LONG-DISTANCE COMMUTING AS A SOLUTION TO GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATION TO CAREER CHOICES OF TWO-CAREER FAMILIES

by

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ABSTRACT

Geographical barriers to career opportunities is a major problem faced by married professionals, especially married women, professionals whose spouses also pursue careers. One way for a married professional to overcome the barrier is to undertake long-distance commuting which would make possible pursuance of a job opportunity at a location beyond the daily commuting distance from the home.

The purpose of this study is to explore the situations under which a two-career family would choose commuting as a solution to the career coordination problem, examine the various facets of the commuting lifestyle, identify its key problems and benefits, assess its feasibility as a long-term solution to the problem, and its impact on the career development of the participants.

The data were gathered by in-depth interviews of commuting families in which each spouse is a full-time professional.

The study suggests that the commuting lifestyle is indeed a feasible way of solving the career coordination problem of two-career families. But it requires from participants strong commitments to both career and family, financial and organizational capability, and willingness to pay the financial and emotional costs. Commuting could be a self-selection process in which only the extremely capable would engage in such activities for extended periods of time.

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**TABLE II**

Patterns of Job and Home Movement
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Coordination of two careers is a major problem faced by many married couples who work as professionals. Some occupations require a great deal of mobility for advancement—mobility not only in terms of working for different institutions in different geographical locations but also in terms of working for the same institution at different locations. Other occupations may require remaining at one location for certain lengths of time in order to obtain professional certification. Some examples are the apprenticeship training for Certified Public Accountants, medical doctors, and university professors.

Unlike the single-career family where the choice of home location is determined by the occupational demands of the head of household, the two-career family's choice of geographical location is constrained by the demands of two competing occupations. The location choice is often a difficult one, especially where the move to satisfy the career of one spouse means a considerable sacrifice in career for the other. In many cases, the career of the husband is given priority by both members. This would be especially true when the alternative is no job opportunity or very inferior alternatives for the husband. This may occur because for the wife, there is always the socially accepted role of the housewife. Yet there is not the socially accepted norm of being a full-time housekeeper for the husband while the wife earns the living for the family. These social pressures influence the priorities given to each
spouse's career commitment by a couple in a two-career family. There are cases in which the husband in a two-career family actually gives up his career for the sake of the wife's opportunity for a better job. However, it is doubtful that such cases are representative of many situations.

With rising enrollments of women at graduate and professional schools and increased employment opportunities for women in a variety of professions, one would expect coordination of two careers within the family to be a problem shared by an increasing number of families. This study examines one solution to the geographical limitation to career choices of two-career couples which is currently adopted by very few families, but which could well be widely adopted if many others find it a satisfactory and feasible way of compromising marriage and career.

The "super commuting", "weekend marriage" or, in brief, the "commuting" lifestyle depicts a situation in which the spouses in a family work in two separate and distant cities, live apart during the week, but live together during the weekend. In a broader sense, this marital lifestyle is characterized by alternating periods of separation from one's family during work and union with one's family during rest. The lifestyle is a solution to the co-ordination problem of the two-career family because it permits each spouse to pursue a career free from geographical restraints imposed by the career demands of the other, and at the same time, maintain a relatively full marital relationship.

One would not find it unusual when a married male executive travels extensively on the job, and spends only eight months in a year with the family. However, because of some asymmetry in society's view of egalitarianism, a person would question why a female married professional
and mother of two children would commute 500 miles to another city for her work, and spend a few days of the week away from the family.

The explanation lies in the fact that work can provide a source of satisfaction to a person that housework and childcare do not fulfill. For many well-educated married women, having careers of their own is essential because their careers give them a sense of self-realization, fulfillment, identity and self-esteem. In a pioneering study of labor force participation of married women, Bowen and Finegan found at the upper end of the schooling scale--college and at least one year of graduate education--a large increment in labor force participation rates. Despite the high incomes of the husbands, these married women prefer to work. They attribute the increase to the strong taste for market work of married women who have attained a high level of education.³ It is in this group of well-educated and highly motivated married women where we find the wives in the commuting two-career families who are unwilling to permit their husbands' career demands to interfere with their own pursuance of career interests. They have abandoned the socially prescribed role of homebound wife and mother for venture in their own careers.

Past studies have addressed issues in the lifestyles of educated women (Ginzberg, et. al., 1966), women in the academic and legal professions (Bernard, 1964; Epstein, 1968), business (Hennig, 1971), and the two-career family (Fogarty, Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971; Holmstrom, 1972). Since the commuting lifestyle is a rather recent phenomenon, very little is known about the lives of commuting families, except what has been discussed in journal articles.⁴ This study is an attempt to explore in a systematic manner the family and career situations in which
the two-career families make a decision to commute, the ways they manage their family and work lives, problems they have to face and their resolutions, and benefits they receive from such novel undertakings.

Answers to two broad questions are sought: a) Is the commuting lifestyle a viable form of marriage life?; and, if so, b) What are the costs and benefits involved? Also, does the commuting lifestyle contribute significantly to the career advancement of the commuting married woman?

**Methodology**

Ten couples with each spouse employed full or part-time in a profession were contacted through a personal network and interviewed. The study sought to conduct in-depth separate interviews of both spouses in families which are currently actively commuting or had commuted for an extended period in the past.

With three exceptions, all interviews were held in their respective homes. Interviews on the average lasted an hour and fifteen minutes. Questions were mostly open-ended, and covered most of the aspects of commuting life. Respondents were encouraged to express themselves freely on issues which they feel were important. A checklist of topics was used in each interview to ensure all major topics were covered in the interview. See appendix.

Two additional efforts were also made to search for commuting couples in addition to contacts through personal network. One was identification and approach of commuting couples noted in journal articles. The other was placement of an advertisement in the Tech Talk. One initial response was obtained to the advertisement. Of
the six couples contacted in this manner, only one couple agreed to be interviewed. But due to timing, the interviews of this couple were not conducted. Of the other five couples, one did not respond to the initial contact; two refused to be interviewed because of lack of time and interest; and in two other cases, only the wives agreed to be interviewed, but the husbands did not because of their unwillingness to discuss their personal lives with strangers. The last two cases were dropped because the study required both spouses to agree to be interviewed.

The specific search method may have introduced some bias because couples who declined to discuss their personal lives with others have encountered difficulties in their adjustments to the commuting lifestyle. Hence, the data of the ten couples interviewed could present more blissful pictures than what most commuting families experience.

This study is exploratory in nature however, and is more interested in the circumstances under which these families made their commuting decision, how they manage their lives and to what extent they were successful, than in finding some statistically significant data. In addition, the search experience demonstrates that for interviews of the kind that probes into people's private lives, personal network is a much more effective search method than other methods commonly used in social research. The personal network technique was essentially to inquire from friends, colleagues, teachers, etc., if they knew any dual-career couple presently commuting to work.
CHAPTER II

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES:

DEMOGRAPHIC AND OCCUPATIONAL FACTORS

In this chapter, I will discuss the family background, age, occupation, education, and salary of the ten couples interviewed, and also note the circumstances under which each couple made the decision to commute. Then I will examine how family and career situations influence the choice of commuting, geographical location of home, and the initial time horizon of commuting.

Age, Education, Occupation and Income

The ages of the group range from 25 to 58, with a median of 34. The age differential between the husband and wife is two years or less for six couples. Of the remaining four couples, two are second or third marriages for each spouse and the wife is older than the husband. See Table 1 for detailed information on age distribution.

