

Robbed of Choice: The State of Work Among Women with Young Children

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The labor force participation rate of women with young children reached a record-breaking high of 70.6 percent in the fall of 2023.¹ The American Rescue Plan Act of 2021's increased funding for child care and the proliferation of remote work options during the pandemic were integral to these gains for women with infants and toddlers.² But as these caregiving lifelines disappeared beginning in late 2023, some women with young children were squeezed out of the workforce,³ with Black mothers experiencing disproportionate impacts.^{4, 5} Although the rate at which all mothers of young children work or search for work has improved somewhat, inequities within this group have persisted throughout the recovery.⁶ As of April 2026, Black mothers are the only group among women with young children by race and ethnicity to be participating in the workforce at a rate lower than they were before the onset of the pandemic.⁷

In April 2026, President Donald Trump clarified the administration's position on federal funding for child care: "The United States can't take care of day care...it is not possible for us."⁸ Although the U.S. has the highest GDP among OECD countries,⁹ it ranks 17th by expenditures per child on early childhood education.¹⁰ It trails far behind the OECD and EU averages.¹¹ This is not by chance: it is the result of decades of policy decisions that have framed child care as a threat to traditional values and a matter of personal responsibility.¹² Rather than building robust child care infrastructure with intentionality to benefit families, their economic security, and the national economy, the U.S. maintains a patchwork of programs that serve a minuscule fraction of the families who are legally eligible to receive it.^{13, 14} Among the results are child care deserts, prices that have outpaced inflation and eclipsed rent, mortgage, and college tuition payments, and a lack of choice for mothers trying to support their families.¹⁵

Mothers who opt out of work to care for their children should do so by choice, not be forced to do so under structural constraints that promote financial insecurity and inequity. Women with children already experience a "child penalty" to employment and earnings over their lifetimes; it represents the single greatest driver of gender inequality in industrialized nations.¹⁶ If a dearth of affordable child care options—a byproduct of what the U.S. Treasury has deemed a "market failure"¹⁷—increases or lengthens employment gaps for mothers who need to support their families, these women will face additional hurdles securing their next job and wages equivalent to those they last received.¹⁸

Mothers know firsthand what researchers have found repeatedly in rigorous studies: the ability to access affordable care increases the labor force participation and employment rates of mothers with young children,^{19, 20} especially single mothers and those with low incomes.^{21, 22} In a world of policy gambles, this is not a hopeful hypothesis or a spending risk: it is settled science.

Women With Young Children Worked at Record-Breaking Levels When Care-Related Barriers Were Reduced

LARGE-SCALE FEDERAL CHILD CARE INVESTMENTS AND INCREASED WORK-FROM-HOME OPTIONS ENABLED MORE MOTHERS TO WORK

The gap in workforce participation between all prime-age women and those with young children shrank during the pandemic in 2020 and 2021.²³ All demographic groups experienced job losses and virtual learning squeezed mothers of all school-age children.²⁴ Amid a strong recovery for workers between this low and the end of 2023, the labor force participation rate among all prime-age women climbed to a then-all-time high.²⁵ Remarkably, this growth was driven primarily by women with children under five.²⁶ The rate at which mothers of young children were working or looking for work peaked in the fall of 2023, reaching its highest level in U.S. history.²⁷

The tight labor market and resulting wage growth following the COVID-19 recession had drawn many women with young children into the workforce.²⁸ During the “Great Resignation” of this period,²⁹ quit rates surged across the broader labor market to unprecedented levels as workers left the labor force, retired early, or leveraged high employer demand to secure better pay, working conditions, and flexibility in a “Great Reshuffling.”³⁰ This record-breaking competition for workers placed significant upward pressure on wages and incentivized many mothers of young children to enter the workforce.³¹ But two lifelines facilitated this entrance by directly reducing care-related barriers between 2021 and 2023:³²

