"Working 9-5? Lucky You!":
The distribution of evening work by education and gender.

This study examines the differential allocation of evening work among parents by education and gender. A number of explanations are explored, such as the role of education, schedule control, employment factors, and family status on the amount of time spent working in the evening. The findings show that while there are not major differences in the amount of time high and low educated parents spend in evening work, significant differences appear when considering evening work at home or away from home. Higher educated parents do engage in evening work, but mainly in the home. Parents with lower education perform evening work outside of the home. Parents with lower education are thus more removed from their children during the evening hours when children are most available for, and in need of, care. This study is unique in focusing solely on work during the evening hours, rather than the overall shift worked by parents. The results provide a basis to examine childcare patterns of evening workers.

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Working during non-standard hours (outside 9-5) is a common an increasingly common phenomenon, with an estimated 40% of the population doing non-standard work. (Presser 2005). This trend will continue with the shift to a service economy and the loss of stable corporate and manufacturing jobs. While the term non-standard work may bring up images of steel-workers coming off an 8-hour shift at breakfast time, recent research instead shows that these gains in non-standard work are not regular or overnight shifts (Hamermesh 1999). If non-standard workers aren't doing a night shift, then they must be working during the evenings. Simultaneously, stable corporate jobs are requiring work further into the evening, as workers become over-worked, especially in a fragile economy where jobs are disappearing from all firms (Gershuny 2005; Sullivan 2008; Schor 1993).

The evenings are special family time (Stewart 2009a; Stewart and Allard 2008) and the expansion of work into these domains have distinct negative effects on parenting time, family stability, and children's life outcomes (Aryee, Srinivas, and Tan 2005; Han 2008; Presser 2005, 2000; White and Keith 1990). This paper uses the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) to directly examine work in the evenings, and constructs a model to predict which parents are most likely to work in the evenings. Results from this research will allow for more detailed examinations of the trade-offs made by parents when they work late.

While it is widely known that working evening and night shifts can be bad for employees, it remains unknown what precisely about these shifts makes them so bad. It could be just having an abnormal schedule, a schedule that conflicts with social life, or working in the most likely times for childcare and marital interaction. Recent media attention has

discussed the many problems with ‘shift work,’ broadly defined as any work outside of the 9-5 real. Non-standard work has been linked to physical problems such as increased weight gain increased potential for diabetes. Shift workers have also been found to have long-lasting sleep disorders, often leading to poor work quality and dangers on the job (Åkerstedt 1998; Åkerstedt et al. 2004; Knauth et al. 1980). Medical companies now tout the effectiveness of medicines designed to combat the newly coined ‘shift-work disorder’(Drake et al. 2004; Williams et al. 2008). This disorder is created, in large part, by the fact that people can only adjust their sleep patterns and cortisol output by an hour or two a night (Griefahn and Robens n.d.). Even those receiving services from non-standard workers are not immune to the problems created by shift-work-- the rates of death at hospitals are much higher at night and on the weekends, when over-worked and under-trained junior hospital staff are on duty (D. J. Becker 2007; Peberdy et al. 2008).

Lost among this research is how parents’ workdays play out shapes the amount of time they can or cannot be with their children, to nurture and improve their wellbeing, increasing their life-chances. Prior research into shift work has lacked the specificity to look at the times of day children are available, specifically the period after work. Older research instead relies on looking at when the majority of hours are worked to define the shift (Presser 1995; Presser and Cox 1997; Presser 2005; Wight, Raley, and Bianchi 2008). While this is enlightening, it misses a central opportunity of using time-use data to directly measure how working at times children are most likely to be home effects parental time with children. Also missing from prior studies are any indication of the differential rates of working inside or outside of the home at those times-- while it is easy to imagine the busy executive doing a few hours of work while their child does

homework, it is quite a different thing to have a mother who cannot even take a call from their child while at work. There is a strong need for a study to examine how many hours, which hours, and where workers are likely to work in the evening hours.

This study will examine which workers, among parents, are spending time working in the evening. It will also examine the different allocation of this work time by its location: are these parents working at home or work away from home. A number of explanations will be explored, particularly the role of education, gender, and family status on the probability and amount of time spent working in the evening. The findings from this study will provide the first detailed account of who works evening in our population, and will provide baseline information and methods from which to examine childcare patterns of workers outside the 9-5 hours with much more clarity and precision.

