Managing Work and Family

Nonstandard Work Arrangements Among Managers and Professionals

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the last 25 years, as the labor force participation of mothers rose dramatically while fathers' participation in household labor increased only modestly, the competing demands of work and family intensified. One widely cited solution for resolving these conflicts has been employment in nonstandard work arrangements (NSWAs), which include temporary help agency work, on-call work, day labor, contract work, independent contracting, self-employment, and part-time work in a standard employment relationship. Some 29.4% of all workers are employed in these nonstandard work arrangements.

For the average worker, the cost of employment in a nonstandard arrangement is often quite high in terms of reduced hourly wages and benefits and limited job security (Kalleberg et al. 1997). It is possible, however, that nonstandard jobs for workers with greater skills and enhanced bargaining power, such as managers and professionals, may be of higher quality, thus enabling these workers to better meet both their work and family obligations without the usual reductions in compensation and job security. Fully 29.2% (30.5% of women and 28% of men) of workers in executive, managerial, and administrative positions and professional occupations (henceforth referred to as managers and professionals) are employed in nonstandard arrangements. This study compares the experiences of managers and professionals in nonstandard arrangements to those with similar characteristics in regular full-time jobs, as well as to other white-collar workers in nonstandard arrangements.

Managers and professionals in many types of nonstandard work are paid less than their counterparts employed in regular full-time jobs with similar education and personal characteristics.

Little is known about the characteristics and experiences of these workers in nonstandard arrangements primarily because the necessary data were not available until the supplement to the February 1995 Current Population Survey focused on nonstandard work and the workers in these arrangements. These data, which provide the first systematic information on the quantity and quality of nonstandard work arrangements in the U.S., are the basis of this report's analyses. (A discussion of trends in some types of nonstandard work can be found in the Appendix).

In this report we find that managers and professionals in many types of nonstandard work are paid less than their counterparts employed in regular full-time jobs with similar education and personal characteristics. For example, all managers and professionals who work on-call and most who are self-employed or in regular part-time jobs are paid significantly less than their regular full-time counterparts with similar personal characteristics. But when these nonstandard workers are compared to regular full-time workers who not only have similar personal characteristics but who also work in similar industries and have similar union and fringe benefit status, we find that some nonstandard workers are actually paid more, especially those in certain independent contractor, self-employment, and contract work arrangements.

This finding indicates that pay penalties faced by managers and professionals in nonstandard work occur, in part, because of their work arrangement and, in part, because they are more likely to work in low-wage industries and lack union representation or fringe benefits. Managers and professionals in nonstandard work are also more likely than their regular full-time counterparts to have jobs of limited duration.

Race, gender, and family status affect choice of work arrangement. Among managers and professionals in nonstandard work, whites are more likely than nonwhites to work in the jobs that pay relatively well. Women managers and professionals, like all women, are much more likely than are men to work in regular part-time jobs. Having an employed spouse also increases the odds that a woman will work in a regular part-time job, while it decreases the odds for a man. Female managers are much less likely than are other white-collar women to work on-call, for a temp help agency, or in a regular part-time job. Women professionals are less likely than other white-collar workers to work as temps or be self-employed, and both men and women professionals are more likely to work on-call or do contract work.

Among managers and professionals in nonstandard work, whites are more likely than nonwhites to work in the jobs that pay relatively well.

While we cannot determine whether nonstandard arrangements provide workers with greater flexibility in their work schedule (respondents were not questioned about this issue), we can examine average hours worked per week in each of these arrangements. The most striking finding is that women managers and professionals in all types of nonstandard work, on average, work fewer hours per week than women within these occupations in regular full-time jobs. These managerial and professional women appear to use these arrangements to reduce their work-time obligation. The same does not hold true for male managers and professionals. Those men who are self-employed or independent contractors (87% of managers and 61% of professionals) typically work more hours per week than regular full-time workers. Thus, these nonstandard arrangements appear to do more to reinforce these workers' role as breadwinners, leaving even less time to attend to needs at home.

This study also investigates whether workers use nonstandard work arrangements to facilitate transitions during different periods in a life or career. Students and young workers may use NSWAs to explore occupations and workplaces (Heckman 1997), but our research shows that such employment does not often result in being hired in regular full-time positions. As workers approach retirement, nonstandard arrangements such as independent contracting may provide a solution for those who already have health and pension benefits, but this, too, depends on whether the work arrangement is voluntary and planned. Older men (between the ages of 45 and 65) appear to accept these arrangements for voluntary reasons, while older women (also between the ages of 45 and 65) are more likely to accept them for family reasons.

INTRODUCTION

In the past two to three decades, the competing demands between work and family have intensified. As the culture has changed so has the workforce—great numbers of mothers have joined the labor force and the number of single-parent and dual-earner families has increased dramatically, even though the participation by fathers in household labor has not kept pace. Nonstandard work arrangements (NSWAs)—temporary help agency work, on-call work, day labor, contract work, independent contracting, self-employment, and part-time work in a standard employment relationship—are one widely cited market-based solution for resolving these competing work and family demands. But nonstandard work arrangements, with their implicit promise of opportunities for balancing family and work activities, may prove problematic if they fail to provide the flexibility or economic security necessary to workers and their families.

The reasons for the growth in nonstandard jobs are hotly debated. Some researchers argue that the rise in NSWAs is driven by employers' desires to reduce labor costs and gain increased flexibility in the size and composition of their labor forces. Others hold that the force behind the growth of nonstandard employment is the increased number of dual-earning couples and working single parents who look to nonstandard work in their struggle to balance the competing demands of work and family obligations.

Another component of this debate is whether the growth of nonstandard employment is good or bad for American workers and the economy. If the growth of NSWAs enhances U.S. productivity and competitiveness, while providing nonstandard employment opportunities for workers who want them, then it can be seen as a positive trend. Others argue, however, that, regardless of the gains for employers, the growth of nonstandard jobs is bad for the economy if it means that workers seeking regular full-time jobs are forced to settle for nonstandard employment.

Underlying these disagreements is a concern about the quality of nonstandard jobs, which employ nearly 30% of all workers. In 1995, 34.4 million people were in nonstandard employment: 34.3% of women and 29.4% of men (see **Table 1**). If standard and nonstandard jobs paid similar wages to people with similar characteristics, were equally likely to provide fringe benefits, allowed equal access to career ladders, and provided an equivalent level of job security, many of these debates would loose their fervor. The quality of nonstandard jobs is of heightened importance because the majority of nonstandard workers are women who are already disadvantaged in the workplace in terms of wages and promotions. If nonstandard

The quality of nonstandard jobs is of heightened importance because the majority of nonstandard workers are women who are already disadvantaged in the workplace in terms of wages and promotions.

TABLE 1
Workers, by Work Arrangement

Work Arrangement	Total	Women	Men
Regular Part-Time	13.7%	21.3%	7.1%
Temporary Help Agency	1.0	1.1	0.8
On-Call/Day Labor	1.6	1.7	1.5
Self-Employment	5.5	4.8	6.1
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.9	0.9	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	5.6	3.7	7.3
Contract Company	1.2	0.8	1.6
All Nonstandard	29.4%	34.3%	25.3%
Regular Full-Time	70.6	65.7	74.7
Total	100%	100.0%	100.0%

[a] Wage & Salary
[b] Self-Employment

Source for all tables: Authors' analysis of February 1995 Current Population Survey.

work creates an additional adverse impact, as some initial studies indicate, this would be particularly troubling.

Other studies have shown that nonstandard jobs, on average, are of lower quality than regular full-time jobs, and that the lowest-quality nonstandard jobs are disproportionately held by women and minority men (Kalleberg et al. 1997). The National Research Council found that part-time work is often associated with jobs that pay low wages and lack benefits (Ferber and O'Farrell 1991). Even workers voluntarily employed in NSWAs may have to accept pay cuts and forego advancement and supervisory responsibilities (Catalyst 1993). It is conceivable, however, that some workers in nonstandard arrangements, especially those with enhanced bargaining power such as managers and professionals, may find that these arrangements allow them to meet their work and family obligations while still providing sufficient income and fringe benefits to support a family. The share of managers and professionals in NSWAs (26.2%) is nearly as large as the share of NSWAs in the economy as a whole (29.4%) (see **Table 2**). The most common detailed occupations of these managers and professionals include teachers, registered nurses, computer system analysts, accountants and auditors, and various types of managers (see **Table 3**).

Until now, however, relatively little research has addressed nonstandard work arrangements among managers and professionals, or the connection between nonstandard employment arrangements and these workers' family status. Much of the previous research on women's satisfaction with the available tradeoffs between

TABLE 2
Occupational Group by Work Arrangement (%)

Work Arrangement	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	Total
Women					
Regular Part-Time	4.4%	12.3%	18.4%	13.9%	13.7%
Temporary Help Agency	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.2	1.0
On-Call/Day Labor	0.3	2.2	0.8	2.3	1.6
Self-Employment	9.4	4.2	5.3	4.8	5.5
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.6	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	8.2	5.8	3.9	6.0	5.6
Contract Company	0.8	1.8	0.7	1.4	1.2
All Nonstandard	24.2%	28.0%	31.2%	30.4%	29.4%
Regular Full-Time	75.7	71.9	68.7	69.6	70.6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Men					
Regular Part-Time	5.7%	14.8%	37.7%	41.9%	100%
Temporary Help Agency	6.8	8.3	35.1	49.9	100
On-Call/Day Labor	3.0	21.4	16.1	59.5	100
Self-Employment	23.9	11.7	29.0	35.4	100
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	9.5	20.7	34.6	35.3	100
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	20.3	15.5	21.1	43.1	100
Contract Company	9.9	23.4	17.4	49.3	100
All Nonstandard	11.5%	14.5%	32.0%	42.0%	100%
Regular Full-Time	15.0	15.0	29.4	40.1	100
Share of Employment	14.0%	15.2%	30.1%	40.7%	100%

[a] Technicians, sales, and administrative support occupations.

[b] Private household, protective service, and other service occupations; craft and transportation occupations; machine operators; laborers; farming; forestry; and fishery occupations.

career and family is of questionable validity because it oversimplifies the measurement of both family and workplace arrangements (e.g., see Fuchs 1988). For example, sex (female) is used as a proxy for family needs, and the various types of NSWAs have been grouped together, blurring possible distinctions among them.

This paucity of valid research largely reflects the unavailability of data appropriate for examining the relationship between NSWAs and family status. Data gathered in February 1995 in a Supplement to the Current Population Survey provides, for the first time, nationally representative information on the quantity and quality of nonstandard work arrangements in the U.S. labor force, finally allowing us to examine these issues in depth.[1] The nonstandard work arrangements that will be examined in this study include temporary help agency work, on-call work, day labor, contract work, independent contracting,[2] self-employment, and part-time work

TABLE 3
Most Common Detailed Occupations by Work Arrangement, Occupational Group, and Sex

Work Arrangement	Female			Male		
	Managers	Professionals	Other White-Collar	Managers	Professionals	Other White-Collar
Regular Part-Time	Managers & Administrators, nec	Registered Nurses	Cashiers	Managers & Administrators, nec	Post-Secondary Teachers	Cashiers
Temporary Help Agencies	Publishing Agents & Buyers, nec	Editors & Reporters	Secretaries	Accountants & Auditors	Computer Systems Analysts & Scientists	Stock & Inventory Clerks
On-Call	Managers, Food Serving & Lodging Establishments	Teachers, Elementary School	Cashiers	Managers, Food Serving & Lodging Establishments	Teachers, Elementary School	Sales Workers, Other Commodities
Self-Employment	Managers & Administrators, nec	Teachers, nec	Bookkeepers Accounting & Auditing Clerks	Managers & Administrators, nec	Lawyers	Supervisors & Proprietors, Sales Occupations
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	Accountants & Auditors	Artists, Performers & Related Workers, nec	Real Estate Sales Occupations	Managers & Administrators, nec	Lawyers	Insurance Sales Occupations
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	Managers & Administrators, nec	Painters, Sculptors, Craft Artists & Artists Printmakers	Street & Door-to-Door Sales Workers	Managers & Administrators, nec	Lawyers	Supervisors & Proprietors, Sales Occupations
Contract Company	Managers & Administrators, nec	Registered Nurses	Secretaries	Managers & Administrators, nec	Computer Systems Analysts & Scientists	Computer Programmers
Regular Full-Time	Managers & Administrators, nec	Teachers Elementary School	Secretaries	Managers & Administrators, nec	Teachers, Secondary School	Supervisors & Proprietors Sales Occupations

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment
Note: "nec" is the abbreviation for "not elsewhere classified."

in a standard employment relationship. These arrangements are contrasted with standard (regular full-time) employment. The purpose of this report is to examine these data to determine how well nonstandard work arrangements succeed as mediators in the struggle between work and family obligations over the course of a manager's or professional's work life.

An informed discussion of the issues must begin with some clear definitions. Nonstandard arrangements differ from standard jobs in at least one of the following ways:

(1) The absence of an employer, as in self-employment and independent contracting;

(2) A distinction between the organization that employs the worker and the one for whom the person works, as in contract work and in working for temporary help agencies; and

(3) The temporal instability of the job, as in temporary work, day labor, on-call work, and some forms of contracted work.

Managers and professionals in nonstandard work are more likely to work in low-wage industries and to lack union representation.

We examine who works in nonstandard arrangements and who is in a position to resolve work and family conflicts through nonstandard arrangements. To answer this question, we examine these work arrangements in the context of both gender and family status, and we do not assume that women choose nonstandard work arrangements to meet family needs, but rather analyze the distribution of nonstandard work arrangements across gender and family arrangements. We examine whether these arrangements appear to resolve the time-squeeze, if they provide satisfaction among people who hold them, if they provide earnings that are high enough to support families, and if they have the potential for increasing or decreasing equality within families for married mothers and fathers. We then turn to other positive and negative effects of nonstandard work arrangements throughout a working life, and attempt to provide evidence on whether nonstandard work arrangements facilitate career entry or exit.

We find that managers and professionals in nonstandard work:

- are paid less than workers with similar education and other personal characteristics who are employed in regular full-time work (penalties range from 10% for regular part-time professionals, to 18% to 19% for self-employed managers and professionals, to 21% to 36% for on-call professionals and managers);

- are more likely to work in low-wage industries and to lack union representation;

- may be more highly paid, on average, than similar full-time workers in the same industry and with the same union and fringe benefit status;
- are much less likely than regular full-time workers to receive health insurance or a pension from their employer; and
- are more likely to have jobs of limited duration.

Race, gender, and family status impact the choice of work arrangement in the following ways:

- among nonstandard managers and professionals, whites are more likely than nonwhites to work in the jobs that pay relatively well;
- women managers and professionals, like all women, are much more likely than men to work in regular part-time jobs.

Nonstandard work arrangements appear to be used by workers to facilitate transitions throughout their lifetime or career.

Women managers and professionals in NSWAs, on average, work fewer hours per week than women working in regular full-time jobs in these same occupations, while male managers and professionals who are self-employed or independent contractors (87% of managers and 61% of professionals) work more hours per week than regular full-time workers.

Nonstandard work arrangements appear to be used by workers to facilitate transitions throughout their lifetime or career, typically upon entering the labor force and before leaving it.

The paper begins by placing nonstandard jobs in context with a review of the changes occurring both within families and workplaces. These changes are arguably the forces driving the growth of nonstandard employment. We then describe the managers and professionals who are employed in standard and nonstandard arrangements and discuss differences by race, gender, and family structure. We examine the reasons given by managers and professionals for working in these arrangements and their preferences for standard employment. Next, we compare standard and nonstandard arrangements in terms of wages, health insurance and pensions, and job security. We end with an examination of how these arrangements are used by workers to ease transitions throughout their working lives. We conclude that nonstandard employment is a limited strategy for resolving the competing demands of work and family, and that these arrangements come with great costs for many managers and professionals.

THE CONTEXT OF WORK-FAMILY DYNAMICS: CHANGES IN THE FAMILY

In her recent book on the "war between work and family," sociologist Arlie Hochschild quotes a senior manager of a Fortune 500 company who professes "I love my work, I immerse myself in it." This manager, who stated he routinely worked 60 or more hours a week, is enabled in his career by the deal he made with his wife. He would spend long hours at work, and "her end of the bargain was that she wouldn't go out to work" (Hochschild 1997, 58, 59).

As illustrated by this couple's agreement, the traditional way of resolving the competing demands of work and family was a division of labor by sex role—the breadwinner/housewife model. The notion that men and women should function in separate spheres, where the husband is employed in a money-mediated world and the wife is responsible for creating a haven from this world, has a long and popular history (Bernard 1974). This once-normative pattern began to erode as women increased their education, as lifetime marriage became less common, as fertility declined, as the economy continued to shift from manufacturing to service (thereby providing more job opportunities for women), and as economic necessity required married women to supplement their husbands' income.

