



Still Only Part Way Home: Part-time Work and Underemployment in Illinois and its Region¹

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Despite gradually declining in the US over the last 8 straight years of economic recovery from the Great Recession, the rate of involuntary part-time working remains stubbornly high in the State of Illinois. Over a quarter million workers were employed but working part-time for economic reasons in Illinois. Illinois ranks 10th among the 50 states in the number of involuntary part-time workers. Illinois' rate of labor underutilization has one in ten workers either fully or partially unemployed, still well above the pre-recession rate and the US national average. Policies are needed to accelerate its return to prior levels.

Examining recent trends and patterns in involuntary part time working finds that involuntary part time working has declined for cyclical reasons but remains elevated for possible structural reasons. In particular, working only part time hours for the reason of "inability to find full time work" has all but plateaued in recent years, and trended upwards over the period since the year 2000 in the US, East-North-Central (ENC) census region and state of Illinois.

The current number of part timers who are working part time for the reason of only being able to find part time work is still more than double the levels observed at the start of the last recession. In Illinois, the number working involuntary part-time escalated from roughly 100,000 to well over 400,000 thousand in 2010, and to date remains well above 200,000 workers.

As a proportion of total employment in Illinois, involuntary part-time workers rose from less than 2 percent to over 9 percent and stayed above 7 percent until 2013. The number has since shrunk to between 4 and 5 percent but remains above the national proportion of 3 to 4 percent. Involuntary part-time working due to "slack work and business conditions," is still somewhat higher in Illinois and in the 5-state region than in the past.

Within the single key industry of Recreation/Hospitality, in the ENC region, working part time hours involuntarily remains almost double the number at the start of the recession period and displays a steep upward long-term trend through the period. Moreover, when examining transitions, flows of workers out of involuntary part time working and full time employment has become either less rapid or less likely, starting with the Great Recession. Those who were either unemployed or involuntarily part-time 12 months prior are more likely to be involuntarily part time than they were prior to the Recession.

When expanding the scope of underemployment beyond just part timers, the rate of more broadly-defined, time-related underemployment encompasses more than a third of the US and ENC regional work force. The ENC region figure is above all but two of the nine census regions. The prevalence of worker desire to work more hours is disproportionately higher in certain industries, such as retail, food and accommodation and for younger and lower income groups.

Addressing underemployment, for part-time workers and others, requires public policy innovations and reforms that go beyond general economic expansion and job growth. Three sets of policies are proposed here, to both improve the quality of part time jobs and the experience of the job incumbents while curbing employer over-reliance on part-time jobs. This includes unemployment insurance reform and short-time compensation, more predictive (secure, fair) scheduling and providing first or priority access to available work hours for the underemployed part-timers plus an employee right to request additional work hours from their employer without fear of retaliation.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite gradually declining in the US over the last 8 years of economic recovery from the Great Recession, the rate of involuntary part-time employment, or “part-time for economic reasons,” remains stubbornly high in the State of Illinois. In the year 2016, 271,300 workers in Illinois were employed part-time for economic reasons. These workers are usually working 34 or fewer hours per week but are able and prefer to be working 35 or more hours per week. Nationally, about five and a half million workers involuntarily work part-time hours. Illinois ranks 10th among the 50 states in highest extent of involuntary part-time employment. A unique and still troublesome feature of the US labor market in the aftermath of the Great Recession is this stubbornly high rate of workers working “part-time for economic reasons” as compared to previous recessions and to years prior to the Great Recession (Golden, 2016).

For 2016, the Illinois U-6 rate of labor underutilization, which adds these workers to the ranks of both the unemployed and “marginally employed,” was about 11% of the work force, and by mid-year 2017, was at 10% (BLS, 2017). Thus, one in ten workers in Illinois, are either fully or partially unemployed.² In large part because of involuntary part-time working, Illinois’ 2017 rate still hovers above the pre-recession rate of 8%. The 2017 rate exceeds the national average, currently just above 9 percent. Only nine states have a higher U-6 rate than Illinois. The rate of involuntary part-time employment includes individuals who work part-time for two main reasons: (1) because of slack work or business conditions, or (2) because they were unable to find a full-time job. We find that the latter is primarily

responsible for the higher rates of involuntary part-time, nationally, regionally, and in Illinois.

Other states have seen more improvement in their rates of underutilization of labor (e.g., Kumar and Weiss, 2016). Illinois is known to be representative of the US as a whole, in its mix of industries and its work force demographics (Habans, 2017). Thus, being well above the median level state suggests Illinois is underperforming. Therefore, there is room for improvement in not only the state’s labor market, but also in its labor and employment policies that would help tighten the slack in the current labor market.³

The purpose of this report is to explore the extent of “involuntarily part-time” work and indicators of underemployment in the State of Illinois and its 5-State Census region, primarily using US Current Population Survey (CPS) data, and supplemented by other recent surveys. Working part-time hours when full time hours are preferred is a key indicator of the general issue of “time-related underemployment” or the willingness of the employed to work more hours in the labor market for additional income but have an inability to secure additional hours at their current job.

Many part-time workers want more hours but do not necessarily want permanent full-time hours (Li and McCully 2016; Zukin and Van Horn 2015) and even many with full-time jobs would prefer more hours. While involuntary part-time working is a key subset of “underemployment,” it is useful mainly because it is the most consistently, and commonly measured indicator of the extent of mismatch with workers’ preferred hours (Wilkins and Wooden, 2011; Bell and Blanchflower, 2013; Canon, et al, 2014).

²² The 2016 labor underutilization rate ranged from a low of 5.3% in North Dakota to a high of 13.9% in Nevada. The national underemployment rate is 10.4% -- a decrease from 12.0% in 2015 (<https://www.americashealthrankings.org/explore/2016-annual-report/measure/Underemployed/state/IL>).

³ Overall, IL ranks at #32 in *America’s Health Rankings*, thus would perform better if underemployment was lower (Golden (2017) *Happiness and Objective Well-being Index for Living and Working in the State of Illinois*)

The International Labor Organization (ILO), charged with establishing standards and monitoring labor market conditions around the globe, defines “involuntary part-time workers” as those employed that were working part-time or whose hours of work (actual or usual) were below a certain cut-off point. They are also those who reported involuntary reasons for working fewer than full-time hours, who either wanted, or sought, to work additional hours (Messenger and Wallot, 2015). While most hours-based definitions operationalize underemployment as working fewer hours per week than desired among the part-time workforce (Allan, et al, 2017; Wilkins, 2007), “time-related” underemployment can be considered more broadly as being anyone whose considered “ideal” hours falls short of their actual hours worked. Nevertheless, it is precisely among those who are both part-time and underemployed where overall satisfaction with one’s job (including pay, co-workers, supervision, and benefits, and organizational commitment) is poorest among those working part-time (Maynard et al, 2006).

This report focuses on involuntary part-time employment, but then widens the scope of underemployment to reflect the more general issue of labor market mismatches between the amount of work desired and amount of work provided within one’s job among all workers, including the part-time. The report contrasts the findings from the CPS with a more potent, comprehensive general measure of “underemployment.” This is measured by asking those who are employed questions like, “If you were allowed to [increase] the number of hours you usually work in your main job and your income would change by the same percentage, how would you prefer to change your usual work hours?”

A good deal of the challenges and frustration faced by so many hourly-paid workers is the insufficiency of scheduled work hours necessary to earn an adequate weekly income (Alexander

and Haley-Lock, 2015; Barnett, 2017; Carré and Tilly, 2012; Dickson, Bruno and Twarog, 2015; Fair Workweek Alliance, 2016; Golden, 2016; Luce et al, 2014; Ruan and Reichman, 2014). Aggravating the lack of needed hours is the often burdensome terms of employment associated with part-time jobs. This includes uncertainty and instability in work schedules, weekly income and a compensation penalty relative to full time jobs, a lack of access to employee benefits such as health insurance and paid time off, and future advancement opportunities over time (Gosselin and Zimmerman, 2008; Elmendorf, 2008; Gottschalk and Moffitt, 2009; Fronstin, 2013; Bishow, 2015, Mitchell 2017).

The quality of part-time jobs is increasingly important because in recent years, a growing share of households’ “primary” earners are in part-time positions. Almost 4 in 10 workers working part-time are “primary” rather than secondary wage earners (Schaefer 2009). While there is little direct correlation between this primary/secondary status with the (in)voluntariness of part-time working, the cases where part-time work is not preferred by a primary earner surely compounds the adverse impacts. Moreover, workers’ average post-recession workweek remains about one hour shorter than at the end of 2007, translating into an average earnings’ loss of about \$500 in annualized income for low-wage employees (Jolevski and Sherk, 2014). Shortened hours not only deprives such workers of more job experience, raises and/or potential promotions, but slows growth in earnings that would boost household spending. Thus, while focusing on involuntary part-time work as the most egregious case, we broaden the scope to all forms of constrained but available forthcoming hours of labor, which would help feed economic expansion in the US, region and state of Illinois.

WHAT IS UNDEREMPLOYMENT?

Involuntary part-time working is the most common and key conceptualization in the research literature surrounding “time-related underemployment,” “hours underemployment,” or “work hours incongruence.”⁴ The International Labor Organization (ILO) passed a “Resolution of Underemployment and Situations of Inadequate Employment (16th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1998). It provides global guidelines concerning the measurement of such “time related underemployment,” defined as “insufficient hours of work in relation to an alternative employment situation that a person is willing and available to engage in.” Operationally, this definition identifies employed but time-related underemployed persons during a short reference period (usually one week) as those who were willing to work additional hours, were available to work additional hours, and had worked less than some threshold relating to working time (typically what a country regards as, “full time” employment).

The willingness to work additional hours is the main criterion; identifying those who express a desire or preference to work more hours, independently of the number of hours already worked during the reference week in all their jobs. The availability to work additional hours criterion distinguishes those persons who are ready to work additional hours within a subsequent period, if they had the opportunity to do so, from those that are not available. The criterion of having worked less than a threshold relating to working time thus would exclude those workers who want to work additional hours and are available to do so, but who already work a “sufficient” number of hours and therefore, are considered to have reached their full employment level. Thus, three conceptualizations of underemployment are as

follows⁵: (1) Persons working part-time reporting involuntary reasons for working fewer than full-time hours; (2) Persons whose hours of work were below a certain cut-off point and who *wanted* to work additional hours; (3) Persons whose hours of work were below a certain cut-off point and who *sought* to work additional hours.

The extent of underemployment, however narrowly or broadly conceived, has three major determinants, similar to those for unemployment (Golden and Gebreselassie, 2007). The rate of underemployment may rise for cyclical, structural and/or frictional reasons.

Frictional unemployment refers to the “frictions” (information imperfection or time lag it takes to gather relevant information) in the labor market that prevent or delay a worker who is searching for, or transitioning from a job, to find another, more suitable job. Analogously, frictional underemployment may involve a worker taking a part-time (or part year or “gig” job), at hours which are measurably below their desired weekly or annual work commitment to the paid labor force, while still desiring or waiting for -- if not necessarily actively seeking -- full time work. Also, on the employer side, managers may not grant full time job status to a new hire, preferring instead to wait until the employee exhibits the kind of match the employer was seeking. Thus, like with the “full employment (“natural”) rate of unemployment,” somewhat above zero percent, we cannot expect that underemployment, or even its key subset, involuntary part-time employment, will ever go away entirely. Nonetheless, the latter still represents an underutilization of available labor and has exhibited quite low rates in the past during economic expansions. Thus, an aim of public policy ought to be to minimize or contain it.

⁴ Two other conceptualizations may be “inadequate employment,” and another solely from labor demand side, “labor hoarding” (Wilkins, 2011, in Feldman and Maynard, 2011).

⁵ The ILO encouraged also a distinction between workers’ “usual” hours of work and their “actual” hours of work.

Cyclical Underemployment entails the main source of the overall level of underemployment's rise and fall since 2008 – a reduced demand for labor hours generally, as employers adjust along the “internal” margin, reducing the weekly hours of existing employees. The spike upward and eventual receding of “Slack Work/Business Conditions” among those “Part-Time for Economic Reasons” (PTER) is the most representative of cyclically rooted underemployment. The drop in hours demanded among employers, particularly in cyclically sensitive sectors, may be the dominant reason for movement in PTER. Indeed, preferences for working hours are correlated with the business cycle (Bell and Blanchflower, 2011; Valletta et al, 2015).

When there is an economic downturn and/or a high unemployment rate, there will be both more people who would prefer to work more hours and fewer people who would prefer to work fewer hours, when underemployment is more comprehensively measured (Bonke and Schultz-Nielsen, 2014). Conversely, economic growth and/or a low rate of unemployment is closely correlated with fewer people wanting to work more hours and more people wanting to work fewer hours. Underemployment reflects an “excess supply of labor hours” in the macroeconomy (Pencavel, 2015). Thus, while underemployment may occur or rise primarily for reasons on the employer (labor demand) side of the labor market – cutting back on production or operating and opening hours – there also may be more indirect, labor supply-side reasons for increased underemployment. Involuntarily working fewer than desired hours when the demand for labor drops, not only leads to workers feeling hours-constrained, but it might, rather

ironically and troublingly, put downward pressure on real wage rates. This in turn intensifies many workers' preference for working more hours, particularly among those whose hours were reduced in low wage jobs, but also among some full-timers (Pencavel, 2015; Bell and Blanchflower, 2013), compounding the actual extent of underemployment.⁶

Structural underemployment has been considered to reflect changes in industry and occupation composition of jobs, technology and labor market institutions. The focus has been on occupations that are growing most rapidly in industries that rely more on part-time positions, which have had the largest proportion of involuntary part-time workers, such as health care support, personal care assistance, food preparation and serving, and customer service (Leiland, 2017; Valetta et al, 2015; Golden, 2016). In addition, the decline of labor's power is associated with an inability of labor to have say into their scheduled work hours. This has likely facilitated employer creation and use of “just-in-time” or “on-demand” hours and jobs.⁷ This in turn, results in workers having more fluctuating hours and no minimum hours and/or frequent “call-offs” of shifts or hours, resulting in at least periodic underemployment. Even if average hours appear *prima facie* to be matched with hour preferences, workers are frequently left with fewer weekly of hours of work than preferred.⁸ Other structural sources of underemployment include the impediments from costs that incentivize the creation of part-time positions instead of full-time jobs by employers. This might include not only the oft-cited ACA shared responsibility fee, but fixed costs of employment more generally. Part-time positions come with considerably lower nonwage employee benefits, ranging from health insurance coverage

⁶ Measures of underemployment rates may be high because the universe asked about desired work hours includes only those employed. Conversely, the actual extent of underemployment due to suppressed wage rates actually be understated by PTER and other measures, if individuals resolve it either by not participating in the labor force (or taking additional part-time jobs).

⁷ Mishel and Eisenbrey (2016). See Habans, 2017, for the causes and consequences of the gig economy growth.

⁸ Lambert, Henly and Fugiel (2015), Fair Workweek Alliance, 2016, Luce et al, 2014, Ruan and Reichman, 2014, Stettner et al, 2016.

to paid time off.⁹ Thus, underemployment may climb or settle at a higher rate for reasons that include structural changes in labor market institutions such as the degree of unionization or its bargaining power, the rising cost of health care and way in which employee benefits such as private health insurance are structured.¹⁰ As a case in point, among fast food workers in Chicago, as many as 43% of survey respondents had to actually physically go into their workplaces to retrieve their upcoming work schedules (84% of which were received one week or less beforehand, almost 30 percent receiving notice less than one *day* before work would start) (Dickson, Bruno and Twarog, 2015). This illustrates that there exist some very basic structural sources of underemployment whose consequences conceivably could be addressed, with innovative practices by both employers and some policies among lawmakers.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT – WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

Perhaps the greatest disadvantage of working part-time is its compensation disadvantage relative to full time working. In addition, underemployment can create daily coordination challenges when employees are forced to take and try to juggle two or more part-time jobs—particularly when at least one of those jobs come with either unpredictable or variable schedules, as they often do, particularly among retail workers (McCrate, Lambert and Henly 2015). Underemployment is compounded by creating commuting inefficiencies, in addition to the pay

penalty and benefits ineligibility faced by part-time employees when compared with their full-time counterparts. Part-time workers thus bear three costs: relative hourly pay penalties, benefits and social insurance coverage gaps and unstable work schedules and frequently inadequate work hours (Glauber 2013; Zukin and Van Horn 2015).¹¹

Time-related underemployment has further adverse effects on the individuals who experience it, to the employee's career, their identity and health (Anderson and Winefield, 2001; Dooley, 2003; Friedland, 2003, van Horn and Zukin, 2015). What is most detrimental to worker health is the extent of the gap between the actual and the desired amount of work (Bassanini and Caroli, 2015). Moreover, there are spillover effects on families (Wunder and Heineck, 2013) and on public health (e.g., Feldman, 2011; McKee-Ryan and Harvey, 2011; Glauber, 2013; Wunder and Heineck, 2013; Angrave and Charlwood, 2015), and evidence of a negative health impact in situations in which workers have essentially no control or choice over the amount of work they provide. Moreover, working part-time but wanting full-time work, despite its shorter weekly hours, is associated with no less work-family conflict than among full time workers who have the amount of weekly work hours they prefer, despite having time they are willing to sacrifice to get more income. In contrast, part-time work and wanting part-time is indeed associated with reduced work-family conflict (Golden, 2015b).

Primarily, it is the mismatch with hours preferences that is related to the adverse

⁹ Structural reasons include the relative bargaining power of employers versus labor, and laws and regulations that have created (or addressed) the "fissured economy" (Weil, 2014).

¹⁰ Desired increases in hours are not randomly distributed across firms, rather they are concentrated where the firm has itself experienced reduced demand (e.g., in industries such as Retail Trade. This makes "recontracting within firm" toward workers' preferred number of hours unlikely (Blanchflower/Bell, 2013; Bender and , 2009).

¹¹ Human capital investment such as training could be a fourth and job insecurity a fifth inherent disadvantage of part time jobs, which

speak to its longer run effects on earnings trajectories of part time job holders (e.g., Ferber and Waldfogel, 1998; Ferber and Green, 2005; Wolf, 2014; Paul, 2016; Messenger and Ray, 2016), while a sixth is the accumulated value of one's pension value (Eurofund, 2017: 9) and their job satisfaction (e.g., Wheatley, 2016). Voluntary part-time working, while not in school, has a positive effect on longer term earnings for women but not for men. In the medium term, part time working, for those who have been unemployed, might not necessarily be a useful bridge, pathway or stepping stone, since it takes them longer to become full-time working, on balance (Kyyrä et al 2017).

consequences of having a spell of underemployment on worker satisfaction, both with one's job and with life in general (Wooden, Warren and Drago, 2009). Underemployment is found to be associated with lower life satisfaction, job satisfaction and psychological well-being (Angrave and Charlwood, 2015).¹² Workers whose desired work hours exceeded their actual employment hours reported lower levels of happiness and life satisfaction, higher anxiety levels, and fewer who found life "worthwhile" (Bell and Blanchflower, 2013a). Part-timers who want to work full-time have significantly lower levels of life satisfaction than part-timers who are content with their hours. Being underemployed is measured to be about half as damaging to life satisfaction as being fully unemployed (for 12 or fewer months).¹³

Underemployment and its impacts are uneven by race and ethnicity. Black and Hispanic Americans face even higher underemployment rates consistently through time (Cauthen 2011; Maynard and Feldman, 2011; Wilkins and Wooden, 2011; O'Halloran and Skiba, 2014; Gerstel and Clawson, 2015, Young, 2012, 2016; Glauber, 2017; Heyes, 2017). In the UK, the probability of part-timer underemployment is growing at a faster rate among women, largely because it is concentrated in female-dominated occupations, the public sector and small organizations, and among employees with longer tenures. Part-time underemployment not only worsened during and after the Great Recession

(Heyes, 2016) but also has a greater negative impact on the subjective well-being of women than on men (Kamerāde et al 2017).

The ramifications of underemployment are likely also directly connected to its threat to one's economic livelihood. Workers in lower level occupations experienced the most substantial post-recessionary growth in the proportions working 'too few' hours (Warren, 2015). Involuntary part-time employment is a key factor behind the incidence of poverty at both the household (Glauber, 2013; Zukin and van Horn, 2015) and community levels (Leiland, 2017). In 2012, one in four involuntary part-time workers lived in poverty, whereas just one in twenty full-time workers lived in poverty.

Not only do part-time workers bring home less money than full-time workers, but they also tend to have fewer insurance benefits, and the penalties are notably greater if the part-time work is involuntary. The median family income for men and for women working part-time involuntarily (\$36,060) is far lower than that for women working part-time voluntarily (\$68,013). Occupations that are growing feature relatively higher rates of involuntary part-time working and all pay annual median wages lower than the overall annual median wage of \$35,540 in 2014 (Leiland, 2017). Thus, the pay impact of underemployment can be associated more with job increases in certain industries, not necessarily industries that are in decline.