- **The federal government made its largest investment in child care in U.S. history under the American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) of 2021.**^{33, 34} ARPA created two temporary grant programs that distributed about \$39 billion of child care funding to states.³⁵ Governors were also permitted to spend part of the State and Local Fiscal Recovery Funds they received under ARPA on child care.³⁶ States had broad flexibility to spend both of these investments as they saw fit, including on grant programs for care providers, child care subsidy expansions for families, and other initiatives.³⁷
- **The proliferation of flexible, hybrid, and remote work arrangements created vital structural support for many mothers in the workforce.**³⁸ This transformation enabled women to better balance motherhood and employment, to the extent that these opportunities were offered in their industries and occupations.³⁹

More than 225,000 child care providers received ARPA stabilization funding and more than 10 million children were impacted by the grants.⁴⁰ When surveyed, between one-quarter and one-third of child care providers reported that they would have been forced to close without the ARPA stabilization funds between 2021 and 2023.⁴¹ The investments helped providers—who operate on razor-thin margins even outside of a global pandemic⁴²—pay staff, moderate rising care costs, cover expenses, and enroll more children.⁴³

Firsthand accounts from child care providers who received ARPA grant funding depict the law's grant programs as temporary life rafts.⁴⁴ The ARPA stabilization grant "went a long way" for Sally, the owner and operator of a day care in Waldorf, Maryland.⁴⁵ She used a portion of the funds to purchase a refrigerator for the children's food and to buy new toys that promoted STEM learning.⁴⁶ "Most importantly [I] provided free child care for families who could not afford child care—families that were in need of quality care" she says.⁴⁷ It also enabled her to offer tuition discounts to families who were paying out of pocket as they transitioned back to work.⁴⁸

All told, ARPA grants reduced the cost of child care by about 10 percent according to the White House Council of Economic Advisors (CEA).⁴⁹ They also estimated that the grants increased the share of prime-age women with children under six who were working or looking for work by about 3 percentage points by October 2022, 18 months into the ARPA child care stabilization grant period.⁵⁰ Applying this growth to monthly workforce data from that period, **GCPI estimates that the ARPA funds caused more than 400,000 prime-age women with children under six to enter or remain in the workforce by October 2022.**ⁱ To put the scale of this percentage-point

growth in perspective, it represents nearly half of the history-making gains in women's labor force participation between 1970 and 1979.⁵¹ In the decade immediately preceding the pandemic, the rate at which all women were working or looking for work actually shrank by more than a percentage point.⁵²

