

Abstract

Snider, Lisa. Working Moms: A Study of the Factors that Affect the Hours of Employment per Week of Married Mothers whose Youngest Child is Less Than Six. (Under the direction of Theodore Greenstein.)

Data from 1983-1986 and 1988 waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (NLSY) are drawn upon to explore how type of childcare utilized affects the extent of mother's employment. Fixed-effects analysis suggests using relative care decreases mother's hours of employment per week. Once age of the youngest child is introduced, nuclear care decreases mother's hours of employment per week. Surprisingly, mothers of infants and toddlers are predicted to work slightly more hours per week than mothers of preschoolers. Husband's hours of employment per week interacts with non-family care to decrease mother's hours of employment. The effect of the number of children in the household on mother's hours of employment is found to depend on the childcare utilized. Interestingly, mother's years of education and husband's annual income do not have statistically significant effects on mother's hours of employment in this analysis. Some possible reasons and implications of these findings are discussed.

Working Moms: A Study of the Factors that Affect the Hours of Employment per
Week of Married Mothers whose Youngest Child is Less Than Six

By

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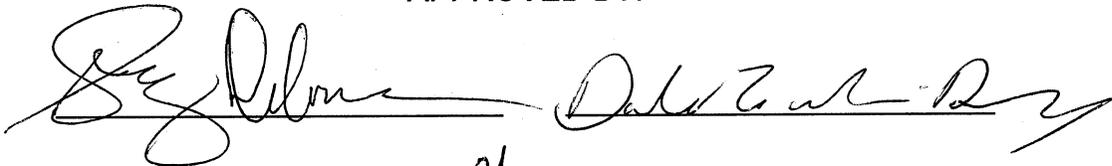
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APPROVED BY:

Two handwritten signatures in black ink are written over a horizontal line. The signature on the left is cursive and appears to be 'Lisa D. Snider'. The signature on the right is also cursive and appears to be 'D. L. ...'.A handwritten signature in black ink, 'T. Heent', is written over a horizontal line.

Chair of Committee

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family and families everywhere who balance family life and employment.

Biography

Lisa D. Snider was born on June 16, 1979 in Stephenville, Texas as the second daughter of Dwayne and Connie Snider and sister to Sheri Snider. After graduation from Stephenville High School, she attended Stephen F. Austin State University for two years. While at Stephen F. Austin she developed her God-given passion for helping people. In the summer of 1999, she went to work at Mission Arlington/Mission Metroplex in Arlington, Texas, helping lead Bible Studies and children's programs in low-income neighborhoods and apartment complexes. Experiences working with families in crisis at the Mission developed her interest in research concerning families. While working as a missionary, she pursued her degree at the University of Texas in Arlington. In May 2001, she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology. Upon completion of her bachelor's degree, she attended North Carolina State University to continue to explore her interest in family research. Her future plans include working with organizations that help families in crisis.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	vii
Introduction	1
Literature Review	4
Childcare’s Constraint on Mother’s Employment	4
Hypothesis 1	5
Effects of Childcare Type Expense	6
Hypothesis 2	8
Hypothesis 3	9
Effects of Mother’s Education	9
Hypothesis 4	10
Effects of Husband’s Characteristics	10
Effects of Age of the Youngest Child	12
Hypothesis 5	12
Effects of Total Number of Children in the Household	12
Hypothesis 6	13
Research Methods.....	13
Source of Data	13
Person-Period Dataset Creation	14
Variable Measurement.....	15
Mother’s Hours of Employment Per Week Measurement	15
Childcare Type Measurement.....	15
Mother’s Years of Education Measurement	18
Number of Children in the Household	18
Husband’s Characteristics Measurements.....	19
Age of Youngest Child Measurement	20
Results of Analysis.....	21
Analytic Technique.....	21
Fixed Effects Models.....	23
Main Effects Models.....	23
Interaction Models.....	27
Discussion	30
Discussion of Models	30
Conclusions	37
Implication of Results to Economic Theory	37
Limitations of Research	38
References	40

List of Tables

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics For Mother's Hours of Employment Per Week, Husband's Annual Income, Number of Children In Household, Husband's Hours of Employment Per Week and Mother's Years of Education By Year	44
Table 2: Frequency of Childcare Provider Usage of Married Employed Mothers Whose Youngest Child is Under Six By Year.....	45
Table 3: Fixed Effects Models Predicting Hours of Employment Per Week of Employed Married Mothers Whose Youngest Child is Under Six	46

Working Moms: A Study of the Factors that Affect the Hours of Employment per Week of Married Mothers whose Youngest Child is Less Than Six

The increase in women's labor force participation over the past several decades is one of the most significant social changes in the United States (Sandberg and Hofferth 2001, Presser and Baldwin 1980, Smith 2000, Hofferth and Phillips 1987, Eggebeen 1988, Lebowitz, Waite and Witsberger 1988). In less than seven decades the proportion of women in the labor force more than doubled. Only 27% were in the labor force in 1940 (Eggebeen 1988). The proportion of women in the labor force had risen to 43.3% in 1970 (Barrow 1999). In 1980 slightly over half of women were in the labor force (Eggebeen 1988). By 1996, 59.3% of women were participating in the labor market (Barrow 1999).

The most rapid growth in women's labor force participation occurred among women who have young children (Floge 1989). Only 12% of all married mothers with a child less than six (Eggebeen 1988) and 13.6% of mothers with a preschool age (3-5 years old) child were employed in 1950 (Presser and Baldwin 1980). By 1970, 40.9% of married mothers with a preschool child were employed (Presser and Baldwin 1980). Forty-five percent of married mothers with a child less than six years of age were in the labor force by 1980 (Eggebeen 1988). Many researchers expected the growth in the employment of married women with young children to be a temporary phenomenon that would reach its peak by 1990 (Hofferth and Phillips 1987). However, the labor force participation rate of mothers with young children continued to increase so that by 1996 nearly

two out of three married mothers with preschool children were employed (Barrow 1999).

With the increase in mothers' employment rates, fewer households now resemble the traditional structure of a breadwinner father and a stay at home mother (Binachi 2000). The rapid growth in the labor force participation of mothers of young children has increased the number of young children with employed mothers and hence the need for childcare (Hofferth and Phillips 1987). The need and challenge of arranging for alternative care for their children has made the increase in employment of these mothers particularly interesting for researchers (Presser and Baldwin 1980, Hofferth and Phillips 1987).

Much research exists on the relationship between women's employment and childcare. The focus of childcare as a constraint on mother's employment rather than father's employment is a sign of society's traditional view of the mother as being the primary childcare provider (Hofferth and Phillips 1987). Numerous studies have noted the constraints that childcare availability places on women's employment (Brown and Barbosa 2001, Smith 2000, Brayfield 1995, Floge 1985, Presser and Baldwin 1980). This study seeks to expand this research by examining how type of childcare utilized affects married mothers' hours of employment.

