"Working 9-5? Lucky You!":
The Location of Evening Work and Its Effect on Time With Children.

This study examines the allocation of evening work among parents by education and gender. A number of explanations are explored, including the role of education, employment factors, and family status on the amount of time spent working in the evening. The findings show that while there are not major differences in the amount of time parents with high and low education spend in evening work, major differences appear when considering if this evening work at home or away from home. Higher educated parents do engage in evening work, but mainly in the home. Parents with lower education perform evening work outside of the home, and are thus more removed from their children during the evening hours when children are most available for, and in need of, care. This study is unique in focusing not only on when parents work, but taking into account variations in where that work takes place. The results are useful for looking at the availability of time for children with the rise in the service sector and the expansion of the workday for professionals.

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

The evenings are special family time (Stewart and Allard 2008; Stewart 2009a) and the expansion of work into these domains have distinct negative effects on parenting time, family stability, and children's life outcomes (Aryee, Srinivas, and Tan 2005; Han 2008; Presser 2000, 2005; White and Keith 1990). This paper uses the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) to directly examine work in the evenings, and constructs a model to predict which parents are most likely to work in the evenings. It then looks at the location of this work, whether at home or not at home, and considers if evening work at home—which is the domain of the most highly educated parents—mitigates the effects of evening work on childcare. The findings may suggest if some of the educational gap in parenting is attributed to the rates and location of evening work and whether it occurs at or away from home. Results from this research allow for more detailed examinations of the trade-offs parents make when they work late.

While it is widely known that working evening and night shifts can be bad for employees, it remains unknown what precisely about these shifts makes them so bad (Åkerstedt 1998; Barnett, Gareis, and Brennan 2008; Craig 2006; Harrington 1994; White and Keith 1990). The problems of shift work could result from having an abnormal schedule, a schedule that conflicts with social life, or working in the most likely times for childcare and marital interaction. Recent media attention has discussed the many problems with 'shift work,' broadly defined as any work outside of the 9-5 realm (Culpepper 2010; Drake et al. 2004). Non-standard work has been linked to physical problems such as increased weight gain and increased potential for diabetes; shift workers have also been found to have long-lasting sleep disorders, often leading to poor work quality and dangers on the job (Åkerstedt 1998; Åkerstedt et al. 2004; Knauth et al. 1980). Medical companies now tout the effectiveness of medicines designed to combat the newly coined 'shift-work disorder'(Drake et al. 2004; Williams et al. 2008). This disorder is created, in large part, by the fact that people can only adjust their sleep patterns and cortisol output by an hour or two a night (Griefahn and Robens n.d.). Even those receiving services from non-standard workers are not immune to the problems created by shift-work-- the rates of death at hospitals are much higher at night and on the weekends, when over-worked and under-trained junior hospital staff are on duty (D. J. Becker 2007; Peberdy et al. 2008).

Lost among this research is how parents' workdays shapes their availability to nurture, and improve their wellbeing of their children. Prior research measures when the majority of hours are worked to define the shift (Presser and Cox 1997; Presser 1995, 2005; Wight, Raley, and Bianchi 2008), and thus lacks the specificity to look work during the times of day children are available, specifically the period after work. While this is enlightening, it

misses the opportunity to use time-use data to directly measure how working specifically at times children are most likely to be home effects parental time with children. Also missing from prior studies is any indication of if the work occurs at home or away from home. While it is easy to imagine the busy executive doing a few hours of work while their child does homework, it is quite a different thing to have a mother who can only take a call from their child while at work, or not even that. There is a strong need to study how many hours, which hours, and where workers are likely to work.

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

The Majority Hour Shift Definition

Existing research on work timing focuses on shift work, defined as when the majority of hours are worked each day (day, evening, or night shifts). (Presser and Cox 1997; Presser 1995, 2005; Wight et al. 2008). This measure is particularly useful for recording jobs in manufacturing, where schedules are strict and shifts change on regular schedules, if at all. The measurement of a work shift is accurate only in so far as the variation in start and end times can be consistent across the sample. This requirement indicates most of the people working a ‘day shift’ not only have the majority of their hours between 8am and

4pm, but also that they all end their workdays at similar times, or the end and length of the workday are reasonably distributed across the domains of interest. This is unlikely to be the case as the modern workforce is more oriented towards part-time, non-unionized, service work, meaning that hours may extend to either end at no great cost to the company, and many individuals may hold two or more jobs, or work flexibly as freelancers.