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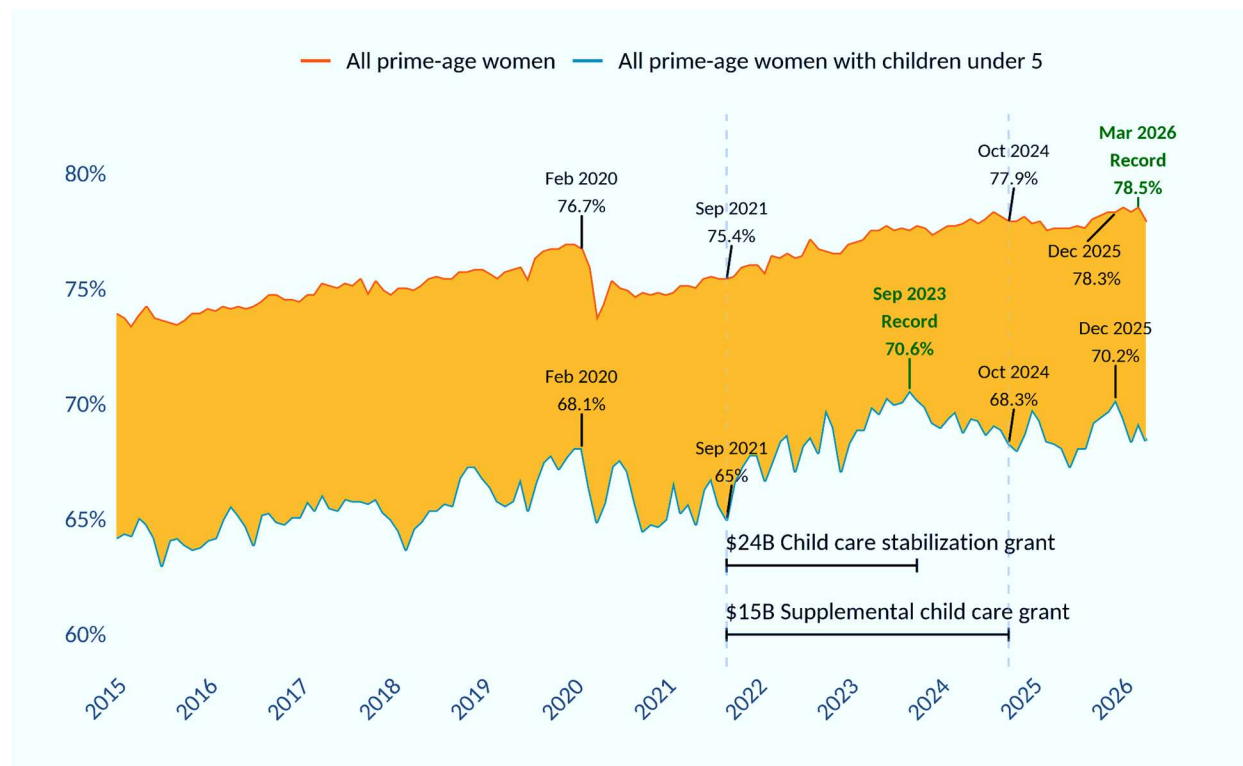
The explosion of work-from-home and hybrid job opportunities also made work possible for women who had previously been unable to juggle a job and motherhood. In geographic areas and career paths where remote work is common, women with young children participate in the labor force at higher rates.⁵³ It is easy to see why: in prior analyses, women who worked full-time from home were able to spend, on average, about 2.4 more hours with their children each day than those who worked full-time outside of their home.⁵⁴

Profiles of working women paint this period as an era of increased economic opportunity and stability for mothers who were able to work remotely.⁵⁵ Julia, a mother of a six-month-old and an 11-year-old, took a job in 2021 because the company allowed flexible and remote work schedules due to the pandemic.⁵⁶ In prior jobs, she felt relegated to managing the balance between caregiving and work on her own and feared she would have to quit working if she couldn't juggle it all.⁵⁷ In her new role, she saved 90 minutes from her daily commute.⁵⁸ She used the time savings to feed her children after school, care for her infant, and bring her older child to after-school activities.⁵⁹

ⁱ Holding all other factors in the CEA's analysis constant. Author's calculations, Bureau of Labor Statistics and IPUMS CPS microdata. Estimate is derived by applying a three-percentage point impact coefficient (per CEA, 2023) to the population of women ages 25 to 54 with at least one own child under six in October 2022. Counts are weighted using person-level weights (WTFINL). This estimate represents the causal effect of the ARPA stabilization grants, to the extent that the CEA's model estimates the unbiased effect of the ARPA funds on the labor force participation of prime-age women with children under six.

FIGURE 1. Labor Force Participation of Prime-Age Women with Young Children Drove Record Labor Force Participation Rate of All Prime-Age Women

The labor force participation rate of women with young children declined after the bulk of child care investments under the American Rescue Plan Act expired in late 2023.



Note: Data reflect seasonally adjusted monthly estimates of the labor force participation rate of women ages 25 to 54.

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2026. Adapted from The Hamilton Project, Brookings Institution. Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics; IPUMS Current Population Survey, January 2015–April 2026.