¹² Underemployed workers have lower levels of physical health and psychological well-being than adequately employed workers" (Friedland and Price, 2003:35). The physical health of the individual, both functional chronic, is associated with not only the number of hours worked but was exacerbated for those with underemployment hours. Workers are physically feeling the burden of not having enough working hours but it is a mental challenge as well. Men who became underemployed and worked in the 35 to 40 hours range experience lower job satisfaction, life satisfaction and psychological well-being (Angrave and Charlwood, 2015). Interestingly, men who worked less than 35 hours experienced lower life satisfaction as well, but not as intensely, and those men who were underemployed but were working more than 40 hours experienced no such significant

reduction in subjective well-being indicators. However, underemployed women who worked fewer than 35 hours, and more than 50 hours, did in fact experience lower life satisfaction and psychological well-being. Thus, the hours range matters, albeit differently for women than for men. This supports the notion that those at 40 hours are less likely than those with somewhat fewer weekly hours to be as happy (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Golden, 2016).

¹³ An additional survey measure indicates whether an employee generally wants more hours, irrespective of their full-time/part-time status. Such underemployment also shows an inverse association with life satisfaction, although much of the negative effect appears to be attributable to a worker being part time but wanting full time hours.

During the Great Recession, employers cut many of their retained employees' work hours, leaving many to be working fewer than 35 hours per week. While for most employees, the average workweek eventually returned to pre-recession levels, this did not occur for those in the bottom quintile of the wage distribution (Jolevski and Sherk, 2014). The effect of age and gender is mixed, sometimes it involves more women, sometime men more (Reynolds and Wenger, 2010). The most profound, and economically relevant, effect of even short spells of involuntary part-time employment is that it can depress levels of consumption spending, long term.

On the employer side, time-related underemployment among employees tends to inhibit organizational performance and worsen turnover (e.g., Thompson, 2013; Wang and Reid, 2015). To the extent job satisfaction is inhibited by underemployment, it may also harm employee performance. The effects on organizational commitment are also negative, albeit weakly so and stronger in some sectors (e.g., hospitals) than in others (Holtom et al 2002). When there was work hour "congruence" ("match") -- an employee working the number of hours that they desire -- those who were underemployed experienced improved job satisfaction when they received more work hours. Employees respond to employers who at least try to meet their needs, those who desired more hours and received some, but not all of these additional hours, also showed an increase in job satisfaction. (Lee, Wang, and Weststar, 2015).

All workers suffering from inadequate working time are more likely to report lower levels of job satisfaction compared to those who actually work their desired hours (Pagan, 2015). Discovering the potential benefits they may derive by hiring underemployed workers, some employers have recently found that by re-locating certain operations to cities and regions where there is pervasive underemployment, new hires (particularly young, who are also "skills-related" not just time-related underemployed), quality labor can be poached with just slightly better pay and conditions (Levitt, 2017)

INVOLUNTARY PART-TIME WORKING IN ILLINOIS

What are the recent trends and patterns in involuntary part time working? How has it behaved through time, including before, during and after the Great Recession? Does it exhibit only cyclical patterns or also suggest some possible structural increase?¹⁴ Do the two main subcomponents of involuntary part time behave differently from one another?

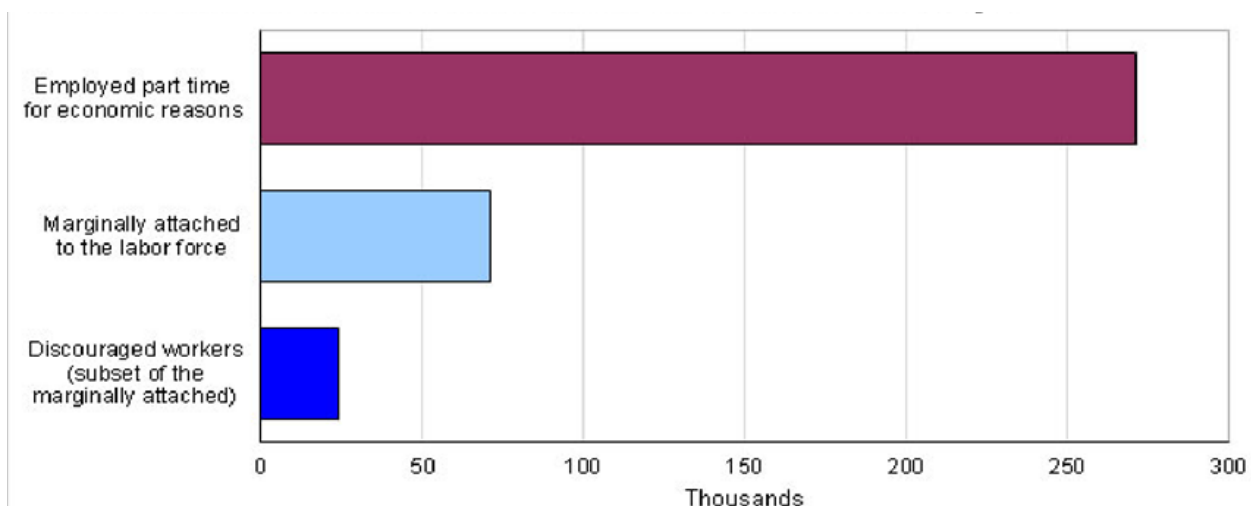
Figure 1 shows the average number of workers, for the most recent full year, who are classified as Part-time for Economic Reasons in Illinois: 10.9 percent for 2016 for Illinois.. This is added to the traditionally computed unemployment rate, to get a more complete picture of the rate of labor underutilization

For comparisons, by state, in 2016, South Dakota had the lowest rates for four alternative measures of labor underutilization¹⁵ U-1, U-2, U-5, and U-

¹⁴ Valletta et al, 2015 finds that structural factors begin to dominate explanation of the trend in part time for economic reasons after the recession, with cyclical factors responsible mainly only in the years 2008-2009. He attributes the pattern to changes in both the industry composition of employment and demographic (age) distributions in the labor force regarding willingness to work part time jobs.

¹⁵ Alternative Measures of Labor Underutilization for States, Third Quarter of 2016 through Second Quarter of 2017 Averages, <https://www.bls.gov/lau/stalt.htm>. U-1 is persons unemployed 15

weeks or longer, as a percent of the civilian labor force; U-2, includes job losers and persons who completed temporary jobs, as a percent of the civilian labor force; U-3 is the total unemployed, as a percent of the civilian labor force; U-4 is total unemployed plus discouraged workers, as a percent of the civilian labor force plus discouraged workers; U-5 is total unemployed, plus discouraged workers, plus all other marginally attached workers, as a percent of the civilian labor force plus all marginally attached workers; and finally, the broadest, U-6, is total unemployed, plus all marginally attached workers, **plus total employed part time**



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Figure 1: Numbers of Part Time Employed for Economic Reasons, in State of Illinois, Annual Average, 2016

6 You need to explain the differences in a FN. New Hampshire and South Dakota had the lowest rates for U-3 and U-4. In total, nine states had rates notably lower than those of the U.S. for all six measures, while four states (California, Illinois, Louisiana, and New Mexico) had rates substantially higher than those of the U.S. for all six measures.

The national trend of involuntary part-time working through mid-year 2017 is displayed in Figures 3 and 4,¹⁶ presented in contrast to Figure 2, the trend in overall US employment. The period assessed starts from the pre-recession year of the previous far more mild recession in 2001. Both the number and proportion of those working involuntarily part-time has trended upward since the year 2000 (see trend lines). The number was at 3 million in 2000 and

is currently slightly above 5 million workers in the US. As a percentage of total US employment, perhaps more meaningful, the rate started the period since 2000 at 2 percent, rose to almost 7 percent, and currently has settled near 4 percent – still twice the rate it was at the start, albeit on a very gradual downward path. While this was largely stable through 2007, it spiked dramatically in the Recession, as is well documented. In the years since its peak in 2009, it has gradually decreased since then, although it remains above its origin.

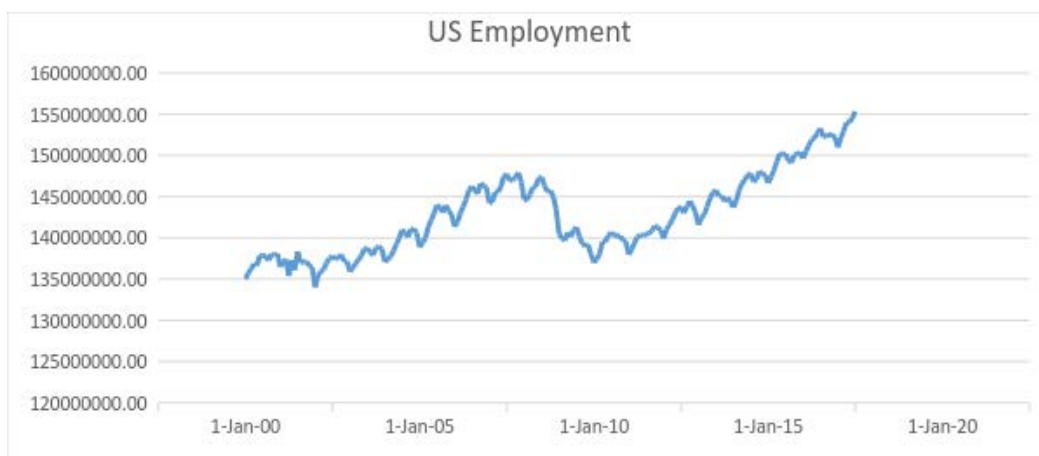


Figure 2: US Employment Level, 2000-2017

for economic reasons, as a percent of the civilian labor force plus all marginally attached workers.

¹⁶ The data are not seasonally adjusted, from IPUMS CPS data, and thus show some periodic spikes that reflect usual seasonal trend in employment, including part-time jobs.

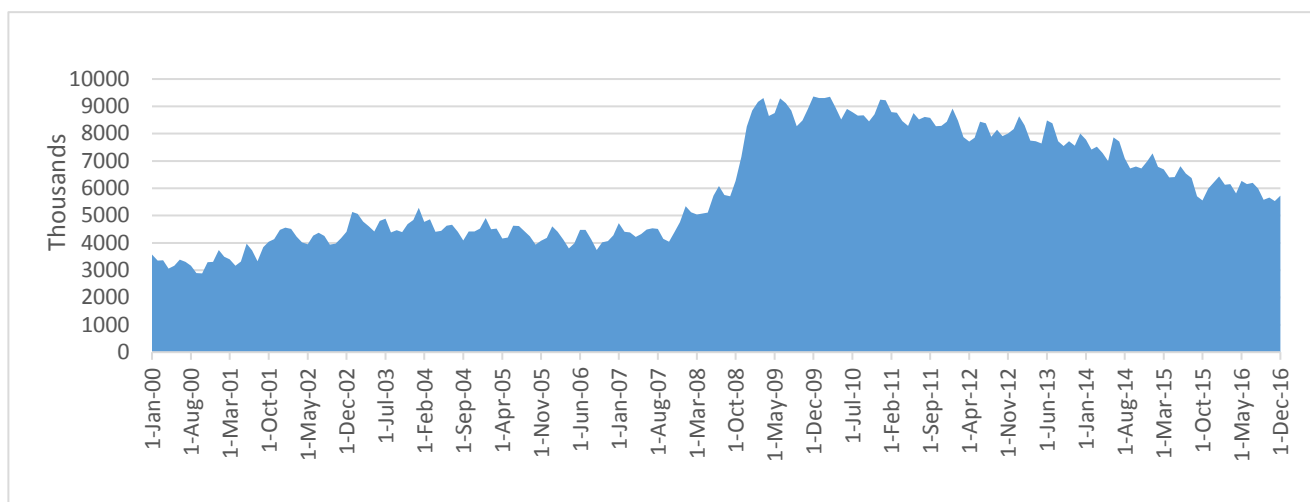


Figure 3: Part Time for Economic Reasons (PTER): Monthly Trend and Long-Term Trend

Figure 4, as will other figures, include a trend line, important for the purpose of contrast and context. It shows that even with the recent decrease in the proportion of involuntary part time working, there has been an upward trend over the longer term. Figures 5 and 6 show the components that may be driving the relatively higher current level of involuntary part-time and its seemingly higher plateau. The reason of slack work and business conditions (SWBC) shows a slight upward trend over the period 2000-2017 (July), and is currently still slightly above both its pre-Recession level and its original level in 2000. However, the reason of inability to find full time work – “could only find part-time (COFPT)” -- shows an upward trend that is steeper. At the start of the period, about 800 thousand workers were in such as state. During the recession, this number roughly tripled and stayed quite high until 2014, after which it has gradually decreased. Nonetheless, the current number is still more than double the levels observed in 2000 and at the start of the last recession. Figure 7 confirms the upwardly trending reason for involuntary part-time – that a greater proportion of workers are finding only

part time work or jobs despite preferring full time hours. While many researchers have noted the upward trend and higher level of PTER, few have taken notice of its main source.¹⁷ Employment has expanded during the economic recovery, but far more people are taking part-time jobs because for the time being that is all that is available. For this reason, it appears that in addition to cyclical forces operating on involuntary part-time, which mainly manifest through workweek cut backs that resulted in higher slack work or business conditions (SWBC), there are also structural factors at work coming from the employer side of the labor market that create more part-time jobs than usual (Golden, 2016).

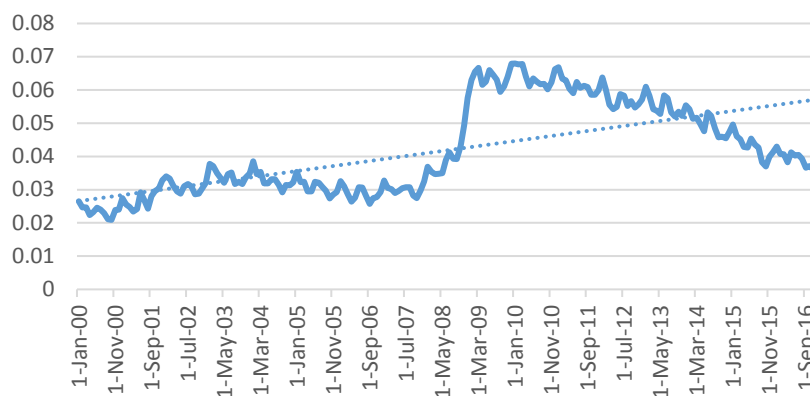


Figure 4: Part Time for Economic Reasons, US, as a proportion of Total Employment, Monthly and Long Term Trend Line

¹⁷ Valletta et al (2015) is a notable exception regarding noticing this upward trend and higher plateau.

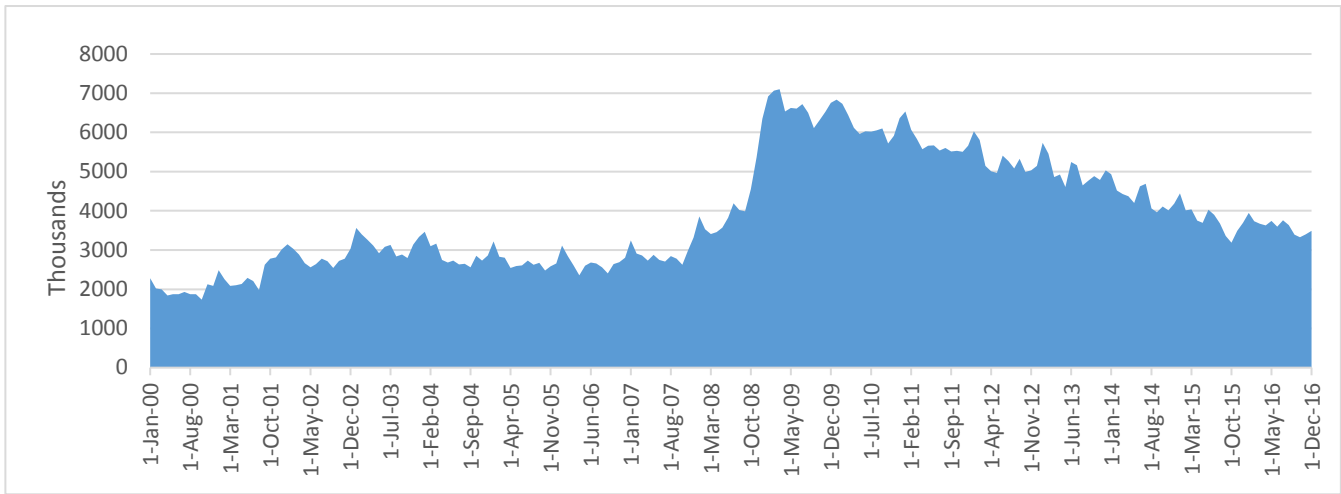


Figure 5: Part Time for Economic Reasons, Slack Work or Business Conditions (SWBC), US, 2000-2017

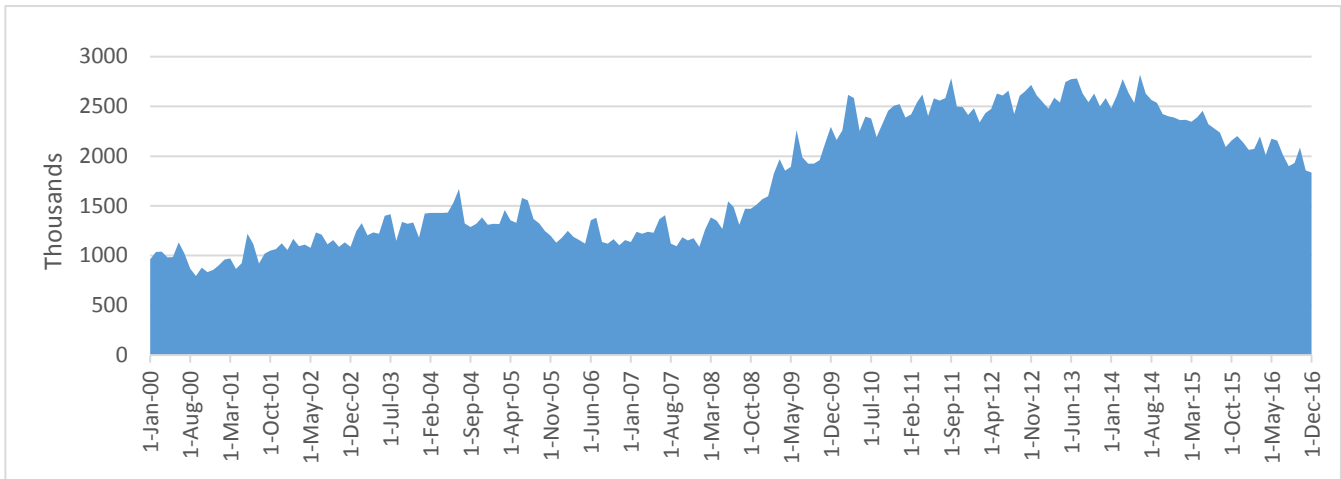


Figure 6: Part Time for Economic Reasons, Could Only Find Part Time (OFPT), Monthly, US, 2000-2017

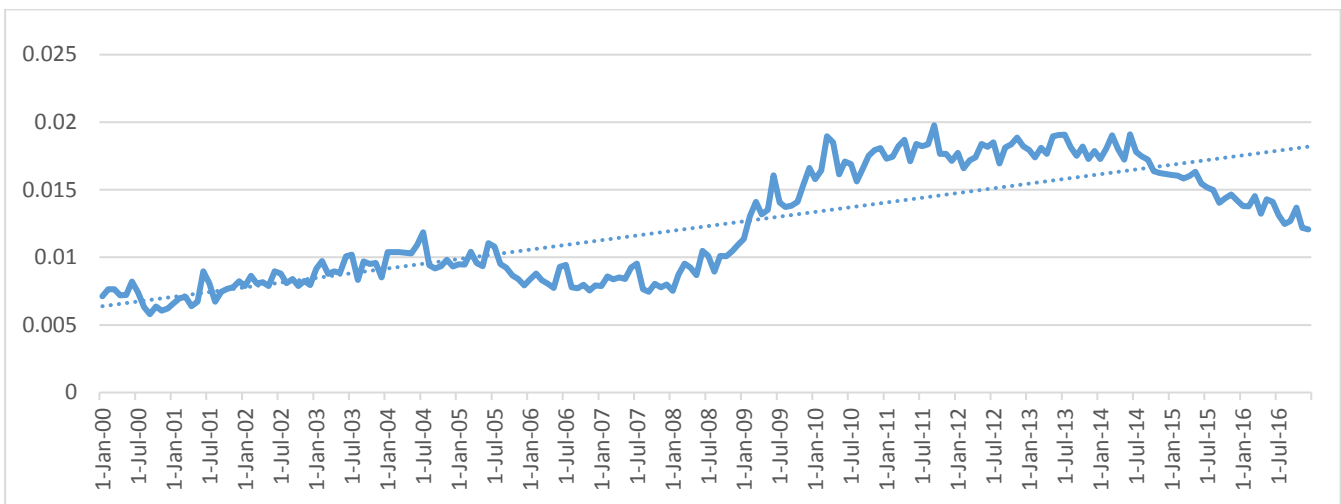


Figure 7: Could Only Find Part-time as a Percentage of Total US Employment, Monthly and Long-Term Trend

How have these types of involuntary part-time employment trended in the state of Illinois and in its 5-state region?

Data through July 2017 are displayed in Figures 8 and 9. Figure 8, for contrast purposes, first shows that total employment in the state of Illinois is currently at about 6.3 million job and has modestly rebounded since the recession, albeit not as much as in the nation as a whole. Total employment has risen gradually from the trough in 2009, but over the full period, displays no longer-term upward trend. The number of those working part-time for economic reasons does, however, display such an upward trend.