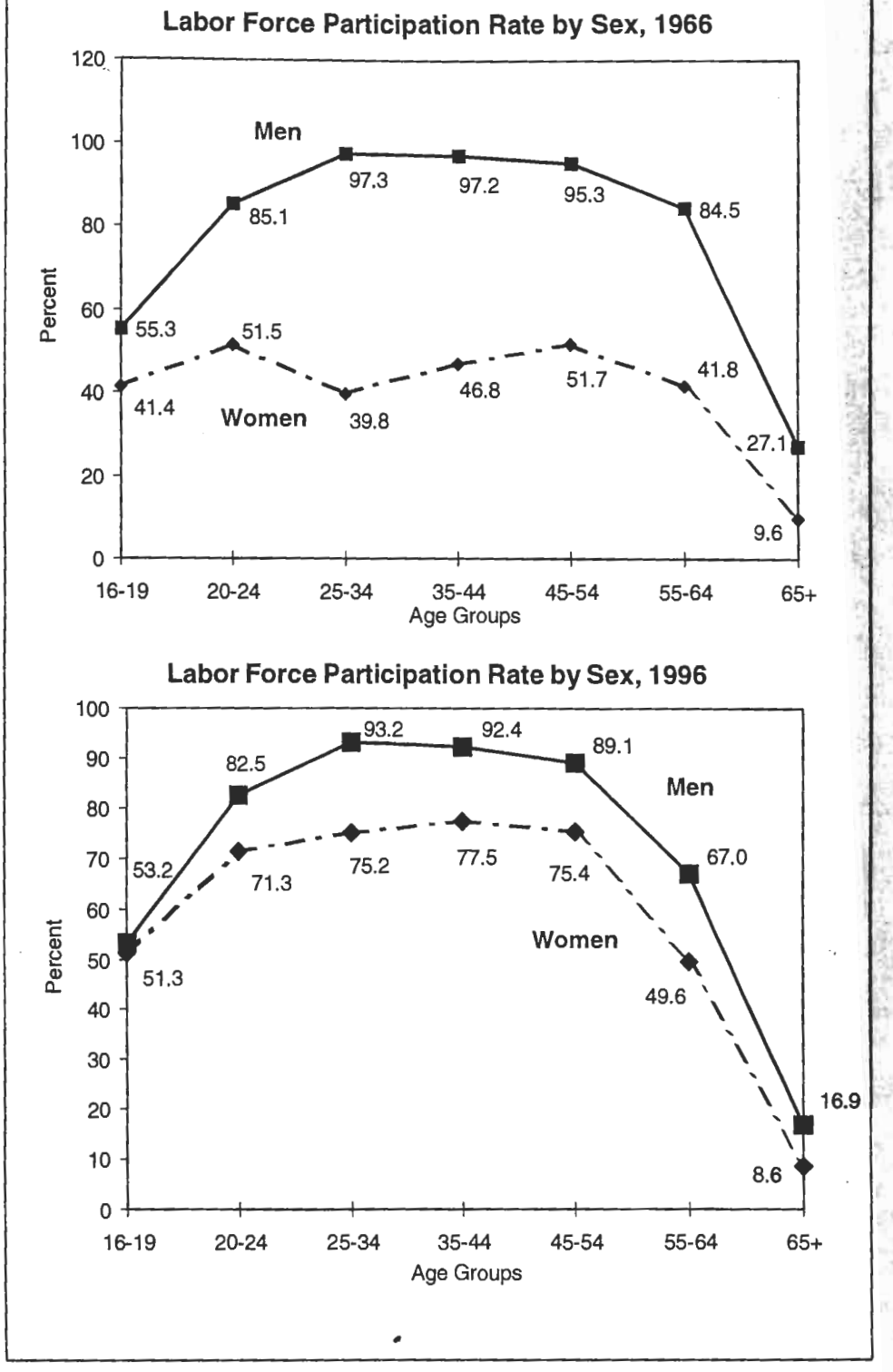
Dual-earner and single-mother families now constitute almost three-quarters of American families with children.

The result of these social forces was an increase in women's (and especially married women's) labor force participation.

This confluence of social change resulted in the dual-career couple replacing the male breadwinner/housewife model as the typical family arrangement. In fact, dual-earner and single-mother families now constitute almost three-quarters of American families with children. In two-thirds of married-couple families with children, both parents are in the labor force. These societal changes also resulted in a significantly higher proportion of single-parent families as well as single men and women without children. In 1994, families maintained by single women with children represented almost one-quarter of all families with children—up from 15% in 1975 (Costello and Krimgold 1996). Today, only one out of five married couples with children fits into the traditional breadwinner/housewife model, marking its end as the dominant family type.

As **Figure 1** shows, not only has women's labor force participation rate increased dramatically over the last 30 years, but the pattern of their participation has shifted from a bi-modal curve (with a significant drop in labor force participation during the child-bearing years) to a curve that more closely mirrors men's. According to sociologist Phyllis Moen:

FIGURE 1


Labor Force Participation Rate by Sex, 1966
Percent
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Men
Women
55.3
85.1
97.3
97.2
95.3
84.5
41.4
51.5
39.8
46.8
51.7
41.8
27.1
9.6
16-19
20-24
25-34
35-44
45-54
55-64
65+
Age Groups
Labor Force Participation Rate by Sex, 1996
Percent
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Men
Women
53.2
82.5
93.2
92.4
89.1
67.0
51.3
71.3
75.2
77.5
75.4
49.6
16.9
8.6
16-19
20-24
25-34
35-44
45-54
55-64
65+
Age Groups

> Women's growing recognition of the disruptive effects of leaving and later reentering employment in pay, job security, and career advancement has resulted in a steady decline, since the 1950s, in the amount of time they spend out of the labor force while their children are young. (Moen 1992, 38)

These professional sacrifices have prompted most women to continue working through their childbearing years: by 1996, seven out of 10 mothers with children under age 18 and more than six out of 10 mothers with children under age 6 were in the labor force.

By 1996, seven out of 10 mothers with children under age 18 and more than six out of 10 mothers with children under age 6 were in the labor force.

But the increase in mothers' hours of paid work has not been accompanied by an equal increase in husbands' participation in housework and child care (Fuchs 1988). According to sociologist Scott Coltrane:

> Since the 1970s, men have roughly doubled their contributions to the inside household chores of cooking, cleaning and washing (from about two to three hours per week to about five to eight hours per week). Nevertheless, men still do only about one-third as much as their wives. (Coltrane 1997, 34)

Since the classic work by the Rapoports (1965), researchers have consistently shown that women are the primary jugglers of work and family demands in dual-earner families. A recent survey by the Families and Work Institute further substantiates this view in its finding that control over hours is more important to mothers than to fathers (Galinsky and Bond 1996). A Harris Poll that showed more women than men want greater flexibility in their jobs also supports this finding (Harris Poll, *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1995). This desire for greater work schedule flexibility makes sense upon realizing that the typical wife in a dual-income household spends more than 20 hours per week doing housework and child care, while her husband spends five hours or less. According to the Families and Work Institute survey, mothers are conspicuously more likely than fathers to be responsible for cooking (83% to 11%), cleaning (81% to 6%), shopping (89% to 11%), and bill paying (67% to 33%). Other research suggests that the more time a man spends at work and the higher his income, the less time he devotes to housework and child care (Hood 1983). Ironically, according to some studies, men are more likely than women to bring family stress to the workplace, and may avoid stress by spending less time with their families (Barnett and Marshall 1992).

Even though married mothers' housework and child-care activities can be partially replaced through hired labor and purchased services, research suggests that married mothers still bear the time-consuming responsibility for setting up and monitoring these arrangements (Hochschild 1997). Unfortunately, single mothers

probably lack the financial resources that would allow them to consider nonstandard arrangements as a means of juggling these demands and obligations.

Nonstandard work arrangements have regularly been considered a viable way to balance work and family needs. Some research suggests that women choose certain nonstandard work arrangements because the arrangements allow them to better meet their competing work and family obligations. Some observers argue that the growth in nonstandard work arrangements reflects the preferences of workers with family obligations (especially married women), academic responsibilities, or post-retirement desires for flexible or reduced work hours. This perspective suggests that workers want nonstandard work arrangements because they allow them to accommodate work and family responsibilities, avoid economic dependence on a spouse, pursue an education, phase into retirement, or supplement retirement income (Christensen and Staines 1990; Ferber and O'Farrell 1991). For those women who choose to work part time or at home, some economists suggest these arrangements may be borne of a desire for children or are a means of allowing husbands to fully pursue careers. In Fuch's words:

Surprisingly, new research suggests that, like men, working mothers do not take advantage of flex-time and "family-friendly" policies when offered.

> The hypothesis most consistent with the facts is that, on average, women have a stronger demand for children than men do and have more concern for their children after they are born. In short, there is a difference on the side of preferences and this difference is a major source of women's economic disadvantage. (Fuchs 1988, 68)

Recent polling data suggest that a slight majority of working women (56%) want more flexibility (or at least a more limited time commitment) in their jobs and would work part time if they could afford to do so. But the "mommy track" stigma continues to haunt working women, particularly managers and professionals, who choose flextime options in order to juggle family and work (Catalyst 1993). As for working fathers, research has consistently shown that they do not take advantage of "family-friendly" policies, not only because business culture reinforces the notion that they need to work long hours in order to succeed, but also because supervisors are often unsympathetic to men's needs for family time (Pleck 1993). Some argue that in order to keep men attached to the family, they need the status or role of breadwinner (Popenoe 1996). Surprisingly, new research suggests that, like men, working mothers do not take advantage of flex-time and "family-friendly" policies when offered, not only because of a need to impress supervisors with long hours, but also because they find market-based work more rewarding and comfortable than staying home to care for the family (Hochschild 1997; Perlow 1997). If nonstandard work arrangements do all the things they promise—provide workers with additional choices, avoid reinforcing race and gender inequalities, maintain or en-

hance economic productivity—then they are indeed a positive trend. Many observers, however, are concerned about the growth in nonstandard jobs, especially since most do not provide adequate pay, fringe benefits, job security, or career opportunities, even when they are sought out and taken voluntarily (Appelbaum 1992; Barker 1993; Catalyst 1993; Tilly 1996).

These trends are especially pronounced among women employed as managers and professionals, who are more likely to be married than women employed in administrative support, service, and sales occupations (more than six out of 10, compared with less than half in administrative support, sales, and service occupations). The husbands of women working as managers and professionals take on a greater share of household tasks, but this is principally because managerial and professional women do less housework than their counterparts in other occupations (Presser 1994). But despite a reported desire for more family time, most managers and professionals are spending more time at work: one-third of fathers and one-fifth of mothers in a Fortune 500 company call themselves "workaholics" (Hochschild 1997).

THE CHANGING WORLD OF WORK

Some analysts argue that the growth in nonstandard work has little to do with employees' wishes for flexibility, but instead stems from employers' drive to reduce labor costs through increased flexibility in the size and composition of their workforces, with employees' desire to balance work and family a secondary concern at most.

Employers' use of nonstandard workers is no longer limited to the stereotypical clerical temp.

For these observers, the growth in NSWAs among managers, professionals, and other workers results from larger trends in the economy and the labor force. First, employers are dismantling the internal labor markets that formed a cornerstone of American employment relations during the past half-century. In the 1980s and 1990s, growing international competition and rapid technological change encouraged American companies to restructure employment relations by downsizing and otherwise abandoning key elements of their human resource systems. In addition, the temporary help industry grew simultaneously with married women's participation in the labor force, providing what human resource professionals considered a suitable workforce for these positions (Golden 1996). More casual and often shorter-term linkages characterize the new employment relationships that emerged between employers and employees, with external labor markets assuming greater importance. In R.M. Kanter's words:

> Companies increasingly contract out for ancillary labor-intensive services they once performed in-house....Temps from agencies are used...by small and large companies alike: to augment peak seasons, for special events, for unusually large orders, and to maintain flexibility in an uncertain production environment. (Kanter 1995, 151)

Employers' use of nonstandard workers is no longer limited to the stereotypical clerical temp, but now encompasses highly skilled occupations such as engineering, computer programming, accounting, law, and other white-collar professions. The growth in NSWAs and the dismantling of internal labor markets has profoundly affected professionals, managers, and other workers, resulting in reductions in salaries and benefits, flattened career trajectories, greater stress, and lower morale (Heckscher 1995).

Nonstandard arrangements are expected to grow in number as more companies adopt the strategy of staffing their "core competencies" with standard workers and outsourcing or using nonstandard workers for other "non-core" functions (Yessne 1997). According to an interview with economist Alan Krueger in the *New York Times*:

> Many companies don't want to lose experienced people and they don't want to keep them on expensive career tracks, so they have come up with the contract-worker status for ex-employees. And that is an important step that companies are taking toward rewriting the implicit contract that bound them to their workers. (Uchitelle 1996)

As companies restructure by downsizing their regular full-time staffs and outsourcing other functions, the availability of family-friendly policies are increased for the remaining core of workers, who often face longer hours, diminished morale, and greater stress (Scott 1995). In contrast, those employed in nonstandard work arrangements as temps, on-call workers, and independent contractors are unlikely to have access to these family-friendly benefits (Christensen 1989).

WHO WORKS IN THE VARIOUS ARRANGEMENTS?

About one-quarter of male managers and one-fifth of female managers work in nonstandard arrangements.

In February 1995, more than 16 million U.S. workers were employed as executives, administrators, or managers (about 14% of all workers), and almost 18 million more (another 15.2% of all workers) were employed in professional occupations such as teachers, lawyers, judges, computer specialists, registered nurses, editors, and reporters. Most managers and professionals are employed in full-time, year-round jobs, regardless of gender, race, or family status. Managers are the occupational group most likely to have regular full-time jobs (75.7%), followed by professionals (71.9%) and by "other" white-collar occupations (68.7%, including technical, sales, and clerical workers). (See Table 2.) This high rate of employment in standard jobs is true for both men and women (**Table 4**). In fact, women in managerial occupations are the group most likely to be in regular full-time jobs (eight out of 10).

Although most managers work in regular full-time arrangements, about one-quarter of male managers and one-fifth of female managers work in nonstandard arrangements. The largest categories of managers and professionals in nonstandard arrangements are self-employed male managers (22.7% including self-employed independent contractors) and part-time female professionals (18.0%). Only a small percentage of managers (1.6% of females; 2.6% of males) are employed as temporary help, on-call workers, day laborers, contract workers, or wage-and-salary independent contractors. In comparison to the workforce as a whole, 29.4% of workers are in nonstandard arrangements: 13.7% in regular part-time work, 11.1% in self-employment, and 4.6% in the other NSWAs (see Table 1).

Women managers, like their male counterparts, are far less likely than workers in other occupations to work part time or to be employed by temporary help agencies as on-call workers or day laborers, or by contract companies. Just 8.0% of women working as managers and 18.0% as professionals are in regular part-time work as compared with 21.3% of all working women. Like male managers in nonstandard arrangements, women managers in NSWAs are also more likely to be self-employed managing their own businesses. Even so, women managers are more than four times as likely as their male counterparts to work part time (8.0% as compared with 1.7%). Female and male managers in nonstandard arrangements most commonly fall in the category "Manager or administrator, not elsewhere classified," as titled by the Census. For both men and women, this category is also the most common for those in regular full-time managerial jobs as well (See Table 3).

Nearly a third of women in professional occupations and a quarter of male

TABLE 4
Occupational Group by Sex and Work Arrangement (%)

Work Arrangement	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	Total
Female					
Regular Part-Time	8.0%	18.0%	23.3%	26.7%	21.3%
Temporary Help Agency	0.5	0.6	1.4	1.3	1.1
On-Call/Day Labor	0.4	3.3	1.1	2.2	1.7
Self-Employment	6.9	2.4	4.2	6.1	4.8
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.3	1.0	0.8	1.3	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	3.9	4.4	2.8	4.7	3.7
Contract Company	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.8	0.8
All Nonstandard	20.4%	31.0%	34.2%	43.1%	34.3%
Regular Full-Time	79.5	69.0	65.9	57.1	65.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Share of Employment	12.9%	17.6%	41.7%	27.7%	100%
Male					
Regular Part-Time	1.7%	5.7%	9.6%	8.0%	7.1%
Temporary Help Agency	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.8
On-Call/Day Labor	0.3	1.0	0.5	2.4	1.5
Self-Employment	11.3	6.4	7.2	4.2	6.1
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.8	1.5	1.4	0.5	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	11.4	7.3	6.1	6.6	7.3
Contract Company	1.1	2.4	0.8	1.7	1.6
All Nonstandard	27.0%	24.8%	26.3%	24.5%	25.3%
Regular Full-Time	73.0	75.3	73.8	75.4	74.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Share of Employment	14.9%	13.1%	20.2%	51.8%	100%

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment

professionals work in nonstandard employment (see Table 4). The most common occupation for male professionals in nonstandard work arrangements is lawyer; for women it is teacher and nurse (Table 3). As with male managers, male professionals are more likely than their female counterparts to be employed as independent contractors or to be self-employed. Women professionals are substantially more likely than professional men or managers of either sex to be employed in part-time arrangements (almost one in five). But male professionals are more likely to be employed part-time than are male managers (5.7% versus 1.7%).

Differences by Race, Gender, and Family Structure

When the two occupational categories are combined, those most likely to be managers or professionals are white women, followed by white men (who are most likely to be managers), blacks of either sex, and finally Hispanics of either sex, who are the least likely to be professionals and managers (**Table 5**).

In each occupation group, nonwhite men are more likely than white men to work in regular full-time jobs (i.e., nonwhites are less likely to work in nonstandard arrangements).[3] (See **Table 6**.) Whites (and especially white men) are more often than their nonwhite counterparts self-employed or self-employed independent contractors. Nonwhite men are more likely than whites to work in regular part-time jobs in which, on average, hourly pay is lower than that of a regular full-time job. Nonwhite workers are less likely than whites to work in regular part-time jobs.

Nonwhite men are more likely than whites to work in regular part-time jobs in which, on average, hourly pay is lower than that of a regular full-time job.

Family structure is the result of many people voting with their feet, even though the freedom to vote in this manner is constrained or encouraged by economic conditions, public policy, and social norms. During the 1980s, family structure continued to undergo dramatic changes. These changes took many forms and included the near tripling of extra-marital births between 1970 and 1990 (from 11% to 30% of all births), the continued high divorce rate (the Census Bureau estimates that half of all marriages since 1970 could end in divorce), and the continued growth of mothers' labor force participation (married mothers increased their labor force participation from 39.7% in 1970 to 69% in 1994) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1996). As discussed earlier, families with children saw even more changes, including the rise of the dual-earner family as the dominant family type, the precipitous decline of the two-parent, single-earner family, and the increase in single-parent families. During this period, the proportions of adults remaining single and of married couples choosing not to have children steadily climbed. **Table 7A** shows the variations in the type of work arrangement among male and female managers and professionals in various types of families. Regular, full-time employment is the most typical work experience for all managers and professionals—even for professional women, who are more likely than managers to work in nonstandard arrangements (see Table 4). Even so, 59.4% of female professionals with children in dual-earner families have regular, full-time jobs (see **Table 7B**).

