



# Gender Inequality, Work Hours, and the Future of Work

## About this Report

This report is one of a series of three reports on the gender equality and the future of work. It focuses on paid time at work, and the adverse impact of the unequal distribution of paid and unpaid time on gender equality and women's economic security. It examines trends in time worked, particularly among parents, and discusses the opportunities for a better distribution of time worked that includes paid time-off and greater controls over when and how much time is worked. The other two reports in the series examine care work in the future of work, and the implications of changing patterns of geographic job mobility in the future of work. The report series was supported by the Google Foundation, with additional support from the Ford Foundation and the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

## About the Institute for Women's Policy Research

The Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) conducts rigorous research and disseminates its findings to address the needs of women, promote public dialogue, and strengthen families, communities, and societies. IWPR's research strives to give voice to the needs of women from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds across the income spectrum and to ensure that their perspectives enter the public debate on ending discrimination and inequality, improving opportunity, and increasing economic security for women and families. IWPR works with policymakers, scholars, and public interest groups to design, execute, and disseminate research and to build a diverse network of individuals and organizations that conduct and use women-oriented policy research. IWPR's work is supported by foundation grants, government grants and contracts, donations from individuals, and contributions from organizations and corporations. IWPR is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization that also works in affiliation with the Program on Gender Analysis in Economics at American University.

## Board of Directors

**Lorretta Johnson, Chair**  
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

**Martha Darling, Vice Chair**  
Boeing (retired)

**Daisy Chin-Lor**  
Daisy Chin-Lor & Associates

**Hilary Doe**  
NationBuilder

**Beth Grupp**  
Beth Grupp Associates

**Rhiana Gunn-Wright**  
New Consensus

**Mary Hansen**  
American University

**Esmeralda O. Lyn**  
Worldwide Capital Advisory Partners LLC

**Joan Marsh**  
AT&T

**William Rodgers**  
Rutgers University

**Kristin Rowe-Finkbeiner**  
MomsRising

**Elizabeth Shuler**  
AFL-CIO

**Marci B. Sternheim**  
Sternheim Consulting

**Sheila W. Wellington**  
NYU/Stern School of Business Emerita

**Marcia Worthing**  
New York, NY

Institute for Women's Policy Research  
1200 18<sup>th</sup> Street NW, Suite 301  
Washington, DC 20036  
[www.iwpr.org](http://www.iwpr.org) | IWPR #C486

© Copyright 2019 by the Institute for Women's Policy Research

# Gender Inequality, Work Hours, and the Future of Work

Ariane Hegewisch, M.Phil., and Valerie Lacarte, Ph.D.

# Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Professor Lonnie Golden, Department of Economics at Penn State University and Dr. Susan Labin, Senior Fellow, Social Dynamics LLC, for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

The authors also thank the IWPR staff involved in the study research and report production. IWPR Executive Vice President Barbara Gault, Ph.D., provided program oversight and Associate Director of Research Cynthia Hess, Ph.D., reviewed the report. IWPR Program Director on Job Quality & Income Security Jeffrey Hayes, Ph.D., advised on data analysis and methodology. Mariam K. Chamberlain Fellows Zohal Barsi and Adiam Tesfaselassie, Research Fellow Tanima Ahmed, and Research Interns Eve Mefferd and Sania Sharif provided research assistance. Jennifer Clark, Director of Communications, oversaw the report's production and dissemination.

# Contents

Executive Summary .....	vi
Introduction.....	12
Methodology.....	14
Gender Differences in Trends in Paid Time at Work.....	15
During the Last Four Decades Women’s Hours Rose while Men’s Declined Marginally .....	15
Polarization in Hours Worked between Workers .....	17
Parenthood and Marriage have a Stronger Effect on Women’s Working Hours than Men’s.....	17
Full-Time Work, Part-Time Work, and Overwork.....	25
Overwork has Become Standard in the Highest Paid Jobs and is Reducing Women’s Access to Those Jobs.....	30
Workplace Policies: Schedule Variability, Location, and Paid Time Off .....	35
Schedule Variability: Whatever the Number of Hours Worked, Work Schedules have Become Less Regular.....	35
Paid Time Off Work Allows Workers to Stay Healthy and Remain Connected to Employment.....	39
The Way Forward: A More Equitable Distribution of Time Worked .....	43
Appendix.....	47
Data Sources on Hours Worked.....	47
References.....	50

## List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Men’s Usual Annual Hours Worked Only Marginally Declined since 1977, Women’s Rose Substantially .....	16
Figure 2. Women on Average Spent Nine More Weeks at Work in 2017 than They Did in 1977.....	17
Figure 3. Average Hours in Employment Increased Sharply for Mothers but Stayed Almost Unchanged for Fathers.....	18
Figure 4. Differences between Annual Hours of Mothers and Fathers are Largest for White Workers, Smallest for Black Workers.....	19
Figure 5. Single Mothers Spent More Hours in Paid Employment than Married Mothers, while Single Fathers Spent Fewer Hours than Married Fathers.....	21

Figure 6. Asian Single Mothers have the Highest Annual Working Hours, and White Married Mothers the Lowest.....	22
Figure 7. Across all Largest Racial and Ethnic Groups, Mothers’ Labor Force Participation Rates Stalled from the2000s Onward.....	23
Figure 8. Mothers Spend More than Twice as Much Time on Child Care as Fathers.....	25
Figure 9. Women Outnumber Men among Workers who Work Fewer than 40 Hours per Week, and Men Outnumber Women among Workers with at least 40 Hours per Week.....	26
Table 1. Women are More Likely than Men to Work Part-time, Particularly During their Primary Working Years.....	27
Figure 10. Women Are over Ninety Percent of those who Work Part-time because of Child Care Problems .....	28
Figure 11. A Quarter of All Workers—More than Three in Ten Men, and Close to Five in Ten Women—Regularly Work more than 40 Hours per Week .....	31
Figure 12. The Majority of Low-Paid and of Part-time Workers are not Given Access to Paid Leave by their Employers .....	40
Figure A1. U.S. Trends in Mean Annual Working Hours, 1997–2017: CPS Household Survey Data (Usual Weekly Hours Worked) and on CES NCS Employer Survey Data .....	48



# Executive Summary

Gender differences in paid and unpaid time at work are an important aspect of gender inequality. Women tend to spend more time on unpaid household and family care work, and men spend more time in paid work. This unequal distribution of time creates barriers to women's advancement at work and reduces women's economic security.

Technological innovation through machine learning, robotics, and artificial intelligence is likely to automate many tasks and jobs, thus improving productivity, freeing time, and allowing fewer workers to do more. Technological innovation presents an opportunity to rethink the distribution of time spent on paid and unpaid work, tackle the inequality in the division of domestic and care work between women and men, and provide time for upskilling and lifelong learning needed to benefit from future opportunities.

This first section of this report presents analysis on why work hours matter to gender equality, and what role time-related policies may play in reducing gender inequality, and more generally, social and economic inequality. The findings show women's growing contribution to paid work and highlight that, as women's average hours at work have increased, men's have not declined. Inequality in paid and unpaid time has remained particularly stark between mothers and fathers. The report then highlights the growing inequality between those who work a lot and those who work intermittently, part-time, or part-year. In addition, the analysis shows that this polarization in paid time at work is increasingly exacerbating racial inequalities.

The second section of the report focuses on changes in the quality of time at work and workforce policies around scheduling, location, and paid time off. The report notes how a growing lack of schedule control and the absence of paid leave rights reinforce economic and racial/ethnic inequalities and are particularly harmful to parents. The report ends with recommendations to achieve a healthier and more equal distribution of hours worked.

Based on analysis of the U.S. Current Population Survey, the report presents trends in hours worked during the last forty years for workers ages 25 to 64, with the following findings:

## Women's Hours Rose During the Last 40 Years, While Men's Declined Marginally

- During the last 40 years, women's average annual number of hours in paid work increased substantially, while average hours worked by men during the same period declined only marginally. In 2017, women's average annual hours were slightly below 40 per week (1,863 hours per year), while men's were above (2,110 hours per year).
- The increase in annual hours was particularly strong for women who work full-time (at least 35 hours per week). On average, women full-time workers now work five more weeks per year than they did in 1977, and men one more week. As a sign of growing polarization of paid time at work, average weeks in paid work for women who work less than full-time did not increase in the last two decades, and decreased for men who work less than full-time.

## Fathers Work More Hours than Other Men, Mothers Work Less Hours than Other Women

- Since 1977, mothers increased the time spent in paid employment by more than 300 hours per year (an increase of 29 percent). Over the same period, the average annual hours of fathers fell by just 8 hours (or 1 percent).
- Fathers work more hours on average than other men, and mothers work fewer paid hours than other women, in each major racial and ethnic group. White fathers spend the highest number of hours at work, and the gap in annual hours between White mothers and fathers is the largest among all groups at 21 percent.
- Black mothers spend more time than other mothers in paid work, and have done so throughout the last four decades, and before. In 1977, Black women worked over 200 hours, around five weeks, more per year than White or Hispanic mothers. By 2017, Black mothers were still on average working over 104 hours more than Hispanic mothers, 89 hours more than White mothers, and 52 hours more than Asian mothers.
- Forty years ago, married mothers' average working time per year was approximately 20 percent lower than that of single mothers; by 2017, the difference was no more than 3 percent. The same convergence in hours has not happened among married and single fathers.
- The impact of marriage on the work hours of mothers varies starkly by race and ethnicity. Among White and Asian women, average annual hours are lower for



married than for single mothers; the reverse is true for Black mothers, and for Hispanic women there is no appreciable difference.

## Women Outnumber Men among Part-Time Workers and are Almost as Likely as Men to Work Part-Time Involuntarily

- The rate of part-time work varies over the life cycle, and is highest at the beginning and at the end of the working life for both women and men. Women part-time workers outnumber men at each stage of the life cycle, but the differences are particularly high during early- and mid-career.
- Almost nine in 10 of those who work part-time because of child care and other family-related reasons are women. Part-time work is significantly more common in low-wage occupations, such as cashiers, customer service representatives, and nursing and personal care workers, where women are the majority of the workforce and it is less common to have stable hours.
- Part-time work is often of lower quality than full-time work, with lower pay and few benefits. Providing part-time workers with lower benefits or pay than comparable full-time workers is illegal in most other high-income economies.
- Women are close to half of all involuntary part-time workers. The share of Black and Hispanic women part-time workers (ages 25 years and older) who report that they worked part-time involuntarily (22 and 21 percent, respectively) is more than twice as high as for White women (10 percent), and nearly twice as high as it is for Asian women (12 percent).

## Increasing Overwork Creates Barriers to Women's Advancement at Work and Exacerbates Gender Inequality at Home

- Nearly one in five women (18.2 percent) and nearly one in three men (31.8 percent) usually work more than 40 hours per week. For the majority of workers in this category, this means working more than 50 hours per week.
- The practice of overwork in many professional and managerial positions reduces women's access to the highest paid jobs because of the imbalance in family care responsibilities; likewise, overwork also makes it more difficult for men to contribute equally to care and domestic work.
- Research shows that working long hour days or weeks on a regular basis has adverse health consequences, reduces productivity, increases workplace injuries, and leads to lower job satisfaction.
- Unlike many other countries, where hours of work are more regulated as part of a concern with health and safety, the U.S Labor code offers few protections from

overwork (with the potential exception for workers with disabilities under the ADA).

## Work Schedules Have Become Less Regular Regardless of the Number of Hours Worked

- During the last decade, the line between work and non-work time has become increasingly blurred for full-time and part-time workers in both lower and higher-paid occupations. A substantial number of women in low-wage jobs have little control over the timing of their work.
- While some parents may proactively seek employment during non-standard hours as a means of organizing employment around child care needs, schedule fluctuations still have adverse impacts on parents and children.
- A growing number of U.S. workers work remotely thanks to advances in communication technologies. While control over where and when they work is a highly sought-after benefit, it often comes at a price—either due to work overload or adverse career consequences for making use of flexible working options.
- Business case studies—such as the Gap study, where workers were provided greater say over their schedules—show that using scheduling technology to allow workers a say leads to higher revenues and improved productivity.

## The Lack of Legal Rights to Paid Time Off is Exacerbating Inequality and Reduces Women's Labor Force Participation

- The lack of paid parental leave is one factor accounting for women's lower labor force participation rate in the United States compared with other high income countries. Job protected paid maternity leave improves women's labor market participation, allows them to maintain and build their earnings, and improves maternal and infant health.
- Access to paid time off and the length of paid time off is highly unequal. Low-wage workers are much less likely to have access to paid sick benefits, paid vacation and holidays, and paid family leave than higher earning workers. Hispanic workers are least likely to have access to paid sick time.

## Policy Recommendations

Redistributing and reorganizing hours of work is one way of distributing productivity gains from automation equitably, smoothing the potential disruptive impact of technological displacement, and encouraging greater gender equality in paid and unpaid work.

Recommendations to improve equity in work hours include:

- ***Guarantee paid family leave, paid sick days, and paid vacation.*** Investing in paid leave policies that address life cycle needs for time off (for parenthood, education, elder care and civic engagement) can potentially increase GDP by increasing labor force participation rates, particularly for women.
- ***Improve access to quality part-time or reduced hours work.*** Legislation to provide workers who work less than 35 hours with the right to equal treatment in pay, promotions, and benefits, and to give employees options for reducing their hours without having to change employment or their career, can improve access to quality part-time work.
- ***Increase worker control over the scheduling of their time at work.*** New scheduling technology makes it easier and less costly to prepare schedules and allocate shifts in occupations with extensive operating hours. Fair scheduling statutes passed in several jurisdictions offer examples of how to provide workers with more stability in the time they work.
- ***Discourage extensive overwork and overtime.*** Providing workers with a right to refuse mandatory overtime, and providing mandatory rest times between shifts, will reduce scheduling conflict and improve health. Updating overtime earnings thresholds, and ensuring that a larger number of women and men are covered by overtime regulations, will reduce employer incentives to make long hours an expected component of employment.
- ***Provide paid time for employees to upgrade their skills as technology changes.*** Technological innovation is affecting the delivery of learning and increasing the options for remote access to instruction. Yet, learning will continue to take time, time outside of paid work that women often do not have because of their care commitments. Paid time to upgrade skills and pursue lifelong learning can reduce inequality in access to new employment opportunities.
- ***Encourage work sharing through the Unemployment Insurance system during times of economic transition and downturns and facilitate work sharing more broadly.*** During slack business or downturns, work sharing arrangements allow

workers to receive unemployment benefits to compensate for loss of earnings if their hours are temporarily cut back. This allows employers to retain valued and skilled workers and provides greater economic security and workforce attachment to workers.

- ***Promote a reduction in the standard working week.*** Even though it fails to be the reality for many workers, the 40-hour workweek nevertheless has become the benchmark against which working time is judged. The 40-hour threshold has not been improved since 1938 and the coming decades provide an opportunity to share time and rewards more equally by lowering the legal definition of full-time work.

Technological innovation in the coming decades will provide opportunities to promote a more equal distribution of work, leisure, and family and community time. Technology is already making it much easier for employers and employees to design win-win solutions on scheduling and the location of work. While the reduction of paid time at work alone is unlikely to eliminate gender inequality, it can support men in being good caregivers and make it easier for women to succeed at work. Without proactive policy interventions on time at work, however, gender inequalities at work and at home will likely persist—or worse, increase.

# Introduction

In the coming decades, technological innovation through machine learning, robotics, and artificial intelligence is likely to automate many tasks and jobs (Brynjolfsson, Mitchell, and Rock 2018; Frey and Osborne 2013; Hegewisch, Childers, and Hartmann 2019). By improving productivity, freeing time, and allowing fewer workers to do more, technological innovation presents an opportunity to rethink the distribution of time spent on paid and unpaid work, and tackle the inequality in the division of domestic and care work between women and men. Innovation also creates the potential to create time for the lifelong learning required to keep pace with technological advances. This will improve job quality and reduce the harmful effects on health and safety from overwork and schedule uncertainty, allowing a better match between people's actual and preferred time at work. Lastly, it provides an opportunity to reshape time allocated between work and various other components of life such as family, marriage, health, and community.

Gender differences in paid and unpaid time at work are an important aspect of gender inequality. As more women have moved into paid work, the need for family care work has not disappeared. Women tend to spend more time on unpaid household and family care work, and men spend more time in paid work, even though differences in paid work have narrowed in recent decades (Bianchi et al. 2000; Parker and Wang 2013). Women are more likely than men to work part-time (Dunn 2018), and men are more likely than women to work overtime and in jobs that require very long work weeks (Cha and Weeden 2014). Additionally, women are more likely than men to have breaks in their paid working lives and pay for it dearly with lower earnings than men during their working lives, facing higher rates of poverty in older age (Rose and Hartmann 2018).

Average time at work has fallen dramatically since the Industrial Revolution and declined for most of the twentieth century, but these trends started to stall and even reverse in recent decades (Messenger 2018). Moreover, there has been a growing bifurcation in hours worked, with usual time at work increasing for some workers, while others have fewer and less regular time in paid work (LaBriola and Schneider 2019; Lambert, Fugiel, and Henly 2014; Messenger 2018; Wilson and Jones 2018). Persistent unemployment, and racial/ethnic and regional differences in its likelihood, remains perhaps the most visible reminder of the inequality in the distribution of paid work (Labin et al. 2018; Wilson 2018).