The Majority Hour Shift Definition

Existing research on work timing focuses on shift work, defined as when the majority of hours are worked each day (day, evening, or night shifts). (Presser 1995; Presser and Cox 1997; Presser 2005; Wight et al. 2008). This measure is particularly useful for recording jobs in manufacturing, where schedules are strict and shifts change on regular schedules, if at all. Measuring the shift of the workday is accurate only in so far as the variation in start and end times can be consistent across the sample. This means that most of the people working a ‘day shift’ not only have the majority of their hours between 8am and 4pm, but also that they all end their workdays at similar times, or the end and length of the workday are reasonably distributed across the domains of interest. This is unlikely to be the case as the modern workforce is more oriented towards part-time, non-unionized, service work, meaning that hours may extend to either end at no great cost to the

company, and many individuals may hold two or more jobs, or work flexibly as freelancers.

A more fine-grained analysis of shift work should focus on the times most relevant to engaging in social and family life. The times that are most likely for socialization are in the evenings and at night. This is especially true with children, and most parenting occurs during the evening hours, when both school aged and younger children are awake and available for parenting (Stewart and Allard 2008). Working parents face the most risk of not having time to parent when they working evenings away from home. Most of the prior research on the subject implicitly focuses on those issues with broad measures of when individuals work and how much parenting they do, overall. This research and future research should focus directly on the tradeoffs made from working evening hours on parenting during evening hours and also parenting that happens at other times, and when that other parenting occurs.

The Consequences of Evening Work

Evening work carries with it a number of consequences for parents and children. Parents who work in the evenings are less likely to spend time with their partners (Presser 2000), due to the lack of overlap in the schedules of couples (Lesnard 2008). Indeed, the issues of a lack of schedule overlap can lead to higher rates of marital dissatisfaction (P. E. Becker and Moen 1999; White and Keith 1990). While some rare cases may exist where both parents both work off-schedules, these are rare (Presser 2005). As such, it can easily be believed that parents are most likely to see each other in the evenings.

The traditional majority shift measure predicts parents on non-day shifts can spend more time with their children (Presser 2005). This finding is anomalous though; it suggests that evening work may increase parental time with children. However, evidence points to parents of children under school age engaging in parenting during the evenings, with some activities like reading to small children always happening around bed-time (Stewart and Allard 2008; Stewart 2009a). If evening parenting is the normal response when only the parent is constricted by outside controls on their time (work), it should be even stronger when parents' time is limited by work at the same time as their children's time is limited by school. The evening shift predicting that evening work increases time with children suggests that either children are being parented at time other than the evening, that parents on the evening shift are not working much during the evening hours when children are available, or that parents are somehow available to parent while working in the evenings, possibly by working from home.

Who Works Evenings?

Prior research has focused on why parents may opt *out* of doing evening work, finding that parents with young children will opt out of evening work (Presser 2005; Wight et al. 2008). In some cases prior literature suggests that parents may arrange their schedules so one parent is free during the day to watch young children, or to be home when children arrive back from school (Hochschild 2001; Presser 2005; Sharman and Sharman 2008). However, these cases may be rare, and obviously not all parents can or do avoid working evenings, despite the evidence that it is not family-friendly, and the obvious toll evening workers report in qualitative work (Hochschild 2001; Sharman and Sharman 2008).

Evening work is unequally distributed across the population. Different types of jobs will have different levels of exposure to evening work. Business to business type jobs are less likely to require evening work, whereas jobs that service businesses or business workers, such as cleaning, cooking, and other service industries are more likely to require evening work, because these services are needed when standard business employees are not at work (Sassen 2001). Individuals doing this work may also be temporary employees filling in at times of peak demand (Houseman 2001; Kalleberg 2000; Lambert 2008). These findings suggest employees working at night may be doing so because they are already in a precarious place in the labor market. These workers may also be paid less and need multiple jobs.

Schedule control is a major factor in determining the rates of evening work. Jobs in the secondary labor market tend to have less regularity and less advanced notice of the hours to be worked week to week (Henly, Shaefer, and Waxman 2006). The service employees who are able to exert some schedule control tend to be higher level workers, either older or with a longer tenure at the firm (Lambert 2008; Moss, Salzman, and Tilly 2005). Since many hours in the service industry are in the evenings, there is a double burden on parents of short advanced notice and having to work in the evenings. These jobs are less likely to come with benefits, since they are more likely to be flexible work (Houseman 2001). Part-time job growth in recent decades is driven by employer need rather than employee preference (Kalleberg 2000). There is reason to believe the rise in evening work does follows the same pattern of employer needs rather than employee preference.

