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HIGH SKILL AND LOW PAY: THE ECONOMICS OF CHILD CARE WORK

by

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INTRODUCTION

In the midst of a debate over the cost and quality of child care and the appropriate public role in its provision, this paper documents the current situation of child care workers. Using available data from the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and numerous salary surveys conducted by a variety of groups across the country, it describes who child care workers are, in terms of their gender, race, age, and education; the job titles, occupations, and settings in which they work; and the wages and benefits they receive. The paper examines whether child care workers receive higher wages for increased time on the job and increased skill levels, and whether they fare better in some settings than others. It examines the available c on the critical issue of turnover and considers its implications he quality of child care as well as for workers themselves.

While data on many of these issues is scarce or even contradictory, one conclusion stands out: child care workers have above average education but receive wages that are well below average, when compared to the work force as a whole. Child care workers are paid poorly, even when compared to other female-dominated occupations filled by women with educational levels similar to those of child care workers. Over 40 percent of full-time child care workers earned less than $5.00 per hour

in 1986 (while only 18 percent of all full-time workers had earnings that low), yet the average educational attainment of child care workers is 14.6 years, nearly two years more than the average U.S. worker; the majority of child care workers have some college education.

High skill and low pay in child care combine to make the staffing situation unstable. Well-educated workers can find better paying jobs elsewhere. Turnover is about twice the national average and apparently increasing. Yet, child care workers in some situations do better than others; those with higher wages have longer job tenure; those in the better settings also earn more as their time on the job and education increase. Working in the public sector, for schools, or in unionized settings are all associated with improved working conditions and reduced turnover. Because high turnover has a negative effect on the quality of care children receive, policies to reduce turnover are needed. Based on the research undertaken here, options that would likely have a favorable impact on the situation include providing public subsidies to increase funding for child care and encouraging unions or other associations to assist in restructuring the child care labor market.

WHO NEEDS CHILD CARE?

As more and more mothers enter the paid labor force, most often to work outside the home, increasing numbers and proportions of children are experiencing care provided in a group

context, usually by someone other than their own parents. Data from the 1984-85 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), a new data set containing information from over 15,000 households now available from the Census Bureau, indicates that there are about 8 million children under 5 who have working mothers. Nearly a quarter of these children are in group facilities, such as daycare centers, preschools, and nursery schools. More than a third of the children of working mothers are being cared for in someone else's home, usually a nonrelative. Slightly fewer than one third of them are in their own homes, where they are largely taken care of by their own relatives, especially their fathers or grandparents, but a few have babysitters. A few, about 1/12th, are cared for by mothers while they are actually on the job (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1986).

The work called "child care" generally refers to care taking done by someone other than the child's own parents (or if by own parents, then in a shared context where the parent is taking care of other children as well). Child care may be done by people ranging from the child's own mother (as when she or he is a day care provider) or other relative to public school teachers working for a school district (as when the school provides programs for young children). As just described, child care can take place in the child's own home, in other private homes, in day care centers, nurseries, and pre-kindergartens, or in public and private schools.

The proportion of all children of working mothers using organized care has increased substantially and steadily since the 1960's. More and more families are using organized child care centers. Of the 8 million children who are under 5 and have working moms, nearly two thirds have mothers who work full-time. Mothers who work full-time use more organized childcare than other mothers, simply because the more hours of care a mother needs the less able she is to rely on relatives and friends and other informal situations. Throughout this paper, the emphasis is on child care workers who work in more formal situations; wherever possible those who work in private households are included, but information on them is often either lacking or especially incomplete.

COUNTING CHILD CARE WORKERS

Those who care for children under six years of age are found in a variety of occupations and industries that reflect the varied settings in which child care takes place as well as some ambiguity of identity. Not all those who take care of very young children identify themselves as child care workers or early childhood professionals. Nor is there agreement within the field on the nomenclature to be used to classify and describe jobs.

Government statistics and professional association surveys classify those who care for children along two dimensions: occupation (director, teacher, aide) and industry or setting

(public and private schools, day care centers, and day care homes).[1]

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Both the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics classify most of those who provide child care as either kindergarten and pre-kindergarten teachers or as child care workers. Each of these, in turn, is part of a larger occupational grouping: teachers are classified within "managerial and professional specialty occupations," while child care workers are classified within "service occupations," specifically "personal service occupations." This distinction would probably strike most child care workers as artificial, for the two occupations reflect two aspects of essentially the same job. Attempts to define these two occupations as distinct reflect this problem; according to the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT), teachers are those who are engaged in such tasks as "instructing children in activities that promote intellectual and social growth," and "prepar[ing] children for primary school." Child care workers, on the other hand, "remove outer garments," and "direct children in eating, resting, and toileting." But

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[1] Child care offered in these settings is most likely included in the category "professional and related services" in the Standard Industrial Classification, for example under "elementary and secondary schools" (SIC 821) or "child day care services" (SIC 835); some home-based care may be included in the "personal services" category, under "private households" (SIC 88) for example.

which occupation engages in each of the following tasks: "read aloud," "organize activities of prekindergarten children," "teach children...painting, drawing, and songs," and "plan group activities to stimulate learning?" These tasks come from both job descriptions in the DOT (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977). Obviously, whether a child care worker is classified by official statistics as a pre-kindergarten teacher or a child care worker is somewhat arbitrary, depending upon the setting, as well as other factors.

Child care workers are further subdivided between those who work in private households and those who do not. Thus, "child care worker, not private household," is the category that best captures the prototype center-based child care worker, the image that most people have in mind when they think of child care workers. The private household category of child care worker, unfortunately, includes only a few of those who actually provide child care in their homes.

Most child care workers who provide daycare at home probably go unreported or uncounted. This occurs for several reasons. First, the category is limited to wage and salary workers, in the published data, and excludes the self-employed. Second, some surveys, such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics's survey of establishments, do not interview the self-employed or those whose place of work is a private household (either their own or another's). Third, many will not be counted even in household-based surveys. For some, it is because the care they give is

bartered (such as through parent co-op), and there are no "earnings," which is the test generally used by the Census Bureau for inclusion in the labor force.[2] For yet others, who operate in the "underground" economy, it is prudent not to be forthcoming about this particular source of income and employment. Finally, there are many who simply do not define what they are doing as child care work. They may have regular jobs and do this in addition, or the child(ren) they care for may be offspring of relatives, friends or neighbors, for whom they are just "doing a favor," though some money, goods, or services may change hands. Indeed, one study of family caregivers in Vermont indicates that pricing their services and receiving payment is a most difficult task for many (Nelson, 1989). Thus, they do not report themselves as child care providers. Fourth, even if counted in the census or by a survey of households, self-employed day care home proprietors could be classified in any of several categories, and would be difficult to identify. In any case, as noted above, whether counted or not, no published statistics are available from the Census Bureau or the Bureau of Labor Statistics on child care home proprietors. Those who are included in the category, "child care workers, private household," are hired employees, such as governesses, au pairs, and babysitters, and, possibly, some employees in group homes.

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[2] The category "unpaid family member/worker" is used by the Census Bureau for family members who work on family-owned farms or in family-owned businesses. It is doubtful that many child care workers are included in this way.

As such, they represent only a small proportion of those who actually provide child care in homes.

Others, besides child care home providers, who are likely excluded are some Directors and Teacher-Directors of small programs. To further confuse this picture, there are some who are classified as child care workers who are but peripherally involved in early childhood education. Thus foster parents; lunchroom, playground and bus monitors; and attendants in residential institutions and schools for the handicapped are classified as child care workers. And because kindergarten teachers are included with prekindergarten teachers, many school-based teachers are included in the data reported here for child care employees; it is not always possible to distinguish school-based teachers from center-based teachers.

For some purposes, it makes more sense to treat the two occupational categories--teachers and child care workers--as one. At the same time, data are often available by the separate groups, and the distinction does correspond very roughly to the job categories found in many child care settings: teacher (and assistant teacher or teacher-director), on the one hand, and aide (or child care worker), on the other. The distinction, as used in child care centers, often reflects differences in responsibility, educational preparation, and experience, and some of these differences are also reflected in the official statistics. Whenever possible, data are reported here both separately and together, to allow readers to draw their own

conclusions. Whenever available, data for "child care workers, private household" are also included, even though they are very likely vastly underrepresentative of that group.

Despite the difficulties with the occupational classification of those who provide child care, occupational data are relied upon in this paper to identify child care workers.

INDUSTRY CLASSIFICATIONS

Most people who provide child care work in three kinds of settings, or "industries." These are: day care homes, day care centers, and public and private schools. Day care homes are family dwellings and are of three types: unregulated, regulated or licensed, and sponsored. Most are small, but some are "group homes," with one or more employees in addition to the home owner(or renter)/provider. Day care centers may be found in a variety of settings, including churches, hospitals, office buildings, workplaces, and so forth, and may be designated as nursery schools, preschools, early childhood education programs, and many other names in addition to day care center. School settings include those programs for young children that are part of a school system's education program, and whose personnel are considered school staff, and include preschool, prekindergarten, and after-school programs.

Other industries in which child care workers and teachers are found include such diverse settings as respite care, department stores, resorts, religious organizations, and social

services not elsewhere classified. (See Chart 1, which shows the four largest industries/settings in which teachers and child care workers work, and Appendix Table 1 for more detail on industry.)

In Figure 1, the industry/setting and occupational classifications are mapped to show the most common settings in which the occupations described above occur.

SOURCES OF DATA

No single source covers all child care workers. As noted above, home-based child care providers are likely to be especially undercounted in all sources. The sources relied upon in this paper are three: 1) the 1980 Census of Population, of which the 5 percent sample provides information on detailed occupations; 2) the Current Population Survey, both annual averages and specific months; and 3) local surveys of center-based child care workers, conducted generally in cities or counties, and most often by community groups or groups of child care workers.

The census provides the largest sample of child care workers and therefore the most reliable data. While some use of published 1980 census data is made in this report, unpublished data (such as the Public Use Sample) were not analyzed for this report, because 1980 census figures are now out-of-date. The Current Population Survey (CPS), a monthly survey of some 60,000 households provides a much smaller sample of child care workers

(one which is too small, for example, to say anything reliably about male child care workers, who constitute only six percent of the total), but available data from the CPS is quite current (particularly in unpublished form available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics), and detailed analyses from the May and June 1983 CPS computer tape were made available for this report. Because the occupational classification used in the CPS was changed in 1983 (to correspond to the new classification adopted in the 1980 Census), however, figures before and after 1983 are not comparable. In essence, the change in classification means that child care workers were reshuffled among available categories. CPS data provide two consistent series, from 1972-82 and from 1983 on. Usual weekly earnings of child care workers are available from 1979 on.

While these official sources provide nationally representative samples and offer the most reliable statistics, they provide information about a limited number of issues concerning the pay, fringe benefits, and working conditions of child care workers. For this reason, data from approximately 25 local, state, and national surveys of the wages, salaries, benefits, and job rights of child care workers are included in this report. Many of these studies were produced by community groups and child care employees following guidelines developed by the Child Care Employee Project (CCEP). CCEP provides a professionally-designed and field-tested questionnaire and suggestions for drawing a random sample of programs and obtaining

a high response rate (Bellm and Whitebook, 1987). This similarity leads to comparable results, but quality research methods are not assured, and, most often, the write-up of the study leaves a great deal to be desired. Despite these weaknesses, however, these data provide the most detailed information regarding wages and wage ranges in a variety of positions and, especially, benefits and job rights.

As noted above, the job categories teacher and aide, which are used in most child care centers, and which are used to organize much of the local survey data on salaries reported below, do not usually correspond to the BLS/Census Bureau distinction between "kindergarten and pre-kindergarten teachers" and "child care workers."

HOW MANY CHILD CARE WORKERS ARE THERE?

The number of employees in child care (teachers and child care workers) has been growing, particularly since 1980. Table 1 presents data on the number of child care workers from the Current Population Survey. In 1987, the latest year for which data for both full-time and part-time child care workers are available, there were 405,000 child care employees in private households, 827,000 center- or school-based child care workers (i.e., not in private households), and 389,000 kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers, for a total of 1,621,000. Overall, growth was modest between 1972 and 1982 with an increase of only 11 percent compared to total labor force growth of 26 percent

during the same period. Growth of total employment in child care has been more rapid since 1983, with both center-based child care workers and teachers growing by 31 percent during that five year-period. As can be seen, the number of private household child care workers fluctuated between 1972 and 1982, but ended the period with a substantial decline. After 1983, there was decline followed by growth, so that by 1987 the number of private household child care workers was approximately the same as in 1983, but still substantially smaller than in 1972. The growth of the three occupational categories is shown separately and together in Chart 2. (Note that data from 1972 to 1982 cannot be accurately compared to data from 1983 on because of a change in classification.)