Differences in paid hours worked reflect three components: hours usually spent in paid work, time off from work for vacation and other leaves and labor force participation, and unemployment. The United States differs from other high income countries by having more hours at paid work and less formal time off work (Alesina, Glaeser and Sacerdote 2005). Indeed, the United States is unique among high income countries for not providing legal rights to paid time off from work ( Heymann et al. 2009; Maye 2019; World Policy Analysis Center 2019). The lack of paid leave for pregnancy and maternity is one of the factors accounting for the fact that women’s labor force participation in the United States has fallen behind that of other high income economies (Blau and Kahn 2013). In the absence of legal rights to paid parental leave, paid vacation, or paid sick time, workers depend on their employers’ pay and benefit policies, with high paid employees being much more likely to have access to such benefits than lower paid ones (Glynn, Boushey, and Berg 2016; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018a), exacerbating differences in racial and ethnic inequalities among workers (Bartel et al. 2019).

Paid time at work can further be perceived along four dimensions (see for example Hegewisch and Gornick 2008; Golden 2014):

- duration: how many hours are spent at work;
- scheduling: when work is performed;
- variability: the stability and predictability of schedules and number of hours;
- location: where work is performed.

Across all of these spans a fifth dimension of choice and control: how far individual working time arrangements reflect individual preferences. Given that women typically have greater responsibility than men for unpaid care work, including transporting children to and from school, for example, women and men are typically impacted differently by each of those four dimensions, and may differ in their scope of achieving a match between their preferred and actual working time arrangements. As Howcroft and Rubery (2019) highlight, gender bias is deeply embedded in the current social order, and “if it is not tackled head-on, the future of work is likely to exacerbate gender equality gaps.”

This paper reviews why work hours matter to gender equality and the role time-related policies may play in reducing gender inequality, and, more generally, social and economic inequality. It reviews trends related to each of these dimensions, highlighting gender differences and the consequences of such differences for gender (in)equality. The first section presents basic trends in annual hours worked for men and women, parents and those who do not have dependent children, and for the largest racial and ethnic

groups. It highlights the growing trend toward overwork in some occupations, the decline in hours and earnings in others, and the low job quality in part-time work. For each aspect of time at work examined, it shows gender differences, and highlights the effect on gender inequality. The second section focuses on developments in workplace policies impacting the quality of time worked, with particular regard to scheduling control and predictability, remote work, and access to paid time off for medical and family care, sickness and vacation. This section highlights approaches that are being used elsewhere in the world to improve the quality of time worked. The paper concludes by proposing alternative models of redistributing working hours, including legal rights to paid time off for vacation, medical and care giving leaves, new ways of supporting time for lifelong learning, enhanced access to quality part-time and reduced hours work and work sharing, reducing and discouraging overwork, and building on the potential of new technologies to provide greater scheduling control.

## Methodology

This paper draws on U.S. and international policy and research literature on hours of work. It uses micro or individual-level data from the monthly Current Population Survey (CPS) and its Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC) for women and men to analyze trends in annual hours worked, actual weekly hours worked, and labor force participation rates, capturing change during the last four decades. It focuses on workers ages 25 to 64 years, after individuals typically have completed their education and before they qualify for Medicare.



# Gender Differences in Trends in Paid Time at Work

## During the Last Four Decades Women's Hours Rose while Men's Declined Marginally

During the last forty years, average hours and weeks spent in paid work have increased strongly for women and slightly declined for men. Substantial gender differences, however, persist, particularly for women and men who are parents of dependent children.

In 1938, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, which set a 40-hour work week as a reference point; a 40-hour work week for 52 weeks per year translates into a 2080-hour work year.<sup>1</sup> During the 40 years studied, women's average hours<sup>2</sup> have increased substantially, from 1,556 to 1,863 per year in 2017, but have remained below the 2080 hours benchmark. Average hours worked for men during the same period declined only marginally from 2,147 per year in 1977 to 2,110 per year in 2017, and stayed above this 2080 hour threshold in all but eight years when the U.S. economy experienced recession (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup> Thus, on average men regularly work overtime, while on average women's paid work is slightly below the 40 hour per week threshold.

---

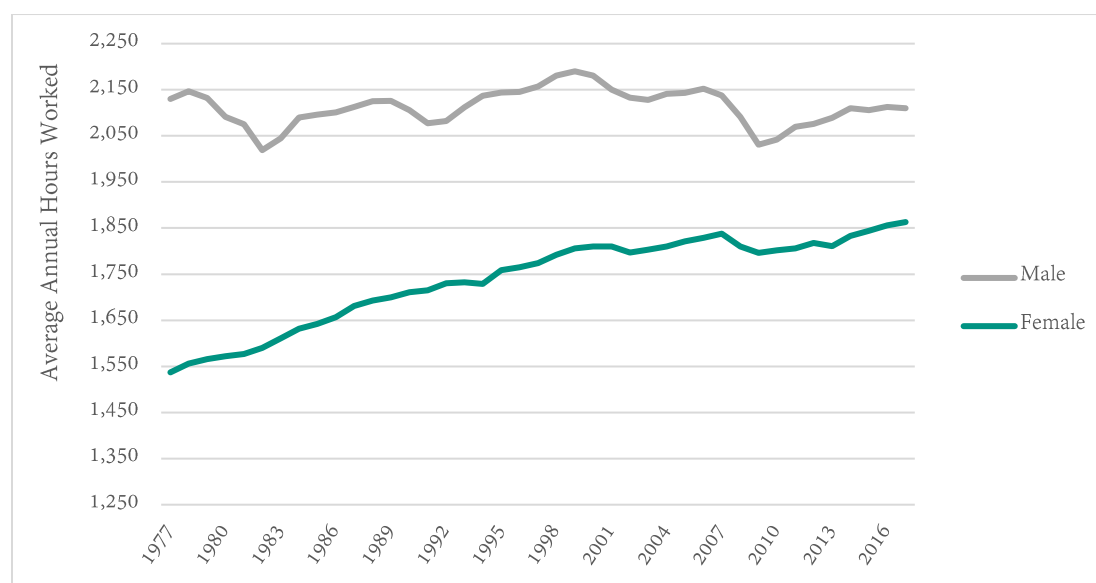
<sup>1</sup> The intent behind the 40-hour work week was to encourage the sharing of work and creation of additional employment opportunities by mandating a 150 percent overtime premium for non-supervisory workers for additional hours beyond 40.

<sup>2</sup> The calculation of average annual hours is based on ASEC survey questions regarding "usual hours worked per week" times "weeks worked per year" in the calendar year prior to the survey. The ASEC does not include a question about how many paid days' vacation or time-off an individual took per year, and hence overestimates actual time spent at work. See Appendix for a more detailed discussion of data sources on hours worked and time off.

<sup>3</sup> This calculation is based on a respondent's information about their usual hours worked per week, and their usual weeks worked per year; we do not know whether any of that time was spent on paid leave or vacation (see appendix for further discussion of the measurement of working hours).

## Figure 1. Men's Usual Annual Hours Worked Only Marginally Declined since 1977, Women's Rose Substantially

*Average Annual Hours Worked by Workers Ages 25–64, by Gender, 1977–2017*



Notes: Usual annual hours worked is calculated as “usual weekly hours worked” times “weeks worked in last calendar year.”

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the CPS ASEC (Flood et al. 2018).

The rise in women's average annual hours reflects an increase both in average hours worked per week, and average weeks worked per year. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics defines full-year as working at least 35 hours per week, for at least 50 weeks per year. The share of all employed women who worked full-time, year-round rose sharply during the last four decades, from 44.7 percent in 1980 to 62.2 percent of all employed women in 2016 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018a, Table 23). On average, full-time women workers now work five more weeks per year than they did in 1977; men also saw an increase in average weeks worked per year since 1977, but theirs is an increase of only one week (Figure 2).

## Figure 2. Women on Average Spent Nine More Weeks at Work in 2017 than They Did in 1977

*Average Weeks in Paid Work per Year for Workers Ages 25–64, for all Workers and for Full-time Workers by Gender in 1977, 1997, and 2017*



Notes: Full-time defined as at least 35 hours per week.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

## Polarization in Hours Worked between Workers

The data in Figure 2 also point to a growing polarization among women, and to some extent men, between those who work full-time, year-round, and those who work less than that. Average weeks worked by women full-time workers continued to increase; average weeks worked by all women did not. Gender differences in weeks worked per year between women and men full-time workers completely disappeared between 1997 and 2017, and are now at 50 weeks per year. During the same time, however, the average number of weeks in paid work for all women, including those who usually work less than full-time, did not increase at all, and are still at 35 weeks per year; and average weeks worked for all employed men fell from 44 in 1977 to 42 in 2017.

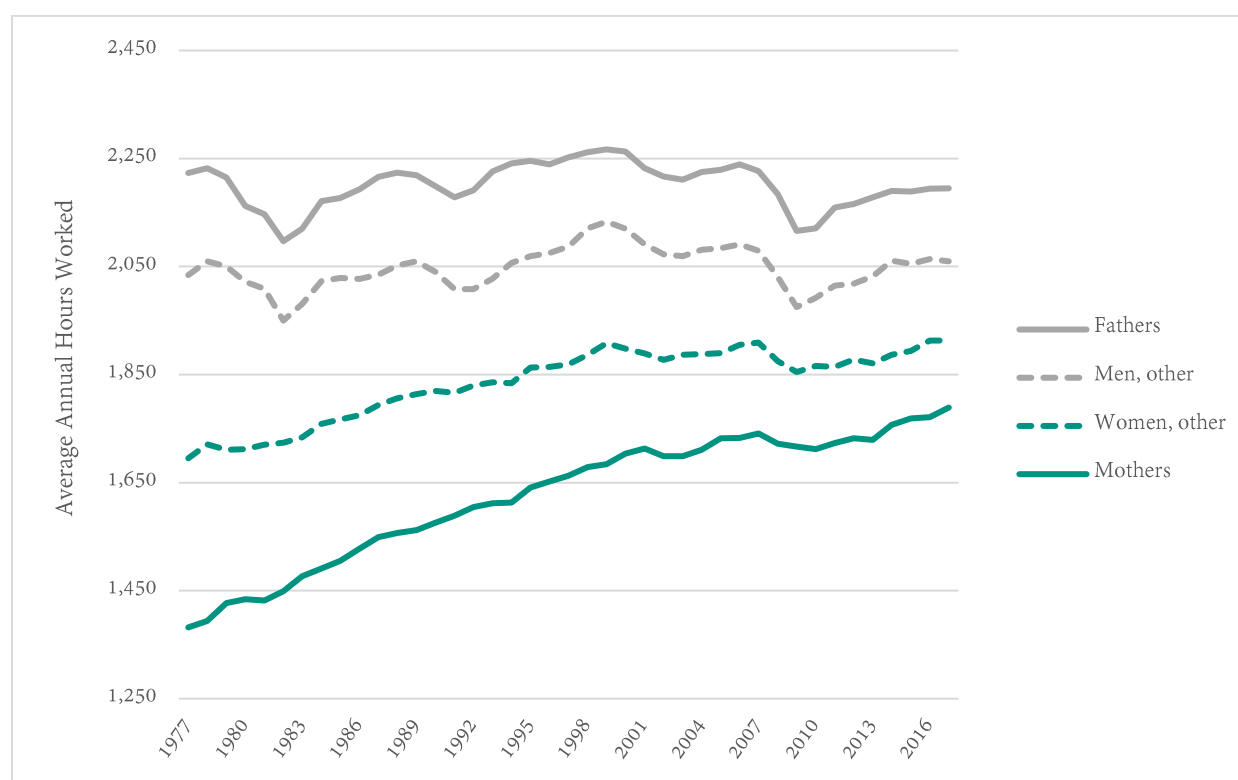
## Parenthood and Marriage have a Stronger Effect on Women's Working Hours than Men's

Parenthood exacerbates gender differences in paid hours worked. Fathers, on average, work more hours than other men, and mothers work fewer paid hours than other

women.<sup>4</sup> During the last four decades, mothers' average time in paid work increased substantially, but changed hardly at all for fathers (Figure 3). Since 1977, mothers increased the time spent in paid employment by more than 300 hours per year (an increase of 29 percent). Their hours at work increased much more than the average for other women (those without children or with children who are 18 years or older). Over the same period, the average annual hours of fathers fell by just 8 hours (or 1 percent; authors' calculation based on Figure 3). On average, employed mothers now work 7.5 weeks longer per year than they did in 1977, while fathers work one day less.

### Figure 3. Average Hours in Employment Increased Sharply for Mothers but Stayed Almost Unchanged for Fathers

*Mean Annual Hours Worked for Workers Ages 25–64, by Gender and Parental Status, 1977 to 2017*



Notes: Mothers and fathers are defined to have children younger than 18; other women and men either have no children or children who are 18 and older.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

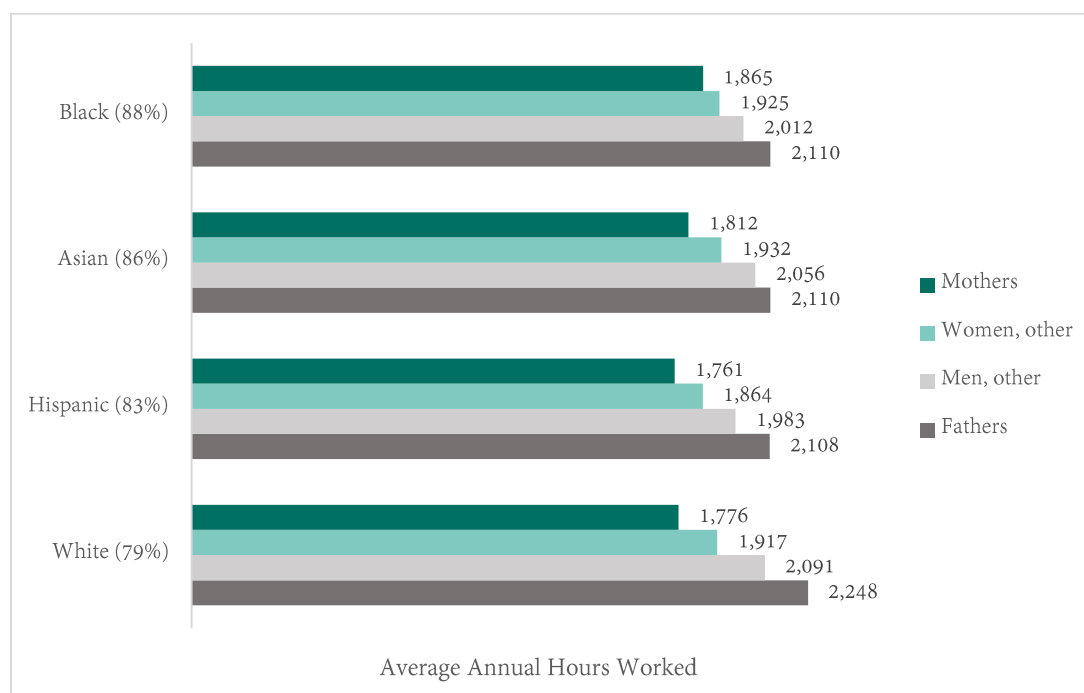
<sup>4</sup> Fathers, mothers, and parents are defined as having children under the age of 18.

### *The Gap in Paid Hours between Mothers and Fathers is Largest for White Parents, and Smallest for Black Parents*

These two basic facets—the increase in average annual hours worked by mothers in the last four decades, and the fact that fathers spend more hours in paid work, more than other men, other women, and mothers—also holds for women and men of each of the largest racial and ethnic groups. Yet, the impact of parenthood differs substantially for different racial /ethnic groups (Figure 4). Black mothers spend more time than other mothers in paid work, and have done so throughout the last four decades. In 1977, Black women worked over 200 hours, around five weeks, more per year than White or

**Figure 4. Differences between Annual Hours of Mothers and Fathers are Largest for White Workers, Smallest for Black Workers**

*Mean Annual Hours Worked for Workers of Largest Racial and Ethnic Groups, by Gender and Parental Status, 2017*



Notes: Mothers and fathers are defined to have children younger than 18; other women and men either have no children or children who are 18 and older. Asian includes Pacific Islanders; Whites, Blacks and Asians/Pacific Islanders are non-Hispanic. Brackets show ratio of mothers' to fathers' hours.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Hispanic mothers.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, while average time at work rose for all groups of mothers, it took until the early 1990s for White and Hispanic mothers' average annual hours at work to surpass the 1978 level for Black mothers (authors' calculations, data not shown elsewhere). By 2017, Black mothers were still on average working over 104 hours more than Hispanic mothers, 89 hours more than White mothers, and 52 hours more than Asian mothers.

Among men, White fathers spend the highest number of hours at work, and the gap in annual hours between White mothers and fathers is 21 percent, larger than for other groups (Figure 4). Meanwhile, the gap in annual hours worked between Black mothers and fathers is smaller than for other groups, at 12 percent (authors' calculation based on Figure 4).

