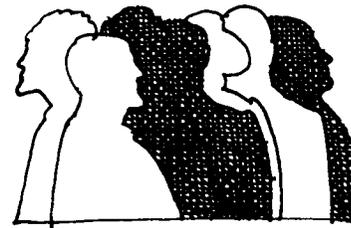


Special Labor Force Reports—Summaries



Working mothers and their children

ALLYSON SHERMAN GROSSMAN

At the outset of the 1980's, children with working mothers are more the rule rather than the exception. In March, 53 percent of all children under age 18—a total of 30.7 million—had mothers who were either employed or looking for work. (See table 1.) New marital patterns, relatively high inflation, and smaller families have all contributed to increases in women's labor force activity. By early 1980, more than 17 million mothers of children under age 18 were in the work force, 44 percent more than in 1970. (See table 2.) Moreover, in the past 10 years, the number of children whose mothers were in the labor force has grown by more than 5 million despite the falling birth rate and the consequent reduction in the total number of children in the population.¹

Changing family patterns

During the past decade, the marital and family composition of the population has undergone pervasive changes. Among the most prominent were the declining incidence of marriage and childbearing among young women. Between March 1970 and March 1980, the proportion of never-married women among all those 20 to 24 years old increased from 36 to 50 percent, while among those age 25 to 29, the proportion almost doubled from 11 to 21 percent. At the same time, many young women who chose to marry exhibited an increased propensity toward childlessness, delayed childbearing, and smaller families. For instance, in June 1979 about 6 percent of all married women between the ages of 25 and 34 reported that they expected to remain childless throughout their lifetimes, compared with about 3 percent in 1967. Among wives who intended to have children, motherhood was often postponed. Young women who had their first child between 1975 and 1978 did so an average of 2 years after marriage, about 9 months later than did women who married a decade

ago. In addition, only slightly more than 3 of 10 wives expected to have 3 children or more. In 1967, this figure was more than 6 of 10.²

Increased labor market activity among women may be related to these lowered expectations to a large extent, as women who work outside their homes characteristically have smaller families than women not in the labor force. For example, in June 1979, working wives aged 18 to 24 expected on average to have two children while those who were out of the labor force intended to have a little more than two. In addition, wives who are in the labor force usually have their children later in life than do those who are not working outside their homes. In 1979, working wives between 18 and 24 years old had given birth to an average of less than 30 percent of the youngsters they expected to have during their lifetimes, while nonworking wives had given birth to more than 50 percent. Similar patterns existed among older wives.³

Reflecting these trends in childbearing, the birth rate plummeted, and in 1975–76 hit the lowest level ever recorded. Since then, the rate has edged up slightly to 15.9 births per thousand women in the population⁴ as women further into their childbearing years now begin to have the offspring they postponed at the outset of the 1970's. In the year ending with March 1980, the

Table 1. Number of own children under 18 years old, by age, type of family, and labor force status of mother, March 1970 and March 1980

[Numbers in thousands]

Item	Total children under 18		Children 6 to 17		Children under 6	
	March 1970	March 1980*	March 1970	March 1980*	March 1970	March 1980*
Total children ¹	65,755	58,107	46,149	40,688	19,606	17,418
Mother in labor force	25,544	30,663	19,954	23,196	5,590	7,467
Mother not in labor force	39,550	26,493	25,627	16,722	13,923	9,771
Husband-wife families	58,399	46,829	40,479	32,150	17,920	14,679
Mother in labor force	21,982	24,218	17,035	18,032	4,947	6,186
Mother not in labor force	36,417	22,611	23,444	14,118	12,973	8,493
Families maintained by women ²	6,695	10,327	5,102	7,768	1,593	2,559
Mother in labor force	3,562	6,445	2,919	5,164	643	1,281
Mother not in labor force	3,133	3,882	2,183	2,604	950	1,278
Families maintained by men ²	661	951	568	771	93	180

¹ Children are defined as "own" children of the family. Included are never-married sons, daughters, stepchildren, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children such as grandchildren, nieces, nephews, cousins, and unrelated children.

² Includes only divorced, separated, widowed, or never-married persons.

Note: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.
r = revised.