Low-income parents may also be forced into a second job for extra money. In her study of low-income service employees in four industries, Lambert (2008) finds that around

1/3rd of her part-time respondents would like more hours. This will likely to lead to evening work, especially when the second job extends weekly work beyond 40 hours, or is in a sector with unstable hours. This can be contrasted with the moves among retail companies to allow their highly-paid corporate workers to shift their schedules to accommodate family needs (Kelly and Moen 2007; Kelly, Moen, and Tranby 2011). The class difference inherent in these two scenarios should be noted, as only the white-collar employees have the liberty to change their hours at their will. While Stewart (2009a) finds that mothers working part-time will move their work to be more available for their children, it is likely this phenomenon is more true for high-income mothers with high levels of job selection and schedule control.

This is not to say that all jobs requiring evening work are in poorly paid and in the service sector. True, most of the stable, union, night-time manufacturing jobs are gone or rapidly disappearing (Hamermesh 1999). However, within elite business careers there is a move towards busyness as a badge of honor, where high-income workers are judged on input, rather than output (Gershuny 2005; Sullivan 2008). These workers may stay late to impress their bosses or just finish work, especially as the recession threatens their job security while reducing the number of colleagues they may have. However, the jobs may also allow work from home, unlike most direct service employment. Working at home may entail a different threat to time with the family and children, and it needs to be explored on its own.

The Effects of Working at Home on Family Time

Working at home is vastly different than working away from home. Home workers are physically available for their children, whereas workers away from home are, at best,

available only by phone. At the same time, working at home may divide parents' attention between their children, spouses, and work. This division may have repercussions on both sides of the work-family interface, with work affecting home while home affects work. The ability to work from home implies a certain level of flexibility in an individual's job, with home workers having a job where flexible hours and location are a possibility, and can be utilized to further ease any conflict in the work-life interface (Kelly et al. 2011; Kelly and Moen 2007). Parents who work from home will be more advantaged in their ability to interact with their children during the workday, and it should be expected that these parents are more likely to be more highly educated and in jobs that do not require face-to-face interactions during the evening hours.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

This paper extends the prior research into non-standard work hours by focusing specifically on work in the evenings. This research will pave the way for an analysis of the different daily tradeoffs made by workers who do, and do not, work evenings. Using the ATUS, I will test three main hypotheses:

H_1 states that evening work occurs most at the extremes of the class spectrum. Low-income parents are more likely to be in jobs combining low schedule control and high levels of evening work. Higher-income parents are more likely to work long-hours to compete in an increasingly work-hour intensive corporate world.

H_2 states fathers will be much more likely to do evening work than mothers, given mothers' traditional role as caregivers in the household.

H_3 states evening work at home will be the domain of high-income workers. These workers have more discretion about their work and are more likely to be doing work that requires minimal, physical, interactions with other employees and clients. While it can be expected that some lower-income employees perform work at home, the rates will likely be less dramatic or even negative compared to those of high-income workers. Being able to work from home in the evening means these workers are more accessible to their children than workers who do evening work outside of the home. These hypotheses will provide previously unknown evidence about which parents work evenings and if that work is outside or inside the home.

METHODS

Focusing directly on evening work requires data that allows the examination of work at specific times of day. The best way to examine this type of work is to use time diary data. Time diary data collects information about a respondent's day, usually from 4am on the diary day until 4am the next day. The American Time Use Survey (ATUS) asks the respondent to walk the phone interviewer through the previous day in sequential order from 4am. Each activity is coded with the activity type, who else is present, start and stop times, where the respondent is located, and (for most activities) if the respondent is doing any secondary childcare during this activity. Time use data provides an excellent way to look very specifically at the exact timing of work and tradeoffs made between work and home (Chenu and Lesnard 2006).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables will measure all evening work, evening work outside the home, and evening work inside the home. Work is measured as any type of activity directly

related to employment. Time in work outside the home uses the same measure as the overall work measure, but limits it to work that is located away from home. Time at work inside the home includes anything related to paid work that is coded as being inside the home. The ATUS does not ask who the respondent is with while they are working (much as they don't when they are sleeping), so we are unable to know if children are present when individuals are working inside or outside the home.