*Married Mothers' Paid Time at Work is Now Almost as High as Single Mothers', but Patterns Differ by Race and Ethnicity*

During the last forty years, the difference in average paid time at work between married and single mothers has almost disappeared (Figure 5). Forty years ago married mothers' average working time per year was approximately 20 percent lower than that of single mothers; by 2017 the difference was no more than 3 percent. In the 1970s, over half of all families with children under 18 were married couples with a single male breadwinner, meaning that only the father was in the labor market while the mother worked in the home; such an arrangement is much less common now (Reichlin, Hegewisch, and Gault 2016). In the majority of families with children, all adults are in the labor force, and this is particularly so in lower- and middle- income households with fewer resources to have only one parent employed (Boushey 2014).

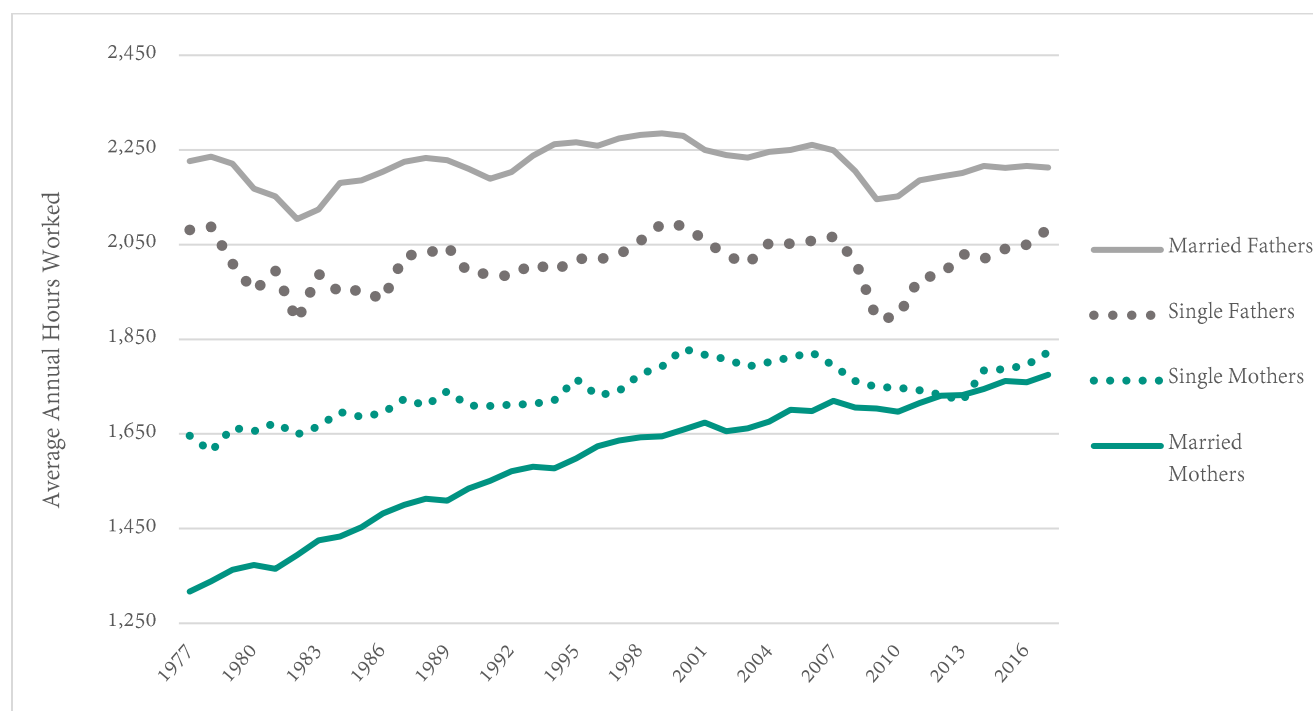
The same convergence in hours has not happened among married and single fathers. Average hours worked by married fathers in 2017, at 2,213 or an average of 42.5 hours for each week of the year, are almost at the same level as in 1977, and also continue to exceed the hours worked by single fathers (Figure 5).

---

<sup>5</sup> Data for Asian mothers are not available for 1978.

## Figure 5. Single Mothers Spent More Hours in Paid Employment than Married Mothers, while Single Fathers Spent Fewer Hours than Married Fathers

*Mean Annual Hours Worked by Parents of Children Younger than 18, by Gender and Marital Status, 1977–2017*



Notes: Mothers and fathers are defined to have children younger than 18 years of age; single includes never married, divorced, widowed and separated.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

The impact of marriage on hours of work of mothers varies strongly by race and ethnicity.<sup>6</sup> Among White and Asian women, average annual hours are lower for married than for single mothers; the reverse is true for Black mothers, and for Hispanic women there is no appreciable difference (Figure 6).

These differences express cultural attitudes—Hispanic families, for example, are more likely than other groups to say that children fare better when they are cared for by a parent (Livingston 2014)—as much as economic opportunities and job structures. White and Asian workers tend to have higher educational attainment than Black or Hispanic workers, and hence are more likely to work in professional and managerial

<sup>6</sup> Comparable data for fathers, marital status, hours of work are not available because of insufficient sample sizes.



jobs (Hess et al. 2015). While access to higher earnings provides incentives to stay in employment, particularly at the high end, the demands of the jobs are often such that little time is left for planning, child care or housework; typically it is still the mother who is pushed out of the high level career (Stone 2007) even though in at least some couples fathers and mothers take turns in who focuses on their career, and who cuts back (Becker and Moen 1999). Black families, on the other hand, tend to be less wealthy (Reeves and Guyot 2017) and thus have less access to resources that could reduce their hours in paid work.

### Figure 6. Asian Single Mothers have the Highest Annual Working Hours, and White Married Mothers the Lowest

*Mean Annual Hours Worked by Mothers of Largest Racial/Ethnic Groups, by Marital Status, 2017*



Notes: Mothers are defined to have children younger than 18 years of age; single includes never married, divorced, widowed and separated; Whites, Blacks and Asians/Pacific Islanders are non-Hispanic, Hispanics may be of any race.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

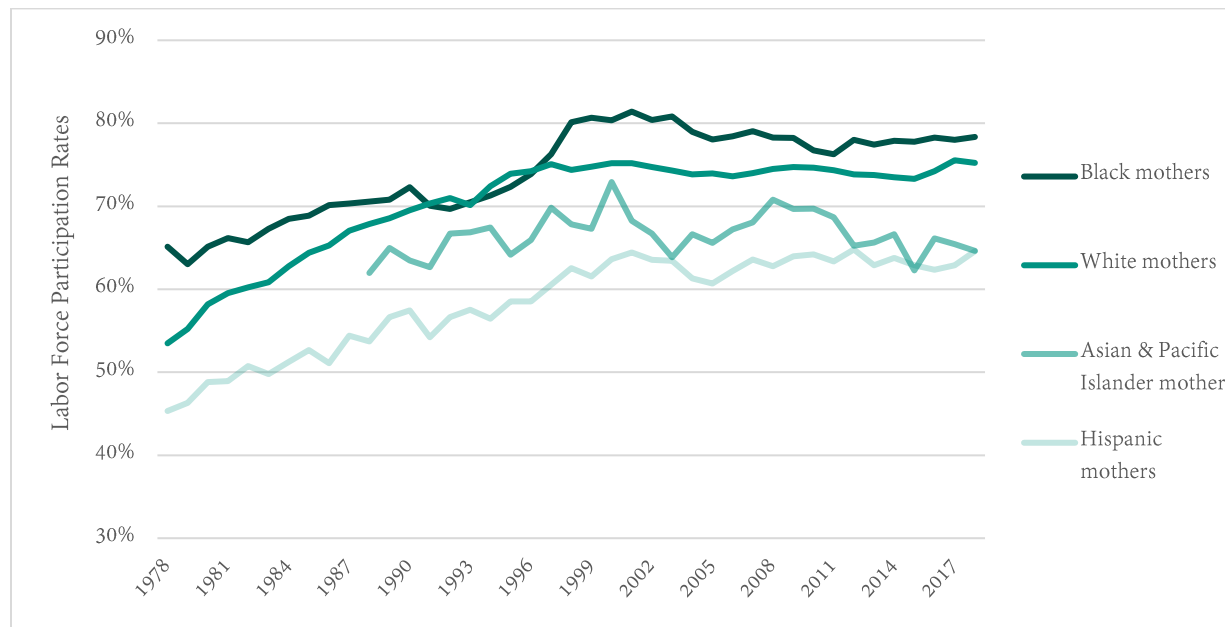
The differences in trends between married and single parents suggest that mothers' lives have changed much more than fathers'. The increase in mothers' time in paid work has not been compensated by a reduction of fathers' paid time.

### *The Increase in Mothers' Average Hours is no Longer Matched by an Increase in Mothers' Likelihood of being Employed*

The data above show a steady increase in the average number of hours worked by employed mothers during the last 40 years. For the first 20 years, the increase in average time worked was accompanied by an increase in the likelihood that mothers were in the labor market: proportionally more mothers worked, and did so for more hours. The additional hours of paid work by women, particularly mothers, during the last 40 years made a substantial contribution to the growth of the American economy (Appelbaum, Boushey, and Schmitt 2013; Council of Economic Advisers 2015). Yet, since the early 2000s, there has been no further growth in the proportion of mothers who are in the labor market. Labor force participation rates have stalled for mothers of all the largest racial and ethnic groups (Figure 7). The hours of mothers who are employed are still increasing, but the likelihood that mothers are in the labor force has not.

**Figure 7. Across all Largest Racial and Ethnic Groups, Mothers' Labor Force Participation Rates Stalled from the 2000s Onward**

Rates of Labor Force Participation for Mothers of Children under 18, by Race and Ethnicity, 1978–2018



Notes: Whites, Blacks and Asians/Pacific Islanders are non-Hispanic, Hispanics may be of any race.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the monthly Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Fathers' rates of labor force participation have remained high and did not fall during the same time period. White, Asian, and Hispanic fathers have participation rates of well

over 90 percent (94, 94, and 93 percent, respectively). Black men's rate of labor force participation is slightly lower, at 89 percent (authors' analysis, data not shown).

Women in the United States used to be more likely to be in the labor force than women in many other high income countries, but this is no longer the case (Blau and Kahn 2013). The United States ranks 22 of 31 high- and middle-income countries in terms of mothers' employment rates (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2019). Blau and Kahn show that the lack of benefits such as paid time off for maternity and parental leave, low public investment in child care, and lower rates of part-time work are major contributing factors to this trend. The stalling in mothers' rates of labor force participation suggests that families may have reached the limit of how much they can contribute to the paid economy; without substantial investment in a care infrastructure it is unlikely that parents' labor force participation can increase. And without a major redistribution between mothers' and fathers' time in paid and unpaid work, existing gender inequalities will continue.

*Even though Mothers' Time in Paid Work Increased, the Division of Labor between Mothers and Fathers Remains Very Traditional*

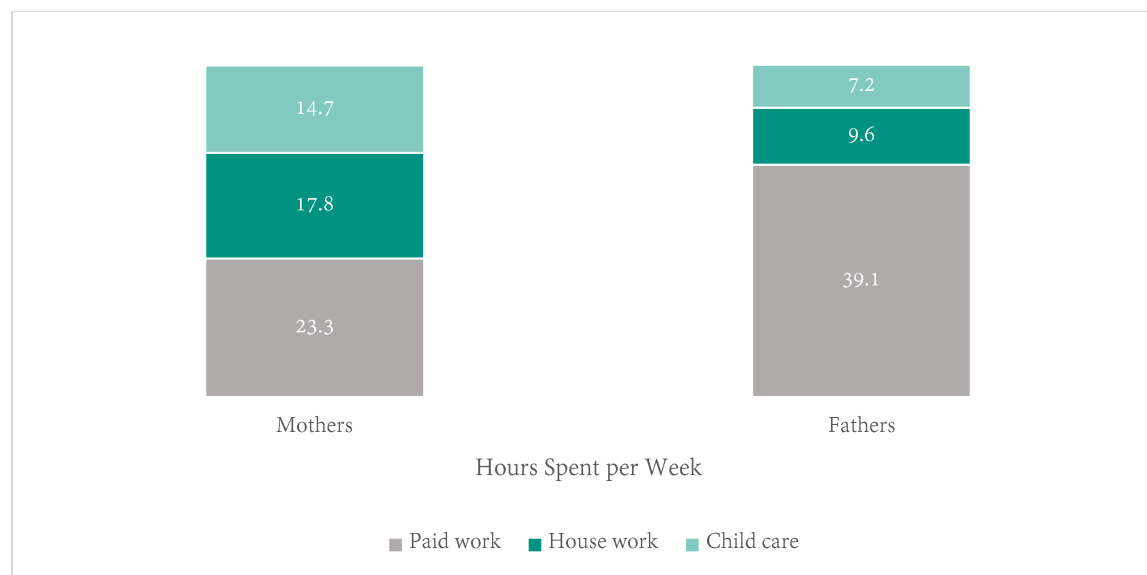
Time use data suggest that on the whole, parenthood in the United States continues to be characterized by a deeply traditional division of labor between mothers and fathers. Even though mothers and fathers spend about the same amount of hours when paid and unpaid time are added up (the United States is much more egalitarian in this regard than most other countries where women tend to work much more hours than men; Samman et al. 2016), as can be seen in Figure 8, mothers spend much less time in paid work than fathers, while fathers spend much less time on housework or child care than mothers.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> When the analysis is restricted to only those parents are employed full-time (including both married and single parents), there is a balance of overall work hours in favor of men (on average full-time employed mothers work for 60.5 hours per week (36.3 hours in paid work, 13.8 hours on housework, and 14.7 hours on child care) while full-time employed men work 2.5 hours less per week at 58.0 hours (42.2 hours in paid work, 9.2 hours on housework, and 6.6 hours on child care). Men have three more hours of leisure time per week than women (IWPR analysis of American Time Use Survey 2018).

## Figure 8. Mothers Spend More than Twice as Much Time on Child Care as Fathers

*Average Weekly Hours Spent on Paid Work, Child Care, and Housework by Mothers and Fathers, 2018*



Notes: Mothers and fathers defined as having children younger than 18 years old; includes individuals ages 18-64, irrespective of whether they are employed or not and irrespective of marriage status. Data are collected in minutes per day, averaged to the nearest full hour.

Source: IWPR calculations from the 2018 American Time Use Survey.

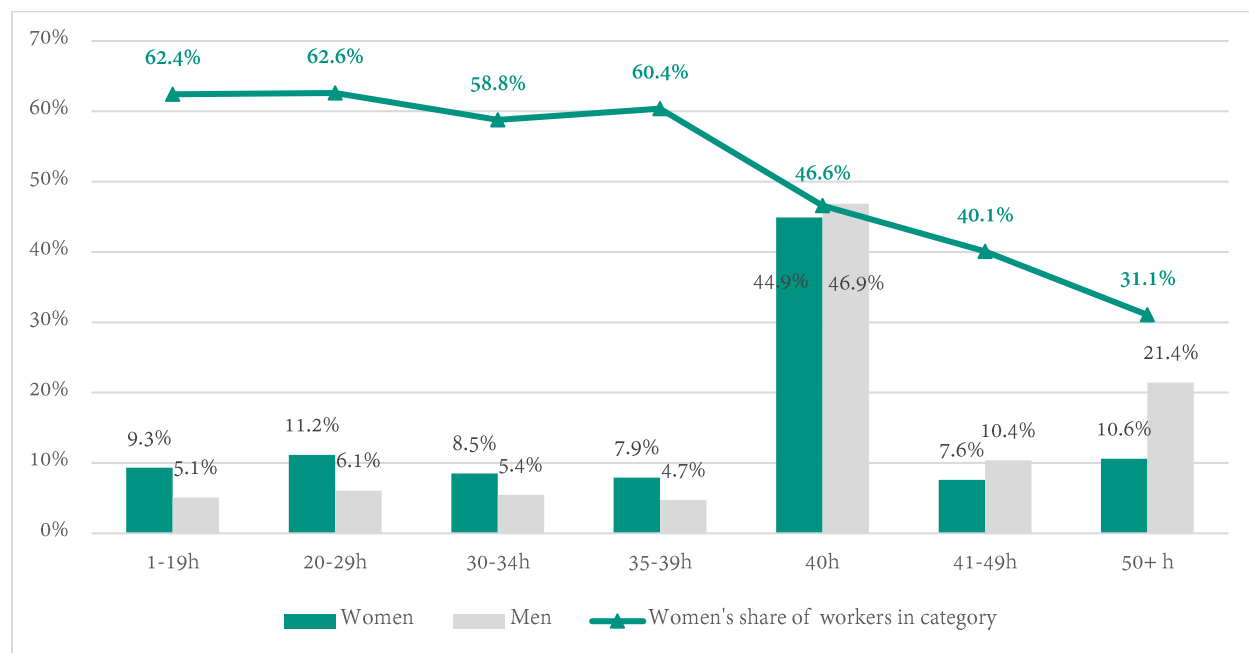
These data provide an average across all mothers, including mothers not in the labor market. Even as mothers' labor market attachment has increased dramatically, it continues to be almost exclusively mothers who adjust their time at work when there are children. Such adjustments are potentially costly over the life cycle, impacting women's economic security, earnings progression, and resources during retirement (see, for example, Bertrand, Goldin, and Katz 2010; Rose and Hartmann 2018).