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number of children below age 6 registered its first increase in a decade. However, this growth of nearly 440,000 was more than offset by a greater drop in the school-age population (children 6 to 17 years old). Thus, a net decline occurred in the total population of youngsters below age 18; and over the decade, the number of children in this age group living in families dropped by more than 7.5 million.

Besides a dwindling youth population, the dual influences of marital disruption and of parenthood among never-married women have resulted in some changing family structures. For instance, while the number of children living in two-parent families fell significantly, substantial increases were registered in the number living with only one parent. Whereas in March 1970, about 1 child of 9 lived solely with either a mother or a father; by March 1980, this proportion had grown to almost 1 in 5. Although the vast majority of these children lived with their mothers, the number living with their fathers only had also risen substantially. However, less than 2 percent of all children reside solely with their fathers.

More children with working mothers

Even with a declining youth population, the number and proportion of children with working mothers climbed steadily between 1970 and 1980. During this time, women entered the labor force at an unprecedented pace, averaging over 1 million net additions each year except for 1970–71, a recessionary period. The greatest labor force gains were posted among women 25 to 34 years of age. Many in this age group, who in other times typically stopped working for marriage or childbearing, are no longer doing so. Their labor force participation rate advanced by 21 percentage points in 10 years, reaching 66 percent in March 1980. Because nearly 7 of 10 women this age have children, more youngsters than ever before have working mothers.

As expected, younger children are less likely than older ones to have mothers in the labor force. Of all those living with both parents, the proportions whose mothers were employed or looking for work ranged from 42 percent for those below age 6, to 54 percent for those ages 6 to 13, and to 59 percent for those 14 to 17 years old. (See table 3.) These proportions were significantly greater for children living with their mothers only, but the same order prevailed.

That proportionately fewer younger than older children have working mothers results from the interaction of many factors. First, the belief of some mothers that only a parent can provide the loving, caring environment that a young child needs to be properly nurtured may limit some women's labor force activity. Others find that adequate care for young children, particularly for those below age 2, is difficult to locate. Arrange-

ments for older children—who attend school for most of the day—are somewhat easier to make. Then, too, the cost of quality care for a young child may be prohibitive. Also, because many of the mothers of young children are young themselves, they may lack the education, skills, and experience necessary for some of today's jobs.

Racial differences

Besides age, race and family structure also influence the likelihood of a child having a mother in the work force. Overall, black children are more likely than white children to have a mother in the labor force—57 per-

Table 2. Families with children under 18 years old by age, type of family, and employment status of parents, March 1980

[Numbers in thousands]

Item	Families with children under 18 years			
	Total	Under 6 years	6 to 13 years, none younger	14 to 17 years, none younger
Total families with children	30,811	13,260	11,772	5,778
Mother in labor force	17,107	6,105	7,476	3,526
Employed	15,961	5,544	7,031	3,385
Unemployed	1,147	560	444	142
Mother not in labor force	13,076	7,002	4,058	2,016
Married-couple families	24,580	11,092	9,130	4,358
Mother in labor force	13,352	5,008	5,695	2,650
Employed	12,606	4,623	5,418	2,564
Unemployed	747	384	276	86
Mother not in labor force	11,227	6,084	3,435	1,708
Father in labor force	23,016	10,488	8,559	3,969
Mother in labor force	12,661	4,769	5,403	2,489
Employed	11,968	4,406	5,150	2,412
Unemployed	693	363	253	77
Mother not in labor force	10,355	5,718	3,157	1,480
Father employed	22,026	9,918	8,245	3,863
Mother in labor force	12,149	4,534	5,192	2,423
Employed	11,534	4,220	4,962	2,352
Unemployed	614	314	230	71
Mother not in labor force	9,877	5,384	3,053	1,440
Father unemployed	990	569	314	106
Mother in labor force	513	235	211	66
Employed	434	186	188	60
Unemployed	79	49	23	7
Mother not in labor force	477	334	103	40
Father not in labor force	1,051	295	403	353
Mother in labor force	443	108	198	137
Employed	408	100	179	128
Unemployed	35	8	19	8
Mother not in labor force	608	187	205	216
Father in Armed Forces	513	310	167	36
Mother in labor force	248	131	94	23
Employed	230	117	89	23
Unemployed	19	14	5	...
Mother not in labor force	264	179	73	12
Other families with children ¹				
Maintained by women	5,604	2,015	2,405	1,185
Mother in labor force	3,755	1,097	1,781	876
Employed	3,355	921	1,613	821
Unemployed	400	176	168	56
Mother not in labor force	1,849	918	623	308
Maintained by men	627	153	238	236

¹ Includes only those families maintained by divorced, separated, widowed, or never-married parents.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

cent compared with 52 percent in March 1980. This relationship prevailed for children living in two-parent families. However, among children living in solo-parent families, white ones were more likely than black ones to have a working parent.