Evening work is defined as working from 6-9pm on a non-holiday weekday. These hours represent a time when the majority of individuals are out of work, and also when children of school age are likely to be home and awake. This timeframe is the most likely to bring about negative consequences for the family among full-time workers. These hours are focused on instead of starting at 3pm because most full-time workers are expected to work until 5pm. Alternative analysis using different starting and ending points are possible but provide

Independent Variables

Evening work should be largely distributed to individuals with the least bargaining power, so educational background will serve as a proxy for human capital. Type and sector of job also affects the overall probability of working evenings, so it will be controlled for as well. Education will be interacted with sector, to see how education differs within job sectors. Multiple jobs will also drive evening work and will be included in the models.

The gendering of jobs has a robust history, and this paper will control for gender in all models (England 1992). Race has often been a contributing factor to job dissolution, and it will be controlled for as well. If the respondent is in the labor force will be controlled

for, as some parents do not work. Likewise if parents are in part-time employment will also be controlled for. The age of youngest child also may effect the timing of employment as parents may needed later in the evenings by older children who go to bed later.

Analysis Techniques

Regression analysis will be used to predict the effects of education on participation in evening work. Starting with education, the models will then add sector, then an interaction, if multiple jobs are held, and finally a battery of demographic controls. It is expected that the effect of education on the probability and the number of hours worked in the evening will remain robust with the addition of alternative explanations.

There are a number of possible models to use to measure the amount of evening work that is done. There is no standard model used in time-use literature, though there are serious concerns about the large number of zeroes inherent in time use data. These zeroes may mean the respondent *never* does the activity, or that the respondent does not do the activity *on that diary day*, but may otherwise do the activity. The OLS will overestimate the importance of zeroes, but is widely used. The main argument in time use literature has been between the OLS and Tobit models (Stewart 2009b). The Stewart paper sides with the OLS model, but the Tobit remains very popular, particularly among economists (Kalenkoski, Ribar, and Stratton 2005, 2007, 2008). The benefit of the Tobit model is the ability to censor at the bottom and top of the distribution. The bottom censoring will deal with instances of zero time in an activity, while an upper limit will not allow the estimation to go beyond the maximum number of minutes or hours in a given period (such as 1440 minutes in a day).

Sample

The analytic sample is limited to parents with household children. This limitation is because nearly all of the literature dealing with shift work focuses on parental involvement in children. The sample is further limited only to weekdays. The sample population is 13,770 cases, excluding diaries that have less than five activities during the day or fail to report eating or drinking as one of the activities. Table 1 shows the un-weighted sample characteristics. The average age in the sample is 39 years old. About 40% of the sample has college degree or higher, only 10% have less than a high school education. A quarter of the sample is single and about 15% of the sample works part time. Three-quarters of the sample is white, over 12% are (non-black) Hispanic, over 8% are Black, and the rest classify as either Asian or Other. All analyses (besides Table 1) are weighted to the population level.

RESULTS

Figure 1 shows the modal activity for every minute on a weekday for working parents in the 2007 sample. This figure clearly shows that schedules are highly routinized for the majority of the population, across all education groups. The work schedule is highly routinized, with well over fifty percent of working parents doing that work between 9am and 4pm. Leisure and sleep show similar routines across the population. Childcare is not readily apparent because the amount of childcare being done in a day among all populations is much smaller than the amount of leisure or other activities, so the modal activity would rarely be childcare at any individual minute.

Figure 2 shows results for the combined interaction effects of the latent variable xb from the Tobit estimations (Table 2) for the expected number of minutes worked in evening

work. This table shows that fathers on average are expected to do 40 more minutes of evening work than mothers. Mothers with less than a high school education do around 30 minutes more of evening work than women with some college or a college degree. High school educated women do around 18 more minutes of evening work than women who have attended or graduated college. The results for less educated mothers are significant to the .01 level, and imply that less highly educated mothers spend more time in evening work, while more highly educated mothers are able to avoid evening work. However, the larger educational gradient is only weakly supported, which is strange given the large amount of prior evidence that highly educated parents of both genders are more attached to intensive parenting, and generally do more parenting (presumably much of it in the evenings). This implies that mothers in general are less likely to be constricted by evening work compared to fathers, and this effect is stronger for college-educated mothers, when compared to all other mothers. It is possible that mothers in general, and college educated mothers in particular, are protecting their evening hours for family rather than work. Certainly they are deprioritizing the importance of work in the evenings, especially highly educated mothers.