The bottom portion of Table 1 shows the growth of full-time workers (only) for a more limited (but comparable) time period, and provides data for 1988 in addition. These data show a substantial growth between 1983 and 1988 (40 percent for all child care workers considered together compared to 14 percent for the full-time labor force as a whole), with growth most rapid for teachers (46 percent) and center-based child care workers (44 percent). The growth in <u>full-time</u> private household child care workers was greater (25 percent) than that shown for full-time and part-time private household child care workers considered together (in the top portion of Table 1), and greater than average labor force growth.

Table 1, however, does not include all child care workers. As noted above, federal statistics count primarily those teachers and child care workers who work in formal settings. Determining how many child care workers there are--in all settings--is not a simple task. This is particularly true for those who work as employees or as self-employed providers in day care homes. As noted above, those listed as "child care workers, private household," in Table 1 and elsewhere, are hired employees, such as babysitters. These employees are probably underreported, and the self-employed are excluded altogether. Thus the category represents only a small portion of those who actually provide child care in private homes.

Since many self-employed providers and employees do not report their employment (let alone their occupation), estimates of how many people provide this informal care must be based on other data, for example on the number of children who are reported as receiving care. In a 1985 report, the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), estimated that there were between 2.8 and 3.4 million people who were directly involved in providing care for children in 1984, while only 1,050,000 individuals defined their employment as child care worker, and an additional 330,000 as prekindergarten and kindergarten teacher in federal employment data for the same year (NAEYC, 1985:1). NAEYC based its larger estimate on their own 1985 survey of licensed child care centers, estimates of the number of providers per child care center provided by a 1976-77

report from the Department of Health and Human Services, and data on in-home child care arrangements of working mothers from the Current Population Survey.[3] NAEYC's estimate suggests, then, that there were between 1,410,000 and 2,010,000 unreported care givers, mostly self-employed in private homes, in 1984.

According to the NAEYC estimates, the largest category of all child care workers are those who provide care for children in their homes. As most of these child care providers have no contact with official licensing or regulating agencies, or even referral services, less is known about this group than any other.[4] As stated above, many do not identify themselves as child care professionals (Nelson, 1987.) Although Table 1 shows greater growth among workers outside homes than in, it may be that the increasing employment outside the home of mothers of very young children (approximately two-thirds of working women who give birth return to work within the year, and fully half of all married mothers with children under one are in the labor force--Spalter-Roth and Hartmann, 1989), will be accompanied by more rapid growth in the employment of in-home child care

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[3] NAEYC's estimate excludes such individuals as resource and referral staff and state child care licensing officials who are not directly involved in providing care.

[4] An HHS-sponsored study of family day care conducted in 1976-77 found that only 4 percent of all operating family day care homes were regulated (Divine-Hawkins, 1981:5). This study conducted intensive research on all aspects of family home care, including the observation of several providers at work, but it was limited to 3 sites, and does not provide a great deal of information on the providers.

providers (especially when self employed and other informal providers are considered as well). Most center-based care is limited to children over one or two years of age.

Future employment in child care is expected to continue to grow more quickly than the labor force as a whole. Whereas the average rate of growth across all occupations is projected to be 19 percent between 1986 and the year 2000 (according to the moderate--rather than low or high--growth projections), employment among preschool teachers is expected to grow by 36 percent and among child care workers (not in private households) by 20 percent (Silvestri and Lukasiewicz, 1987). These Bureau of Labor Statistics projections, however, estimate a decline of 10 percent in the number of child care workers in private households, perhaps because, as noted above, many private household workers (particularly the self-employed) may be undercounted or excluded altogether. Projections of that portion of the child care industry that is non-governmental and is tabulated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate that employment will grow by 35 percent between 1986 and 2000, or 2.2 percent per year--substantially higher than the 1.3 percent per year estimated for total employment growth for the entire economy (Personick, 1987:43).

WHO ARE THE CHILD CARE WORKERS?

Child care workers are overwhelmingly female (94 percent overall), disproportionately black (14.5 percent for teachers and child care workers together), and somewhat older than average (about 44 percent of child care workers are under age 35, while 49 percent of all workers are that young). In the 1983 CPS sample, teachers were 39.2 years old on average and center-based workers averaged 35.1 years. The average age for day care home providers in the HHS study was 41.6, with those in unregulated family homes several years younger on average and those in regulated or sponsored care several years older (Divine-Hawkins, 1981:12). (See Tables 7 for gender, 8a for race, and 9 for age data.)

Child care workers as a group have above average years of schooling; 14.6 years (based on the CPS sample) compared to 12.8 for the labor force as a whole. As can be seen in Table 11, which is based on data from the 1980 census, nearly half the teachers have college degrees or post graduate training, while nearly half the center-based workers have some college or more (including graduation and post-graduate training).

More child care workers work part-time (rather than full-time) compared to the labor force as a whole. Data on the proportion of child care workers who work part-time are somewhat conflicting. The 1980 Census reports that fully 1/2 the men, and nearly 4/5 of the women who worked as child care workers in

centers did not work full-time/year-round in 1979; among prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers, 3/5 of the men, and 4/5 of the women, did not work full-time/year-round. The 1983 CPS data show that about 1/3 of the teachers and just over half of the center-based child care workers worked part-time (whether or not year-round). Blacks were appreciably less likely to work part-time than whites, perhaps because they rely more on these jobs for family income. (See Tables 1, 3 and 8b.)

In the 1983 CPS sample that was analyzed in some detail, most of the child care workers (79 percent) work in settings other than schools, while the majority of the teachers (58 percent) work in schools. About half the teachers work in the public sector, compared to 2/5 of the child care workers. The major industries/settings that employ child care workers (combined with teachers) are shown in Chart 2. About 3/5 of both occupational groups work in schools, firms, or agencies with fewer than 25 employees. Few of the child care workers, for whom such data are available, are union members (5 percent), while 37 percent of the teachers are. Part-time workers are more likely to work in small firms (fully 74 percent of part-timers work in small firms, while only 58 percent of full-timers do). They are also more likely to work in the private sector, and less likely to work in schools. There are also more part-timers among child care workers (60 percent) than among teachers (42 percent). (See Tables 13, 14, and 15.)

HOW MUCH DO THEY EARN?

THE OVERALL PICTURE

NATIONAL DATA

Table 2 presents data on the median annual earnings of full-time workers in child care, in several occupational categories, and in the economy as a whole, as well as data on the poverty level for a family of four. As can be seen, child care salaries are low relative to salaries for all workers. In 1987, the average child care worker (considering all 3 categories together) earned less than two-thirds (or 62.4 percent) of the average U.S. worker. Even teachers, with 3.5 years more education than the average worker, earn 15.8 percent less than the average worker. While teachers' earnings have increased slightly more than average, child care workers' earnings have not kept pace with average salary growth. Between 1979 and 1982, in constant dollars (dollars adjusted for inflation), wages for all U.S. workers on average fell 4.7 percent, while those for child care workers fell even more (14.3 percent for center-based workers and 6.2 percent for home-based employees). Teachers fared the best, increasing their real earnings by 5.2 percent over the same six-year period. In the next five-year period (1983-1987), real wage growth improved for all workers, including all categories of child care workers.

During the entire period, 1979-1987, in all but the teacher category, median wages of full-time child care workers have been below the government-defined poverty level income for a family of four every year.

While data for the average child care worker is revealing, the distribution of child care workers' salaries is even more revealing of the very low wages child care workers receive. In Table 3, hourly wage data tabulated from the 1983 Current Population Survey are shown, giving the distribution of wages of child care workers, by occupational category, for full-time and part-time workers. As might be expected, the average hourly wages of part-time workers are considerably lower than for full-time workers within each occupational category. Yet even among full-time teachers, about one-fourth earn $5.00 per hour or less; almost 3/4 of full-time child care workers have earnings at this low level. Overall, 40 percent of all full-time child care employees (including teachers and child care workers) earned $5.00 per hour or less in 1983. Part-time workers fare even worse, with just over three-fifths of the teachers and virtually all of the child care workers earning wages of $5.00 per hour or less.

A survey of the membership of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), which was biased towards those with long-term investment in child care as a career and a substantial proportion with early childhood education credits, found that, in 1984, 90 percent of aides and over 40

percent of teachers responding earned less than $5.00 per hour (NAEYC, 1984:13). To put these salaries in context, in 1986 California's welfare reform legislation mandated that no welfare recipient be required to take a job for less than $5.14 per hour; below that level, with even one child, and the costs of child care and medical benefits, the State has determined that a family would be more impoverished by entering employment than by remaining on welfare. Yet many child care workers' earnings are at this level, with families to support.

In Appendix Tables 2 and 3, the weekly wage distributions of full-time workers in child care are given, along with those of all workers in the U.S. labor force for comparison, for the years 1983 and 1986. In 1986, 30 percent of full-time teachers and 60 percent of full-time child care workers in centers earned less than $200 per week ($5.00/hr), or $10,400 per year. Only 18 percent of all full-time workers had earnings that low. In 1986, the poverty-level annual income for a family of four was $11,203.

Clearly, many child care workers are earning poverty-level wages. Whether they and their families have below poverty-level income is not known; that depends on whether they or other family members have other sources of income in addition to their earnings from child care work. In the 1984 survey of NAEYC members, 35 percent of the responding child care workers stated that they were mostly or wholly dependent on these wages for their family income (NAEYC, 1984).

LOCAL SALARY SURVEYS

In Table 4, a variety of salary surveys has been assembled. Unlike the Census-type data, these surveys give information on the basis of actual job categories used in day care centers and other child care settings. While they have been done by a variety of groups, with different sampling frames, etc., they reflect the methodology developed by the Child Care Employee Project and its Director, Marcy Whitebook (Bellm and Whitebook, 1987). They are also remarkably, if depressingly, consistent: aides' earnings are generally at or just above the minimum wage, even in California and New York State. (New York City wages are higher, because a large portion of child care centers are operated by public authorities and are unionized.) Teachers' salaries generally average barely above $5.00 an hour (except in New York City). Unlike the census data, which are for preschool, prekindergarten, and kindergarten teachers combined and do not identify center-based pre-kindergarten teachers separately, these much lower salary levels are probably a more accurate reflection of what most teachers in child care centers actually receive.

Non-monetary compensation, and the conditions under which people work, have become an increasingly important factor in evaluating the adequacy of earnings. In Table 5, data from most of the same sources used in Table 4 are given on a variety of benefits. In the first row, BLS figures on the average percent of all workers (in medium and large size firms) who receive these benefits are given for comparison. It should be noted that some

benefits are not even in the table: for example, 48 percent of all workers have disability coverage, but none of the surveys indicate that any child care workers have this benefit.

Health coverage is one of the most important benefits, for both employees and their families. Most workers have health insurance, at least partially paid for by their employer, but only about one-third to one-half of child care workers have any kind of employer-provided health care coverage. Other nearly universal benefits, such as retirement pensions and life insurance are received by perhaps one-quarter of child care employees. Even though many have young children, ironically many child care workers do not receive free or reduced rate child care.

Most people assume that if they are injured on the job, or laid off through no fault of their own, they are covered by the public benefits of workers' compensation and unemployment compensation. Unfortunately, although coverage of workers is generally quite broad, many child care workers are not covered. As both of these programs are state-specific in their eligibility rules and coverage, it is difficult to generalize about the low rates of coverage of child care workers. Nonetheless, there are several likely possibilities: many states exempt small establishments and/or not-for-profit establishments from coverage. Also, in many states part-time workers do not qualify for unemployment insurance because their wages and/or hours worked do not meet the minimum thresholds (Pearce, 1986).

Finally, while few workers have paid leave for birth or other medical emergencies, 88 percent of all workers get an average of three days leave for funerals. Few child care workers receive either type of leave.

Actual wages per hour are even lower than these figures would suggest, for many child care workers (about 25 to 50 percent) do not receive paid time off, such as paid holidays and vacations, which are virtually universal among all workers (see Table 6). In addition, overtime pay is rare; many child care employees work unpaid additional hours. Whether in a day care home or center, the different schedules of parents often mean a ten to twelve hour workday; about a third of child care workers are not compensated for such extra work. While the proportion who receive paid breaks is similar to workers generally, many child care workers report never receiving the breaks to which they are entitled (CCEP, 1987). Indeed, it is not uncommon for child care workers to get rest breaks by napping with the children, literally.

Altogether, since child care workers receive fewer benefits than average, their total compensation (wages plus benefits) is even lower relative to other workers than it appears when only wages are used for comparison.

Closely related to pay and benefits are working conditions and job protections. For example, there is a great deal of variation in the availability of a staff room--a virtual necessity if the right to take breaks is to be very meaningful.

Likewise, while the majority of workers have a written job description, few have written personnel policies, and a minority have a written contract and/or written grievance procedures (see Appendix Table 4).