The greater incidence of working mothers among black children living with both parents reflects the historically higher labor force participation of black wives. Financial pressures have forced these women to work outside their homes to a much greater extent than their white counterparts. As early as 1926, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor reported, "... it is a well known fact that most Negro women must continue as breadwinners practically all their adult lives, marriage rarely meaning a withdrawal from the wage earning ranks."⁵ Until the mid-1970's, the labor force participation rate for black wives was about 12 to 14 percentage points higher than that for white wives. At that juncture, as white wives began joining the work force at a faster pace than black wives, racial differences between the labor force participation rates of wives narrowed. As a result, the gap between the shares of children in two-parent families whose mothers worked outside their homes also closed somewhat. From March 1970 to March 1980 the proportion of white children living in these circumstances grew from 36 to 51 percent, while for black children, it increased from 52 to 62 percent.

In one-parent families, where half of all black children live, the racial differences in the proportion of children with working mothers have remained fairly stable. Although both white and black mothers in these circumstances show a growing tendency to work, black children in such families are still less apt than white ones to have a mother in the labor force. Black mothers maintaining families are younger and less educated than their white counterparts, and through the years these factors have worked against their labor market success. In addition, black families maintained by women are much more likely than similar white families to contain preschoolers. These young children have a further inhibiting effect on their mothers' labor force participation. Moreover, black families maintained by women were more apt to receive public assistance than were comparable white families.⁶ Thus, in March 1980, 55 percent of the black children living with only their mothers had a working parent, compared with 67 percent of white children. Ten years earlier these figures were 47 percent and 57 percent. In both white and black solo-parent families, older children were much more likely than those who were younger to have a mother in the labor force.

Because Hispanic women characteristically have lower levels of labor force participation than either black or white women, a smaller proportion of their children

have working mothers. In early 1980, about 44 percent of all Hispanic youngsters below age 18 had mothers in the work force with no differences registered by family type.

Family incomes

Regardless of race or family type, children whose mothers were in the labor force were in families with considerably higher incomes, on average, than were children with nonworking mothers. For all two-parent families, median income in 1979 was about \$24,400 for families where the mother was in the labor force and \$20,200 for families where she was not.

Although the earnings of white and black wives are approximately equal, white children more frequently

Table 3. Children under 18 years old by age, type of family, and employment status of parents, March 1980

[Numbers in thousands]

Item	Children under 18 years			
	Total	Under 6 years	6 to 13 years	14 to 17 years
Total children	58,107	17,418	25,966	14,723
Mother in labor force	30,663	7,467	14,457	8,738
Employed	28,419	6,694	13,424	8,300
Unemployed	2,244	774	1,033	438
Mother not in labor force	26,493	9,771	11,128	5,594
Married-couple families	46,829	14,679	20,671	11,479
Mother in labor force	24,218	6,186	11,241	6,791
Employed	22,779	5,667	10,593	6,520
Unemployed	1,438	519	648	271
Mother not in labor force	22,611	8,493	9,430	4,688
Father in labor force	43,874	13,875	19,402	10,597
Mother in labor force	22,990	5,896	10,692	6,402
Employed	21,655	5,407	10,094	6,154
Unemployed	1,335	489	597	248
Mother not in labor force	20,884	7,978	8,711	4,195
Father employed	41,843	13,069	18,531	10,242
Mother in labor force	21,996	5,595	10,212	6,189
Employed	20,818	5,174	9,685	5,959
Unemployed	1,178	421	527	230
Mother not in labor force	19,847	7,474	8,320	4,053
Father unemployed	2,031	805	871	355
Mother in labor force	994	301	480	213
Employed	837	233	409	195
Unemployed	156	68	71	18
Mother not in labor force	1,037	504	391	142
Father not in labor force	2,051	406	881	764
Mother in labor force	804	131	353	320
Employed	730	119	314	298
Unemployed	74	12	40	23
Mother not in labor force	1,247	275	528	444
Father in Armed Forces	904	398	388	118
Mother in labor force	424	159	196	68
Employed	394	141	185	68
Unemployed	30	18	11	1
Mother not in labor force	480	239	192	49
Other families ¹	10,327	2,559	4,915	2,853
Maintained by women	6,445	1,281	3,216	1,948
Mother in labor force	5,639	1,027	2,831	1,781
Employed	806	254	385	167
Unemployed	3,882	1,278	1,698	906
Mother not in labor force	806	254	385	167
Maintained by men	951	180	380	391