### Full-Time Work, Part-Time Work, and Overwork

The increase in average time at work masks considerable variation in the usual time worked by individuals. The 40-hour week remains a prominent reference point for the plurality of women and men—45 percent of women and 47 percent of men say that this is their usual time at work (Figure 9). Yet, almost a fifth women (18.2 percent) and almost third of men (31.8 percent) usually work more than 40 hours per week, while more than a third of women (36.9 percent) and more than a fifth of men (21.3 percent) usually work less than 40 hours per week. This section will discuss the implication of gender differences in the length of the working week, and how far such differences reflect workers' preferences.

## Figure 9. Women Outnumber Men among Workers who Work Fewer than 40 Hours per Week, and Men Outnumber Women among Workers with at least 40 Hours per Week

*Distribution of Workers Ages 18 and Older by Hours Worked per Week, 2018*



Notes: Actual hours worked last week.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the monthly Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

### *Women Outnumber Male Part-time Workers throughout the Life Cycle*

About a quarter of women in the United States work part-time, approximately double the rate of men (BLS 2018b). While work hour needs and preferences vary over the life cycle, women outnumber men among part-time workers in each age group (Table 1). Part-time work is highest among young workers while they are in school or college. Women and men are less likely to work part-time during middle age, and then increase the rate of part-time work as they age. Yet, women's rates of part-time work are substantially higher than men's, a reflection of the unequal division of labor of child care and care work.

**Table 1. Women are More Likely than Men to Work Part-time, Particularly During their Primary Working Years**

Women's Share of All Part-time Workers, and Women and Men Part-time Workers as Share of All Workers, 2018

	Women's Share of all Part-time workers	Women Part-time Workers as Share of all Women Workers	Men Part-time Workers as Share of all Men Workers
Less than 18 years	57%	93%	86%
18–24 years	57%	51%	38%
25–54 years	63%	23%	12%
55–65 years	64%	29%	15%
66+ years	51%	50%	37%

Notes: Actual hours worked. Part-time work is defined as work of 1 to 34 hours per week.

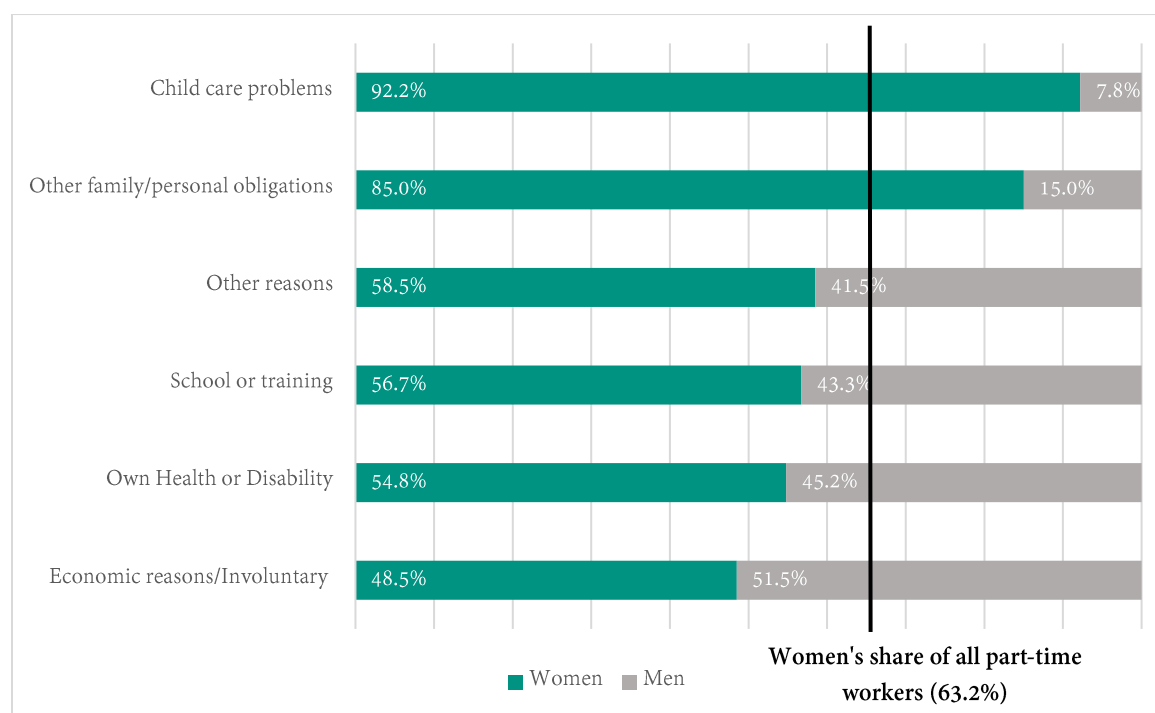
Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the monthly Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

Figure 10 shows strong gender differences in reasons for part-time work. Women ages 25–64 years old are slightly over six in ten of all part-time workers, but over nine in ten of those who work part-time for child care reasons, and close to nine in ten of those who work part-time because of Other Family or Personal Obligations. Other reasons for working part-time, such as School or Training, or Own Health or Disability, are much less distorted by gender, even though women outnumber men in each of the categories.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics classifies only those as involuntary part-time workers who explicitly say that they would prefer a full-time job or that they are working part-time because of slack working conditions. Under this definition, the large majority of both women and men work part-time voluntarily (87.0 and 76.7 percent, respectively, of part-time workers ages 25–64 in 2018, data not shown). Even if the large majority of women part-time workers say that they are not looking for full-time work, their reasons for working part-time work may nevertheless reflect economic constraints. A third of women part-time workers (34 percent) report working part-time because of child care problems, or family or other personal obligations (authors' calculations not shown elsewhere). Quality full-time child care or elder care is often not affordable or available, requiring women to find paid work that fits around the care needs of their family.

## Figure 10. Women Are over Ninety Percent of those who Work Part-time because of Child Care Problems

*Women's Share of Part-time Work by Reasons for Working Part-time, Workers Ages 25–64, 2018*



Notes: Part-time work is defined as work of 1 to 34 hours per week. Part-time for economic reasons includes part-time schedule due to slack work/business conditions, seasonal work, job started or ended during the reference week or respondent could only find part-time work.

Source: IWPR analysis of microdata from the monthly Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

### *Women are Close to Half of all Involuntary Part-time Workers*

A substantial number of women and men are involuntary part-time workers and would prefer full-time work (13.0 percent of women, and 23.3 percent of men part-time workers; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019). Women are close to half (48 percent) of all involuntary part-time workers (Figure 10 above). Involuntary part-time work is highly cyclical; during the Great Recession and its aftermath—between 2009 and 2013—it was almost double the level it was in 2018. There are also sharp racial and ethnic differences in the likelihood of someone working part-time involuntarily. The share of Black and Hispanic women part-time workers (ages 25 years and older) who report that they worked part-time involuntarily (22 and 21 percent respectively) is more than twice as high as that for White women (10 percent), and close to twice as high as it is for Asian women (12 percent; authors' calculation based on U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019).



Part-time work is significantly more common in low-wage than in high wage occupations, and it is highest for both women and men in low-wage occupations where women are the majority of the workforce, such as cashiers, customer service representatives, and nursing and personal care workers (Shaw et al. 2016). A third of women who work part-time as maids and cleaners, and over a quarter of nursing, psychiatric and home health care aides, personal care aides, fast food prep workers and personal appearance workers worked part-time because they could not find full-time jobs (Shaw et al. 2016). While there has been little change in the rate of part-time work overall since 2000, the number of full-time women workers fell by 15 percentage points for cashiers, nine percentage points for customer service representatives, eight percent for child care workers, and 7.5 percent for retail sales staff, all occupations which already had high rates of part-time work and are among the twenty largest occupations for women (Hegewisch, Childers, and Hartmann 2019). In low-wage service sector jobs, employers have increasingly shifted the costs of fluctuations in demand to workers, by reducing their paid time and by varying shift times (Carré and Tilly 2014).

### ***Part-Time Work is Often of Lower Quality than Full-time Work, with Lower Pay and Few Benefits***

The rate of part-time work for women in the United States is much lower than in most other high income countries (OECD 2019b). In the United States more than in other countries, access to vital employer benefits such as health insurance and pension plans depends on working at least 30 hours per week; moreover, unlike most other high income countries, part-time workers lack legal rights to equal treatment with comparable full-time workers (Heron 2005; International Labour Organisation 2019).

Employers can (and often do) pay part-time workers less pro-rata than comparable full-time workers (Bond et al. 2004) and provide less access to paid vacations and other paid time off (see for example U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018g). Women who want or need to reduce their hours often find it difficult to find work that is commensurate with their skills and experience, so that shifting to part-time work does not only entail a cut in earnings because they work fewer hours, but also because they have to accept lower paid work (Kossek and Lautsch 2017; Stone 2007; Webber and Williams 2008;). Fewer than one in ten employers allow most employees to switch from full-time to part-time work in the same position (Matos, Galinsky and Bond 2016). While some companies, and some managers in some companies, are taking steps for ensuring that part-time and reduced hours work is available in professional and managerial jobs without career penalties (see for example Calvert, Chanow and Marks 2009; Kossek et al. 2016), these remain the exception. Quality part-time work is particularly rare in growing IT

occupations, which exacerbates women's underrepresentation in these jobs (Roberts et al. 2019). Thus, there is significant financial and career pressure for women to work full-time or not at all. The lack of quality full-time work options is likely contributing to the stagnation in the labor force participation rate of mothers.

### ***Many (Other) High-Income Countries have Legislation to Promote Quality Part-Time Work***

Since the late 1990s, a number of high income countries have passed legislation to make it easier for workers to access quality part-time work. Regulation addresses two aspects of quality part-time work: ensuring equal treatment so that someone who is working part-time is not treated worse than someone working full-time, and making it easier to access quality part-time work or to return from part-time to full-time work. This dual approach is best exemplified by The 1997 European Union Part-time Work framework agreement,<sup>8</sup> which is binding on all 27 member countries of the European Union. Since its implementation, all states are bound by the equal treatment component of the agreement. Starting with the Netherlands (the country in the world with the highest rate of part-time work in the world, for both women and men), several countries also passed "Right to Request" legislations (Heron 2005). These laws provides employees with a process for requesting a reduction or increase in the hours they currently work, and mandates employers to consider such requests within a set timeframe, without retaliation, and in good faith with a limited number of potential options for refusing such a request (Hegewisch 2009). Australia and New Zealand have implemented similar laws. The 2010 European Union Parental Leave Directive provides a specific right for employees to request a temporary move to part-time work (with fewer employer reasons for objections (Gornick and Hegewisch 2014). Rights to temporarily reduced working time have a long history before then, particularly in the context of facilitating participation in training and education (Hegewisch and Gornick 2008).

## **Overwork has Become Standard in the Highest Paid Jobs and is Reducing Women's Access to Those Jobs**

While part-time work has increased in low wage jobs, well-paid managerial and professional jobs often require particularly long working weeks. Close to one in five women (18.2 percent) and almost one in three men (31.8 percent) regularly work more

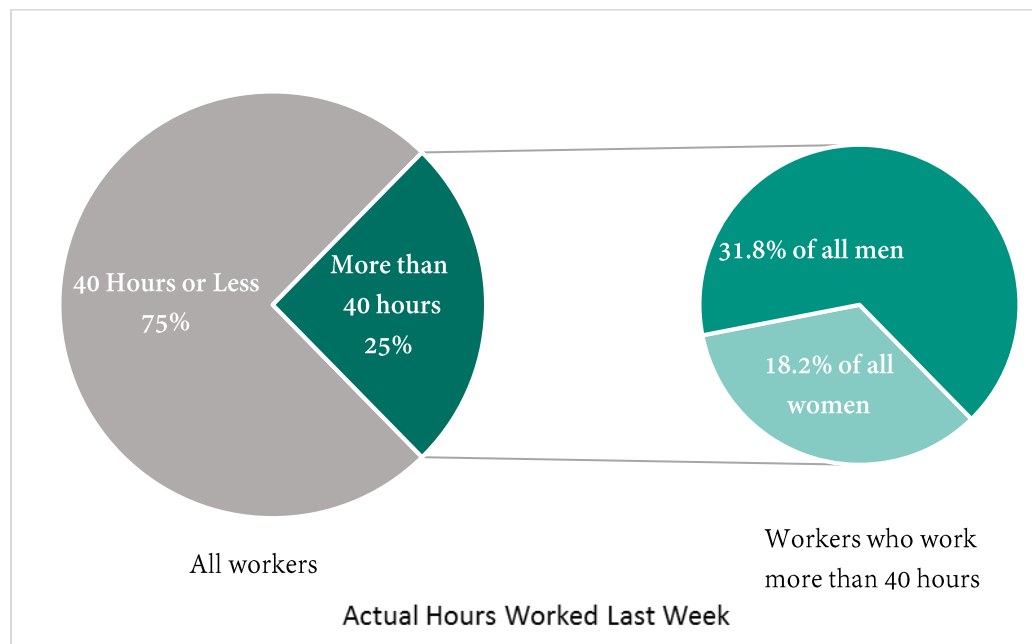
---

<sup>8</sup> The purpose of the European Council Directive 97/81/EC of 15 December 1997 agreement is set out as "Clause 1 Purpose (a) to provide for the removal of discrimination against part-time workers and to improve the quality of part-time work;(b) to facilitate the development of part-time work on a voluntary basis and to contribute to the flexible organization of working time in a manner which takes into account the needs of employers and workers. It further specifies in Clause 4 (Principles of non-discrimination) "[...] part-time workers shall not be treated in a less favourable manner than comparable full-time workers solely because they work part time unless different treatment is justified on objective grounds. 2. Where appropriate, the principle of pro rata temporis shall apply."

than 40 hours per week (Figure 11). For the majority of workers in this category, this means working more than 50 hours per week (see Figure 9 above).

### Figure 11. A Quarter of All Workers—More than Three in Ten Men, and Close to Five in Ten Women—Regularly Work more than 40 Hours per Week

*The Proportion of All Workers who Usually Work more than 40 Hours per Week, and the Proportion of Women and Men who Usually Work more than 40 Hours, 2018*



Notes: Actual hours worked last week for workers ages 18 and older.

Source: IWPR analysis of micro data from the monthly Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2018).

As Cha and Weeden (2014) have shown, since 1979 the monetary returns to overwork (of 50 hours or more) have increased sharply, as overwork has become disproportionately common in professional and managerial work. Globalization of financial and product markets and technological developments in communications technologies increase demands for 24/7 availability and have eroded previous boundaries to the working day (Eichorst et al. 2018). Women are less likely to work such excessive hours, and because the highest paid jobs increasingly involve long hours, are less likely to be able to advance to the highest paid positions. The lack of progress in closing the gender wage gap in spite of women's growing educational attainment coincided with the growth of overwork (Cha and Weeden 2014). Erosa et al. (2017) likewise find that earnings are highest in the occupations with the highest average

annual hours, a trend that holds for both women and men, though even where women work in occupations with high average hours, they do not equalize their pay with men.

Apart from reducing women's access to the highest paid jobs, the requirement of overwork can also push women out of the labor market (or off the career track) altogether. Women in professional and managerial jobs are often married to men in the same fields; with two high intensity jobs raising children is difficult. More often than not, it is women who step back or are pushed out of their career jobs (Cha 2010; Stone 2007). As Miller (2019) put it, "Just as more women earned degrees, the jobs that require those degrees started paying disproportionately more to people with round-the-clock availability. [...] But parents can be on call at work only if someone is on call at home. Usually, that person is the mother." Bertrand, Goldin, and Katz (2010) studied gender (in)equality between women and men completing elite MBA programs, and found that expectations of excessive hours—average weekly hours for investment bankers in the study were 74, for consultants 61—were a key factor in pushing women out of the highest paying positions. Pressures to work excessive hours are particularly high in the first five to ten years after obtaining an MBA, coinciding with key child bearing years for women; women MBAs who had children often reduced hours, and to do that often had to leave their job and set up on their own, as an independent consultant; any period of shorter working time or leave of more than six months meant that they never caught up with the earnings and career projections of their peers.

### *Overwork is Costly, and Not Very Efficient*

Working long hour days or weeks on a regular basis can have high costs for individuals (see Gerstel and Clawson 2018 for a review). Dembe and Yao (2016) evaluated health data over more than three decades and found a clear increased risk of chronic diseases such as heart disease, arthritis, diabetes, and certain cancers for those who regularly work long hours. Women with long hours were found to be at higher risk than men.

As De Spiegelgaere and Piasna (2017) note, working too much means getting tired, and being tired at work is a safety hazard. Higher rates of accidents are an indicator of the negative impact on productivity of long hours. Dembe, Erickson, Delbos, and Banks (2005) found substantially higher risks of work-related injuries—a 61 percent higher injury hazard rate—for workers in jobs with overtime compared to others; while overtime work is more likely in jobs which have higher risks of accidents, such as nursing or construction, these high risk were found independent of the occupation in which an individual worked.

Beyond workplace injuries, research shows that productivity falls with longer hours (see for example, Folkard and Tucker 2003, Keller et al. 2004, Lukes 2009, and Snir and Harpaz 2012). Employers tend to substitute hours worked as an indication of productivity where short-term output measures are less available or relevant; those who can be present for the longest periods are assumed to have higher performance (Landers, Rebitzer, and Taylor 1996). Yet, managers and supervisors may also be under pressure from organizational layering and staffing shortages, which leads to setting targets and work requirements that force employees to stay at work longer. Frequently working more than 48 hours per week has a strong negative impact on job satisfaction (Maestras et al. 2017), and thus may contribute to a negative cycle of greater employee turnover and further staffing shortages.