Finally, an important aspect of any job is the opportunity for growth, not only in monetary terms, but also in skill and knowledge. A substantial proportion of day care centers across the country offer opportunities for upgrading of one's skills, in the form of in-service training (about 60 to 80 percent of those surveyed), educational allowances (50 to 80 percent), and time off (40 to 60 percent). How many child care workers take advantage of these benefits is not known, but it is likely some do, as child care workers have more years of education than the average worker. For example, 48 percent of the NAEYC members surveyed, whose position title was "assistant teacher," had one or more semester units in early childhood education, ranging from one unit up through the master's degree; of those with some early childhood education credits, the single most common educational level was the associate of arts degree in early childhood education (25 percent). In the following section, whether and how much this educational achievement is rewarded in the form of higher wages is examined further.

In conclusion, the wages and total compensation of employees in child care are abysmally low, especially when their high average level of education is considered. Many teachers and child care workers--about 40 percent of those who work full-time

in the field--are literally earning poverty-level wages (according to data from the federal Current Population Survey). Moreover, except for the generally high availability of in-service training and assistance with education, fringe benefits are extremely limited, according to data collected in numerous local surveys of center-based child care workers.

THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER, RACE, AGE, EXPERIENCE, AND EDUCATION ON EARNINGS

How do the characteristics and qualifications of child care workers affect their earnings?

GENDER-BASED DIFFERENTIALS WITHIN CHILD CARE AND THE EFFECTS OF FEMALE PREPONDERANCE

That child care work is an overwhelmingly female occupation is hardly new news. Ironically, because of the overwelming disproportion, sample sizes in the Current Population Survey (relied upon in this paper for detailed analyses) are generally too small to provide accurate wage data for men. The only data source with substantial numbers of men is the 1980 census. These data, presented in Table 7, show that in child care women earn wages that average 69 percent of those earned by men, with full-time women especially earning less, only 59 percent of the average wages of full-time men. This difference, while it could reflect differences in experience and education, more likely

reflects differences in the types of jobs held, with men able to secure the better positions within child care.

In 1986, when 41.2 percent of all full-time workers were women, unpublished BLS data showed that 98.3 percent of pre-kindergarten and kindergarten teachers were women, while 92.3 percent of child care workers (not in private households) were women, and 98.6 percent of child care workers in private households were women, percentages similar to those shown in the 1980 census data. The general phenomenon in which average wages in an occupation decrease as the percentage female increases is well-known (Treiman and Hartmann, 1981). The low average wages of all child care workers undoubtedly reflect this phenomenon. As pay equity research shows, "women's jobs" (jobs held preponderantly by women) are undervalued relative to men's jobs that entail similar skill, effort, or responsibility. Workers within women's jobs earn less than they would, based on their qualifications and the requirements of the job. In essence, all workers in child care are earning less than they would if they worked in other, non-female-dominated, occupations. It is likely that men in child care (even though they earn more than women) also earn less than they would elsewhere. While other factors affect child care workers' salaries (factors such as whether public or private, urban or rural, unionized or not), the effect of occupational segregation is large and significant.

Interestingly, however, child care workers' salaries are exceedingly low, even in comparison to other "women's jobs."

Chart 3 compares eight jobs whose incumbents have about the same number of years of education as child care workers (excluding prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers). As shown, "men's jobs" pay better than women's, but even the other women's jobs pay substantially better than child care.

RACE

The data presented in Table 8a suggest that, for the small sample of workers in the 1983 Current Population Survey, hourly wages are fairly equitable for Blacks and whites in child care, with Blacks earning more than whites in both teaching and child care work. The overall Black/white wage ratio of .96 results from differences in occupational distribution. Although Blacks earn more than whites in each occupation, more Blacks than whites work in the lower paid occupation, bringing down the overall wage ratio.

Because higher wages for Blacks than whites are unusual in the U.S. labor market, several potential causes for Black success were examined. As will be described in greater detail below, tabulations from the 1983 CPS confirm what many in child care have long known: working in the public sector rather than the private, working in a school, belonging to a union, and working in a larger workplace all contribute positively to earnings. Blacks, however, in this sample, are <u>less</u> likely to work for government, <u>less</u> likely to work in schools, and <u>less</u> likely to belong to a union, so these factors cannot explain their higher

wages. Educational level, another common factor that explains wage differentials, is quite similar for whites and Blacks in child care, and Blacks have less time on the job than whites, so that longer job tenure or higher educational attainment also cannot explain Blacks' higher wages. The explanatory factor, at least the only one identified in this study, is that Blacks are much more likely to work full-time than whites, and full-time workers, in this sample, generally earn higher hourly wages than part-time workers.

Considering full-time and part-time workers separately, as shown in Table 8b, reveals that Blacks earn less than whites in child care (as would--unfortunately--be expected by their earnings throughout the labor market in general), with an hourly Black/white wage ratio of .81 among full-time workers and .95 among part-time workers (in other words when only full-time or only part-time workers are considered, whites outearn Blacks). Here, however, the distributional differences work in Blacks' favor: since proportionately more Blacks work full-time than whites (and whites work disproportionately part-time), when part-time and full-time workers are considered together, hourly wages for Blacks are higher than for whites in both teaching and child care work.

It is also of interest to note that with respect to both gender and race, hourly wage differentials are smaller among part-time than among full-time workers.

AGE AND EXPERIENCE

The data on child care workers' salaries from the 1983 CPS sample show a fairly typical age-earnings profile (see Table 9). Hourly wages tend to start out low for both teachers and child care workers, increase somewhat in the middle years--which are the peak earning years, and fall again at older ages. For teachers, peak earnings occur for the 35-44 year old age group, and for child care workers, for 30-34 year olds. Overall, however, and especially compared to men's occupations, these data show relatively small earnings growth with age (Treiman, 1983). Many professional groups would show a doubling of earnings between starting salary and peak earning age, whereas teachers' salaries increase only about 50 percent from start to peak. Child care workers fare even worse, with a salary growth from start to peak of only about 25 percent.

These small differentials by age suggest a low return to experience in the field of child care. Older workers, who are likely to be more experienced and more likely to have gained skills in working with children, do not appear to be financially rewarded.

Further light is shed on this issue by the data in Table 10, which show how much hourly wages increase, for teachers and child care workers separately, with longer tenure on the job. For teachers the relationship is generally (if not consistently) positive: longer job tenure means higher hourly wages, with those having 11 or more years' tenure earning nearly twice as

much as those having one year or less. For child care workers, however, the generally positive relationship economists expect between job tenure and wages does not hold. Hourly wages of those with four or more years' tenure average $3.45/hour, only slightly more than the average for those with three years or fewer on the job, $3.19/hour. This wage difference is not statistically significant, and in any case is small, just 8 percent. The average wage increase with increased job tenure for all female workers, as reported by the Census Bureau for data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation, is a 51 percent increase betweeen women working less than 2 years and those working 10 years or more (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1987). Not surprisingly, when queried, many day care centers report that they do not pay higher wages for those with more experience (CCEP, 1987). Longer tenure on the job, then, is not substantially rewarded for child care workers.

EDUCATION

The low salaries of child care workers and their small salary growth with age and job tenure are all the more surprising in view of the high educational attainment of child care workers. Those who take care of children are, by and large, very well educated. About 85 percent of respondents in the NAEYC membership survey reported having some college education. (Even at the lowest rank of aide, about half have some education beyond high school.) According to the 1980 census, among those in the

category of child care worker, nearly one-third have one or more years of college education (see Table 11). As noted above, overall, child care workers and teachers together average 14.6 years of education (according to 1983 CPS data) while the average U.S. worker has 12.8 years of education.

The contrast between the high levels of education and the low pay is striking. As shown in Table 11, the average wage reported by the 1980 census for child care workers with five or more years of college education (i.e., the master's level) was $4.50 for women (and, not shown in the table, $5.95 for men). In the 1984 NAEYC survey, as shown in Table 12, the vast majority of aides (90 percent) and assistant teachers (81 percent) earned less than $5.00 per hour, yet half of the aides and 3/4 of the assistant teachers earning such low wages had some college education (see Table 12). While the proportions of teachers, head teachers, and directors earning less than $5.00 per hour were lower (42 percent, 28 percent, and 8 percent, respectively), of those with such low wages, over 80 percent in each job category had some college. Thus, in spite of the low wages, those who take care of children, and particularly those who are teachers and administrators, are very well-educated.

Also striking are the small increments in wages for workers with more years of education. As Table 11 shows, just as with age and job tenure, there is little wage increase for greater educational achievement, particularly for the child care workers categories. Perhaps related is the importance of "position" to

the return on education: among high school graduates, for example, teachers earn more than child care workers; among college graduates and those with some graduate school, the higher earnings of teachers--relative to child care workers--are especially noticeable (Table 11). This finding suggests that child care workers are acquiring the education that would allow them to become teachers in child care but that the number of teacher slots is limited--they must work as child care workers at lower wages, although they have the credentials to move into better paid positions.

Though positive, the relatively weak effect of education on wages is sometimes overwhelmed by other factors, for example, gender: 1980 census data (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1984: Table 1) show that male child care workers with an eighth grade education or less earned more ($4.39 per hour) than women child care workers who were college graduates ($3.73 per hour).

Coupled with the high overall educational attainment of child care workers, the low returns to increased education, age, experience, and tenure on the job described here suggest that the staffing situation in child care is unstable. High education, low wages, and the lack of increased returns for skill and experience all likely combine to drive people from the field.

THE INFLUENCE OF SETTING, SECTOR, UNION MEMBERSHIP AND OTHER STRUCTURAL VARIABLES ON EARNINGS

Despite the generally depressed earnings of child care workers described above, evidence from a variety of salary studies and data sources strongly indicate that wages, as well as benefits of all kinds, at all occupational levels within child care are higher in some settings than others. Workers in school settings as compared to nonschool settings, the public sector as compared to the private sector, unionized workplaces as compared to nonunionized workplaces, and larger as compared to smaller workplaces all do better.

Table 13 presents data from the 1983 CPS and shows that employment in a school provides a positive wage differential on average for all who work in child care; though the differential is much larger for teachers, and small and insignificant for child care workers. Whether they are union members or not (though--in this sample--few of those outside the schools are unionized), work in large or small workplaces, in the public sector or private, those who work for a school earn consistently higher wages than those in non-school settings. A worker in child care is clearly better off employed by a school than otherwise.

Table 14, from the same data source, shows that employment in the government sector pays better than working in the private

sector for all categories of child care employees: teachers and child care workers, union members and nonunion members, those who work in large work places and small, schools and nonschools. Government sector programs include both school programs and programs such as Headstart (also often operated by schools), when their employees are paid directly by governmental units.

Other programs are fully or partially funded by public sources. For example, child care centers run by the Agency for Child Development (ACD) in New York City are fully funded by the public but are operated by an independent agency not part of the public school system. And although child care wages in New York City centers are high on average, those in the school system are much higher than those paid by the ACD. The ACD's unionized employees are currently struggling for pay parity with the public schools. Many centers receive partial public funding in the form of public subsidies via vouchers, third-party paid day care "slots" (e.g., under Title XX of the Social Security Act), or other direct or indirect subsidies. Wage data from the local surveys reviewed above show that the lowest pay is generally received in the private sector (at least for those who are not directors), while not-for-profits, even those without public subsidies, pay slightly better. Not-for-profits with subsidies pay even better, and fully public centers pay the highest wages. One study of wage differentials between not-for-profit and private day care centers finds that public subsidies and donations account for a 10 to 20 percent positive wage

differential in child care workers' salaries in the nonprofits (Preston, forthcoming).

Table 15, also presenting data from the 1983 CPS, shows that union status is associated with higher wages, in all settings and for all groups of workers identified in this sample. In many cases, union membership appears to double wages, and the smallest increase is 50 percent. (The small increase in wages shown for unionized Blacks as opposed to unionized whites is almost certainly a result of the small sample; other studies show that Blacks often benefit more than whites from union membership, especially in the public sector--Freeman and Leonard, 1987.) Care should be taken, however, <u>not</u> to attribute all this wage differential to union membership per se. Union membership is highly correlated with the other factors already found to be important: school vs. non-school setting and public vs. private sector. In this sample, there are very few union employees who are not in the schools, not teachers, and not working for the government. To sort out the effects of each of these factors considered independently requires multivariate analysis and very likely a larger data set than now available. Very likely, differences in the personal characteristics of the workers also account for some of the wage differences observed between school and nonschool, union and nonunion workers. Studies have shown that high wages (for example, in unionized settings) tend to attract the best workers--the employer can pick and choose because the wages he or she pays are higher.

HIGH TURNOVER, UNSTABLE STAFFING

Turnover is high among child care workers, and time on the job is short. Although there are many dedicated professionals who have worked for years in early childhood education, at low wages, many other workers do not stay in their jobs or in their field. Among child care employees, including both teachers and workers, about 55 percent have been at their jobs two years or less, a figure that is twice the national average for all workers.