The family structure of managers and professionals reflects the general trend away from the male breadwinner model (see Table 7A). For men, fathers in dual-earner families are the largest group of managers and professionals, representing nearly three out of 10 in these occupational categories. Only about half as many fathers (less than 14%) are their family's sole earner. Among women professionals, 35.4% are mothers living with employed spouses (the largest category of women

TABLE 5
Work Arrangements and Occupations, by Race/Ethnicity and Sex (%)

Work Arrangement	White	Black	Hispanic	Other Race	Total
Female					
Regular Part-Time	21.9%	17.7%	21.8%	19.7%	21.3%
Temporary Help Agency	1.0	1.8	1.1	1.3	1.1
On-Call/Day Labor	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.7
Self-Employment	5.5	1.3	2.7	5.0	4.8
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.9	0.6	1.2	1.2	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	4.3	1.5	1.8	3.6	3.7
Contract Company	0.7	0.6	1.1	1.0	0.8
All Nonstandard	36.0%	25.0%	31.4%	33.6%	34.3%
Regular Full-Time	64.0	75.0	68.7	66.5	65.7
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Managerial	13.8%	9.2%	8.8%	14.1%	12.9%
Professional	19.1	12.5	9.6	20.3	17.6
Other White-Collar	42.5	38.7	40.7	34.6	41.7
Blue-Collar	24.5	39.6	40.9	31.0	27.7
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Share of Employment	77.7%	11.8%	7.5%	3.0%	100%
Male					
Regular Part-Time	6.7%	8.5%	8.5%	9.3%	7.1%
Temporary Help Agency	0.6	2.1	1.4	0.7	0.8
On-Call/Day Labor	1.3	1.8	3.0	1.5	1.5
Self-Employment	7.0	1.7	3.5	6.0	6.1
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	8.2	3.3	4.4	4.6	7.3
Contract Company	1.5	1.6	1.5	2.3	1.6
All Nonstandard	26.2%	19.7%	22.9%	25.3%	25.3%
Regular Full-Time	73.7	80.4	77.1	74.6	74.7
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Managerial	16.6%	9.4%	7.0%	12.4%	14.9%
Professional	14.4	7.8	5.0	21.5	13.1
Other White-Collar	21.0	17.2	15.8	21.7	20.2
Blue-Collar	47.9	65.6	72.2	44.5	51.8
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Share of Employment	77.9%	9.5%	9.6%	3.0%	100%

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment

TABLE 6
Work Arrangement, by Race/Ethnicity, Occupational Group, and Sex (%)

	Female					Male				
Work Arrangement	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	Total	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	Total
White										
Regular Part-Time	8.2%	18.4%	23.8%	29.0%	21.9%	1.5%	5.6%	9.3%	7.7%	6.7%
Temporary Help Agency	0.5	0.5	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.6
On-Call/Day Labor	0.5	3.5	1.0	2.2	1.7	0.3	1.1	0.5	2.0	1.3
Self-Employment	7.2	2.6	4.8	7.9	5.5	11.6	6.6	7.8	5.2	7.0
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.4	0.9	0.9	1.4	0.9	0.8	1.6	1.4	0.5	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	4.3	4.8	3.2	5.8	4.3	12.1	7.4	6.9	7.7	8.2
Contract Company	0.5	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.1	2.4	0.7	1.8	1.5
All Nonstandard	21.6%	32.0%	35.6%	48.0%	36.0%	27.9%	25.1%	27.2%	25.7%	26.2%
Regular Full-Time	78.6	67.9	64.5	51.9	64.0	72.1	74.8	72.7	74.4	73.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Nonwhite										
Regular Part-Time	7.1%	15.5%	21.4%	21.5%	19.3%	3.4%	6.5%	10.7%	9.0%	8.6%
Temporary Help Agency	0.7	0.9	1.7	1.7	1.5	0.2	0.8	1.0	2.1	1.6
On-Call/Day Labor	0.3	2.5	1.1	2.2	1.6	0.0	0.4	0.3	3.4	2.3
Self-Employment	5.4	1.2	2.0	2.0	2.2	9.1	4.8	4.6	1.6	3.1
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.2	1.4	0.7	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.5	0.7
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	2.3	2.7	1.2	2.2	1.9	6.2	6.4	2.3	3.8	4.0
Contract Company	0.2	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.8	1.2	2.5	1.1	1.7	1.6
All Nonstandard	16.2%	25.3%	28.8%	31.7%	28.2%	21.1%	22.3%	21.0%	22.1%	21.9%
Regular Full-Time	83.7	74.8	71.2	68.3	71.7	78.9	77.8	78.8	77.9	78.2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

[a] Wage and Salary

[b] Self-Employment

Table 7A
Family Type for Managers and Professionals, by Work Arrangement and Sex

Family Type	Regular Part-Time	Temporary Help Agency	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	All Nonstandard	Regular Full-Time	Total
Female Managers									
Single									
No Children	21.8%	41.2%	42.9%	14.2%	18.7%	50.0%	20.2%	30.6%	28.5%
With Children	5.7	11.8	7.1	4.4	5.8	12.5	5.6	8.9	8.2
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	7.6	5.9	14.3	4.4	3.6	6.3	5.8	4.5	4.7
With Children	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.4	5.0	0.0	2.1	3.4	3.1
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	21.4	11.8	14.3	36.4	36.0	12.5	28.8	27.9	28.1
With Children	41.2	29.4	21.4	40.0	30.9	18.8	37.4	24.8	27.4
Total for Female Managers	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Male Managers									
Single									
No Children	55.3%	47.4%	50.0%	16.7%	18.7%	32.0%	21.5%	22.4%	22.2%
With Children	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	3.2	0.0	2.4	1.8	2.0
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	9.2	0.0	16.7	6.9	9.5	8.0	8.2	7.7	7.9
With Children	1.3	5.3	8.3	14.9	10.8	16.0	12.0	14.5	13.9
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	26.3	31.6	8.3	27.8	27.1	18.0	26.9	23.0	24.0
With Children	7.9	15.8	16.7	31.3	30.7	26.0	28.9	30.5	30.1
Total for Male Managers	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Female Professionals									
Single									
No Children	20.4%	42.3%	21.3%	19.6%	19.8%	37.3%	21.5%	29.4%	26.9%
With Children	6.7	3.8	7.3	4.7	10.3	11.9	7.4	8.3	8.0
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	3.1	15.4	5.3	2.8	5.4	5.1	4.0	4.7	4.5
With Children	1.7	0.0	5.3	1.9	2.5	1.7	2.2	3.1	2.8
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	15.8	19.2	20.7	22.4	25.2	15.3	18.5	24.1	22.3
With Children	52.3	19.2	40.0	48.6	36.8	28.8	46.4	30.5	35.4
Total for Female Professionals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Male Professionals									
Single									
No Children	59.6%	55.6%	44.7%	14.2%	28.3%	31.9%	33.5%	25.5%	27.5%
With Children	2.7	0.0	2.6	1.2	0.9	1.1	1.5	1.2	1.3
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	4.0	0.0	10.5	8.9	6.5	14.9	7.4	8.0	7.8
With Children	4.9	22.2	15.8	21.9	10.9	10.6	12.7	13.4	13.3
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	17.9	16.7	13.2	21.1	27.1	26.6	22.6	22.1	22.2
With Children	10.8	5.6	13.2	32.8	26.3	14.9	22.3	29.8	28.0
Total for Male Professionals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7B
Family Type for Managers & Professionals, by Work Arrangement and Sex (%)

Family Type	Regular Part-Time	Temporary Help Agency	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	All Nonstandard	Regular Full-Time	Total
Female Managers									
Single									
No Children	6.1%	0.8%	0.6%	3.4%	2.8%	0.9%	14.6%	85.4%	100%
With Children	5.6	0.7	0.4	3.7	3.0	0.7	14.1%	85.9	100%
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	12.9	0.6	1.3	6.5	3.2	0.6	25.2%	74.8	100%
With Children	5.9	0.0	0.0	1.0	6.9	0.0	13.7%	86.3	100%
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	6.1	0.2	0.2	8.9	5.4	0.2	21.1%	78.9	100%
With Children	12.0	0.6	0.3	10.0	4.8	0.3	28.1%	71.9	100%
Total for Female Managers	7.7%	0.0%	0.4%	6.9%	4.2%	0.5%	19.7%	79.5%	100%
Male Managers									
Single									
No Children	4.3%	0.9%	0.6%	8.5%	10.3%	1.6%	26.3%	73.7%	100%
With Children	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.6	19.3	0.0	33.0%	67.0	100%
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	2.0	0.0	0.6	9.8	14.7	1.2	28.3%	71.7	100%
With Children	0.2	0.2	0.2	12.2	9.5	1.3	23.5%	76.5	100%
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	1.9	0.6	0.1	13.1	13.7	0.9	30.2%	69.8	100%
With Children	0.5	0.2	0.2	11.7	12.4	1.0	26.0%	74.0	100%
Total for Male Managers	1.7%	0.4%	0.3%	11.3%	12.2%	1.1%	27.0%	73.0%	100%
Female Professionals									
Single									
No Children	13.6%	0.9%	2.7%	1.7%	4.0%	1.8%	24.7%	75.3%	100%
With Children	15.0	0.3	3.1	1.4	7.0	1.9	28.7%	71.3	100%
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	12.5	2.0	4.0	1.5	6.5	1.5	28.0%	72.0	100%
With Children	11.0	0.0	6.3	1.6	4.7	0.8	24.4%	75.6	100%
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	12.7	0.5	3.1	2.4	6.1	0.9	25.7%	74.3	100%
With Children	26.5	0.3	3.8	3.3	5.6	1.1	40.6%	59.4	100%
Total for Female Profess.	18.0%	0.6%	3.3%	2.4%	5.4%	1.3%	31.0%	69.0	100%
Male Professionals									
Single									
No Children	12.5%	0.9%	1.6%	3.3%	9.0%	2.8%	30.2%	69.8%	100%
With Children	12.2	0.0	2.0	6.1	6.1	2.0	28.6%	71.4	100%
Married, Single Earner									
No Children	3.0	0.0	1.3	7.3	7.3	4.6	23.4%	76.6	100%
With Children	2.1	0.8	1.2	10.5	7.2	1.9	23.7%	76.3	100%
Married, Dual-Earners									
No Children	4.6	0.3	0.6	6.0	10.7	2.9	25.2%	74.8	100%
With Children	2.2	0.1	0.5	7.5	8.2	1.3	19.8%	80.2	100%
Total for Male Professionals	5.8%	0.5%	1.0%	6.4%	8.8%	2.4%	24.8%	75.2%	100%

professionals). Many of these women are employed as teachers, an occupation traditionally held by women, in theory, to provide a schedule compatible with mothering school-age children (see Table 3). In contrast, managerial women are less likely to have a working spouse or children at home (27.4%). This latter finding is consistent with those of other investigators who have found that, despite women's inroads into management, this occupation is still less hospitable for those with family demands (Catalyst 1993).

Single mothers, who often experience the greatest career versus family conflicts, are underrepresented among managers and professionals. Somewhat fewer than one in 10 professional and managerial women are single mothers—a smaller share than in the population at large.

Somewhat fewer than one in 10 professional and managerial women are single mothers — a smaller share than in the population at large.

Fathers who are managers and professionals are over-represented among the self-employed. As with mothers, marriage to an employed spouse increases fathers' likelihood of self-employment. Married men without children tend to be over-represented among independent contractors. Single men without children are over-represented as temporary, on-call, and regular part-time workers, suggesting they are exploring or attempting to gain a foothold in professional and managerial occupations, perhaps while still in school.

Married mothers with employed spouses are substantially over-represented among part-time workers (especially professionals) and are over-represented among the self-employed as well. Married women in dual-earner families without children are substantially over-represented among independent contractors and the self-employed. As we will see, many of these women are older. Like their male counterparts, single women are over-represented as temps and on-call workers, but, unlike men, they are not over-represented as part-time workers.

When we control for other personal and job characteristics we find that being married or having children reduces the odds that a man will work in a regular part-time job, but otherwise has little affect on the type of work arrangements in which men are employed. For women, being married or having children increases the odds of working as a self-employed independent contractor, and mothers who are married with children or an employed spouse are more likely to work in regular part-time jobs (see **Tables 8A** and **8B**).[4] For men and women, having an employed spouse increases the odds of being self-employed or a self-employed independent contractor. Blacks and Hispanics are less likely to be self-employed or independent contractors, regardless of gender. Professionals, both male and female, are much more likely than other white-collar workers to be on-call or contract workers.

TABLE 8A
Predictors of Work Arrangement, Women (Odds Ratio)

	Regular Part-Time	Temporary Help Agency	On-Call/ Day Labor	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting-WS [a]	Independent Contracting-SE [b]	Contract Company
Occupation							
Managers	0.38***	0.25***	0.38***	1.34**	0.28***	1.02	0.89
Professionals	0.87	0.48**	3.32***	0.59***	0.82	1.33*	2.48**
Blue-Collar Workers	1.39***	0.86	2.86***	1.92***	1.65**	2.71***	2.77**
Demographics							
Age	0.99***	0.97***	1.00	1.05***	1.03***	1.05***	0.97***
Black	0.63***	1.49*	0.60**	0.31***	0.46**	0.40***	0.49**
Hispanic	0.77***	0.59	0.69	0.49***	0.64	0.35***	1.14
Other	0.89	0.87	0.80	0.60**	0.59	0.60*	0.99
Married	0.90	1.28	0.94	0.84	1.15	1.54**	0.73
Spouse Employed	1.22**	0.76	1.17	3.33***	1.17	1.54***	0.98
Children	0.81	1.32	0.81	1.06	1.42	1.67***	0.78
Married *and* Children [c]	1.33***	1.00	1.25*	1.48**	1.62	2.37	0.64
Born in the U.S.	0.86*	1.67*	1.23	1.29*	1.18	0.79	1.22
Education							
Less than High School	1.55***	1.29	0.90	1.03	0.51*	0.80	1.18
Some College	1.50***	1.16	1.12	1.43***	1.78**	1.59***	1.55
Associate Degree	1.14***	0.72	0.99	1.61***	1.40	1.66***	1.67
College Degree	0.84*	1.37	0.90	1.48***	2.51***	1.83***	1.14
Post-B.A.	0.55***	0.67	0.22***	1.43*	3.33***	2.44***	1.12
Region							
Midwest	0.86**	1.61*	1.03	1.28*	0.75	0.70***	0.90
South	0.59***	1.20	0.94	1.13	1.01	0.85	1.34
West	0.76***	1.44	1.43*	1.54***	1.39	1.3296**	1.03
Industry							
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing	9.00***	0.01	6.83***	69.34***	0.07	19.72***	2.77
Mining	1.06	1.47	0.07	3.46*	0.08	4.32*	11.73*
Construction	4.41***	1.01	2.78	11.97***	4.56*	16.22***	2.36
Transportation	2.81***	0.55	5.03***	2.12***	3.38**	1.78*	4.73**
Wholesale Trade	2.47***	0.57	5.99***	6.39***	1.19	2.96***	3.12
Retail Trade	10.38***	0.29***	4.97***	7.38***	1.68	5.81***	1.01
Finance, Real Estate	2.55***	0.66	2.43*	1.96***	7.60***	3.68***	3.60**
Private Households	16.02***	1.54	15.63***	0.01		13.35***	6.47**
Business, Repair Services	5.13***	4.29***	6.69***	8.43***	6.54***	25.49***	16.64***
Personal Service	7.11***	0.24	5.11***	11.47***	5.424***	14.46***	1.02
Entertainment, Recreational	11.22***	0.49	8.68***	6.07***	11.88***	13.95***	3.40
Professional Services	6.20***	0.35***	6.92***	2.19***	1.99	2.06***	4.79***
Public Administration	1.64***	0.22**	2.49*	0.01	1.65	0.01	4.84**

[a] Wage and Salary

[b] Self-Employment

[c] Odds ratio is net of both direct and interaction effects.

* 0.01 < p <= 0.05
** 0.001 < p <= 0.01
*** p <= 0.001

TABLE 8B
Predictors of Work Arrangement, Men (Odds Ratio)

	Regular Part-Time	Temporary Help Agency	On-Call/ Day Labor	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting-WS [a]	Independent Contracting-SE [b]	Contract Company
Occupation							
Managers	0.37***	0.59	0.70	1.56***	0.42**	1.26**	1.27
Professionals	0.83	0.70	2.57***	1.00	0.77	1.13	2.36***
Blue-Collar Workers	1.07	0.99	2.81***	0.47***	0.43***	0.70***	1.77**
Demographics							
Age	0.96***	0.96***	1.00	1.05***	1.02***	1.05***	0.97***
Black	1.02	2.64***	1.16	0.34***	0.96	0.52***	1.03
Hispanic	0.88	1.72	1.04	0.51***	0.82	0.46***	0.62
Other	1.28	1.19	1.08	0.80	0.74	0.61**	1.22
Married	0.72**	0.78	0.71	0.87	0.78	0.81*	1.10
Spouse Employed	0.76**	0.76	0.72	1.38***	1.15	1.26***	0.86
Children	0.33***	1.11	0.96	1.43	0.76	1.44*	0.61
Married *and* Children [c]	0.29	0.44	0.58	1.17	0.48	0.97	0.83
Born in the U.S.	0.81*	0.90	1.42	1.10	1.16	1.01	1.03
Education							
Less than High School	2.96***	1.46	1.17	0.83	0.54	0.88	0.93
Some College	2.51***	1.41	1.06	1.07	1.41	1.12	1.31
Associate Degree	1.33*	1.25	1.23	0.69**	1.14	1.13	1.27
College Degree	0.98	1.21	0.72	1.01	1.90**	1.12	0.99
Post-B.A.	1.18	1.37	0.30**	1.37**	2.33**	1.12	1.09
Region							
Midwest	0.95	0.91	0.95	1.09	1.25	0.81**	1.08
South	0.73***	0.86	0.76	0.97	1.28	0.87**	1.32
West	0.88	0.99	1.29	1.06	1.49*	1.04	1.63**
Industry							
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	3.36***	0.25	10.86***	77.62***	11.33***	33.96***	2.65**
Mining	1.39	0.59	4.08**	0.87	0.03	1.00	3.72***
Construction	1.43*	0.31***	11.96***	3.85***	11.59***	29.83***	3.65***
Transportation	2.44***	0.42**	5.57***	1.04	1.33	3.11***	2.36***
Wholesale Trade	1.53*	0.35**	2.26*	3.87***	2.24*	3.17***	1.05
Retail Trade	6.83***	0.13***	2.34**	5.91***	1.65	3.60***	0.45**
Finance, Real Estate	2.57***	0.48	1.45	2.44***	7.13***	6.66***	1.77*
Private Households	42.89***	53.95***		0.00		27.60***	0.08
Business, Repair Services	3.67***	2.47***	5.27***	6.59***	3.34***	15.16***	5.27***
Personal Service	5.26***	0.25	3.61**	7.67***	3.2*	9.33***	0.66
Entertainment, Recreational	10.29***	0.20	9.22***	3.77***	9.76***	9.68***	0.63
Professional Services	8.08***	0.27***	4.43***	1.95***	2.02*	3.31***	2.05***
Public Administration	1.23	0.05**	2.05*	0.00**	0.13*	0.00*	1.38

[a] Wage and Salary

[b] Self-Employment

[c] Odds ratio is net of both direct and interaction effects.