Figure 9 illustrates that the number working involuntary part-time escalated from somewhat over 100 thousand to well over 400 thousand in 2010. It has since trended gradually downward, but remains well above 200 thousand workers. As a proportion of total employment in Illinois, the period started with between 1 and 2 percent being part-time for economic reasons. The impact of the recession caused this to climb dramatically, reaching over 9 percent of all employment. It stayed above 7 percent until 2013, from which it has shrunk somewhat, now down to 4 percent – still well above pre-recession levels (Figure 10). It has been ranging between 4 and 5 percent since 2014, whereas in the US case (see above), the rate nationally is now below 4 percent. The peak rate in Illinois at 8 to 9 percent, was noticeably higher

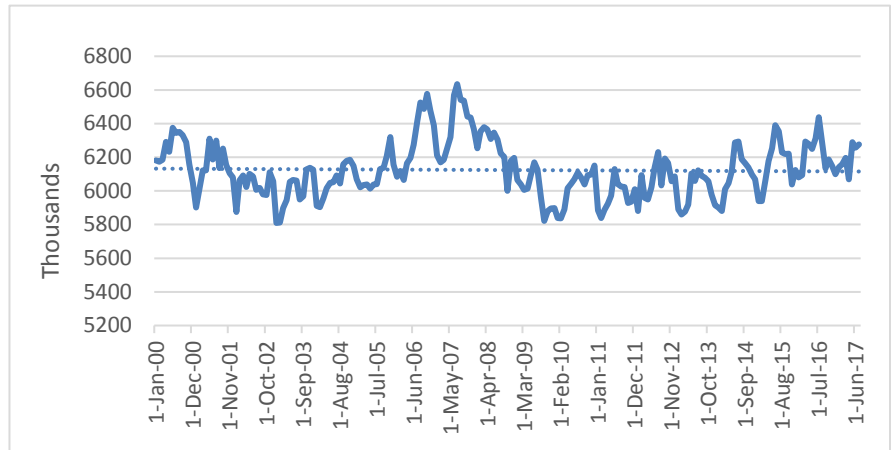


Figure 8: Total Employment, State of Illinois, 2000-2017, Monthly and Long-term Trend

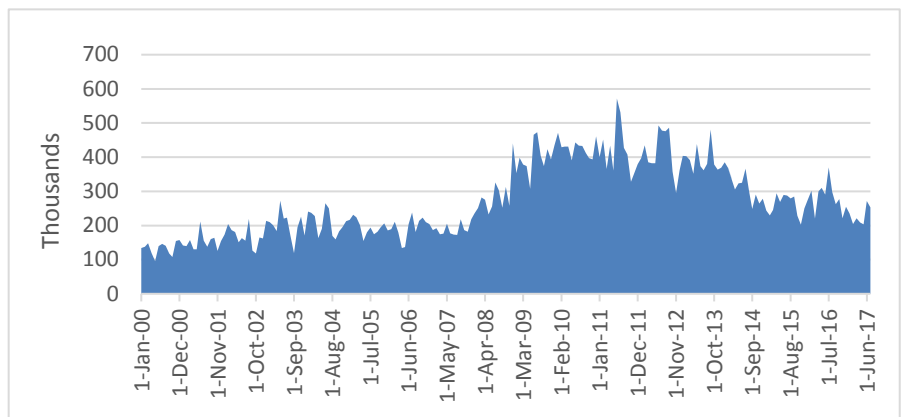


Figure 9: Part Time for Economic Reasons, State of Illinois, Number of Workers

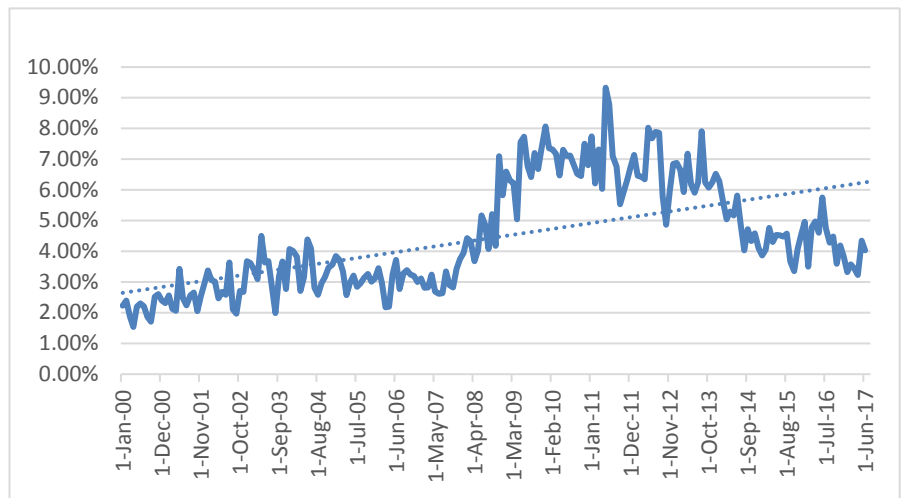


Figure 10: Part Time for Economic Reasons, as a Proportion of Total Employment, Monthly and Long Term Trend Line, State of Illinois, 2000-2017

than the peak in the US overall at about 7 percent. This contrasts to the only mild increase during the 2001 recession. This is double the part time rate Illinois had in 2000. The trend line shows the climb in its average over time in Illinois

Both in number (Figure 11) and as a percentage of total employment, involuntary part-time for reasons of slack work or business conditions. It started at about 1 percent for both the 2000-2017 period and the pre-recession year (Figure 12). It

stayed around 5 percent until 2014, after which it has dropped back down to about 2 percent, where it seems to have stabilized in recent years, at double the initial rate.

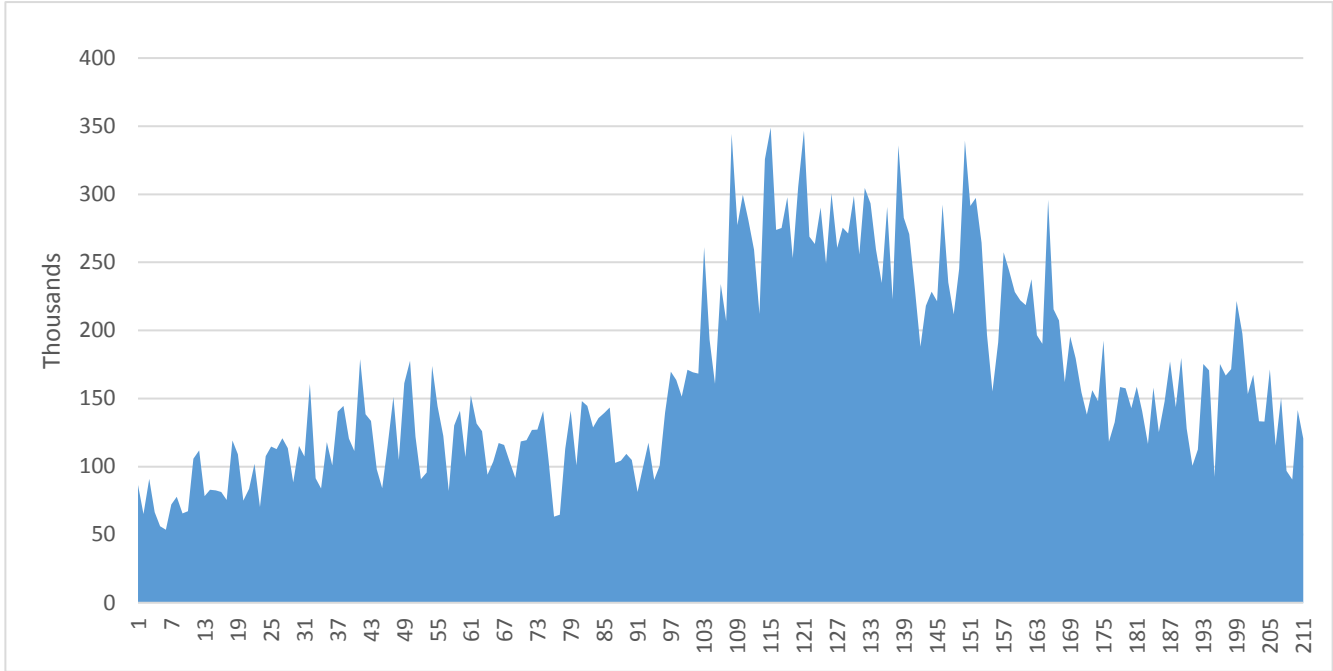


Figure 11: Part Time for Slack Work or Business Conditions Reason, Number Employed, State of Illinois, 2000-2017

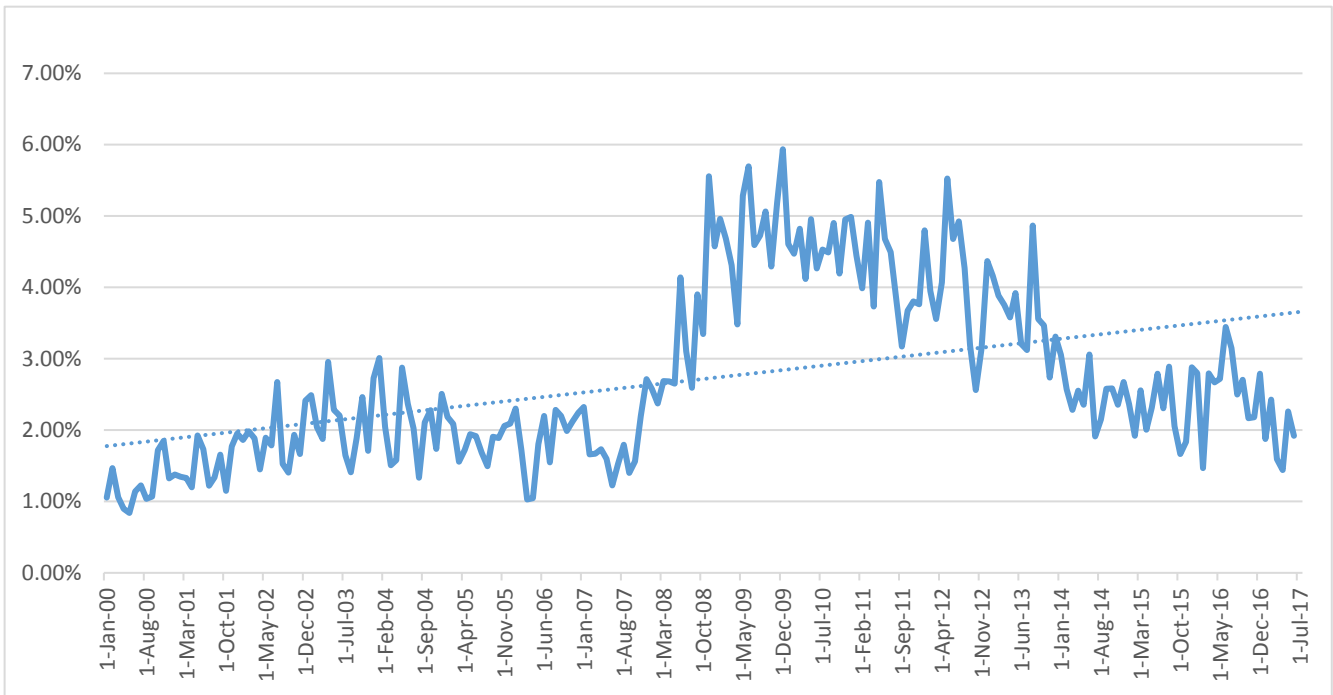


Figure 12: Part Time for Slack Work or Business Conditions, as a Proportion of Total Employment, State of Illinois, 2000-2017

The rate of the subcomponent, “only finding part-time work” began at a rate of about 0.5 percent, went up by as much as five-fold through 2014 (Figures 13 and 14). Since then it has dropped only somewhat, down to about 2 percent, thus still three to four times its prior rate. By still hovering in Illinois between 1.5 and 2 percent, it remains above the national US rate at between 1 to 1.5 percent. Thus, in Illinois, the national trend is not only mirrored, but magnified. A far higher share of jobs are in the form of part-time jobs held by

workers who wish and are able to work full time hours. In sum, involuntary part time underemployment is still quite pervasive in the IL labor market. The state is underutilizing potential, available labor hours. This again speaks to not only cyclical, but likelihood of structural changes in the labor market that seem to be inhibiting the creation of more full time jobs, fewer than what would meet the needs or wishes of its state’s work force.

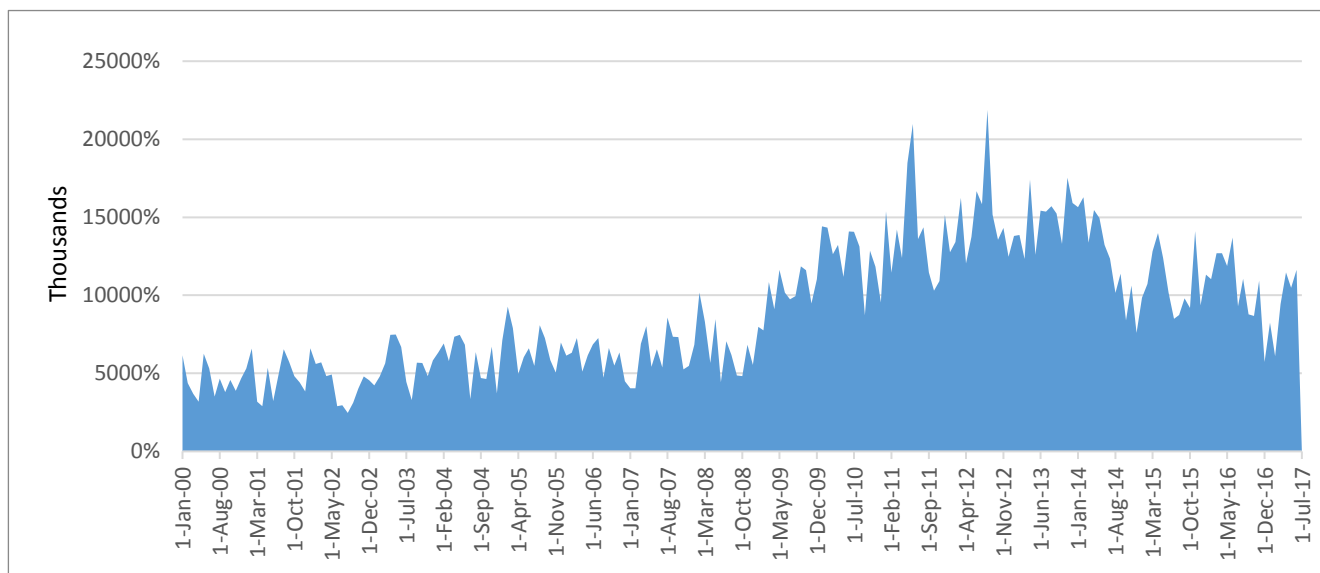


Figure 13: Number of Part Time Could Only Find Part Time, State of Illinois, 2000-2017

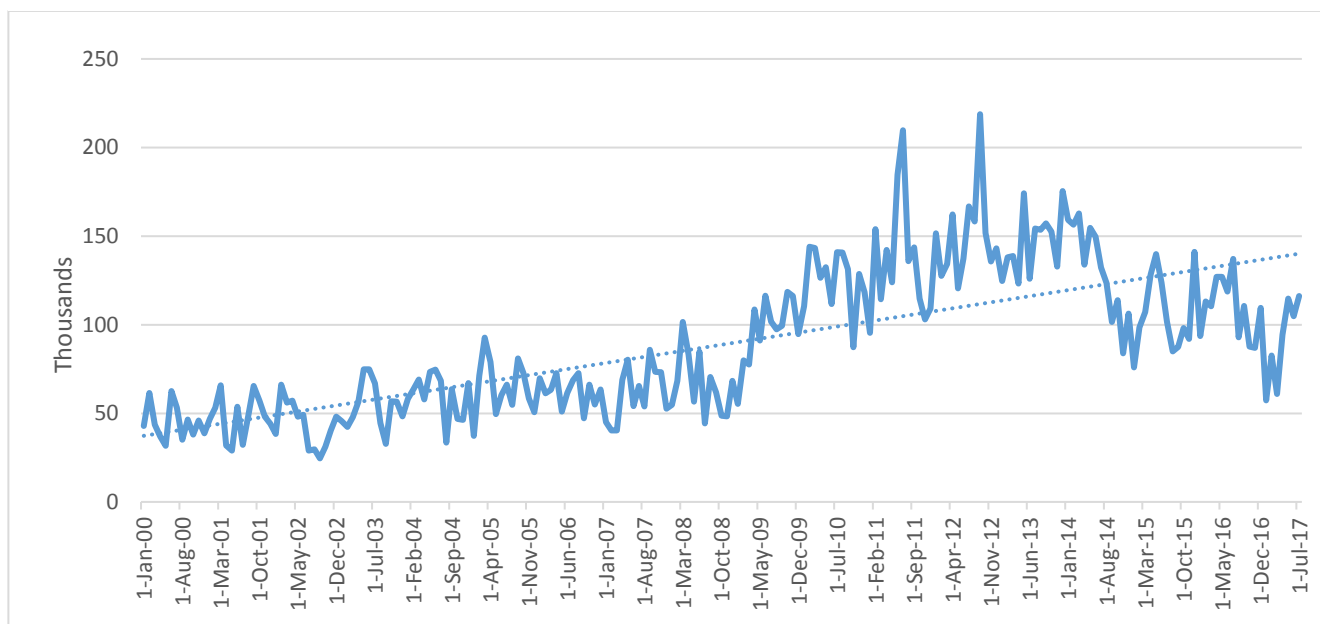


Figure 14: Part Time for Reason of Could Only Find Part Time, as a Proportion of Total Employment, Monthly and Long-term Trends, State of Illinois, 2000-2017

For contrast, Figures 15 and 16 show the trends in the relatively voluntary reasons for holding part-time jobs. It is clear that this shows no upward trend in Illinois, with only modest growth in number and as a percentage of total employment during the recovery and expansion.¹⁸ The only pattern is that voluntary part-time has remained at about 20 percent of the total jobs over the entire

17-year period, without a notable trend during or after the Great Recession, other than a slight upward trend possibly since 2012.¹⁹ Thus, the character of part-time jobs is changing – a greater proportion are in part-time jobs for involuntary reasons than for what are considered more voluntary reasons, such as child care, schooling or general preference for shorter workweeks.

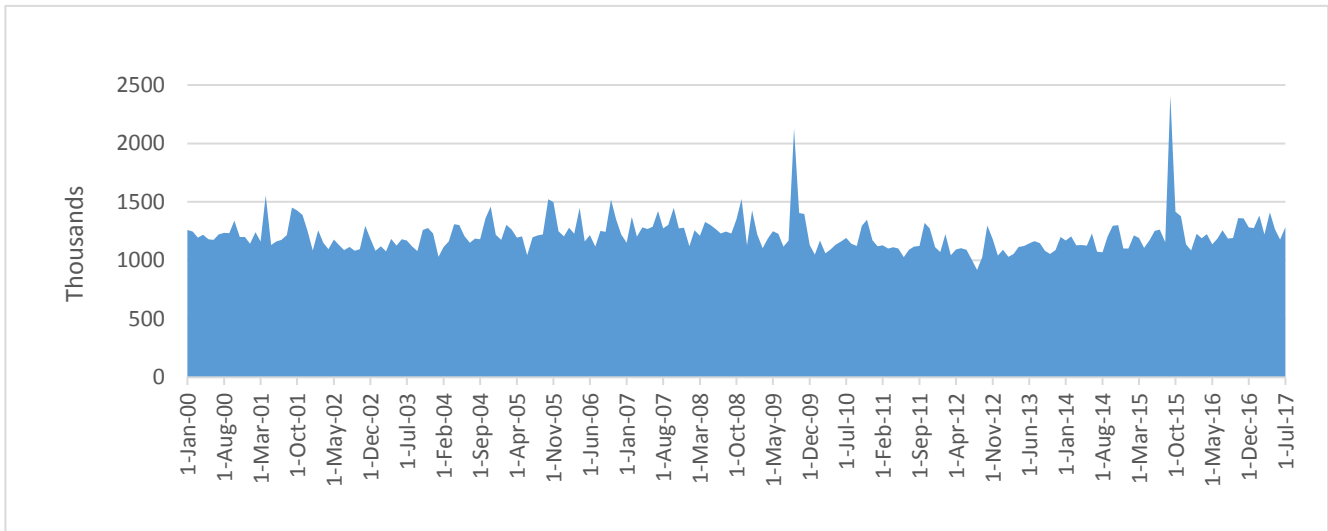


Figure 15: Voluntary Part Time Work, Number of Workers, State of Illinois, 2000-2017

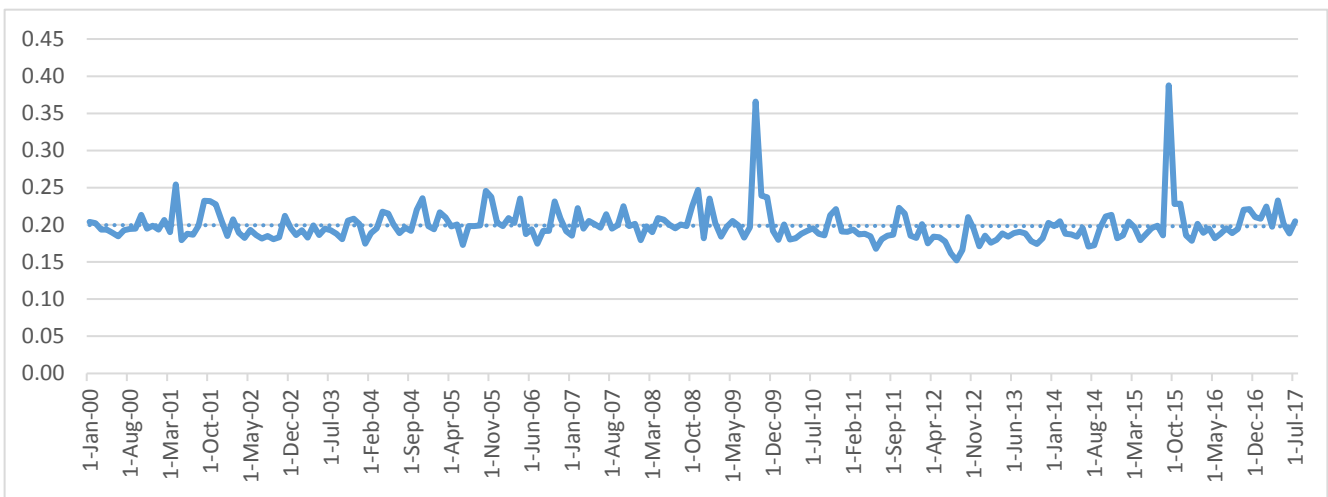


Figure 16: Voluntary Part Time Work, as a Proportion of Total Employment, Monthly and Long-term Trend, in State of Illinois

¹⁸ The spikes in September of both 2009 and 2015, likely reflect a quirk in the way employment. The CPS interview, according to the Census, takes place on the week that includes the 19th. When September 19th is on a Saturday, the previous week includes Monday the 7th, Labor Day. According to the questionnaire, the week begins on Sunday and ends on Saturday. Here is the sample size of PTNER for Illinois for the months of August through October of 2009 and 2015 respectively: Aug 2009 = 377; Sept 2009 = 670; October 2009 = 441. In short, the increase is almost

entirely due to an increase in those reporting Usually full time, but PTNER in the past week. What is interesting is that Labor Day was on the 7th in both 2009 and 2015. Thus, the increase comes from a larger, single month increase in sample size between August and September for both years.