In Table 10, 1983 CPS data show that for child care workers particularly, job tenure is short: 2/5 have been on the job one year or less, while another 2/5 have two to three years on the job. Only 1/5--20 percent--have four years or more on the job. Among teachers, more than half have three years or fewer on the job. When these data are compared to data for the labor force as a whole, it is clear that child care workers and teachers have fewer average years on the job than does the average U.S. worker. For example, a Census Bureau study using the 1984 Survey of Income and Program Participation found that about 26 percent of women workers nationwide had been on the job two years or less; the comparable figure for kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers is 44 percent and for child care workers 66 percent (based on the 1983 CPS sample). Nationwide, 23 percent of women workers have 10 or more years on the job (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1987), as do kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers;

but only 7 percent of child care workers have 10 or more years on the job. While these data suggest that child care workers have especially low tenure, they also suggest that kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers may be moving in the same direction. Fewer kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers have mid-range years of tenure on the job--two to nine years; only 33 percent versus the national average for women of 52 percent. Coupled with the fact the many more teachers have very short tenure, while about the same proportion (as nationally) have long tenure, this low representation in the midrange suggests that teachers' behavior is changing--they are not staying as long on the job as previously.[5]

In sum, data on tenure suggest that child care workers particularly have short job tenure compared to the average woman in the work force, and that prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers may be developing shorter job tenure over

Short average tenures translate into high turnover. Workers must be replaced more often than in most other occupations. According to an analysis of BLS data reported by NAEYC, 42 percent of center-based child care workers must be replaced <u>each year</u> just to maintain the present national child care workforce, a rate more than double the average for all other occupations

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[5] An alternative explanation that would account for the same phenomenon is very rapid growth in the total employment of teachers. Although growth has been above average since about 1980, the difference alone is not large enough to cause such a change in tenure patterns.

(NAEYC, 1985). For child care workers in private homes, the turnover rate is even higher at 69 percent.

Studies of specific localities and individual centers report a wide range of turnover rates, with an average of perhaps 30 percent (Jorde-Bloom, 1986, cited in Kontos and Stremmel, no date). One study of for-profit centers in Northern Alameda County, California, found a turnover rate of 70 percent (Bananas, 1984, as cited in Benson, no date). Deborah Phillips (1988), who with Marcy Whitebook and others is conducting the National Child Care Staffing study--a study of 45 centers in each of four cities, has stated that one center in Phoenix hired 27 teachers in one year to maintain a staff of 10 (a 270 percent turnover rate). In Detroit and Seattle, several centers had difficulty maintaining a consistent staff of six to work with infants and toddlers; frequently one out of the six would be gone by week's end--if this occurred every week, the turnover rate would be a huge 867 percent (52/6).

RETENTION

Retention, the degree to which workers remain in child care, is difficult to measure. As Benson (no date:24) notes, "most ... child care workers ... enter the profession because of their interest in young children and because of their commitment to providing services essential to their community." Despite low wages and few benefits and little opportunity for upward mobility, many workers do stay in the field. It appears, however, that aides and child care workers have especially high

turnover, and probably lower retention, and that patterns among teachers may be changing toward shorter job tenures as well.

Reasons given by workers in the child care field for low job tenure and high turnover include: low pay and unpaid overtime, lack of career mobility, and insecurity of the field in general (poor funding outlook for child care services). Whitebook et al. (1984) in their 1978-1979 study of 95 workers in 32 centers in San Francisco centers, found that low pay and unpaid overtime were the causes to which high turnover was most frequently ascribed. In a study of 4,844 employees in 413 child care programs in New York State, Zinsser (1986) found that most child care employees had been on the job three years or less and that "the most often cited reason for leaving [was] to take a better-paying job."

Other working conditions in the field of child care--besides low wages, long hours, few benefits, little job security, lack of reward for longevity, and little upward mobility--that present problems for employees, and probably also contribute to high turnover and low retention, are health hazards such as "strain from frequent lifting of children and moving furniture, poisoning from pesticides; injuries from children (bites, usually), from equipment (scissors, knives, splinters), and from materials (dry clay, cleaning agents, etc.,); and stress. In addition, workers are constantly exposed to infectious diseases (Benson, no date:24)." Stress results from such factors as inadequate and irregular breaks, shortages of staff, inadequate

health and vacation benefits, and poor governance (Whitebook and Ginsburg, 1983).

Whitebook et al. (1984) believe that since the field is filled with highly educated people with little opportunity to do better in child care, many will leave the field. Indeed, as thoroughly described above, wages are not only low, they do not rise very much with time on the job or increased educational achievement. Thus, those who stay in the field find little reward; there is little return to increased skills acquired with experience and tenure on the job. Staff have little job security, no upward mobility, and poor working conditions. Those who stay at a center are negatively affected by the high turnover of others and the constant need to train and adjust to new staff. Whitebook et al. (1984) found that "20 percent of those interviewed expected to leave the field in the next year" and "only 24 percent see themselves as making a lifetime commitment to work in the field."

In contrast, a study of 40 women in 10 centers (urban and rural, profit and nonprofit) in northeastern Pennsylvania, found most of the respondents quite satisfied with their jobs, with 65 percent responding that they planned to stay in child care indefinitely. Wages reported were in the $4.00-5.00 range. The average number of years at the centers, for all workers, was about 4.5 years; only aides had an average tenure of less than one year. Moreover, time spent in the field was even higher, averaging nearly seven years. Even the aides who averaged less

than one year at their centers, had more than four years in the field. Perhaps fewer alternative job opportunities in northeastern Pennsylvania account for these women's high job satisfaction and expected retention, in spite of low wages.

INCREASING TURNOVER

There is a fair amount of agreement among practitioners in the field that turnover has been increasing over the past few years, a conclusion that is expected to be documented by the National Child Care Staffing Study. Increasing rates of turnover support the argument that low wages, coupled with high education, make the staffing situation in child care unstable. Although in the past child care workers with high education have remained employed at low wages (for their educational level), the situation is changing. They are likely to leave the field in increasing numbers. Whether the cause of higher turnover is a decline in working conditions in the industry, or increased alternative opportunities for women, or both, is hard to say, but such high rates of turnover are surely a serious problem for centers, hampering their ability to provide quality child care services. While precise documentation of the connection between low wages, high turnover, and low quality care for children waits on the completion of the National Child Care Study and others, it seems likely that the connection is strong and significant. Improving pay and working conditions is critical to improving the quality of child care.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN

With respect to the quality of care, poor wages and high turnover mean lack of continuity in care. Other practices--designed to keep labor costs low, such as accordian staffing and use of floaters--create more difficulty for children, who cannot develop as firm a relationship with shifting staff members. Rotating staff members or "floaters" may spend two-hour shifts in each of several classrooms, in an attempt to meet staff/child ratio requirements, but the children do not experience continuity of care. "Accordian staffing" is similar; staff are assigned wherever they are most needed and children are moved from classroom to classroom as well. In one center in Atlanta, for example, that Phillips (1988) described, all the children who arrive before 8 a.m. are grouped together and one staff person is assigned. As more children arrive by 8 a.m., a second staff person comes on and the children may be divided into two groups. By 9 a.m. the full number of staff and children arrive, and the children enter their regular classrooms. At the end of the day the pattern is reversed. During any one day, the children may go through as many as five classrooms and sets of caregivers.

A child care aide in Pittsburg, California, commented "Any morning you could be sent home if they didn't have enough children. Then the age groups would be mixed together and moved around. The consistency that children would get is questionable (Bellm, 1987)." A child care coordinator for Campbell's Soup

Company in Camden, NJ, explained why he had decline to renew a child care contract for Campbell's employees with one of the forprofit chains: "The [teachers'] pay was very low and there was a lot of turnover among them. Some parents were getting very unhappy, but [the company] was unable to recruit better people (Bellm, 1987)."

CHILD CARE AS A SECONDARY LABOR MARKET

In essence, the child care industry is largely characterized by a labor market that is secondary rather than primary. Secondary labor markets have poor working conditions, low wages, little advancement, and high turnover. Secondary labor markets usually develop where high turnover is not a problem (does not impede the production process), such as where training is not needed because the skills required are few (or possessed many) and the labor supply is plentiful (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). The skills required to work with children are not few, but they, like skills in other predominantly-female jobs, have gone unrecognized as skills per se. Rather they have been thought to be "natural" to many women and, for many years, the supply of women willing to take child care jobs, at low wages, was forthcoming. Now the situation is changing. Turnover is increasing and the "production process" in child care is suffering, as high turnover reduces the quality of care children receive.

POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS TO THE LOW WAGE HIGH SKILL DILEMNA

Some of the solutions that have been proposed to the problems in child care are suggested by the findings described above. Relative to other occupations that require comparable education, in child care, earnings and life-time earnings growth are very low and working conditions are poor. But working in the schools, in the public sector, in large agencies, and being unionized all contribute to higher wages, and, most likely, more job protection and better working conditions. Working in the schools, in the public sector, in large agencies, and being unionized also all contribute to longer job tenure.

Table 16, reporting 1983 CPS data, shows that being a union member is associated with higher wages ($9.39/hour vs. $4.17/hour for nonunion members), longer job tenure (2/3 of union members have more than four years tenure compared to only 1/4 of nonunion members), and a larger proportionate hourly wage increase for time on the job (hourly wages increase 82 percent from 1 to 11 years of job tenure for union members, but only 61 percent for nonunion members).

Additional tables, not included here, showing the relationship between wages and job tenure for sector (public vs. private) and for setting (school vs. nonschool) substantiate that: (1) situations that are associated with higher wages are also associated with longer job tenure (higher wages and longer job tenure occur together); (2) unionized, public, or school

settings are all associated with higher wages and longer job tenure. Several studies show that training and education in early child hood development improve job satisfaction, and may therefore also increase job tenure, reducing turnover and improving the quality of interaction with children (Berk, no date; Divine-Hawkins, 1981).

Most strategies developed by child care workers and their organizations, unions, and associations recognize these relationships. They call for further unionization of child care employees, provision of child care by the schools or other public agencies, and more public subsidies of child care costs. As noted abover, subsidies (both public subsidies and private donations) to nonprofit centers raise wages compared to profit-making centers with no subsidies (Preston, no date). Child care groups also call for public subsidies to encourage education, training, and skills development.

Various ways to provide greater subsidies to child care have been proposed: expanding tax credits to parents and to employers who provide child care assistance; wage or benefit subsidies to child care workers; expanding publicly-funded vouchers to parents of limited income; increasing the number of subsidized slots at centers for target populations; expanding child care provided by the public schools; expanding other existing programs, such as Head Start.

A fundamental fact of the economics of child care is that most families cannot, on their own, afford the quality of care

and education they would like for their preschool children (Hartmann, 1988). Most of the above strategies involve getting more money for child care without getting it directly from parents. Moreover, because there are substantial social benefits (to all of society) from raising children well and providing good quality child care, public subsidies (and other forms of public intervention in the child care market) are economically justified. In this situation, where benefits are social but costs are private, the market, through the forces of supply and demand, does not send the appropriate signals, the signals that would lead to the proper quality and quantity produced at the proper price. Just as the cost of schools cannot be met by parents alone, so the cost of the socially desirable quality and quantity of child care cannot be met by parents alone. Public subsidy is clearly warranted. Among other benefits, public subsidy will allow an increase in the wages of child care workers, an increase which is clearly warranted based on the skills and education required to perform the job. The increase in wages in turn is likely to reduce turnover, increase job tenure, and increase the quality of care children receive.

From the point of view of the child care worker, what is needed is for child care to become a primary labor market--a labor market that pays well, offers good benefits and job security, has clear lines of career progression, and generally rewards workers for their seniority and acquired skills. Clearly schools and the public sector already offer more primary labor

market features than do day care centers or the private sector. The organization of workers, whether through labor unions or looser associations, would contribute to the restructuring process by giving workers a voice. Unions are generally recognized as having a positive impact on stabilizing labor markets (Freeman and Leonard, 1987). Because of the limits on parents' ability to pay and the social benefits that accrue from child care, public subsidies will also be necessary to transform the labor market in child care and improve child care quality.

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FIGURE 1.

		Occupational Classifications: Child Care Worker (services, not private household)	Teacher (Director/ teacher)	Child Care Worker (private household)	Day Care Providers (self-employed)
INDUSTRY	Day Care Center	♦			
	Schools (Preschool After-school Programs)		♦		
	Home Day Care			♦	♦

♦ Indicates preponderant location.

CHART 1.