This paper focuses on the employment hours of married mothers employed at least ten hours per week whose youngest child is less than six years old. Mothers working at least ten hours per week are used to explore how type

of childcare utilized affects their hours of employment. Analysis is limited to married mothers with young children for three primary reasons. First, due to income needs unmarried mothers are more likely to be in the labor force (Bose 1984); therefore, the inclusion of unmarried women would skew results. Second, the intentions of this study are to investigate how childcare type affects the hours of employment in the rapidly growing population of employed mothers with young children who are in the labor force. Finally, past research has found that mothers often increase their employment when their children are school aged (Smith 2000); therefore, mothers of older children are not included in this analysis.

Data from 1983-1986 and 1988 waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (NLSY) are used to explore how childcare type affects married mothers' hours of employment per week. Fixed effects models are employed to estimate the effects over time. Further, mother's characteristics, husband's characteristics, the age of the youngest child in the household and number of children in the household are introduced in several models to explore not only their individual effects on mothers' hours of employment, but also how their inclusion moderates or mediates the relationship between the type of childcare utilized and mothers' hours of employment per week. Finally, two models are introduced to test for the possibility the following two interaction effects: First, between husband's hours of employment per week and childcare type and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week; Second, between number of children in the household and childcare type and their effect on mother's hours of

employment per week. The results of the analysis are presented and discussed in light of previous research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As more mothers of preschool children have entered the labor force, demand for childcare for preschool age children has increased (Larkin 1998). The Census Bureau reports, “[v]irtually any preschool-age child whose parent was either employed or in school was in some type of regular childcare arrangement” (Smith 2000). In 1997, 75% of children under age 5 were in some form of childcare (Smith 2000).

Since mothers are still the major childcare providers for their children, they must make childcare arrangements in order to join the labor force (Floge 1989). Thus, researchers have identified a reciprocal relationship between childcare availability and mother's workforce participation. Mothers cite the lack of childcare as one of the major constraints on their employment (Brown and Barbosa 2001). According to Brayfield (1995), “almost 24% of young mothers not in the labor force cite child care problems as the primary reason for not looking for work.” Most young women still expect their careers to be interrupted to care for their children (Davey 1998). The fact that childcare is frequently cited as a constraint on mothers' employment leads to the first hypothesis tested in this study.

Hypothesis 1: Married mothers whose youngest child is less than six will be employed more hours per week when they utilize nuclear, relative or non-family care as compared to utilizing mother only care.

Childcare (especially quality childcare) can be expensive (Liazos 1991). In the Spring of 1999, married employed mothers of children under five spent an average of \$98 a week for childcare (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Many researchers have explored the effects that childcare costs have on mothers' labor force participation (Powell 2002). Blau and Robins (1989) indicate that the high cost of childcare reduces the likelihood that mothers will be employed. Barrow (1999) finds that the women most likely to return to work within one year of their first child's birth are those that face the lowest childcare costs. Further, Presser and Baldwin (1980) find that many mothers would both "seek employment and work more hours" if childcare was available at a reasonable cost. Many studies have documented women's expectation that they would not be able to work, because "they did not anticipate earning enough to afford child care" (Davey 1998). This line of research supports an economic theory for explaining mothers' hours of employment.

The data are not available in this dataset to know how much these mothers pay or would pay for substitute care. However, inferences about cost of childcare can be drawn from the type of substitute care that is used. To offset the cost of childcare employed mothers often rely on relatives to provide care. Young children whose parents had a high school education or less are more likely to be cared for by relatives than young children with parents with at least some college. Further, preschoolers from families with family incomes below poverty are more likely to be cared for by relatives than young children from

families with higher incomes. Families with lower incomes and educations are reported to spend less on childcare than other families (Smith 2000). This suggests that different types of care are associated with different costs. Therefore, the type of childcare that is used can significantly affect mothers' hours of employment.

According to Floge (1989), researchers consistently find that relatives provide anywhere from a low of 40% to a high of 80% of the substitute care for mothers of very young children. (However, the reliance on relative care does diminish as the child ages.) The reliance on relatives to provide substitute childcare is not a recent phenomenon. When Bose (1984) examined factors that influenced U.S. women's employment in 1900, she found that the presence of an older daughter increased the likelihood that the mother would be employed. Now, however, daughters are in school and not as available to care for siblings. But, Floge (1989) finds that the presence of more family members (especially other female members) in a household who can serve as childcare providers does increase the likelihood that mothers will be employed.

Bianchi (2000) reports that fathers are spending more time with their children than they did in the past. The increased time that fathers are spending with children may be due to many husbands' increased childcare responsibilities. Presser and Baldwin (1980) found that 17% of employed mothers with a child under the age of five relied on their husbands or older children to provide childcare. They go on to report that fathers provided most of this care (Presser

and Baldwin 1980). However, the majority of young women still do not expect that their husbands will help provide childcare (Davey 1998). Presser's (1986) study does suggest that reliance on husbands to provide substitute care constrains mothers' hours of employment. She finds that the reliance on father care is associated with mothers being employed either part-time or gaining employment via shift work. Thus, these married mothers report that reliance on husband care, constrains them from being employed more hours (Presser 1986).

Hofferth and Phillips (1987) report, "In 1982, between 70% and 75% of children under age 5 with employed mothers used some form of nonparental child care." In Presser and Baldwin's (1980) study, more of the employed mothers of a child under five, 27%, used non-nuclear family relative care (such as grandparents) than any other childcare type. One possible explanation for over a quarter of the employed mothers utilizing relative care is that only 56% who use relative care pay, while 95% of employed mothers who use non-relative care must pay for the care (Presser and Baldwin 1980). However, Parish, Hao and Hogan (1991) report, "kin-provided child care fails to increase [the] labor force participation" of mothers. Moreover, Smith (2000) found that relative care was associated with more constraints on mothers' hours of employment than any other childcare type. Mothers may be reluctant to rely on relative care for many hours of childcare because it can cause family strain (Parish, Hao and Hogan 1991). Thus, despite relative care often being associated with less cost,

employed mothers who use relative care will work fewer hours per week than mothers who rely on non-family childcare.

Mothers' reliance on family care decreases as their child ages (Floge 1989). In fact, non-relatives are reported to provide most of the childcare for employed mothers. Larkin (1998) reports, "13 million of our nation's children are placed in early care and education centers or family childcare settings before they reach school age." Mothers with access to institutional based childcare were found to have the fewest childcare constraints on their employment in Presser and Baldwin's (1980) study. Further, as Smith (2000) reports, mothers using non-family substitute care face fewer constraints on their hours of employment than those using other childcare types. Therefore, non-family childcare is expected to increase mother's hours of employment.