* $0.01 < p <= 0.05$
** $0.001 < p <= 0.01$
*** $p <= 0.001$

THE COMPETING DEMANDS OF WORK AND FAMILY

We next investigate whether managers and professionals employed in nonstandard work arrangements appear to be successful in resolving the competing demands of work and family. These demands include conflicts over time and money. First, we examine whether employment in a nonstandard work arrangement appears to ameliorate the "time squeeze," a phrase that has gradually become part of our everyday language.

When compared to workers in standard jobs, not all nonstandard workers are likely to work fewer hours.

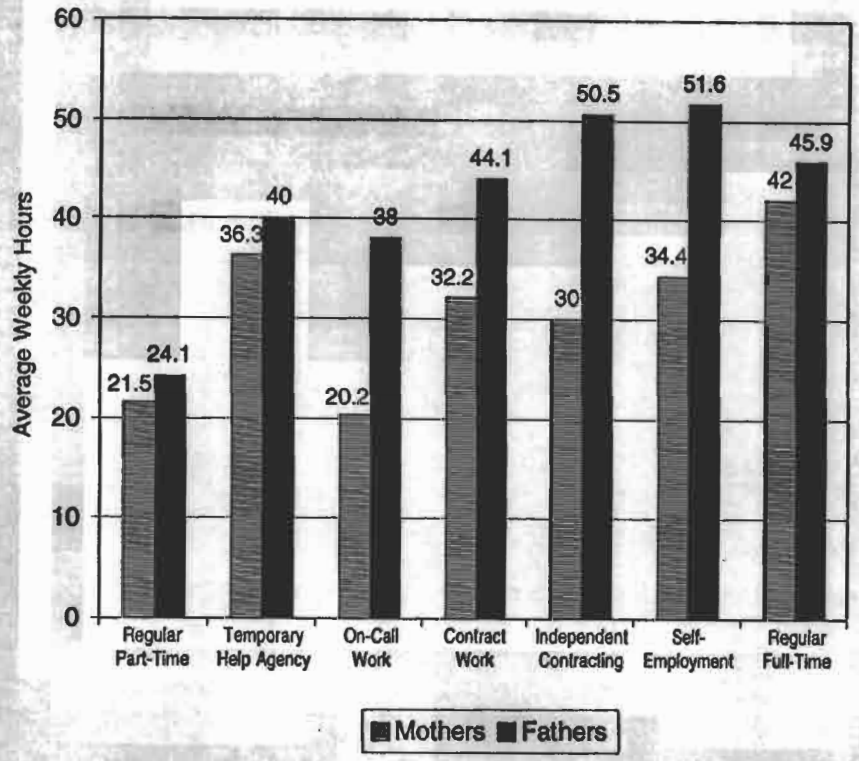
Our data does not allow us to determine whether employment in nonstandard work arrangements provides more flexibility or produces less tension and stress than regular full-time jobs. However, our data do show usual work hours, why workers are employed in particular work arrangements, whether they prefer this arrangement, and whether they recently have looked for another job. These data will allow us to explore whether workers in NSWAs are successful in balancing the competing demands of work and family.

Hours of Work

One of the supposed benefits of NSWAs is that they provide more time or greater flexibility to meet family obligations. When compared to workers in standard jobs, however, not all nonstandard workers are likely to work fewer hours. We began by examining the usual hours worked by managers and professionals in dual-earner families with children. We found that fathers in regular full-time jobs work an average of 45.9 hours per week, and mothers in this arrangement work an average of 42 hours per week (**Figure 2**). The greatest differences in hours worked by men and women are in independent contracting, on-call work, self-employment, and contract work. Fathers in dual-earner families who are either self-employed or independent contractors (92.6% of managers and 79.3% of professionals in nonstandard arrangements) work 51.6 and 50.5 hours a week, respectively, while mothers in these arrangements work just 34.4 and 30.0 hours per week. Independent contracting and self-employment do not appear to be strategies for fathers to reduce their work time. Although one could argue that these work arrangements may give fathers the flexibility to work at home and monitor children, we suggest that the additional hours typically worked by fathers in these arrangements (compared to regular full-time employment) reinforces their breadwinner rather than their caretaking role. The small number of fathers in temporary and on-call arrangements (and the somewhat larger number in part-time arrangements) work fewer hours than

FIGURE 2

Average Weekly Hours for Married, Dual-Earner Managers and Professionals



regular part-time workers. As we will see, these men tend to be single and less likely to encounter conflicts between work and family (although they may face conflicts between work and education).

Mothers in dual-earner families in all types of professional and managerial NSWAs work fewer hours per week, on average, than similar women in regular full-time jobs. Women employed in part-time standard jobs and as on-call workers work substantially fewer hours per week than their regular full-time counterparts (21.5 and 20.2 hours compared to 42 hours). As we have seen, these are arrangements that employ a large proportion of professional women and in which professionals who are mothers in dual-earner families are over-represented.

The data suggest that mothers in dual-earner marriages have reduced their hours of work through nonstandard work arrangements, even though fathers have not. Moreover, fathers in dual-earner marriages work more hours than their counterparts without children, while the reverse is true for women (data not shown).

Why Professionals and Managers Work in Nonstandard Arrangements

Workers seek or accept nonstandard jobs for a variety of reasons, which we categorize as voluntary reasons, family obligations, and "involuntary" reasons (i.e., acceptance of nonstandard arrangements due to a lack of regular full-time employment).[5] Of course, it is conceivable that workers may wish to work in nonstandard employment regardless of the reasons they accepted their jobs, so we have also examined whether workers in nonstandard work arrangements would prefer regular full-time employment over their nonstandard arrangements.

Managerial women who are self-employed or independent contractors are more inclined than women professionals to choose their arrangements for voluntary reasons.

As noted, the majority of men in nonstandard managerial and professional jobs are independent contractors or self-employed. More than three-quarters of these men voluntarily work in this nonstandard work arrangement (see **Table 9**); relatively few were self-employed or independent contractors because they could not find a regular job. In terms of preferences, those of male professionals and managers who are self-employed and independently contracted suggest that these men are generally satisfied—these arrangements have the smallest shares of workers that would prefer regular full-time jobs (see **Table 10**). Given the relatively long hours that they work, it seems unlikely that their work-arrangement satisfaction stems from an enhanced ability to balance work and family.

Men employed as part-time workers are somewhat less likely than their counterparts in independent contracting and self-employment to report their work arrangement as voluntary, although close to eight out of 10 still do. Unsurprisingly, it is men employed in temp and on-call arrangements who are the least likely to report that they are in these arrangements voluntarily (less than one in four); they tend to hold these jobs because they cannot find regular full-time work.

As we have seen, family obligations appear more important for explaining nonstandard work arrangements of managerial and professional women than they are for men. Women managers and professionals in NSWAs cite family obligations as the reason for choosing their work arrangements (e.g., 22.8% of managers who are independent contractors, 18% of self-employed managers, and approximately one-third of professionals who are independent contractors or self-employed) (see Table 9). However, like men, most managerial and professional women who are self-employed or independent contractors accept their arrangements voluntarily, and relatively few of them would prefer regular full-time work (see Table 10). Managerial women who are self-employed or independent contractors are more inclined than women professionals to choose their arrangements for voluntary reasons, rather than family ones.

As for female managers and professionals who hold regular part-time jobs,

TABLE 9
Workers' Reasons for Nonstandard Employment, by Work Arrangement, Occupation, and Sex

Occupation Group		Temporary Help Agency	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Regular Part-Time	Total
Women							
Managerial	*Voluntary*	57.1%	71.4%	80.7%	73.5%	32.1%	60.4%
	Economic	42.9%	21.4%	1.0%	3.7%	10.5%	6.7%
	Family		7.1%	18.3%	22.8%	57.4%	33.0%
Professional	*Voluntary*	50.0%	47.3%	66.3%	57.2%	32.9%	42.9%
	Economic	50.0%	42.7%	2.1%	7.9%	11.3%	15.0%
	Family		10.0%	31.6%	34.9%	55.8%	42.1%
Other White-Collar	*Voluntary*	35.2%	50.0%	63.5%	56.3%	41.6%	45.9%
	Economic	57.2%	40.9%	2.2%	2.8%	15.7%	15.5%
	Family	7.6%	9.1%	34.3%	40.9%	42.6%	38.5%
Blue-Collar	*Voluntary*	36.8%	46.6%	65.3%	58.0%	38.4%	45.1%
	Economic	60.9%	47.3%	2.5%	4.9%	23.3%	20.8%
	Family	2.3%	6.1%	32.2%	37.1%	38.3%	34.1%
Men							
Managerial	*Voluntary*	21.1%	58.3%	92.3%	85.2%	77.8%	86.4%
	Economic	78.9%	41.7%	1.3%	2.1%	20.4%	4.6%
	Family			6.4%	12.6%	1.9%	9.0%
Professional	*Voluntary*	23.5%	51.4%	90.6%	77.8%	79.8%	79.6%
	Economic	76.5%	48.6%	1.3%	6.0%	12.3%	9.4%
	Family			8.1%	16.2%	8.0%	11.0%
Other White-Collar	*Voluntary*	25.6%	39.3%	84.0%	77.6%	77.3%	77.1%
	Economic	74.4%	60.7%	1.5%	6.0%	20.7%	12.9%
	Family			14.6%	16.5%	2.1%	10.0%
Blue-Collar	*Voluntary*	18.6%	30.3%	84.2%	77.3%	63.1%	65.6%
	Economic	79.7%	68.3%	2.7%	6.4%	33.6%	25.3%
	Family	1.7%	1.4%	13.1%	16.4%	3.3%	9.1%

Note: "Economic" includes the following reasons: employer laid off and hired back as a nonstandard worker; only type of work that respondent could find; respondent hopes job will lead to permanent employment; and other economic reasons.

TABLE 10
Workers Who Would Prefer a Regular Job, by Nonstandard Work Arrangement, Occupation, and Sex (%)

Occupation Group	Regular Part-Time	Temporary Help Agency	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contractor	Total
Women						
Managerial	16.0%	54.5%	50.0%	7.7%	6.7%	12.4%
Professional	16.6	35.3	56.6	6.7	12.1	20.1%
Other White-Collar	23.1	66.4	61.1	10.8	11.7	23.3%
Blue-Collar	31.4	69.8	60.7	13.5	14.2	29.0%
Men						
Managerial	26.9%	55.6%	63.6%	2.8%	6.6%	7.4%
Professional	22.0	92.3	60.0	5.6	11.6	15.5%
Other White-Collar	27.7	83.8	81.5	6.2	8.8	18.3%
Blue-Collar	41.8	80.9	73.9	8.4	11.6	31.2%

more than half do so for family reasons. Female managers and professionals are more likely to hold regular part-time jobs for family reasons than are other white-collar or blue-collar women employed in regular part-time jobs. As we have seen, mothers in dual-earner families are the group most likely to work in part-time work arrangements (Table 7A). These findings all suggest that married mothers are taking these jobs because they are the true jugglers of work and family responsibilities.

On-call and temporary workers are the most likely of all nonstandard workers to want regular full-time work.

Preferences of Managerial and Professional Workers

Managers' and professionals' preferences for regular full-time employment are based on age, race/ethnicity, marital status, children, and type of nonstandard work arrangement. In order to examine how workers' characteristics influence their preferences, we estimated logistic regressions estimating workers' preferences for regular full-time employment (see **Table 11**). On average, workers in all occupations (not just managers and professionals) employed in all manner of arrangement are more likely than the self-employed (the group most satisfied with their work arrangement) to prefer regular full-time employment (the only exception being women who are self-employed independent contractors). On-call and temporary workers are the most likely of all nonstandard workers to want regular full-time work, reinforcing our conclusion that these workers are the least satisfied with their work arrangements. Among workers of all types, these two nonstandard arrangements apparently are least preferred.

The large proportion of managerial on-call workers who would prefer a regular full-time job—50.0% of women and 63.6% of men—testifies to this arrangement's shortcomings. (See Table 10). But on-call employment is more common among professionals than it is among managers (see Table 2). Among professionals, only 51.4% of the men and 47.3% of the women work on-call voluntarily.

Similarly, few managers or professionals work voluntarily as temps. More than three-fourths of males managers and professionals who work as temp managers or professionals accepted their jobs because they were unable to find regular work, and, among male temps, 55.6% of managers and 92.3% of professionals would prefer to work in a regular job. Managerial and professional women in temporary jobs are less likely than men to be involuntarily employed in these arrangements: 57.1% of managers and half of professionals voluntarily accepted this arrangement. Women managers working as temps are as likely as men to want regular jobs, but female professional temps are much less likely to want regular work than their male counterparts (35.3% as compared to 92.3%). Nevertheless, slightly more

TABLE 11
Workers' Preferences for Regular Full-Time Employment, by Sex (Odds Ratio)

Variable	Women	Men	Sex Difference Significance
Managerial Occupations	0.64*	0.73*	
Professional Occupations	0.82	0.85	
Blue-Collar Occupations	1.13	1.3	
Temporary Help Agency	12.37*	55.68*	#
On-Call/Day Labor	12.19*	37.88*	#
Independent Contracting-SE	1.04	1.62*	#
Regular Part-Time	2.41*	11.38*	#
Married	0.63*	1.03	#
Children Under 18 Present in the Family	1.89*	1.11	#
Married *and* Children [a]	0.50*	1.03	#
Black	1.76*	1.98*	
Hispanic	2.32*	1.96*	
Other Race	1.86*	1.24	#
Age 18 to 24	0.64*	0.41*	#
Age 45 to 54	0.86	1.05	
Age 55 to 64	0.47*	0.37*	
Some College or Associate Degree	0.64*	0.55*	
College Degree	0.76*	0.81*	
Post-B.A. Education	0.96	0.82	

* Significant at $p < 0.05$, one-tailed test.
\# Sex difference significant at $p < 0.05$, two-tailed test.
[a] Odds ratio is net of both direct and interaction effects.

than one-third of female professionals working as temps would prefer regular jobs.

When we control for personal and job characteristics (Table 11), family status influenced women's, but not men's, preferences for regular full-time work. Marriage and children had no effect on men's preferences, but being married and being married with children diminished women's preferences for regular full-time work, as indicated by their odds ratios of less than one (0.63 and 0.50). Single mothers had stronger preferences for regular employment, as seen in the odds ratio for children under 18 that approaches two (1.89).

Among workers with similar personal characteristics, managers of either sex are significantly less likely than workers in other white-collar occupations to pre-

fer regular employment. When considering only age, young workers (age 18 to 24) and older workers (age 55 to 64) were less likely to want regular full-time jobs than workers age 22-44. When taking into account ethnicity, blacks and Hispanics of both sexes are almost twice as likely as their white counterparts to prefer standard arrangements.

Job Search

The overwhelming majority of managerial and professional temps, on-call workers, and contract company employees who looked for work sought arrangements other than those they currently had.

A final indicator of workers' preferences is whether they are seeking employment. **Table 12** shows the share of managers and professionals in the various employment arrangements that looked for new jobs within the last three months. The table shows that about 5% to 6% of managers and professionals who worked in regular full-time arrangements for more than three months, regardless of gender, had been looking for work (columns 2 and 5). These small percentages suggest that women and men are generally satisfied with full-time arrangements. Self-employed managers and professionals were even less likely than their regular full-time counterparts to have looked for other jobs in the last three months. This finding only underscores the other evidence in this section that indicates people work in these arrangements voluntarily.

Those most likely to have looked for other employment include managers in regular part-time jobs, male managers in on-call and contract company arrangements, and female managers working as wage-and-salary independent contractors.

Among professionals, Table 12 indicates that on-call, temporary help agency, contract company, and regular part-time workers were the most likely to have looked for other jobs. For example, 72.6% of male professionals employed by temporary help agencies for longer than three months looked for a job in the last three months (column 5, second panel). But women in these same arrangements were substantially less likely to have looked for other employment (28.4%). The same held true for men and women professionals working in regular part-time jobs. Men were considerably more likely to have looked for another job than women part-time professionals, suggesting again that women who work part-time in professional occupations are more likely than their male counterparts to do so voluntarily. The overwhelming majority of managerial and professional temps, on-call workers, and contract company employees who looked for work sought arrangements other than those they currently had (results not shown). In other words, among managers and professionals who say they looked for another job in the past three months, 86% of men and 92% of women currently at temporary help agencies, 92% of men and 94% of women who are on-call workers, and 84% of men and 100% of women

TABLE 12

Managers and Professionals Who Looked for Other Employment in the Past Three Months, by Work Arrangement, and Sex (%)

	Females			Males		
	Looked for New Primary Job or Second Job		Of Those Looking, Share Who Looked for New Primary Job	Looked for New Primary Job or Second Job		Of Those Looking, Share Who Looked for New Primary Job
Work Arrangement	Tenure <= 3 months	Tenure > 3 Months	Any Length of Tenure	Tenure <= 3 months	Tenure > 3 Months	Any Length of Tenure
Managers						
Regular Part-Time	26.8%	9.7%	71.2%	24.9%	10.9%	88.7%
Temporary Help Agency	—	—	—	—	—	—
On-Call/Day Labor	—	7.9	—	—	33.4	—
Self-Employment	16.7	1.2	—	—	1.5	43.3
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	—	47.2	—	—	5.8	—
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	—	2.3	—	7.8	5.7	74.9
Contract Company	—	18.3	—	—	13.8	—
Regular Full-Time	9.3	4.9	90.1	6.8	6.4	90.9
Professionals						
Regular Part-Time	2.3%	7.5%	65.5%	16.1%	16.3%	84.0%
Temporary Help Agency	—	28.4	—	—	72.6	95.3
On-Call/Day Labor	38.5	15.6	85.0	—	44.0	70.4
Self-Employment	—	3.4	68.9	—	1.5	78.5
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	—	10.5	—	—	21.5	82.8
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	—	11.3	61.5	—	11.5	58.7
Contract Company	11.5	6.6	—	41.9	13.1	—
Regular Full-Time	1.3	5.4	84.3	2.9	5.7	89.0
Other White-Collar						
Regular Part-Time	15.2%	9.0%	71.9%	21.2%	14.3%	80.7%
Temporary Help Agency	37.2	32.1	91.0	38.2	38.4	87.0
On-Call/Day Labor	27.4	16.6	84.0	—	30.9	57.5
Self-Employment	9.7	3.4	39.1	4.7	3.4	48.4
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	—	9.8	82.0	—	7.4	—
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	14.2	5.6	37.0	—	8.3	71.2
Contract Company	—	15.1	69.0	—	19.8	—
Regular Full-Time	8.8	5.7	88.0	12.1	7.1	84.5

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment
"—" Insufficient cases to estimate percentage.

at contract companies all said they were looking for arrangements other than their current ones.