Figure 3 shows the combined interaction effect sizes from the Tobit estimation for evening work away from home. Again, the effect size for fathers is about 50 minutes higher than for mothers. The educational gradient here is very clear, less educated fathers do significantly more work than more highly educated fathers. The effect is similar for mothers. Fathers with less than a high school education do over 20 minutes more evening work away from home than the reference group (fathers with some college education), and over 35 more minutes than fathers with a college education. High school educated

fathers do just under 30 minutes more evening work away from home than college educated fathers. The effects for the rise in highly educated fathers are significant at the .05 level, while the effect for college educated fathers compared to fathers with some college education is marginally significant ($p<.10$), but the effects between college educated father and fathers with either a high school or less than a high school education are significant at the .05 level or better.

Mothers have effects in similar directions. College educated mothers do over half an hour less evening work away from home than mothers with some college education. Mothers with a high school education have an effect size of that indicated they are estimated to do 45 minutes *more* evening work away from home compared to mothers with some college education (and thus over 80 minutes more evening work away from home than college educated mothers). Mothers with less than a high school education are predicted to do nearly 50 minutes more evening work away from home than the reference group, and over 80 minutes more evening work away from home than college educated mothers. The results for mothers are all significant at the .05 level or better.

The overall results from figure 3 are that highly educated mothers are able to avoid work outside of the home in the evening, while less educated mothers are more likely to do work outside of the home in the evenings. The effects are similar for fathers, with highly educated fathers doing less evening work outside of then their less educated counterparts. Overall, fathers still do more evening work outside of the home than mothers. Mothers seem to be avoiding evening work outside of the home, especially highly educated mothers.

Figure 4 shows the interaction effect sizes from the Tobit estimation for work *at* home during the evenings. The educational gradient here is the inverse of the gradient for work away from home. Fathers are still more likely to work at home during the evenings than mothers (20 minutes). However, highly educated mothers and fathers do *more* work at home in the evenings than all other groups. The effect size for college-educated mothers is over 30 minutes higher than it is for mothers with some college education. The effect size for mothers with a high school education is actually negative, implying they do even less evening work at home than the reference group (the difference between mothers with a high school education and mothers with a college education is over 50 minutes). Mothers with less than a high school education also have an effect size of 50 minutes less evening work at home than college educated women, though the effect size compared to mothers with some college education is not statistically significant. College educated fathers have an effect size that is over twenty minutes higher than fathers who only have some college education. Fathers with less than a high school education have an effect size of 17 minutes, which means their effect size is 37 minutes smaller than fathers with some college education and just under an hour less than fathers with a college education.

The results of Figure 4 suggest that highly educated mothers and fathers may do evening work, but it is most likely to be at home. Meanwhile, less educated mothers and fathers show negative effect sizes for doing evening work at home, suggesting they either do not have the possibility to do their evening work at home, or choose to do that work outside of the house.

DISCUSSION

White-collar employees are more likely to work at home than employees in manufacturing, trades, or retail, who require direct interaction with clients and machines. The highly educated workers are still working, they just happen to be at home. While it is perfectly possible that they are more accessible to their children, they may also be torn between simultaneously trying to balance work and family life in the same physical space. In fact, both activities may suffer. While the data presented here does not speak to what happens at home in the evenings, the next chapter will explore these issues. The takeaway from these results is that less educated parents do more evening work, and do more evening work outside of the home. Parents with a college degree do not do any less evening work than parents who have only attended some college, but the evening work they do is at home, where they at least have the possibility of interacting with their children. Future work in this area will explore how these three types of work arrangements may affect childcare by education level of the parents.

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Table 1: Sample Used for Analysis	
Male	51.0%
Age	39.21
Education	
Less Than HS	10.0%
High School	23.0%
Some College	27.7%
College	39.3%
Number of Kids in HH	1.85
Single	25.0%
Part Time	14.7%
Race	
White	73.2%
Hispanic	12.8%
Black	8.6%
Asian	4.1%
Other	1.2%
N	13770