These past findings about the use and constraints of utilizing nuclear family, relative family, and non-family as substitute care suggest the following two hypotheses that are tested in this analysis:

Hypothesis 2: *Mothers who use any type of family care (whether nuclear family or relative care) will face more constraints on employment than those using non-family care. This prediction is tested with the following two propositions:*

a) Mothers will be employed more hours per week when using non-family care than when using relative care.

b) Mothers will be employed more hours per week when using non-family care than when using nuclear family care.

Hypothesis 3: *Relative care is associated with less childcare costs; however, relative care is a constraint on mother's hours of employment and associated with family strain. Therefore,*

mothers who use nuclear family childcare will be employed more hours than mothers who use relative care.

Often low-income families must choose between a parent staying home to care for the child or paying a large percentage of their income to place their child in childcare (Liazos 1991). Larkin (1998) reports, “[f]amilies earning less than \$15,000 per year pay 23 percent of their family income for childcare, while families earning \$50,000 or more pay just 6 percent.” Presser and Baldwin (1980) identified families with little income as facing the most childcare constraints on employment. Their study indicates that “women whose family income is less than \$5,000” report the lack of available childcare as a constraint on their employment (Presser and Baldwin 1980). On the other hand, as family income increases, families have the ability to pay for childcare. Brandon (2000) reports that as income increases mothers are more likely to have access to and use non-family childcare.

Mother's education is reported to have an impact on mother's hours of employment. Brandon (2000) found that mother's with more education are more likely to be in the labor force. Leibowitz and Klerman (1995) find a positive statistically significant effect of mother's years of education on their employment. They conclude that education “contributes both directly and indirectly, through wages, to the secular increases in women's labor supply” (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995). This supports the findings of Blau and Robins (1989) “that higher wage rates are associated with greater labor supply and greater demand for child care by mothers of young children.” Eggebeen (1988) found that having

a college degree increased the probability of white mothers of preschool children being employed by over 23 percentage points in 1980. Further, mothers with more years of education tend to bunch their children's births so as to take less time out of the labor force (Blau and Robins 1989). Moreover, Presser and Baldwin (1980) report, mothers with less than a high school education face childcare constraints on their employment. Less educated mothers are more likely to rely on relative care than mothers with more education (Hogan, Hao and Parish 1990). Since the use of relative care is associated with fewer hours of employment (Smith 2000), it is expected that as years of education increase, mothers of children under the age of six will work more hours. This generates the fourth hypothesis tested in this analysis.

Hypothesis 4: *As mother's years of education increase, mother's hours of employment per week will likewise increase.*

Historically, married mothers were less likely to be employed outside the home than unmarried mothers. Women's employment was considered to be only out of necessity (Bose 1984). Therefore, husbands' income has long been considered a predictor of their wives' employment. Studies generally find minimal negative effects of husband's income on mother's employment (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995). In Leibowitz and Klerman's (1995) study the effects of husband's earnings on mother's employment were found to be statistically significant and negative. Further, Eggebeen (1988) reports that family income other than the mother's income lowered white mothers of preschool children's probability of being employed.

However, one recent study has found the effects of husband's income on his wife's employment to be insignificant (Leibowitz, Waite and Witsberger 1988). One explanation for this is that households now need two incomes to support the family and stay above the poverty line (Floge 1989). Davey (1998) finds that most women do not expect that their husbands will make enough money to support the family. Therefore, think they will have to be in the labor force to help provide for their family.

Presser and Baldwin (1980) found that for married mothers none of the husband's employment characteristics affected their employment. However, Presser (1986) found that having a husband available to care for the child did increase mothers' hours of employment. Mothers often gained part-time or shift work during the times when their husband would be available to care for the child. It would be consistent with the economic model that having a husband to provide free care would increase mother's hours of employment. The availability of the husband to care for the child will be constrained by his own hours of employment. This analysis includes both husband's hours of employment and husband's annual income as controls.

The age of the youngest child in the household has been found to affect mothers' hours of employment per week. As age of the mother's youngest child increases, the likelihood of the mother being employed likewise increases (Eggebeen 1988). Women whose youngest child is under the age of one have dramatically lower rates of employment than other mothers. Mothers'

employment rates dramatically rise once their youngest child reaches three years of age (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995).

Leibowitz, Waite and Witsberger (1988) studied how children's age affects their care needs and thus, the type of care that is utilized. Children two and under need more individual attention and care as they need help with basic activities, such as eating. Since these children need to be cared for in an environment with a small child to adult ratio, non-relative childcare for this age group is often expensive. On the other hand, preschool children (children ages 3-5) need more stimulating childcare environments and require less individual attention than children younger than three years of age. These children need interaction with other children. Childcare centers may provide a better environment for this age group. This is consistent with Floge (1985) finding that the exclusive use of relative care decreases as the child gets older. Non-relative for children three to five years of age is less expensive than care for very young children.

Hypothesis 5: Since childcare costs decrease as children get older, mothers whose youngest child is less than three will be employed fewer hours per week than mothers whose youngest child is three to five years of age.

Past research suggests that the total number of children in the household helps predict mother's employment decisions. Research suggests that the effect of the number of children in the household on mother's employment is contingent on the ages of the children in the household. On one hand, having multiple preschool-aged children reduces the probability that the mother is employed. On

the other hand, having one preschool-age child and an older child seems not to affect mother's employment (Powell 2002). Other research reports an overall pattern in the effect of number of children in the household on mothers' employment. Brandon (2000) finds that mothers with fewer children are the most likely to be in the workforce. Bianchi's (2000) report on childcare concludes, "[I]n the United States...women with fewer children are more likely to be employed."

Hypothesis 6: *Since the total cost of providing childcare is greater as the number of children in childcare increases, mother's hours of employment per week will decrease as the number of children in the household increases.*

METHOD

The generated hypotheses are tested using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). The NLSY was designed by the Center for Human Resource Research at Ohio State University. The study began in 1979 with a national probability sample of individuals aged 14-21 on January 1, 1979 living within the United States or who were on active military duty outside the United States. Economically disadvantaged Hispanics, blacks, non-black and non-Hispanic individuals were over sampled. The 1979 sample consisted of 12,686 individuals. Respondents have been interviewed annually from 1979-1994 and semi-annually from 1996-2000.

The childcare question of interest in this paper, type of childcare for youngest child, is found in the 1983-1986 and 1988 questionnaires. Therefore, these are the target years for this analysis. Further, as married mothers with children less than six are the population of interest, data were limited to female

NLSY respondents who are married and whose youngest child is less than six years of age in any of the target years (1983-1986 and 1988).

Presser and Baldwin (1980) began exploring the possibility that employed mothers using some types of care feel constrained from working more hours per week than mothers using other childcare forms. This analysis continues this exploration by examining how type of childcare affects married mothers' hours of employment per week. In order to explore whether employed mothers using some types of childcare are more likely to be working more hours than those using other types of care, analysis is limited to those who worked an average of at least ten hours per week.