In summary, we used four measures—usual hours of work, reasons for employment in particular work arrangements, preference for particular arrangements, and job searches—to assess if nonstandard work arrangements are used to balance the competing demands of work and family. Managers and professionals who are mothers and live in dual-earner families appear to be the group that takes most advantage of the shorter hours in regular part-time work. On the other hand, fathers in dual-earner families who are self-employed as managers and professionals (including self-employed independent contractors) work more hours, on average, than their regular full-time counterparts. Men appear to be satisfied in self-employment and independent contracting, and, even though they do not appear to gain additional time to spend with family, they may gain some flexibility in their work schedule. Men in temporary, on-call, and contract work are the least satisfied with their work arrangements and are the most likely to look for other work. Women in regular full-time jobs, like their male counterparts, are unlikely to look for a different job. We turn next to the economic aspects of nonstandard work arrangements, including earnings, fringe benefits, and security. We also investigate the impact of nonstandard work arrangements on economic equality within families.

Men in temporary, on-call, and contract work are the least satisfied with their work arrangements and are the most likely to look for other work.

NONSTANDARD WORK ARRANGEMENTS AND INCOME, BENEFITS, AND JOB SECURITY

To paraphrase the Commission on Leave in a recent (1996) report to Congress, the security provided by a regular wage is essential to the economic well-being of all but the wealthiest families. Fathers have traditionally been responsible for providing income security for their families, although as Coontz (1997) and Hernandez (1993) point out, the majority of children have never lived in families in which there was a sole breadwinner who worked full-time, year-round. As mothers have dramatically increased their labor force participation over the last several decades, they have become increasingly responsible for the financial support of their families, either with a co-breadwinner (in the case of dual-earner families) or alone (in the case of single mothers).

As mothers have dramatically increased their labor force participation over the last several decades, they have become increasingly responsible for the financial support of their families.

On average, dual-earner families have higher incomes and greater net wealth than families supported by a single mother. Dual-earner families also enjoy greater economic security due to the presence of two earners (Brown and Pechman 1987). In addition to providing higher living standards for their families, mothers in dual-earner families provide higher living standards for themselves. Working women spend more money on their own clothing, transportation, and food away from home than women who are not in the labor force, even in families with the same total income (Jacobs et al. 1989; Waldman and Jacobs 1978). These women also typically have more secure retirements than women who drop out of the labor force. In addition to economic benefits, a rich literature on marriage and family relations demonstrates the importance of income from both family members to a more egalitarian marriage. In general, not only do women who earn income have more power in the family and do less housework and caring for children, but they also experience greater psychological well-being than those women who are not in the labor force (Blumberg 1991; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Hertz 1986; Hood 1983; Moen 1992). Having established that the employment of women and their ability to contribute to family income have important effects on living standards and gender relations, we now will examine how nonstandard arrangements affect the earnings, fringe benefits, and employment security of managers and professionals.

Wages of Managers and Professionals in Nonstandard Arrangements Compared With Those in Regular Full-Time Jobs

Table 13 shows the hourly wages for male and female managers and professionals, which confirm the well-established gender gap in wages. The greatest differences are among managers in regular full-time jobs: men in this group earn $6.09 per hour more than women, a 41% premium.

Women who are managers and professionals receive hourly wages that are 19% lower than men with similar personal characteristics in these occupations.

To more closely examine the effect of nonstandard work arrangements on earnings, we estimate a series of regression models, each with two formulations. In the first formulation, we examine wages, holding constant a variety of personal characteristics that are expected to influence wages, including age, race/ethnicity, education, residential location, Census region, marital status, and birth outside the U.S. In the second formulation, in addition to personal characteristics we also hold constant job characteristics such as industry, union contract coverage or membership, and health insurance or pension benefits.

We begin by comparing wages among male and female managers and professionals. We find that women who are managers and professionals receive hourly wages that are 19% lower than men with similar personal characteristics in these occupations and 16% lower than men with similar personal and job characteristics (see **Table 14**). The pay gap is seen by some researchers as the appropriate return to different skill levels, or as the desire of men to maintain their hegemony (Reskin 1988; Steinberg 1990), while others see it as a result of women's choices to temporarily drop from the workforce to have children (Fuchs 1988; O'Neill and Polachek 1993). Female managers and professionals working in nonstandard employment face no wage penalties beyond the gender gap for accepting a nonstandard job. The pay premium received by female regular part-time workers largely offsets the large penalty received by all part-timers.

Wages of Women Managers and Professionals in Nonstandard Versus Standard Jobs

We now estimate each model separately for men and women. This approach allows us to abstract from the female-associated wage penalty to determine, within a gender category, whether there are pay differentials associated with NSWAs. We include in the models workers from four occupational groups: managers, professionals, other white-collar workers, and blue-collar workers, comparing wages both among and within occupational groups.

Not surprisingly, women managers and professionals earn more than women in other occupational categories. Compared to women in other white-collar occu-

TABLE 13
Hourly Wages, by Work Arrangement, Occupation, and Sex, 1995 (1995 $)

	Women	Men	All
Managerial			
Regular Part-Time	$13.98	$12.36	$13.68
Self-Employment	13.61	17.87	16.60
Independent Contracting	16.73	18.83	18.41
Contract Company	19.85	21.83	21.42
Regular Full-Time	14.74	20.83	18.07
All	14.66	20.14	17.75
Professional			
Regular Part-Time	$16.76	$17.58	$16.97
Temporary Help Agency	15.02	20.52	17.52
On-Call	14.98	17.89	15.57
Self-Employment	17.85	23.56	21.95
Independent Contracting	19.01	20.88	20.16
Contract Company	17.91	20.93	19.82
Regular Full-Time	16.59	20.34	18.38
All	16.72	20.41	18.45
Other White-Collar [a]			
Regular Part-Time	$8.62	$9.05	$8.70
Temporary Help Agency	8.95	9.07	8.98
On-Call	9.69	13.09	10.46
Self-Employment	12.70	16.37	14.76
Independent Contracting	17.56	17.84	17.72
Contract Company	11.66	18.92	15.41
Regular Full-Time	10.69	15.15	12.41
All	10.50	14.90	12.10
Blue-Collar [b]			
Regular Part-Time	$6.92	$9.11	$7.68
Temporary Help Agency	7.02	6.94	6.97
On-Call	7.84	11.84	10.54
Self-Employment	8.51	12.84	11.25
Independent Contracting	8.64	15.09	13.32
Contract Company	6.47	12.20	11.20
Regular Full-Time	8.54	12.06	11.12
All	8.07	12.05	10.78

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment

Note: There are too few temporary and on-call managers to include in the analyses.

Table 14
Gender-Associated Wage Differences, for Professionals and Managers (% Difference)

Work Arrangement and Sex	Controlling for: Personal Characteristics	Personal & Job Characteristics
Female	-19%***	-16%***
Professional	-4**	-1
Regular Part-Time	-27***	-15*
Temporary Help	5	28*
On-Call	-32***	-20*
Self-Employed	-15***	13**
Independent Contractor	-14***	11**
Contract Worker	5	9
Female *and* Regular Part-Time	25**	23**
Female *and* Temporary Help	-11	-17
Female *and* On-Call	12	14
Female *and* Self-Employed	-7	-9
Female *and* Independent Contractor	3	4
Female *and* Contract Workers	11	13

* $0.01 < p <= 0.05$
** $0.001 < p <= 0.01$
*** $p <= 0.001$

Note: Dependent variable is ln(wage). In addition to the variables shown here, the model of personal characteristics also controls for age and age squared, two marital status categories, six education levels, four race/ethnicity categories, whether born in the U.S., four Census regions, three urbanicity categories, and being a leased worker. The model that controls for job characteristics also includes 14 industries, receipt of either employer-sponsored health insurance or a pension, and union contract coverage or membership.

pations who work in regular full-time jobs, women regular full-time managers and professionals earn 22% and 16% more, respectively, when holding constant other personal characteristics (see **Table 15**). These numbers change little when job characteristics are also taken into account.

When we compare women managers and professionals in regular full-time jobs with those in nonstandard arrangements, we find that workers experience penalties in some of these arrangements. On-call managers and professionals receive wages that are 36% and 21% lower than regular full-time women working in the same occupation and with similar personal characteristics. Self-employed managers and professionals earn almost 20% less than their counterparts in regular full-time jobs. Regular part-time professionals experience a 10% wage penalty. In total, 35.8% of female managers and 76.5% of female professionals who are in NSWAs

TABLE 15
Wages, by Occupation, Work Arrangement, and Sex

Work Arrangement and Occupation	Women		Men	
	Controlling for:		Controlling for:	
	Personal Characteristics	Personal & Job Characteristics	Personal Characteristics	Personal & Job Characteristics
	(% Difference Compared to Regular Full-Time Other White-Collar Workers)			
Managerial	22%***	22%***	25%***	22%***
Professional	16***	19***	15***	14***
Blue-Collar	-13***	-11***	-9***	-12***
	(% Difference Compared to Regular Full-Time Workers In Same Occupational Group)			
Regular Part-Time *and* Managers	-10	0	-34***	-26**
Regular Part-Time *and* Professionals	-10*	4	-24***	-12*
Regular Part-Time *and* Other White-Collar	-22***	-9**	-29***	-19***
Regular Part-Time *and* Blue-Collar	-20***	-7	-22***	-8
Temporary *and* Managers	-24	-10	-6	12
Temporary *and* Professionals	5	16	16	38*
Temporary *and* Other White-Collar	-21***	-6	-23*	-13
Temporary *and* Blue-Collar	-10	2	-27***	-15**
On-Call *and* Managers	-36*	-29	-42**	-33*
On-Call *and* Professionals	-21***	-5	-30**	-18
On-Call *and* Other White-Collar	-14	4	3	4
On-Call *and* Blue-Collar	-20***	-9	-3	0
Independent Contractor *and* Managers	-10	14*	-16***	1
Independent Contractor *and* Professionals	-10	19**	-13***	13**
Independent Contractor *and* Other White-Collar	4	27**	-7	11*
Independent Contractor *and* Blue-Collar	-23***	-6	3	22***
Contract Workers *and* Managers	12	27	4	7
Contract Workers *and* Professionals	14	21*	6	13
Contract Workers *and* Other White-Collar	-12	20	22*	27*
Contract Workers *and* Blue-Collar	-15	-4	5	5
Self-Employed *and* Managers	-18***	3	-21***	-1
Self-Employed *and* Professionals	-19**	7	-4	28***
Self-Employed *and* Other White-Collar	-11**	11	-10**	15***
Self-Employed *and* Blue-Collar	-36***	-24***	-15***	12**
Union Membership or Contract		14***		16***
Fringe Benefits		27***		25***

* $0.01 < p <= 0.05$
** $0.001 < p <= 0.01$
*** $p <= 0.001$

Note: The dependent variable is ln(wage). In addition to the independant variables shown here, the model of personal characteristics also contols for race/ethnicty (4 groups), education (6 levels), urbanicity (3 categories), age and age ^{2}, born outside the U.S., marital status (2 categories), and Census regions (4). The model with job characteristics also controls for 14 industries, union membership and coverage by a union contract (2 categories), and receipt of either health insurance or a pension from the worker's own employer (2 categories).

are employed in the types of nonstandard work that, on average, pay less than regular full-time jobs.

None of these wage penalties are statistically significant, however, after controlling for job characteristics (second column of Table 15). Moreover, professionals who are contract workers or independent contractors receive pay premiums of 21% and 19%, respectively, and managers who are independent contractors receive 14% pay premiums. In other words, controlling for industry, union status, and receipt of fringe benefits either diminishes the pay penalty or results in a pay premium. However, the self-employed and self-employed independent contractors must pay the employer share of the payroll tax, which currently is 7.65% of earnings.[6] This tax represents an additional cost not faced by workers in regular full-time jobs and partially offsets the premiums identified here.[7] In addition, most nonstandard workers (and all the self-employed) must provide their own health insurance and pensions since these are not available through an employer.

Fully 94.4% of male managers and 88.3% of male professionals in NSWAs work in arrangements that, on average, pay less than regular full-time jobs.

Because the wage penalties are smaller (or become premiums) when job as well as personal characteristics are held constant, this would seem to indicate that women managers and professionals in nonstandard jobs are more likely than regular full-time managers and professionals to work in low-wage industries, without union membership or contract, or without fringe benefits (factors that are also associated with lower wages).[8]

Wages of Male Managers and Professionals in Nonstandard Work Arrangements

As with their female counterparts, male managers and professionals earn more than their male counterparts in other occupations. Male regular full-time managers and professionals earn 25% and 15% more, respectively, than male white-collar workers with similar personal characteristics in regular full-time jobs (see Table 15). When job characteristics as well as personal characteristics are held constant, these wage premiums narrow slightly to 22% and 14%. Compared with regular full-time male managers and professionals with similar personal characteristics, men in these occupations suffer wage penalties if they work on-call or regular part-time, as independent contractors, or as self-employed managers. The penalties are largest for on-call workers (42% for managers and 30% for professionals), but penalties remain substantial for regular part-time managers and professionals (34% and 24%, respectively), self-employed managers (21%), and independent contractors, both managers and professionals (16% and 13%, respectively). Fully 94.4% of male managers and 88.3% of male professionals in NSWAs work in arrangements that, on average, pay less than regular full-time jobs.

When job and personal characteristics are both held constant, all the wage penalties shrink. Moreover, male professionals working as temps receive a 38% wage premium compared to their regular full-time counterparts (independent contractors and the self-employed receive premiums as well). On-call and regular part-time managers still face large penalties: 33% and 26%, respectively. Like women, nonstandard male workers are more likely than regular full-time men to work in low-wage industries or occupations and to lack fringe benefits or union representation. As was true for women, these premiums would be offset for men by the costs of health insurance and pension plans, not to mention the 7.65% payroll tax shouldered by the self-employed.

The pay penalties received by managers and professionals in NSWAs are somewhat smaller than those received by the labor force as a whole, although penalties for some types of nonstandard arrangements are larger. For example, comparing workers with similar personal characteristics, female on-call workers as a whole receive a penalty of 21% compared to 36% for managers and 21% for professionals. Female regular part-time workers face larger penalties (20%) than female managers and professionals. Penalties for male independent contractors and on-call workers are much larger for managers and professionals compared to those for all occupations combined (**Appendix Table 2**).

Fathers in nonstandard arrangements do not work shorter hours than their counterparts in regular full-time jobs.

Which Nonstandard Jobs Can Support Families With Children?

Fathers

The vast majority of fathers who are managers or professionals are employed in regular full-time jobs. Very few fathers in managerial or professional occupations work in temporary, on-call, or regular part-time arrangements; as a general rule, fathers in nonstandard arrangements are either independent contractors or self-employed. As we have seen, these men do not work shorter hours than their counterparts in regular full-time jobs, and, in the case of the self-employed and independent contractors, they actually work five to six hours more per week, on average. If nonstandard work arrangements do not reduce work hours for these fathers, then one must ask if these arrangements provide them with greater economic resources than their full-time counterparts to better provide for their families.

Among managers, the answer appears to depend upon two criteria: whether the father has a co-breadwinner and whether either spouse works in a nonstandard arrangement. Fathers in dual-earner relationships earn somewhat less than their counterparts in single-earner families, regardless of work arrangement. Other re-

TABLE 16
Average Hourly and Weekly Earnings for Managers and Professionals, by Work Arrangement, Family Type, and Sex

	Managers					Professionals					
Family Status	Regular Part-Time	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	Regular Full-Time	Regular Part-Time	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	Regular Full-Time
Female											
Single											
No Children	$10.10/hour $209/week	$12.40*/hour $573/week	$16.40/hour $661/week		$15.30/hour $658/week	$11.70*/hour $268/week	14.60/hour $297/week	$28.00*/hour $800/week	$14.50/hour $432/week	$14.70/hour $522/week	$15.60/hour $671/week
With Children	##	$11.20/hour $384/week			$13.70/hour $569/week	$24.80*/hour $471/week			$20.90/hour $570/week		$16.50/hour $671/week
Married, Dual-Earners											
No Children	$11.90*/hour $326/week	$14.30/hour $514/week	$16.00/hour $498/week		$14.20/hour $610/week	$19.90/hour $351/week	$13.10*/hour $288/week	$13.60/hour $404/week	$21.80*/hour $491/week		$16.40/hour $694/week
With Children	$17.60/hour $344/week	$13.10/hour $470/week	$16.70/hour $474/week		$15.20/hour $636/week	$16.00/hour $336/week	$14.80/hour $230/week	$20.00/hour $527/week	$24.20*/hour $482/week	$23.30/hour $624/week	$16.80/hour $685/week
Male											
Single											
No Children	$14.80/hour $333/week	$16.50/hour $775/week	$17.20/hour $735/week	$18.70/hour $780/week	$16.30/hour $737/week	$14.00*/hour $306/week	$8.50*/hour $181/week	$16.00/hour $651/week	$18.60/hour $804/week	$19.70/hour $788/week	$18.00/hour $656/week
With Children		$23.70/hour $1,089/week	$18.40/hour $933/week		##						
Married, Single Earner											
No Children		$22.70/hour $927/week	$22.80/hour $806/week		$23.50/hour $1,095/week			$25.90/hour $1,005/week	$26.60/hour $1,051/week		$20.80/hour $963/week
With Children		$19.10*/hour $981/week	$24.10/hour $949/week		$23.50/hour $1,095/week	##		$26.50*/hour $1,274/week	$22.60/hour $1,032/week		$21.80/hour $1,000/week
Married, Dual-Earners											
No Children	##	$18.70*/hour $902/week	$18.40*/hour $779/week		$21.00/hour $961/week	$17.00/hour $256/week		$23.00/hou $1,138/week	$21.60/hour $789/week	$23.20/hour $1,008/week	$20.70/hour $890/week
With Children		$16.40*/hour $818/week	$17.70*/hour $832/week	$20.60/hour $951/week	$21.20/hour $979/week	##		$26.50*/hour $1,169/week	$28.00*/hour $931/week	$19.90/hour $802/week	$19.60/hour $897/week

* Hourly wage differs significantly from regular full-time counterparts, $p < 0.05$, two-tailed test.
Earnings data available for fewer than 10 cases.
Note: n.e.c. is the abbreviation for "not elsewhere classified."

searchers have confirmed this finding (Hayghe and Haugen 1987). In each family type (except single childless men), male managers earning the most are those working in regular full-time jobs. Fathers in single-earner families have the highest incomes among all the family types; on average in regular full-time jobs, they earn $1,095 per week (see **Table 16**). Self-employed managers tend to earn more per week than men in other nonstandard arrangements, and self-employed men in single-earner families are the second highest earners ($981 per week) after regular full-time fathers.