Distribution of Child Care Employment By Industry

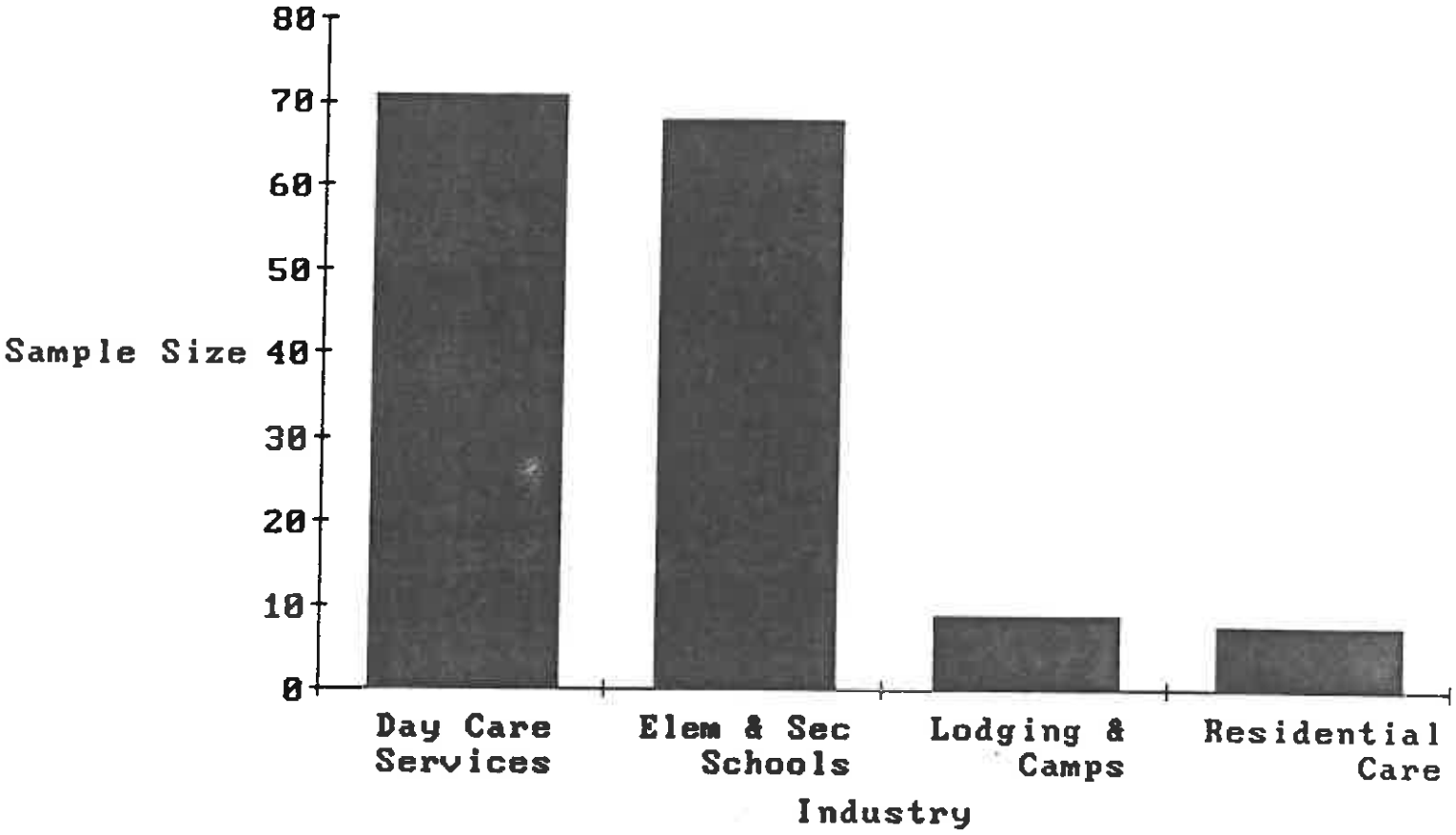


CHART 2: Number of Child Care Workers

1972–1987

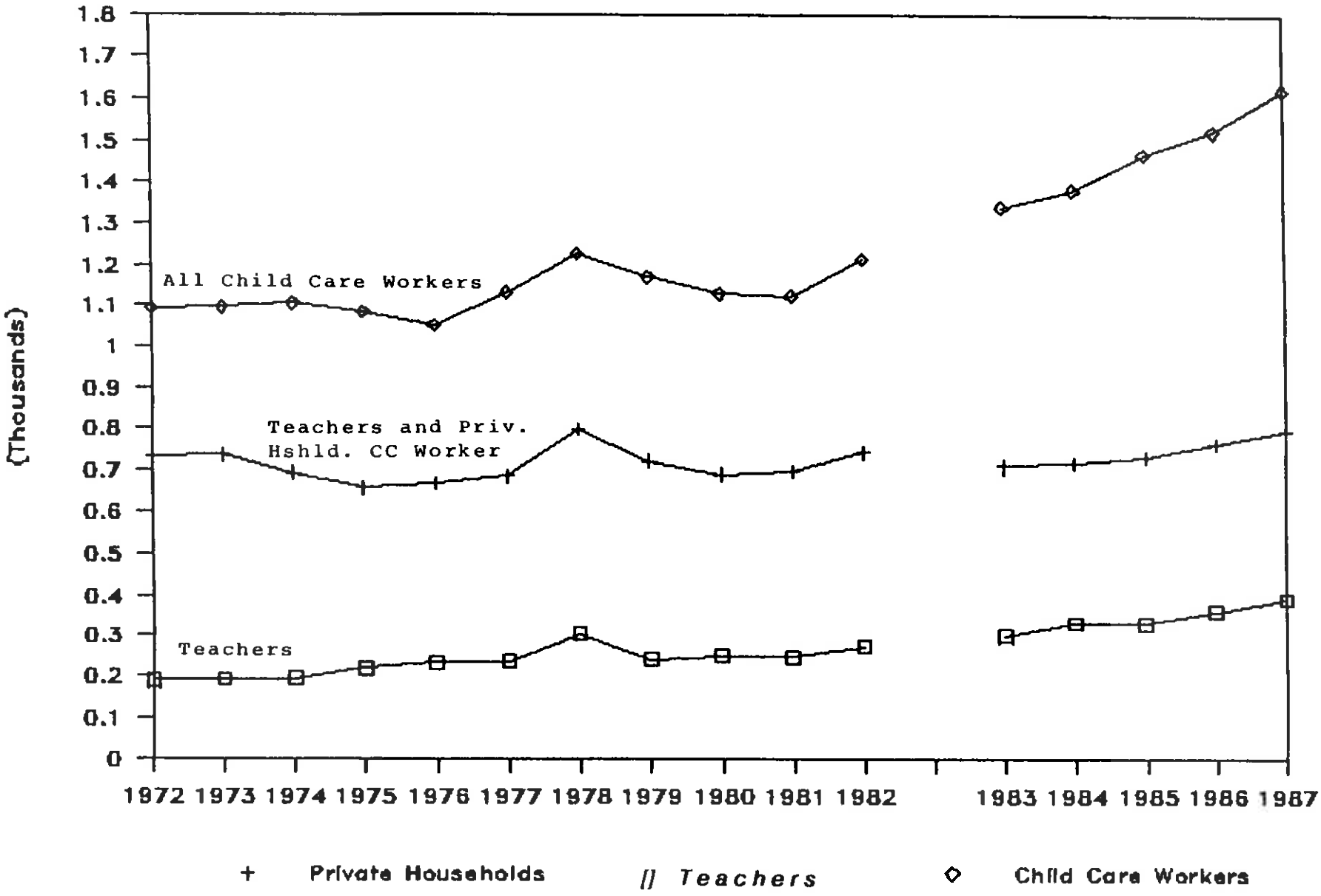
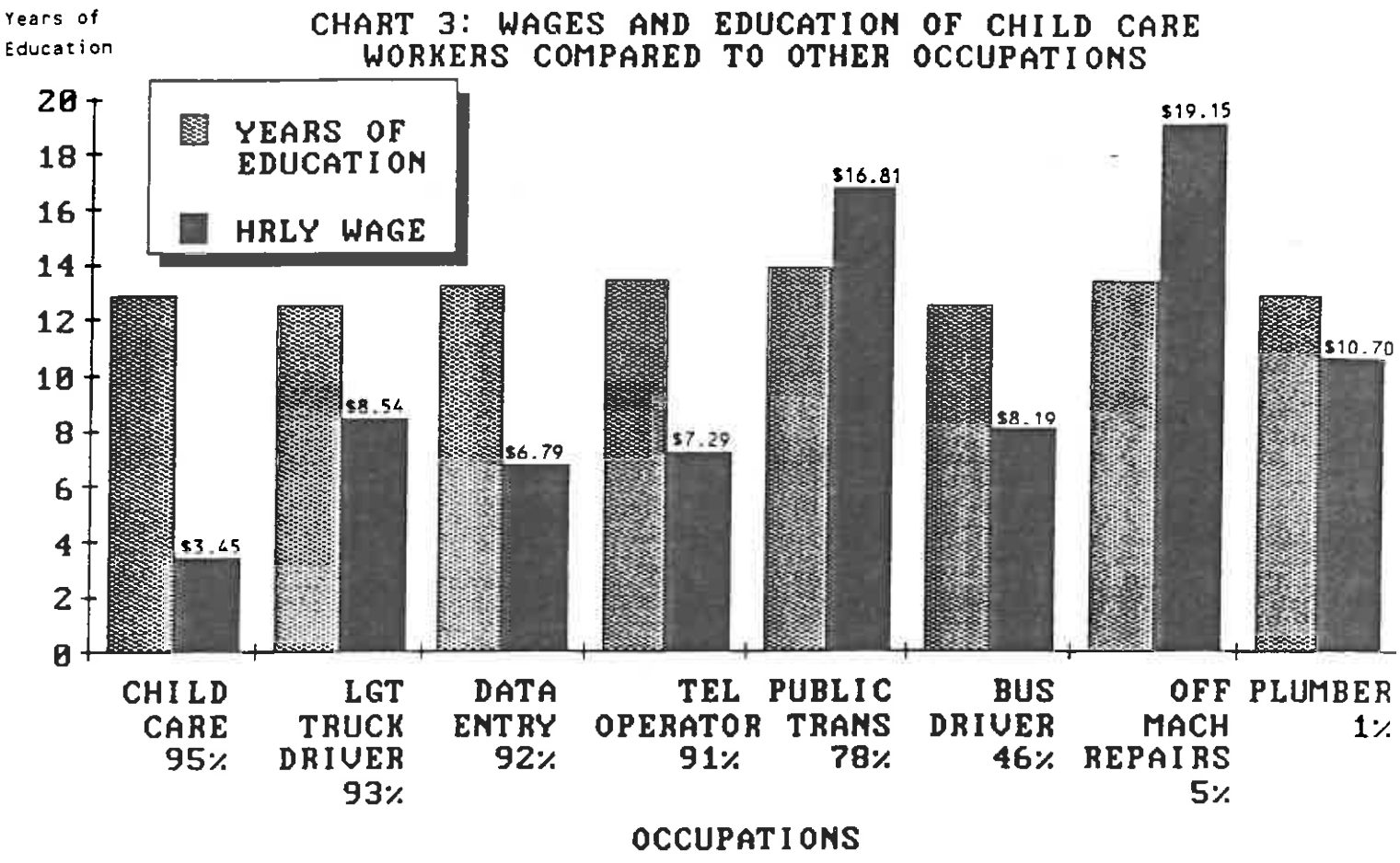


CHART 3: WAGES AND EDUCATION OF CHILD CARE WORKERS COMPARED TO OTHER OCCUPATIONS



NOTES: Percentage under occupational title is percent of workers in occupation who are women.

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

TABLE 1. 1972-1988 Number of Child Care Workers by Occupational Category (in thousands)

	PreK & K Teachers	Child Care Workers (not private households)	Child Care Workers (private households)	Total Child Care Workers
Full-Time and Part-Time Workers[a]				
1972	189	358	545	1,092
1973	191	361	544	1,096
1974	193	413	499	1,105
1975	217	427	439	1,083
1976	232	386	434	1,052
1977	235	448	449	1,132
1978	304	432	492	1,228
1979	239	449	481	1,169
1980	249	441	439	1,129
1981	245	426	451	1,122
1982	271	472	469	1,212
1983[b]	299	633	408	1,340
1984	330	667	383	1,380
1985	329	738	399	1,466
1986	359	762	400	1,521
1987	389	827	405	1,621
Full-Time Workers[c]				
1983	173	107	124	404
1984	205	153	134	492
1985	216	140	142	498
1986	240	143	148	531
1987	263	151	142	556
1988	253	157	154	564

SOURCE: 1972-1982 Labor Force Statistics Derived from the Current Population Survey: A Databook, Volume I. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 2096 (September 1982).
1983-1987 Employment and Earnings (January issues, 1983-1988). Based on the Current Population Survey.

a. employees only; does not include the self-employed, and therefore does not include most day care home providers.

b. a change in classification of child care workers occurred in 1983 in the Current Population Survey.

c. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished tabulations from the Current Population Survey, 1983-1988 annual averages for usually full-time, currently employed, workers.