A person-period dataset was created using data from the 1983-1986 and 1988 observations. The person period dataset used only observations in which the mother was currently married and employed at least ten hours per week, the youngest child in the household was less than six years old and had codable responses for all of the variables used in the analyses. The person-period dataset includes 2,733 observations from 1,402 different mothers, which contribute between 1 and 5 observations to the dataset. Each mother contributed an average of 1.95 observations to the dataset.

Variable Measurement

Dependent variable. The dependent variable in this analysis is mother's hours of employment per week. Mother's hours of employment per week, was calculated from two variables in the 1984-1987 and 1989 interviews: 1) Number

of hours worked in the past calendar year. 2) Number of weeks worked in past calendar year. The number of hours worked in the past calendar year was divided by the number of weeks worked in the past calendar year to calculate mother's hours of employment per week in 1983-1986 and 1988.

Mother's hours of employment per week ranged from 10 hours per week to 96 hours per week across the years under consideration (See Table 1). The mean hours of employment per week across the years under analysis were between 35.24 hours (35 hours and 14 minutes) to 36.21 hours (36 hours and 13 minutes) of employment per week. For the person-period dataset, the mother's mean hours of employment per week is 34.88 hours (34 hours and 53 minutes).

[Table 1 about here]

Childcare provider. Female NLSY respondents were asked detailed information about their childcare providers. Although past research finds that mothers often rely on more than one childcare arrangement per week (Smith 2000), this analysis uses the information that the mothers reported as their principal childcare arrangement. The principle childcare information is used because it is the mother's primary source of care and thus, should have the most effect on her hours of employment. In the 1983-1985 interviews, female respondents were asked about the principal childcare provider for their youngest child in the past four weeks while the respondent was either working or attending school and the child was not in school. For the 1986 and 1988 waves of the NLSY, female respondents were asked about the usual childcare utilized for

each of their children while the respondent either worked or attended school. This analysis uses the data provided for only the mother's youngest child.

The childcare needs of children in school verses those not in school vary dramatically. As Leibowitz, Waite and Witsberger (1988) state, "after-school arrangements may differ substantially from the type of care needed for children not enrolled in school." Further, the two groups of children have different needs and require different activities (Smith 2000). Finally, mothers whose children are in school do not have to pay for this care; thus, they are more likely to be working more hours (Hofferth and Phillips 1987). For these reasons, any mother that reported that her child was in kindergarten was excluded from this analysis. Further, those reporting using "other arrangements" were deleted from the dataset as no clear category placement could be made.

All years' childcare data were recoded into the following four categories: (1) nuclear family, (2) relative care (non-nuclear family), (3) non-family and (4) mother only. These categories are fairly consistent with childcare groupings that have been used in past research. There are some noteworthy differences. Floge (1985) does not distinguish between nuclear family and relative care. The categories are separated in this analysis, because the past research seems to suggest differing effects of these two types of care on mother's hours of employment. Other studies including Presser and Baldwin (1980) examine the different effects of these two types of care. Presser and Baldwin (1980); however, go a step farther by categorizing childcare by both type and location of

care. For example, relative care in child's home verses relative care in the relative's home. Several studies have grouped childcare by taking into account not only the childcare provider, but also the location of the care (Smith 2000; Floge 1985). Data limitations prevent a break down of the categories into location of the care. The chosen categorization exclusively by childcare provider is adequate in this analysis as the location of the care is not important. The major purpose of the analysis is to discover if who is providing substitute care affects mothers hours of employment per week.

The nuclear family member category includes mothers who used childcare provided by the child's father, step-father or sibling. Mothers who reported using grandparents or any other relative other than a father, step-father or sibling to provide childcare are placed in the relative care category. The non-family care category includes mothers who reported using day care centers, preschools, nursery schools, family centers or care provided by any other non-relative for their youngest child. Finally, mothers who report that they are the principle childcare provider for their child by working at home or taking the child to work with them were placed in the mother only category.

Table 2 shows the frequencies of childcare type used in each year. In 1983 and 1984 the modal category is the relative category, yet there are only slightly more mothers in this categories than in the non-family category. In 1985, 1986 and 1988 the modal category is non-family care with the second largest group being relative care. The mother only category has the smallest number of

respondents in all of the years. For the person-period dataset, non-family is the modal category with 37.10% of mothers using this form of care compared with 32.78% using relative care, 19.80% using nuclear family care and 10.32% using mother only care.

[Table 2 about here]

Mothers' characteristics. Mother's years of education is used in this analysis as mother's education has been found to effect not only employment, but also wage potential (Blau and Robins 1989; Leibowitz and Klerman 1995). In each of the years of interest, 1983-1986 and 1988, respondents were asked about their years of education. Responses ranged from zero to twenty years of education across the years (see Table 1). In each year under analysis, the mother's had a mean education of about 12 years. The mean for the person-period dataset is 12.53 years of education.

Number of children in the household. Each year respondents are asked detailed information about their family and household structure. Respondents are asked how many biological, adopted and step children that they have living with them in their household. NLSY staff use that information to create a variable of the total number of children in the household. All observations used in this analysis have at least one child. The maximum number of children in the household for mothers in this analysis is six. The modal category for the observations in the person-period dataset is one child with 52.76% of the observations having only one child in the household.

Husbands' characteristics. Two time-dependent husband characteristics are used as controls in part of the analysis, husband's hours of employment per week and husband's annual income. Husband's hours of employment per week was calculated in the same way as the dependent variable, mother's hours of employment per week. This was calculated from two variables in the 1984-1987 and 1989 interviews: 1) Number of hours spouse worked in the past calendar year. 2) Number of weeks spouse worked in past calendar year. This information was used to calculate an average number of hours per week that each husband was employed in 1983-1986 and 1988. Again, the number of hours worked was divided by the number of weeks worked to obtain husband's hours of employment per week. If the respondents reported that their husband did not work in the past year, the husband's hours of employment per week was coded as zero. As a result husband's hours of employment per week range from 0 to 96 hours per week (See Table 1). The mean husband's hours of employment per week were between 38.71 hours (38 hours and 43 minutes) and 41.43 hours (41 hours and 26 minutes). In the person-period dataset, husbands had a mean of being employed 40.31 hours (46 hours and 19 minutes) per week.

Husband's annual income data come from the 1984-1987 and 1989 surveys. Respondents were asked what the total annual income of their husband was from wages, tips and salary in the past calendar year. For each year, husband's annual income was converted to constant 1982-1984 dollars to correct for inflation. Husband's incomes ranged from \$0 to \$361,650. The mean

husband income across 1983-1986 and 1988 was between \$12,020 and \$18,400 (See Table 1). The log of the husband's income is used in the analysis as additional income is presumed to have a stronger effect on mother's hours of employment at low incomes than at high incomes. This is consistent with the idea that these mothers would be more likely to work when their income is needed to sustain the family.