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

The Consequences of Evening Work

Evening work carries with it a number of consequences for parents and children. Parents who work in the evenings are less likely to spend time with their partners (Presser 2000), due to the lack of overlap in the schedules of couples (Lesnard 2008). Indeed, the issues of a lack of schedule overlap can lead to higher rates of marital dissatisfaction (P. E.

Becker and Moen 1999; White and Keith 1990). While some cases may exist where both parents both work off-schedules, these are rare (Presser 2005). As such, it can be understood that parents are most likely to see each other in the evenings.

The traditional majority shift measure predicts parents on non-day shifts can spend more time with their children (Presser 2005). That established relationship between evening work and increased time with children suggests that either children are being parented at a time other than the evening, that parents on the evening shift are not working much during the evening hours when children are available, or that parents are somehow available to parent while working in the evenings, possibly by working from home. But, it is unclear what precisely non-day shifts consist of. An evening shift starting at 6pm allows afternoons for childcare, whereas an evening shift starting at 3pm may not. As explained above, it highlights the need to use more detailed measurements work time, including temporal location at work. More recent evidence points to parents of children under school age engaging in parenting during the evenings, with some activities like reading to small children always happening around bed-time (Stewart and Allard 2008; Stewart 2009a). If evening parenting is the normal response when the parent is constricted by outside controls on their time (work), it should be even stronger when parents' time is limited again with children who are school aged, and strictly scheduled on most weekdays.

Who Works Evenings?

Prior research has focused on why parents may opt *out* of doing evening work, finding that parents with young children will opt out of evening work (Presser 2005; Wight et al. 2008). In some cases prior literature suggests that parents may arrange their schedules so

one parent is free during the day to watch young children, or to be home when children arrive back from school (Hochschild 2001; Presser 2005; Sharman and Sharman 2008). However, these cases may be rare, and obviously not all parents can or do avoid working evenings, despite the evidence that it is not family-friendly, and the obvious toll reported by evening workers in qualitative research (Hochschild 2001; Sharman and Sharman 2008).

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

Schedule control is a major factor in determining the rates of evening work. Jobs in the secondary labor market tend to have less regularity and less advanced notice of the hours to be worked week to week (Henly, Shaefer, and Waxman 2006). The service employees who are able to exert some schedule control tend to be higher level workers, either older or with a longer tenure at the firm (Lambert 2008; Moss, Salzman, and Tilly 2005). Since many hours in the service industry are in the evenings, a double burden is placed on parents—short advanced notice and having to work in the evenings(Henly et al. 2006). In

addition, these jobs are less likely to come with benefits, since they are more likely to be flexible work (Houseman 2001). Part-time job growth in recent decades is driven by employer need rather than employee preference (Kalleberg 2000). There is reason to believe the rise in evening work follows the same pattern of employer needs rather than employee preference.

Low-income parents may also be forced into a second job for extra money. In her study of low-income service employees in four industries, A study of part-time retail workers finds that around one-third of respondents would like more hours (Lambert 2008). These extra hours will come at peak shopping times, leading to evening work. Working in the evening will be especially prevalent when the second job extends total weekly work beyond 40 hours, or is in a sector with unstable hours. The story for retail employees can be contrasted with the moves among retail companies to allow their highly-paid corporate workers to shift their schedules to accommodate family needs (Kelly, Moen, and Tranby 2011; Kelly and Moen 2007). The class difference inherent in these two scenarios should be noted, as only the white-collar employees have the liberty to change their hours at their will. While Stewart (2009a) finds that mothers working part-time will generally move their work to be available for their children, it is likely this phenomenon is located mostly mothers with high levels of job selection and education.

This is not to say that all jobs requiring evening work are in poorly paid and in the service sector. True, most of the stable, union, night-time manufacturing jobs are gone or rapidly disappearing (Hamermesh 1999). However, within elite business careers there is a move towards busyness as a badge of honor, where high-income workers are judged on input, rather than output (Gershuny 2005; Sullivan 2008). These workers may stay late to

impress their bosses or finish work, especially as the recession threatens their job security while reducing the number of colleagues they may have. However, these jobs may also allow work from home, unlike direct service employment. Working at home may mitigate the threat to time with family and children, and it needs to be explored in contrast to working away from home in the evenings, or at home during the day.

