonstandard hours*, the first bold column, a schedule that 19.0 percent of Illinoisans work: mostly evenings,

⁴¹ That is, *likely to fall* if we use stricter statistical assumptions and methods. Here is the basic idea. Like all surveys, the Current Population Survey does not survey *all* Illinoisans, but only a sample of 2,242 working Illinoisans. No sample, however, is exactly representative of an entire population, or at least we can never be sure that it is. Different samples that we might select at random, as they should be, will produce slightly different results (in this case, slightly different percentages of people who work non-traditional schedules) even if they are all chosen to be highly random and representative of the population. If we chose 100 different samples, they would produce a *range* of somewhat different results (or percentages). The confidence intervals in Table B can be thought of as the range of estimates that we would get, from low to high, on 95 of any 100 samples that we randomly select to represent the entire population. [The other 5 percent would fall outside of the confidence interval – either below the low or above the high.]

⁴² At a 95 percent level of significance. The single asterisks indicate that a group’s sample percentage is statistically different from the Illinois average of 41.4 percent at a 90 percent level of significance. For both we applied a confidence interval test for the difference of two averages.

nights, variable, rotating or split hours, and *substantial weekend schedules*, the second bold column, which 37.0 percent of Illinoisans work.

For the reader's convenience, single or double asterisks has been placed to indicate in each instance in which that a group's rate is statistically different from the Illinois average at a 95 percent and 90 percent confidence level. This indicates that the group works that nonstandard schedule at a statistically lower or higher rate than the Illinois average.

Appendix C. IDHS Pilot to Develop Child Care during Non-traditional Hours

In its *2002 Report On Illinois Child Care*, the Illinois Department of Human Services (IDHS) evaluated its multi-year pilot project to explore the feasibility of supporting child care programs that offer non-traditional hours of care.⁴³ This is the full text of its summary (pp 19 – 20).

“Extended Hours Pilot Program

In FY02, the pilot ended that had allocated extra funding to eight sites (six centers and two day care home networks) across the state in order to expand service hours to accommodate parents who work non-traditional schedules such as second, third or swing shifts and weekends. The purpose of the pilot was to determine what barriers existed to operating an extended hours program and what supports the state could provide to overcome those barriers. The major finding of the pilot was that the centers could not obtain and maintain the critical number of extended hours children needed to break even financially. This finding is consistent with other public and private attempts to offer center based extended hours care. The factors contributing to this outcome included: the inability to reduce costs in times of low enrollment due to licensing standards and safety concerns; variability of parent’s work schedules; particularly those in the service industry; and the desire of parents for a home-like setting if their child had to go to bed before the parent picked them up. As of the end of FY02, only one center of the six original participating centers continued to offer extended hours care.

“In contrast, both day care home networks that were in the original pilot were still providing extended hours care. The home networks had the lowest overall costs of those in the pilot. They did not have high fixed expenses as did the centers, and the parent and home care provider were often able to make flexible arrangements that best suited the needs of the parent and provider. Because of the low fixed costs, this flexibility was not damaging to the home provider.”

⁴³ Illinois Department of Human Services, *2002 Report On Illinois Child Care*, pages 19-20: http://www.dhs.state.il.us/newsPublications/plansReports/pdfs/dhs_planReports_iccar02.pdf, Accessed 10/3/05. See also the discussion in Part Four for introducing center care during weekend hours first as a possible way to mitigate some of these trends.

Appendix D. How We Analyze the Complexity and Variety of Family Decisions about Child Care and Work Schedules

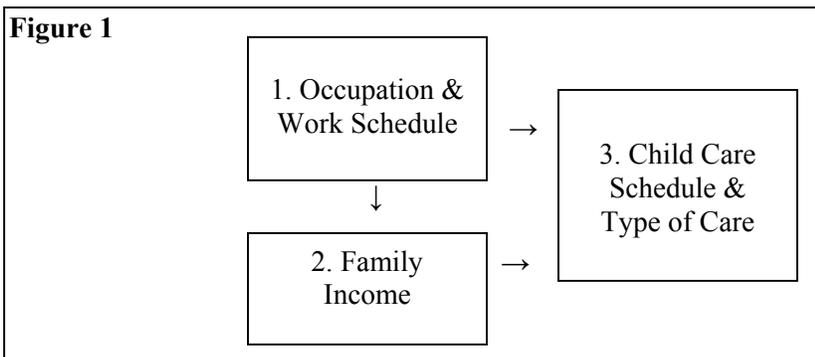
Saying that families face hard choices about work, their work schedules, family income and child care arrangements means that many of their decisions about these are interconnected and complex. This makes analyzing these decisions very complex. Not all families follow the same decision-making process, moreover, and that adds to analytic difficulty. Here we will briefly present three models of family decision making. In each case, it is the initial family situation or context for decisions that makes all the difference. After that, the reasoning or logic of each is often very similar or even identical to stages of the others.

Family Decision Process 1:

This family first decides on its work schedule, either directly or partially influenced by the occupation(s) it chooses. Here are three examples. A single father might choose to work at night so that he can go to school during the day. Or a single mother takes the only job she can find, or the only one that pays her income above \$X, and thus her employer can dictate her work schedule. Or in a somewhat different example, a single mother chooses to work in an occupation such as security guard. In this case, there is a good chance she will work evenings, nights or weekends, since much of the demand for security guards is during those times.