¹⁹ Small sample sizes at any state level are certainly noisier than national or regional CPS data, so discerning clear trends in these series could be less definitive than they appear to the eye.

PART-TIME FOR ECONOMIC REASONS IN THE 5-STATE EAST NORTH CENTRAL (ENC) REGION

Are there certain industries driving the upward trend in involuntary part time working and its two main components? Adding in the four neighboring states to Illinois greatly increases the sample size, and allows us to observe with some reliability the behavior of employment in particular industries of interest. The overall employment level in the 5-state region has returned to about its pre-Recession level (Figure 17).

At the start of the entire period, Part-time for Economic Reasons fluctuated around 500,000 workers. Prior to the Recession, it had gradually climbed, to about 700,000. During the Recession, the number doubled and since then has with a long lag time, returned to between 800,000 and 900,000. Thus, it remains somewhat elevated in the region, although Illinois seems to be contributing heavily to that elevation. Figure 18 shows the growth in number of workers subject to involuntary part time working.

Figure 19 shows that there has been a slight upward trend over the period in part-time for slack work and business conditions.

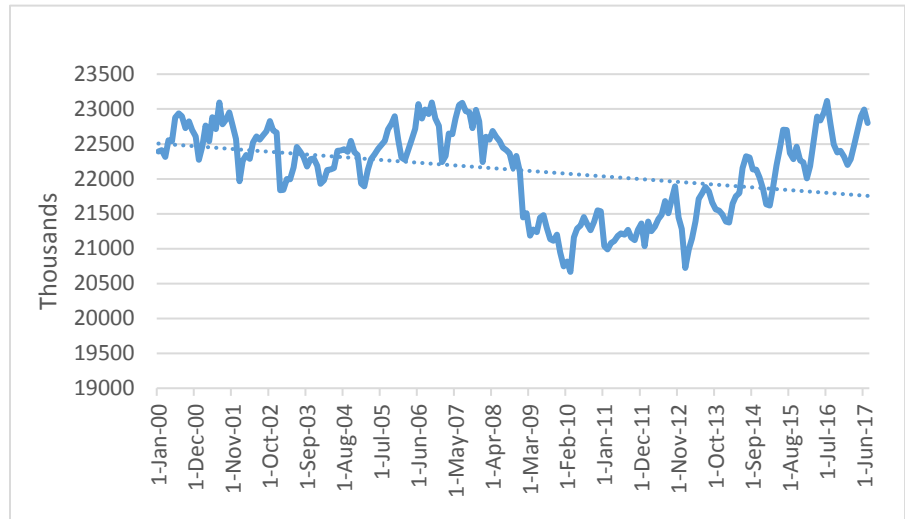


Figure 17: Total Employment, East-North-Central Region, Monthly and Long-term Trend, 2000-2017

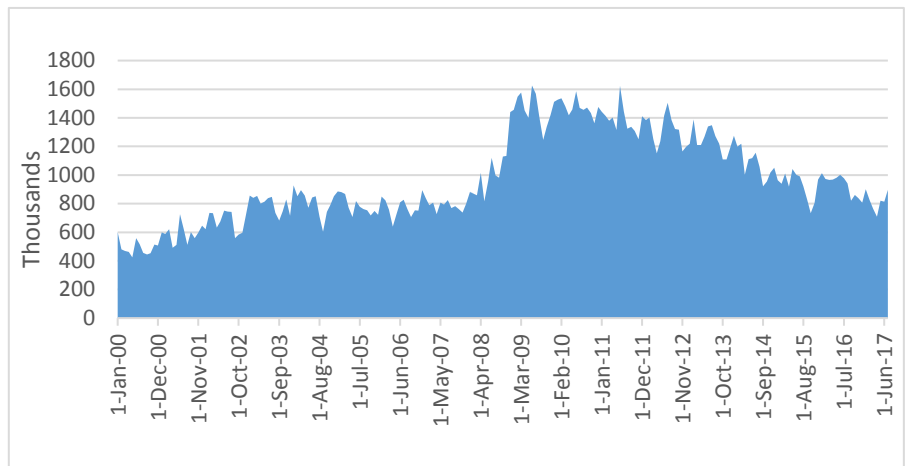


Figure 18: Part Time for Economic Reasons, Number Employed, East-North-Central Census Region, 2000-2017

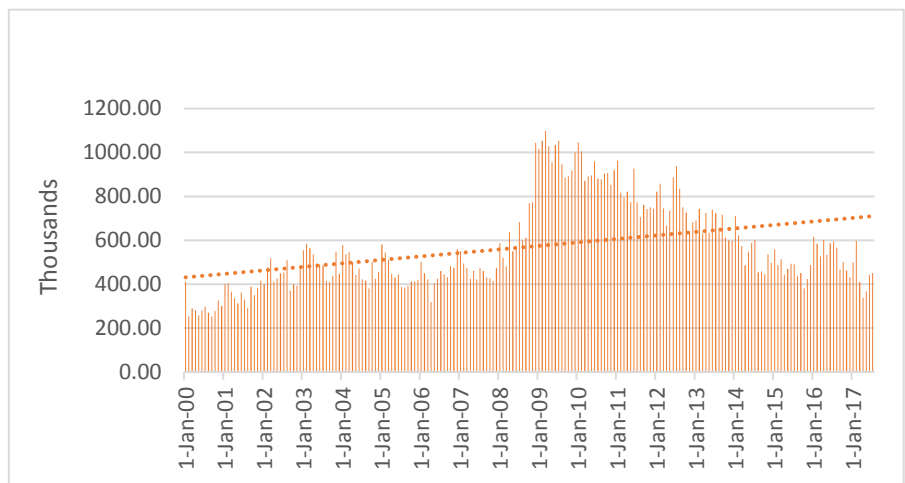


Figure 19: Part Time for Economic Reasons, for Slack Work or Business Conditions Reason, Number of Employed, East-North-Central Census Region, Monthly and Long-term Trend, 2000-2017

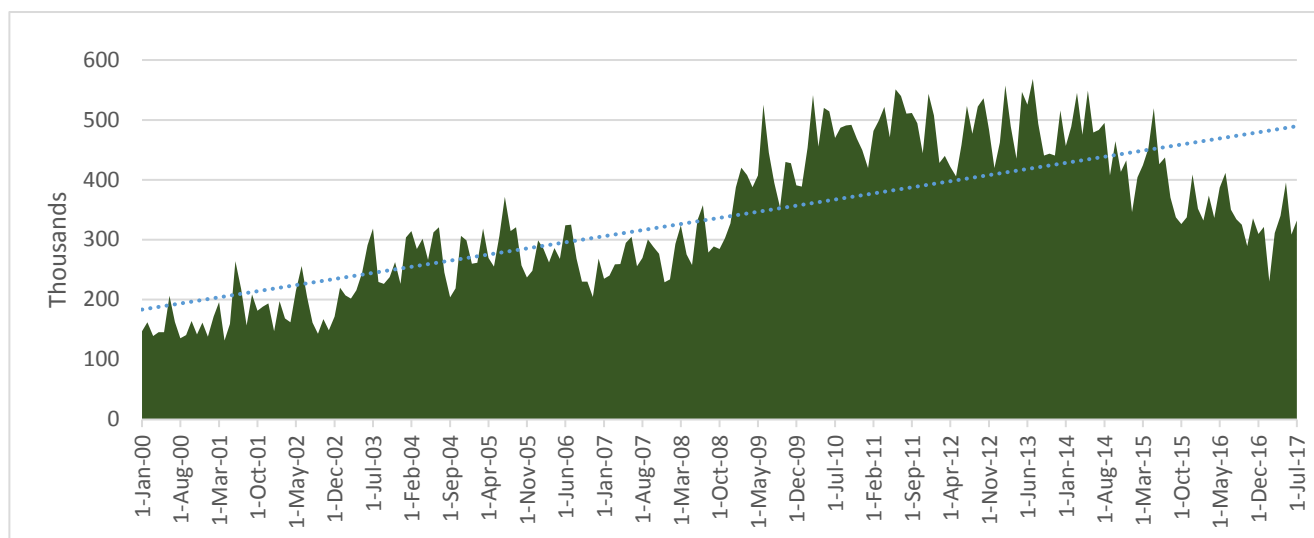


Figure 20: Part Time Working for Reason of Could Only Find Part Time, Number Employed, Monthly and Long-term Trend, East-North-Central Census Region

Figure 20 shows the even more steep upward trend in part-time working because part-time was all that was available. Part-time working due to only finding part-time jobs is today about double the level it was back in 2000.

Nationally, much of the rise in involuntary part-time work, and its component of not being able to find full-time work, has been attributed to the industry composition of jobs and job growth (Cajner et al, 2014; Valletta et al, 2015a; Golden, 2016). We focus here on the main two industry sectors that appear to be driving this trend – the Retail and the Recreation/Hospitality Industries. We then expand afterward to the two other sectors, Health and Education, which also appear to be contributing to the trends and patterns in part-time working.²⁰

At the regional level, sample sizes by major (i.e., broad) industry levels have a sufficient sample size, East-North-Central (ENC) region levels are reported here. Figure 21 shows that in the region, total overall employment in the two industries combined -- retail trade and recreation/hospitality (e.g., restaurants, hotels and the like) -- has edged up over time. This is attributable in recent years

solely to the latter -- as the number of jobs in Retail ceased growing, at least nationally (Valletta et al, 2015). Retail is actually flat in terms of net jobs, but Recreation/Hospitality is rising. Figures 25 and 26 show that, conforming to the pattern in both the US and in Illinois, more of that growth is attributable to the inability to find full time work elsewhere. The reason of slack work, indeed, has recently returned almost to its pre-Recession level. The reason of workers finding only part-time jobs, however, has since more than doubled. Thus, when isolating just the Recreation/Hospitality sector, where employment is growing more rapidly, involuntary part-time working remains almost double that observed prior to the recession. The trend is steeper, and level still more elevated, for the reason of only finding part-time work.

Figure 21 shows that in the East-North-Central (ENC) region, total overall employment in the two industries combined -- retail trade and recreation/hospitality (e.g., restaurants, hotels and the like) -- has edged up over time. This is attributable in more recent years solely to the latter -- as the number of jobs in Retail ceased

²⁰ These four industries combined together are driving almost all of the trend behavior at the US national level (Golden, 2016; Valletta et al 2015; Cajner et al, 2014).

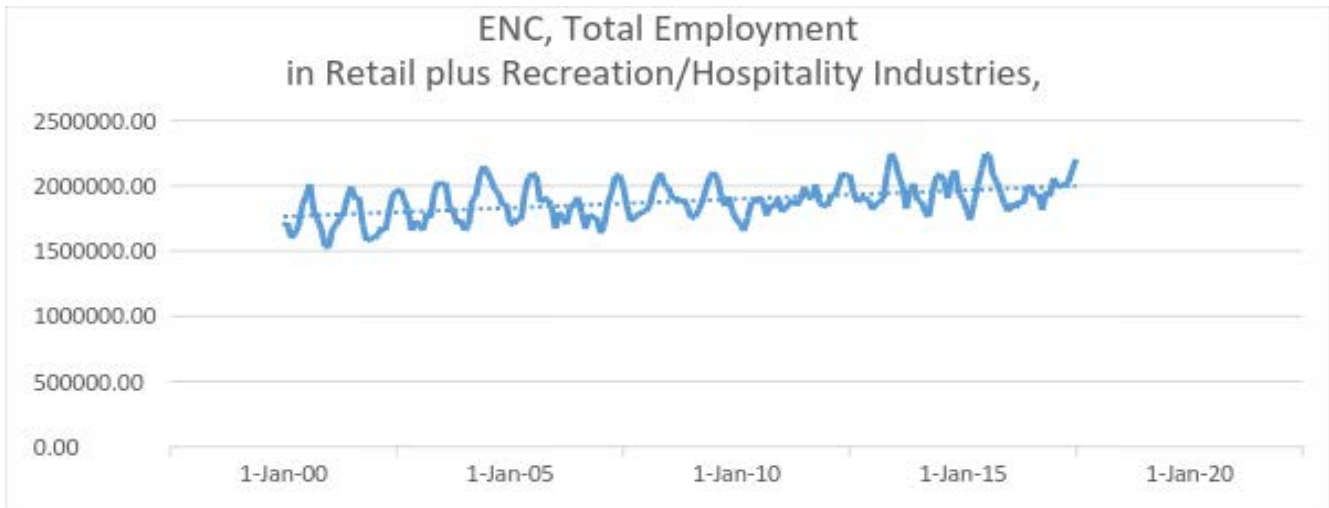


Figure 21: Retail Trade and Recreation/Hospitality Industry Employment, East-North-Central Region, Monthly and Long-term Trend 2000-2017

growing, at least nationally (Valletta et al, 2015). Retail is actually flat in terms of net jobs, but Recreation/Hospitality is rising.

The total number of jobs in Retail plus the Recreation/Hospitality sectors are tracked quite closely by voluntary part-time working in those sectors (Figure 22). Thus, a larger proportion of the growth in employment in these two pooled industries stems from involuntary part-time working.

As with Illinois, are the other states in the region experiencing the same pattern by industry? We now disaggregate by industry, separating

Recreation/Hospitality from Retail, and examine the two main components of involuntary part time working. Focusing in on just the single industry of Recreation/Hospitality, Figure 23 suggests that while employment has expanded there, part-time working involuntarily remains almost double the number at the start of period. It displays a steep upward path through the period. Figures 24 and 25 together suggest while somewhat more workers are relegated to part time due to slack work and business conditions, most of the increase appears to be due to workers taking part-time jobs when full time work is desired.

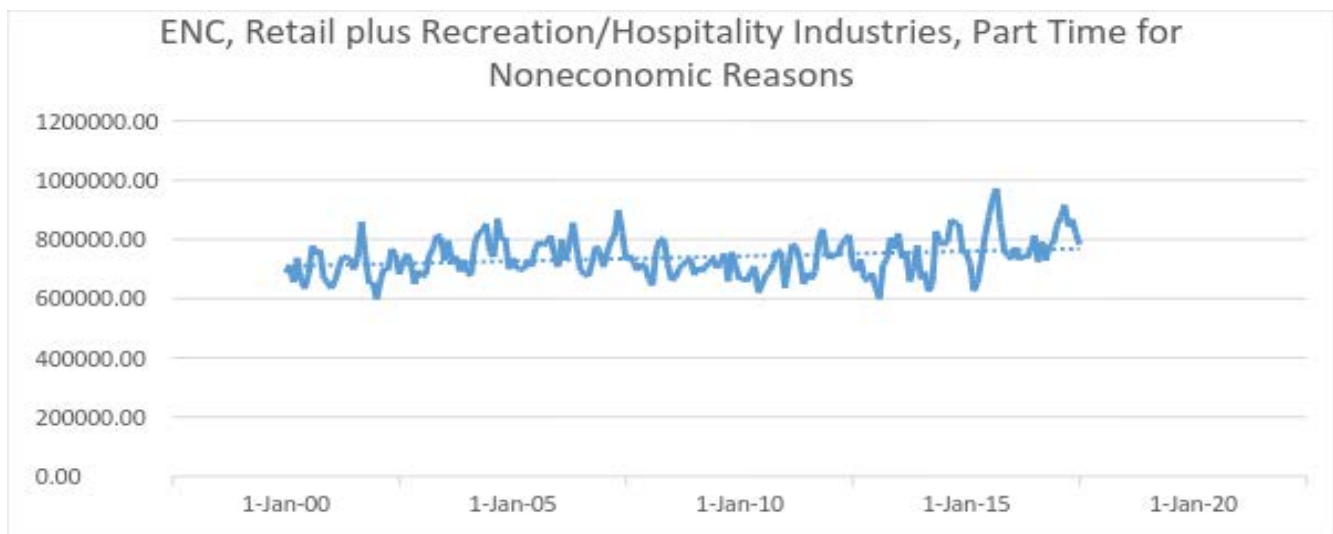


Figure 22: Part Time for Noneconomic Reasons, Retail Trade and Recreation/Hospitality Industry Employment, East-North-Central Region, Monthly and Long-term Trend, 2000-2017

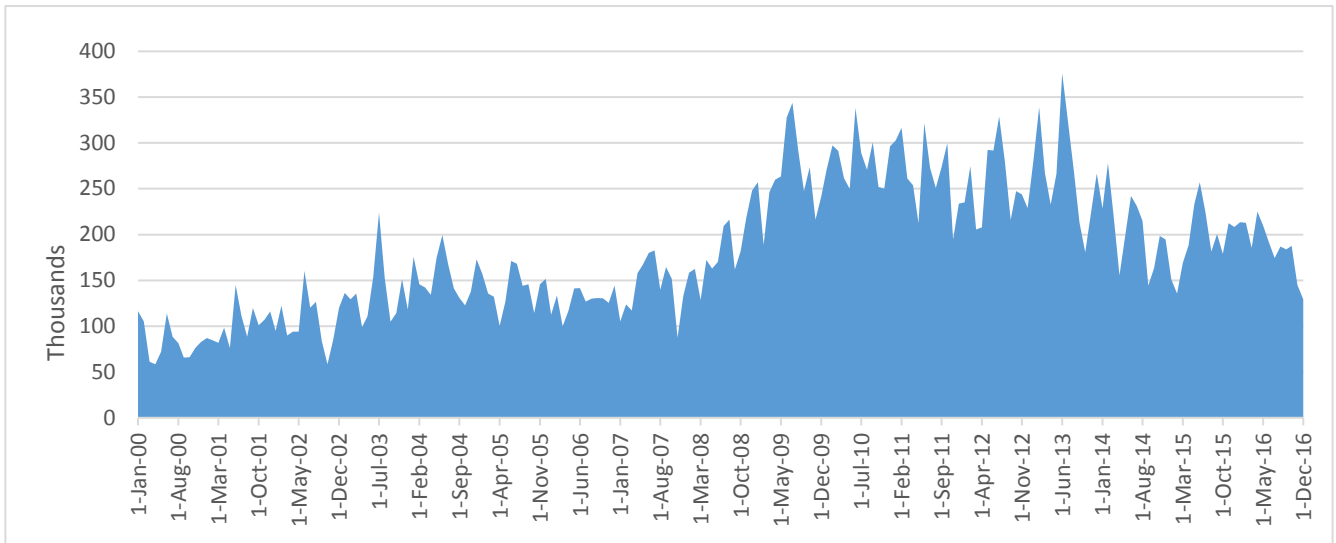


Figure 23: Part Time for Economic Reasons, Recreation/Hospitality Industries Only, ENC Region