Age of the youngest child. In each year, NLSY respondents are asked detailed information about their children. This information includes dates of birth and ages of all children in the household. In this analysis, the age of youngest biological, adopted or step child in the household is limited to being between birth and five years old. The age of the youngest child is divided into a dichotomous variable with the following categories: 1) less than three and 2) three to five years of age. These categories are used as past research has found mother's employment to increase when the youngest child reaches three years of age (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995). The modal category for the person period data set is less than three with 69.34% of the observations falling into this category.

ANALYSIS

Fixed effect models are used to predict mother's hours of employment per week. The fixed effects models capture all the mother's stable attributes, such as race and family background. This method is powerful in that it controls not only for characteristics such as race and family background that can be measured, but also for unmeasured stable characteristics. Fixed effects models

“automatically control for all constant, unobserved differences between individuals...” (Allison 1994). Therefore, these models look at the effects of the time-varying characteristics (number of children in the household, husband's hours of employment per week, etc.) on mother's hours of employment per week while controlling for the stable, time-invariant characteristics of the mother and her marriage.

In order to generalize the results, sample weights are utilized to adjust for the NLSY's oversampling of economically disadvantaged and non-white groups. A series of nested models are generated beginning with a “childcare only” model, which uses only the childcare utilized to predict mother's hours of employment per week. The mother only category is the baseline category for the childcare type in this model and most other models constructed. Two models are generated using different baseline categories to test the second and third hypotheses. One model uses non-family as the baseline while the other uses relative care as the baseline. The majority of the models used in this analysis are constructed by adding variables to the “childcare only” model to see how their addition may affect the relationship between childcare type and mother's hours of employment per week. First, mother's years of education is added to construct the “mother's characteristics” model to see if mother's education effects mother's hours of employment net of childcare type and how its addition may change the childcare type's effect on mother's hours of employment. Second, total number of children in the household is added to construct the final model in the analysis, the

“number of children” model. The number of children in the household is added to the model as past research has consistently found a negative effect on number of children in the household and mother's employment (Brandon 2000; Bianchi 2000). Next, husband's hours of employment per week and the log of the husband's annual income are added to construct the “husband's characteristics” model. These characteristics are included to see if adding these characteristics change childcare type's effect on mother's hours of employment. Finally, the age of the youngest child is added, using the three to five years of age category as the baseline, to create the “age youngest child” model. This variable is added to the model to test for a statistically significant difference in the hours of employment of mothers of infants and toddlers (children under three) and mothers of preschoolers (children three to five years of age).

Further, two interaction models are generated. First, a model is created to test for an interaction between childcare type and husband's hours of work and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week. This model is constructed as husband's hours of employment should interact with nuclear family care, as the number of hours the husband works will constrain his hours of childcare. Finally, to allow for the possibility of an interaction between number of kids in the household and childcare type, three product term interactions are added to the “age youngest child” model to create the “interaction between number of kids and childcare” model. The total price families can afford for childcare for their youngest child will depend on how many children are in the

household and the childcare type that is utilized. Therefore, there should be an interaction between number of children in the household and childcare type and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week.

The parameter estimates for each of the fixed effects models used in this analysis can be found in Table 3. Statistical significance is based upon an alpha level of 0.05 for all significance tests. The first model, "childcare only", is statistically significant, with an F-value of 3.22. The R^2 for the model is 0.7731. Only one of the childcare types has statistically significant effects on mother's hours of employment per week in this model. This model predicts that women using relative care will work 2.86 fewer hours than women using mother only care while this model predicts that there is no difference between the hours of employment of women using either nuclear family care or non-family care and mothers using mother only care.

[Table 3 about here]

The "mother's characteristics" model remains statistically significant with the same F-value as the "childcare only" model, 3.22. This model's R^2 is 0.7732. Again, only the effect of relative care is statistically significant. Net of mother's years of education, women using relative care are predicted to work 2.86 fewer hours per week than women using mother only care. No other effect in this model is statistically significant.

In order to test to see if the "mother's characteristics" model's R^2 is statistically different than the R^2 of the previous model, an incremental F-test is

performed between the "childcare only" model and the "mother's characteristics" model. With a calculated F statistic of 0.14 with 1 and 2,728 degrees of freedom, the difference between the R^2 's of the models is not statistically significant. Therefore, the "childcare only" model is the better model.

The third model, the "number of children" model is statistically significant with an F-value of 3.22 and a R^2 of 0.7732. The effect of relative care remains negative and, again, is the only effect in the model to be statistically significant. Net of mother's years of education and number of kids in the household, mothers using relative care are predicted to work 2.95 fewer hours per week than mothers using mother only care.

To see if this model is a better model than the "childcare only" model an incremental F-test is performed between these models. With a calculated F-value of 0.34 with 2 and 2,727 degrees of freedom, the difference between the two model's R^2 's is not statistically significant. The "childcare only" model remains the best model to this point.

The next model, the "husband's characteristics" model, remains statistically significant with an F-value of 3.21 and a R^2 of 0.7733. Neither the effects of husband's hours of employment per week nor the log of husband's annual income is statistically significant net of the other variables in the model. Again, only the effect of relative care is statistically significant. Mothers who use relative care are predicted to work 2.99 fewer hours per week than women using

mother only care net of mother's years of education, number of kids in the household and husband's characteristics.

Again, an incremental F-test is performed between this model and the "childcare only" model. The calculated F statistic is 0.60 with 4 and 2,725 degrees of freedom, which is not statistically significant. The "childcare only" model remains the best model.

Next, the "age youngest child" model is statistically significant with an F-value of 3.22 and R^2 of 0.7745. There is a statistically significant difference between the hours of employment of mothers whose youngest child is less than three compared to mothers whose youngest child is three to five years of age net of the effects of the other variables in the model. The "age of the youngest child" model predicts that net of childcare type, mother's years of education, log of husband's annual income, husband's hours of employment per week and number of kids in the household, mothers whose youngest child is under three are predicted to work 1.17 more hours per week than mothers whose youngest child is three to five years of age.

In this model the effect of two of the childcare categories, relative care and nuclear family care, are statistically significant. First, the effect of relative care remains the same as in the previous model. This model predicts that net of all other variables in the model, mothers using relative care will work 2.93 fewer hours per week than mothers using mother only care. Second, unlike in previous models, the effect of nuclear family care is statistically significant. Net of

mother's education, number of kids in the household, husband's hours of employment per week, log of the husband's annual income, and age of the youngest child in the household, the model predicts that mothers using nuclear family care will work 1.79 fewer hours per week than mothers using mother only care.