### *High Dissatisfaction with Number of Hours Worked*

There is some discussion in the literature about the extent to which such long hours are an expression of workaholism, an addiction almost, or reflect a more rational short-term trade-off for long-term career and wage growth (see Harpaz and Snir 2014). Golden (2014) argues that such an approach may overestimate the element of individual choice on hours worked; while some people may chose or accept long hours because of their current earnings or perceived potential for future advancement, and of intrinsic rewards, for others the hours they work may be directly prescribed by their employer, indirectly required because of intensification of work, or reflect basic wages that are too low to make ends meet.

The 2015 Rand Survey of American Working Conditions found hours of work to be the feature of working condition that was least likely to match preferences (Maestras et al. 2017). Seven of ten workers reported that their working hours were at least 5 percent more or less than they would prefer; almost half (47 percent) said they are working more hours, and 23 percent that they were working fewer hours than they would prefer. In an earlier nationally representative survey, from 2002, six in ten workers said they would prefer to work fewer hours; when asked why they did not, 47 percent said work pressures prevented them from doing so, a third said they would lose their jobs if they did, and 16 percent referred to pressure from their supervisor or manager (Galinsky, Bond, and Hill 2004).

### *Regulating Overwork*

The U.S Labor code offers few protections from overwork (with the potential exception for workers with disabilities under the ADA). The law does not set an absolute limit on hours worked, nor does it provide mandatory rest periods that would allow employees at least a minimum of rest. Under the 2003 European Union Working Time Directive,

employees must be given at least 11 consecutive hours of daily rest, and at least 24 hours of uninterrupted time off every seven days. Mandatory overtime—having to work additional hours at short notice if instructed by the employer—is standard in many employment contracts, and employees have little formal rights to refuse overtime even if it means not being able to pick up a child from school, attend a child’s performance, or attend to other pre-arranged events (Golden and Joergensen 2001). Williams (2012) documents several law suits where fathers and mothers lost their jobs when they were unable to comply with mandatory overtime because they had care responsibilities.

In countries such as Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands, time-off in lieu has become a more standard way of compensating for overtime (see for example Anxo and Karlsson 2019; Fagan, Hegewisch, and Pillinger 2006). Indeed, in the Netherlands, flextime accounts from overtime can in principle be used to save hours for gradual retirement or sabbaticals; in Germany, in some companies absolute limits on hours worked are enforced by electronically locking employees out of their offices once they have reached their maximum hours (Fagan, Hegewisch, and Pillinger 2006). Yet, both the German and Dutch experiences also illustrate that such time-off-in lieu arrangements carry some dangers, particularly where overwork is due to systematic understaffing, making it difficult for people to ever take the time they are owed.

# Workplace Policies: Schedule Variability, Location, and Paid Time Off

## Schedule Variability: Whatever the Number of Hours Worked, Work Schedules have Become Less Regular

Whether workers are formally classified as full-time or part-time, during the last decade, work schedules have become less regular and the lines between work and non-work time have become increasingly blurred (Gerstel and Clawson, 2018) for both lower paid hourly workers as well as higher paid professionals. The growing globalization of the economy increased the need to work across time zones while the growth of the service sector and changing consumer preferences have extended or removed closing times, increasingly pushing the economy toward 24/7 operations (McMenamin 2007; Presser 2005). Particularly for hourly paid workers in low-wage jobs, there has been an increasing trend of “just-in-time” scheduling, shifting the costs of variations in labor demand to workers and creating greater uncertainty over work schedules and income for a growing section of the workforce (Carré and Tilly 2014; Howell and Kalleberg 2019; LaBriola and Waechter 2019; Lambert, Haley-Lock, and Henly 2010).

The growing number of mothers and other family caregivers in the workforce, on the other hand, has also created pressure for more alternative schedules and work arrangements (Christensen and Schneider eds. 2010; Messenger 2004; Williams and Boushey 2010). Some parents may proactively seek employment during nonstandard hours (defined as work during evenings, nights, weekends, or work with rotating schedules) as a means of organizing employment around child care schedules.

Knop and Laughlin (2018), analyzing the 2014 Survey of Income and Program Participation, find that four in ten employed parents work nonstandard schedules (40 percent of fathers, and 36 percent of mothers). Using the same data, Knop (2017) finds that mothers are significantly more likely than fathers to report to working nonstandard hours, particularly nights (29.8 compared with 8.4 percent), because of child care. College-educated mothers and fathers are much less likely to have nonstandard schedules, and the odds of working nonstandard schedules vary substantially by race and ethnicity: Black fathers are 75 percent more likely to work nonstandard schedules



than White fathers, and Black mothers a 30 percent higher likelihood than White mothers; the odds of Asian mothers compared to White mothers are even higher, at 63 percent.<sup>9</sup> Their analysis also finds that single mothers are much more likely than married or cohabiting mothers to work such schedules.

While Knop and Laughlin (2018) find no significant difference in the incidence of nonstandard working by occupation and gender, early starting times in some occupations nevertheless are likely a reflection of– and act to reinforce occupational gender segregation. Early starting times, for example, before schools or child care centers are open, are particularly common in construction, maintenance, and installation occupations (occupations where women are fewer than 5 percent of all workers); one in five workers in these jobs are at work by 6:00 a.m. (Tolpa 2015). Finding solutions for workers with child care responsibilities has become an increasing concern for the construction industry as it is seeking to address skill shortages and diversify its workforce.<sup>10</sup>

### *A Growing Body of Research Points to Adverse Impacts of Schedule Irregularity*

While employer and worker demands for alternative work schedules can sometimes lead to win-win arrangements, often, particularly in low-wage jobs, workers have little control of the timing of their work (Kalleberg, Reskin, and Hudson 2000; LaBriola and Schneider 2019; Williams and Boushey 2010). Indeed, in sectors such as restaurants, hotels and leisure services, retail, and cleaning services, a growing number of workers have irregular schedules and may not know from one week to the next whether they are working full-time or part-time (Golden 2015; Lambert, Fugiel, and Henly 2014). Nonstandard schedules may provide parents with some options to work around child care needs (Carillo et al. 2017; Knop 2017); yet such schedules, particularly when they are irregular, can have adverse impacts on parents and children (see Li et al. 2014 for a review). As Carillo et al. (2017) phrase it, “[...] instability in work schedules often produces instability at home.” Indeed, irregular schedules can also make it impossible for mothers to maintain child care (and hence paid work; Enchautegui, Johnson, and Gelatt 2015). A survey of mothers working in restaurants, for example, found that four in ten mothers had shifts that changed weekly, and almost a third of these mothers reported having incurred fines from their child care providers because their working hours had changed on short notice (Liu 2013). Looking beyond parents to all workers

---

<sup>9</sup> All racial groups are non-Hispanic.

<sup>10</sup> Interviews conducted by Ariane Hegewisch with members of the Gender Equity in Apprenticeship Partners (GEAP) members, and at 2018 Practitioner Institute, Seattle. October 15, 2018.

with irregular schedules (such as on-call work, cancelled shifts, short-notice work, and irregular shifts), Schneider and Harkness (2019) show a strong and persistent effect of such work practices on psychological distress, unhappiness, and low sleep quality.

Maestras et al. (2017), reporting data from the 2015 American Working Conditions Survey, find that three in ten workers (31 percent) are unable to adjust their work schedules to accommodate personal matters and that overall, women were more likely than men to report difficulty arranging for time off during work hours to take care of personal or family matters. Howell and Kalleberg (2019), in a further analysis of the same survey, find that such schedule control is much less available to lower- than higher-paid workers. Clawson and Gerstel (2014) document the hierarchical nature of access to work-family related flexibility in a large hospital and found that flexibility was routinely available to higher-paid workers, such as doctors and nurses, but was largely out of reach for lower-paid staff.

### *Improved Access to Remote Working, for Some*

In the last two decades, the internet, smart phones, and personal computers and tablets have revolutionized work, making it much easier, at least for workers in some roles, to work remotely (Messenger and Gschwind 2016). The number of U.S. workers reporting that they work from home, at least some of the time, increased by 159 percent between 2005 and 2017 (Global Workplace Analytics 2019). While in principle working remotely does not impact the number of hours someone works, it can dramatically cut time spent on getting to and from work, and make it easier to be home for caregiving purposes. Indeed, one recent case study of a tech company found that the possibility to work remotely for at least some of the time was the most appreciated benefit by parents in this company (IFC 2017). One recent survey finds telecommuting options at the top of working arrangement wishes of working parents (Weiler Reynolds 2017). While the number of companies that allow (at least some of) their employees to regularly work from home for at least part of the time has also increased substantially, from 33 percent in 2012 to 40 percent in 2016, yet most workers in most companies do not have remote working option (Matos, Galinsky, and Bond 2017).

Even though control over where and when they work is a highly sought after benefit for many who work in professional and managerial jobs, it can often come at a price, either of work overload (see for example Beauregard, Canónico, and Basile 2019; Kossek, Thompson, and Lautsch 2015) or of being faced with stigma and adverse career consequences for making use of flexible working options (Chung 2018; Williams, Blair-Loy, and Berdahl 2013).

### *Schedule Control Can Increase Revenue, Reduce Employee Turnover, and Improve Well-Being*

Even workers with the most predictable schedules may sometimes face family or personal circumstances that will require they be away from work. Workers who are able to adjust their schedules face less work family stress (see for example Kelly, Moen, and Tranby 2011), and are less likely to want to seek other jobs, saving their employer turnover-related costs (see for example Moen, Kelly, and Hill 2011). Although employee-centered flexibility is more commonly associated with professional and office workers, there are successful examples of providing schedule flexibility for a broad range of work situations, including front-line and shift workers (Sloan Center on Aging and Work, 2017; Swanberg et al., 2011; Williams and Boushey 2010).

A recent intervention at Gap Stores in California shows striking returns to employers who give employees more say in the scheduling of their work (Williams et al. 2018). While innovation in scheduling technologies has typically led to greater instability for workers, in the Gap intervention, scheduling technology was used to: 1) improve consistency and stability of schedules from week to week, 2) allow workers input on their schedules, 3) allow for swapping of shifts and hours between employees, and 4) offer more hours to incumbent employees before hiring new workers. The results of the intervention were striking, with increases in median sales of seven percent in participating stores.

In spite of the advantages, employee access to schedule control is still very limited. One study, based on extensive survey data and a collaboration of over forty large corporations for mostly hourly paid workers, found positive business impacts where workers were provided with access to flexibility. However, such access was sporadic, causing the companies to lose out on substantial potential productivity gains from a more systematic implementation of employee centered flexible working arrangements (Richman, Johnson, and Noble 2011).

In the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, Right to Request Laws include the whole range of working time arrangements, how many hours, scheduling, and the location of work (Cooper and Baird 2015; Hegewisch 2009). While such laws do not present a magic bullet to greater employee centered workplace flexibility—introduction has been particularly slow in male dominated technical sectors—they have created more even access in many larger organizations by reducing the role of individual supervisor attitudes to alternative work arrangements.

## Paid Time Off Work Allows Workers to Stay Healthy and Remain Connected to Employment

Paid time off is a standard component of remuneration. In many other high-income countries around the world, paid time off for maternity or family leave, sickness, and vacation is part of the basic statutory package of rights at work. Paid time-off allows workers to stay healthy and remain connected to the labor market. Indeed, internationally time-off rights are typically part of the body of laws that regulate the health and safety of the workforce (see for example EU Working Time Directive 2003; International Labour Organization 2019). Paid time off is particularly important for women and men with family care responsibilities. In the coming decades the need for care-related leave is likely to increase substantially because of aging. Smaller family sizes in the generations following the baby boomers mean fewer family members to provide such care. In 2010, the ratio of potential family caregivers (ages 45 to 64) for every person aged 80 and older was seven to one; estimates suggest that in 2050 the ratio will be three to one (Redfoot, Feinberg, and Houser 2013).

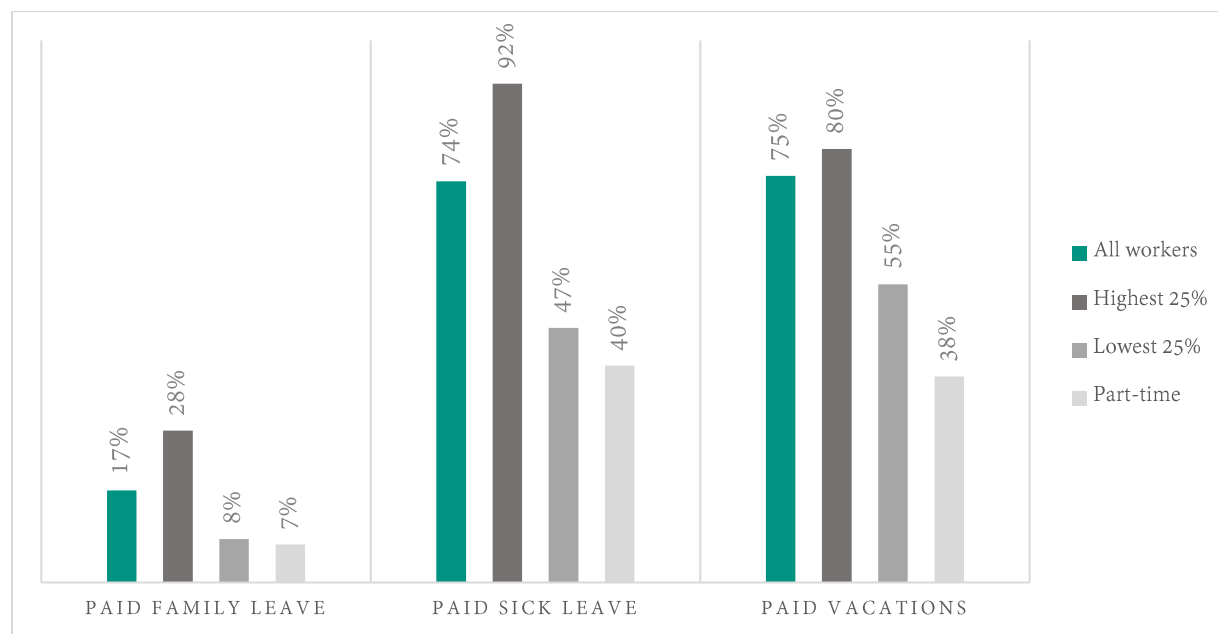
Job protected and paid maternity leave improves women's labor market participation and allows individual women to maintain and build their earnings (for reviews of the evidence, see Bradley, Veghte, and Hartmann 2019; Gault et al. 2014; Hegewisch and Gornick 2011; Winston 2014). In addition, women who take paid maternity leave have better health outcomes for themselves and for their infants (see for example Jou et al. 2018; Steahelin, Berteau and Zemp Stutz 2007; Tucker et al. 2010). Paid family leave to bond with newborns or look after family members in need of care can also help increase fathers' engagement with child and domestic care and thus contribute to a more equal division of paid and unpaid work between women and men (Blum et al. 2018; Pragg and Knoestler 2017; U.S. Department of Labor 2014).

### *Lack of Access to Paid Time Off in the United States is Exacerbating Gender Inequality*

Workers in the United States have no federal rights to paid time off from work. While some states and jurisdictions have implemented laws to provide access to paid leave, and some employers offer paid leave as part of their compensation package, access to paid time off and number of days offered is highly unequal (Figure 12).

## Figure 12. The Majority of Low-Paid and of Part-time Workers are not Given Access to Paid Leave by their Employers

*Access to Paid Family Leave, Paid Sick Leave, and Paid Vacations for Civilian Workers, for All, Highest and Lowest 25 Percent of Earners, and Part-time Workers, 2018*



Notes: All ages. Data are not available by gender, race, or ethnicity.

Source: Authors' compilation based on National Compensation Survey (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018g).

### *Workers' Access to Paid Medical and Family Leave is Uneven*

The United States is the only high-income country, and one of only a couple of countries across the world, where pregnant and new mothers lack a legal federal right to paid maternity leave (World Policy Analysis Center 2019a). While workers in the United States are entitled to 12 weeks of unpaid job protected family and medical leave, this excludes forty percent of the working population (Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993). Furthermore, many of those who are entitled to this unpaid job protected leave are unable to take it because they cannot afford the loss in earnings (Klerman, Daley and Pozniak 2014).

Ten states and jurisdictions provide some access to pay during pregnancy and other family and medical leave, through temporary disability insurance or paid family leave insurance (Bradley, Veghte, and Hartmann 2019). Only a small minority of workers have access to paid family leave through their employer (17 percent), but the highest paid workers are more than twice as likely than lowest paid to be included in employer-provided family leave (28 compared with 8 percent; Figure 12). Bartels et al. (2019),

using a variety of data sources, found significantly lower access to paid family or medical leave for Hispanic than White or Black workers, including access to leave for child care or leave for elder care.<sup>11</sup> They also found a much lower likelihood for Hispanics of having received paid maternity or paternity leave. This is in spite of the fact that Hispanic workers are younger on average, and more likely to be of childbearing age.