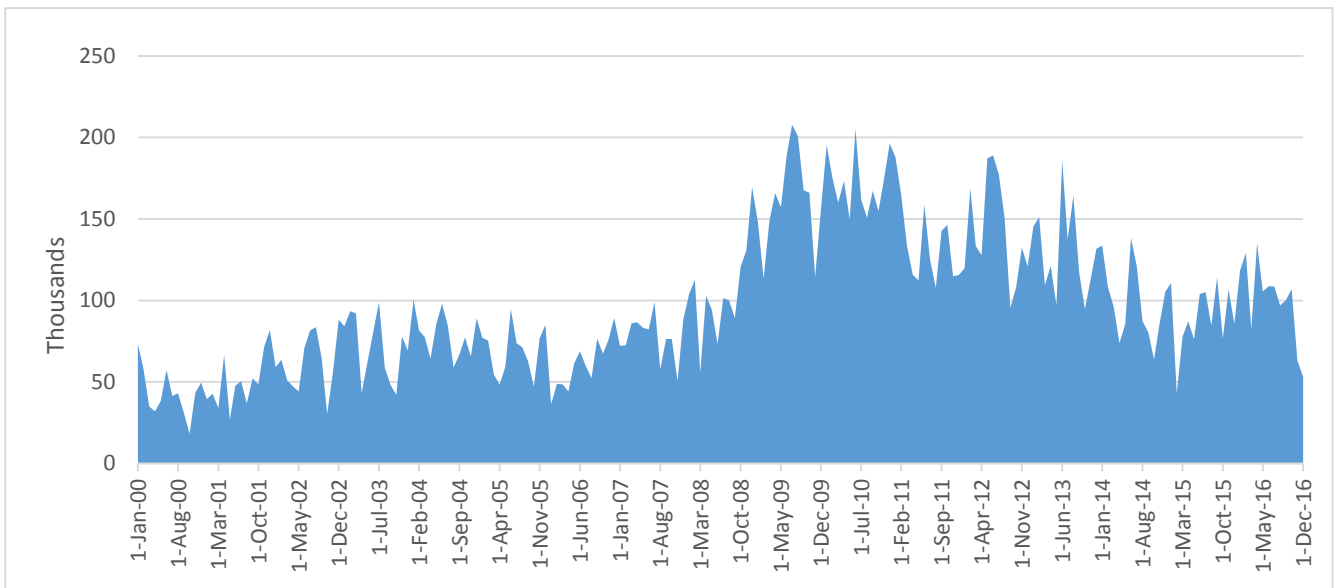


Figure 24: Part Time Slack Work and Business Conditions, ENC Region, Recreation/Hospitality Industry Only

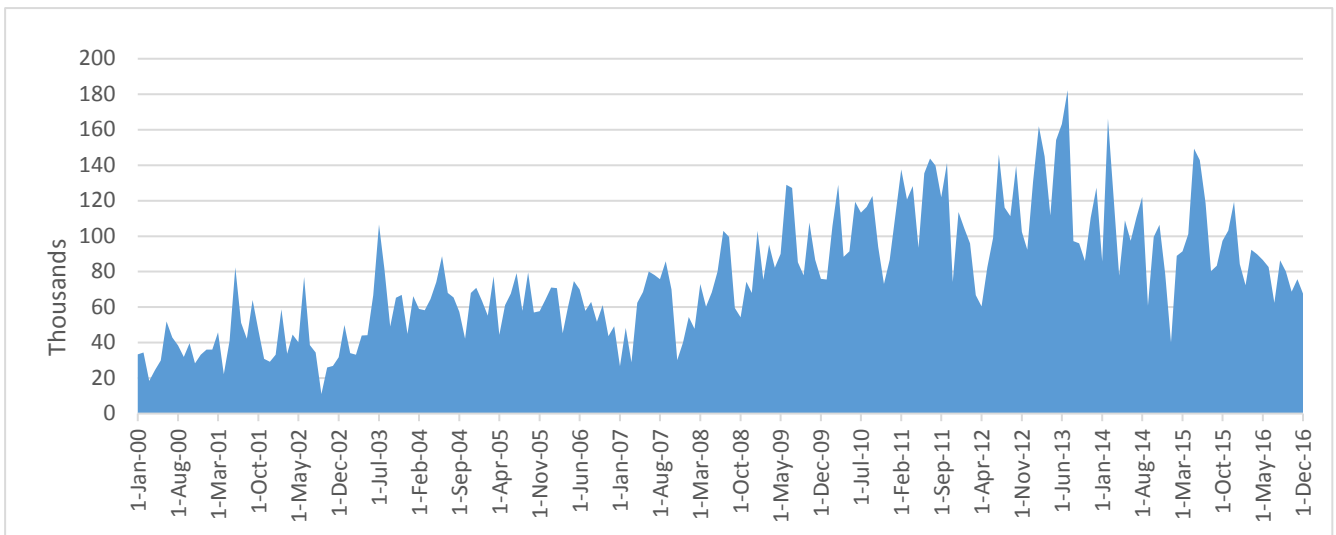


Figure 25: ENC Region, Recreation/Hospitality Industry Only, Part Time Could Only Find Part Time

The Retail industry alone shows that while overall employment there (Figure 26), notably and perhaps surprisingly, retail sector jobs have been

at best flat in the region. Moreover, voluntary part-time working in retail has actually trended downward, if anything (Figure 27)

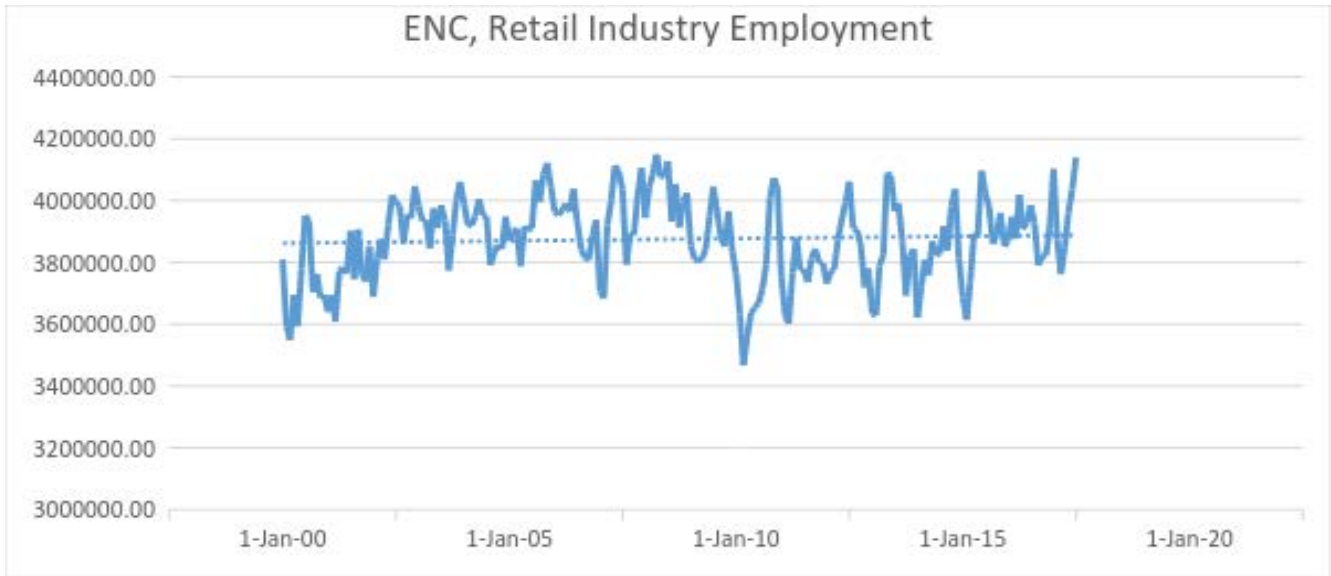


Figure 26: Retail Industry, Total Employment ENC Region, Monthly and Long-term Trend, 2000-2017

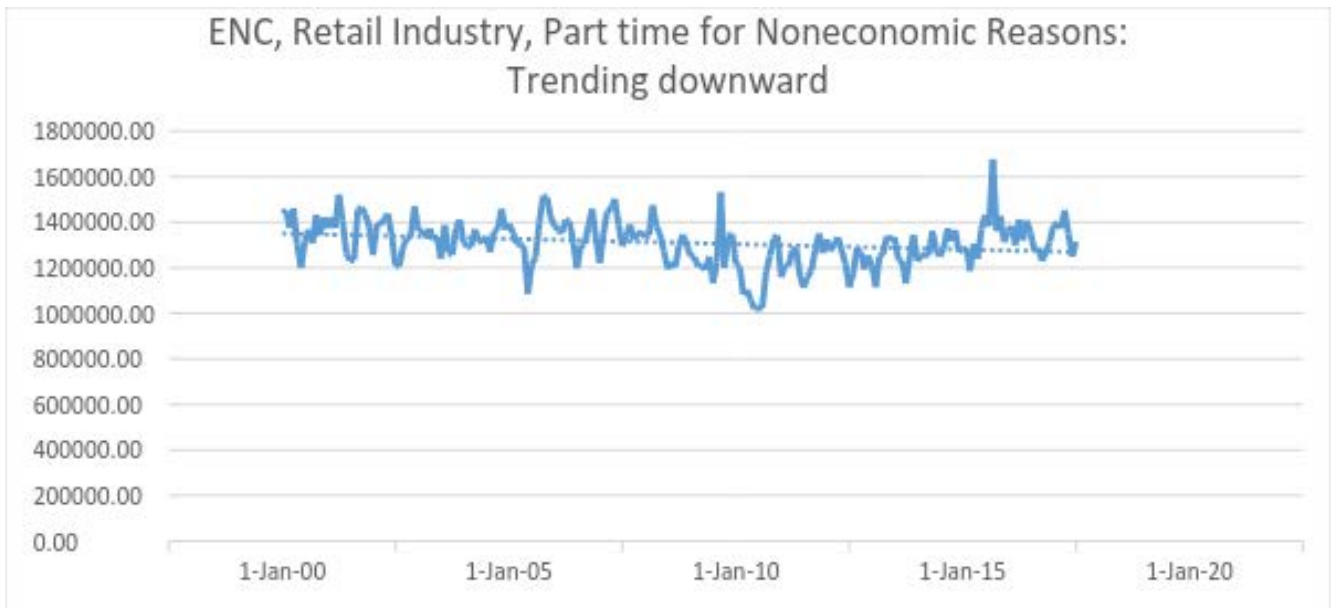


Figure 27: Retail Industry, Part Time for Non -Economic Reasons, ENC Region, Monthly and Long-term Trend, 2000-2017

Not surprisingly, however, involuntary part-time working has escalated in retail, much of that due to growth in only finding part-time work (Figure 28). Figure 29 shows the escalation of involuntary

part time in the Retail sector comes mainly from people taking part time jobs when full time was desired.

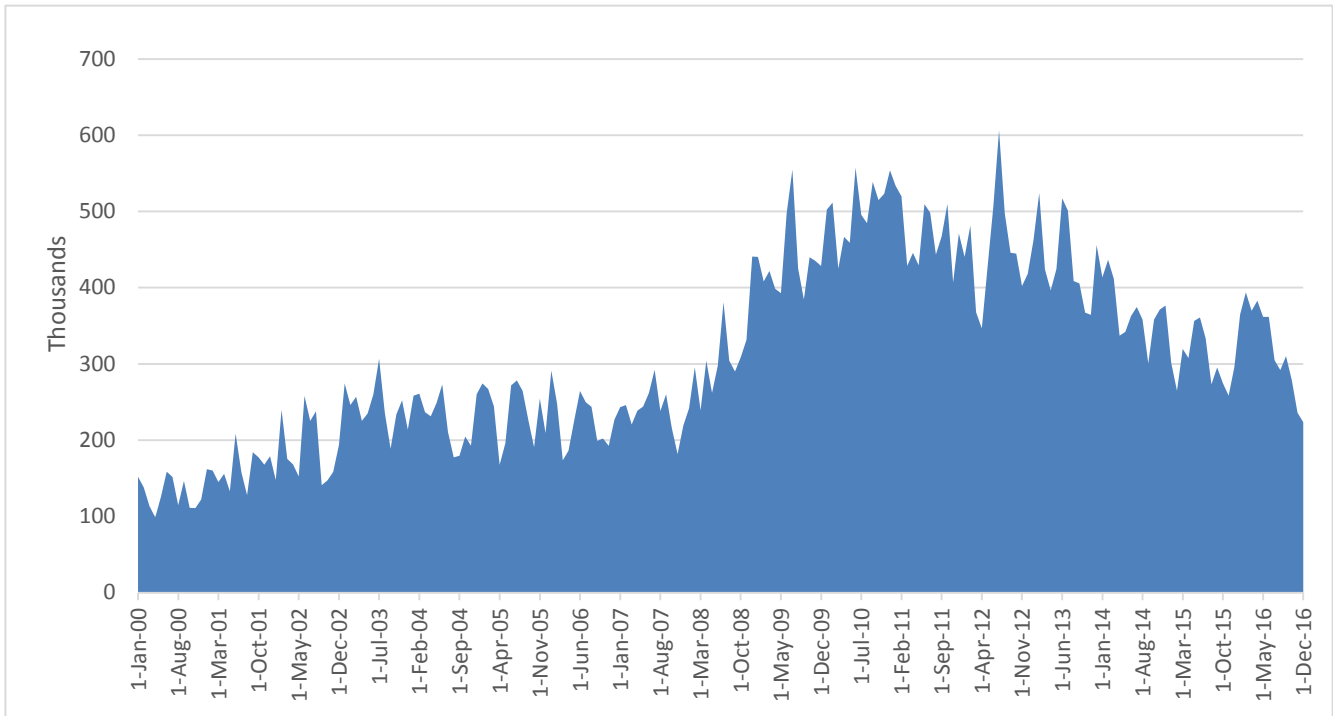


Figure 28: Retail Industry Only, Part Time for Economic Reasons, ENC region, 2000-2016

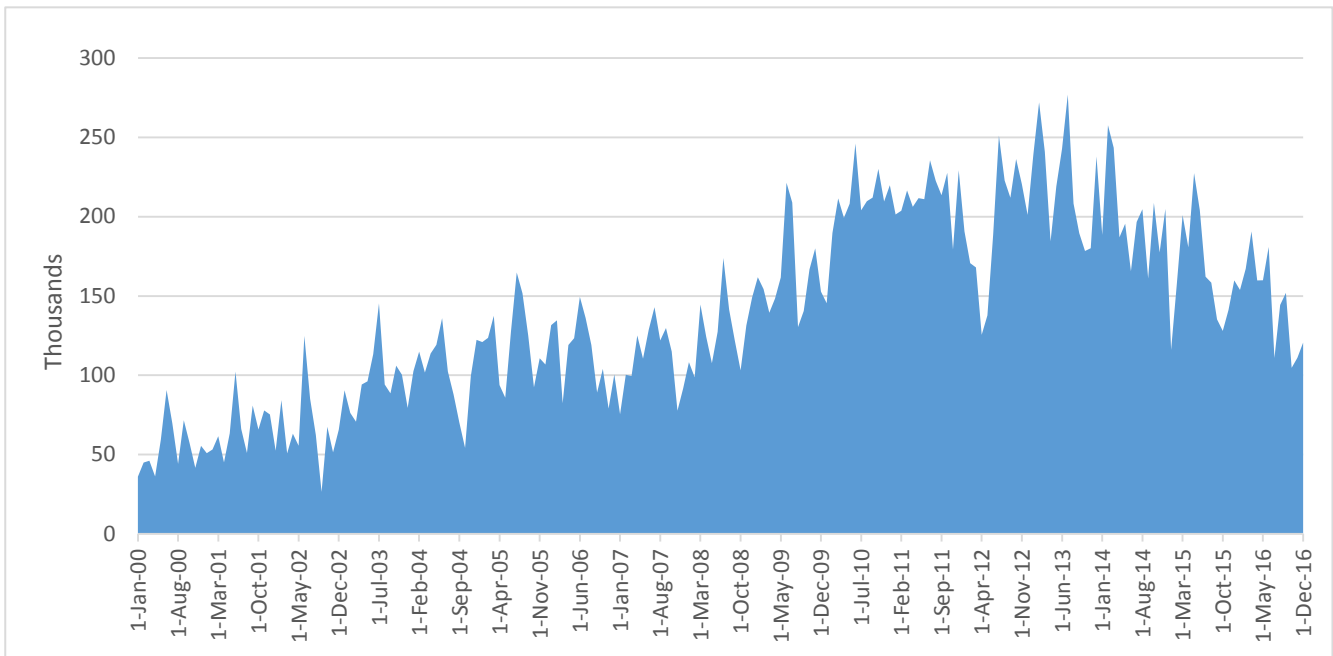


Figure 29: Retail Industry, Part Time for Economic Reasons Could Only Find Part Time, ENC region, 2000-2016

In the other two sectors most contributing nationally to the involuntary part-time working phenomenon, the combined Health and Social Services industry employment exhibit patterns similar to Retail and Recreation/Hospitality.²¹

Figures 30 and 31 display trends similar, though less stark, to the two key, other industries driving the trends toward higher involuntary part time working and its main source being the inability to find full time work elsewhere

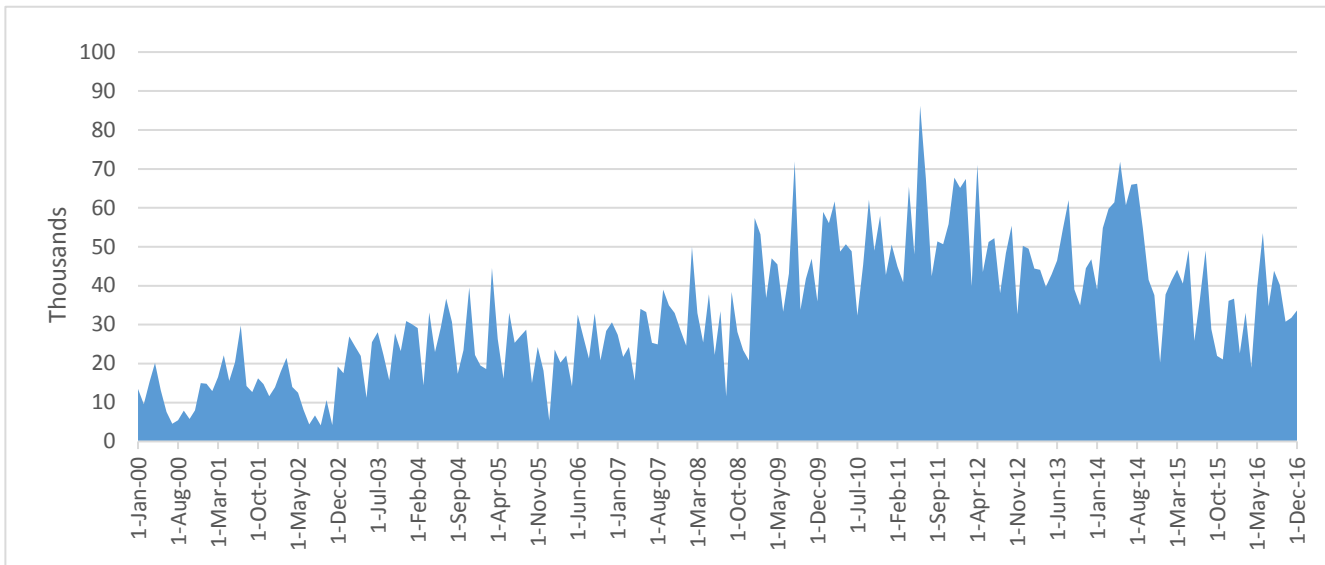


Figure 30: Health and Social Services Industry, Part Time for Economic Reasons, ENC Region, 2000-2016

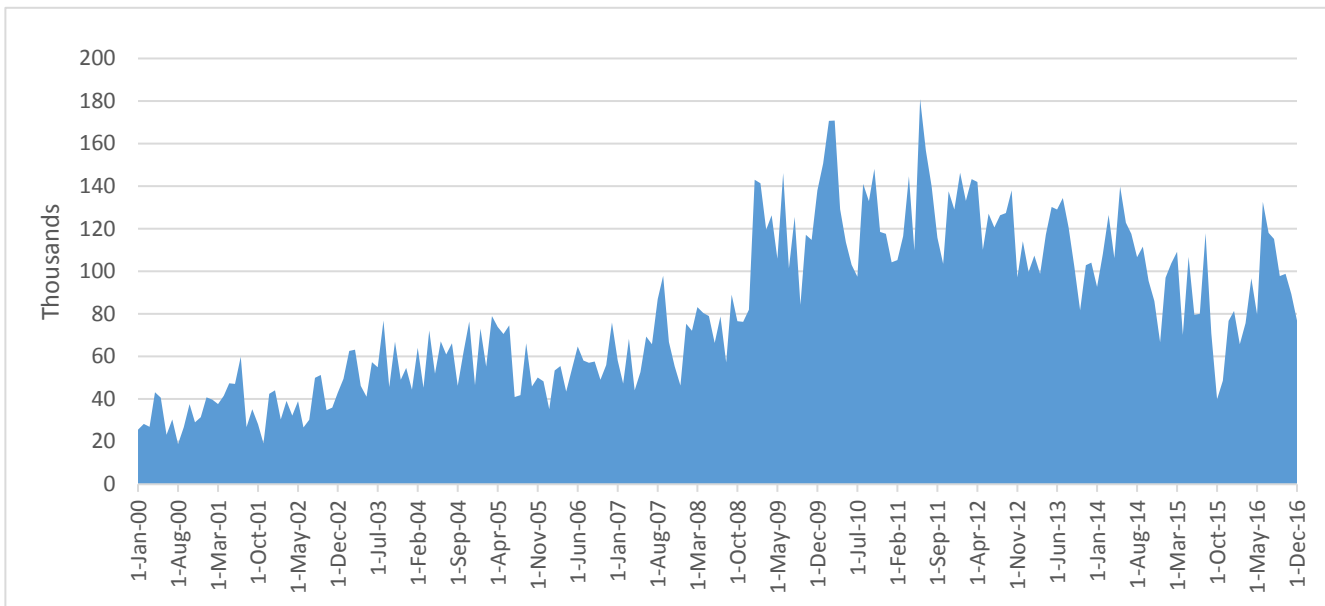


Figure 31: Health and Social Services Industry, Part Time for Economic Reasons, Could Only Find Part Time, ENC Region, 2000-2016

²¹ The health and social services sectors are likely to more diverse job quality, by occupation, than retail and hospitality, so we do not issue any judgement about its general growth, including part time

jobs, about the welfare impact on the worker employed in, for example, nursing homes versus hospitals versus home health.