Given that the parent has chosen or accepted a work schedule and an occupation, much more will be determined, if only in a general way. For example, since security guards earn incomes within a certain range, this family's income will, in part, be determined. If the security guard is a parent, then her work schedule will determine when she needs child care. Together, her income and work schedule will influence the child care options available to her, in particular, the type(s) of care she can afford and the hours of her care. For example, while she is working nights she might ask her sister to come over and stay with her two children while they have dinner, bathe and sleep. She might pay her sister a modest fee rather than pay for a licensed child care home provider to care for her children overnight in the provider's home, which could cost 25 percent of the family's income.

Figure 1 shows the decisions of this family. The decision process begins with a decision about occupation or work schedule. That decision will influence its income (2), and together work schedule (1) and income (2) will influence its child care arrangements (3).



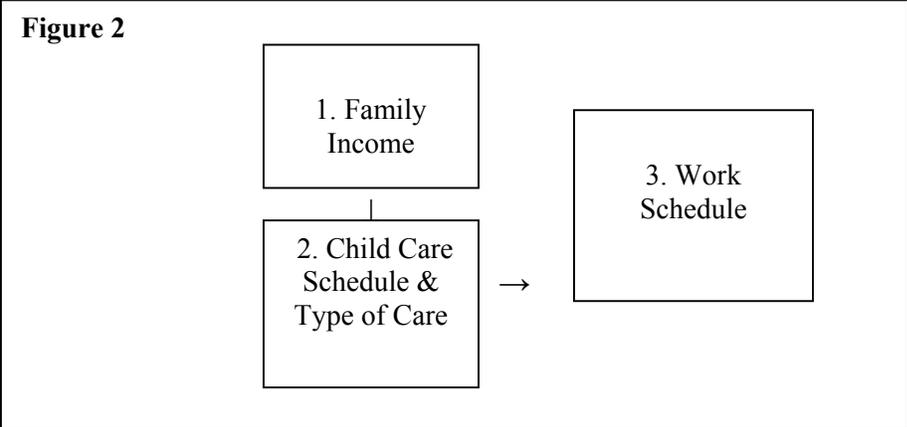
Family Decisions 2:

In this case a family's decisions begin with the choice (or acceptance) of a level of income. Perhaps a single mother or father of young children never finished high school and cannot expect to earn an average income. Or perhaps a single parent returns to school on a very tight budget. In each case, suppose further that the parent cannot afford to pay for child care but needs to work outside the home. A grandmother is

available to care for the young children, but only after 6 PM and on weekends. This set of circumstances – first income and then choice of child care arrangements – then determines what work schedules the parent can choose. It may also influence the kind of jobs open to the parent.

Note that the family does not need to start with low income. Consider a very highly paid parent, say a corporate attorney, who expects to pay a high tuition in a half-day private pre-school program for her child. In this case the parent starts with income and occupation, but not a work schedule. She might arrange a work schedule around her child’s preschool program, insofar as her employer allows.

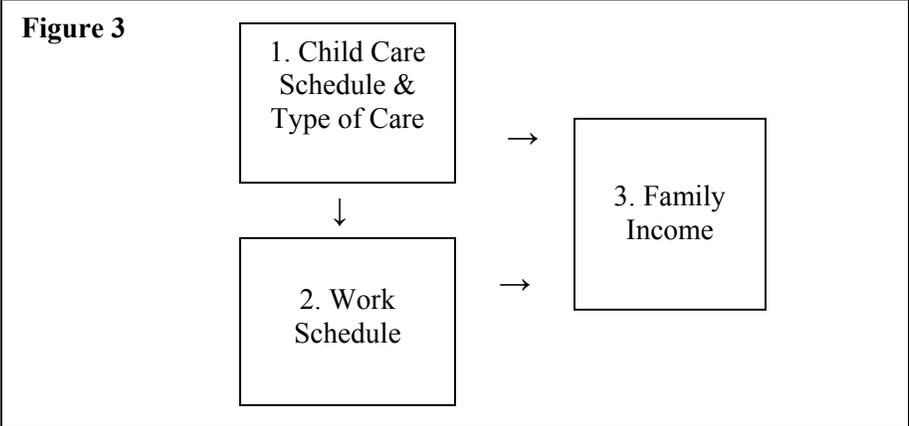
Figure 2 shows the decision process of this family. It begins with a choice or acceptance of a level of income that is not attached to a particular work schedule. This income gives the family the child care options it must choose among, which in turn restrict its options regarding work schedule.



Family Decisions 3:

In this case, a family’s decisions begin with a choice of child care schedule or type of care. For example, parents might choose to be with children before or after school. Or they might want no one to care for their children while they are at work except the grandmother or an aunt, and the latter are available only during certain hours. Or a couple might choose to split child care responsibilities, each parent caring for their children during hours when the other works. So at least one parent must work evenings, nights and/or weekends.

In these cases, parents choose a work schedule that fits with a preferred child care arrangement. Many of these families must sacrifice some work options and thus income in order to obtain their preferred arrangement. Figure 3 shows this decision.



The three family decision processes are simplified idealizations or models to help us think about difficult family decisions about child care schedule and work schedule. In each case the family starts with specific concrete circumstances, including the family type or structure, and within that context, makes rational but difficult choices.⁴⁴

The reader will find it useful to recall these different decision processes in reading the report. In a number of places we show that connections exist between factors in the decision making process, such as the correlation between non-traditional work schedules and having children under the age of 14. At those points, it is important to understand that the correlations can play different roles in different family's decision processes, as they do in the examples above.

⁴⁴ Since the difference between models is one of family context, we do not say that any of the models is more rational or better than the others. In developing these simple models, moreover, we are not precluding the possibility that other equally rational decision processes might occur. Our purpose is to make sense of the facts.