Yet the gains in workforce participation among mothers of young children between the initial COVID-19 crisis and the end of 2023 were constrained by pre-existing inequities. The positive effects of the new structural supports to caregiving varied by race, education, and occupation.

By the time the ARPA stabilization grant concluded in the fall of 2023, the rate at which mothers of young children were working or looking for work had risen above its February 2020 level for white, Black, and Latina mothers.⁶⁰ The labor force participation rate among white mothers remained relatively stable during the early COVID-19 recession and made outright gains by 2023.⁶¹ Although Latina mothers of children under five experienced the most severe drops in workforce participation amid the recession, the rate at which they were working or looking for work experienced a full recovery and, to a lesser extent than for white mothers, growth over pre-pandemic levels.⁶² By contrast, Black mothers of young children, who have historically worked or searched for work at the highest levels among their peers, recovered and experienced the least growth (less than a percentage point, compared to more than 2.5 percentage points for white mothers of young children).⁶³

Evidence suggests that the ARPA child care investments may have played a more pivotal role in the economic resilience of Black and Latina mothers of young children than it did for their white peers. Due to systemic workforce inequalities that existed prior to the pandemic, Black and Latina workers disproportionately held essential and front-line jobs.⁶⁴ Likewise, they were far less likely to have

telework options.⁶⁵ These factors help explain why, in 2020, outsized shares of Black and Latina mothers reported working less or leaving the workforce entirely due to child care and K-12 schooling disruptions.⁶⁶ Further research suggests that COVID-19 child care shocks disproportionately impacted these women, exacerbating racial and economic inequities.⁶⁷ When care providers and schools closed, Black and Latina mothers lacked a “telework cushion” available to others and faced a more direct conflict between caregiving and employment.⁶⁸ By stabilizing the child care industry, the ARPA funds likely played a critical role in supporting the return of Black and Latina mothers with young children to the workforce.

Mothers of young children who were married or had at least a bachelor’s degree experienced greater workforce gains than single mothers and those with lower educational attainment.⁶⁹ Employers did not offer flexible work arrangements at the same rates across roles, industries, or even states.⁷⁰ Even amid increased child care funding and more flexible work policies, the cost of care remained unaffordable for many families.⁷¹ In the average month in 2023, the share of women with children under five who worked part-time in the prior week due to child care issues reached its highest level in more than two decades.⁷²

Firsthand interviews with mothers across the country found that “America’s child care crisis is holding back moms without college degrees.”⁷³ Nicole, a mother in Washington without a diploma, had muddled through a string of lower-paying jobs in Washington before finally securing a job with a more livable wage in her state’s child services department.⁷⁴ By 2023, she was married, expecting, and looking forward to returning to work after giving birth to her son.⁷⁵ But even with a dual-earner income, she struggled to find affordable child care options.⁷⁶ Her only options for child care were seats with long waitlists that would have cost most of her salary.⁷⁷ Nicole and her husband earned too much to qualify for child care subsidies.⁷⁸ Feeling “like she had no choice,” she quit her job to care for her children full-time.⁷⁹ She still questions how it was possible to become economically cornered into quitting a good job.⁸⁰

ENDING PANDEMIC-ERA CAREGIVING LIFELINES MEANT SOME WOMEN WERE SQUEEZED OUT OF WORK

When the ARPA grants ended in late 2023 and 2024, child care providers struggled to maintain prior levels of staffing.⁸¹ Many increased tuition or closed.⁸² Sandra, a care director who has worked in the industry for more than 25 years, was filled with anxiety as grant payments to her New York-based center dissipated.⁸³ She had used her center’s ARPA funds to retain and recruit staff.⁸⁴ Even with the grant money, her staff’s wages remained low “to keep [the] program sustainable.”⁸⁵ She and her team did not know how they would generate the funds required to keep the center’s doors open long term without further grant payments.⁸⁶ She planned to raise tuition slightly, but could not increase it to the level necessary to cover the center’s costs without further straining families who were “already struggling with inflation and the cost of living.”⁸⁷