The Effects of Working at Home on Family Time

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

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

This paper extends prior research into non-standard work hours by focusing specifically on work in the evenings. Using the ATUS, I will test three main hypotheses:

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

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

H_3 states: Evening work at home will be the domain of high-income workers. These workers have more discretion about their work and are more likely to be doing work that requires minimal, physical, interactions with other employees and clients. While it can be expected that some lower-income employees perform work at home, the rates will likely be less dramatic or even negative compared to those of high-income workers.

H_4 States: Parents working from home in the evenings are more accessible to their children than workers who do evening work outside of the home. Working at home in the evenings will mitigate the effect of working at home in the evening These hypotheses will provide previously unknown evidence about which parents work evenings and if that work is outside or inside the home.

METHODS

Focusing directly on evening work requires data that allows the examination of work at specific times of day. The best way to examine this type of work is to use time diary data. Time diary data collects information about a respondent's day, usually from 4am on the diary day until 4am the next day. The American Time Use Survey (ATUS) asks the respondent to walk the phone interviewer through the previous day in sequential order

from 4am. Each activity is coded with the activity type, who else is present, start and stop times, where the respondent is located, and (for most activities) if the respondent is doing any secondary childcare during this activity. Time use data provides an excellent way to look very specifically at the exact timing of work and tradeoffs made between work and home (Chenu and Lesnard 2006).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables will measure all evening work, evening work outside the home, and evening work inside the home. Work is measured as any type of activity directly related to employment. Time in work outside the home uses the same measure as the overall work measure, but limits it to work that is located away from home. Time at work inside the home includes anything related to paid work that is coded as being inside the home. The ATUS does not ask who the respondent is with while they are working for years 2003-2009, so it is not possible to know if children are present when individuals are working inside or outside the home for most years.

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

Independent Variables

Evening work should be mainly distributed to individuals with the least bargaining power, so educational background will serve as a proxy for human capital. Education will be interacted with gender, to see how education differs by gender. Multiple jobs will also drive evening work and will be included in the models.

The gendering of jobs has a robust literature, and this paper will control for gender in all models (England 1992). Race has often been a contributing factor to job assignment, and it will be controlled for as well. If the respondent is in the labor force will be controlled for, as some parents do not work, likewise there are controls for parents in part-time employment. The age of youngest child may affect the timing of employment as parenting of older children may occur later in the evenings than that of younger children.

Analysis Techniques

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

There are a number of possible models to use to measure the amount of evening work that is done. There is no standard model used in time-use literature, though there is a lively debate about how to treat the large number of zeroes inherent in time use data (Stewart 2009b). These zeroes may mean the respondent *never* does the activity, or that the respondent does not do the activity *on that diary day*, but may otherwise do the

activity. An OLS estimate will overestimate the importance of zeroes, but is widely used. The Tobit is also popular, particularly among economists (Kalenkoski, Ribar, and Stratton 2005, 2007, 2008). The benefit of the Tobit model is the ability to censor at the bottom and top of the distribution. The bottom censoring will deal with instances of zero time in an activity, while an upper limit will prevent estimating points beyond the maximum number of minutes in a evening (180 minutes)[1].

Sample

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

RESULTS

[1] A late entry dark horse candidate in this race is the use of a Poisson-Gamma distribution, which estimates the dependent variable with a count distribution when there are many zeros and few values and normally distributed as the number of zeros declines and the number of minutes increases (Brown and Dunn 2011).

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

Figure 2 shows results for the marginal effects on the latent variable measured by the Tobit estimation. This figure shows little change for fathers, but a descending slope in evening work for mothers. Mothers who never attended college are predicted to spend more time in evening work than equivalently educated fathers, while the results are nearly equal for mothers and fathers who spent any time in college. The educational gradient is only weakly supported for fathers time in evening work, which is strange given the large amount of prior evidence that highly educated parents of both genders are more attached to intensive parenting, and generally do more parenting (presumably much of it in the evenings). It is possible that college educated mothers are protecting their evening hours for family rather than work. Certainly they are engaging in less evening work than highly educated mothers.