Like their managerial colleagues, fathers in professional occupations who are their family's sole breadwinner earn more than their counterparts in dual-earner families, whether employed in standard or nonstandard arrangements. But unlike their managerial colleagues, in most family types fathers in professional occupations tend to earn more in independent contractor or self-employed arrangements than in regular full-time ones. The most common detailed occupation among professional men who are independent contractors or self-employed is lawyer—a highly compensated occupation; for fathers employed in regular full-time work who have co-breadwinners, the most common is secondary school teacher; for fathers employed in regular full-time work who are their family's sole earner, electrical engineer was the most common profession (see **Table 17**). The highest-paid fathers in professional occupations are those self-employed in single-earner families (earning $1,274 per week). The lowest-paid fathers are regular full-time professionals (who commonly work as secondary school teachers) in dual-earner families who earn $897 per week.

Not only do mothers earn less than fathers, on average, but they also earn less in nonstandard work than in regular full-time jobs.

These findings demonstrate that fathers employed as managers and professionals in the nonstandard work arrangements in which they are over-represented are able to support their families at a relatively high standard of living. This finding holds regardless of whether they are sole or co-breadwinners, although sole breadwinners tend to earn more than their counterparts in dual-earner families. If they were employed in these nonstandard arrangements year round, they would earn an average of between $40,000 and $64,000 per year.

Mothers

Not only do mothers earn less than fathers, on average, but they also earn less in nonstandard work than in regular full-time jobs. These lower earnings are especially salient for single mothers, who obviously need higher earnings since they are less likely to have additional income sources. These mothers are less able to accept a tradeoff of lower earnings for more family time and, as such, are more likely to prefer full-time and probably standard work arrangements.

TABLE 17
Most Common Detailed Occupation and Occupation Share for Managers and Professionals, by Work Arrangement, Family Type, and Sex (percent of workers in modal occupation in parentheses)

	Managers					Professionals					
Family Status	Regular Part-Time	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	Regular Full-Time	Regular Part-Time	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	Regular Full-Time
Women											
Single											
No Children	Managers, Food & Lodging (13%) and Managers, Service Organizations (13%)	Managers & Administrators (55%)	Managers & Administrators nec (75%)		Managers & Administrators (21%)	Teachers, nec (12%)	Elementary School (49%)	Teachers nec (18%)	Painters (12.5%) Teachers, nec (12.5%)	Computer Systems Analysts (21%)	Elementary School Teachers (15%)
With Children	Accountants & Auditors	Managers & Administrators, nec (55%)			Managers & Administrators, nec (55%)	Registered Nurses (25%)			Authors (18%)		Registered Nurses (23%)
Married, Two Earners											
No Children	Managers & Administrators, nec (24%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (50%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (47%)		Managers & Administrators, nec (24%)	Registered Nurses (36%)	Elementary School Teachers (33%)	Painters (22%) Teachers, nec (22%)	Designers (19%)		Elementary School Teachers (21%)
With Children	Managers & Administrators, nec (23%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (43%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (56%)		Managers & Administrators, nec (22%)	Registered Nurses (32%)	Elementary School Teachers (54%)	Teachers nec (25%)	Teachers nec (15%)	Physical Therapists (20%)	Elementary School Teachers (24%)
Men											
Single											
No Children	Managers, Service Organizations (36%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (59%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (72%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (45%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (33%)	Post Secondary School Teachers (12%)	Elementary School Teachers (24%)	Lawyers (24%)	Painters (12%)	Computer Systems Analysts (35%)	Computer Systems Analysts (8.2%)
With Children		Managers & Administrators, nec (52%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (90%)		Managers & Administrators, nec (50%)						
Married Single Earner											
No Children		Managers & Administrators, nec (68%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (650%)		Managers & Administrators, nec (51%)			Doctors (45%)	Doctors (32%)	Electrical/Electronic Engineers (9%)	
With Children		Managers & Administrators, nec (74%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (75%)		Managers & Administrators, nec (51%)	Counselors, Educational & Vocational (17%)		Lawyers (37%)	Lawyers (23%)	Electrical/Electronic Engineers (10%)	
Married, Two Earners											
No Children	Managers & Administrators,	Managers & istrators, nec (67%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (70%)		Managers & Administrators, nec (40%)	Post-Secondary School Teachers (10%)		Lawyers (30%)	Lawyers (16%)	Computer Systems Analysts (40%)	Secondary School Teachers (10%)
With Children		Managers & Administrators, nec (64%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (76%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (54%)	Managers & Administrators, nec (43%)	Post-Secondary School Teachers (28%)		Lawyers (31%)	Lawyers (32%)	Computer Systems Analysts (33%)	Secondary School Teachers (11%)

Note: n.e.c. is the abbreviation for "not elsewhere classified."

Among female managers with children, mothers in dual-earner families with regular full-time jobs earn the most on a weekly basis ($636 per week), followed by single mothers in regular full-time jobs who earn $569 per week (or less than $30,000 per year) (Table 16). Women in regular full-time positions earn more partly because they work the most hours. Mothers in dual-earner families who are self-employed managers earn about three-quarters what their counterparts in regular full-time jobs make. Working a full 52 weeks per year, these self-employed managers would earn less than $25,000. Self-employed single mothers earn even less as managers: $384 per week, or less than $20,000 annually if they work a full year. Although self-employment has been widely touted as a work arrangement in which women are making substantial inroads (National Foundation for Women Business Owners 1994), the earnings of mothers self-employed as managers do not appear to be high enough to support a family at middle-class living standards. Single mothers would have even greater difficulties. Married mothers in dual-earner families employed as managers in part-time arrangements earn the most in terms of hourly earnings, but the least—$344 per week—in terms of weekly earnings because of the few hours per week worked. Among professionals, mothers are most likely to be teachers or nurses, regardless of their marital status or work arrangement (Table 17). Married mothers in dual-earner families employed in full-time jobs earn the most ($685 per week or $35,000 per year), followed by single mothers employed in full-time jobs, who earn $671 per week or $34,000 per year. The second most common work arrangement for mothers employed as professionals is regular part-time employment. Single mothers in this arrangement earn the most per hour of all mothers in nonstandard arrangements, but still earn only $471 per week (or $24,000 working year round).

The earnings of mothers self-employed as managers do not appear to be high enough to support a family at middle-class living standards.

In dual-earner families, mothers' earnings from nonstandard work increase family income and economic security, though (as we will see next) these earnings may result in increased inequalities within the family. As for single mothers, nonstandard work arrangements reduce income and may result in less than a middle-class living standard, leading to a tradeoff that may provide more time but not enough money.

Estimated Pay Gap in the Family

As we have noted, research demonstrates that working wives have more decision-making power, more economic autonomy, and fewer household duties than their counterparts who are totally dependent on a husband's income. As women's share of their family's earnings rise, their power and autonomy tends to increase and their time spent doing housework decreases (Blumberg 1991; Blumstein and

Schwartz 1983; Hood 1983). Conflicts may arise when female managers and professionals are still expected to take on a disproportionate amount of housework (Perry-Jenkins and Folk 1994). If power relationships between husbands and wives are based (at least in part) on the gap in earnings between spouses, then nonstandard arrangements could, in theory, contribute to inequalities in domestic duties by increasing the pay gap between husbands and wives. Ideally, an analysis of how the gap in husbands' and wives' earnings is affected by employment in NSWAs would be based on an examination of linked data from respondents who are married to each other. However, the data for such an analysis was beyond the scope of this study. Instead, we examine average incomes of married men and women in various nonstandard arrangements. Since in dual-earner families, fully four out of 10 husbands employed in professional occupations have wives employed in professional occupations, too,[9] we limit our estimates to families in which both the mother and the father are professionals. We compare the weekly earnings of these fathers in dual-earner families with mothers in these families to estimate the gap in earnings between married professionals (with children) in different types of work arrangements.

Mothers employed part-time in professional jobs bring home 37.5 cents for every dollar earned by a father in a regular full-time professional job.

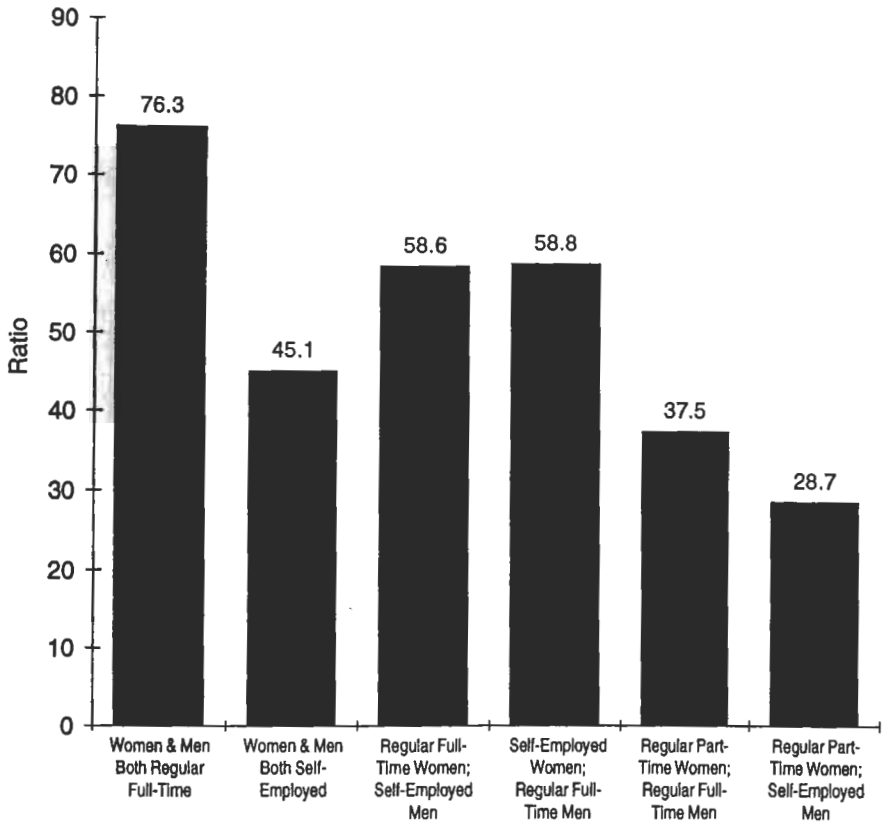
Figure 3 shows the estimated pay gap between mothers and fathers in different work arrangements. Among professionals in dual-earner couples, when both are employed in regular, full-time arrangements, the estimated weekly pay gap between mothers and fathers is $212 per week ($685 compared to $897). In other words, these women earn 76.3 cents for every dollar that men earn. This earnings gap (23.7 cents on the dollar) is the smallest among the various work arrangements. The estimated pay gap tends to increase when mothers or fathers are employed in the nonstandard work arrangements in which they are over-represented (e.g., regular part-time work for women and self-employment for men).

As Figure 3 shows, the estimated weekly earnings gap varies substantially between mothers and fathers employed as professionals in different work arrangements. As noted, the gap is the smallest when both are employed in regular full-time arrangements. But on the other end of the spectrum, the gap is greatest when mothers are employed part-time—not surprising given the greater difference in hours. In fact, if fathers are employed in regular full-time jobs, the gap in weekly earnings stretches to 62.5 cents per dollar. In other words, mothers employed part-time in professional jobs bring home 37.5 cents for every dollar earned by a father in a regular full-time professional job (the gap is even greater when the father is self-employed). Moderate gaps in weekly earnings are experienced when the mother has a regular full-time professional job and the husband is self-employed, or vice versa.

Several factors account for the gaps associated with nonstandard work by either spouse. First, mothers and fathers tend to be in different nonstandard ar-

FIGURE 3

Weekly Earnings of Professional, Dual-Earners With Children, in Various Work Arrangements (Ratio of Wife to Husband)



rangements. Second, in the same nonstandard arrangement (such as self-employment) mothers work fewer hours than their regular full-time counterparts while fathers tend to work more. Third, occupational differences may be more pronounced in nonstandard than in standard arrangements (Holden and Hansen 1987; Spalter-Roth et al. 1993). Although additional research would be necessary to determine earnings gaps among actual spouses in various standard and nonstandard arrangements, the findings here suggest that increased employment by both spouses in nonstandard work arrangements might result in an increased pay gap between them.

Fringe Benefits

Health insurance and pension benefits are basic components of economic security for American families. Both women and men who are managers and professionals are more likely than other white-collar workers to receive fringe benefits, defined as either health insurance or a pension received from the worker's own employer who pays at least part of its cost (see **Table 18**).[10] But the shares of nonstandard workers

Table 18
Workers With Health Insurance or Pension[a], by Work Arrangment, Sex, and Occupation (%)

Work Arrangement	Women	Men
Managerial		
Regular Part-Time	45.6%	34.7%
Independent Contracting-WS [b]	58.0	34.3
Contract Company	49.3	78.7
Regular Full-Time	85.5	89.9
Professional		
Regular Part-Time	48.1%	49.0%
Temporary Help Agency	40.4	5.0
On-Call	30.6	43.0
Independent Contracting-WS [b]	19.5	41.1
Contract Company	74.8	73.4
Regular Full-Time	92.2	93.8
Other White-Collar [c]		
Regular Part-Time	31.5%	26.3%
Temporary Help Agency	6.5	11.8
On-Call	22.3	44.3
Independent Contracting-WS [b]	22.5	54.2
Contract Company	52.4	62.6
Regular Full-Time	80.4	80.8
Blue-Collar [d]		
Regular Part-Time	19.2%	26.5%
Temporary Help Agency	5.5	4.2
On-Call	23.9	37.0
Independent Contracting-WS [b]	4.2	35.3
Contract Company	21.6	56.3
Regular Full-Time	65.4	73.1

[a] Received employer-sponsored health insurance or a pension from own employer who pays at least some of the cost.
[b] Wage and Salary
[c] Technicians, sales, and administrative support occupations.
[d] Private household, protective service, and other service occupations; craft and transportation occupations; machine operators; laborers; farming; forestry; and fishery occupations.

Note: There are too few temporary and on-call executives, managers, and administrators to include in this analysis. The self-employed and self-employed independent contractors do not receive fringe benefits from an employer.

with health care or a pension are much smaller than the shares of regular full-time employees. For managers and professionals in nearly every type of nonstandard work, the odds of receiving fringe benefits are less than 30% of the odds for regular full-time workers with similar personal characteristics and in similar occupations (see **Table 19**). Only among contract workers are the odds of receiving fringe benefits greater than half those of regular full-time managers and professionals.

Traditionally, married women have obtained health insurance and pension income indirectly through their husbands' jobs since their own jobs are less likely to provide them (Yoon et al. 1994). **Table 20** shows that many female professionals

TABLE 19
Odds of Full-Time and Part-Time Workers Receiving Health Insurance or Pension (Odds Ratio)

Occupation and Work Arrangement	Women				Men			
	Controlling for:				*Controlling for:*			
	Personal Characteristics		Personal & Job Characteristics		Personal Characteristics		Personal & Job Characteristics	
	Full-Time & Part-Time	Full-Time Only	Full-Time & Part-Time	Full-Time Only	Full-Time & Part-Time	Full-Time Only	Full-Time & Part-Time	Full-Time Only
Managerial	1.06	1.06	1.08	1.08	1.51*	1.52*	1.72**	1.73**
Professional	1.57**	1.58**	1.13	1.12	1.76**	1.78**	1.47*	1.49*
Blue-Collar	0.53***	0.53***	0.47***	0.47***	0.79*	0.79*	0.63***	0.63***
Regular Part-Time *and* Managers	0.13***		0.12***		0.15***		0.12***	
Regular Part-Time *and* Professional	0.09***		0.10***		0.10***		0.10***	
Regular Part-Time *and* Other White-Collar	0.10***		0.11***		0.12***		0.11***	
Regular Part-Time *and* Blue-Collar	0.14***		0.19***		0.16***		0.19***	
Temporary *and* Managers	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	0.01***	[a]	0.01***	[a]
Temporary *and* Professionals	0.11***	[a]	0.13***	[a]	0.01***	[a]	0.01***	[a]
Temporary *and* Other White-Collar	0.02***	[a]	0.02***	[a]	0.04***	[a]	0.04***	[a]
Temporary *and* Blue-Collar	0.03***	[a]	0.03***	[a]	0.03***	[a]	0.02***	[a]
On-Call *and* Managers	0.11**	[a]	0.08***	[a]	0.09**	[a]	0.09**	[a]
On-Call *and* Professionals	0.04***	0.08***	0.04***	0.09***	0.06***	0.14**	0.06***	0.15**
On-Call *and* Other White-Collar	0.06***	0.49	0.06***	0.68	0.32*	0.31	0.14**	0.18
On-Call *and* Blue-Collar	0.17***	0.32**	0.16***	0.37*	0.27***	0.48***	0.23***	0.38***
Independent Contractor *and* Managers	0.12**	0.28	0.09***	0.15	0.04***	[a]	0.06***	[a]
Independent Contractor *and* Professionals	0.02***	0.01***	0.03***	0.02**	0.07***	0.13***	0.11***	0.19***
Independent Contractor *and* Other White-Collar	0.05***	0.08***	0.05***	0.06***	0.15***	0.17***	0.18***	0.20***
Independent Contractor *and* Blue-Collar	0.03***	0.05***	0.08***	0.10***	0.14***	0.21***	0.23***	0.30**
Contract Workers *and* Managers	0.22**	[a]	0.21**	[a]	0.45	[a]	0.50	[a]
Contract Workers *and* Professionals	0.33**	0.68	0.44*	0.86	0.33***	[a]	0.43*	[a]
Contract Workers *and* Other White-Collar	0.29***	0.49	0.26***	0.45	0.48	0.61	0.45*	0.60
Contract Workers *and* Blue-Collar	0.17***	0.22**	0.18***	0.24**	0.50***	0.55***	0.51***	0.56**

* $0.01 < p <= 0.05$
** $0.001 < p <= 0.01$
*** $p <= 0.001$

[a] Either there are no workers in the category, or none of the workers have benefits.