TABLE 2. Median Annual Earnings[a] of Full-Time Child Care Workers

	Child Care Workers (private households)	Child Care Workers (not private households)	PreK & K Teachers	All Child Care Workers	All U.S. Workers	Poverty Level for a a Family of 4
1979	$3,428	$6,740	$10,557	$6,813	$12,680	$7,412
1982	$4,278	$7,682	$14,775	$9,464	$16,065	$9,862
1983[b]	$3,571	$8,195	$14,239	$9,364	$16,055	$10,178
1984	$4,430	$9,199	$15,648	$10,587	$16,967	$10,610
1985	$4,576	$8,788	$14,352	$9,934	$17,836	$10,989
1986	$4,732	$9,464	$14,248	$10,307	$18,616	$11,203
1987	$4,888	$9,932	$17,264	$12,112	$19,396	$11,611
% change 1979-82						
current $	24.8	14.0	40.0	38.9	26.7	33.1
constant[c] $	-6.2	-14.3	5.2	4.5	-4.7	0.1
% change 1983-87						
current $	36.9	21.2	21.2	29.3	20.8	14.1
constant $	20.0	6.2	6.3	13.4	5.9	0.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished tabulations from the Current Population Survey.

NOTES:

a. Median annual earnings were estimated by multiplying the weekly earnings by 52. Such a measure incorporates sources of both upward and downward bias. Median weekly earnings are displayed for 1983-1987 in Appendix Tables 2 and 3.

b. A change in classification of child care workers occurred in 1983 in the Current Population Survey.

c. CPI used to adjust for inflation.

TABLE 3. Hourly Wage Distributions for Full-Time and Part-Time Child Care Workers, 1983

Wage Levels:	Full-time PreK & K Teachers Percent (cumulative)	Full-time Child Care Workers Percent (cumulative)	Part-time PreK & K Teachers Percent (cumulative)	Part-time Child Care Workers Percent (cumulative)
<$3.50	7.1% (7.1%)	50.0 (50.0)	32.3% (32.3)	72.3% (72.3)
3.50-4.00	5.4 (12.5)	12.5 (62.5)	19.4 (51.7)	14.9 (87.2)
4.01-5.00	10.7 (23.2)	10.0 (72.5)	9.7 (61.4)	6.4 (93.6)
5.01-6.00	7.1 (30.3)	5.0 (77.5)	9.7 (71.1)	2.1 (95.7)
6.01-7.00	7.1 (37.4)	10.0 (87.5)	6.4 (77.5)	2.1 (97.8)
7.01-8.00	8.9 (46.3)	5.0a (92.5)	6.4 (83.9)	0.0 (97.8)
8.01-9.00	8.9 (55.2)	0.0 (92.5)	3.2 (87.1)	0.0 (97.8)
9.01-10.0	14.3 (69.9)	5.0 (97.5)	3.2 (90.3)	0.0 (97.8)
10.01-11.	5.4 (75.0)	2.5 (100.0)	9.7 (100.0)	2.2 (100.0)
11.01-12.	8.9 (83.9)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)
12.01-13.	5.4 (89.3)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)
13.01+	10.7 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)
Totals (sample size)	100.0% (56)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (31)	100.0% (47)
Mean wage (per hour)	$8.51	$4.30	$5.05	$2.72

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983 Current Population Survey, anaylzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute.

TABLE 4. Salary Surveys -- Current Dollars

Sample Information:				Wages by Job Category:				
Source & Date	Number of Centers	Number of Workers	Geographic Area	Aide	Assistant Teacher	Teacher	Head Teacher	Director
IAEYC[a] 1975		217	Illinois	All Positions: (2.08-6.50)				
Lindner[b] 1981	1314		national - church-housed CC centers	3.69	4.50	6.23	--	--
CCEP[c] 1982	14	82	West Los Angeles	All Positions: (2.08-12.11)				
CCRC[d] 1982			Greater Boston Area	3.81	4.71	--	5.37	7.56
CCEP[e] 1983	68*	700+	West Los Angeles	4.39** (3.35-6.00)	--	5.47** (3.50-9.00)	--	8.46** (4.75-16.00)
CCEP[f] 1983	68*	600+	Pasadena	3.84** (3.35-5.01)	--	5.12** (3.35-9.00)	--	7.28** (4.20-16.75)
MCCTF[g] 1983	30	--	Anchorage, AK	4.46	--	5.41	--	10.40
CCEP[h] 1984	48	614	San Joaquin County	4.39** (3.35-5.03)	--	5.44** (3.35-9.90)	7.28** (3.50-12.68)	7.03** (4.00-15.00)
CCCC[i] 1984	55 sent 37 responded	--	Cincinnati	3.96	--	5.04	5.76	7.74
CCRC[j] 1984	215 surveyed 86 responded	779	Greater Boston Area	3.97	4.80	--	6.39	9.08
-Boston				4.09	4.86	--	6.39	9.16
-North and Northwest suburbs				3.82	4.93	--	6.46	8.94
-South and Southwest suburbs				3.98	4.53	--	6.23	9.19
CCSWCP[k] 1984	83 sent 71 responded	277	Washtenaw County, MI (Ann Arbor area)	--	4.57 (4.44)***	(6.35) (5.89)***		7.61 (7.19)***
CCWA[l] 1984	971 sent 697 responded	3817	State of Minnesota Full-day	3.71	4.29	5.20	--	7.08
				3.60***	4.10***	5.10***	--	7.10***
			Half-day	4.51	5.15	7.29	--	7.94
				4.25***	4.50***	8.00***	--	7.15***
NAEYC[m] 1984	--	3818	national	4.55	5.67			
				4.40	4.57	6.65	6.82	8.61
4-C[n] 1985	70	--	Dane County (Madison, WI area)	--	4.02	4.66	--	7.00
MGDCPI[o] 1985	(74% of eligible programs)		State of Massachusetts	3.93	--	5.29	5.92	--

CPA[p] 1985	)	)	New York State	$3.80	4.30	5.33	--	8.29
)451	)4844							
CPA[p] 1985	)	)	New York City	5.85	6.85	9.14	--	13.09
OAEYCE[q] 1985	645 sent 147 responded	995	Oregon	3.82	4.27	5.61	--	6.96
ACCRR[r] 1986	50 sent 35 responded	--	Hampshire County (Amherst, MA area)	4.84	--	5.89	7.14	8.64
CCRC[s] 1986	212 surveyed 60 responded	561	Greater Boston area	4.37	5.37	6.61	7.76	10.23
MACCC[t] 1986	80	666	Los Angeles County	--	4.38♦	5.34♦	6.96♦	9.63♦
4-C[u] 1987	143	-- (Madison, WI area)	Dane County Full day Half day	-- --	4.24 5.31	4.99 7.17	6.22 7.99	7.82 8.73
CCEP[v] 1987	235	--	Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda, & Marin Counties	4.53** (3.25-5.92)	--	6.12** (3.35-13.54)	7.77** (0-23.00)	9.70** (-30.00)
MGDCPI[w] 1987	(74% of eligible programs)		State of Massachusetts	5.19♦♦	--	6.99♦♦	7.82♦♦	8..
PACE[x] 1987	--	197	Cincinnati	3.74	4.27	4.86	5.59	9.02
Toronto[y]				All Job Categories:♦♦♦				
1983	--	--	City of Toronto	6.11 (without grant)				
1984	--	--	City of Toronto	6.55 (without grant)				
1985	--	--	City of Toronto	7.09 (without grant); $7.75 (with grant)				
1986	--	--	City of Toronto	7.65 (without grant); $8.68 (with grant)				

N.B. Where wages were given in annual salaries, hourly wage was obtained by dividing by 2000 hours.

*Full-day programs only
**Average starting wage; starting range in parentheses
***Median wage
♦Starting wage
♦♦1987 wages calculated on stated 32% average increase in wages over 1985
♦♦♦Salary given in Canadian dollars; "grants" are direct supplements to day care workers' from the City of Toronto.

SOURCE NOTES: Data from local surveys. Date of source in column 1 refers to date data were collected, not to date of publication. All wages are average wages of all workers in category, unless otherwise stated.

TABLE 4. (continued)

[a] Willa Pettygrove, Marcy Whitebook, and Mary Weir, "Beyond Babysitting: Changing the Treatment and Image of Child Caregivers (Research Report)," Young Children (July, 1984).

[b] Eileen W. Lindner, Mary C. Mattis, June R. Rogers, When Churches Mind the Children: A Study of Day Care in Local Parishes (The High/Scope Press, 1983).

[c] Willa Pettygrove, Marcy Whitebook, and Mary Weir, "Beyond Babysitting: Changing the Treatment and Image of Child Caregivers (Research Report)," Young Children (July, 1984).

[d] Myrna Greenfield, "Child Care Salaries and Working Conditions," Child Care News Vol XI, No. 1 (September 1984).

[e] Child Care Employees Project, "West Los Angeles Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet" (1983).

[f] Child Care Employees Project, "Pasadena Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet" (1983).

[g] Mayor's Child Care Task Force, Economic Committee, "Results of Survey of Child Care Centers in the Municipality of Anchorage," in Mayor's Child Care Task Force, Final Report (January 1984).

[h] Child Care Employees Project, "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/ Summary," (nd).

[i] Comprehensive Community Child Care, "Child Care Salary Study" (Spring 1984).

[j] Nancy Frane and Dan Bellm, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1984: A Survey of Full-Time Programs in the Greater Boston Area," Child Care Resource Center (1984).

[k] Child Care Staff Working Conditions Project, "Summary of Major Findings," A Task Force of the Washtenaw County Association for the Education of Young Children, Kathy Modiglani, Bill Kell, and Thelma Valenstein, co-ordinators (1985).

[l] Eric Stevens, Margaret Bayer, and Bryan Nelson, "Preliminary Final Report, 1984-1985 Minnesota State Salary Survey" (n.d.).

[m] NAEYC (National Association for the Education of Young Children, "Results of the NAEYC Survey of Child Care Salaries and Working Conditions," Young Children (November 1984).

[n] "Day Care Rate and Enrollment Survey," Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C), Madison, WI (June 1986).

[o] Massachusetts Governor's Day Care Initiative, Final Report (June 1987).

[p] Center for Public Advocacy, "A Study of New York Day Care Worker Salaries and Benefits," (Final Report, New York State Child Day Care Research Report), prepared by Caroline Zinsser (July 1986).

[q] Lorie Bower, "Oregon Wages, Benefits and Tenure Study," Oregon Association for the Education of Young Children Project (May 1985).

[r] David Zuccalo and Constance Penmen-Sterling, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1986: A Survey of Center-Based Programs in Hampshire County [MA]," Amherst Child Care Resource and Referral (1986).

[s] JoAnne Leavitt, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1986: A Survey of Full-Time Programs in the Boston Area," Child Care Resources Center (1986).

[t] Personnel Committee of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Child Care, "Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Survey of Full Day Child Care Centers in Los Angeles County," (July 1986).

[u] Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C), "Child-Care Update: 1987," Madison, WI (December 1987).

[v] Child Care Employees Project, "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers," (August 14, 1987).

[w] Final Report of Massachusetts Governor's Day Care Initiative (June 1987).

[x] PACE (Program Advocated for Childhood Education), "PACE 1987 Spring Survey Results," Cincinnati (Spring 1987).

[y] City of Toronto, Day Care Committee, Memorandum, "Recommendations for 1986-1987 Day Care Grants" (October 27, 1986).