The group has an unusually high educational attainment. All except two persons have had graduate training. Ten are PhDs, two are medical doctors; two are lawyers, and one is an MBA. The occupational range is even more unusual. Eight are university professors, one an instructor; four are vice-presidents in industry, university or foundations; three are professionals at consulting firms; two are lawyers and one is a manager in a business firm.

The combined family incomes of some of these couples are also far above average. Of the eight couples who commute by air, four couples earn over fifty thousand dollars a year, and three earn between thirty to fourty-five thousand dollars. See Table 1.

The combined data on education, occupation and income suggest that these commuting couples are not typical. Since these couples have already
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* The family is no longer commuting
a 1-0-1 refers to a pattern of spending one year living together in between two years of commuting
b Children are from previous marriages.
c See text for description of the commuting mode
d Husband and wife take turns to commute
e The commuting mode changed from B to A as wife changed work location
f See Table II
attained a high level of professional achievement, they appear to be unwilling to permit the traditional married lifestyle to constrain their career development. At the same time, the work flexibility made possible by their professions and their high income levels enable them to undertake a commuting lifestyle thereby maintaining and sustaining a viable marital relationship. Work flexibility is important because among the eight weekly commuting couples, only two of the commuters have a five-day work week. The rest have schedules that allow them to spend one or two of the work days at home.

**Family Background**

Table 1 summarizes the family characteristics and commuting styles of the ten couples. Five couples have at least one child under 18. Their lifestyles are considerably more complex than the others because of the presence of children. Note that sizes of the families tend to be small, but the ages of children vary considerably among the families.

Rapoport and Rapoport's study suggests that two-career family wives tend to be "only-lonely" children in their own families, come from higher social background, and are more likely to have mothers who worked or favorably disposed to women's working. Of the ten families interviewed in this study, only three were the only children in their families. Three have mothers who worked while they were growing up. However, among those with non-working mothers, two mentioned that women in their families tend to be "strong-willed". Though not engaged in paid employment, these women ran the house-holds and also handled the accounts of family property and business. The mother of one woman assisted a great deal in her husband's professional research and writings. The family background of these women suggest some maternal influence on their inclination to work.
The following are brief descriptions of family and occupational situations of the ten families. The families will be designated as A, B, C, etc., and their home and work locations as Cities X, Y and Z.

**Family A**

Family A lives in the suburb of City X. The two children are away in graduate school and private school, but come home for weekends and vacation very often. Both Mr. and Mrs. A are in the same industry, and in fact worked for the same firm before Mrs. A started commuting. Four years ago, a very good job opportunity for Mrs. A, working with a large firm in the industry in the mid-west, came up. Mr. and Mrs. A decided that that was too good an opportunity to give up, so Mrs. A started commuting weekly to the mid-west city, 650 miles from home. She eventually attained a senior position in her company. Mrs. A departs from City X every Monday morning and returns each Friday night. Mr. A commutes 50 miles to work everyday. He keeps the house going, and this involves, among other things, taking care of two dogs that have been with the family for a long time.

**Family B**

Mrs. B's commuting and working full-time can best be described by Mr. B's phrase "salami-slicing", meaning "it is gone before you know it." Mrs. B quit full-time employment when she had the first of their two sons, now aged 17 and 18. Since then, she had done part-time work in the office in a variety of ways. In her own words:

"My transition from full-time work to full-time home-maker took less than a day. The trip back took sixteen years... I have tried many patterns of part-time professionalism. I have worked by the hour, the week, and year. I have worked one, two, and three days per week. I have worked at home, at an office, and at both in combination. I have shuttled between offices in two cities on both an occasional and regular basis."
Mrs. B started commuting to City Y four years ago. At first, it was only one day a week, then, the following year, two days a week. Then the third year, three days a week. Since last June when Mrs. B started in her present position, she has been spending four days a week in her office in City Y. Mr. B still works in City X. He and their younger son who is in his last year of private school, share the cooking and dishwashing at home when Mrs. B is away. Their elder son is in college.

Family C

Family C's commuting pattern is quite complicated. Both Mr. and Mrs. C are university professors. Their children are 10 and 12 years old. Since they were married Mrs. C has always worked or attended school full-time except for one year when both children were very young. Four and one-half years ago, Mrs. C started teaching at a university 70 miles away from home and spending on the average two nights a week at the university. Mr. C taught at a university in City Y.

Three years ago, Mr. C got a better job offer in terms of rank, salary and prospect in City Z. Both decided that it was worthwhile to "give it a try". So Mr. and Mrs. C adopted a commuting pattern which acquaintances find difficult to keep up with. The couple spends Friday, Saturday and Sunday together at home with the children. But for the remaining of the four days, Mr. C spends three consecutive days in City Z. Mrs. C drives back and forth between her university and home. She spends two nights at the university. They somehow manage to have at least one of them send the children to school in the morning. For the night that neither of them would be home, they arrange to have a friend and colleague "who needs a pad in town" to stay with the children. Other people would find this mode of life almost impossible to manage, but Mr. and Mrs. C do not. In fact, Mr. C has never
been late or absent from his classes because of the commuting.

Family D

The two children in Family D are five and seven years old. Both Mr. and Mrs. D are university professors with PhD's in the same discipline. Five years ago when they were both teaching in a southern city, Mr. D received a good offer from a university in City Y. The family decided to move with his job.

At first, Mrs. D planned to commute between City Y and the southern city. But then a more attractive offer was made to her by a university in the Southeast. She accepted that offer, and has been teaching at that university since then. Her commuting distance is 700 miles each way.

During the first semester that she was there, she commuted fortnightly and took the children with her. At that time, they had just relocated their household to a new community in the Northeast and found it difficult to obtain full-time babysitting help. Plane fares for children were also less expensive than they are currently. So the arrangement of taking the children with her was feasible though by no means satisfactory. Things improved in the second semester. Babysitting help became available and the children stay at home. Now, Mrs. D spends four days of the week at the southeastern state college and three days with the family in the outskirts of City Y where the family has a farm.

Family E

Family E lives in City Z. Mr. E works for a firm in City Y and travels quite extensively for his job. The couple met each other in City Z. When they decided to get married a year ago, Mrs. E did interview for one or two jobs in City Y. But then the couple decided that since Mr. E travels so much on his job, it makes very little difference where they live anyway. Besides,
the children from their previous marriages were all living and attending school in City Z. So they established their home in City Z. Now Mr. E spends his workweek in City Y or travelling. Mrs E works in the suburb of City Z and lives with her fifteen-year-old son. Other than the weekend, Mr. E is sometimes home one evening during the week.

Childless Couples

The next three couples are without children and are between 29 and 31 years of age. Compared to the five families with children, they are younger, and have somewhat different outlooks regarding the family and career.

Family F

Mr. and Mrs. F met when they were in graduate school. Three years ago, Mrs. F received an offer to teach at a prestigious university in the Northeast. At that time, Mr. F had been teaching at another university for a year and a half.

The couple at that point, were still unmarried and faced the alternatives of either her accepting the offer and the two not being together, or her giving up the offer and the two staying together. The latter alternative was undesirable because that would mean her sacrificing all the years of education and becoming unemployed. There were absolutely no job openings in the surrounding area in her field. After some consideration, she accepted the job offer. Some time later, the couple were married and established a pattern of commuting.

Mrs. F explained the decision process in this manner. They had lived together for a while and had thought about getting married some time. Therefore the decision to get married did not just occur at that period. In retrospect, she sees the marriage as a way of getting moral and social support for the relationship. People were all ready to give her support
when she arrived at the university. Had they not been married, it would have been more difficult for her to have obtained such support.