TRANSITIONS (FLOWS) INTO AND OUT OF INVOLUNTARY PART-TIME WORKING

Given the key findings that involuntary part time has trended upward over time and its source is mainly a growing inability to full time work (particularly in certain sectors), we now ask two questions: what feeds into the growth of such part time working, and what happens to those at some later point who are caught in such involuntarily part-time work situations?

The structure of the current population survey (CPS) household survey data allow us to observe the state of an individual's employment in one year after (or before) their current state in the labor force (period t versus $t+12$).²² For sample size reasons, we add the four surrounding states to Illinois and consider the ENC region. Using the linked, "matched" data (individuals that have stayed in the survey for at least year), among part-timers, we can observe what has been feeding the growth of involuntary part by transitions into, and out of, that state -- one year later or one year earlier-- from working part-time involuntary (either for reasons of slack work and business conditions or finding only part time jobs).

In the last few years, voluntary part time working appears to be on the rise (Owen, 2017; Baker and Jorgenson, 2014).²³ Perhaps a small share of part time employment growth is being fueled by those who took part-time jobs in lieu of full time, deciding by the following year that the reasons for their part-time working have switch to the more "voluntary" reasons. When examining data on labor market transitions between voluntary and involuntary part-time work, as much as one third of the increase in part-time employment for economic reasons during the recession

represented a shift of workers, moving from voluntary part-time to involuntary part-time employment (Cainer, et al 2014).

Changes in the transition probabilities to and from involuntary part time working in the aftermath of the 2007-09 recession were mainly associated with changes in the composition of employment (full-time versus part-time, and involuntary to voluntary part time working), instead of being due to changes in the distribution of individuals between employment and non-employment.²⁴ CPS respondents might have become more likely to attribute their part-time hours more to economic than to noneconomic, preference-related reasons. On the other hand, it could be that the increased flow from voluntary to involuntary part-time work during the recession represented a real behavioral change: for example, if a household's primary earner experienced a spell of unemployment, the secondary earner, who had previously been working part-time for noneconomic reasons, might have wished to work longer hours, and thus reported working part-time for economic reasons. One conclusion from an analysis of PTER and PTNER data suggests structurally higher part-time employment may be here to stay, despite the gradual recovery from the exceptionally large unemployment shock to the labor market.

For the ENC region, sample sizes are far more sufficient when including both key components within part time for economic reasons. Imagining a trend line through the entire period since 2000, Figure 32 shows a fairly clear, detectable trend -- compared to 2000, and to an extent, also to the years prior to the recession, people who were involuntary part time are now more likely to

²² This view is supported by examining the transition rates out of unemployment and out of nonparticipation and into part-time work (Cainer, et al 2014). For similar flow analyses, see Borowycz-Martin and Lale, 2016 and Hirsch, 2005.

²³ Mathur, et al (2015) find that Part-Time generally was moved only negligibly before or during the implementation of the Affordable Care Act.

²⁴ This is understandable, given a weakened labor market with stagnant hourly earnings, spurred an "income effect" whereby some part-time workers sought more weekly work hours.

remain involuntary part time one year later (Glosser and Golden, 2017). Thus, the transition out of that state into full time employment is becoming less rapid or less likely, starting with the Great Recession. This likelihood of “persistence” rose from 2007 all the way through 2014, for workers in the region. It plateaued through 2016, but seems to have dropped in the past year, but not much before that.

In the US as a whole, there seems to have been more transitions from involuntary to voluntary part time, though less so in the ENC region (Figure 33). In contrast, Figure 34 shows that transitions from involuntary to more voluntary reasons behind part time working has ticked up since the Recession, the reduced flow out of involuntary part time since the recession must be more due to reduced flow into full time work than flow into voluntary part time working, though the latter did climb from 2009 to 2015. This suggests that some people who were dissatisfied with their part time workweeks became more content with these part time hours a year later.

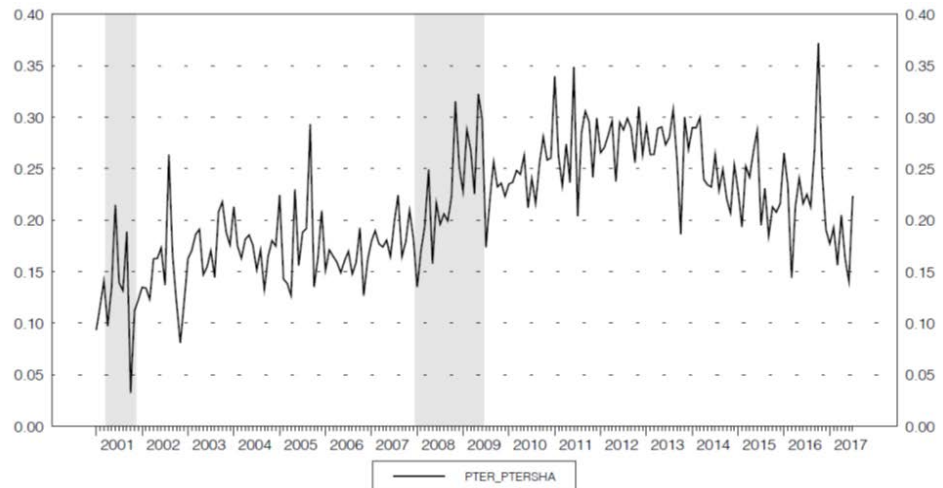


Figure 32: The Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers Who 12 Months Later were Still Involuntary Part Time, US, 2000-2017, US nationally

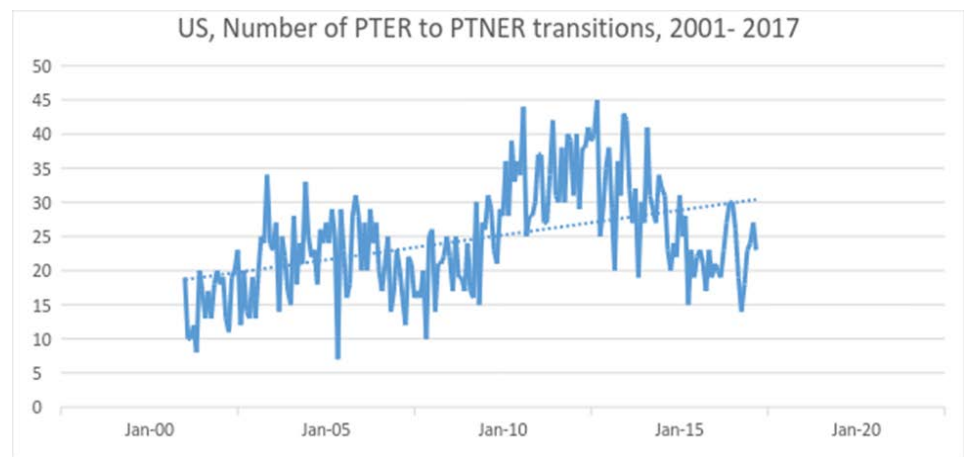


Figure 33: The Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers Who 12 Months Later Transition to Voluntary Part Time Working, US, 2000-2017, ENC Region only

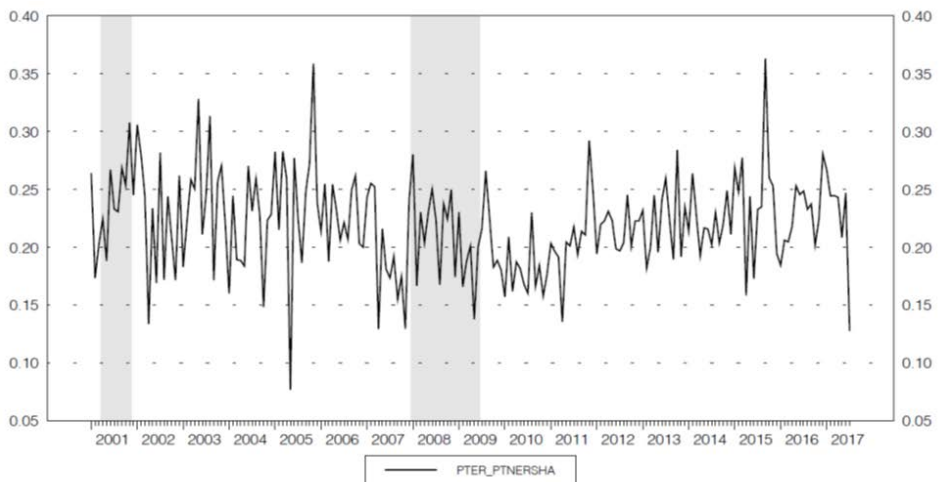


Figure 34: Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers who 12 Months Later were Voluntary Part Time, in ENC Region, 2000-2017

Indeed, Figure 35 shows a pretty clear “U-shape” from the onset of the recession to today, in transitions into full time work from involuntary part time.

As far as what feeds into working part time involuntarily, Figure 36 shows that many come from being outside the labor force.

Figure 37 shows that some of those working part time involuntarily came from unemployment, although the growth rate in this phenomenon appears to have been a bit higher in the previous economic expansion years than in the current one.

Finally, Figure 38 suggests that it is not transitions out of voluntarily working part time that explains the recently higher levels of involuntary part-time – rather, the work. The figures together support the conclusion that those currently out of the labor force, unemployed, or already involuntary part time, is responsible for the increased presence of involuntary part time working in the ENC region (and like also the state of Illinois).

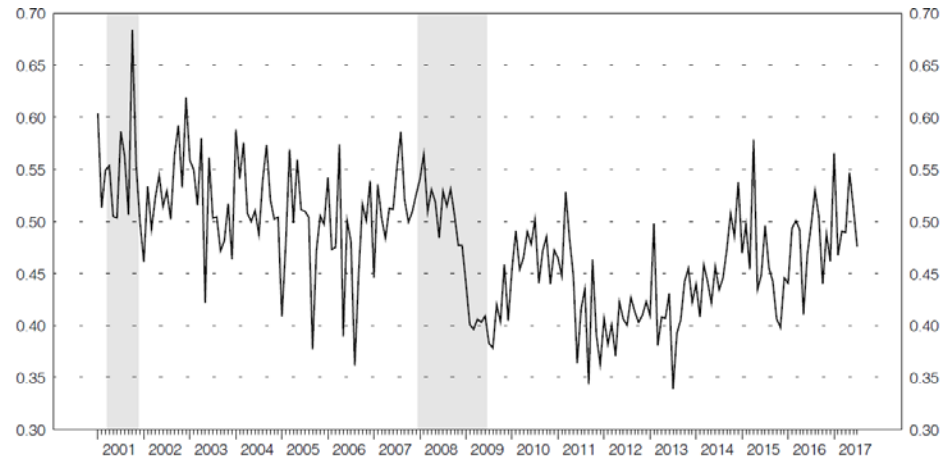


Figure 35: The Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers Who Had Transitioned 12 Months Later to Full Time Employment, 2000-2017

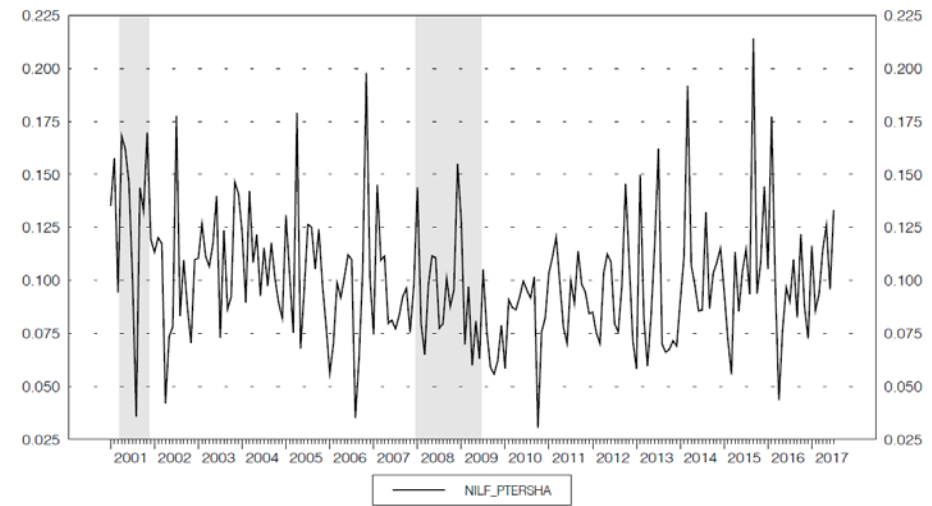


Figure 36: The Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers Who Transitioned 12 Months From Outside the Labor Force, 2000-2017

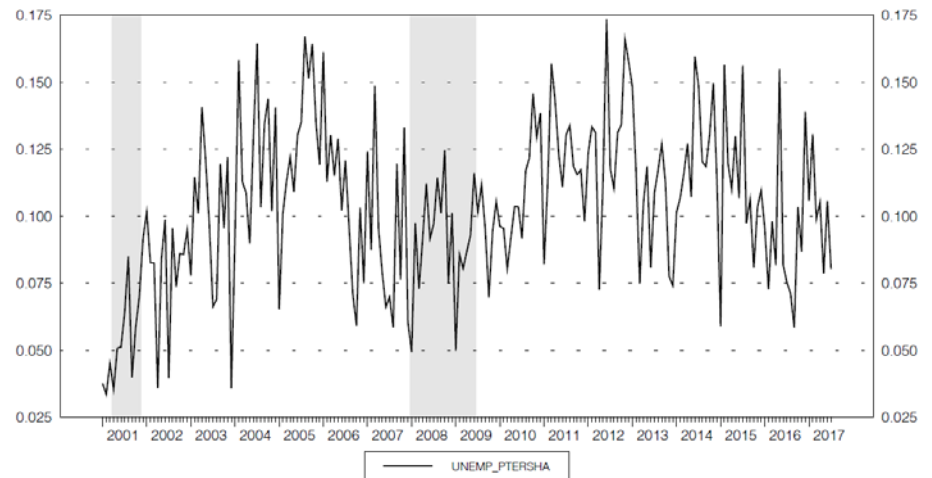


Figure 37: The Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers Who Transitioned 12 Months from Being Unemployed, 2000-2017

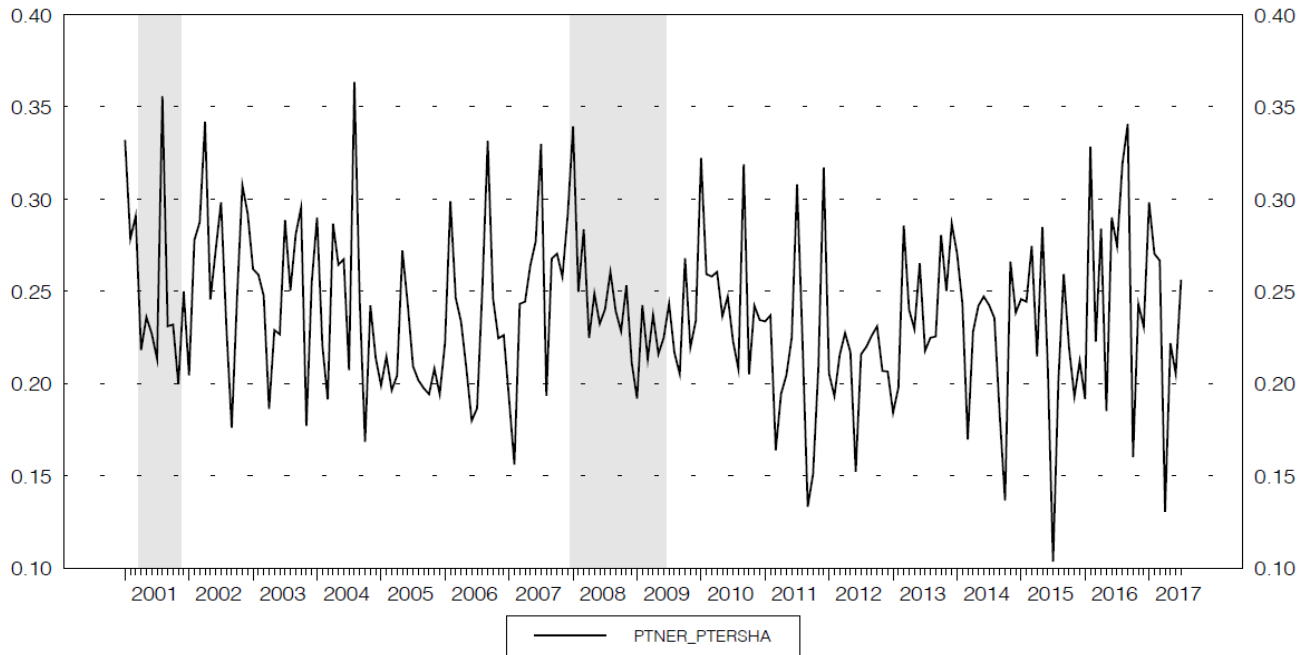


Figure 38: The Proportion of Involuntary Part Time Workers Who Had Transitioned 12 Months Prior From Voluntary Part Time Employment, 2000-2017

WHO IS MORE LIKELY TO BE WORKING INVOLUNTARY OR VOLUNTARY PART-TIME WORKING?

Our aim here is to portray some of the demographic characteristics associated with being part-time for economic reasons, and, specifically, because of an inability to find full time work. We then contrast that with the more “voluntary” reasons for working part-time. The models include controls for the worker’s industry and occupation. For example, are the likelihood of or reasons for involuntary part-time employment higher for certain age groups part-time? The results confirm that part-time for economic reasons is most likely for 25-34 and 35-44 year olds age brackets. It is also relatively higher for blacks and Hispanics, for men and whose highest

degree is high school. Working part time for reason that “could only find part-time” is also concentrated a bit more among the 25 to 44 category, but is more even between the genders and a bit less attributable to being black and especially, Hispanic. Men are actually more likely to be part-time for economic reasons – but not for the reason of finding only part-time. Men are relatively considerably more likely than women to be on shorter than full time hours for the slack work and business conditions reason. Black and Hispanic workers, like men, are more likely to be part-time because of slack work reasons, not so much because of an inability to find full time work, which is distributed about the same across racial groups (*results available from author upon request*).

Dependent Variable	Mean Square Error	Intercept	Age 16-24	Age 25-34	Age 35-44	Age 45-54	Age 55-64	Age 65-85	female	black	hisp	other	High school	Some College	BA and up
Part Time for Economic Reasons (PTER)	0.347	0.143	0.049	0.126	0.102	0.097	0.080	0.000	-0.035	0.088	0.066	0.019	0.077	0.009	0.002
Part-time Could Only Find Part Time (COFPT)	0.232	0.015	0.046	0.068	0.043	0.040	0.030	0.000	-0.010	0.038	0.005	0.009	0.043	0.005	0.008
Part-Time for Non-Economic Reasons (PTNER)	0.444	0.876	-0.101	-0.344	-0.354	-0.362	-0.281	0.000	0.118	-0.109	-0.074	-0.031	-0.113	-0.038	-0.094

Table 1: Part-time Working, by Three Types of Part-time Work -- Probit Estimation Coefficients: Demographic Factors, US
 Source: Last four outgoing rotation groups of the 2015 US Current Population Survey, omitted referent groups are: age 65-85, men, whites, less than high school education level

OTHER RELEVANT SURVEYS MEASURING UNDEREMPLOYMENT

The US Federal Reserve Board (FRB) now issues a perennial May 2015 Survey of Household Economic Dynamics (SHED), which in 2014 included a question to identify underemployed people who want more work at current wages. The SHED survey asked, “If you were paid the same hourly rate regardless of the number of hours you work, would you prefer to: work more hours for more money, fewer hours for less money, or same hours for same money? The sample size of 3,050 individuals allows reliable observation of the character and distribution of underemployment in the US, by demographic characteristics – including by part-time vs. full time job status, as well as by household income and by industry and occupation of one’s job.