Table 5. Benefits Received by Child Care Workers: Percent With Benefits*

Source & Date	Health: Individual	Family	Dental	Sick Leave	Medical/emergency/ Maternity/Leave	Workers' Compensation	UI	Retirement/ Pension	Life Insurance	Child Care Fees (Reduced)
BLS[a] -'all' workers 1986	95% 54-all paid-35 41-partpaid-60	95	68	70	personal-25 funeral-88 military-66	83[b]	--	89	96 87-full 10-part	--
EBRI[c]-all workers 1983								24		
NAEYC[d] 1984	(26-all paid) (15-part paid)		10-all 7-part	23** 45***	47	50	32	15-all 10-part	23	21
IAEYC[e] 1975	(36)		--	65	8	--	--	16	--	--
Lindner[f] 1981	(56.7% get "some fringe benefits")									
CCEP[g] 1982	(38)		--	75	12	--	--	18	--	--
CCEP[h] 1983♦	(36)		14	81	--	79	73	(13) retirement or life insurance	--	59
CCEP[i] 1983♦	(33)		10	70	[1 program]	70	66	10	6	49
CCCC[j] 1984	62%		0%	91%	13%	78%	72%	41%	43%	14%
CCEP[k] 1984	(31-fully paid) (16-part paid)		28 teacher 35 aides	73	[2 programs]	84	65	~33	20	~45♦♦
CCRC[l] 1984										
directors:	(39%-fully paid) -- (34%-part paid) --			95%	--	--	--	--	--	--
head teachers:	(41%-fully paid) -- (38%-part paid) --			96%	--	--	--	--	--	--
assistants:	(33%-fully paid) -- (36%-part paid) --			92%	--	--	--	--	--	--
aides:	(8%-fully paid) -- (18%-part paid) --			53%	--	--	--	--	--	--
CCWA[m] 1984	(14%-fully paid) (16%-part paid		6% 6%	68%	15%	--	--	--	--	--
CPA[n] 1985	54% 31-full-11 23-part-16	26	19	84	--	--	--	18	18	42♦♦♦
CPA[o] 1985	66 46-full-36 20-part-21	56	50	84	--	--	--	44	36	16♦♦♦

Table 5. (continued)

	Percent With Benefits*									
	Health: Individual	Health: Family	Dental	Sick Leave	Medical/emergency/ Maternity/Leave	Workers' Compensation	UI	Retirement/ Pension	Life Insurance	Child Care Fees (Reduced)
OAEYCP[p]										
1985										
directors:	(20%-fully paid)	--		--	16	--	--	7%	12%	27
	(12%-part paid)	--								
teachers:	(16%-fully paid)	--		--	18	--	--	5%	12	35
	(10%-part paid)	--								
assistants:	(9%-fully paid)	--		--	12	--	--	3%	8*	22
	(7%-part paid)	--								
aides:	(4%-fully paid)	--		--	9*	--	--	2%	4*	19
	(5%-part paid)	--								
CCSWCP[q]										
1985	(29%-fully paid)	24%		72%	--	--	--	20%	26%	--
	(14%-part paid)									
CCCC[r]										
1985	(29%-part paid)	0%		91%	13%	78%	72%	41%	43%	14%
CCRC[s]										
1986										
directors:	(45%-fully paid)	--		87%	--	--	--		--	--
	(34%-part paid)	--								
head teachers:	(36%-fully paid)	--		96%	--	--	--		--	--
	(41%-part paid)	--								
teachers:	(37%-fully paid)	--		98%	--	--	--		--	--
	(36%-part paid)	--								
assistants:	(34%-fully paid)	--		82%	--	--	--		--	--
	(38%-part paid)	--								
aides:	(12%-fully paid)	--		57%	--	--	--		--	--
	(22%-part paid)	--								
MACC[t]										
1986 teachers:	(29%-fully paid)	14%-full		85%	11%	85%	61%	26%	20	65%
	(18%-part paid)	10%-part								
assistants:	(16%-fully paid)	10%-full		39%	6%	65%	49%	14%	10%	45%
	(13%-part paid)	9%-part								
ACCRR[u]										
1986 directors:	(58%)	--		--	--	--	--	--	--	--
head teachers:	(54%)	--		--	--	--	--	--	--	--
teachers:	(54%)	--		--	--	--	--	--	--	--
aides:	(40%)									
CCEP[v] teachers:	(32-all paid)	19-all		51	12	89	69	1	21	59
1987	(24-part paid)	12-part								33♦♦♦
aides:	(19-all paid)	15-all		33	8		70	57 12	15	46
	(17-part paid)	9-part								26♦♦♦

UI = unemployment insurance

*Numbers refer to percent of programs providing the benefit; benefit is fully paid for by employer unless otherwise stated.

**Less than one day per month

***One day or more per month

♦Teachers only, but 86% of aides receive same benefits

♦♦Private programs only; public programs are not allowed to give staff free or reduced cost child care

♦♦♦Program pays all child care costs, i.e., benefit is free child care.

SOURCE NOTES: Source given in Column is date when data were collected (i.e., not the date of publication of the report). Bracketed figures under health insurance indicate source did not specify whether health insurance coverage was

[a] Full-time employees of medium and large firms (more than 100, or more than 250 employees, depending upon the industry); data are from the U.S. Department of Labor, BLS, Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms, 1986, Bulletin 2281 (June, 1987)

[b] Social Security Bulletin (Dec, 1986); figures are for 1984.

[c] All civilian employees and self-employed; from EBRI tabulations of the May 1983 EBRI/HHS CPS pension supplement, cited in The Changing PRofile of Pensions in America

[d] NAEYC (National Association for the Education of Young Children, "results of the NAEYC Survey of Child Care Salaries and Working Conditions," Young Children (November 1984).

[e] Willa Pettygrove, Marcy Whitebook, and Mary Weir, "Beyond Babysitting: Changing the Treatment and Image of Child Caregivers (Research Report)," Young Children (July, 1984)

[f] Eileen W. Lindner, Mary C. Mattis, June R. Rogers, When Churches Mind the Children: A Study of Day Care in Local Parishes (The High/Scope Press, 1983)

[g] Willa Pettygrove, Marcy Whitebook, and Mary Weir, "Beyond Babysitting: Changing the Treatment and Image of Child Caregivers (Research Report)," Young Children (July, 1984)

[h] Child Care Employees Project, (1) "West Los Angeles Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," 1983; (2) "Pasadena Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," (3) "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/Summary,"(nd), (4) "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers,"(August 14, 1987)[h]

[i] Ibid.

[j] Comprehensive Community Child Care, "Child Care Salary Study" (Spring 1984).

[k] Child Care Employees Project, "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/Summary," (n.d.)

[l] Nancy Frane and Dan Bellm, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1984: A Survey of Full-Time Programs in the Greater Boston Area," Child Care Resource Center (1984).

[m] Eric Stevens, Margaret Bayer, and Bryan Nelson, "Preliminary Final Report, 1984-1985 Minnesota State Salary Survey" (n.d.).

[n] Center for Public Advocacy, "A Study of New York Day Care Worker Salaries and Benefits," (Final Report, New York State Child Day Care Research Report), prepared by Caroline Zinsser (July, 1986)[n]

[o] Ibid.

[p] Lorie Bower, "Oregon Wages, Benefits and Tenure Study,"Oregon Association for the Education of Young Children Project (May 1985)

[q] Child Care Staff Working Conditions Project, "Summary of Major Findings," A Task Force of the Washtenaw County Association for the Education of Young Children, Kathy Modigliani, Bill Kell, and Thelma Valenstein, co-ordinators (1985)

[r] Day Care Rate and Enrollment Survey," Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C), Madison, WI (June 1986).

[s] JoAnne Leavitt, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1986: A Survey of Full-Time Programs in the Boston Area," Child Care Resources Center (1986).

[t] Personnel Committee of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Child Care, "Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Survey of Full Day Child Care Centers in Los Angeles County," (July 1986).

[u] Davis Zuccalo and Constnce Penmen-Sterling, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1986: A Survey of Center-Based Programs in Hampshire County [MA]," Amherst Child Care Resource and Referral, 1986,.

[v] Child Care Employees Project, "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers," (August 14, 1987)

Table 6. Paid Time off and Paid Extra Work

Survey	Percent of Workers Who Have PAID.... Breaks/ Rests	Lunch	Overtime/ Comp. time	Preparation Time	Staff Meetings	Holidays	Vacation	Parent Meetings	Personal Days
BLS-'all' workers[a]	72	10	--	--	--	99	100	--	
IAEYC[b] 1975						77	56		
CCEP[c] 1982						86	72		
CCEP[d] 1983*	84	-	65	47	21	78	99		
CCEP[e] 1983*	76	-	51	40	21	83	73		
CCEP[f] 1984 teacher	74	18	73	42	49	62	52		
aides	70	15	67	-	45	62	52		
CCRC[g] 1984									
director	59%					(95%)**			
head teacher	82					(97)			
asst teacher	81					(92)			
aides	43					(47)			
NAEYC[h] 1984	42	33	33	38	30	28		28	
CCCC[i] 1984							78%		54%
CCWA[j] 1984						50%	38%		20%
CPA[k] 1985						83	79		
CPA[l] 1985						82	73		
CCSWCP[m] 1985	43%		18%			59%	43%		

Table 6. (continued)

Survey	Percent of Workers Who Have PAID.... Breaks/ Rests	Lunch	Overtime/ Comp. time	Preparation Time	Staff Meetings	Holidays	Vacation	Parent Meetings	Personal Days
BLS-'all' workers	72	10	--	--	--	99	100	--	
CCRC[n] 1986									
director	--						(85%)**		
head teacher	70						(96)**		
teacher	70						(96)**		
asst teacher	72						(82)**		
aides	50						(57)**		
MACCC[o] 1986									
teacher	83	44	69	63	44	88%	95%		
assistant	63	28	50	42	29	61%	71%		-
CCEP[p] 1987 teacher		85	45	65	65	56	83	57	
aides	73	32	60	36	46	56	37		
OAEYC[q] 1985									
director									37%
teacher									45
asst teacher									24
aides									18

*Teachers only, but 86% of aides receive same benefits

[a] Full-time employees of medium and large firms (more than 100, or more than 250 employees, depending upon the industry); data are from the U.S. Department of Labor, BLS, Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms, 1986, Bulletin 2281 (June, 1987)

[b] Willa Pettygrove, Marcy Whitebook, and Mary Weir, "Beyond Babysitting: Changing the Treatment and Image of Child Caregivers (Research Report)," Young Children (July, 1984)

[c] Willa Pettygrove, Marcy Whitebook, and Mary Weir, "Beyond Babysitting: Changing the Treatment and Image of Child Caregivers (Research Report)," Young Children (July, 1984)

[d] Child Care Employees Project, (1) "West Los Angeles Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," 1983; (2) "Pasadena Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," (3) "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/Summary,"(nd), (4) "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers,"(August 14, 1987)

[e] Child Care Employees Project, (1) "West Los Angeles Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," 1983; (2) "Pasadena Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," (3) "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/Summary,"(nd), (4) "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers," (August 14, 1987)

[f] Child Care Employees Project, "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/ Summary," (nd).

[g] Nancy Frane and Dan Bellm, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1984: A Survey of Full-Time Programs in the Greater Boston Area," Child Care Resource Center (1984).

[h] NAEYC (National Association for the Education of Young Children, "results of the NAEYC Survey of Child Care Salaries and Working Conditions," Young Children (November 1984).

[i] Comprehensive Community Child Care, "Child Care Salary Study" (Spring 1984).

[j] Eric Stevens, Margaret Bayer, and Bryan Nelson, "Preliminary Final Report, 1984-1985 Minnesota State Salary Survey" (nd).

[k] Center for Public Advocacy, "A Study of New York Day Care Worker Salaries and Benefits," (Final Report, New York State Child Day Care Research Report), prepared by Caroline Zinsser (July, 1986).

[l] Center for Public Advocacy, "A Study of New York Day Care Worker Salaries and Benefits," (Final Report, New York State Child Day Care Research Report), prepared by Caroline Zinsser (July, 1986).

[m] Child Care Staff Working Conditions Project, "Summary of Major Findings," A Task Force of the Washtenaw County Association for the Education of Young Children, Kathy Modiglani, Bill Kell, and Thelma Valenstein, co-ordinators (1985).

[n] JoAnne Leavitt, "Child Care Salaries and Benefits, 1986: A Survey of Full-Time Programs in the Boston Area," Child Care Resources Center (1986).

[o] Personnel Committee of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Child Care, "Salary, Benefits, and Working Conditions Survey of Full Day Child Care Centers in Los Angeles County (July 1986).

[p] Child Care Employees Project, "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers," (August 14, 1987).

[q] Lorie Bower, "Oregon Wages, Benefits and Tenure Study," Oregon Association for the Education of Young Children Project (May 1985).

Table 7. Annual Earnings and Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Gender and Occupational Category, 1979

	Teacher PreK & K	Child Care Worker not private household	Child Care Worker private household
All Workers			
Women			
Number of Workers	166,009	496,629	104,404
Hourly Wage	$4.81	$3.13	$2.17
Annual Earnings	$5,746	$3,675	$2,414
Men			
Number of Workers	6,209	35,578	1,983
Hourly Wage	$6.50	$4.55	3.92
Annual Earnings	$10,665	$6,699	$4,366
Hourly Wage Ratio (Women/Men)	.74	.69	.55
Percent Female (Women/Total)	96.4%	93.2%	98.1%
Full Time Workers (year round)			
Women			
Number of Workers	35,379	103,084	20,110
Hourly Wage	$3.98	$2.67	$1.90
Annual Earnings	$8,390	$6,124	$4,360
Men			
Number of Workers	2,637	12,851	466
Hourly Wage	$6.59	$4.52	$4.07
Annual Earnings	$14,912	$10,575	$9,337
Hourly Wage Ratio (Women/Men)	.60	.59	.47
Percent Female (Women/Total)	93.1%	88.8%	97.7%

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population, Vol. 2, Subject Reports, Earnings by Occupation and Education, PC80-2-8B, Table 1 (May 1984).

Table 8a. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Race and Occupational Category, 1983

Race	PreK & K Teachers (sample size)	Child Care Workers not private household (sample size)	Teachers and Workers (sample size)
White*	7.29 (77)	3.24 (68)	5.39 (145)
Black	7.32 (8)	4.18 (17)	5.19 (25)
Total** (sample size)	7.27 (86)	3.44 (87)	5.34 (173)
Hourly Wage Ratio (Black/White)	1.00	1.29	.96
Percent Black (Black/Total)	9.3%	19.5%	14.5%

Table 8b. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Race and Part-time/Full-time Status, 1983

Race	Full-time Workers (sample size)	Part-time Workers (sample size)	Total (sample size)
White*	7.02 (74)	3.69 (71)	5.39 (145)
Black	5.72 (19)	3.51 (6)	5.19 (25)
Total** (sample size)	6.74 (95)	3.65 (78)	5.34 (173)
Hourly Wage Ratio (Black/White)	.81	.95	.96
Percent Black (Black/Total)	20.0%	7.7%	14.5%

Notes:
*Includes Hispanics.
**Data for other races are not shown separately because of extremely small numbers, but are included in the total.