The two Cities where they work are 2,000 miles apart. They see each other about once every month and on vacations.

Family G

Family G has been commuting for almost two years. At the time when they were both about to receive graduate degrees, they started their job searches. Mrs. G had a few job offers, but the one that was most attractive in terms of work environment and potential advancement was in City X. They were living in City Y then. After much consideration, the couple decided that Mrs. G should accept the job offer and they would commute two months while Mr. G would finish his dissertation in City Y. The two months turned out to be longer than they expected. Mr. G got an excellent job offer in City Y and as time passed it became clear that his dissertation would not be finished in two months. The short-term commuting evolved to a long-term one. Now both of them have five-day work weeks. Mrs. G commutes most of the weekends and would very often bring groceries back with her on the plane to City X. Her apartment in City X is located in an area where grocery prices are formidable.

Family H

Family H is not commuting currently. The couple commuted for two years at the beginning of their graduate studies, and did so intermittently in the following four years.

Their commuting was for ideological reasons. Both felt that neither should sacrifice the quality of his/her education for the other. So both applied, got accepted and entered into the best graduate schools in their fields. The schools are in Cities X and Y respectively.
Commuting was biweekly, and each alternates with the commuting. It was done by plane, bus, or car. When they were separate, communication took the form of both telephone calls and letter writing.

The marriage experienced difficulty after the initial two years of commuting, and the couple had moved back together again. According to each person, the marriage was not totally happy even before the commuting. But it was unclear to either one what caused the discontent. During the commuting period, however, they actually felt closer to each other in their relationship. Things were not quite the same when the commuting ceased. In one of their words:

"It was really the living together the next year that convinced me that divorce was a necessity. . . There was a lot of readjustment...But the basic problems got worse. So I don't know whether the problem was postponed or accelerated by the commuting. I really don't know."

The couple lived through a period full of challenges including the wife's ill-health, trials in their relationship and demands from academic work and profession. They survived all those and are currently working and living together in City X. If their career demands require them to commute again, they said they would do it.

The last two cases differ from the previous ones in that the commuters are away from home for much shorter time periods, and they both have other professional activities besides the ones that require the commuting.

Family J

Mrs. J just finished writing a text book in her field when her supervisor in her professional training days requested her to start a teaching program at an institution in City Y. She had always been very fond of and respected this supervisor, and was delighted to take up the assignment. However, she was living in City X. Mr. J at that time was receiving special training in
his field at a fine institution in that City.

Mrs. J saw no reason why they should move to the other city because of her assignment which she thought was short-term. So she commuted to City Y to conduct the program two days a week, and did it for seven years until her knee problem made it hazardous for her to continue. Now she teaches at an institution in City X.

Family K

Mrs. K received her doctorate a year ago and applied for a full-time teaching job at different universities. The job market was tight in her field and the only offer that came up was a part-time instructor at a college that is 90 miles away. Though Mrs. J also got a post-doctoral study fellowship at an institute, the attraction of a possible full-time teaching position at the college the following year lured her into accepting the position.

The commuting arrangement was inconvenient because the bus and class schedules did not mesh and Mrs. K did not like driving. Mr. K helped out the first semester by driving her to the college on Sundays, staying over-night and driving back early Monday morning for his work. When Mrs. K's teaching was over on Wednesday, he drove her home. In the second semester, Mrs. K could take the bus because the schedules worked out better. She does not plan to commute next year. The family will move to wherever she finds a job. Mr. K expects he could find a job as a lawyer at any location.

Geographical Patterns of Job and Family Movement

Table II presents four discernible patterns of job and family movement found in at least one of the cases described above. Pattern A which shows a spouse who previously worked or studied in the home city presently commuting
TABLE II
PATTERNS OF JOB AND HOME MOVEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATTERN</th>
<th>TIME PERIOD ONE</th>
<th>TIME PERIOD TWO</th>
<th>FAMILIES FOLLOWING THIS PATTERN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>BOTH SPOUSES WORK IN CITY P</td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY P</td>
<td>A, B, C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HOME IN CITY P</td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY Q</td>
<td>F, G, H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HOME IN CITY P</td>
<td>J, K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>SAME AS ABOVE</td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY P</td>
<td>B*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HOME IN CITY Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>BOTH SPOUSES WORK IN CITY R</td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY P</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HOME IN CITY R</td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HOME IN CITY Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>PRIOR TO MARRIAGE:</td>
<td>TWO PEOPLE WHO HAVE JOBS IN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY P</td>
<td>TWO DIFFERENT CITIES ARE MARRIED:</td>
<td>E</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY R</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY P</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ONE SPOUSE WORKS IN CITY Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For part of the commuting period. See text for detail.*
to work in another city is by far the most common pattern adopted by the couples interviewed.

Some clarification of the term "home" is necessary. In most cases, home refers to the city in which the noncommuting spouse lives. In the families that still have one or more children living with the parents, home is usually also where the children are attending school. In the families without children, however, the geographical location of the home is not always readily identifiable. This point will be discussed more fully in the following section on geographical location of the family. Here, "home" is used loosely to refer to the place where a couple spends most of the time together.

Pattern A represents the situation in which a couple prior to commuting lived in the same city. Both could be engaged in studying, working or a combination of both. Then one spouse receives a job offer in another city. This spouse could either be finishing a degree or already working. He or she accepts the offer and starts commuting to the other city for the job. Pattern A models the situation in Families A, B, C, F, G, H, and K.

Pattern B represents the situation in which the family originally residing in City A moves to another City B. One spouse commutes from City B back to City A for work. This depicts the situation in Family A during some period in the past as well as what is planned for next year.

Pattern C represents the situation in which a couple originally lives in one city, then for work or academic studies reasons, moves to two other separate cities and commutes between them. This depicts the situation of Family D.

Lastly, Pattern D represents the situation in which two persons working in two separate cities getting married, and continue to work in the separate
From "Family Influences in Job Movement" by Sussman & Cogswell, Human Relations Vol. 24 No. 6, 1971
cities. This depicts the circumstance in Family E.

Notice in C and D, there are no indications as to which City gets chosen to be the home of the family. The choice of home city, as discussed more fully below, depends on other factors such as family and children, time availability for commuting of each spouse, and so on.

Where to Work and Where to Live

In the non-commuting family, job and family movement are two inseparable decisions. Sussman and Cogswell categorize factors influencing a worker's relocation and job change decisions into four groups: a) the labor market factors referring to the supply and demand of jobs befitting the worker's interest and qualifications; b) the work system factors which includes work environment, colleagues status and career potential; c) the economic factors which includes salary and fringe benefits; and d) the non-economic factors which includes physical environment of home, church and community services, school systems and proximity to friends and families.6 (See Figure I) A family's decision to relocate is determined both by the options available and the relative importance of each factor to the worker and family.

In the commuting family, however, job and family location are two separate decisions. Interviews show the work related factors, i.e., labor market conditions, economic and work system factors influence both spouses' choice of work, while the non-economic factors influence the family's choice of home location. The two sets of factors will be discussed separately.

Family Factors Influencing the Commuting Decision

Family factors are especially important for the ten families interviewed because nine of the ten females do most of the commuting in their families. Studies show that family status factors such as presence of children have significant influence on work commitment, and labor force
participation of married women.