Figure 3 shows the predicted minutes in evening work away from home on the latent variable y*, the latent variable in the Tobit regression. The educational gradient is very clear: less educated parents do significantly more evening work away from home than highly educated parents. The decline is steeper for mothers than fathers, and the results

suggest low educated mothers do a larger amount of evening work away from home, while more highly educated mothers do evening work at home at rates less than equivalently educated fathers.

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

The results of Figure 4 suggest that highly educated mothers and fathers who may do evening work are doing more of it at home than any other group of parents. Meanwhile, less educated mothers and fathers do little, if any work from home. This shows the more highly educated and privileged parents are also able to do their evening work at home, where children are closer at hand than working away from home.

Table 3 shows the effect of evening work at home or away from home on time with children. Model 1 shows the effects on time during the evening, and as expected working at home or away from home both decrease the amount of time parents spend with their children in the evening. The models in table 3 avoid the endogenous variable of education (the primary predictor of time in evening work at home or away from home), though separate analyses including education does not change the main effects. Model 1 shows the marginal effects for the y* of the Tobit model should show the unit change for in (bounded) predicted minutes in time with children from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. for each x variable. Each minute working at home correlates with a drop of .32 minutes in time with children; each hour of evening work at home correlates with a decrease of nearly twenty

minutes in time with children. On the other hand, each minute of work away from home correlates to .82 less minutes with children in the evening, or roughly 48 less minutes at home with children in the evening per hour worked in the evening. These results suggest that parents working in the evenings are making some effort to spend non-evening work time with their children (or else the effect sizes would be 1), but that the parents working away from home are less able to do this than parents working from home. Again, this is to be expected since the parents working from home have no need to commute between home and work, and can easily trade between one and the other to maximize time with children while working from home. Still, there is a penalty of over one minute less with children in the evening for each five minutes worked at home in the evenings.

Model 2 in table 3 shows the results on time with children across the entire day for working at home or away from home in the evenings. When considering time with family across the day, there is still a strong effect for working away from home on time with children. Every five minutes of work away from home correlates with a decrease of one minute in time with children during the entire day. Aside from the opportunity cost of being at work, another reason the decline in time with children across the day may be the difference in time spent commuting between work and home. Also shown in table 3 is a lack of a significant effect for individuals working at home in the evening. One possible explanation is that individuals working at home in the evening are compensating for the difference in time, and doing even more childcare than those who do not work evenings. Another possibility is that the few households where parents work from home in the evenings (less than 10% of all working parents), is structurally different regardless of working from home in the evenings, for example the evening work at home is the result

of some unmeasured cause. This may in fact be the case as 85% of individuals working at home in the evenings have a college degree or some college education. Thus, it is possible the educational effect is being represented here due to its endogenous relationship with the main dependent variables. In tests that are not shown, the interactions between education and evening work are not significant. However, there is a major problem with co-linearity between the two, so these results should be considered tentative, at best. Regardless, the fact that the childcare of evening workers both at home and away from home is shifted away from peak childcare hours suggests that evening work at home and away from home does show a significant change in the time spent with children during normal parenting times. However, some homeworkers may make up this time when considering the entire day, a result consistent with prior mixed findings about the amount of time individuals on different shifts spend with their children.

DISCUSSION

Highly educated employees are more likely to work at home than employees with less education, who are more likely to be in jobs that require direct interaction with clients and machines. The highly educated workers are still working, they just happen to be at home. While it is perfectly possible that they are more accessible to their children, they may also be torn between simultaneously trying to balance work and family life in the same physical space. In fact, both activities may suffer. The takeaway from these results is that less educated parents do more evening work, and do more evening work outside of the home. Parents with a college degree do not do any less evening work than parents who have only attended some college, but the evening work they do is at home, where they have the possibility of interacting with their children. Future work in this area will

explore how these three types of work arrangements may affect childcare by education level of the parents.