¹ Includes only those children in families maintained by divorced, separated, widowed, or never-married parents.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

live in families with higher average incomes than do black children. This results from the fact that the earnings of white husbands far exceed those of black husbands. Among white children in two-parent families, median family income was \$24,800 when the mother worked and \$20,800 when she did not. Comparable median incomes for black families were \$20,800 and \$13,500. (See table 4.)

A substantial number of children are either wholly or partially dependent on their mothers' earnings for a large share of their support. In March 1980, 1 of 4 children—14.4 million—lived in families where the father was absent (10.3 million), unemployed (2.0 million), or out of the labor force (2.1 million). The number of children in these circumstances jumped by more than 1 million over the year. Reflecting the effects of the economic slowdown, about half of this rise occurred in families where the father became unemployed. The remaining increase occurred among families from which the father was absent. More than 5 of 10 black children and 2 of 10 white children were living in one of these situations, proportions slightly higher than in previous years.

The earnings that a working mother provides can make a substantial contribution to family income in each of the above circumstances. When the mother was in the labor force, median income in 1979 for families with children ranged from \$18,500 for those in which the father was unemployed, to \$15,400 for those in which the father was out of the labor force, and \$10,100 for those in which the father was absent. Corresponding medians when the mother was not in the labor force were \$12,000, \$8,300, and \$4,600.

Child rearing costs grow

The increasing labor force participation of wives may be motivated by many factors, including what are perceived as economic realities. In the Nation's early rural history, the value of offspring included a large monetary component. However, children today represent clear financial costs to their parents. These costs include the actual monetary outlays required to supply the child's needs and the opportunity costs of the mother's time devoted to full-time child care. A study, updating a 1969 report by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future,⁷ estimated that in 1980, the total direct cost of raising a child from birth through college ranged from \$58,200 for those families whose after-tax income was between \$14,000 and \$18,000, to \$85,200 for those whose disposable income was between \$22,500 and \$27,000. These costs represent increases of about 33 percent from 1977.⁸

When the earnings forgone by the mother were included, the estimated costs of raising children skyrocket-

Table 4. Children under 18 years old by age, type of family, labor force status of mother, and race and Hispanic origin, March 1980, and median family income, 1979

Item	Two-parent families			One-parent families maintained by women ¹		
	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
Numbers (in thousands)						
Children under age 18	41,915	3,864	3,657	6,376	3,792	947
Mother in labor force	21,235	2,395	1,611	4,275	2,090	453
Mother not in labor force	20,680	1,470	2,046	2,100	1,702	494
Children under age 6	13,148	1,182	1,334	1,482	1,028	313
Mother in labor force	5,344	681	504	786	478	113
Mother not in labor force	7,804	501	830	697	550	200
Children age 6 to 13	18,452	1,741	1,593	3,081	1,768	441
Mother in labor force	9,808	1,150	744	2,128	1,054	239
Mother not in labor force	8,644	591	850	953	714	203
Children age 14 to 17	10,315	942	730	1,813	996	193
Mother in labor force	6,083	564	363	1,362	559	101
Mother not in labor force	4,232	377	366	451	438	92
Median family income, 1979						
Children under age 18	\$22,900	\$17,800	\$16,600	\$ 8,400	\$ 6,200	\$ 5,500
Mother in labor force	24,800	20,800	20,100	11,200	8,200	8,200
Mother not in labor force	20,800	13,500	13,400	4,600	4,700	4,700
Children under age 6	19,800	16,400	14,200	5,200	4,500	4,500
Mother in labor force	21,200	19,800	17,500	8,300	6,300	6,400
Mother not in labor force	18,700	13,100	11,800	3,800	3,500	4,200
Children age 6 to 13	23,300	18,500	17,200	8,300	6,500	6,000
Mother in labor force	24,900	21,200	20,100	10,700	8,300	8,500
Mother not in labor force	21,400	13,600	14,000	4,900	4,800	5,200
Children age 14 to 17	27,300	18,000	20,600	12,100	7,800	6,800
Mother in labor force	29,000	21,100	24,100	13,900	9,500	10,200
Mother not in labor force	24,300	14,000	16,600	6,200	5,900	5,300