Husband's Occupation and Income and Presence of Children

Husband's income and occupational status have effects on a married woman's tendency to work. Jacob Mincer noted that a rise in the husband's income level has a negative effect on married women's labor force participation rate. 7

Adjusting for the effects of other demographic factors, Bowen and Finegan found that wives of workers in higher status occupations such as professional, technical and managerial work are less likely to work than wives of workers in lower status occupations such as service, sales and clerical workers. 8 But more important, their study suggests that the more education a married woman has, the more inclined she is to work. Adjusted for other demographic factors, the labor force participation rate of married women with more than 17 years of education in 1960 was as high as 60.8%. 9

Presence of children in the family affect labor force participation of married women in several ways. Not only can it increase the amount of household chores, and the family's need for money income, but also in the case of older children, provide help in performing household tasks. It is mainly the presence of young children, especially children under six that has a significant dampening effect on married women's labor force participation rates. 10 Married women with children under six who are already in the labor force show greater commitment to work in the future than working wives with no young children. 11 However, Rapoport and Rapoport's study indicates that women with young children tend to have lower career aspirations than married women without children. 12

In the present study, the negative effect of men's high income levels on the wife's working seem to have been nullified by even stronger positive
forces of the latter's present and potential earning power, and their strong motivation and commitment to work. In the two families earning the highest family income, the joint family income, and the perceived need of family income, seem to have effects on their commitment to their present commuting arrangement. One of the two wives indicated that she would not hesitate to take a job in the home city if it paid equally well as her present job. The husband in the other family indicated that when the family's financial need diminished with the children's completion of education, he would be willing to take another job even with a salary cut in order to discontinue the commuting arrangement.

The presence of young children at home did not seem to have affected the work continuity of two females, Mrs. C and Mrs. D, who both hold academic positions. Mrs. C has been working since her younger child was one year old. Mrs. D has never stopped working. In fact, as described earlier, she travelled with her young children for a semester when she first began to commute.

Mrs. C said that she had a rather untraditional philosophy for raising children, and commented on it as follows:

"I talked with a group of faculty wives and they were terribly upset by the fact that I let somebody else raise my children...I think it is healthy for them. ...If they didn't have the babysitters, they wouldn't learn to like and love younger children or learn to cook exotic food...The babysitters we have had all love the children. They still refer to them as their kids." (Her children once had an Oriental babysitter who has a baby of her own. Mrs. C even bought a crib to keep in the house for this baby.)

Mrs. A and Mrs. B who are older than Mrs. C and Mrs. D did not engage in full-time employment when their children were young, although they were both very active in community and volunteer work. Their younger children were at least twelve years of age when they began commuting. The following
question shows some differences between Mrs. A's view of maternal role and Mrs. C's, although the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

"I believe it is very important for women not to lose sight of their roles as mothers and their responsibilities to their offspring...I do not believe that being a housewife is some sort of honor bestowed on women by heaven, but I do believe that the role of mother is the most important relationship of any human being to any other, and nothing should be allowed to diminish the effort and concern a woman puts into it." (Mrs. A)

The above cases suggest not just the presence of young children, but also the commuting wife's attitude towards her maternal role could significantly affect a commuting decision.

**Husband's Attitude Towards Wife's Employment and Home**

Husband's attitude towards wife's employment is an important variable. If the husband strongly disapproves of his wife's employment status, marital adjustment is likely to be significantly lower. \(^{13}\) For the educated woman, the husband's degree of moral support could be the determinant for her commitment to pursuing a career of her own. \(^{14}\) Fogarty et. al. suggest that:

"The husband's orientations to career and family, and their attitudes to women's careers, affect their wives' attitudes, their wives' patterns of work, and the degree of marital happiness experienced in the family." \(^{15}\)

The attitudes of men in the ten families in the study towards their wives careers range from moderate to very strong support. Three men expressed that they were extremely proud of their wives' achievement and did not mind the minor inconveniences incurred by the wife's absence from home. Two men had always assumed that their wives would work. One man deliberately tried not to influence his wife's decision, but was very supportive after she had decided to commute to work.
In the commuting family, the husband's willingness to provide help in childcare and housekeeping is especially important because, when the wife is away from home, the husband essentially has to perform all the household tasks including making supper which is usually performed by the wife. The support is crucial in families C and D which have young children at home. Mr. D commented on his initial attitude as follows:

"I think for the man of the situation, it requires an attitude that definitely is not part of the way people are raised in this country. It is an attitude that's learned, in part, if circumstances force it on you. You either adjust to it or you don't. But you have to come into it with at least the initial condition to say that you can move in this direction without a breakdown. I came into the situation this way."

In family K, the husband helped in the commuting arrangement by driving Mrs. K back and forth home and her workplace.

The above discussion suggests both moral and behavioral support of the spouse are crucial for the two-career family to function in a commuting situation.

Career Stage and Work Experience as Influences on the Commuting Decision

Work commitment of married women in rather highly qualified occupations tend to increase with duration of employment. The longer a woman has been in an occupational role, the stronger is her sense of professional identity.

In all except one case, the spouses in each family had either been in their professional roles for some time or had just completed a lengthy period of professional training. From one point of view, they had been socialized in their professional roles and probably had high expectations for their career attainment given their investments in education and their capabilities.
Mrs. G expressed that she was enjoying both her married life and job tremendously, and had no regrets for her decision.

In other cases, it was a combination of job interest, potential advancement, colleagues and salary increase that prompted the commuting decisions. Mrs. D thought there was a perfect fit between her research interest and the requirements of her department and made her decision partly on that basis. Mrs. C, Mrs. B and Mrs. J had previous acquaintance with their current supervisors and/or colleagues, a factor partly responsible for their choice of commuting. Mrs. A thought the opportunity for career advancement was so enormous that there was no doubt as to whether to accept the offer or not.

Mr. E was already commuting to his job when he married Mrs. E. His job was such a great challenge and offered so much opportunity for personal development at that point that he decided to continue commuting between Cities Y and Z where his job and families (from previous and current marriages) are located. In two years, he may try to structure his job in such a way that he could spend more time with his family.

In summary, it was a combination of personal motivation, family and career situations, and other circumstantial factors that prompted the ten families to adopt the commuting lifestyle. Three points need to be emphasized. First, in all except Mrs. G's case, the alternatives seemed so unattractive compared to the ones which required commuting, that the families involved took little time and thinking to make their decisions. In Mrs. C's words:

"We accepted the job offer (Mr. C's) and then work out the logistics."

The decision also "came naturally" in the other families.

Another point is that all of the decisions were made within the families; and in all except Family C, there were no role models nor previous experience
that would suggest the commuting lifestyle could be a feasible arrangement. Family C is an exceptional case because Mrs. C grew up in an environment in which her mother managed the family business while her father travelled around the country and was home very seldom. Mr. C on the other hand, had had the hectic experience of commuting while he gathered data for his dissertation. In his words:

"If commuting weekly to [a very small town in a mid-western state] could work out, I am sure anything could work out."

In all other cases, the couples expressed that they did not know of any other family undertaking the commuting arrangement when they made their own decisions. Neither did any of them consult relatives or friends. The commuting arrangement was adopted in every case based on consideration of their own family and career circumstances.

The last point is that in a number of these cases, the present commuting arrangement evolved from the initial ad hoc arrangement through a series of changes in family and career circumstances. In Family G, the arrangement was initially intended to last for only two months, but evolved into commuting on a longer-term basis when Mr. G decided to take a job in the home city and postponed completing his dissertation. For Family D, during the first few years, all relatives and friends and including Mr. D himself, expected Mrs. D to find a job near home the following year and discontinue commuting. But as time went by, it became evident that the commuting arrangement would likely continue on a long-term basis because Mrs. D has a vested interest in obtaining a permanent position at the institution where she teaches. For Mrs. J, a short term project of launching a teaching program evolved into a seven year assignment. For Mrs. B, the present mode of commuting evolved over a period of four years.
Therefore we could find in four situations (Mrs. C, Mrs. F, Mrs. G, and Mrs. K), in which the would-be commuters had just completed professional education, and six other situations in which the would-be commuters had already embarked on their careers, people were unwilling to permit geographical barriers to preclude opportunities which would allow them to develop and utilize their potentials.