The key finding is how widespread is the desire to earn more money even if it entails more work. The SHED data show it is precisely a third of the employed who express this preference. Underemployment is a bit higher, at 36% wanting “more hours,” when excluding those self-employed and in business partnerships. About half – 49 percent-- of part-timers feel that they have too few hours and too little income, in contrast to 34 percent of full time employees.²⁵

Fortunately and most pertinently, the nationally representative, SHED data, for 2014, was large enough to break out by region and several states. Table 2 shows that the state of Illinois registers an underemployment rate of almost 36 percent. This was somewhat higher than the average in the US, given that 10 of the 12 “selected states” had lower rates than that found in “all other states,” which had virtually the same rate as in Illinois. The East-North-Central 5-state region shows an underemployment of almost 33 percent. This average in the region is clearly lifted by the higher

rate in Illinois than in our neighbors in Indiana and Michigan. This puts the region as third highest among the nine census regions for underemployment. Regressions, with the dependent variable as, “willing to work more hours,” finds that underemployment is not only statistically significantly greater among part-time workers, but also for those residing in the East-North-Central state region, second only to the East-South-Central region in strength of underemployment by region.²⁶

The surveys show that indeed, Illinois, falls in that category of states with the most underused potential to shift hours from the overemployed to underemployed.

Category	Description	Sample size	Same Hours	More Hours	Fewer Hours
Region	New England	164	56.1%	26.8%	8.5%
	Mid-Atlantic	433	54.0%	35.0%	3.3%
	East-North Central	530	56.5%	32.8%	4.9%
	West-North Central	286	61.3%	26.1%	5.4%
	South Atlantic	605	51.0%	32.5%	5.1%
	East-South Central	162	53.4%	32.2%	6.4%
	West-South Central	292	53.1%	32.7%	5.3%
	Mountain	205	52.8%	32.6%	4.1%
	Pacific	461	48.3%	37.9%	4.9%
Selected states	Connecticut	32	59.1%	16.6%	14.1%
	Illinois	116	52.2%	35.7%	7.5%
	Indiana	56	69.6%	19.5%	4.7%
	Maryland	53	51.7%	39.8%	0.0%
	Massachusetts	85	59.4%	27.9%	7.2%
	Michigan	115	56.3%	31.3%	7.7%
	Minnesota	89	60.2%	23.4%	5.5%
	New Jersey	87	54.2%	30.4%	5.1%
	New York	186	52.9%	38.0%	2.6%
	Oregon	47	43.9%	31.4%	3.4%
	Pennsylvania	160	55.2%	34.4%	2.8%
	Vermont	6	87.7%	12.3%	0.0%
Work status	All others	2,106	52.3%	33.5%	5.0%
	Fulltime	2,047	59.7%	33.7%	6.1%
	Part-Time	522	48.0%	49.0%	2.8%
	Working retiree	151	78.0%	13.1%	8.9%
Multiple job	Working student	96	51.5%	47.8%	0.3%
	Yes	454	44.5%	38.3%	4.6%
	non	2,684	54.8%	32.1%	5.1%

Table 2: Preference for More Hours, Time-Related Underemployment, by Region and State, Fed Survey of Household Economic survey, 2014

²⁶ Regression estimation results are available upon request.

²⁵ The full time are more than twice as likely as the part time to be overemployed, 6 percent to 3 percent.

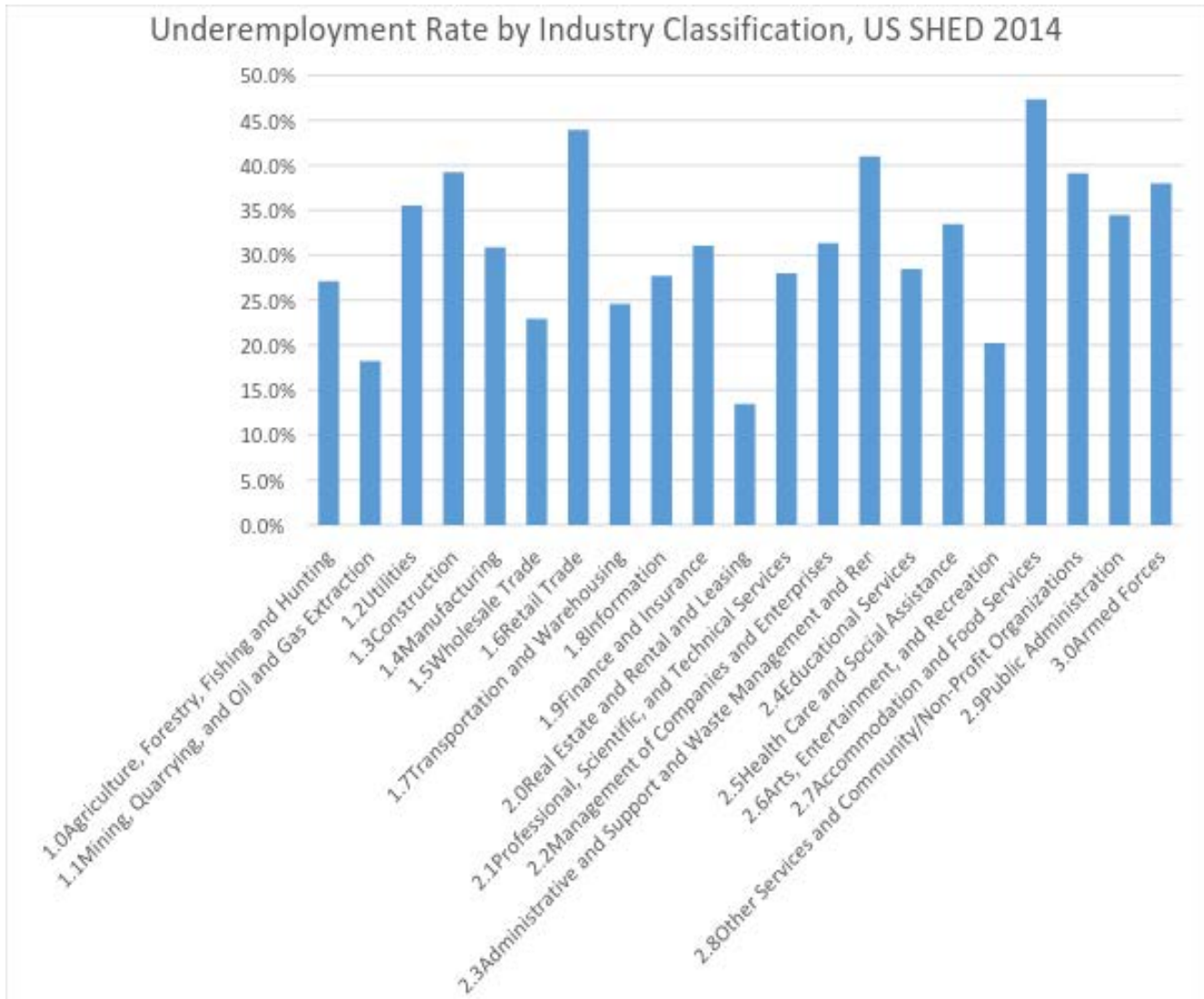


Figure 39: Underemployment by Industry Classification, Fed Survey of Household Economic Dynamics, 2014.

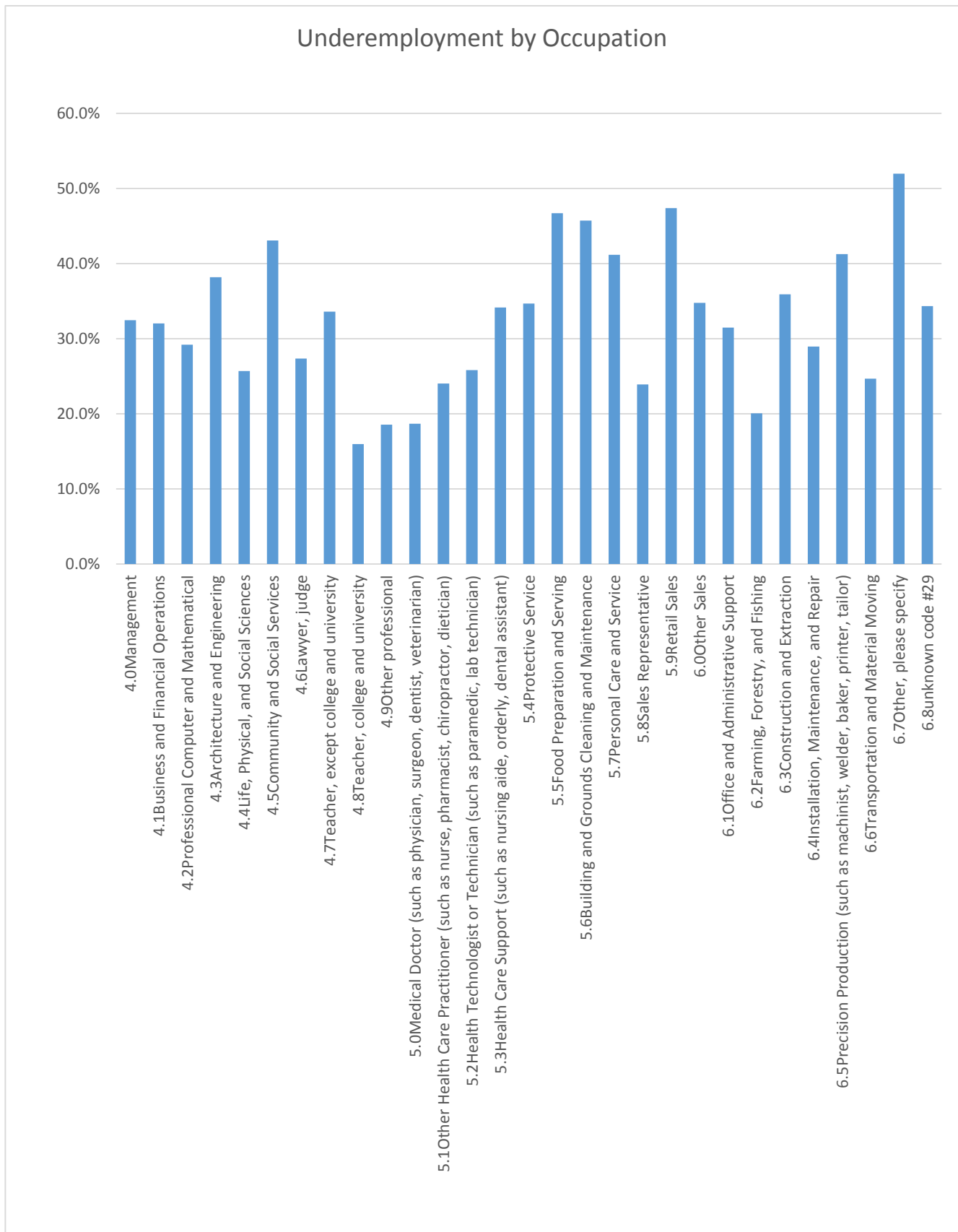


Figure 40: Underemployment by Occupational Classification, Fed Survey of Household Economic Dynamics, 2014.

Of the 21 industries in the Fed’s SHED sample, there are relatively highest rates of underemployment in a handful of the industries (Figure 39). Underemployment is most prevalent, upwards of 45 percent, in Retail Trade, Accommodation/Food Services, and to a slightly lesser degree in the industries of Construction and Other Services and Community/Non-Profit Organizations. Underemployment is concentrated by industry, especially but not exclusively in industries where part-time jobs are more prevalent²⁷ By occupation type, of which there were 28 in the sample, underemployment appears to be notably more prevalent in Retail Sales, Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance; and Food Preparation and Serving, Personal Care and Service jobs, and to a bit lesser extent, in Community and Social Services and Precision Production (Figure 40). Interestingly, multiple job holders were still hungry for more hours, at 38 percent, higher than the rate among single job holders (see Table 2, above)

There is a clear gradation by income, with the lowest households having the highest rates of

preference for more hours of work (Figure 41). Among the various demographic factors, younger and Hispanic workers are more prone to being generally underemployed. In particular, underemployment among those 18 to 24 is pervasive, at 54 percent. It remains high among those 25 to 34, at 41 percent. Among those aged 45 and over, there is still considerable desire for more work hours. By race, African-Americans are right at the national average underemployment rate, whites slightly lower and Hispanics a full 10 percent higher. There is little notable difference by gender. By household sizes, underemployment appears only slightly higher among certain households – those with 3 or 4 people present. Underemployment is remarkably lower among those who are working into their retirement from their main jobs, and notably higher among working students. By education level brackets (13 levels total), those with a high school (HS) education level have the highest rates of underemployment. Underemployment declines, but only gradually, as education level increases, becoming 26% for those with advanced degrees.

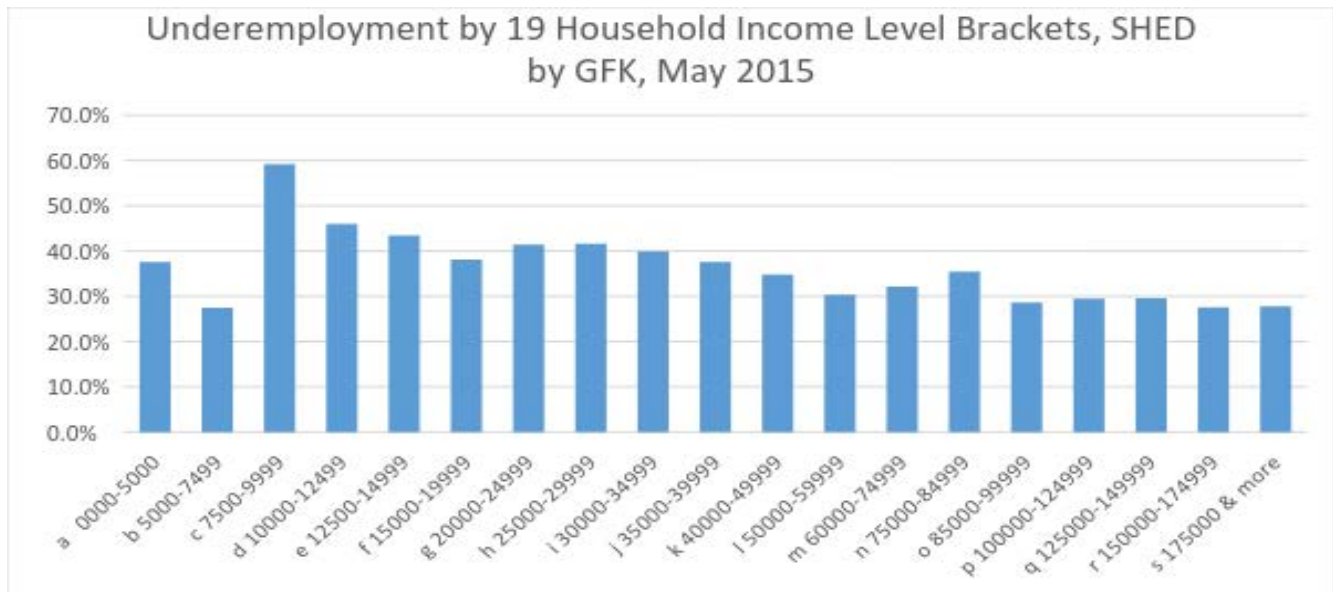


Figure 41: Underemployment by Household Income Level, Fed Survey of Household Economic, May 2014

²⁷ Interestingly, those whose occupations could not be categorized under traditionally conceived of occupational classifications, had higher underemployment than any other, existing occupation.

By economic factors, underemployment rates are quite clearly above the overall national average for those households with earnings less than \$50,000 per year.

The overemployment rates – those wishing fewer hours and willing to earn less income – is reported alongside the underemployment rates. Though not emphasized here, high overemployment rates suggest the states, regions or industries where there is more potential to reduce underemployment by reducing rates of overemployment.²⁸ The surveys show that indeed, Illinois, falls in that category of states with the most underused potential to shift hours from the overemployed to underemployed.

In 2015, YouGov did a poll of about one thousand workers, which is perennial but only in the year 2015 did it break out part-time from full time. It asks the underemployment question with a bit more specific framing – “If you had the opportunity to work one more day each week and receive 20 percent more pay, would you take that opportunity?” The overall underemployment rate was about 41 percent in its latest, 2017 poll (Delaney, 2017). The recession seems to have brought this rate down from the overall rate of 49 percent in its initial year of 2014. This poll framed the question specifying a tradeoff of adding a full day’s work or not – approximately 20 percent more (or fewer) hours -- for 20% more (or less) income,²⁹ which probably more directly focused respondents to the time-money tradeoff, but results are in step with other such surveys:

As many as 52% of part-timers, plus another 45% of full time status workers, have a preference for longer hours to attain more income. Indeed, as

many as three in four part-timers did not rule that out. The higher rate found for part-timers is more common and in line with expectations. Only a third of full-timers and a quarter of part-timers said, “no.” An additional 21 and 23 percent of workers, respectively, answered, “not sure,” which suggests that 52% and 45% are lower bound estimates of the underemployment rate.

ISPSOS/Reuters issued a Survey that focused on the extent of underemployment, conducted between Jan 27, 2015 and March 1, 2015 (N=3048) (full sample includes unemployed, out of the labor force and part-time, but not wanting to work more).³⁰ The sample size of employed plus underemployed summed to 1,145. Unlike other surveys, it created two distinct categories, and usefully asked not just about a preference for more or fewer hours, but their current and desired range of weekly hours by number. This survey created two separate, mutually exclusive populations. One is those who were “employed,” where “full-time” which refers to people working 30 or more hours per week. —and the other, referred to as the, “underemployed,” people not working full time but desire to work more hours. Thus, it is a blend of BLS definitions, with the dividing line of 30 rather than their 35 hours. Among those queried who were “employed,” 28.4% were found to be underemployed. When the employed are asked if they would “like to work more hours (but still receive the same rate of pay), the answer is highly dependent on the number of hours they are currently working. If they are already working 40 or more hours, the desire for more hours amounts to only about half (14 to 18 percent) the one-third rate of those working between 30 and 39 hours.³¹

²⁸ For more on the overemployment side of the work hours mismatch, see Angrave and Charlwood (2015); Bell and Blanchflower (2013b); Bonke and Schultz-Nielsen (2014); Eurofound (2017), Golden (2015a); Golden and Gebreselassie (2007); Lee, Wang and Weststar (2015); Pagan (2015); Wunder and Heineck (2013).

²⁹ <https://today.yougov.com/news/2015/07/29/poll-results-work/?belboon=031b3908984b04d39400589a.4711850.subid=38>

[395X1559799Xdb61999356779ca02487976581b58732&pdl.rlid=203577](https://www.ipsos.com/press-releases/395X1559799Xdb61999356779ca02487976581b58732&pdl.rlid=203577). Also see the most recent poll, in Arthur Delaney and Ariel Edwards-Levy, More People Are Happy Working Part Time Since Obamacare, *HuffPost*, Aug 18, 2017.

³⁰ Chris Jackson, Vice President Ipsos Public Affairs.

³¹ It is unclear how of the preference for 40 or more hours reflects the desire for overtime premium compensation, but it reflects an

Among those who were working in the wider range of 20 to 39 hours, 21% of them desired to work 40 to 59 hours, and another 13% wanted to work as many as 60 or more hours. Among those who wanted to work 40 to 59 hours, 27 percent were actually working only 20 to 39 hours, and another 4% were working as few as 0 to 19 hours. That is, among those who were working 20 to 39 hours per week, over one in four would welcome more work hours, but only up to but not beyond 59 hours. The “underemployed” category doesn’t completely line up with hours worked, because the underemployed category includes those working 30+ hours because they have multiple part-time jobs.³²

A similar, one-time survey found underemployment rates at 25%, when the survey question asked if they were “scheduled for fewer hours than preferred.” A key source of underemployment is revealed when asked among those workers who either “usually” or “always” were “sent home early” from their scheduled work -- their underemployment rate was 54% (Retail Action Project survey, Alexander and Haley-Lock, 2015; Luce et al, 2014). Among such employees, their fewest hours worked per week were almost 2 hours shorter than those employees who were never or rarely sent home early.

In sum, recent national surveys that consider underemployment more broadly, not just the part time who wish more than 35 hours per week, find underemployment to be higher among part time workers, to be sure. The stated willingness to work longer hours is quite pervasive in the work force. However, this is disproportionately higher in certain industries—such as retail, food and accommodation-- and occupations—such as retail sales and food preparation jobs. It is also higher in

the younger age groups in lower and middle income households. Since underemployment is disproportionately higher in Illinois and the state is representative of the US and regional median case, addressing underemployment, particularly though not exclusively among part-time workers, will require public policy innovations and reforms that go beyond general economic expansion and job growth

RECOMMENDED POLICIES – A MULTIPLE-PRONGED STRATEGY TO CURB UNDEREMPLOYMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The rate of involuntary part-time working in Illinois is still double what it had been in the state 17 years ago and is higher than the national average and that of most other states (Glauber 2013). Involuntary part-time workers who cannot get the additional hours they want from their current employer(s) either suffer lower well-being (Golden, PMCR, 2017), change jobs or take on multiple jobs, including gig work (Habans, 2017). From a public well-being standpoint, there is a need for better policies and practices that would help workers get the additional hours they prefer from their existing job or employer. The declining presence and power of labor unions and collective bargaining – which limited the use of part-time and contingent jobs as well as supported rules that promoted full time jobs – is an unfortunate structural factor that is undoubtedly exacerbating the increase in involuntary part-time employment.