¹ Includes only divorced, separated, widowed, or never-married parents.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

et. It was contended that by staying out of the labor force until her child was age 15, a mother, on average, would forgo an estimated \$130,000 in year-round, full-time earnings, with the amount varying by the mother's educational level. Those lost over a 15-year period were calculated to be about \$93,000, while those lost to mothers with post-graduate college educations would be \$189,000. In any event, the estimates of earnings forgone far outweighed what were considered the direct costs. Moreover, the marginal costs of any additional children represent substantial outlays. Consequently, the combination of forgone career opportunities and extensive costs may be among the prominent reasons young women are planning smaller families and are returning to the labor force sooner than before.

Child care

Day-care centers enroll only a very small proportion of the Nation's children.⁹ Presently, child-care arrangements in the United States range from formally structured programs to informal agreements between neighbors. Day-care facilities may be public, private, or

proprietary, or employer- or union-sponsored. An investigation found:

Child-care activities generally are carried out through units of State or local government or by voluntary bodies, often with public funds which may involve a mix of Federal, State, and local contributions. Although the Federal Government sets general standards and some guidelines, State and local governments are responsible for establishing, administering, and supervising these arrangements.¹⁰

Not surprisingly, these researchers concluded, "The structure of child care in the United States does not lend itself to any classification into clearly delineated systems of care."¹¹

The provision of day-care services for the children of working mothers has mirrored social and economic needs. When women workers have been needed during wartime, institutional arrangements have been made for the care of their children. In other times, day care has been used as a means of facilitating employment for those who otherwise would have remained unemployed. Additionally, (though not primarily), formal child-care situations have been used as part of the socialization process to enrich the lives of the children themselves.

Day-care facilities for children of working mothers first became available in the United States in the early 19th century.¹² In 1828, the Boston Infant School was opened to help both employed parents and their children. This private school, along with a few other nurseries, constituted most of the child-care facilities until the Civil War.

During that war, as was to become customary during most war periods, the Federal Government sponsored its first day-care arrangement. Established in Philadelphia in 1863, it provided a facility for the children of women employed in wartime clothing factories and hospitals. After the war, this particular nursery continued to receive Federal money in order to care for children of working war widows.

Without the urgent need for female workers after the Civil War, national concern for child-care facilities quickly diminished. Then, as immigrants from Europe and Ireland flooded into the country during the latter part of the 19th century, interest was again aroused in day care for the poor. The economic upheavals that occurred in the aftermath of the Civil War were further exacerbated by the waves of new arrivals. Among others, charitable societies were organized to provide daytime care for children. Twofold in purpose, these groups strove both to ease the working mothers' plight and to assimilate immigrant children into the mainstream of society. Overall, the mother received most of the attention from these day nurseries. Working women were generally the object of pity. Unless widowed, they were often regarded as the victim of an irresponsible, lazy, or

criminal husband. The mother's employment was seen as the only means of keeping the family together. Therefore, these charitable organizations attempted to find jobs for the mothers, and often placed them as private household workers in the homes of the families who ran the nurseries.

Use of day-care facilities became less stigmatized at the turn of the century when they came under the scrutiny of America's first generation of college-educated women. Influenced by a new wave of feminism, these women were interested in improving the human condition and women's lot in particular. Associations of private day nurseries were formed to safeguard the quality of child-care services.