Note: For a complete list of the independent variables in the models, see Table 15.

TABLE 20
Workers Not Eligible to Receive Health Insurance Coverage Through Their Employer (%)

Family Status		Regular Part-Time	On-Call	Contract Company	Regular Full-Time
Female					
Single					
No Children	Managerial	45.1%			9.9%
	Professional	28.4	55.6	36.4	5.0
	Other White-Collar	41.4	56.0	31.6	10.5
	Blue-Collar	60.3	52.7	51.9	26.4
With Children	Managerial	46.7			13.1
	Professional	29.4	44.4		10.1
	Other White-Collar	47.0	72.7		12.4
	Blue-Collar	61.1	90.0		22.0
Married, Dual-Earners					
No Children	Managerial	28.3			6.7
	Professional	15.6	29.0		4.3
	Other White-Collar	34.4	36.8	35.0	10.1
	Blue-Collar	43.8	52.4		17.5
With Children	Managerial	29.5			7.8
	Professional	19.8	21.4	6.3	5.1
	Other White-Collar	28.1	35.7	28.6	11.5
	Blue-Collar	47.3	37.5		22.3
Male					
Single					
No Children	Managerial	55.9%		26.7%	10.6%
	Professional	39.4	57.1	14.8	4.9
	Other White-Collar	46.4	50.0	25.0	12.5
	Blue-Collar	59.0	67.6	36.5	27.0
With Children	Managerial				8.9
	Professional				8.8
	Other White-Collar				18.2
	Blue-Collar	57.9	50.0		19.2
Married, Single Earner					
No Children	Managerial				4.2
	Professional			14.3	2.2
	Other White-Collar	43.5			9.5
	Blue-Collar	67.4	62.1	31.3	17.8
With Children	Managerial				5.4
	Professional	36.4			2.3
	Other White-Collar	60.0			6.9
	Blue-Collar	59.3	52.5	50.0	22.7
Married, Dual-Earners					
No Children	Managerial				6.0
	Professional	21.1		4.3	4.3
	Other White-Collar	28.9		10.0	7.8
	Blue-Collar	41.1	44.4	32.4	10.5
With Children	Managerial			7.7	5.2
	Professional	12.5		0.0	4.0
	Other White-Collar	29.4		7.7	8.4
	Blue-Collar	40.2	48.4	25.9	15.7

Note: Blank cells indicate an insufficient number of cases.

TABLE 21
Workers With No Health Insurance From Any Source (%)

Family Status		Regular Part-Time	On-Call	Self-Employment	Independent Contracting	Contract Company	Regular Full-Time
Female							
Single							
No Children	Managerial	33.3%		29.0%	42.3%		8.8%
	Professional	20.8	48.3	15.8	19.1	18.2	5.5
	Other White-Collar	29.5	48.5	23.4	35.1	22.7	10.4
	Blue-Collar	39.1	48.4	34.0	50.9	62.1	27.4
With Children	Managerial	28.6					14.2
	Professional	28.3	36.4		12.5		9.2
	Other White-Collar	41.1	75.0	46.7	22.2		15.4
	Blue-Collar	54.3	70.0	47.8	51.4		28.3
Married, Dual-Earners							
No Children	Managerial	7.0		8.8	20.0		3.6
	Professional	6.4	12.5	16.0	11.7		2.6
	Other White-Collar	9.7	20.0	12.7	10.6	0.0	4.5
	Blue Collar	22.4	13.6	14.9	24.7		11.8
With Children	Managerial	4.6		13.3	16.3		5.5
	Professional	6.2	16.9	5.8	13.4	5.9	3.2
	Other White-Collar	14.5	29.4	18.2	16.4	13.3	6.1
	Blue-Collar	27.1	28.9	17.7	26.5		18.1
Male							
Single							
No Children	Managerial	25.0%		32.1%	36.7%	11.8%	10.2%
	Professional	27.8	50.0	37.1	37.9	21.4	6.2
	Other White-Collar	28.5	25.0	36.6	42.1	21.1	15.7
	Blue-Collar	38.4	57.8	44.9	58.0	36.9	31.6
With Children	Managerial			36.4	22.2		13.8
	Professional						8.8
	Other White-Collar				18.8		19.1
	Blue-Collar	63.6	46.2	45.5	60.9		23.6
Married, Single Earner							
No Children	Managerial			2.9	12.5		2.9
	Professional			0.0	23.8	14.3	0.9
	Other White-Collar	28.0		10.0	5.3		8.5
	Blue-Collar	50.9	55.6	54.1	33.3	18.8	20.2
With Children	Managerial			6.9	28.1		5.9
	Professional	18.2			8.3	20.0	1.6
	Other White-Collar	33.3		15.8	22.2		8.3
	Blue-Collar	57.4	44.4	47.9	59.5	48.8	25.1
Married, Dual-Earners							
No Children	Managerial			8.5	11.3		2.8
	Professional	15.0		2.0	16.7	0.0	2.2
	Other White-Collar	13.6		18.2	8.4	10.0	4.2
	Blue-Collar	28.4	20.7	8.7	20.0	20.0	7.0
With Children	Managerial			11.3	10.4	7.7	2.5
	Professional	12.5		6.2	11.9	7.1	2.9
	Other White-Collar	15.4		17.2	16.7	0.0	5.6
	Blue-Collar	31.3	18.6	21.8	29.5	17.9	12.5

Note: Blank cells indicate an insufficient number of cases.

and managers in part-time arrangements (especially single mothers) do not receive benefits through their employers. In fact, regardless of family type or sex, fewer managers and professionals in NSWAs are eligible for health insurance coverage through their employer.

Some workers in NSWAs find other sources of coverage. Mothers in dual-earner families who are employed part-time appear to have coverage through their husbands, though a few still remain uncovered by health plans (4.6% of managers and 6.2% of professionals). (See **Table 21.**) As might be expected, single mothers in part-time arrangements are substantially more likely to be without health benefits (approximately 28% of managers and professionals), suggesting that husbands often provide coverage for wives in nonstandard work arrangements. But this method of providing mothers with health benefits may become less effective if more fathers find themselves in nonstandard arrangements—many more fathers employed as managers and professionals in nonstandard arrangements are ineligible for health benefits than their counterparts in regular full-time employment. These findings suggest that, as more men and women (especially single mothers) working as managers and professionals opt for nonstandard arrangements, living standards will surely decline as traditional methods of coverage will be harder to secure for their families.

As more men and women working as managers and professionals opt for nonstandard arrangements, traditional methods of health insurance coverage will be harder to secure.

Employment Security

In addition to earnings and fringe benefits, another element of job quality is the steadiness or security of income. Jobs that lack an explicit or implicit contract for long-term employment do not provide a predictable stream of income. In this study, a job is defined as insecure if a worker: (1) reports his job as temporary; (2) reports that he cannot work for his employer as long as he wishes; (3) is not sure about criteria "1" or "2"; or (4) expects his job to last for only one year or less. Jobs matching any of these descriptions are of limited or uncertain duration. **Table 22** shows the share of the labor force in insecure jobs, categorized by occupational group, type of work arrangement, and sex.

In total, about 3 million jobs held by managers and professionals are of limited or uncertain duration, representing nearly one-third of the total of 10.6 million jobs of uncertain duration in the U.S. economy (Kalleberg et al. 1997). This number is considerably higher than the approximately 6 million jobs of uncertain duration estimated by researchers at the Bureau of Labor Statistics using their broadest definition (Polivka 1996).[11]

Job security is most common among professionals: 12.3% of women and

TABLE 22
Jobs of Uncertain Duration, by Work Arrangement, Occupational Group, and Sex (%)

Work Arrangement	Females					Males				
	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	All	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	All
Regular Part-Time	11.7%	16.3%	11.4%	10.5%	11.8%	19.3%	31.5%	17.5%	13.0%	16.4%
Temporary Help Agency	65.6	54.6	85.1	67.7	75.5	80.4	84.0	72.1	78.6	78.1
On-Call/Day Labor	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Self-Employment	5.4	5.3	8.5	14.7	9.8	3.2	4.5	4.9	8.5	5.6
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	14.6	50.0	14.0	23.1	24.3	20.6	36.9	7.4	22.7	20.8
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	4.4	10.3	7.3	15.4	10.3	5.6	8.0	7.0	6.5	6.6
Contract Company	0.0	17.0	10.3	18.1	13.7	4.1	24.1	15.7	9.1	12.4
All Nonstandard	11.3%	25.4%	16.5%	18.4%	18.2%	8.0%	20.9%	13.9%	21.8%	17.9%
Regular Full-Time	4.4	6.4	5.0	5.9	5.4	4.8	7.5	4.3	5.4	5.4
All	5.8%	12.3%	8.9%	11.3%	9.8%	5.6%	10.8%	6.8%	9.4%	8.5%

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment

10.8% of men, representing a total of over 2 million jobs, consider their work insecure (or 25.4% of female and 20.9% of male professionals in NSWAs).

In summary, comparing men's and women's earnings, fathers employed as managers and professionals in nonstandard arrangements appear able to comfortably support families, on average, while mothers employed in these arrangements are more likely to provide a lower-income lifestyle. Nonstandard work arrangements appear to increase the amount that fathers contribute to the family in their role as breadwinners but decrease the amount mothers contribute, especially among those employed as professionals. We have suggested that this situation may increase pay gaps between fathers and mothers, which, according to other studies cited here, could reinforce inequalities between spouses in terms of power, economic autonomy, and the division of household and child-care duties. In terms of health care coverage, men in nonstandard arrangements appear less able than their full-time counterparts to provide health care coverage for their families, and women in these arrangements are also less likely to receive these benefits. As for job security, we found that professionals in these arrangements are more likely than their managerial counterparts to report that their jobs are insecure.

NONSTANDARD WORK ARRANGEMENTS THROUGHOUT LIFE

In this section, we investigate whether managers and professionals at different stages in life, especially before and after parenthood, benefit from nonstandard work arrangements. Although the data pertinent to such an analysis are limited, they still provide some insights into the nature of these arrangements.

This examination must consider the context and timing of transitions such as completing school, beginning work, entering marriage, giving birth to children, divorcing, changing jobs, caring for one's parents, retiring, and changing jobs or careers. Whether these transitions are positive or negative experiences often depends upon planning, timing, prior experiences, and the availability of personal, social, and economic resources. Planned transitions may cause less stress and have better outcomes than those not planned (Moen and Shore 1997). Thus, independent contracting is likely to be less stressful and less personally and economically costly if it is a career choice rather than a necessity resulting from corporate restructuring. Voluntary part-time employment that allows for enrollment in school is likely to be less stressful than part-time work taken because a full-time job is not available.

Prime-working age women and men are more likely than their younger counterparts to work in regular full-time jobs, and much less likely to work in regular part-time jobs.

Lacking direct information on transitions, we will instead use proxy indicators of the life course, such as age and level of education. We also know workers' financial resources and can gain insight into whether transitions are planned by examining changes in work arrangements, coupled with preferences. This combined information can suggest how workers use NSWAs to ease transitions during their lifetimes.

Age Differences

Men and women who are between the ages of 45 and 54 are more likely than members of other age groups to be managers. Men age 45 and over are more likely than younger men to be professionals, while women between ages 25 and 54 are more likely than other women to be professionals. Younger persons (ages 18-24) are more likely to work in on-call and regular part-time jobs, and to work for temporary help agencies and contract companies. Older workers are more likely to be independent contractors (both types) and self-employed. Prime-working age women and men (ages 25-54) are more likely than their younger counterparts to work in regular full-time jobs, and much less likely to work in regular part-time jobs **(Table 23)**.

Table 24 shows the work arrangements of men and women as they vary by both age and occupation. In both age groups (18 to 44 and 45 to 64), men are more likely than women to hold regular full-time jobs in professional occupations, but that pattern is reversed among managers. The survey data revealed earlier that women are more likely than men to be employed full-time in managerial occupa-

TABLE 23
Age Groups, by Work Arrangements, Occupational Group, and Sex (%)

Work Arrangement	18 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	All
Women					
Regular Part-Time	42.4%	18.1%	15.6%	21.9%	21.3%
Temporary Help Agency	1.6	1.2	0.8	0.7	1.1
On-Call/Day Labor	2.0	1.6	1.6	2.2	1.7
Self-Employment	0.9	4.6	6.5	7.5	4.8
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.3	0.9	1.2	1.2	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	0.8	3.7	5.1	5.3	3.7
Contract Company	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.8
All Nonstandard	49.2%	30.8%	31.5%	39.1%	34.3%
Regular Full-Time	50.8	69.2	68.6	61.0	65.7
All	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Managerial	5.8%	13.8%	15.2%	13.0%	12.9%
Professional	8.8	19.4	20.2	14.6	17.6
Other White-Collar	50.5	40.8	38.9	40.8	41.7
Blue-Collar	34.9	26.0	25.6	31.6	27.7
All	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Share of Employment	13.7%	56.0%	20.7%	9.6%	100%
Men					
Regular Part-Time	28.0%	4.0%	2.3%	6.8%	7.1%
Temporary Help Agency	2.0	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.8
On-Call/Day Labor	2.5	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.5
Self-Employment	1.9	5.2	8.9	11.5	6.1
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.5	0.9	0.9	1.2	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	1.5	6.9	10.1	10.6	7.3
Contract Company	1.6	1.9	0.8	1.2	1.6
All Nonstandard	38.0%	21.1%	24.5%	34.1%	25.3%
Regular Full-Time	61.9	78.9	75.6	65.9	74.7
All	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Managerial	5.4%	14.4%	20.6%	18.9%	14.9%
Professional	4.8	13.8	15.7	15.1	13.1
Other White-Collar	24.1	19.6	19.4	19.5	20.2
Blue-Collar	65.7	52.2	44.3	46.4	51.8
All	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Share of Employment	13.3%	56.8%	20.1%	9.8%	100%

[a] Wage and Salary
[b] Self-Employment

TABLE 24
Work Arrangements, by Occupational Group, Sex, and Age (%)

Work Arrangement	Female					Male				
	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	Total	Managerial	Professional	Other White-Collar	Blue-Collar	Total
18 to 44 Age Group										
Regular Part-Time	7.7%	19.7%	24.9%	28.5%	22.9%	1.9%	6.3%	12.1%	9.2%	8.5%
Temporary Help Agency	0.6	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.3	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.3	1.0
On-Call/Day Labor	0.4	3.2	1.0	2.4	1.7	0.3	1.0	0.5	2.5	1.6
Self-Employment	5.5	2.4	3.0	5.3	3.8	9.6	5.4	4.9	3.2	4.6
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.4	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.5	1.1	0.6	0.8
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	3.0	3.9	2.0	4.3	3.1	9.6	6.1	4.4	5.5	5.9
Contract Company	0.6	1.7	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.5	2.7	1.1	2.0	1.8
All Nonstandard	18.2%	32.6%	33.7%	43.9%	34.4%	24.3%	23.5%	24.9%	24.3%	24.2%
Regular Full-Time	81.8	67.4	66.3	56.1	65.5	75.6	76.3	75.1	75.7	75.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
45 to 64 Age Group										
Regular Part-Time	8.5%	14.3%	19.2%	22.3%	17.6%	1.4%	4.7%	3.4%	4.7%	3.8%
Temporary Help Agency	0.4	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.4
On-Call/Day Labor	0.5	3.7	1.3	1.8	1.8	0.1	0.8	0.3	2.1	1.2
Self-Employment	9.4	2.4	7.1	8.0	6.8	13.8	8.1	12.9	7.1	9.7
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.7	1.2	0.6	1.4	2.1	0.5	1.0
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	5.7	5.5	4.6	5.5	5.2	14.0	9.5	10.2	9.6	10.6
Contract Company	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	1.9	0.2	1.0	0.9
All Nonstandard	24.9%	27.6%	35.3%	40.7%	33.9%	30.8%	26.7%	29.3%	25.6%	27.6%
Regular Full-Time	75.0	72.4	64.8	59.4	66.2	69.1	73.3	70.6	74.4	72.4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

[a] Wage and Salary

[b] Self-Employment

tions because male managers are more likely than their female counterparts to be self-employed or independent contractors.

Among both managers and professionals, older men (between the ages of 45-64) are less likely to have regular full-time jobs because they are more likely than younger men to be self-employed and independent contractors. Unlike older women managers, older women professionals are more likely than their younger counterparts to hold regular full-time jobs. Indeed, there is almost no gender difference in the percentage of older professionals holding regular full-time jobs, despite the nine percentage-point gender difference for professionals aged 18-44. These findings do not tell us whether the increase in self-employment among older male managers and professionals occurs due to workers' planned transitions to retirement or a new career, or to involuntary transitions, such as downsizing. Research shows that well-educated older men who are professionals are likely to keep on working rather than retire (Hayward, Hardy, and Grady 1990 as cited in Moen and Shore 1997). Those who are voluntarily employed in these arrangements (between 80% and 90% of these men) may have made planned transitions. Alternatively, older men and women (between the ages of 45-65) may seek employment in nonstandard work arrangements in order to care for an elderly relative or spouse, although this is more likely a concern for women than men (Anastas, Gibeau, and Larson 1990).