Fogarty et al. suggest that the career aspiration of a woman could be a function of whether she has already reached the highest point in her career. One condition common to all situations examined in this study is that none of the commuters perceived that she had already reached the peak in her respective career. This could have an implication that people who perceive they have already reached the highest point in their careers are less willing to make the sacrifices necessitated by the commuting arrangements, such as separation from the family, and expense and energy consumed in the commuting. In such a situation, may be substantial monetary reward is necessary to induce the professionals to take a position at a city distant from home. This is a question which can be examined in future research. In the present study, it is difficult to isolate the monetary incentive effect from the non-monetary incentive effects because the two are closely related in each situation.

Career Opportunities

While personal motivation and aspiration, family factors and career stage would affect a person's predisposition to the commuting arrangement, what seems to be the most important determining factor in a decision is the consideration of the job opportunities available. Examining the various aspects of a job decision in each situation would help in understanding why the decision was made.

a) Labor market factors—supply and demand for jobs in the labor market segment in which a person is seeking a job.
b) Monetary rewards--salary, fringe benefits, etc.

c) Work system factors--colleagues, prestige of institution, challenge of the job, status, advancement potential, job interests.

Of the four people who had just completed professional training, two had no other job offers other than the ones which required commuting. In Mrs. K's case, it was clearly the labor market factors that affected most her commuting decisions. The job market was tight, and the job offer carried the lure of a full-time position the following year, and the decision to commute was made on that basis. In Mrs. F's case, it was a combination of labor market factors and the prestige of the institution and the challenge of the job that influenced her to choose the commuting arrangement. From Mrs. K's viewpoint, the choice between accepting the job offer and not working at all was very clear:

"There was never any question as to whether to accept the offer. Having just finished PhD, it would be ludicrous to turn the offer down both from professional and personal point of views. If I did, I would ask myself what is the past few years of education all about. Not to work and stay around was clearly unacceptable as an alternative."

In Mrs. C's situation, although she had other job alternatives located near home, they were so inferior to the position that requires commuting that she had little hesitation in accepting the latter.

Mrs. G's situation was a little different. As in the previous cases, she had just completed professional training, but she had several competing job offers in both the home city and another city. Her decision to commute was solely based on the challenge of the job and the potential for advancement. She explained her decision in this manner:

"I wanted to be in a company that is dynamic and where people are creative. I wanted to make an impact and certainly eventually be in a position of power. The company was superior to the others in those respects. And they really wanted me to come. I knew if I turned it down, I would really resent it."
The fact that the families made their initial decisions to commute without any knowledge of precedence, and continued to do so for extended periods of time indicates that they have extraordinarily strong work motivation, high career aspiration, and also commitment to their families. This suggests that commuting is perhaps a "self-selection" process by which only very strongly motivated, capable and healthy people would choose and sustain the commuting lifestyle in order to overcome a major barrier to career development.

Geographical Location of Home

According to the "self-selection process" theory of geographical movement of households, people rationally assess their own characteristics and activities, and choose home locations which would satisfy those requirements. Since commuting couples work in two different cities, the issue of where home should be naturally occurs. The choices of home location of the ten families provide some interesting perspectives to the theory.

Interviews showed the eight families who live in the city see great advantage in doing so. Many of them express great dislike for daily commuting which is a way of life for suburbanites. The following quotes show some of their views.

"I arranged my schedules in such a way that I could leave town and return in the middle of the days. In this way, I avoid hitting the traffic jam." (Mrs. J)

"I drive against the traffic when I go to work. I would hate to sit in the traffic moving bumper-to-bumper for two hours everyday." (Mrs. C)

"I have learned to cope with the public transit system in both cities. My total commuting time every week is less than many people who live in suburbia." (Mr. C)

In contrast, Families A and D prefer living at the outskirt of the city to the city itself, although the former does not have the advantage of
easy access to public transportation and the airport. Mrs. A explained the family's choice in this manner:

"I would hate to have to move away from our town, unless it were to the middle of the woods of Maine. Indeed, my husband also commutes. He drives about fifty miles each way every day...to a town which is ostensibly about like the area in which we live---but it isn't if you understand the subtleties. Even when I used to work in the same town with him, we didn't move there.... We have simply made our home here---part of each of us is in it. We belong here. We love it."

The major factors determining geographical location of home seem to be proximity to children's schools, closeness to parents, regional preference and length of stay in the city in the past. The first factor is especially important in families that have children living at home. Mrs. F had the chance to relocate her work to the city where Mr. F works. But then they decided not to move because:

"Both of our parents are in this area. My son is in a very fine school and all his friends are here. He also wants to see his children often. So we decided not to move."

Regional preference came across very strongly in two cases. Mr. and Mrs. C spent a year visiting together at a university on the west coast and had a chance to go back there permanently. But then,

"In the middle of the year when we could make a decision to go back there together, we looked at each other; and decided that we are East Coast people. That was it."

They both have parents living on the East Coast, whom they have to visit often. They also have lived for seventeen years in the city where they currently live.

Among couples without children, the geographical location of home base seems to depend on how well the couple has established themselves in one city, and which spouse is more able to cope with the inconvenience of commuting.
Mrs. G recalled her early experience:

"When I first arrived at this city, I was not able to rent an apartment at a reasonable price. I moved from one sublet to another until I finally found this efficiency. Because of the uncertainty of where I would end up, I did not bring a lot of things down with me.

Back there, we have a spacious six room apartment. All my cooking utensils were there too. I still regard that as home, and I do most of the commuting."

The elements of uncertainty, unfamiliarity in a new environment along with a feeling of "not having settled in yet" were also shared by Mrs. F and Mrs. H when they first moved to the new cities. Their homes were regarded as merely "dwelling places" when they first moved into them. These feelings have faded with passage of time. Now they have a stronger sense of "home" for their secondary homes.

In the following section, I will briefly discuss initial and subsequent attitudes towards commuting and time horizons of the families.

Attitudes Prior to Commuting and Early Experience of Living Apart

Attitudes prior to commuting vary among the ten couples. On the one hand, Mr. and Mrs. F who commute the greatest distance in the group felt that they were "making a point." On the other hand, Mr. and Mrs. C who already had some prior experience in commuting "did not think it was a big deal."

Only childless couples expressed concern with emotional issues prior to commuting. Anxiety generally involved the fear of growing apart, the fear of one partner getting sexually involved with someone else, and the fear of the relationship terminating in a divorce. Some anticipated a sense of loneliness and fear resulting from moving into an unfamiliar environment and a new job.

A few people noted that they experienced loneliness in their early periods of commuting, but they soon adjusted to the situation. Mrs. F
indicated that she was so busy with work during her first semester that she seldom had time to think about her being alone.

Mrs. G noted that some dramatic changes occurred to her during the early period which she described in this manner:

"I had always been dependent on my husband. When it became apparent that we were going to live apart and commute for longer than we thought, suddenly I realized I had to be all on my own. I had to make all these decisions about living in the City. It was difficult at first. I had not made any friends in the City, and the job was new.

Then I really started moving on my job and loving it. I started making new friends, and going out with my sister and girl friends to theater and plays...I started to grow and stopped being scared. I took the sublet myself. I was exhilarated—I felt I was becoming independent and mature.