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

Table 2. Tobit Results for Different Types of Evening Work

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

	(4.823)	(6.253)	(6.049)
Constant	-128.177***	-189.561***	-203.400***
	(7.369)	(9.769)	(10.553)
Sigma Constant	145.794***	174.855***	109.459***
	(2.051)	(2.915)	(3.007)
N	13770	13770	13770
N (Uncensored)	3551	2643	1017
Log Likelihood	-27700	-21800	-8752.662

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

Table 3. Marginal Effects (y*) for Time With Children Given Time in Evening Work

	Time with Children 6 p.m. – 9 p.m.	Time with Children All Times
Evening Work At Home	-0.325***	0.102
	(0.030)	(0.651)
Evening Work Away From Home	-0.815***	-0.433***
	(0.016)	(0.024)
Male	-13.451***	-49.892***
	(1.12)	(2.402)
Age (Mean Centered)	1.677*	0.391*
	(0.074)	(0.157)
Age of Youngest Child	-2.930***	-7.770***
	(0.124)	(0.262)
Number of Children	4.322***	12.271***
	(0.584)	(1.244)
Single	-24.837***	-57.554***
	(1.251)	(2.677)
Work under 7 Hours on Day	0.155	87.875***
	(1.306)	(2.973)
Work 9+ Hours on Day	-2.268	-39.362
	(1.395)	(2.817)
Baseline Estimate	67.373	173.187
N	13770	13770
N (Uncensored)	8488	11834
Log Likelihood	-54832.494	-78931.856
N	13770	13770

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

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

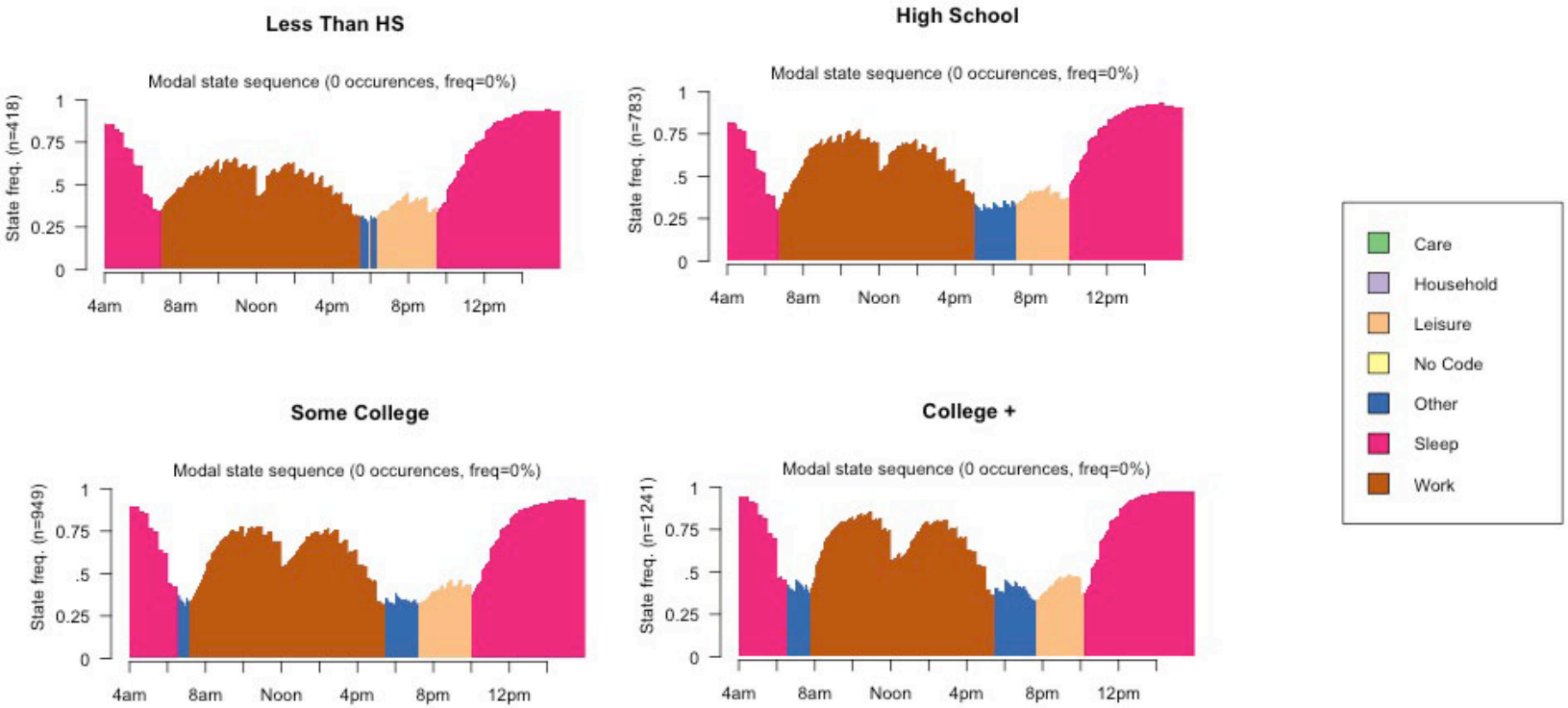

Figure 2. Marginal Effects Estimates for Time in All Evening Work (y* estimator).