#### *Access to Paid Sick Leave is Growing but Remains Uneven by Race and Ethnicity*

Workers in the United States also lack a federal entitlement to paid time off for shorter term illnesses. Paid sick leave can reduce contagion in the workplace, speed up recovery for those who are sick, including children whose parents can be with them when they are ill, and reduce the need for longer time-off by allowing doctor's visits for check-ups and treatments of chronic conditions (for a review see Milli, Xia, and Min 2016). Workers with paid sick leave have a 25 percent lower likelihood of leaving or losing their job, and this association is particularly strong for mothers, and for workers who also lack paid vacation (Hill 2013).

Since 2006, 14 states and close to 40 jurisdictions have passed legislation requiring employers to provide paid sick days (Families Values @ Work 2019). The share of workers with access to paid sick leave has increased significantly since the mid-2000s, from 58 percent of workers in private industry in 2005 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005) to 71 percent in 2018 (Figure 12). Yet, as can be seen in Figure 12, access is unequal and low-wage workers are much less likely to have access to paid sickness benefits than highly paid workers. Howell and Kalleberg (2019) additionally find that low-wage workers are not only less likely to have paid sick days, but on average also receive fewer days than highly paid workers when they are included in such a policy. While an analysis of the 2014 National Health Interview Survey found no gender differences in access to paid sick days (Xia et al. 2016) differences in access by race and ethnicity are substantial. Bartel et al. (2019) find Hispanic workers to be significantly less likely to have access to paid sick days than White workers and somewhat less likely than Black workers.

#### *Access to Paid Vacation and Holidays is much Greater for High-earning Professionals*

Paid vacation time is standard in other high income countries (Maye 2019). Workers in the European Union, for example, are entitled to a minimum of 20 days paid vacation time (pro-rated for part-time workers (EU Working Time Directive 2003). In several countries the entitlement is higher (Maye 2019). Paid vacation time in the EU is

---

<sup>11</sup> Data not available by gender.

designed on a use-it-or-lose-it basis: the goal is for workers to take time off, both for health reasons and as a way of sharing work. With the exception of temporary workers who have their holiday pay added into their earnings, workers cannot receive monetary compensation for their paid time off. In the United States, so far only one group of workers in one state—domestic workers in New York—has a legal right to paid time off (three days after one year of employment; New York State Department of Labor 2019).

Close to eight in ten workers have access to paid vacation leave and paid holidays through their employers. However, while 90 percent of the highest paid workers have such access, barely half of the lowest paid workers, and fewer than four in ten part-time workers, also enjoy these benefits (Figure 12). As with paid sick days, the 2015 Rand Survey of American Working Conditions (Maestas et al. 2017) shows that inequality in paid vacation time impacts two dimensions: whether you have the benefit and how many days of paid leave you can take. Workers in the highest-earning quartile received almost double the number of paid vacation days as workers in the lowest-earning quartile (22.8 days compared with 12.4 days on average; Howell and Kalleberg 2019).

# The Way Forward: A More Equitable Distribution of Time Worked

The evidence reviewed in this report shows an imbalance in hours worked between women and men, caregivers and others, and high earners and low earners. Even though women's paid time at work has increased sharply during the last four decades, substantial gender disparities in paid work remain, particularly between mothers and fathers. These differences in average time spent in paid work can be found between parents in each of the major racial and ethnic groups (though White fathers have by far the highest number of paid hours). Such disparities are not only in work hours when employed, but in time in and out of paid work itself. Advancement up the corporate ladder continues to demand full, if not extra, working hours and continuous workforce attachment, an expectation that is difficult to meet when children or other family members need care. Such entrenched working time patterns reduce men's capacity to be good and equal care providers, and keep women out of the most influential and highest-earning jobs.

The data also show that employment is becoming increasingly polarized between those who regularly work hours well in excess of a full-time 40-hour week, and others who can only work part-time and/or are unable to find consistent employment throughout the year. Increasingly, this polarization is evidenced in racial disparities in rates of unemployment, the likelihood of having variable schedules, and the likelihood of working in stable jobs with benefits (Gerstel and Clawson 2018; LaBriola and Schneider 2019; Munnell, Sanzenbacher, and Walters 2019; Wilson and Jones 2018).

Another aspect of inequality in paid work is inequality of access to benefits such as paid timeoff for family and medical leave to care for oneself and for others, sickness, and vacation. In the absence of universal access to such benefits, relying on voluntary employer provision of them is leading to highly unequal results, with higher-paid workers having much greater access to such benefits than lower-paid workers, and Hispanic women and men particularly unlikely to get such leave benefits.

Technological innovation in the coming decades is likely to increase productivity and has the potential to dramatically reduce the need for labor in some fields. While



economic and labor market projections suggest that this process will create demand for new jobs, such projections also highlight a continuing polarization in job growth between jobs requiring high levels of education and skills and lower-skilled jobs (see, for example, Childers, Hegewisch, and Hartmann 2019; Hess and Hegewisch 2019; Madgavkar et al. 2019). That is, jobs will likely grow particularly in the fields that now have the highest levels of overwork, but also in jobs with some of the highest levels of part-time and variable hours, such as in the care sector. And even if new jobs will be created in response to technological change, the technological displacement of many current tasks may cause unemployment and will require time to provide people with the skills to succeed in the new economy.

Redistributing and reorganizing hours of work is one way of distributing productivity gains from automation equitably, smoothing the potential disruptive impact of technological displacement, and encouraging greater gender equality in paid and unpaid work. Strategies for a more equal distribution of paid time and improved job quality include the following:

- ***Guarantee paid family leave, paid sick days, and paid vacation.*** Paid time off is particularly important for women and men with family care responsibilities, and is likely to become even more important in the context of our aging society. Investing in paid leave policies that address life cycle needs for time off (for parenthood, education, elder care, and civic engagement) has the potential to increase GDP by increasing labor force participation rates particularly for women. A broad array of policy approaches are available from other countries (Blum et al. 2019) and from different U.S. states (Bradley, Vegthe, and Hartmann 2019).
- ***Improve access to quality part-time or reduced hours work.*** Over their life time, many women and men are likely to work reduced hours or part-time, whether to take care of children or other family members, pursue education, address medical issues or a disability, or prepare for full retirement. More often than not, having to work part-time involves low-skilled and low-paid work, whatever the qualifications of the part-time worker, and few benefits. Legislation to provide workers who work less than 35 hours with the right to equal treatment in pay, promotions, and benefits, and to give employees options for reducing their hours without having to change employment or their career, can improve access to quality part-time work. Such policies have been implemented in many other high-income countries (Hegewisch and Gornick 2008; Lewis et al. 2016).

- ***Increase worker control over the scheduling of their time at work.*** New scheduling technology makes it easier and less costly to prepare schedules and allocate shifts in occupations with extensive operating hours. Fair scheduling statutes passed in several jurisdictions offer examples of how to provide workers with more stability in the time they work (Wolfe, Jones, and Cooper 2018). International examples, particularly from the UK, show the potential of providing a legal framework for encouraging employers and employees to develop win-win solutions around scheduling, number of hours, and place of work (Hegewisch 2009).
- ***Discourage extensive overwork and overtime.*** Extensive overtime causes accidents, reduces productivity, and leads to poor health. It is also a barrier to women's full participation in many occupations, including growing STEM occupations and high-level management positions. For hourly workers, providing workers with a right to refuse mandatory overtime, and providing mandatory rest times between shifts, will reduce scheduling conflict and improve health. Updating overtime earnings thresholds, and ensuring that a larger number of women and men are covered by overtime regulations, will reduce employer incentives to make long hours an expected component of employment. In some European countries, working time accounts have been used as an alternative to paid overtime, by creating a mechanism for allowing employees to have time-off in lieu of overtime for sabbaticals, return to education, gradual retirement, and additional leave (Fagan, Hegewisch, and Pillinger 2006).
- ***Provide paid time for employees to upgrade their skills as technology changes.*** In the coming years, technological change will likely substantially increase the need for ongoing learning and education. Technological innovation is shaping the delivery of learning and increasing the options for remote access to instruction. Yet, learning will continue to take time outside of paid work that women often do not have because of their care commitments.
- ***Encourage work sharing in Unemployment Insurance (UI) system during times of economic transition and downturns and apply concept outside of UI system.*** Short-time work or work sharing within the UI system is an alternative option

to unemployment. During slack business or downturns it allows workers to receive unemployment benefits to compensate for loss of earnings if they are temporarily put on reduced shifts. Such arrangements allow employers to retain valued and skilled workers and provides greater economic security and workforce attachment to workers than losing their job (Houseman et al. 2017). Work-sharing outside the UI system could reduce hours for some and increase hours for others.

- ***Promote a Reduction in the Standard Working Week.*** A hundred years ago, a five-day work week seemed a distant option. Even though it fails to be the reality for many workers, the 40-hour work week nevertheless has become the benchmark against which working time is judged. The 40-hour threshold has not been improved since 1938; the coming decades provide an opportunity to share time and rewards more equally by lowering the legal definition of full-time work. Where such attempts have been tried, in France or Portugal, gender equality has improved (De Spiegelaere and Pisana 2017).

The past decades have seen a reversal in the long-time trend toward working time reductions. Technological innovation in the coming decades will provide opportunities to return to the previous downward path in time spent in paid work and promote a more equal distribution of work, leisure, and family and community time. Technological innovation is already making it much easier for employers and employees to design win-win solutions on scheduling and the location of work. As De Spiegelaere and Pisana (2017) point out, even if there is a clear relationship between hours worked and gender inequality, the reduction and redistribution of paid time worked alone is unlikely to eliminate gender inequality of family care or at work. But a more equitable distribution of this time is likely to strengthen ongoing trends toward greater equality at work and at home between women and men, as well as to improve population health, reduce economic inequality, and create more equal opportunities to prepare for the future.

# Appendix

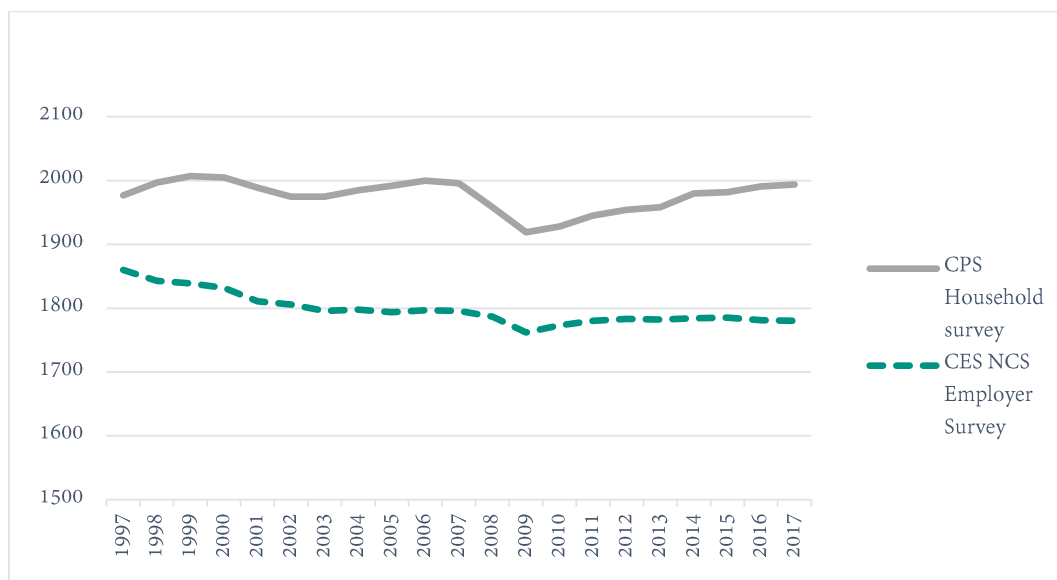
## Data Sources on Hours Worked

There is no comprehensive measure of hours worked in the United States that allows an analysis by gender, race, or ethnicity of actual hours worked, paid vacation taken, and paid sick time taken per year. There are two primary data sources on hours worked, both fielded by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS):

- The Current Population Survey Household Survey (CPS) is the basis for analysis of Individual hours of work. The 1978–2018 microdata from the monthly CPS refers to actual hours worked in the previous week. Annual estimates on hours worked are based on the Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC), which provides the total number of weeks worked and the usual weekly hours worked in the calendar year prior to the survey (1977–2017). The variable “usual hours at work” includes all paid time (paid time at work and paid time off, for vacation or sick time). These data are available by gender, race and ethnicity, age, education, and other demographic characteristics. There is no direct question in the CPS about the number of days of paid leave taken. The CPS asked for actual hours worked in the previous week, and reasons for fewer than usual hours include a question about “Vacation/Personal Day,” but that question does not allow a systematic estimate of paid time off.
- The Current Employment Statistics (CES) program and the National Compensation Survey (NCS) are employer-based surveys used to estimate labor costs and hours worked. The CES asks questions about the actual hours spent at work, without including paid time off. This is the source for annual hours worked used by the OECD for the purpose of international comparisons; while data provided through the OECD provide a good measure of time trends for the United States, the OECD warns that differences in measurement make cross country comparisons less reliable (Ward, Zinni, and Marianna 2018). These data are not available by gender or other demographic characteristics.

Figure A1 shows time trends under these alternative measures; household data are showing greater volatility than the data used for estimating productivity, which, in principle at least, only includes hours actually worked (not paid hours spent on leave).

**Figure A1. U.S. Trends in Mean Annual Working Hours, 1997–2017: CPS Household Survey Data (Usual Weekly Hours Worked) and on CES NCS Employer Survey Data**



Sources: IWPR calculations based on CPS IPUMS, and OECD Hours Worked Database.

Data on access to work place flexibility, such as teleworking, flextime, job sharing, voluntary reductions in hours of work, and leave are available from:

- The National Compensation Survey is the source for published information on worker access to paid and unpaid time off. While these data are published for broad occupational groups, industry, and earnings, they are not available by gender. They also do not include data on actual time take.
- The Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) includes questions on vacation time taken, and actual weeks worked, but vacation and leave questions are not asked only of the head of household, and thus do not present a representative analysis by gender, race, ethnicity, and other demographic characteristics.
- The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics American Time Use Survey (ATUS) is the major source of data on time spent on household and family care work. In 2011, the survey included a module on access and use of leave (paid and unpaid). The sample size limits analysis by gender and race/ethnicity, or gender and occupations.
- The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) has occasional modules on the use of maternity leave.

- The American Community Survey includes data on people who work from home.
- The CPS Module on Work Schedules and Work at Home was last conducted in 2004.
- National Study of Employers is a survey conducted every 3 to 4 years of a national sample of approximately 1,000 employers. It is focused on work life policies and includes questions about policies such as paid leave, teleworking, job sharing, part-time work. The survey is now conducted by the Society for Human Resource Management and was begun by the Families and Work Institute, in 1998.
- National Study of the Changing Workforce is a compendium study, examining workers access to such work-life policies. Data are available by gender, but not by gender and race/ethnicity. The survey is conducted every 5 to 6 years, and is also now a project of Society for Human Resource Management.

# References

Alesina, Alberto, Edward L. Glaeser, and Bruce Sacerdote. 2005. "Work and Leisure in the U.S. and Europe: Why So Different?" in Kenneth Rogoff and Mark Gertler (eds.), *NBER Macroeconomics Annual 2005*, 1–100. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Anxo, Dominique and Mattias Karlsson. 2019. "Overtime work: A review of literature and initial empirical analysis." *ILO Conditions of Work and Employment Series* No. 104. <[https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms\\_663072.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_663072.pdf)> (accessed October 2019).

Appelbaum, Eileen, Heather Boushey, and John Schmitt. 2014. *The Economic Importance of Women's Rising Hours of Work: Time to Update Employment Standards*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress and the Center for Economic and Public Policy Research. <<https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/WomensRisingWorkv2.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Bartel, Ann P., Soohyun Kim, Jaehyun Nam, Maya Rossin-Slater, Christopher Ruhm, and Jane Waldfogel. 2019. "Racial and ethnic disparities in access to and use of paid family and medical leave: evidence from four nationally representative datasets." *Monthly Labor Review*, January, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. <<https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2019/article/racial-and-ethnic-disparities-in-access-to-and-use-of-paid-family-and-medical-leave.htm>> (accessed July 2019).

Beauregard, T. Alexandra, Esther Canónico, and Kelly A. Basile. 2019. "The Fur-lined Rut': Telework and Career Ambition." In Clare Kelliher and Julia Richardson (Eds.), *Work, Working and Work Relationships in a Changing World*; Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

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

Bertrand, Marianne, Claudia Goldin and Larry Katz. 2010. "Dynamics of the Gender Gap for Young Professionals in the Financial and Corporate Sectors." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* (2): 228–255.

Bianchi, Suzanne, Melissa Milkie, Liana Slayer, and John P. Robinson. 2000. "Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor." *Social Forces* 79(1): 191–228.

Blau, Francine D. and Lawrence M. Kahn. 2013. "Female Labor Supply: Why is the US Falling Behind?" *American Economic Review* 103(3): 251–256.

Blum, Sonja, Alison Koslowski, Alexandria Macht, and Peter Moss (eds). 2018. "14th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2018." The International Network on Leave Policies and Research.

<[https://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/k\\_leavenetwork/annual\\_reviews/Leave\\_Review\\_2018.pdf](https://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/user_upload/k_leavenetwork/annual_reviews/Leave_Review_2018.pdf)> (accessed October 2019).