In order to test if the "age youngest child" model's R^2 is statistically different than the R^2 of the "childcare only" model, an incremental F-test was performed. With a calculated F statistic of 2.71 at 5 and 2,724 degrees of freedom, the difference between the R^2 's of the models is statistically significant.

Before testing for possible interaction effects, two models were generated that use the same variables as the "age youngest child", but use two different childcare type baseline categories. Since only the baseline childcare category changes in these models from the "age youngest child" model, the F-values, R^2 's, and effects of all of the control variables remain the same as in the "age youngest child" model and hence are not discussed.

First, to test the second hypothesis non-family care is used as the baseline category. In this model, the only childcare type to have statistically significant effects is the effect of relative care. This model predicts that net mother's education, number of kids in the household, husband's hours of employment per week, log of the husband's annual income, and age of the youngest child in the household, mothers using relative care will work 1.87 fewer hours per week than mothers using non-family care. This model predicts that net

of the other variables, there is no difference between the hours of employment per week of mothers using either mother only or nuclear family care and mothers using non-family care.

Second, to test this analysis' third hypothesis relative care is used as the baseline childcare type. As expected (based on the previous two models), the effects of mother only care and non-family care are statistically significant. The model predicts that net of the other variables in the model, mothers using mother only care will work 2.92 more hours per week, while mothers using non-family care will work 1.87 more hours per week than those using relative care. This model predicts that net of the other variables in the model, there is no difference between the hours of employment per week of mothers using nuclear family care and those using relative care.

The first interaction model, tests for an interaction between type of childcare and husband's hours of employment per week and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week. The "interaction between husband's hours and childcare type" model is statistically significant with an F-value of 3.25 and R^2 of 0.7767. The effect of the age of the youngest child remains statistically significant. The model predicts that net of childcare type, mother's education, number of kids in the household, husband's hours of employment per week, log of the husband's annual income, and the interaction between childcare type and husband's hours of employment per week, mothers whose youngest child is

under three are predicted to work 1.14 more hours per week than mothers whose youngest child is three to five years of age.

In order to test for an overall interaction between childcare type and husband's hours of employment per week and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week, an incremental F-test is performed between the interaction model and the "age of the youngest child" model, which includes all of the same variables except the interaction effect. The calculated F-value of 8.98 with 3 and 2,722 degrees of freedom is statistically significant; therefore, there is an interaction between childcare type and husband's hours of employment and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week. However, only the interaction between non-family care and husband's hours of employment per week and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week is statistically significant. The conditional slope is calculated for this effect. The conditional slope for husband's hours of employment per week on mother's hours of employment per week for mothers using non-family care is -0.01. Therefore, for mothers using non-family care, the model predicts that net of the effects of mother's education, number of kids in the household, age of the youngest child and log of the husband's annual income, every one hour increase in husband's hours of employment will decrease mother's hours of employment by six seconds. There is not a statistically significant interaction between either relative care or nuclear family care and husband's hours of employment and their effect on mother's hours of employment.

The final interaction model tests for the possibility of an interaction between number of kids in the household and childcare type and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week. The "interaction between number of kids and childcare" model is statistically significant with an F-value of 3.28 and an R^2 of 0.7783. Again, age of the youngest child in the household has statistically significant effects on mother's hours of employment per week in this model. Net of childcare type, mother's education, number of kids in the household, husband's hours of employment per week, log of the husband's annual income and the interaction between childcare type and number of kids in the household, mothers whose youngest child is under three are predicted to work 1.08 more hours per week than mothers whose youngest child is three to five years of age.

All of the interaction effects in the model are statistically significant; thus, there is an interaction between number of kids in the household and childcare type and their effects on mother's hours of employment per week. As all the interaction effects are statistically significant, the conditional slopes of the number of kids in the household and each type of childcare are calculated. For mothers using mother only care the conditional slope is -3.76, while the conditional slope for nuclear family care is 0.97. The conditional slope for relative care and non-family care are -0.85 and 0.63, respectively. Thus, net of mother's education, husband's hours of employment per week, log of the husband's annual income and age of the youngest child in the household, the

model predicts that every additional child in the household will have the following effects: (1) decrease mothers using mother only care hours of employment by 3 hours and 46 minutes. (2) increase mothers using nuclear family care hours of employment by almost an hour. (3) decrease mothers using relative care hours of employment by 51 minutes. (4) increase mothers using non-family care hours of employment by 38 minutes.

DISCUSSION

This research seeks to examine the effect of childcare type on mother's hours of employment per week for married mothers whose youngest child is under the age of six. Upon examining the models generated above together, we can find not only how each variable affects mother's hours of employment but also the effects these variables have on the relationship between type of childcare and mother's hours of employment per week. Below the models are discussed, and the hypotheses are considered in light of the analyses.

The first model, the "childcare only" model, accounts for 77.31% of the variation in mother's hours of employment per week. Based on the incremental F-tests, this model is found to be the best model for the data even after controlling for number of children in the household, mother's education and husband's characteristics. In the "childcare only", "mother's characteristics", "number of children" and "husband's characteristics" models, the only effect that is statistically significant is the effect of relative care. When the age of the youngest child is introduced as a control variable, however, this new model the

“age youngest child” model becomes the best model and accounts for 77.45% of the variation in mother's hours of employment. (Some may question whether both age of the youngest child and number of children in the household can be included in the model without there being a problem of multicollinearity; however, these variables' correlation is 0.001.)

The effects found of childcare type in the main effects models do not support the first hypothesis as the models do not predict mothers using any form of childcare to be employed more hours per week than if they are the sole childcare providers. In each of the main effects models (using mother only care as the baseline), mothers using relative care are predicted to work almost three fewer hours per week than those using mother only care net of the other variables in the models. Moreover, in the main effects model using non-family care as the baseline, mothers using relative were predicted to be employed fewer hours per week than those using non-family care. This does support the first proposition of the second hypothesis.

The failure to find that relative care to increase mother's hours of employment begs future inquiry. The results of this analysis are consistent with Parish, Hao and Hogan's (1991) finding that relative care does not increase women's labor force participation and Smith's (2000) report that relative care constrains mother's employment. The possible explanations for relative care's constraint on mother's employment are varied and deserve consideration in

future research. It may be as Parish, Hao and Hogan (1991) postulate that mothers are reluctant to use relative care because it produces family strain.

On the other hand, Floge (1989) reports the presence of other female relatives to provide care has a greater affect on mother's labor force participation than the presence of male relatives. Therefore, since more women including alternative caregivers such as grandmothers and aunts are now in the labor force, it could be that relatives do not increase mother's hours of employment because the hours they are available to care for the child are constrained by their own employment. It would be interesting to explore how relative employment characteristics, such as hours of employment per week, affect the hours of employment of mothers with young children. This analysis could not explore this possibility as the data are not available, but future research on the relationship between childcare and mother's employment should consider this possibility.