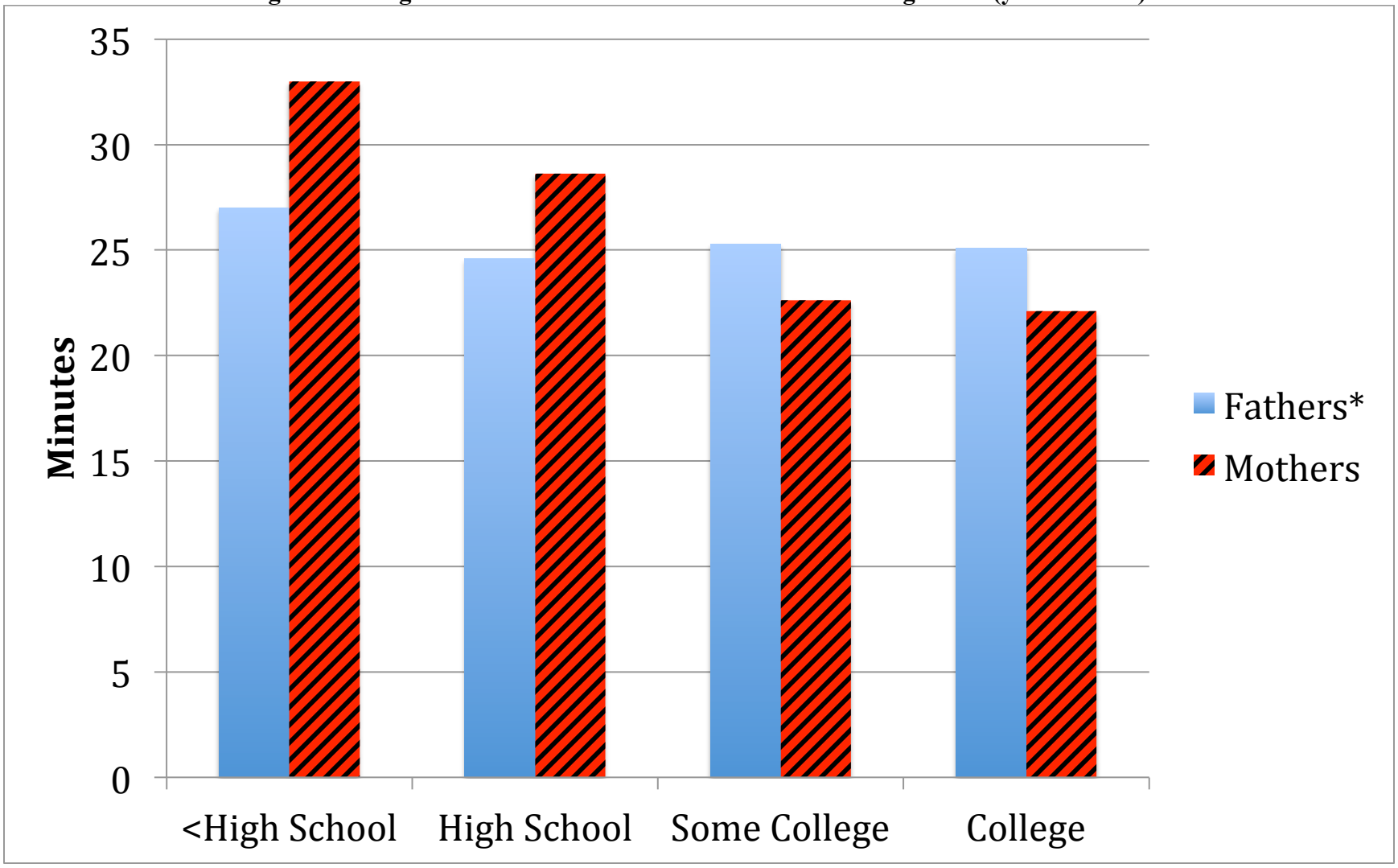

Figure 3. Marginal Effects Estimates for Time in Evening Work Away from Home (y* estimator).