Table 2. Tobit Results for Different Types of Evening Work

	All Evening Work	Evening Work Away from Home	Evening Work At Home
Male	40.067***	51.506***	20.820**
	(6.450)	(8.283)	(7.681)
Education			
Less Than High School	29.544***	49.436***	-15.962
	(8.676)	(10.930)	(13.602)
High School	18.123**	35.485***	-20.639*
	(6.695)	(8.507)	(9.300)
College	-3.895	-37.077***	32.468***
	(6.362)	(8.548)	(6.960)
Male X Education			
Male * Less Than High School	-25.789*	-26.723	-21.855
	(11.029)	(13.841)	(18.256)
Male * High School	-14.871	-20.087	7.956
	(8.896)	(11.265)	(12.100)
Male * College	5.962	23.044*	-10.409
	(8.433)	(11.147)	(9.234)
Age (Mean Centered)	-1.754***	-2.784***	-0.128
	(0.220)	(0.283)	(0.310)
Age of Youngest Child	1.260***	1.519**	2.215***
	(0.362)	(0.465)	(0.486)
Number of Household Children	2.123	1.352	5.356*
	(1.781)	(2.306)	(2.192)
Single	3.634	6.621	-36.732***
	(4.113)	(5.233)	(5.725)
Works Part Time	-1.858	-3.529	-4.94

	(4.823)	(6.253)	(6.049)
Constant	-128.177***	-189.561***	-203.400***
	(7.369)	(9.769)	(10.553)
Sigma Constant	145.794***	174.855***	109.459***
	(2.051)	(2.915)	(3.007)
N	13770	13770	13770
N (Left-Censored)	10219	11127	12753
Log Likelihood	-27700	-21800	-8752.662

Notes: Standard Errors in Parentheses; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests).