After the ARPA grants ended, the rate at which women with young children were working or looking for work decreased by about the amount it had increased while the ARPA grants were active, after controlling for other factors.⁸⁸ Return-to-office mandates also pressed women with infants and toddlers to leave work.⁸⁹

By late 2023, the gap between the share of prime-age women who were working or looking for work and the share of women with young children who were working or looking for work began widening

again.⁹⁰ The decline in these women's work was significant because it occurred outside of a recession and was marked by outright departures from the workforce, rather than unemployment.⁹¹

Kalisha is a mother of an infant who receives center-based care near her home in Idaho.⁹² When the center lost its ARPA funding, it had to raise prices to keep up with costs.⁹³ Her bill rose to \$400 a week, just as other pandemic-era programs that had paused student loan repayments and alleviated other financial burdens also ended.⁹⁴

In the average month in 2025, nearly 160,000 more prime-age women with children under five were forgoing work to provide child care than in 2023.⁹⁵ While just over a quarter of the women who left the workforce between 2023 and 2025 to care for their children were white and about the same share were Latina, more than one-third were Black.⁹⁶ The change from 2023 to 2025 marked a 21 percent increase in the number of Black women who were forgoing work to care for their young children, compared to a 3 to 5 percent increase in the same measure for white and Latina women, respectively.⁹⁷

FACING MULTIPLE BURDENS, WOMEN WITH INFANTS AND TODDLERS ARE TRYING TO JUGGLE IT ALL

Toward the end of 2025, the seasonally adjusted rate at which women with young children were working or looking for work began climbing again and nearly matched its 2023 record.⁹⁸ It has declined since December,⁹⁹ and as of April 2026 sits just above the February 2020 rate.¹⁰⁰ With too few months of data, it is difficult to determine if this reflects a trend or monthly volatility. The smoother 12-month moving average of the labor force participation rate reveals a turning point in the second half of 2025, as the rate stopped declining and began a slight recovery.¹⁰¹

While high child care costs can force women whose potential wages would be eclipsed by care costs out of the workforce, the rate at which women with young children are working or looking for work has stabilized,¹⁰² despite a broader cooling of the labor market.¹⁰³ This suggests that high care prices also act as a coercive driver of mothers' work in families struggling to balance their budgets amid the broader affordability crisis. The field would benefit from future analysis that differentiates the characteristics of mothers being pushed into—versus out of—the labor force by untenable child care prices.

An overwhelming majority of parents believe that raising children is unaffordable.¹⁰⁴ Families are finding that a second earner can make or break their ability to stay out of poverty.¹⁰⁵ With no second earner to spare, single mothers experience the financial strain of child care even more severely. The mounting affordability crisis compounds an already tenuous crisis of child care supply and tuition.¹⁰⁶ The increase in the cost of child care has outpaced inflation over the last five years and has surpassed other expenses that once ranked highest in families' budgets, such as rent and mortgage payments.¹⁰⁷ Chelsea, a 35-year old teacher in Oklahoma, says she would work less to care for her four-year-old daughter if it were possible: "I feel like that's not a luxury we have these days in America."¹⁰⁸