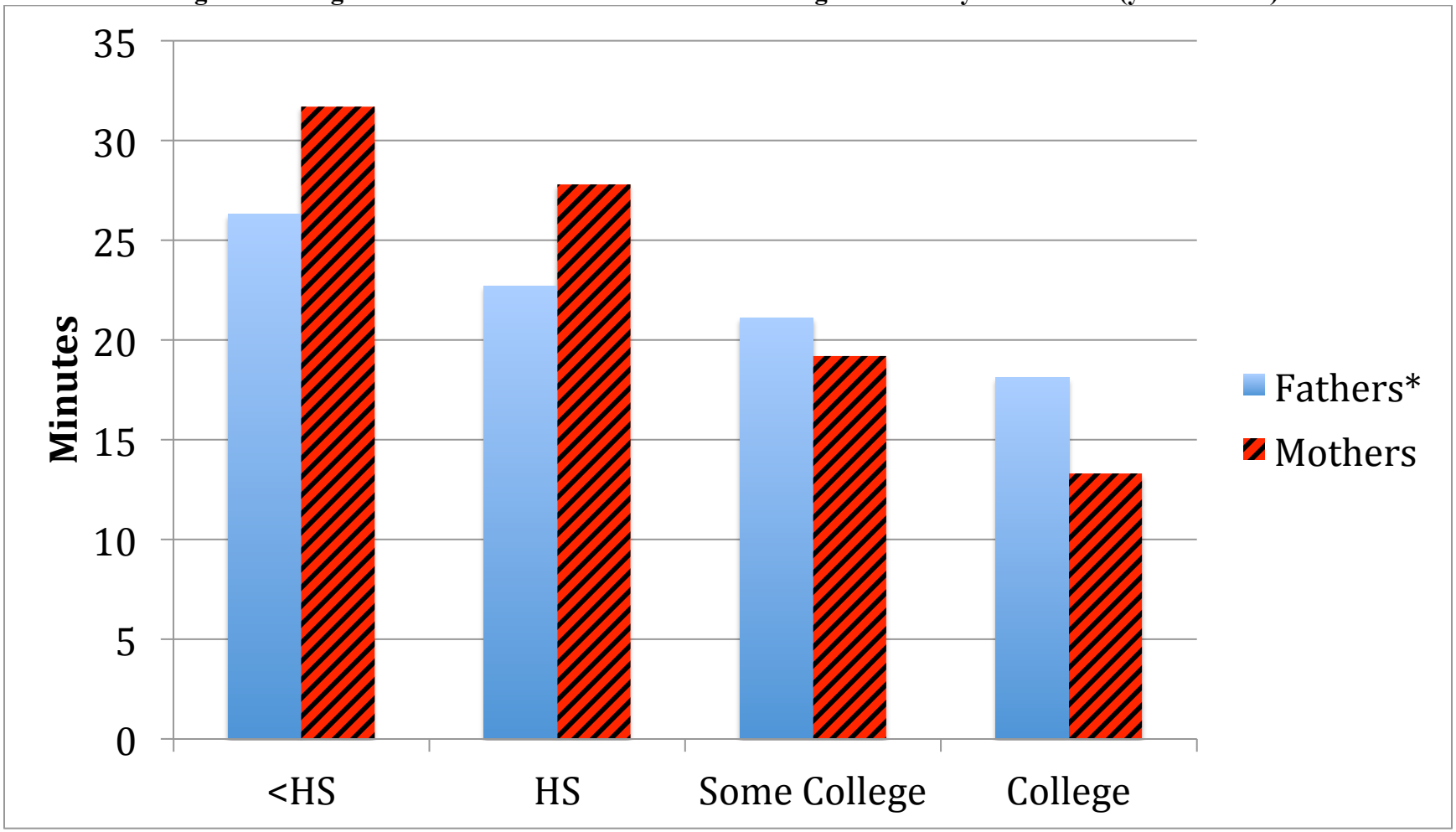

Figure 4. Marginal Effects Estimates for Time in All Evening Work at Home (y* estimator).