Bond, James. T., Cynthia Thompson, Ellen Galinsky, and David Prottas. 2004. *Highlights of the National Study of the Changing Workforce, 2002*. New York: Families and Work Institute. <<https://www.familiesandwork.org/highlights-of-the-national-study-of-the-changing-workforce-2002/>> (accessed July 2019).

Boushey, Heather. 2014. "A Woman's Workplace Is in the Middle Class." *The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation Pushes Back from the Brink*, ed. Olivia Morgan and Karen Skelton, 48–96. New York: Rosetta Books.

Bradley, Alexandra L., Benjamin W. Veghte, and Heidi Hartmann. 2019. "Designing a State-Based Social Insurance Program for Paid Family and Medical Leave." In *Designing Universal Family Care: State-Based Social Insurance Programs for Early Child Care and Education, Paid Family and Medical Leave, and Long-Term Services and Supports*, eds. Benjamin W. Veghte, Alexandra L. Bradley, Marc Cohen, and Heidi Hartmann. Washington DC: National Academy of Social Insurance. <<https://www.nasi.org/research/2019/designing-universal-family-care-state-based-social-insurance>> (accessed October 2019)

Brynjolnson, Erik, Tom Mitchell, and Daniel Rock. 2018. "What Can Machines Learn and What Does It Mean for Occupations and the Economy?" *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 2018, 108: 43–47.

Buckley, Timothy. 2016. "New Hampshire Law Prohibiting Retaliation Against Employees Who Request A Flexible Work Schedule Now In Effect." *Mondaq Business Briefing*. <[http://o-link.galegroup.com.library.bennington.edu/apps/doc/A466084902/ITOF?u=vol\\_b43c&sid=ITOF&xid=059964a6](http://o-link.galegroup.com.library.bennington.edu/apps/doc/A466084902/ITOF?u=vol_b43c&sid=ITOF&xid=059964a6)> (accessed July 2019).

Calvert Thomas, Cynthia, Linda Bray Chanow, and Linda Marks. 2009. *Reduced Hours, Full Success: Part-time Partners in U.S. Law Firms*. The Project for Attorney Retention,



<<https://www.scribd.com/document/21946372/Reduced-Hours-Full-Success-Part-Time-Partners-in-U-S-Law-Firms>> (accessed July 2019).

Carré, Françoise, and Chris Tilly. 2012. "Work Hours in Retail: Room for Improvement." Policy Paper No. 2012-012. Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research. <https://doi.org/10.17848/pol2015-012>.

Carrillo, Dani, Kristen Harknett, Allison Logan, Sigrid Luhr, and Daniel Schneider. 2017. "Instability of Work and Care: How Work Schedules Shape Child-Care Arrangements for Parents Working in the Service Sector." *Social Service Review* 91(3): 422–455.

Cha, Youngjoo Cha and Kim A. Weeden. 2014. "Overwork and the Slow Convergence in the Gender Gap in Wages." *American Sociological Review* 79(3): 457–484.

Cha, Youngjoo. 2010. "Reinforcing separate spheres: The effect of spousal overwork on men's and women's employment in dual-earner households." *American Sociological Review* 75(2): 303–329.

Christensen, Kathleen and Barbara Scheider (eds). 2010. *Workplace Flexibility: Realigning 20<sup>th</sup> Century Jobs for a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Workplace*. Ithaka and London: Cornell University Press.

Chung, Heejung. 2018. "Gender, Flexibility Stigma and the Perceived Negative Consequences of Flexible Working in the UK." *Social Indicators Research* (November): 1–25.

Citi GPS. 2016. "Technology at Work v.2.0: The Future is not What it Used to be." Oxford University Martin School of Business and Citi <[https://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/downloads/reports/Citi\\_GPS\\_Technology\\_Work\\_2.pdf](https://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/downloads/reports/Citi_GPS_Technology_Work_2.pdf)> (accessed on November 29, 2018).

Clawson, Daniel and Naomi Gerstel. 2014. *Unequal Time: Gender, Class, and Family in Employment Schedules*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Cooper, Rae and Marian Baird. 2015. "Bringing the "right to request" flexible working arrangements to life: from policies to practices." *Employee Relations* 37(5): 568–581

Council of Economic Advisers. 2015. "Chapter 4: The Economics of Family-Friendly Workplace Policies." February. Economic Report of the President, Council of Economic

Advisers, Executive Office of the President, Washington, DC. <<https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/ERP-2015/ERP-2015-chapter4>> (accessed July 2019).

Daly, Mary C., Joseph H. Pedtke, Nicolas Petrosky-Nadeau, and Annemarie Schweinert. 2018. “Why Aren’t US Workers Working?” *Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco* <<https://www.frbsf.org/economic-research/publications/economic-letter/2018/november/why-are-us-workers-not-participating/>> (accessed July 2019).

De Spiegelaere, Stan and Agnieszka Piasna. 2017. *The why and how of working time reduction*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute. <<https://www.etui.org/Publications2/Guides/The-why-and-how-of-working-time-reduction>> (accessed July 2019).

Dembe, Allard E. and Xiaoxi Yao. 2016. “Chronic Disease Risks from Exposure to Long-Hour Work Schedules Over a 32-Year Period.” *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 58(9): 861–86.

Dembe, Allard E., J. Bianca Erickson, Rachel G. Delbos, Steven M. Banks. 2005. “The impact of overtime and long work hours on occupational injuries and illnesses: new evidence from the United States.” *Occupational & Environmental Medicine*, 62: 588–597.

Dunn, Megan. 2018. “Who chooses part-time work and why?” *Monthly Labor Review*, March. <<https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2018/article/who-chooses-part-time-work-and-why.htm>> (accessed October 2019).

Eichorst, Werner, André Portela Souza, Pierre Cahuc, Didier Demaxière, Colette Fagan, Nadya Araujo Guimarães Huiyan Fu, Arne Kalleberg, Alan Manning, Frances McGinnity, Hillel Rapoport, Phil Scranton, Johannes Siegrist, Kathleen Thelen, Marie-Anne Valfort, Jelle Visser. 2018. “The future of work — Good jobs for all.” *Rethinking Society for the 21st Century: Report of the International Panel on Social Progress*, Chapter 7, pp. 255–312. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. <DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108399623.008>> (accessed July 2019).

Eisenbrey, Ross and Celine McNicholas. 2017. “False choice for workers—Flexibility or Overtime pay.” EPI Policy Memo, Washington, DC Economic Policy Institute <<https://www.epi.org/files/pdf/125639.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Enchautegui, María, Martha Johnson, and Julia Gelatt. 2015. “Who Minds the Kids When Mom Works a Nonstandard Schedule?” Urban Institute, Washington, DC.

<<https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/64696/2000307-Who-Minds-the-Kids-When-Mom-Works-a-Nonstandard-Schedule.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Erosa, Andrés, Luisa Fuster, Gueorgui Kambourov, Richard Rogerson. 2017. “Hours, Occupations, and Gender Differences in Labor Market Outcomes.” *NBER Working Paper* No. 23636, July <<https://www.nber.org/papers/w23636>> (accessed July 2019).

European Union Working Time Directive 2003/88/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 4 November 2003 Concerning Certain Aspects of the Organisation of Working Time. <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32003L0088>> (accessed July 2019).

Fagan, Colette, Ariane Hegewisch, and Jane Pillinger. 2006. *Out of time: Why Britain needs a new approach to working-time flexibility; Research report for the TUC*. Report. London, UK: Trade Union Congress  
<[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286447808\\_Out\\_of\\_Time\\_-\\_why\\_Britain\\_needs\\_a\\_new\\_approach\\_to\\_working-time\\_flexibility](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286447808_Out_of_Time_-_why_Britain_needs_a_new_approach_to_working-time_flexibility)> (accessed July 2019).

Fakih, Ali. 2018 “What Determines Vacation Leave? The Role of Gender.” *Bulletin of Economic Research* 70(1): 1–19.

Families Values @ Work. 2019. “Paid Sick Days Wins.”  
<<http://familyvaluesatwork.org/graphics/fvaw-psd-wins.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Flood, Sarah, Miriam King, Renae Rodgers, Steven Ruggles, and J. Robert Warren. 2018. “Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey: Version 6.0 [dataset].” Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS. <<https://doi.org/10.18128/D030.V6.0>> (accessed July 2019).

Folkard, Simon and Philip Tucker. 2003. “Shift work, safety and productivity.” *Occupational Medicine* (53): 95–101.

Frey, Carl Benedikt and Michael A. Osborne. 2017. “The Future of Employment: How Susceptible Are Jobs to Computerisation?” *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 114 (January): 254–80. doi:10.1016/j.techfore.2016.08.019.

Galinsky, Ellen, James T. Bond, E. Jeffrey Hill. 2004. *When Work Works: A Status Report on Workplace Flexibility*; New York: Families and Work Institute.

Gault, Barbara, Heidi Hartmann, Ariane Hegewisch, Jessica Milli, Lindsey Reichlin Cruse. 2014. *Paid Parental Leave in the United States: What the Data Tell Us about Access, Usage, and Economic and Health Benefits*. Washington DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<https://iwpr.org/publications/paid-parental-leave-in-the-united-states-what-the-data-tell-us-about-access-usage-and-economic-and-health-benefits/>> (accessed July 2019).

Gellert, Franz Josef, Lia Leopold, Natascha Kolka, Wiebke Müller, Torben Schnack, Marten Dubbelboer, and Fenna Bernert. 2012. "Gradual retirement as part of (e)conomic inclusion of elderly in communities." <<https://surfsharekit.nl/publiek/hhs/ab844908-0ad4-4fad-8d9e-d85e1c021638#?>> (accessed July 2019).

Gerstel, Naomi and Dan Clawson. 2018. "Control over Time: Employers, Workers, and Families Shaping Work Schedules." *Annual Review of Sociology* 44: 77–97.

GlobalWorkplaceAnalytics.com. 2019. "Latest Telecommuting/Mobile Work/Remote Work Statistics." Updated August 16. <<https://globalworkplaceanalytics.com/telecommuting-statistics>> (accessed October 2019).

Glynn, Sarah Jane, Heather Boushey and Peter Berg. 2016. "Who gets time off? Predicting access to paid leave and workplace flexibility." Washington DC: Center for American Progress.

Golden, Lonnie and Helen Jorgensen. 2001. "Time after Time: Mandatory Overtime in the U.S. Economy." *EPR Briefing Paper*. Washington DC: Economic Policy Institute <<https://www.epi.org/files/page/-/old/briefingpapers/120/bp120.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Golden, Lonnie. 2014. "Distinctions between Overemployment, Overwork, Workaholism and Heavy Work Investment." In *Heavy Work Investment: Its Nature, Sources, Outcomes, and Future Directions* (Applied Psychology Series), Itzhak Harpaz and Raphael Snir, eds., 2014. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2492381>.

Golden, Lonnie. 2015. "Irregular Work Scheduling and Its Consequences." Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. <<https://www.epi.org/publication/irregular-work-scheduling-and-its-consequences/>> (accessed October 2019).

- Gornick, Janet C. and Ariane Hegewisch. 2014. "Gender, employment and parenthood: The consequences of work-family policies." in D. Kelemen (ed): *Lessons from Europe? What Can Americans Learn from European Public Policies*; Los Angeles: Sage/CQPress.
- Hanna, Awad. S., Craig S. Taylor, and Kenneth T. Sullivan, K. T. 2005. "Impact of extended overtime on construction labor productivity." *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management* 131(6): 734–739.
- Harpaz, Itzhak and Raphael Snir (eds.). 2014. *Heavy Work Investment: Its Nature, Sources, Outcomes, and Future Directions*. London: Routledge.
- Hartmann, Heidi, Kristin Rowe-Finkbeiner, Hero Ashman, Jeffrey Hayes and Hailey Nguyen. 2015. *How the New Overtime Rule Will Help Women & Families*. Washington DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research <<https://iwpr.org/publications/how-the-new-overtime-rule-will-help-women-families/>> (accessed July 2019).
- Hegewisch, Ariane and Janet C. Gornick. 2008. "Statutory routes to workplace flexibility in cross-national perspective" Washington DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<https://iwpr.org/publications/statutory-routes-to-workplace-flexibility-in-cross-national-perspective/>> (accessed July 2019).
- Hegewisch, Ariane, and Janet C. Gornick. 2011. "The Impact of Work-Family Policies on Women's Employment: A Review of Research from OECD Countries." *Community, Work and Family* 14 (2): 119–38.
- Hegewisch, Ariane. 2005. (ed.): *Working time for working families: Europe and the United States*; Washington DC: Friedrich Ebert Foundation ISBN 0-9740429-4-3.
- Hegewisch, Ariane. 2009. *Flexible working policies: A comparable review*. London: UK Equalities and Human Rights Commission; Research Report 16; <<https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publication-download/research-report-16-flexible-working-policies-comparative-review>> (accessed July 2019).
- Hegewisch, Ariane, Chandra Childers, and Heidi Hartmann. 2019. *Women, Automation, and the Future of Work*. Washington DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <[https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/C476\\_Automation-and-Future-of-Work\\_ADA-Compliant.pdf](https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/C476_Automation-and-Future-of-Work_ADA-Compliant.pdf)> (accessed November 2019).
- Heron, Alexandra. 2005. "Promoting and Protecting Reduced-Hours Work: European Union Law and Part-time Work." In Ariane Hegewisch (ed.) *Working time for working families: Europe and the United States*; Washington, DC: Friedrich Ebert Foundation ISBN 0-9740429-4-3.

Hess, Cynthia and Ariane Hegewisch. 2019. *The Future of Care Work: Improving the Quality of America's Fastest-Growing Jobs*. IWPR Report #C486. Washington DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research <<https://iwpr.org/publications/future-care-work-jobs/>> (accessed October 2019).

Hess, Cynthia, Jessica Milli, Ariane Hegewisch, and Jeff Hayes. *The Status of Women in the States: 2015*. IWPR Report #R400. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<http://statusofwomendata.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Status-of-Women-in-the-States-2015-Full-National-Report.pdf>> (accessed May 13, 2019).

Heymann, Jody, Hye Jin Rho, John Schmitt, and Alison Earle. 2007. *Contagion Nation: A Comparison of Paid Sick Day Policies in 22 Countries*. Washington DC: Center for Economic Policy Research. <<http://cepr.net/documents/publications/paid-sick-days-2009-05.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Hill, Heather. 2013. "Paid Sick Leave and Job Stability." *Work and Occupation* 40(2): 143–173.

Houseman, Susan, Frank Bennici, Susan Labin, Katharine Abraham, Chris O'Leary, and Richard Sigman. 2017. *Demonstration and Evaluation of the Short-Time Compensation Program in Iowa and Oregon*. Prepared for: Chief Evaluation Office U.S. Department of Labor, Contract number DOLQ129633252. Westat, Upjohn Institute, and Social Dynamics. <<https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/OASP/legacy/files/STC-in-Iowa-and-Oregon-Final-Report.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Howcroft, Debra and Jill Rubery. 2019. "Bias in, Bias out': Gender Equality and the Future of Work Debate." *Labour & Industry* 29 (2): 213-227, DOI: 10.1080/10301763.2019.1619986

Howell, David R. and Arne L. Kalleberg. 2019. "Declining Job Quality in the United States: Explanations and Evidence." WCEG Working Paper; Washington DC: Washington Center for Equitable Growth <<https://equitablegrowth.org/working-papers/declining-job-quality-in-the-united-states-explanations-and-evidence/>> (accessed July 2019).

International Finance Corporation. 2017. *Tackling Childcare: The Business Case for Employer-Supported Childcare*. Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

International Labour Organisation. 2017. "C175 - Part-Time Work Convention, 1994 (No. 175)" Normlex Information on International Labour Standards, Geneva <[https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:::NO:12100:P12100\\_ILO\\_CODE:C175:NO](https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C175:NO)> (accessed July 2019).

International Labour Organisation. 2019. "International Labour Standards on Working time." Geneva <<https://www.ilo.org/global/standards/subjects-covered-by-international-labour-standards/working-time/lang--en/index.htm>> (accessed July 2019).

James, Jacquelyn Boone, Sharon Mckechnie and Jennifer Swanberg. 2011. Predicting employee engagement in an age-diverse retail workforce. *Journal of Organizing Behavior* 32: 173–196, doi: 10.1002/job.681.

Jou, Judy, Katy B. Kozhimannil, Jean M. Abraham, Lynn A. Blewett, and Patricia M. McGovern. 2018. "Paid Maternity Leave in the United States: Associations with Maternal and Infant Health." *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 22 (2): 216–225.

Kalleberg, Arne L., Barbara F. Reskin and Ken Hudson. 2000. "Bad jobs in America: Standard and nonstandard employment relations and job quality in the United States." *American Sociological Review* 65, 256– 278. doi:10.2307/2657440.

Keller, Simone M., Phyllis Berryman, and Eileen Lukes. 2009. "Effects of Extended Work Shifts and Shift Work on Patient Safety, Productivity, and Employee Health." *AAOHN Journal* 57(12): 497–504.

Kelly, Erin, Phyllis Moen and Eric Tranby. 2011. "Changing workplaces to reduce work-family conflict: schedule control in a white-collar organization." *American Sociological Review* 76(2): 265–90.