BLACK MOTHERS OF YOUNG CHILDREN FACE A UNIQUELY CHALLENGING BURDEN

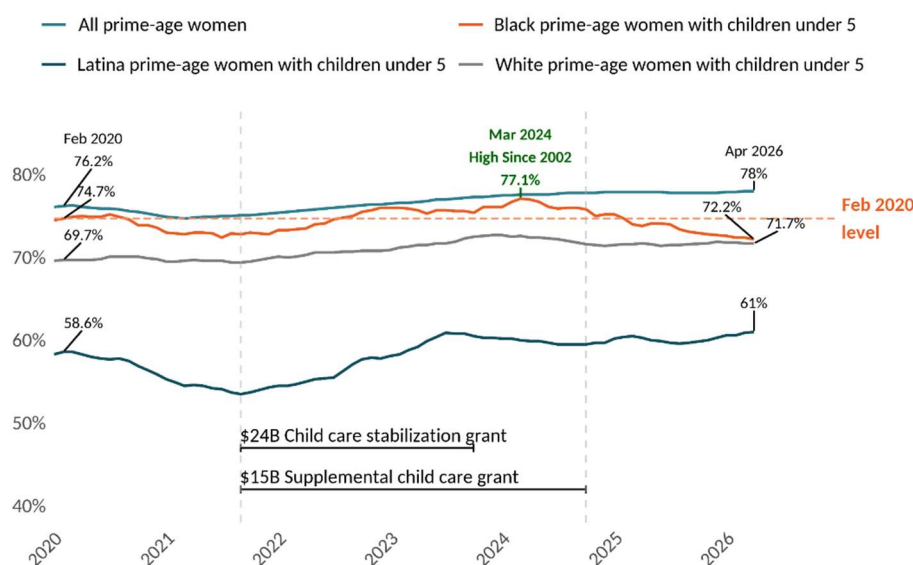
While most demographic groups have seen their employment prospects continue to improve since the pandemic, Black mothers of young children have faced a unique reversal. Although workforce participation has continued to stabilize for white and Latina women with young children since 2023,¹⁰⁹ the rate for Black mothers in this demographic has continued to trend downward since early 2024, falling by nearly 5 percentage points.¹¹⁰ While the rates of workforce participation among other Black women also experienced declines, the trend was most acute among those with infants and toddlers.¹¹¹

Starkly, Black women with young children are the only group currently participating in the workforce at a rate lower than they were in February 2020,¹¹² compared to prime-age women overall, those with children under five, and white and Latina mothers of young children. Based on a 12-month moving average, there is a gap of nearly 37,000 Black mothers of young children in the workforce as of April 2026, compared to what would be expected at February 2020 participation rates.¹¹³ This represents a more than 3.5 percent loss of the potential labor force for Black women: a staggering departure compared to the gains made by their peers.¹¹⁴ By contrast, Latina mothers of young children saw a more than 3.5 percent gain (nearly 57,000 mothers), and white mothers of young children saw a more than 2.5 percent gain (over 108,000 mothers) in workforce participation beyond what economists would have expected at February 2020 rates.¹¹⁵

This disproportionate change likely resulted from several reinforcing factors. Black women bore many more job losses during the 2025 federal layoffs, buyouts, and discontinuations of DEI policies in federal employment than other women and Black men.¹¹⁶ As care-related barriers went back up, Black women may also have felt the squeeze more severely than other women. Although white and Black children receive care from non-relatives, such as a child care provider, at similar rates,¹¹⁷ Black women are much more likely to have lower incomes than white women,¹¹⁸ and Black and Latino families are significantly more likely to be impacted by tuition increases than white families.¹¹⁹ While Latina women are also more likely than white women to have lower incomes, Latino children are much more likely to receive care from relatives.¹²⁰

FIGURE 2. The Child Care "Funding Cliff" and Federal Job Losses Eroded Post-Pandemic Recovery in the Labor Force Participation Rate of Black Prime-Age Mothers of Infants and Toddlers

Compared to prime-age women overall, those with children under five, and white or Latina women with children under five, Black women with young children are the only group currently participating in the labor force at a rate lower than they were in February 2020.



Note: Data reflect 12-month moving averages of the labor force participation rate of women ages 25 to 54. 'Black' refers to Black, non-Hispanic women. 'White' refers to white, non-Hispanic women. 'Latina' refers to Hispanic, Latina, or Spanish women.