All of a sudden, the relationship between my husband and me started to change. We started treating each other as individuals."

For Mr. D, on the other hand, the practical adjustment was more important. As he indicated:

"It was much less favorable than it is now. It was really a crude adjustment. Here, I get up early in the morning, feed the cows, sheep and chickens; get the kids up, get them dressed, feed them breakfast and then take them to the babysitter. Then I have to drive 40 miles to work. Coming back from work, it's roughly the same thing.

Every once in a while, the system breaks down and I become irritated. As time goes on, my irritation slips to the background and I feel it's a feasible way of doing it."

Most people note they are presently very well adjusted to the lifestyle. Mr. G noted:

"I am very used to it. It's a natural part of my life. I am a lot more tolerant of it."

And added:

"One gets used to one's own idiosyncrasies living alone. I think it would take us quite a bit of adjustment if we suddenly have to live together again."
Initial and Subsequent Time Horizon

Some of the job offers held by commuters are contractual and last only for a year, three years or five years while others do not have a definite time limit. Comparing these initial time horizons of job offers with subsequent ones show that they do not necessarily correspond. When couples made the decisions to commute, most of them did not have long-term plans beyond a year or two. Many took the attitude of "giving it a try and see how it turns out," or "playing it by ear" as things develop. Mrs. D's situation is a case in point. When she started commuting, everyone in the family expected the arrangement to last only for a year. She indicated:

"In the first year, I told everyone that I would be coming back the following year. However, in the back of my mind, I don't see why I can't do it forever."

She indicated that if she receives tenure next year, she would commute on a permanent basis.

Her attitude is shared by Mr. C, who expects to get tenure next year. He noted:

"It's clear to me that there is no compelling reason to ever stop it."

Mr. B has a more limited horizon. He indicated:

"Four to seven years from now, our sons will have completed their education and be able to be on their own. At that time, the financial constraint on us will be less. Then I will consider other possibilities."

Mr. G who was expecting to finish his dissertation in June, indicated that Mrs. G and he would discuss their situation when June approaches. But he noted:

"I don't really know what our resolutions would be. It may be to continue what we are doing. There are a lot of good things about it. Both of us are very successful at what we are doing right now, and both of us are not quite ready to leave our jobs. We are really quite new on our jobs, and there are a lot more things we have to learn about them. I am not ready to put down my feet and
Mrs. H who is currently not commuting indicated:

"We may well have to do it again if we don't compromise on our career opportunities."

She is working on her dissertation.

The current time horizons for commuting of some of these families indicate that their experiences had convinced them that commuting is a feasible way of life on a long-term basis.
CHAPTER III

WORK AND FAMILY--COSTS AND BENEFITS OF SEGREGATING THE TWO WORLDS

In this chapter I will discuss how commuting families allocate time and resources between work and family, ways they function in their social environment, and the costs and benefits they attribute to the commuting arrangement.

Time Allocation Between Work and the Family

Careful time budgeting is essential for successful household management in the two-career family because there are competing demands on time from two careers. In the commuting two-career family, the problem is complicated by the additional demands on time from commuting, and the absence of the commuter from the household during the work days.

Because of the geographical distance between home and the workplace, the commuter's activities in the week are clearly demarcated between work and family. While the commuter's absence from home may inconvenience the rest of the family to some extent, he or she gains some advantage from the segregation of work from the family.

This section focuses on the work and family lives of couples that commute on a weekly basis. Families F and H which commute on monthly and biweekly bases respectively will be discussed separately.

The Work World

On the whole, these commuters work longer hours than most of their colleagues. This may partly compensate for their shorter work week. The total amount of time spent on work, of course, is also a function of the amount of work the individual wants to do. Mr. E who works a five-day week noted that he often works twelve to fifteen hours per day.

Professionals who hold academic positions seem to have greater
flexibility in their time schedules compared to non-academic professionals, and spend on the average fewer days at work. Mr. and Mrs. C, and Mrs. D who hold full-time academic positions usually spend three to four days at work compared to Mrs. G and Mrs. A who work in industry and usually work five full days in their offices.

Interesting differences exist between ways in which these commuting wives spend their evenings. Mrs. C, Mrs. D, Mrs. J and Mrs. K who hold full-or part-time academic positions read, correct students' papers, prepare course material or conduct seminars and usually work until late in the evening. Mrs. A and Mrs. B who hold non-academic positions on the other hand, noted that they putter around, have simple suppers and watch the television after long days at the office. Mrs. A usually works until seven or eight o'clock in her office.

Mrs. G who is younger than Mrs. A and Mrs. B, holds a non-academic position, and works in City X, has the most eventful evenings in the group. She attends gymnastics class two evenings and goes to plays and theaters in the other evenings during the work week.

The ways in which these commuters spend their evenings seem to be a function of personal styles and interests, nature of work and location. Mr. C, for example, drinks with his colleague before dinner when he is at the university, and combines reading and course preparation with watching the television. Among the other commuters, only Mrs. G sees friends socially on a regular basis in the evenings during the work week.

The Family World

Comparative time use studies shows the employed woman typically doubles the amount of time spent on housework on her days off from work. Analyses of the weekend activities of the commuting families
show most of them fit into the same pattern.

Most commuting families weekends can be described as relaxed and low-key. House cleaning, grocery shopping and occasional entertainment of close friends comprise most of the weekend activities of the families.

Families B and G indicated they do not entertain friends as often as they used to because they felt a greater need to spend the little time they have during the weekends for family centered activities. Family E never entertained much, and usually spend the weekend visiting parents and Mr. E's children from his previous marriage. Mrs. E thought the weekend is so short that, "It is gone before you know it."

Family D does a lot of work on their farm during the weekend; and Family C has spent most of their time fixing up the house into which they recently moved, they entertain friends occasionally. Family A seems to do more casual social entertainment than any other family in the group. Their house has frequent visitors from the neighborhood when Mrs. A is at home.

One would not expect a commuter to have time for community activities outside home and work. But Mrs. D managed to teach Sunday school in the morning and takes a 5:30 P.M. plane every Sunday to her work place.

Biweekly and Monthly Commuting

Families F and H are exceptions to the weekly commuting mode in which commuters spend weekends with their families.

Mr. and Mrs. H commuted on a biweekly basis in the first two years of graduate school, while Mr. and Mrs. F visit each other during vacation at their respective universities and on the average see each other every month. These two couples seem to have developed lifestyles
quite different from the other couples who commute on a weekly basis.

Mrs. H and Mrs. F are the only two females in the group who use their own maiden names. (Mrs. E and Mrs. J use the names of their first husbands because they had established their careers with those names.) Each spouse in the two couples had developed friendship ties on their own. There were some friends whom they see more often when they were not with their spouses. In the interview, Mr. F remarked that his life was sometimes like that of a bachelor. During the first year of commuting, he shared an apartment with a male friend and lived very much in the manner single people live when Mrs. F was not staying with him.

Segregation between work and family is not as sharp for Mr. and Mrs. F as in the other cases. The activities they undertake when they are alone and when they are together did not seem to differ very much, which can be explained in part by the basic demands of academic work and the greater lengths of time they spend together.

Mrs. F made the following observations of their lifestyle:

"We may be very excited about seeing each other the first twenty four hours. But after that, things seem to go back to normal. We try to be as usual as possible when we are together. I still go to my office as often as when I am alone. When we are together, we read a lot; go to the library; and see a few friends."

Mr. and Mrs. F who found their lifestyle of commuting venturous and exciting the first years no longer felt the same way when they resumed commuting after having spent a year together in between. The couple is looking forward to the next academic year when Mrs. F will take a year's leave to be with Mr. F.