In the "age youngest child" model, mothers using nuclear family care are predicted to work one hour and 47 minutes less than those using mother only care. Furthermore, in the main effects model using non-family care as the baseline, there is no difference found in the hours of employment of mothers using nuclear family care and those using non-family care. This does not support the second proposition of the second hypothesis. Additionally, in the main effects model using relative care as the baseline, there is not a statistically significant difference in the hours of employment of mothers using nuclear family care and those using relative care. Therefore, the second hypothesis is not

supported. As Presser (1986) found that mothers often gain part-time or shift work while their husband's are available to provide childcare, it could be that these mothers are constrained to jobs with night shifts. The possibility of an interaction between husband's hours of employment and nuclear care and their effects on mother's hours of employment was introduced in an interaction model. This model is discussed below.

The age of the youngest child is the only other variable to have significant effects in the main effects models. Surprisingly, the mothers with the youngest children (under 3) are predicted to work more hours than those with preschool children. This same result emerges in both of the interaction models. Thus, my fifth analysis is not supported. This finding is intriguing as past research suggests that care for infants and toddlers is more expensive than care for preschool children. However, past research has found that women whose youngest child is less than three have lower employment rates than mothers with older children (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995; Eggebeen 1988). As this analysis was limited to employed mothers, this suggests that the age of the youngest child may influence whether the mother enters the labor force, but once she decides to enter the labor force her hours are not affected.

Mother's years of education was introduced into analysis in the second model and used in subsequent models. In each model, mother's years of education did not have statistically significant effects. This finding does not support the fourth hypothesis, which predicted mother's years of education to

have a positive effect on mother's hours of employment per week. Finding mother's years of education not to affect her hours of employment is interesting. This is most surprising as past research found education to have both direct and indirect effects on mother's employment (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995; Blau and Robins 1989). However, Brandon (2000) and Eggebeen (1988) report that mothers with more education are most likely to be employed. Therefore, just as was the case with the age of the youngest child, these findings suggest that mother's education may influence a mother's decision whether to work, but once deciding to work does not affect her hours of employment.

Neither of the husband's characteristics, husband's hours of employment per week and the log of husband's annual income, have statistically significant effects on mother's hours of employment per week in the main effects models. (Models not included in the analysis were run using husband's annual income instead of the log of the husband's annual income and found similar results. The ones using the log of husband's annual income are included as it makes sense that additional income would have a stronger effect at low incomes than at high incomes.) Of the observations in the dataset, 56.54% of the mothers use either relative or nuclear family care, which are associated with less cost than non-family care (Presser and Baldwin 1980). This majority reliance on care that is associated with less expense may account for husband's income not having statistically significant effects in this study.

It was expected that husband's hours of employment would negatively effect mother's hours of employment per week; however, this was not found in the main effects models. As Presser (1996) found that reliance on father care is associated with mothers being employed either part-time or doing shift work, it may be that these mothers are working shifts opposite their husband. Further, husband's hours of employment per week would affect the hours he is available for childcare. This suggests an interaction between husband's hours of employment per week and nuclear care and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week. In order to test this possibility, the first interaction model was generated.

Overall, the analysis does find an interaction between husband's hours of employment and childcare type; however, only the interaction between non-family care and husband's hours of employment per week and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week is statistically significant. There was not an interaction between husband's hours of employment per week and nuclear family care, which would be the logical interaction. This suggests that husband's employment neither increases nor decreases his childcare responsibilities.

The conditional slope for the effect of husband's hours of employment per week for those using non-relative care on mother's employment is negative. This finding is somewhat perplexing. If the conditional slope were positive, one might argue that husband's hours of employment influences his income, which would increase the use of non-family care. However, this is not what the analysis

suggests. This finding does suggest that women are still responsible for family life. If their husbands want to work many hours, women must work fewer hours. As families may not be able to afford (or find) non-family care for extended hours (meaning before 7 am or after 6 pm), mothers might have to take off and pick up the child from non-family care. Some researchers, such as Uttal (2002), have noted that finding non-family extended childcare is difficult and very expensive when found. This suggests that women are still responsible for making manageable childcare arrangements.

The effects of number of children in the household provide some of the more interesting findings from this analysis. The main effects models do not find a statistically significant effect of number of children in the household on mother's hours of employment per week. This finding did not support the sixth hypothesis and I found it curious. This result was inconsistent with Bianchi's (2000) and Brandon's (2000) findings that number of children in the household reduced mother's hours of employment. As the number of children in the household will affect the families total cost for childcare for all their children, the analysis tested for the possibility of an interaction between number of children in the household and childcare type and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week with the "interaction between number of kids and childcare" model. This model produced some interesting results as all of the interactions between all the childcare types and number of children in the household were statistically significant. Each additional child in the household increases the predicted hours

of employment per week of mothers using both nuclear family and non-family care, yet decreases the predicted hours of employment of mothers using mother only and relative care. Most surprising, is the prediction of an increase in the hours of employment of mothers using non-family care as this is considered the most expensive childcare type. One of the limitations of this study is that the age of the other children in the household is not controlled. Thus, it could be that the other children in the household are school-aged and the mother does not have to pay for their care. Future research should explore how the age of the other children in the household might effect the interaction between number of children in the household and childcare type and their effect on mother's hours of employment per week.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, these results do not seem to lend support to an economic theory (see Farkas and England 1985) of employment for mothers of young children. For the economic theory to have been supported, mother's education would have had a positive effect on mothers hours of employment as it is assumed that the more education a mother has the more likely she will receive a higher wage (Leibowitz and Klerman 1995 and Blau and Robins 1989); thus, she can afford childcare. However, education was not found to have an effect in this analysis. Thus, the economic theory is not supported. Further, the effects of the age of the youngest child were not consistent with an economic theory explanation. In this analysis mothers with the youngest children were predicted to work more hours

than those with preschool children. Thus, an economic explanation is not supported. Finally, some the overall effects of the number of children in the household were not consistent with an economic theory. The number of children in the household increased the hours of employment of mothers using the most expensive form of childcare, non-family. The findings of this analysis using fixed-effects models, suggest that an economic explanation does not adequately decipher childcare type's effect on mother's hours of employment.

One of the problems with relating the results from this research project back to an economic theory is the use of type of childcare as a variable without exact data of the childcare payments of these mothers. As researchers such as Blau and Robins (1989) argue, this is not a perfect substitution. Presser and Baldwin (1980) did find that 39% more of the mothers who use non-family rather than relative childcare pay for the childcare. However, 56% of the mothers using relative care do pay for the care while, 5% of mothers using non-family care do not pay for the childcare. As Blau and Robins (1989) argue this inconsistently in relating type of care to cost of care is noteworthy. Future research should factor in childcare payments as a control to see if that affects the conclusions.