Women with advanced degrees are more likely to be self-employed or independent contractors than women who are high school graduates.

Educational Differences

Workers with college degrees or post baccalaureate education are likely to be managers or professionals (57.2% of men and 63.7% of women with B.A.'s; 83.8% of men and 87.9% of women with advanced degrees) (**Table 25**). Women with college degrees or additional education are more likely to be employed in regular full-time arrangements than women with less education, but this is not the case for men, who are more likely to be self-employed or independent contractors than similarly educated women or their male counterparts with less education. However, women with advanced degrees are more likely to be self-employed or independent contractors than women who are high school graduates, suggesting that women, although to a lesser degree than men, also use advanced degrees as a resource for transitioning to these work arrangements (Table 8B). The relatively long hours worked by self-employed and independent contractor males (longer than the average hours worked by women in any type of work arrangement) may leave few women feeling as if they have the time to take on this type of work.

Men with some college education or an associate degree are the group of men most likely to be employed in regular part-time arrangements (about one in 10). We have seen that men in this arrangement are also usually young and single—many

TABLE 25
Work Arrangement, by Educational Attainment and Sex (%)

Work Arrangement	High School or Less	Some College/ Associate Degree	College Degree	Post-B.A. Education	Total
Women					
Regular Part-Time	22.8%	24.7%	15.8%	11.3%	21.3%
Temporary Help Agency	1.2	1.1	1.2	0.3	1.1
On-Call/Day Labor	1.6	1.7	2.4	0.9	1.7
Self-Employment	4.9	4.9	4.4	4.0	4.8
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.4	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	3.1	3.7	4.3	5.8	3.7
Contract Company	0.5	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.8
All Nonstandard	35.0%	37.8%	30.1%	24.5%	34.3%
Regular Full-Time	65.0	62.2	69.9	75.5	65.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Managerial	7.9%	13.5%	21.1%	18.6%	12.9%
Professional	3.2	11.0	41.6	69.3	17.6
Other White-Collar	43.0	53.8	30.0	9.8	41.7
Blue-Collar	45.9	21.7	7.3	2.4	27.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Share of Employment	41.5%	33.2%	17.5%	7.8%	100%
Male					
Regular Part-Time	6.8%	10.9%	3.8%	3.9%	7.1%
Temporary Help Agency	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.8
On-Call/Day Labor	2.1	1.5	0.6	0.3	1.5
Self-Employment	5.2	5.3	7.6	10.0	6.1
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	0.5	0.7	1.5	1.7	0.9
Independent Contracting-SE [b]	6.8	6.7	8.5	8.5	7.3
Contract Company	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.6
All Nonstandard	24.0%	27.7%	24.0%	26.5%	25.3%
Regular Full-Time	76.0	72.3	76.0	73.5	74.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Managerial	6.7%	13.6%	31.1%	25.3%	14.9%
Professional	1.6	7.1	26.1	58.5	13.1
Other White-Collar	14.5	27.6	27.1	11.1	20.2
Blue-Collar	77.1	51.6	15.6	5.1	51.8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Share of Employment	43.9%	28.3%	18.0%	9.7%	100%

[a] Wage and Salary

[b] Self-Employment

may be working part-time while they complete college degrees. Women with some college or an associate degree are also more likely than their more educated counterparts to be employed part time (as are women with high school degrees or less). These women are also more likely than men working part time to be married.

Career Trajectories

Nonstandard work arrangements are poor stepping stones to regular employment.

We have seen that the large majority of managers and professionals who are self-employed or are independent contractors are satisfied with their work arrangements and are not seeking standard arrangements. As we have also seen, older workers are over-represented in these types of arrangements, probably following a planned career trajectory, making transitions into retirement, or caring for elderly relatives and retired spouses.

On the other hand, those managers and professionals employed as temporary, on-call, and contract workers are often relatively young and would prefer standard work arrangements. Many of these dissatisfied workers may be hoping to use nonstandard arrangements as a stepping stone to a regular full-time job. A recent study by the National Association of Temporary and Staffing Services (1994) found that 78% of surveyed workers take temp jobs in order to increase their chances of getting a regular full-time job. **Table 26** suggests that nonstandard work arrangements are poor stepping stones to regular employment. In managerial and professional occupations, women appear slightly more likely than men to have made the transition from nonstandard to standard employment, though the percentages of workers making this transition are relatively small: 6.8% of female regular full-time employees previously worked in a nonstandard work arrangement for their current employer (this percentage represents slightly more than 800,000 jobs). Only 4.0% of male managers and professionals who are regular full-time employees previously worked in other arrangements for the same employer (this represents about 500,000 jobs). These data suggest, then, that there are some opportunities to move from nonstandard to standard work arrangements with an employer, but only for a relatively small proportion of the total labor force.

In this period of downsizing and corporate restructuring, it is probably more common for managers and professionals to move from standard to nonstandard employment. **Table 27** shows the number and percentage of workers in four nonstandard arrangements that reported previous employment for the same employer in a different work arrangement. The data unfortunately do not tell us whether these prior arrangements were regular full-time or nonstandard. Fully one-third of managers and professionals who are working as wage-and-salary independent contractors reported that they had worked previously for their employer in another arrangement (repre-

TABLE 26
Regular Workers Who Previously Worked for Their Current Employer in a Nonstandard Arrangement (%)

	Managerial and Professional		Other White-Collar	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Regular Full-time	6.8%	4.0%	5.5%	3.6%
Share Whose Previous Nonstandard Job Was Immediately Before Current Job	5.5	3.4	4.9	3.0

TABLE 27
Nonstandard Workers Who Previously Worked for Current Employer in a Different Work Arrangement, by Nonstandard Work Arrangement and Sex (%)

Current Work Arrangement	Male	Female	Total	Previous Work Was Immediately Before Current Job	Prefer a Standard Work Arrangement: Yes	No	Depends
Managerial and Professional							
Temporary Help Agency	11.0%	12.5%	11.8%	7.8%	48.5%	31.9%	19.6%
On-Call	19.3	18.3	18.5	12.3	56.7	39.1	4.2
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	33.8	33.1	33.6	22.3	29.8	67.6	2.6
Contract Company	8.3	15.4	11.1	10.3	—	—	—
Other White-Collar							
Temporary Help Agency	17.7%	6.3%	8.8%	4.6%	63.8%	27.4%	8.8%
On-Call	12.8	26.6	23.8	14.5	62.1	34.0	3.9
Independent Contracting-WS [a]	22.4	18.7	20.5	14.0	14.8	79.5	5.7
Contract Company	28.5	19.5	23.7	12.6	—	—	—

[a] Wage and Salary

senting a total of slightly more than 100,000 jobs), and about one in five on-call workers reported previous employment in a different arrangement.

The last three columns of Table 27 show the percentages of persons in these nonstandard work arrangements who had worked previously for their current employer in a different arrangement but preferred a standard one. The majority of managers and professionals who were on-call preferred a standard work arrangement, as did nearly half of those employed by temporary help agencies. In contrast, two-thirds of the managers and professionals who were independent contractors did not prefer a standard work arrangement. This satisfied group may be making a career move or a planned transition to retirement, while the dissatisfied remaining one-third may be making the best of a post-restructuring corporate reality.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As we have seen, few married women have chosen to remain outside the paid labor force in order to enable their husbands to work long hours. Among those with children, the dual-earner family is the most common type. Women's work force participation has swelled due to increased education, falling birth rates, and desire for economic independence. As workforce participation demands an ever-greater time commitment from managers and professionals, many workers find their family commitments increasingly stressful and difficult to meet, especially for women who bear the lion's share of housework and child care (Hochschild 1997).

Nonstandard work arrangements, while helpful for expanding the options of some workers, rarely offer effective strategies for most of those hoping to resolve the competing demands of work and family.

Unfortunately, we find that nonstandard work arrangements, while helpful for expanding the options of some workers, rarely offer effective strategies for most of those hoping to resolve the competing demands of work and family. Perhaps the best that can be said of NSWAs is that some arrangements appear to be relatively successful for mothers in dual-earner families who wish to maintain nominal involvement in their careers while freeing up their husbands to work longer hours. Working in nonstandard arrangements can, depending on the arrangement, allow women to work as few as half the number of hours as their full-time counterparts, permitting them to tend to domestic obligations that often disproportionately fall to them. This part-time employment does not appear to have a negative impact on hourly wages (compared to regular full-time workers with the same personal and job characteristics) for these women, although it does ultimately limit weekly earnings. These limited earnings can result in a gap between the contributions made by husbands and wives to total family income, an important factor if a spouse's decision-making power is dictated by income-level within a family. But part-time work may prevent greater inequalities in power relations between husbands and wives than would occur if the wife dropped out of the workforce entirely.

The tradeoffs inherent in working in nonstandard jobs may explain why the majority of managers and professionals who are mothers living in dual-earner families continue to work at regular full-time jobs. For single women, the tradeoffs seem even less acceptable, as even more of them work in regular full-time jobs than their married counterparts.

If the number of hours worked per week are any indication, then nonstandard arrangements do not provide fathers with enhanced flexibility or increased non-work time. In these arrangements, fathers (especially independent contractors and the self-employed) tend to work the equivalent of a full day longer each week than fathers in regular full-time jobs. Although some of these fathers may be earning more, they are usually left with less time to spend with their family.

Nonstandard work also fails families in terms of health care coverage. All types of nonstandard workers are much less likely than regular full-time employees to receive health benefits (and pensions).

Finally, for some workers, nonstandard arrangements are often not the most satisfying or preferred ones. Compared to their white counterparts, men and women of color in nonstandard arrangements report being particularly dissatisfied, perhaps owing to the fact that many black and Hispanic managers and professionals find themselves in lower-quality nonstandard work arrangements.

All things considered, these data suggest that the continued growth of nonstandard work arrangements will not facilitate worker's efforts to balance their time between work and family. Nor will these arrangements assist most young workers just beginning their professional lives; in the end, nonstandard arrangements rarely lead to standard jobs. In fact, with the exception a few older managers and professionals, regular work arrangements appear preferable for both men and women at all stages of life. If corporate culture can recognize the value in and embrace social programs such as universal child care, paid family leave, and initiatives such as flex-time, then nonstandard work will not be so frequently looked to as the only option for addressing conflicts between work and family. Such changes may lead to more equitable divisions of labor in the home and more serious attention to the needs of working adults.

Men and women of color in nonstandard arrangements report being particularly dissatisfied.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Definitions of Nonstandard Work Arrangements

Regular Part-Time
Respondents who reported they were wage and salary workers, worked less than 35 hours each week, and were not classified in any of the other nonstandard work arrangements (NSWAs) listed herein.

Temporary Help Agency (or Temps)
Respondents reported being a wage and salary worker and answered "yes" to the following question: "Are you paid by a temporary help agency? (A temporary help agency supplies workers to other companies on an as-needed basis or supplies workers to other companies primarily for short-term assignments.)"

On-Call
Respondents reported being a wage and salary worker and answered "yes" to the following question: "Some people are in a pool of workers who are **only** called to work as needed, although they can be scheduled to work for several days or weeks in a row, for example substitute teachers, and construction workers supplied by a union hiring hall. These people are sometimes referred to as 'on-call' workers. Were you an on-call worker last week?"

Day Labor
Respondents reported being a wage and salary worker and answered "yes" to the following question: "Some people get work by waiting at a place where employers pick up people to work for a day. These people are sometimes called day laborers. Were you a day laborer last week?"

Self-Employment
Respondents reported being self-employed and answered "yes" to the following question: "Are you self-employed," for example "as a shop or restaurant owner?"

Independent Contracting—Wage and Salary
Respondents reported being a wage and salary worker and answered "yes" to the following question: "Last week, were you working as an independent contractor, an independent consultant, or a free-lance worker? That is, someone who obtains customers on their own to provide a product or service. Independent contractors, independent consultants, and free-lance workers can have other employees working for them."

Independent Contracting—Self-Employment
Respondents answered "yes" to the following question: "Last week, were you working as an independent contractor, an independent consultant, or a free-lance worker? That is, someone who obtains customers on their own to provide a product or service. Independent contractors, independent consultants, and free-lance workers can have other employees working for them" and answered "yes" to the question "Are you self-employed as an independent contractor, independent consultant, or free-lance worker?"

Contract Company
Respondents reported being a wage and salary worker and answered "yes" to the following question: "Some companies provide employees or their services to others under contract. A few examples of services that can be contracted out include security, landscaping, or computer programming. Did you work for a company that contracts out you or your services last week?"

We classified as "contract workers" all persons who did contract work (N=630), regardless of whether they work at the employers' work site (N=61), the work site of a single contractee (N=258), or the work site of more than one contractee (N=311). This conception of contract work differs from that used by the BLS which does not classify as contract workers persons who did not work at the contractee's work site. BLS requires a respondent to answer "no" to the question "Are you usually assigned to more than one customer?" and "yes" to "Do you usually work at the customer's worksite?" We do not require any particular answer to those questions.

Regular Full-Time
Respondents who reported they were wage and salary workers, worked 35 hours or more each week, and who were not classified in any of the nonstandard work arrangements (NSWAs) listed above.

ENDNOTES

1. See Table 1 for an overview of these data.

2. The Basic CPS identified whether a person was self-employed or a wage-and-salaried employee. The Supplement asked all persons whether or not they were independent contractors. Some respondents who were classified as wage-and-salaried employees in the Basic CPS identified themselves as independent contractors in the Supplement. We distinguish these two groups of independent contractors whenever possible in the tables, since they appear to differ on a variety of outcomes. Presenting results separately for these two groups also allows the reader to combine self-employed independent contractors with other self-employed persons.

3. Small sample size requires us to combine blacks, Hispanics, and members of "other" races into a single non-white category for this examination.

4. The entries in Tables 8A and 8B are odds ratios obtained from logistic regression models predicting whether a person was employed in a particular work arrangement (such as temporary help agency employment) in contrast to full-time employment. Odds ratios greater than 1 indicate that the variable is positively related to the NSWA, while odds ratios less than 1 indicate that the relationship is negative. For example, women professionals are 3.32 times more likely to work on-call compared to other female white-collar workers with similar characteristics. Male managers are 1.56 times more likely to be self-employed compared to other male white-collar workers. Statistically significant effects are denoted by asterisks.

5. *Voluntary reasons* can include health limitations, workers' preferences for a flexible work schedule or limited work commitment, the need to supplement retirement income, being in school, or the desire to gain experience or skills. Family obligations include child care problems and other family/personal obligations. Involuntary reasons include slack business conditions, the worker's inability to find regular employment, the worker having been laid off and subsequently rehired as a nonstandard employee, or the worker's hope that the nonstandard job will become a regular full-time job.

6. The payroll tax of 7.65% includes a tax of 6.20% on personal earnings up to $61,200 in 1995 for Social Security and 1.45% on all earnings for Medicare.

7. To be precise, the employer share of the payroll is not an offset to the wages of standard workers as presented here, but it is to the wages of the self-employed.

8. Nonstandard female and male workers in all occupations (not just managers and professionals) are more likely, on average, to work in low-wage industries and occupations, and lack union representation or fringe benefits (see Kalleberg et al. 1997).

9. These data are from unpublished tables developed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics based on data from the March 1996 Current Population Survey.

10. We omit from this analysis the self-employed and self-employed independent contractors since they do not have an employer.

11. See Kalleberg et al. (1997) for an explanation of these differences in definition.

APPENDIX

It is widely believed that the share of the labor force employed in nonstandard work arrangements is growing. While probably true, data to document this trend do not exist. The data used in this analysis are from the first survey that asked workers about their participation in all the various types of nonstandard work arrangements. Therefore, there is no way to document trends by comparing to earlier numbers. However, other surveys provide data on some types of work we now call nonstandard (see table below). (The data in this table cannot be compared with the data analyzed in this report since they come from different surveys that use slightly different definitions for the various categories of work.)

The share of the labor force working part time (in any type of arrangement, not just standard employment) grew from 16.6% in 1973 to 18.8% in 1993, but fell slightly to 18.4% in 1995. Employment in the temporary help supply services industry (a somewhat different group than is measured in data used for this report) grew from 0.5% of the labor force in 1982, the first year for which data are available, to 1.2% in 1995. Self-employment grew from 6.7% in 1973 to 7.3% in 1995.

APPENDIX TABLE 1
Employment in Nonstandard Arrangements
(Share of Nonagricultural Employment)

	Part-Time	Temporary Help Agency	Self-Employed
1973	16.6%	n.a.	6.7%
1979	17.6	0.5%[a]	7.1
1989	18.1	1.1	7.5
1993	18.8	1.5	7.7
1995[b]	18.4	1.9	7.3

[a] Data for 1982.
[b] 1995 data are not strictly comparable to those of earlier years due to changes in the survey.

Note: Part-time workers are a share of all persons at work. Data for part-time workers and the self employed from BLS, *Employment and Earnings*, various years. Temps are all people employed in the help supply services industry (SIC 7363); data are from the BLS website, July 24, 1997; data prior to 1982 are not available.

APPENDIX TABLE 2
Wages in Non-Standard Work Arrangements Compared to Regular Full-Time Work, by Sex (Difference in %)

	Controlling for Personal Characteristics	
	Women	Men
Regular Part-Time	-20%***	-24%***
Temporary Help Agency	-17***	-21***
On-Call	-21***	-9**
Self-Employment	-25***	-13***
Independent Contracting	-14***	-5***
Contract Company	—	7*

	Controlling for Personal and Job Characteristics	
	Women	Men
Regular Part-Time	-5%**	-10%***
Temporary Help Agency	—	-8*
On-Call	-6*	—
Self-Employment	-6*	8**
Independent Contracting	7**	12***
Contract Company	11*	9***

* $0.01 < p <= 0.05$
** $0.001 < p <= 0.01$
*** $p <= 0.001$

Note: The dependent variable is log wages. "—" indicates difference is not significantly different from zero. The model of personal characteristics controls for: four race/ethnicity categories, six education levels, four Census regions, three urbanicity categories, age and age squared, two marital status categories, being a leased worker, and whether born in the U.S. The model that includes job characteristics also has controls for 14 industries, 12 occupations, receipt of either employer-sponsored health insurance or pension, and union membership or being covered by a union contract.

Source: Kalleberg 1997

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