The apparent differences of Family F from the rest of the group
could perhaps be attributed to the basic differences in the commuting pattern. Future research could study in greater depth the differences between families adopting various commuting patterns.
Children and Housework Time and Resource Allocation

Children

Families A, B, C, D, and E have children under 18 years of age in their families. Management of child care and discipline by these commuting couples and the effects of commuting on the children are likely to be the most difficult issues for prospective commuters.

Research studies find no clear evidence of uniform harmful effects of maternal employment on the emotional and intellectual development of children. Intervening variables such as attitudes of other family members, the conditions of employment of the mother, and quality of substitute childcare, and parents' childrearing practices could have more direct effects on the development of children than the status of employment of the mother per se.

In the analyses of dual career families Rapoport and Rapoport reported gains for the children in independence, resourcefulness, and feeling of competence and involvement in wide range of interests possessed by the parents. They suggest greater importance of how the families manage the situations and the kinds of social pressure and sanctions they experience, rather than the fact that both parents are employed.

Adjustment of Children

In the present study, brief encounters with some of the children of the commuting parents would suggest they are well adjusted to their parents' lifestyle. All the youngsters whom I met seemed to be healthy, independent, intelligent, capable, happy and have close relationships with their parents.

Mr. and Mrs. A's 23 year old son who is in graduate school has the following opinions on commuting in their family:
"Everyone in our family travels a lot. It is kind of exciting meeting each other so often at the airport. We do not get bothered by delays of arrivals of planes as many people do."

Mr. and Mrs. C's ten year old daughter is a very good cook. On the day I interviewed her parents, she prepared dinner for the entire family and guests with a girl friend of her age and with occasional guidance and counsel from her mother. She said she does not mind her parents' commuting.

Mr. B described his 17 year old son as "a good fellow with a lot of integrity", and a good chess player and companion. During the week he cooks dinner and Mr. B cooks breakfast while Mrs. B is away.

Mr. D whose children are five and seven years of age, indicated in the interview that Mrs. D's commuting and frequent absence from home did not seem to have adverse effects on their children. In his words,

"They have learned we are not the only source of emotions and comfort. They have learned to be a little less totally dependent on us than other children on their parents. I don't mean that they are more outgoing or less outgoing, but they are more capable of dealing with adults. I really can't see any serious negative effects of the commuting on the kids at all. I look around at their friends. Seeing what their personalities are like, what their level of development is, they are really smart kids. If they got emotional problems, it is not affecting their intellectual development. Both of them are at the top of their respective classes."

Brief surveys of the commuting families with children suggest that attentiveness to the various needs of children and harmonious relationship with them are primarily responsible for the good adjustments of children to the parents' commuting lifestyle.

Commuting parents in the group seemed to be sensitive to their children's needs and feelings, and place great emphasis on the importance
of being able to communicate with them. For example, Mr. A mentioned in the interview that his family runs an enormous phone bill every month because they talk to their children who are away in school very often.

Mr. C emphasized the importance of spending sufficient time with his children. He noted:

"I spend quite a bit of time with kids by contemporary standards. I am almost always here Monday and Friday when the kids come from school. I spend six to eight hours with the kids each week, as opposed to around them."

Mr. C also shares interests in electronics with his 12 year old son.

Family D has not been very fortunate in obtaining help from reliable and competent babysitters, as Mr. D explained:

"There are some babysitters who I would rather not have. But that's only part of the problem. Sometimes when the children get sick, I have to stay home to take care of them. The babysitter who has her own baby does not want her child to catch the flu from my kids."

While Family C has been more fortunate in finding reliable babysitters, they sometimes still have problems in finding friends or babysitters to stay overnight when both spouses are out of town.

Logistics—"trying to mesh everything together"—seemed to be a problem in both families.

Housework

Traditional ideology designates housework and childcare to be the wife/mother's responsibilities. When the wife is employed, however, her husband would participate more in performing household tasks and making decisions regarding routine household matters. But, even when a couple adopts an egalitarian view towards division of household labor,
household tasks tend to be divided along traditional sex-role lines. In the present study, for example, almost all women in the ten families exclusively prepare meals when they are at home.

Performance of household tasks is especially an interesting issue in this study because most of the women commuting, which means they are not available to the family every day in the week to perform the routine daily household chores such as cooking and housekeeping. Standards in housekeeping are in some cases adjusted downwards, especially during the days when the wives are at work. Women tend to spend their weekends catching up on their household obligations instead of resting and recuperating from the week's work and the commuting.

With the exception of one family with domestic help, most of the household work in each commuting family is done by members of the family. Three families, however, do have housecleaning ladies who visit their houses once a week.

Five families indicated that they were rather casual about housekeeping. Mrs. C commented:

"I'm not much of a housekeeper. That's critical. I'm not a neat freak. Once in a while, when things get unbearable, we'll race through the whole house and clean it up. Then we'll go back to the same mode again."

In Families A, B, C, E and J, the older couples in the group—the traditional ideology of the household being "women's domain" prevails. That is not to say males in the families do not participate in household chores, but the responsibilities of running the household rest with the wives. Both spouses in Families B and C specifically mentioned in the interviews that the wives are "in charge" of the households. The other members in each family do the essential daily household chores such as
cooking and washing dishes when the mother is away.

Family A has a tremendous amount of housework to be done because of the size of the house, frequent entertainment of guests, and the possession of pets. The family used to have a cleaning lady who helped in housecleaning, but was dismissed some time ago and a replacement was never hired. Mr. A explained everyone in the family helps in performing housework, but Mrs. A still has to do a tremendous amount when she returns home every weekend. Her list of activities at home includes laundry, housecleaning, cooking meals for the family and guests, preparing casseroles for Mr. A's dinners during the week, and painting in the kitchen. She has a great capacity for work, possesses an inexhaustible amount of energy, and moves at a swift pace.

The other five families—D, F, G, H, and K—seemed to have somewhat more egalitarian views towards division of domestic responsibility. Family D is the only family with children, and Mr. D essentially runs the household and takes care of their young children when Mrs. D is not at home.

For Families G, H, and K, responsibility for cooking lies almost exclusively with the wife when the spouses are together.

Responsibility for housework in Families F and G is an interesting issue. While the performance of housework is still shared between the spouses, the responsibility seems to lie with the spouse who lives at the place. There is a feeling of "This is your place; I am not going to mess with it." Mrs. G elaborated on the topic by saying:

"I still have to fight the tendency to take over when I go home. I had to learn to change. I have to learn to tolerate some dust and a little untidiness. He is the type who is oblivious to the surrounding. But I recognize that it is "his" place and I am not going to mess with it."
Mr. G, also recognizes the discrepancy between his standard of tidiness and Mrs. G; and compensates for it by making special efforts to clean the house just before Mrs. G returns every Friday. He jokingly said that it almost gets to be a ritual for him.

In Family H, responsibility of the household was a sore point. Their marriage deteriorated when the couple lived together again after two years of commuting. Whatever the underlying cause was, the discord manifested itself most strongly in the strong disagreements over who should be responsible for the housework.

To Mr. H, household responsibility was synonymous with performing household tasks. But to Mrs. H, responsibility implies initiative to perform the household tasks as well as the actual performance. Had it not been for Mrs. H’s long period of serious illness, the couple would have parted.

Mutual understanding and agreement on responsibilities of housework which is one of the several areas of activities involving all members in the family, seem to be crucial for cordial family relationships. This stems from the fact that frequent absence from home of the commuting wife inevitably alters the basic pattern of household activities previously undertaken by the family, and that the change affects every member of the family.