Throughout the 20th century the provision of child-care services has seen many peaks and troughs. Depending on the needs and moods of the country, programs were alternately geared up or phased out.

For instance, as labor force participation of women increased with the advent of World War I, demand for child care grew. It was met through the expansion of existing facilities and the opening of new operations sponsored by local governments. However, after the war, the provision of day care diminished. Immigration slowed, militant feminism collapsed in the wake of the passage of the 19th amendment, and many States began providing widows with pensions which allowed mothers to stay at home. In addition, widespread prosperity of the 1920's obscured the needs of those less well off. Then, with the onset of the Depression, provisions for the establishment of day-care facilities were contained in a great deal of the emergency legislation that focused on stimulating the economy. The rationale for these initiatives was to provide jobs in the day-care centers for some of the unemployed. Care of children was of secondary importance. When the economic climate improved, funding of these centers stopped, and they rapidly disappeared.

The years during World War II witnessed another surge in demand for day care, and the Federal provision of these services reached its high point. At the peak, 1.6 million children were enrolled in more than 3,000 centers which were constructed and operated at a cost of \$51 million. When the war ended, most of the centers closed. An era of domesticity settled upon the Nation, and many women left the labor force. The child-care needs of those women who continued to work met through the emergence of a network of day-care homes.

DURING THE 1960's, some child-care programs, such as Head Start, were established under social welfare legislation seeking to improve the lives of poor children.¹³ Other services were instituted to allow welfare recipients to obtain employment. In the 1970's, increased tax relief

was enacted for the growing number of mothers who work.¹⁴ While other avenues—such as employer-sponsored facilities—have become somewhat more common-

place in recent years, most children of working mothers are still cared for by friends, relatives, or neighbors in informal arrangements. □

—FOOTNOTES—

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this report are from information collected in the March supplement to the Current Population Survey conducted and tabulated for the Bureau of Labor Statistics by the Bureau of the Census. Estimates based on a sample, such as those shown in the tables, may vary considerably from results obtained by a complete count in cases where the numbers are small. Therefore, differences between small numbers or the percents based on them may not be significant. For more detail on the interpretation of such differences, see *Marital and family characteristics of workers, March 1979*, Special Labor Force Report 237 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1981).

² See *Fertility of American Women: June 1979, Current Population Reports*, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 358 (Bureau of the Census), p. 22; *Fertility of American Women: June 1978, Current Population Reports*, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 341 (Bureau of the Census), pp. 25 and 66; and *Previous and Prospective Fertility: 1967, Current Population Reports*, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 211 (Bureau of the Census, 1971), p. 17.

³ *Fertility of American Women: June 1979*, p. 15.

⁴ See *Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Provisional Statistics* (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, 1980), DHHS Publication No. (PHS) 80-1120, Vol. 29, No. 3.

⁵ *Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities* (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1926), p. 14.

⁶ *1977 Recipient Characteristics Study, Part 1* (Social Security Administration, Demographic and Program Statistics, 1980), SSA

13-11729, pp. 20-21.

⁷ Ritchie H. Reed and Susan McIntosh, "Costs of Children," *Research Reports*, Vol. 2, Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972.

⁸ Thomas J. Espenshade, "Raising A Child Can Now Cost \$85,000," *Intercom*, Vol. 8, No. 9, 1980, pp. 1, 10-12.

⁹ *Daytime Care of Children: October 1974 and February 1975, Current Population Reports*, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 298 (Bureau of the Census, 1976), p. 2, and Mary Jo Bane and others, "Child care arrangements of working parents," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1979, pp. 50-56.

¹⁰ *Child Care Programs in Nine Countries* (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 1976), DHEW Publication No. (OHD) 76-30080, p. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Historical information in this section is based, in part, on James D. Marver and Meredith A. Larson, "Public Policy Toward Child Care in America: A Historical Perspective," in Philip K. Robins and Samuel Weiner, *Child Care and Public Policy* (Lexington, Mass., D.C. Heath and Co., 1978), pp. 17-42.

¹³ The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, the Model Cities Act of 1966, as well as Head Start provided some direct or indirect support for child care.

¹⁴ Public Law 94-455 (94th Cong., 2d sess.), Oct. 4, 1976.