Policies to address the heightened level of involuntary part-time work and underemployment fall under one of three sets. The first set of policies would attempt to reduce the number of Americans in involuntary part-time employment. A second set of policies would

underutilized capacity of labor supply nonetheless, and a constraint on workers’ incomes.

³² Note that the underemployed who worked more than 30 hours were those with multiple jobs. In the Desired Hours table, 69%,

74% and 35% (the diagonals) are satisfied with their current number/range of work hours. But 27% in the 20-39 bracket (plus another 2% in the 40-59 zone) wish to work more hours. This corresponds to the 28% in the top, “Employed” category.

improve the quality of part-time positions, including an opportunity to transition to full time jobs. A third set would reduce the economic vulnerability of part-time workers whose hours are shortened or take part-time jobs in lieu of preferred full-time (e.g., Glauber 2013 outlines the ways part-time workers are economically vulnerable).

Support for such public policies is widespread. For example, the Center for Popular Democracy (with Civis Analytics) conducted a “National Fair Workweek Poll” in the Fall of 2016. Using a national landline survey among a representative sample of 5,570 adults in the United States, respondents were asked, “Fair workweek laws require employers to give workers stable hours, input into schedules, and more opportunities for full time work. Do you support or oppose these laws?” As many as 73% of respondents said they support the policies and only 13% opposed.

Among those in the State of Illinois, 81% were supportive, tied for the highest degree of support in the nation (second only to DC). Roughly half – 49% -- of hourly workers in the survey were not working as many hours as they would like. Thus, not too surprisingly, support for “Access to hours for part-time staff” had 63% support and “Guaranteed Minimum Hours” had 61% support – second only to support for “Reporting and on-call pay,” and actually greater than for “advanced notice of schedules at least two weeks” and “Predictability Pay” for altering schedules with less than 24 hours’ notice.

Policy #1: Additional Hours for Part-time Employees

1a. Minimum Workweeks, Guaranteed Minimum Hours

In 2016, the District of Columbia passed the Building Service Employees Minimum Work Week Act (21-485). It covers Building Cleaners

in very large commercial buildings in DC (buildings or office parks with over 350,000 net rentable commercial office square feet) to be provided with a minimum workweek of no fewer than 30 hours of work per week. There are similar proposals in the City Council in Jersey City, NJ for janitors, security guards, maids and the State of Connecticut for its State building-maintenance workers.

Other countries, facing similar situations with rising involuntary part-time employment – for both cyclical and structural reasons – have moved to address this with public policies. For example, France provides a minimum target of 24 hours per week for part-time workers. Some countries also have maximum thresholds for part-timers—such as not to exceed 30 hours per week or 120 hours per month. Denmark allows collective agreements to prescribe a minimum of 15 hours per week for part-time work. In Algeria, part-timers must receive not less than half of the statutory working time. In some countries, such as Brazil, hours among part-time workers are encouraged to be redistributed by prohibiting any overtime hours among part-timers. In South Korea, such overtime work is allowed but requires the agreement of the part-time worker, cannot exceed 12 extra hours per week, and comes with a pay premium for work beyond the “normal” work hours of full-time employees. Some laws aim to facilitate the transfer from full-time to part-time work and vice versa. In Romania, employers must, as much as possible, take into account the demands of their employees to be transferred either from full-time to part-time work or vice versa. In France and Portugal a part-time employment contract must indicate the number of working hours and their distribution, for them not to be considered full time jobs, such as in (Messenger and Wallot 2015).

Ib. Access to Hours, Employers First Must Offer Any Additional Work to Its Existing Part-time Staff

San Jose CA enacted a first of its kind, stand alone, “Opportunity to Work” ordinance, in March 2017, backed by a ballot referendum in November 2016 in which community support was voiced by almost two-thirds of voters. The proposal was partly in response to survey findings that about 162,000 people employed in hourly jobs in San Jose have part-time or variable schedules at their main job, increasing from 26 percent in 2006 to 43 percent today (Center for Popular Democracy 2016). If an employer has more work hours available, those hours must be offered, first to existing, qualified part-time employees before hiring of new, external, part-time, temporary staff or contract workers to perform the additional work. This effectively grants a right of first refusal to existing part-time hourly employees – notably, those who desire additional hours of work (CLASP 2014). The law covers only employers who have more than 35 employees, so truly small businesses are exempted. In addition, importantly for employers’ desire for maximum flexibility in work force utilization, the law does not specify any length of time before which the existing hourly employees must respond to the offer, just that the offer be communicated “in writing.” The time lapse could be as short as the employer prefers, for example, one day. Moreover, employers get to determine those who are deemed “qualified” to the job.

The San Jose law has inspired state legislation in the State of California (Assembly Bill 5 — Opportunity to Work Act), that is proposed to apply to companies in California with 10 or more employees. Proposed and enacted City and State level “Secure,” “Predictive” or “Fair” Scheduling legislation (see below), which pertain mainly to large scale employers in targeted industries, contain a similar provision. San Francisco, Seattle, New York city and the State of Oregon,

“Access to Hours” systems attempt to make more transparent the process for distributing additional work hours, and thus enable many underemployed workers to realize their preferences for more work hours at their primary job. For example, the San Francisco Predictable Scheduling and Fair Treatment ordinance (2015) requires:

... covered employers (large retail chains) to offer any additional work to existing part-time employee(s) if: the part-time employee(s) are qualified to do the additional work, as reasonably determined by the employer, and, the additional work is the same or similar to work the employee(s) have performed for the Formula Retail Establishment. The employer need only offer the number required to give the employee 35 hours of work in a week, and maintains the discretion to divide the additional work hours among its part-time employees. The part-time employee may, but is not required to, accept the offer of additional work hours within some time frame (e.g., 72 hours) in writing, after which time the employer may hire, from the time they posted the additional hours in a conspicuous location, which includes electronic notice...

Ic. Rights to Request Minimum Work Hours

In a previous U.S. Congress, and now two states – Vermont and New Hampshire -- plus a handful of municipalities with fair scheduling ordinance, including Seattle San Francisco and a few Bay Area California cities--have passed a protected employee “right to request.” In each measure employees would have a right to request modifications to their work days, hours and schedules. For example, in 2017, the City Council of Berkeley, CA, overwhelmingly passed a right-to-request that gives employees the legal right to request adjustments to their work hours or schedules, which in principle includes a request for minimum weekly hours. The Berkeley

Flexible Work Time Initiative was passed overwhelmingly by voters in the November 2014 election, obligating the City Council to adopt an ordinance that would allow both private- and public-sector workers to request part-time work. Employers can refuse the request by providing a business reason that they cannot accommodate the request. Employees cannot appeal the reason for the refusal.³³

In 2014, President Obama issued an executive order giving federal employees the right to request.³⁴ This sort of law has been very effective abroad as innovative, soft-touch regulations in the English-speaking countries of the U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and stricter laws in the Netherlands, and Germany. The United Kingdom has had this sort of law since 2002. Germany and the Netherlands allow employees to appeal the reason for refusal and have the government make the final decision (Bird 2016). Nonetheless, the percentage of requests that have been granted is about the same in the UK as in Germany and the Netherlands. A key provision in all such laws is protection from employer retaliation if making such a request:

“No employer shall discharge, threaten, or otherwise discriminate against any employee regarding such employee's compensation, terms, conditions, location, or privileges of employment because the employee has exercised his or her rights pursuant to the provisions of this section.”

Allowing employees to request a floor (not just a ceiling),³⁵ would effectively provide an

opportunity to have more stable number of weekly hours—and also block out days and times. The rule requires only that employers interact with employees to determine if their requested schedule modifications are feasible, and if not, to suggest an alternative. Sometimes, attaining work-family balance involves more time, sometimes more money (Golden, 2015).

In the US, there are model practices among a few, select, private companies, such as the home care staffing agency, Cooperative Home Care Associates (CHCA). The firm's Minimum Hours Program features a mix of longer-term, higher-hour cases and shorter-term, lower-hour cases. The company's guaranteed hours program aims to provide workers with sufficient hours to make ends meet, while also allowing the company to cover its caseload with appropriate staffing. CHCA's workers are guaranteed pay for 30 hours of work per week, even if 30 hours of work are not available.

An Access to Open Hours initiative among Walmart employees demanded, in Making Change at Walmart (a campaign of the United Food and Commercial Workers union), involving employee walkouts and protests over two years, that the company alter its practice of limiting hours and opportunities for part-timers. Eventually, Walmart agreed to curb such practices, and employees have reported marked improvements in their schedules and well-being generally. Indeed, Walmart just announced that for the upcoming 2017 holiday shopping season, they would first offer any available work hours to

³³ At SeaTac, Wash., a similar provision was passed as part of “Prop 1.” It requires employers covered by the law to offer additional hours or to “promote” part-time workers to full-time work before hiring additional part-timers from outside (Ballotpedia 2013). The Retail Workers Bill of Rights in San Francisco had contained a provision (not adopted) to promote, Full-Time Work and Access to Hours. If a formula retailer had additional hours of work to offer in job positions held by current part-time workers, it would be required to offer those hours of work first to existing (qualified) part-time employees before hiring additional part-time employees or before hiring through a

temporary services agency, staffing agency, or any similar contractor.

³⁴ Despite passing ordinances regarding on-call and advance notice for fast food and retail sector workers, and support from its Comptroller's office Bureau of Policy and Research, New York City tabled the ordinance, Int. 1399 – *Providing general right to request flexible work arrangements, with domestic violence and caregiver provisions*.

³⁵ Rights to request shorter hours (at proportionally reduced pay) might free up available work hours for employees who are part time involuntarily, in the same workplace or in the industry generally (Golden 2015b).

their existing employees before hiring new ones, up to 40 hours per week.³⁶ Dollar General, similarly, decided to increase the weekly hours of those employees whose weekly hours were reduced somewhat when their hourly wage rates were raised to compete with other, rival retailers' increases. Other companies, such as Whole Foods and Starbucks, in principle, let employees determine their own minimum number of hours per week. By not specifying a set minimum for every employee, some might request only 10 to 15 hours (such as working students), even though other part-time workers might want a minimum of 20 (or as with Costco, a minimum of 24 hours) although some advocate for a stated minimum (e.g., Cauthen 2011). A right to having some specified minimum hours has taken another form, abroad -- preventing "zero-hours contracts," which assures a newly employed person's hours from fluctuating down to zero hours in any given week (Messenger and Wallott, 2015). The widespread use of "zero-hours" contracts in the U.K. fostered a move on the part of the British government (termed, "BIS 2014-2") in June 2014 to outright ban the use of "exclusivity clauses" in such contracts (under which part-time workers might be involuntarily required to be available for work at all times).

In France, the regulation of part-time work has been substantially modified by Act No. 2013-504. Not only is the minimum number of hours of part-time workers set at 24 hours per week (or its equivalent calculated over a reference period), except for students, but negotiations regarding the organization of part-time work in companies must be initiated when at least one-third of the workforce in a sector is employed on a part-time basis. This number may be reduced upon request, to deal with personal constraints or to combine several occupations with a view to reaching the equivalent of a full-time job.

Policy #2: Improving the Quality of Part-time Jobs

2a. Stable scheduling, minimum reporting pay and predictability pay

The Schedules that Work Act of 2017-18 (H.R.2942) has been re-introduced in the US House and Senate. While its scope is all employees in companies with 15 or more employees, it is most relevant to part-time workers, who face the most unstable, fluctuating weekly hours (Golden, 2016; Luce, Hammad, and Sipe 2014; Alexander, Haley-Lock and Ruan 2014). The majority of hourly part-time workers (83%) are found to have unstable work schedules (Ruan and Reichman 2014). It provides workers a right to request more flexible, predictable, or stable hours. Moreover, it sets out a "Right to Receive" schedule changes for those employees with caregiving or education responsibilities, unless the employer has bona fide business reasons for not doing so. This new right to receive would target four key industries where irregular scheduling (and job growth) has been concentrated.

Most pertinently for part-timers, it would mandate a minimum reporting payment for call-off and one hour's pay for split-shifting practices. Specifically, the bill would require employers to inform workers in writing of their expected minimum hours and schedule, on their first day of work. If the schedule and minimum hours happen to change, the employer would be required to notify the employee at least two weeks before the new schedule comes into effect. Employers would begin to have to compensate workers when they are sent home from work earlier than planned, paid at their regular rate for four hours or the total length of the workers' shift if the shift is less than four hours. Generally, an employer typically shall

³⁶ Abha Bhattarai, "Walmart's holiday gift to employees: Longer hours," *Washington Post*, September 25, 2017.

pay an hourly employee, “reporting pay” and/or “predictability pay”:

“(a) For at least 4 hours at the employee's regular rate of pay for each day on which the employee reports for work under specific instructions but is given less than 4 hours of work, except that if the employee's scheduled hours are less than 4 hours, such employee shall be paid for the employee's scheduled hours for that day.

(b) For at least one hour at the employee's regular rate of pay for each day the employee is given specific instructions to contact the employer, or wait to be contacted by the employer, less than 24 hours in advance of the start of a potential work shift, or where an hourly employee's *work shift is canceled.*”

In the Chicago Fair Workweek Ordinance, proposed in City Council, June 28, 2017, to its Committee on Workforce Development:³⁷

(1) With less than 14 days' notice, but 24 hours or more notice: one hour of Predictability Pay.

(2) With less than 24 hours' notice, (i) four hours or the number of hours in the employee's scheduled shift, whichever is less, when hours are canceled or reduced; (ii) one hour of predictability pay for all other changes, including instances when employers make a real time request that a Covered Employee extend their shift.”

As part of Oregon's Secure Scheduling Law, lawmakers specifically addressed the possibility that employers must often deal with unexpected absences or changes in work needs outside the employer's control. To make it compatible with Access to Hours for part-timers, they created several exceptions to the requirement that employees receive additional compensation for

untimely changes to the schedule. Employers have the option of maintaining a voluntary standby list of employees who have requested or agreed in writing to be available to cover unanticipated absences or business needs. Employees on a standby list must be free to decline offers of additional hours; however, if they accept additional hours, they are not eligible for additional compensation as a result of an change in their normal schedule.

Also involving part-time workers disproportionately, New York State Attorney General Eric Schneiderman spearheaded a 2015 inquiry into the on-call scheduling practices at 12 major retailers. Subsequently, 7 major retail brands announced an end to their use of on-call shifts. In 2016, New York was joined by eight other Attorneys General from California, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Rhode Island, sending letters to 15 more retail companies inquiring about their use of on-call scheduling.

Another way to curb the disadvantages of part-time working,³⁸ is to curb the compensation penalties associated with part-time jobs and thus, the incentives to create such jobs, by entitling more part-time employees proportionately (prorata) to full time employees to benefits, such as annual paid sick and family leave.³⁹ For example, Japan uses a threshold of 30 hours per week entitling the employee to the same amount of annual leave as full-time workers, plus a minimum number of days of leave for those who work less than 30 hours per week. Others, such as Brazil, specify the number of days of leave to which part-time employees are entitled according to the number of hours they work per week. In France, the same rules are used to calculate

³⁷ For the text of the full bill, see: <https://chicago.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3091517&GUID=CD4A1D2E-CE8E-4EC4-B38D-4D3C38C14920&Options=Advanced&Search=>

³⁸ Bishow (2015), Glauber (2013), Hirsch (2005).

³⁹ This is now also the position taken by the International Monetary Fund, 2017: “Policymakers may therefore need to enhance efforts to address the vulnerabilities that part-time workers face.”

holiday pay for both part-time and full-time workers.⁴⁰

Policy #3: Reducing the Vulnerabilities of Part-time Workers

3a. Unemployment insurance (UI) Reform

Current UI systems are being modified to reduce the impact of part-timer underemployment, and could be further adapted to protect the more “marginal” part-time workers (who work very short hours, generally less than 15 hours a week) (Ben-Ishai, et al 2015; IMF, 2017). For example, using either premium hours pay after a standard “part-time workweek,” a fixed minimum compensation rate for “on-call” times not worked, or partial unemployment benefits.

Currently, part-time workers are disadvantaged in three ways by current unemployment insurance laws. First, because state laws require minimum earnings to qualify for benefits, many part-time employees do not earn enough to qualify for UI benefits. Part-time work, with its irregular hours, volatile earnings, and/or high turnover makes it less likely that a worker will have the “consistent work history” necessary to qualify for unemployment insurance (UI), if laid off (Cauthen 2011; Cauthen, Case and Wilhelm 2015; White House 2016). Weekly benefit amounts could be raised by states and the eligibility requirements relaxed to enable more part-time workers to qualify for benefits.

Second, employees can be disqualified from benefits in many states if they seek only part-time work, even if their qualifying employment and earnings came exclusively from part-time work.

The UI Modernization Act gave grants to states to encourage them to allow otherwise monetarily eligible claimants with a part-time work history to search and be available only for part-time work.⁴¹ Nonetheless, as many as 21 states still require UI claimants to search for a full-time job. Eligibility for UI should be extended to more part-time workers and, indeed, to anyone who wants to reduce his or her work schedule for compelling reasons, including personal health and child care responsibilities. The federal government should enact a minimum standard in which workers qualify for UI benefits as long as the work being sought is for at least 20 hours per week (Glauber 2013).

Third, unemployed workers receiving UI benefits lose too much when they accept part-time jobs. Although all states allow workers to receive partial UI benefits while employed part-time, the rules vary enormously from state to state and in some states there is little to be gained by taking a part-time job that pays barely more than the claimant’s weekly benefit amount. Weekly UI benefits are always reduced because of earnings from part-time employment, but the best-designed policies cap earnings at 50 percent above the claimant’s full weekly benefit amount and disregard earnings up to 50 percent of a claimant’s full weekly benefit amount, or one-third of weekly part-time earnings (Ben-Ishai, McHugh and McKenna, 2015; Ben-Ishai 2016; NELP 2015).

⁴⁰ The International Labour Organization in Geneva, an arm of the UN, provides three pertinent recommendations to improve the treatment of part-time employees while curbing the incidence of involuntary part-time work, consistent with their Part-Time Work Convention in 1994 (No. 175). This inspired the European Union to pass its own prohibition of discrimination against part-time workers in 1997, and in turn, inspired other countries (including South Korea, Mozambique, Russia, Bulgaria, Sweden, and

Turkey) to improve the quality of part-time work (Messenger and Wallot 2015).

⁴¹ Mathematica (2016). The Unemployment Insurance Modernization Act (UIMA) is bi-partisan federal legislation (S. 1871/H.R. 3920, Title IV) that provides substantial financial incentives for the states (\$7 billion) to close the major gaps in the unemployment program that deny benefits to many workers.

3b. Work-Sharing with Short Time Compensation through UI

The Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act of 2012 expanded UI “worksharing” programs to 29 states now, including Illinois.⁴² This provides another way to increase the income of involuntary part-time employees. Employers may shorten workweeks of employees in lieu of instituting layoffs, allowing employees to qualify for “short-time compensation” (STC) replacement, usually half of lost income (or that state’s income replacement ratio), if the work-sharing plan conforms to federal standards. Thus, work-sharing arrangements could act as partial UI compensation for those experiencing involuntary part-time workers during periods of “slack work.” Indeed, in other countries where work sharing is more widespread, while work-sharing might induce a higher rate of underemployment during the first throes of a recession, those economies which rely on STC the most wind up with lower involuntary part-time working in the longer run (Messenger and Wallott 2015).

3c. Overtime work regulations reform

While the current US Department of Labor’s abandoned the proposed increase in the threshold for exemption from overtime pay requirements for salaried executive, administrative, and professional employees could indirectly help relieve the incidence or degree of underemployment. Salaried workers who earn below the threshold must be paid “time-and-a-half” for each hour worked beyond 40 hours per week (hourly workers in most service and blue-collar occupations already enjoy these protections), so raising the threshold raises the number of workers who qualify for overtime. To the extent employers start constraining salaried

workers’ weekly hours to 40 to avoid paying an overtime premium, it may induce transfers of those workloads and thus work hours over to the firm’s or organization’s part-time workforce (Boushey and Ansel 2016). To the extent some employers do limit salaried employees to 40 hours per week, many of those hours could be channeled to hourly paid, part-timers. The potential of the overtime rule to shift hours to part-timers who want them provides another good reason to support facilitating and protecting individually requested adjustments to work shifts, number of hours, and schedules (Golden 2015b; Boushey and Ansel 2016).

In sum, curbing underemployment and mitigating its causes and its consequences ought to be a high priority for Illinois and its surrounding states, given its extent, growth and high rate of prevalence relative to other US states. Its distribution is surprisingly widespread, although concentrated by industry, part-time job status and income level suggests that priority be given to such pockets of high underemployment. Only a blended cocktail approach that involves fair/secure scheduling, access to hours, rights to request more hours, UI-subsidized work-sharing and other UI system reforms – which target the main underlying sources of underemployment – along with more traditional economic stimulus from fiscal policies that generate greater demand for work hours among employers, particularly but not exclusively among employers that have been relying recently on creation of more part-time positions – will deliver that State of Illinois and its work force a shared prosperity and well-being through the current economic expansion.

⁴² U.S. Department of Labor, “Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act of 2012 Short-Time Compensation Fact Sheet,” http://www.ows.doleta.gov/unemploy/pdf/Factsheet_STC.pdf.

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