Klerman, Jacob A., Kelly Daley, and Alyssa Pozniak. 2014. "Family and Medical Leave in 2012: Technical Report." Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, <<http://www.dol.gov/asp/evaluation/fmla/FMLA-2012-Technical-Report.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Knop, Brian and Lynda Laughlin. 2018. "When Work Isn't 9 to 5: Gender, Industry/Occupational Context and Nonstandard Work Schedules Among Parents." *SEHSD Working Paper*, Number 2018-22. <<https://www.census.gov/library/working-papers/2018/demo/SEHSD-WP2018-22.html>> (accessed July 2019).

Knop, Brian. 2017. "Parents Working Nonstandard Schedules: Who's Burning the Midnight (and Weekend) Oil?" Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Family Relations Orlando, FL, November; U.S. Census Bureau <<https://www.census.gov/library/working-papers/2017/demo/parents-working-nonstandard-schedules.html>> (accessed July 2019).

Kossek, Ellen Ernst and Brenda A. Lautsch. 2017. "Work-Life Flexibility for Whom? Occupational Status and Work-Life Inequality in Upper, Middle, and Lower Level Jobs." *The Academy of Management Annals* 12(1). <<https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2016.0059>> (accessed November 2018).

Kossek, Ellen Ernst, Ariane Ollier-Malaterre, Mary Dean Lee, Shaun Pichler, and Douglas T. Hall. 2016. "Line Managers Rationales for Professionals' Reduced-Load Work in Embracing and Ambivalent Organizations." *Human Resource Management* 55(1): 143-171.

Labin, Susan, Dean Baker, Jon Messenger, Hyosun Kim, Melanie Fonder-Kaye. 2018. "Optimal Employment & Work Sharing." Presentation at Work Family Researchers Network Conference, June 21, Washington, DC.

LaBriola, Joe, and Daniel Schneider. 2019. "Worker Power and Class Polarization in Intra-Year Work Hour Volatility." *Social Forces*, soz032, June 11. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soz032>> (accessed November 2018).

Lambert, Susan J., Peter J. Fugiel, and Julia R. Henly. 2014. *Precarious Work Schedules among Early Career Employees in the US: A National Snapshot*. Chicago, IL: EINet at the University of Chicago.

Lambert, Susan J., Anna Haley-Lock, and Julia R. Henly. 2012. "Schedule flexibility in hourly jobs: unanticipated consequences and promising directions." *Community, Work & Family* 15:3, 293-315, DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2012.662803.

Landers, Renée M., James B. Rebitzer and Lowell J. Taylor. 1996. "Rat Race Redux: Adverse Selection in the Determination of Work Hours in Law Firms." *American Economic Review* 88(3): 329-348.

Lewis, Suzan, Deirdre Anderson, Clare Lyonette, Nicola Payne, and Stephen Wood (eds.) 2016. *Work-Life Balance in Times of Recession, Austerity and Beyond*. London: Routledge.

Li, Jianghong, Sarah E. Johnson, Wen-Jui Han, Sonia Andrews, Garth Kendall, Lyndall Strazdins, and Alfred Dockery. 2014. "Parents' Nonstandard Work Schedules and Child Wellbeing: A Critical Review of the Literature." *The Journal of Primary Prevention* 35(1): 53-73.

Livingston, Gretchen. 2014. "Among Hispanics, Immigrants more likely to be Stay-at-home Moms and to Believe that's Best for Kids." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center



<<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/04/24/among-hispanics-immigrants-more-likely-to-be-stay-at-home-moms-and-to-believe-thats-best-for-kids/>> (accessed October 2019).

Lott, Yvonne and Heejung Chung. 2016. "Gender Discrepancies in the Outcomes of Schedule Control on Overtime Hours and Income in Germany." *European Sociological Review* 32:6.

Madgavkar, Anu, James Manyika, Mekala Krishnan, Kweilin Ellingrud, Lareina Yee, Jonathan Woetzel, Michael Chui, Vivian Hunt, and Sruti Balakrishnan. 2019. *The Future of Women at Work: Transitions in the Age of Automation*. McKinsey Global Institute <<https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/the-future-of-women-at-work-transitions-in-the-age-of-automation>> (accessed October 2019).

Maestras, Nicole, Kathleen J. Mullen, David Powell, Till von Wachter, Jeffrey B. Wenger. 2017. *Working Conditions in the United States: Results of the 2015 American Working Conditions Survey*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation <[https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR2014.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2014.html)> (accessed July 2019).

Matos, Kenneth, Ellen Galinsky, and James T. Bond. 2016. *The National Study of Employers*. Washington, DC: Society for Human Resource Management with Families and Work Institute.

Matos, Kenneth, Ellen Galinsky, and James T. Bond. 2017. *National Study of Employers*. Washington DC: Society of Human Resource Management and Families and Work Institute. <<https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/trends-and-forecasting/research-and-surveys/Documents/National%20Study%20of%20Employers.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Maye, Adewale. 2019. "No-Vacation Nation, Revised." Washington, DC: Center for Economic Policy Research. <<http://cepr.net/publications/reports/no-vacation-nation-revised>> (accessed November 2018).

McMenamin, Terence M. 2007. "A Time to Work: Recent Trends in Shift Work and Flexible Schedules." *Monthly Labor Review* 13:3-15.

Messenger, Jon and Lutz Geschwind. 2016. "Three generations of Telework: New ICTs and the (R)evolution from Home Office to Virtual Office." *New Technology, Work and Employment* 31 (3) 195–208.

Messenger, Jon (ed.) 2004. *Working Time and Workers' Preferences in Industrialized Countries: Finding the balance*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Messenger, Jon. 2018. "Working time and the future of work." ILO Future of Work Research Paper 6. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.  
<[https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---cabinet/documents/publication/wcms\\_649907.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---cabinet/documents/publication/wcms_649907.pdf)> (accessed October 2019).

Miller, Claire Cain. 2019. "Women Did Everything Right. Then Work Got 'Greedy.'" *The New York Times*, April 26.  
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/26/upshot/women-long-hours-greedy-professions.html>> (accessed October 2019).

Milli, Jessica Jenny Xia, and Jisun Min. 2016. "Paid Sick Days Benefit Employers, Workers, and the Economy." IWPR Briefing Paper #B361. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/wpallimport/files/iwpr-export/publications/B361.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Moen, Phyllis, Erin L. Kelly, and Rachelle Hill. 2011. "Does Enhancing Work-Time Control and Flexibility Reduce Turnover? A Naturally Occurring Experiment." *Social Problems* 58(1): 69–98.

Munnell, Alicia H., Geoffrey T. Sanzenbacher, and Abigail N. Walters. 2019. "How do Older Workers use Nontraditional Jobs?" *NBER Working Paper* No. 26379  
<<https://www.nber.org/papers/w26379>> (accessed October 2019).

New York State Department of Labor. 2019. "Domestic Workers Bill of Rights."  
<<https://www.labor.ny.gov/legal/domestic-workers-bill-of-rights.shtm>> (accessed July 2019).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). 2019a. "Chart LMF 1.2.A Maternal Employment Rates, 2014 or Latest Available Year." OECD Family Database. <<http://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm>> (accessed July 2019).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). 2019b. "LMF1.6: Gender differences in employment." OECD Family Database. Paris  
<[https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF\\_1\\_6\\_Gender\\_differences\\_in\\_employment\\_outcomes.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF_1_6_Gender_differences_in_employment_outcomes.pdf)> (accessed July 2019).

Parker, Kim and Wendy Wang. 2013. "Modern Parenthood: Roles of Moms and Dads Converge as They Balance Work and Family." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. <[https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2013/03/FINAL\\_modern\\_parenthood\\_03-2013.pdf](https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2013/03/FINAL_modern_parenthood_03-2013.pdf)> (accessed November 2018).

Pragg, Brianne, and Chris Knoester. 2017. Parental Leave Use among Disadvantaged Fathers." *Journal of family issues* 38(8): 1157-1185. doi:10.1177/0192513X15623585

Presser, Harriet B. 2005. *Working in a 24/7 Economy: Challenges for American Families*. New York: Russell Sage.

Redfoot, Donald, Lynn Feinberg, and Ari Houser. 2013. "The Aging of the Baby Boom and the Growing Care Gap: A Look at Future Declines in the Availability of Family Caregivers," AARP Public Policy Institute, *Insight on the Issues* 85. <<https://www.aarp.org/home-family/caregiving/info-08-2013/the-aging-of-the-baby-boom-and-the-growing-care-gap-AARP-ppi-ltc.html>> (accessed July 2019).

Reeves, Richard and Katherine Guyot. 2017. "Black Women are Earning More College Degrees, but that Alone will not Close Race Gaps." *Social Mobility Memos*, December 4<sup>th</sup>, Brookings Institution. <<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2017/12/04/black-women-are-earning-more-college-degrees-but-that-alone-wont-close-race-gaps/>> (accessed October 2019).

Reichlin, Lindsey, Ariane Hegewisch, and Barbara Gault. 2016. "The Need for Support for Working Families." IWPR Briefing Paper #B357 Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/wpallimport/files/iwpr-export/publications/B357-The%20Need%20for%20Support%20for%20Working%20Families.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Richman, Amy, Arlene Johnson, and Karen Noble. 2011. "Business impacts of flexibility: An imperative for expansion." Corporate Voices for Working Families. <[https://www.wfd.com/PDFS/BusinessImpactsofFlexibility\\_March2011.pdf](https://www.wfd.com/PDFS/BusinessImpactsofFlexibility_March2011.pdf)> (accessed October 2019).

Roberts, Carys, Henry Parkes, Rachel Statham and Lesley Rankin. 2019. *The Future is Ours: Women, Automation and Equality in the Digital Age*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research. <<https://www.ippr.org/files/2019-07/the-future-is-ours-women-automation-equality-july19.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Rose, Stephen and Heidi Hartmann. 2018. *Still a Man's Labor Marker: The Slowly Narrowing Gender Wage Gap*, Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<https://iwpr.org/publications/still-mans-labor-market/>> (accessed October 2019).

Samman, Emma, Elizabeth Presler-Marshall, and Nicola Jones. 2016. *Women's Work: Mothers, Children and the Global Child Care Crisis*. London, UK: Overseas Development Institute. <<http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10333.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Shaw, Elyse, Ariane Hegewisch, Emma Williams-Baron, and Barbara Gault. 2016. *Undervalued and Underpaid in America: Women in Low-Wage, Female-Dominated Jobs*. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research. <<https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/wpallimport/files/iwpr-export/publications/D508%20Undervalued%20and%20Underpaid.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Shierholz, Heidi. 2019. "Restoring the Value of Work Evaluating DOL's Efforts to Undermine Strong Overtime Protections." Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Workforce Protections, regarding the Department of Labor's March 2019 proposal to update the overtime salary threshold; June 12. <<https://www.epi.org/publication/restoring-the-value-of-work-evaluating-dols-efforts-to-undermine-strong-overtime-protections/>> (accessed July 2019).

Sirianni, Carmen and Cynthia Negrey. 2000. "Working Time as Gendered Time." *Feminist Economics* 6(1): 59–76.

Sloan. 2009. Focus on Workplace Flexibility. Sloan Center of Aging and Work. <[http://workplaceflexibility.bc.edu/us/us\\_industry](http://workplaceflexibility.bc.edu/us/us_industry)> (accessed July 2019).

Snir, Raphael and Itzhak Harpaz. 2012. "Beyond workaholism: Towards a general model of heavy work investment." *Human Resource Management Review* 22(3): 232–243.

Staehelin, Katharina, Paola Coda Berteà, Elizabeth Zemp Stutz. 2007. "Length of Maternity Leave and Health of Mother and Child: A Review." *International Journal of Public Health* 52 (4): 202–209.

Stone, Pamela. 2007. *Opting out? Why women really quit careers and head home*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Tolpa, Elke. 2015. "Careers for Night Owls." Career Outlook, U.S. Bureau for Labor Statistics. <<https://www.bls.gov/careeroutlook/2015/article/night-owls-and-early-birds.htm#In%20the%20evening>> (accessed October 2019).

Tucker, Philip, M. Brown, A. Dahlgren, G. Davies, P. Ebdon and Simon Folkard, Hutchings H., Åkerstedt, T. 2010. "The impact of junior doctors' working time arrangements on their fatigue and wellbeing", in *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment & Health* 36(6): 458–465.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2018b. "Women in the Labor Force: a Databook." Report #1077. U.S. Department of Labor <<https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/womens-databook/2018/pdf/home.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2005. "Employee Benefits in Private Industry in the U.S., March 2005." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor. <<https://www.bls.gov/ncs/ebs/sp/ebsm0003.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2018. "Productivity and Costs, Third Quarter 2018, Revised." *Economic News Release*, December 6. U.S. Department of Labor. <<https://www.bls.gov/news.release/prod2.nr0.htm>> (accessed October 2019).

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2018a. "Table 32: Leave Benefits: Access, Civilian Workers." Employee Benefits Survey <<https://www.bls.gov/ncs/ebs/benefits/2018/ownership/civilian/table32a.htm>> (accessed July 2019).

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2019. "Table 3. Employment status of the civilian noninstitutional population by age, sex, and race." Current Population Survey Household Data Annual Averages; U.S. Department of Labor <<https://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat03.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

U.S. Department of Labor. 2014. "Paternity Leave." DOL Policy Brief. <<https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/OASP/legacy/files/PaternityBrief.pdf>> (accessed October 2019).

Veghte, Benjamin W., Alexandra L. Bradley, Marc Cohen, and Heidi Hartmann (eds.). 2019. *Designing Universal Family Care: State-Based Social Insurance Programs for Early Child Care and Education, Paid Family and Medical Leave, and Long-Term Services and Supports*. Washington, DC: National Academy of Social Insurance. <<http://universalfamilycare.org/report/>> (accessed July 2019).

Ward, Ashley, Maria Belen Zinni and Marianna Pascal. 2018. "International Productivity Gaps: Are Labour Input Measures Comparable?" *OECD Statistics Working*

*Papers*, 2018/12, Paris: OECD Publishing <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5b43c728-en>> (accessed July 2019).

Webber, Gretchen and Christine Williams. 2008. “Mothers in ‘Good’ and ‘Bad’ Part-Time Jobs: Different Problems, Same Results.” *Gender & Society* 22(6): 752–77.

Weiler Reynolds, Brie. 2017. “Working Parents in 2017: What They Want at Work.” Flexjobs Job Search Tips & Blog. August 11. <<https://www.flexjobs.com/blog/post/what-working-parents-want-at-work/>> (accessed October 2019)

Williams, Joan C. 2012. *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Williams, Joan C. and Heather Boushey. 2010. *The Three Faces of Work-Family Conflict: The Poor, the Professionals, and the Missing Middle* Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.  
<<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/reports/2010/01/25/7194/the-three-faces-of-work-family-conflict/>> (accessed July 2019).

Williams, Joan C., Mary Blair-Loy and Jennifer L. Berdahl. 2013. “Cultural Schemas, Social Class, and the Flexibility Stigma.” *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 209–234.

Williams, Joan. C., Susan. J. Lambert, Saravanan Kesavan, Peter J. Fugiel, Lori Ann Ospina, Erin Devorah Rapoport, Meghan Jarpe, Dylan Bellisle, Pradeep Pendem, Lisa. McCorkell, and Sarah & Adler-Milstein. 2018. *Stable Scheduling Increases Productivity and Sales: The Stable Scheduling Study*. San Francisco, CA: UC Hastings School of Law, with University of Chicago, and University of North Carolina.  
<<http://worklifelaw.org/publications/Stable-Scheduling-Study-Report.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).

Wilson, Valerie and Janelle Jones. 2018. “Working Harder or Finding it Harder to Work.” Economic Policy Institute. <<https://www.epi.org/publication/trends-in-work-hours-and-labor-market-disconnection/>> (accessed July 2019).

Winston, Pamela. 2014. “Work-Family Supports for Low-Income Families: Key Research Findings and Policy Trends.” Washington DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant for Planning and Evaluation.  
<<https://aspe.hhs.gov/basic-report/work-family-supports-low-income-families-key-research-findings-and-policy-trends>> (accessed July 2019).

Wolfe, Julia, Janelle Jones, and David Cooper. 2018. “‘Fair Workweek’ Laws Help more than 1.8 Million Workers: Laws Promote Workplace Flexibility and Protect against Unfair Scheduling Practices.” Report. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. <<https://www.epi.org/publication/fair-workweek-laws-help-more-than-1-8-million-workers/>> (accessed October 2019).

World Policy Analysis Center. 2019. “Adult Labor and Working Conditions” Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Fielding School of Public Health. <<https://worldpolicycenter.org/topics/adult-labor-and-working-conditions/regulations-on-rest-and-working-hours/policies>> (accessed July 2019).

World Policy Analysis Center. 2019a. “Paid Family Medical Leave in the U.S.: Good for Families, Good for the Economy.” Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Fielding School of Public Health. <<https://ph.ucla.edu/news/press-release/2018/feb/paid-family-medical-leave-us-good-families-good-economy>> (accessed July 2019).

Xia, Jenny, Jeff Hayes, Barbara Gault and Hailey Nguyen. 2016. “Paid Sick Days Access and Usage Rates Vary by Race/Ethnicity, Occupation, and Earnings.” Washington, DC: Institute for Women’s Policy Research <<https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/wpallimport/files/iwpr-export/publications/B356.pdf>> (accessed July 2019).