Figure 1: Modal Activity for Working Parents by Education Per Minute in 2007

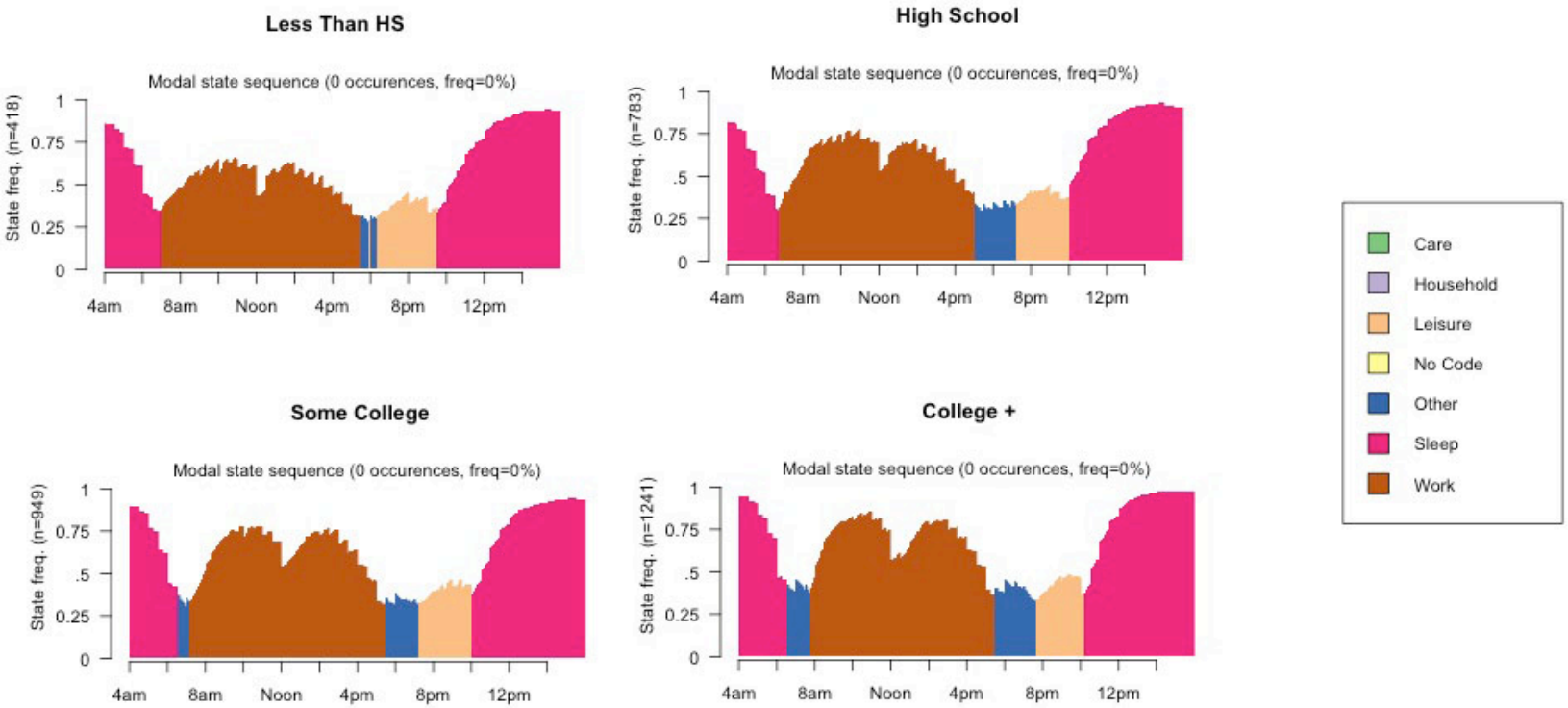

Figure 2. Tobit Results for Interaction Effect Sizes for All Evening Work (xb estimator)

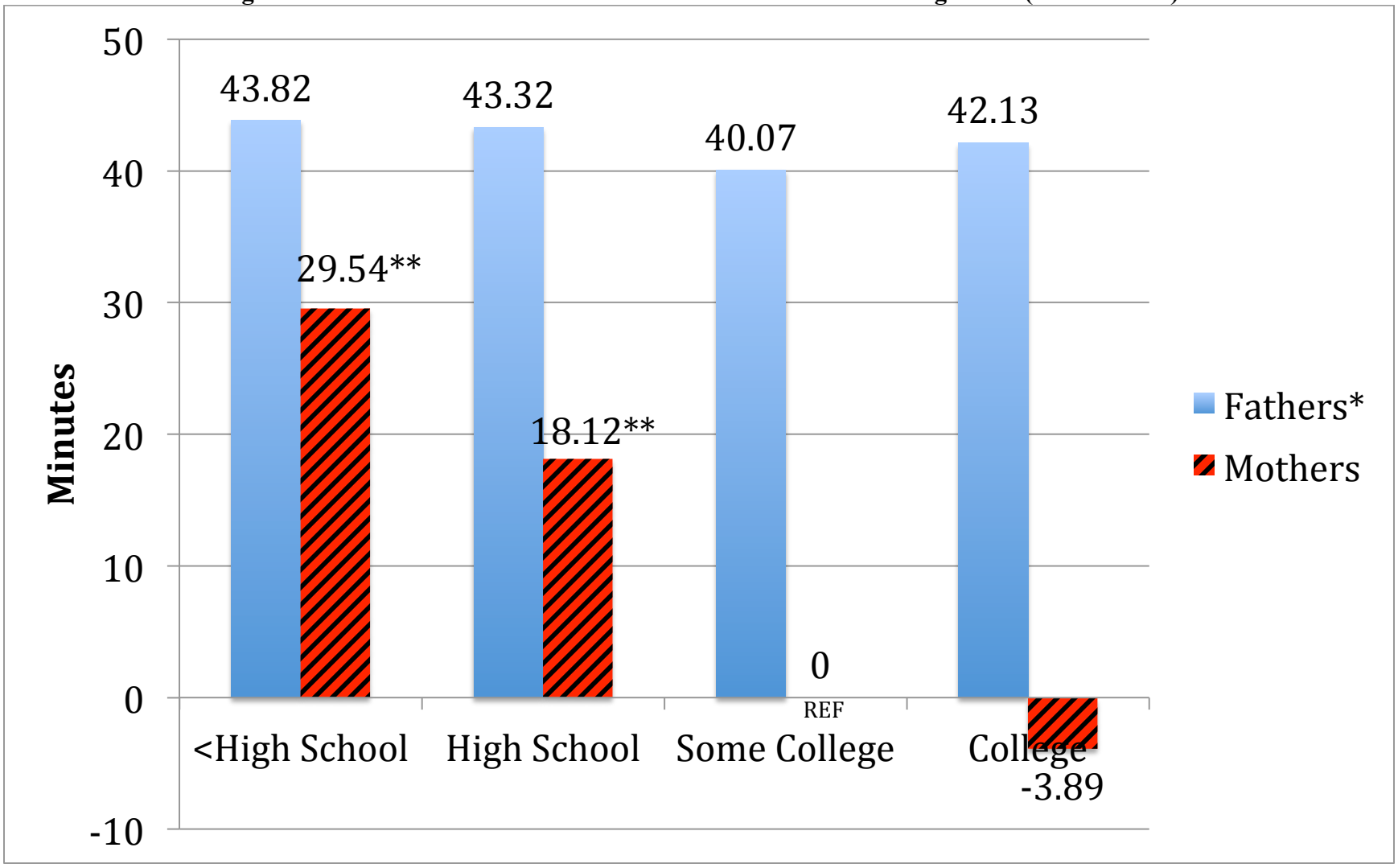

Figure 3. Tobit Results for Interaction Effect Sizes for Evening Work Away From Home (xb estimator)