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Table 9. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers
by Age and Occupational Category, 1983

Age (years)	PreK & K Teachers (percent*)	Child Care Workers not private household (percent*)	Teachers and Workers (percent*)
16-19	--	3.44	3.44
	(0.0)	(14.9)	(7.5)
20-24	5.58	3.64	3.96
	(3.4)	(17.2)	(10.4)
25-29	6.34	3.08	5.39
	(19.8)	(8.0)	(13.9)
30-34	7.37	4.34	5.93
	(12.8)	(11.5)	(12.1)
35-44	8.18	3.40	6.69
	(37.2)	(13.8)	(25.4)
45-54	7.12	3.25	5.51
	(16.3)	(11.5)	(13.9)
55-64	7.26	3.85	5.25
	(10.5)	(14.9)	(12.7)
65+	--	1.79	1.79
	(0.0)	(8.0)	(4.0)
Total			
sample size	86	87	173
(percent)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
mean age (estimated)	39.2	35.1	38.4

*Figure in parentheses is percent of sample in each age range for each occupational category.

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Table 10. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Years of Tenure in Job and Occupational Category, 1983

	PreK & K Teachers (percent*)	Child Care Workers not private household (percent*)
Tenure on Job		
1 year or less	5.67 (25.8)	3.22 (41.0)
2-3 years	4.89 (27.4)	3.16 (39.3)
4-5 years	7.92 (12.9)	2.86 (8.2)
6-10 years	9.83 (14.5)	3.36 (6.6)
11 years or more	10.46 (19.4)	4.56 (4.9)
Mean Hourly Wage	7.28	3.24
sample size	62	61
percent	(100.0)	(100.0)

*Number in parentheses is the percent of the sample at each level of job tenure for each occupational category.

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Table 11. Hourly Wages of Women Child Care Workers by Years or School Completed and Occupational Category, 1980

	Hourly Wages (percent)		
	PreK & K Teachers (percent*)	Child Care Workers not private household (percent*)	Child Care Workers private household (percent*)
Years of School Completed			
Grades 0-8	3.88 (1.5)	2.65 (6.9)	2.02 (17.3)
Some High School	3.61 (4.8)	2.96 (14.0)	2.16 (21.2)
High School Graduates	3.40 (22.4)	3.02 (47.6)	2.10 (40.9)
Some College	3.96 (25.3)	3.34 (22.3)	2.37 (14.8)
College Graduate	5.59 (30.2)	3.73 (6.8)	2.64 (4.4)
Graduate School	7.19 (15.8)	4.50 (2.3)	3.49 (1.5)
Total	4.81 (100.0)	3.13 (100.0)	2.17 (100.0)

*Number in parentheses is the percent of the population at each education level for each occupational category.

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population, Vol. 2, Subject Reports, Earnings by Occupation and Education, PC80-2-8B, Table 1 (May 1984).

Table 12. Percentage Distribution Across Educational Levels for Several Categories of Center-based Child Care Workers by Wage Level (greater or less than $5.00/hour), 1984

	Aide		Assistant Teacher		Teacher		Head Teacher Assistant Director		Program and Agency Director	
Educational Level	<$5.00	>$5.00	<$5.00	>$5.00	<$5.00	>$5.00	<$5.00	>$5.00	<$5.00	>$5.00
High School (or less)	45.5	50.0	24.1	18.4	12.2	2.5	5.9	1.0	0.0	1.2
Some College	43.4	38.9	45.1	47.4	38.8	16.8	33.5	18.4	26.2	13.5
College Graduate	8.3	11.1	24.1	26.3	39.1	39.3	40.0	37.0	33.8	29.0
Graduate School	2.8	0.0	6.8	7.9	9.9	41.4	20.5	43.5	40.0	56.3
Totals (sample size)	100.0 (145)	100.0 (18)	100.0 (162)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (312)	100.0 (435)	100.0 (185)	100.0 (487)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (748)
Percent of Each Occupational Category Earning <$5.00/>$5.00 per hour	89.0	11.0	81.0	19.0	41.8	58.2	27.5	72.5	8.0	92.0

SOURCE: National Association for the Education of Young Children, "Results of the NAEYC Survey of Child Care Salaries and Working Conditions," Young Children (November 1984).

Table 13. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by School or Non-school Setting and Selected Characteristics, 1983

	School (sample size)	Non-school (sample size)
Sector		
Government	7.80 (52)	5.14 (22)
Private	5.42 (16)	3.85 (83)
Union Status		
Unionized	10.90 (18)	5.98 (8)
Nonunionized	5.17 (26)	3.81 (71)
Firm/Agency Size		
25 employees or more	8.50 (31)	4.14 (12)
Under 25	5.18 (13)	4.[illegible] (67.
Occupation		
Teacher	8.72 (50)	5.24 (36)
Child Care Worker	3.13 (18)	2.98 (69)

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Table 14. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Public or Private Sector and Selected Characteristics, 1983

	Government (sample size)	Private (sample size)
Setting		
School	7.80 (52)	5.42 (16)
Non-school	5.14 (22)	3.85 (83)
Union Status		
Union	10.19 (21)	6.04 (5)
Nonunion	4.87 (23)	3.96 (74)
Firm/Agency Size		
25 employees or more	8.00 (30)	5.63 (13)
Under 25	6.15 (14)	3.79 (66)
Occupation		
Teacher	9.49 (40)	5.32 (46)
Child Care Worker	4.08 (34)	3.04 (53)

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Table 15. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Union/Nonunion Status and Selected Characteristics, 1983

	Union (sample size)	Nonunion (sample size)	
Sector			
Government	$10.19 (21)	$4.87 (23)	
Private	$6.04 (5)	$3.96 (74)	
Setting			
School	$10.90 (18)	$5.17 (26)	
Nonschool	$5.98 (8)	$3.81 (71)	
Occupation			
PreK & K Teacher	$9.99 (23)	$5.68 (39)	
Child Care Workers not private household	$4.81 (3)	$3.16 (58)	
Race			
White	$9.84 (23)	$4.04 (79)	
Black	$5.90* (3)	$4.62 (16)	
Total			
Mean Wage	$9.39 (26)	$4.18 (97)	$5.28 (123)

NOTE: * Unreliable estimate because of very small sample size.

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Table 16. Hourly Wages of Child Care Workers by Union Status and Years of Tenure on Job, 1983

	Union	Nonunion
Tenure on Job		
1 year or less	6.28	3.75
	(7)	(34)
2-3 years	7.12	4.98
	(2)	(39)
4-5 years	13.62	4.58
	(2)	(11)
6-10 years	9.28	6.61
	(6)	(7)
11 years or more	11.45	6.03
	(9)	(6)
Mean Hourly Wage	9.39	4.17
	(26)	(97)

SOURCE: Unpublished data from May and June 1983, Current Population Survey, analyzed by Elaine Sorenson, Urban Institute. Sample includes full-time and part-time workers.

Appendix Table 1. Number of Child Care Employees by Industry, 1980

Industry	PreK & K Teachers		Child Care Workers	
Agriculture and Mining		0		1,495
Manufacturing		96		604
Transportation, Communication, etc.		21		1,995
Transportation	1		1,739	
Communication, Utilities, etc.	20		256	
Trade, Finance, Insurance, Real Estate		258		3,122
Services				
Business and Repair Services		15		882
Personal Services		217		125,724
Lodging places (excludes hotels and motels)	6		118,076	
Entertainment and Recreation Services		221		9,016
Health Services		850		18,715
Education Services		44,533		233,633
Elementary	41,388		222,129	
College and University	2,549		10,098	
Social Services		126,725		155,332
Job Training and Vocational Rehabilitation	7,169		1,390	
Child Day Care	125,578		132,741	
Residential Care	81		13,131	
Social Services (not elsewhere considered)	821		7,82[illegible]	
Religious Organizations		1,130		14,223
Public Administration		741		11,112
Total		176,869		580,168

SOURCE: 1980 Census of Population, General Characteristics of the Labor Force.

APPENDIX TABLE 2.
Weekly Wage Distributions for Full-Time Child Care Workers, 1983

Weekly Earnings:	PreK & K Teachers	Child Care Workers (Not Private Household)	Child Care Workers, (Private Household)	Total U.S. Labor Force
<$100.00	1.2% (1.2)	6.5% (6.5)	65.3% (65.3)	0.8% (0.8)
$100-149	11.0 (12.2)	35.5 (42.0)	19.4 (84.7)	6.3 (7.1)
$150.-199	15.0 (17.2)	36.4 (78.4)	8.8 (93.5)	11.6 (18.7)
$200-249	12.1 (39.3)	12.1 (90.5)	2.4 (95.9)	14.8 (33.5)
$250-299	14.5 (53.8)	4.7 (95.2)	0.8 (96.6)	11.6 (45.1)
$300-349	11.6 (65.4)	0.9 (96.2)	0.8 (97.6)	11.2 (56.2)
$350-399	8.7 (74.1)	0.9 (97.2)	0.8 (98.4)	8.2 (64.5)
$400-499	14.0 (88.1)	1.9 (99.1)	0.0 (99.2)	14.6 (79.1)
$500-599	5.2 (93.3)	0.0 (99.1)	0.8 (100.0)	8.9 (88.0)
$600-749	5.2 (98.5)	0.9 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	6.2 (94.2)
$750-998	1.2 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	3.6 (97.8)
$999.+	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	2.2 (100.0)
Totals (in thousands)	100.0 (173)	100.0 (107)	100.0 (124)	100.0 (70,976)
Mean weekly earnings	$305	$168	$91	$359
Median wage earnings	$274	$158	$69	$309

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished tabulations from the Current Population Survey, 1983 annual averages for usually full-time, currently employed, workers.

APPENDIX TABLE 3.
Weekly Wage Distributions for Full-Time Child Care Workers, 1986

Weekly Earnings:	PreK & K Teachers	Child Care Workers (Not Private Household)	Child Care Workers, (Private Household)	U.S. Labor Force
<$100.00	0.4% (0.4)	4.1% (4.1)	50.9% (50.9)	0.5% (0.5)
$100-149	13.3 (13.7)	23.1 (27.2)	31.8 (50.9)	4.4 (4.9)
$150-199	16.2 (29.9)	32.1 (59.3)	8.5 (82.7)	8.7 (13.6)
$200-249	14.6 (44.5)	19.7 (79.0)	4.7 (91.2)	12.8 (26.4)
$250-299	7.9 (52.4)	7.0 (86.0)	2.7 (95.6)	10.4 (36.8)
$300-349	10.0 (62.4)	6.3 (92.3)	0.7 (98.6)	10.7 (47.5)
$350-399	9.2 (81.2)	3.5 (98.6)	0.0 (99.3)	7.8 (70.6)
$400-499	9.6 (81.2)	2.8 (98.6)	0.0 (99.3)	15.3 (70.6)
$500-599	11.3 (92.5)	0.7 (99.3)	0.7 (99.3)	10.9 (81.5)
$600-749	4.6 (97.1)	0.7 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	8.9 (90.4)
$750-998	2.5 (99.6)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	5.6 (100.0)
$999.+	0.4 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	0.0 (100.0)	4.0 (100.0)
Totals (in thousands)	100.0% (240)	100.0% (143)	100.0% (148)	100.0% (78,727)
Median Weekly Wage	$274	$182	$91	$358

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished tabulations from the Current Population Survey, 1986 annual averages for usually full-time, currently employed, workers.

Appendix Table 4. Job Protection Mechanisms

		Written job description	Written personnel policies	Written contract	Grievance procedure
CCEP[a] 1983*		67%		33%	33%
CCEP[b] 1983*		82		44	41
CCEP[c] 1984	teachers	90	83%	95	40
	aides		62	23	
CCEP[d] 1987	teachers	89		51	58
	aides	78		35	51

*Teachers only, but 86% of aides receive same benefits.

SOURCE NOTES: Source given in Column is date when data were collected (i.e., not the date of publication of the report). Bracketed figures under health insurance indicate source did not specify whether health insurance coverage wqas individual--for the worker only--or for the worker's family as well.

[a] Child Care Employees Project, (1) "West Los Angeles Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," 1983; (2) "Pasadena Salary, Benefits and Working Conditions Fact Sheet," (3) "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/Summary," (nd), (4) "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers," (August 14, 1987).

[b] Ibid.

[c] Child Care Employees Project, "San Joaquin County Child Care Benefits and Working Conditions Background/Summary," (n.d.).

[d] Child Care Employees Project, "Analysis of Wage and Salary Surveys for Selected California Day Care Centers," (August 14, 1987).