Source: Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2026. Adapted from The Hamilton Project, Brookings Institution. Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics; IPUMS Current Population Survey, January 2015–April 2026

Investments in U.S. Child Care Infrastructure Would Enable More Women to Raise a Family

The current administration has made it clear through a variety of pro-natalist policies that it is eager for women to have more children,¹²¹ but its policies make it harder for women to do so. Unlike other leading industrialized nations, the U.S. lacks a cohesive and comprehensive strategy toward treating child care infrastructure as a public good.¹²² The patchwork of effective programs that the federal government and states maintain is under-resourced, understaffed, and underfunded.¹²³ The latest data show that only 15 percent of children eligible for Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) subsidies under federal guidelines actually receive support through the program.¹²⁴ This particularly stings because the CCDF is the closest approach the U.S. has implemented to child care "infrastructure" alongside Head Start.¹²⁵

Again and again, high-quality research has shown that when women are more able to afford child care, they are more likely to work, seek work, and be employed.^{126, 127} This likelihood is highest among women with young children.¹²⁸ It is especially true for women with low incomes and single mothers.^{129, 130}

- **High child care costs push mothers out of the workforce.**¹³¹ Research has repeatedly found that higher child care costs reduce the rate at which mothers of young children work or seek employment.¹³² Most recently, evidence suggests that mothers with low incomes experienced the largest negative impacts to labor force participation when costs grew.¹³³
- **Likewise, when care becomes more affordable—or universal—a substantially higher share of women with young children is able to work.**¹³⁴ Syntheses of the literature indicate that a 10 percent reduction in the price of child care leads, on average, to a 0.5 to 2.5 percentage point increase in labor force participation.¹³⁵ While estimates across studies vary by context, the effect of making care more affordable is overwhelmingly positive.¹³⁶ State-level implementations of universal or heavily subsidized pre-K programs have also been found to increase the workforce participation and employment of women with young children.¹³⁷ Kindergarten enrollment, which serves as a proxy for free child care, is also associated with an increase in mothers' labor force participation.¹³⁸
- **CCDF subsidies are proven to enable mothers with low incomes to earn a living.**¹³⁹ A joint report by federal agencies found that higher state expenditures on CCDF subsidies directly increased the employment rates of potentially eligible mothers, particularly those with children under the age of 3.¹⁴⁰ A simulation analysis predicted that expanding eligibility for child care subsidies would cause hundreds of thousands of mothers to either enter the workforce or increase the total number of hours they worked, yielding broader economic returns.¹⁴¹

To support the financial security of U.S. women and their families, the federal government should meaningfully invest in child care infrastructure as an economic policy. But it should also discontinue its pursuit of harmful policies that decrease supply and drive prices up. The administration should halt its efforts to freeze CCDF funding in five states;¹⁴² the impact would be devastating to the families relying on child care subsidies.¹⁴³ The federal government should also end its reversal of significant recent CCDF policy improvements under the guise of increasing operational flexibility for states.^{144, 145} These policies will increase care costs for families with low incomes,¹⁴⁶ reduce the availability of care providers for these families,¹⁴⁷ and further raise operating costs for providers themselves. Alongside rejecting policies that reduce affordable child care, lawmakers should treat public benefits programs as pillars of an inclusive economy by rolling back the restrictive healthcare and food assistance cuts outlined in H.R. 1. These policy redirections would directly mitigate the lifelong “child penalty” through which gender inequality persists.¹⁴⁸

Conclusion

Women should be able to take care of their children full-time or part-time by choice—not be forced to do so under caregiving constraints that promote economic instability and inequity. But current federal policies make it harder for women with young children to work. Amid a child care crisis set to worsen¹⁴⁹—and a broader rise in the unaffordability of American life¹⁵⁰—women with young children are running out of options. Decades of research overwhelmingly finds that when these women gain access to child care they can afford, they are better able to earn income and make substantial workforce participation and employment gains.¹⁵¹ Policymakers should treat child care, food security, and accessible healthcare as fundamental priorities to ensure that all families have the opportunity to prosper.

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Endnotes

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