There is still much to learn about the reciprocal relationship between childcare type and mother's employment. More research is needed to continue to untangle their complex association. Researchers should continue to explore the possible changing effects and interactions of mother's characteristics, husband's characteristics, age of the youngest child and number of children in

the household with childcare type on mother's hours of employment per week.

As more women of young children enter the workforce causing American families to look less like the Cleaver's, it is crucial that social scientists continue to examine how childcare type affects their hours of employment.

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Mother's Employment 44

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics By Year for Mother's Hours of Employment Per Week, Husband's Annual Income, Number of Children in Household, Husband's Hour of Employment Per Week and Mother's Years of Education

Variable	1983 (n=392)				1984 (n=425)				1985 (n=511)				1986 (n=638)				1988 (n=767)			
	Standard		Minimum	Maximum																
	Mean	Deviation			Mean	Deviation			Mean	Deviation			Mean	Deviation			Mean	Deviation		
Mother's Hours of Employment Per Week	35.53	9.60	10.36	80.00	35.24	9.85	10.00	68.30	35.81	10.16	10.00	86.72	36.21	9.76	10.00	94.72	35.78	10.85	10.00	96.00
Husband's Annual Income	\$12,020	\$9,750	\$0	\$75,300	\$13,960	\$10,090	\$0	\$96,250	\$14,730	\$11,660	\$0	\$92,940	\$16,020	\$12,680	\$0	\$91,240	\$18,400	\$21,080	\$0	\$361,650
Number of Children In Household	1.43	0.67	1.00	5.00	1.52	0.73	1.00	6.00	1.60	0.75	1.00	4.00	1.63	0.76	1.00	5.00	1.80	0.84	1.00	5.00
Husband's Hours of Employment Per Week	40.24	16.80	0.00	96.00	40.33	14.02	0.00	88.00	40.69	14.34	0.00	96.00	38.71	16.33	0.00	93.00	41.43	14.18	0.00	96.00
Mother's Years of Education	12.13	1.5	4.00	17.00	12.19	1.81	0.00	17.00	12.48	1.79	6.00	19.00	12.63	1.90	6.00	20.00	12.88	2.23	0.00	20.00

Note: n=2,733

Mother's Employment 45

Table 2. Frequency of Childcare Provider Usage By Year

Childcare Provider	1983				1984				1985				1986				1988			
	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nuclear Family	89	89	22.70%	22.70%	86	86	20.24%	20.24%	106	106	20.74%	20.74%	124	124	19.44%	19.44%	136	136	17.73%	17.73%
Relative Care	140	229	35.71%	58.42%	162	248	38.12%	58.35%	161	267	31.51%	52.25%	213	337	33.39%	52.82%	220	356	28.68%	46.41%
Non-Family	139	368	35.46%	93.88%	152	400	35.76%	94.12%	198	465	38.75%	91.00%	243	580	38.09%	90.91%	282	638	36.77%	83.18%
Mother Only	24	392	6.12%	100.00%	25	425	5.88%	100.00%	46	511	9.00%	100.00%	58	638	9.09%	100.00%	129	767	16.82%	100.00%
Total	392	392	100.00%	100.00%	425	425	100.00%	100.00%	511	511	100.00%	100.00%	638	638	100.00%	100.00%	767	767	100.00%	100.00%

Note: Sample of Mothers Included In Analysis: 2,733

Table 3. Fixed Effects Models Predicting Hours of Employment Per Week of Employed Married Mothers whose Youngest Child is Under Six

Variable	Childcare Only	Mother's Characteristics	Number Of Children	Husband's Characteristics	Age Youngest Child
Adjusted R ²	0.7731	0.7732	0.7732	0.7733	0.7745
Model F	3.22*	3.22*	3.22*	3.21*	3.22*
Nuclear Family	-1.658 (0.946)	-1.657 (0.946)	-1.729 (0.956)	-1.766 (0.959)	-1.786 (0.957)
Relative Care	-2.867 (0.953)	-2.860 (0.953)	-2.955 (0.971)	-2.992 (0.973)	-2.924 (0.971)
Non-Family	-0.785 (0.928)	-0.789 (0.928)	-0.867 (0.941)	-0.904 (0.942)	-1.058 (0.942)
Mother Only	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
Mother's Years of Education	*****	0.241 (0.901)	0.269 (0.903)	0.225 (0.905)	0.003 (0.907)
Number of Children in Household	*****	*****	-0.215 (0.420)	-0.233 (0.420)	-0.122 (0.422)
Husband's Hours of Employment Per Week	*****	*****	*****	-0.008 (0.021)	-0.007 (0.021)
Log Husband's Annual Income	*****	*****	*****	0.217 (0.246)	0.198 (0.246)
Youngest Child Less Than Three	*****	*****	*****	*****	1.165 (0.454)
Number of Children in Household* Nuclear	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
Number of Children in Household* Relative	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
Number of Children in Household* Non-Family	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

Note: N=2,733 Tables are unstandardized (metric) coefficients (standard errors of estimates are in parentheses). *indicates p<0.05

Table 3 (continued)

Variable	Non-Family Care Baseline	Relative Care Baseline	Interaction Between Husband's Hours of Employment and Childcare	Interaction Between Number of Children and Childcare
Adjusted R ²	0.7745	0.7745	0.7767	0.7783
Model F	3.22*	3.22*	3.25*	3.28*
Nuclear Family	-0.728 (0.629)	1.138 (0.652)	-3.352 (2.505)	-11.001 (2.264)
Relative Care	-1.865 (0.617)	*****	1.097 (2.431)	-9.170 (2.306)
Non-Family	*****	1.865 (0.617)	-1.052 (2.404)	-9.588 (2.241)
Mother Only	1.058 (0.942)	2.924 (0.971)	*****	*****
Mother's Years of Education	0.003 (0.907)	0.003 (0.907)	-0.001 (0.905)	-0.084 (0.902)
Number of Children in Household	-0.122 (0.422)	-0.122 (0.422)	-0.150 (0.421)	-3.765 (0.968)
Husband's Hours of Employment Per Week	-0.007 (0.021)	-0.007 (0.021)	0.009 (0.047)	-0.002 (0.020)
Log Husband's Annual Income	0.198 (0.246)	0.198 (0.246)	0.215 (0.246)	0.214 (0.244)
Youngest Child Less Than Three	1.165 (0.454)	1.165 (0.454)	1.139 (0.454)	1.083 (0.452)
Number of Children in Household* Nuclear	*****	*****	0.041 (0.056)	4.734 (1.061)
Number of Children in Household* Relative	*****	*****	-0.098 (0.053)	2.917 (1.122)
Number of Children in Household* Non-Family	*****	*****	-0.001 (0.053)	4.395 (1.065)

Note: N=2,733 Tables are unstandardized (metric) coefficients (standard errors of estimates are in parentheses). *indicates p<0.05