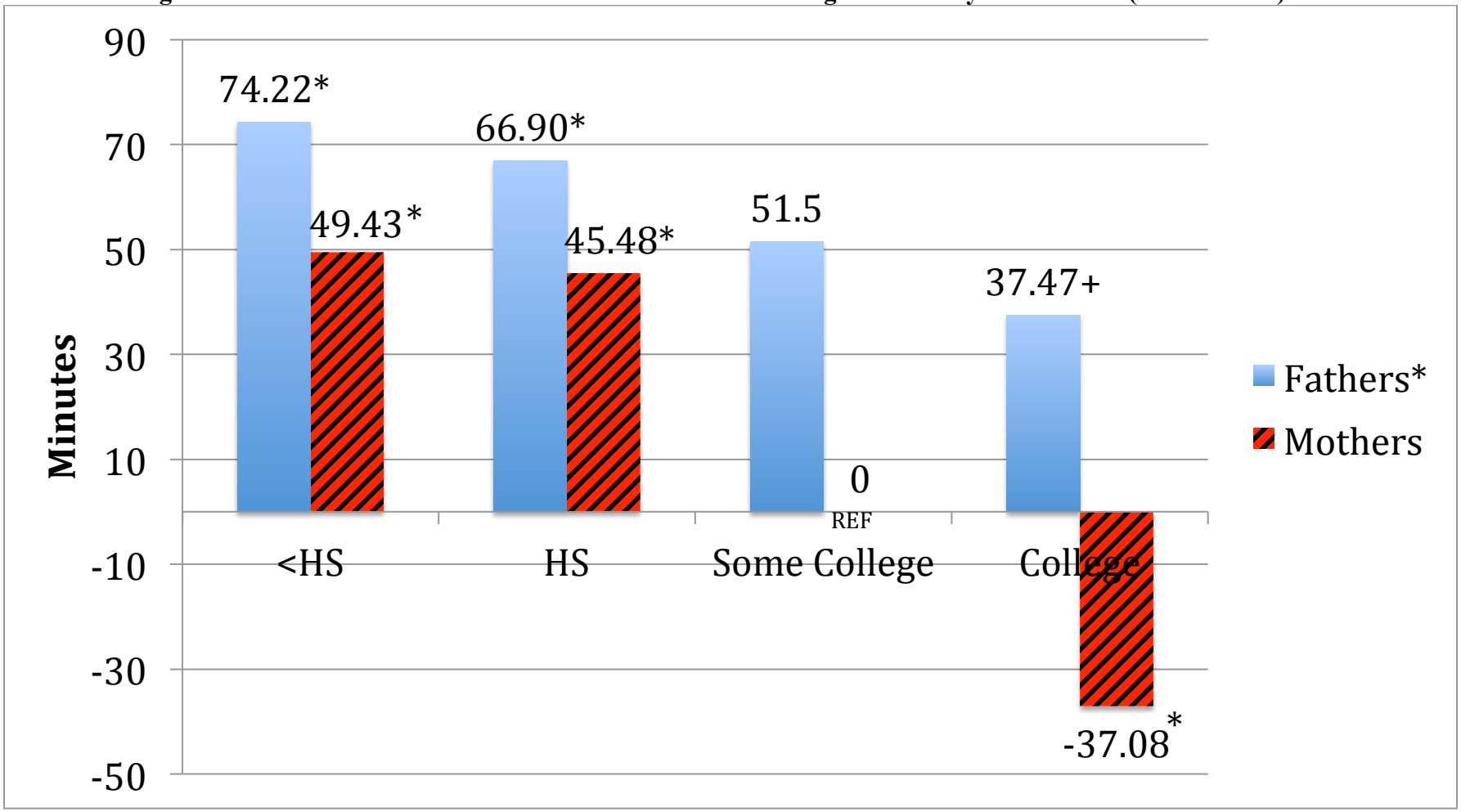

Figure 4. Tobit Results of Interaction Effect Sizes for Minutes of Evening Work At Home (xb estimator)