Social Network

An earlier discussion (in Chapter II) suggests that family and friendship ties strongly influence the geographical location decision of the commuting family. In this section, I will discuss the various social patterns of the families in the group—how do the families draw their close friends; how do they deal with their kin; and the
varying attitudes of their relatives and friends toward their commuting lifestyle.

Rapoport and Rapoport suggests that in two-career families, there is a tendency for more friends to come from the wives' work environment, and that the social network of relationships tends to be made on a couple basis rather than an individual basis. This differs from the traditional single-career family in which social relationships tend to be tied to the husband's associations at his work place.

The commuting family in the group exhibit some interesting variations from the two-career family social pattern found by Rapoport and Rapoport. First of all, because of the geographical separation of the spouses' work location, it is not possible to draw friends from work environment of both spouses. Secondly, some commuting families live in the suburbs, as in the case of families A and D. In these work environments, the accepted social norm is little interaction with colleagues outside the work context. Thirdly, for a few commuters such as Mrs. J, Mrs. D, and Mrs. B, the tremendous pressure from work which derived from compressed time schedules leave little time and energy for social intercourse after work.Fourthly, since the families have limited time within the week to be together, some feel the need for serenity and seclusion for off-work periods. Mr. B, Mrs. E, Mrs. G, Mrs. H and Mrs. J all indicated that it was the case in their families.

Most commuting families tend to form social relationships as couples much the same as the ordinary two-career family. However, an interesting variation from this pattern exists in some families. While the majority of people in the group do not see friends on an individual basis, each person in Families F, G and H has established friendship ties independent
of their spouses. This phenomenon can be explained in part by the availability of opportunity and time, and perhaps also by age difference between this group and the other families. Families F and H are the exceptions to the weekly commuting mode in the group. Mrs. G holds an administrative position, and most of her work is done within the day.

Family friends tend to be long time acquaintances who are not currently colleagues of either spouse. For example, Family C's relationship with their closest friends dates back to their undergraduate days. Family A's friends are from the neighborhood whom they have known for more than 15 years.

With a few exceptions, everyone in the group indicated that their friends are supportive of their efforts for pursuing two careers. This could be explained in part by the families' deliberate avoidance of people known to be critical. Three commuting women's husbands, however, encountered slighting remarks such as: "Why did you let your wife do it?" or "Your wife may be able to take it, but how can you?"

Most people's initial reaction to the couples' commuting is one of skepticism. Some suspect that the marriage was not working out. Others have doubts about the feasibility. Most interestingly, though, Mrs. F and G noted variations in response by age.

They indicated that young people under twenty think commuting makes sense. People in the twenties are fascinated by the details of how much it costs, how the relationship works out, and so on. Older people think it is a bizarre phenomenon. The age group that has the most difficult time in accepting the commuting lifestyle are those in the thirties and forties, who may feel that it is threatening to their own lifestyles.

Both Mr. C and Mrs. D encountered disapprovals and even resentment
of their commuting arrangement in their work places. They both are very productive by the standards of their respective institutions. Mr. C commented:

"My department chairman thinks it's terrible. It would have to be all right for him if I live in the suburbs 25 miles away and show up for the same number of days. But he could not understand why my wife would move down there.

The rest of colleagues are understanding and supportive, partly because I take their classes if they cannot make them, but I try not to do the same thing. I get some flack from them because I make them look bad. I am in the office more often than they are."

Mrs. D has a similar problem:

"The worse problem that I've had is with colleagues. My colleagues there are burdened with very heavy teaching schedules. But in my case, because I have a half-time research and administrative position, I only teach two courses. There is definitely some jealousy there about my arrangement.

People only see the fact that I am there three or four days a week. They don't take into the fact that when I am there, I work many more hours a day than the average person.

It creates questions--I'm just not being treated like everybody else. I'm not there on the scene all the time. That can have an effect on tenure."

Perhaps the greatest strain in the social network occurs in the relationship with in-laws, especially in Mrs. C and Mrs. D's situation, in which there are young children at home, and the families live fairly close to the parents. Mrs. D's own parents are supportive of her efforts, and their initial concern was whether Mr. D minded the troubles incurred by the commuting. When they found out that that was not an issue, they extended their support.

Concern of in-laws is not a problem in families who live distant from
their parents. In Mrs. G's case, her in-laws are even proud of the couple's professional achievement, which they could not have attained if they had not pursued their careers independently of each other and at separate locations.

Summary

So far, in this chapter, I have described the work and family lives, management of household and childcare, and social network of the commuting families. To summarize, commuters compartmentalize their family and work lives in manners different from the ordinary worker—their work lives are free from demands from their families; and their family lives are deliberately segregated from their work.

The presence of young children tend to create difficulties in the commuting family due to lack of readily available childcare facilities. Greater participation in household chores by members of the family other than the wife and mother is found. In a few families, however, the responsibility of housework still remains with the women. Social relationships tend to be formed on a couple basis, although in a few cases, people have developed friendship ties independent of their spouses.

The remaining part of this chapter will discuss the costs and benefits of commuting and segregation of work and family, and possible impact on the marital relationship.

Costs and Benefits Analysis

Financial Costs

The most commonly cited key problem in commuting by people in the group was the high financial costs. In addition to travelling expenses, there are extra costs incurred by keeping an additional apartment or room, separate meals, and long-distance phone calls. For families with
young children, there is the added expenses of childcare. Mrs. C noted that two years ago babysitting alone cost almost one-third of her salary.

Both Mrs. G and Mrs. H thought the greatest disadvantage is that after having payed the high cost of commuting, there is little or no money left for savings. As Mrs. H commented:

"The older one gets, the more one has to think about acquiring assets. Commuting leaves very little money for savings unless your income is very high."

Mrs. G who lives in an efficiency and commutes every week noted:

"Most married couples feel they want to buy houses, cars and have possessions. I have none of that. It costs me $7000 in an apartment and plane costs alone, not to mention all the hidden costs."

The situation of most of these families is such that they earn sufficient income to cover the commuting costs in addition to other household and personal expenses, but hot high enough to make the commuting cost an insignificant part of their expenditures, which would be the case if the family makes over $200,000, for example. This again strongly suggests that the families commute not just for monetary gains, but more importantly for career interests.

The financial problem is partially attributable to the non-tax deductible nature of the commuting costs when in fact, the commuters are travelling for the purpose of work. Occasionally, the commuting is paid by clients in consulting, or partially compensated by employer in the form of a flat fee. But most of the time, commuters have to pay them out of their own disposable income.

Non-financial Costs

Another disadvantage of commuting is the strenuousness of commuting itself.
Mrs. A, Mrs. B, Mrs. K and Mrs. G found commuting to be very exhausting. In addition to anxieties over late arrivals and departures, commuting also means rising early in the morning the first day of the week. Mr. G noted this disadvantage of the commuting lifestyle "Commuting back Monday morning requires getting up at five or six o'clock. It means starting the week dog tired instead of refreshed."

While Mrs. D did not mind the commuting itself, she found the compressed schedule a source of strain. "The commuting itself is a dream. Someone comes up to you and asks if you want a drink. That's great. It is the bunching the work into three or four days that is strenuous."

Mrs. B, on the other hand, found emotional challenge to be a difficult issue. She noted:

"The guilt involved in leaving the boys so often is very real. A few months ago, just before midnight, I had a call to say that our younger son was missing from the house and that our elder son was distraught looking for him. My husband was in Seattle; there were no planes to home before morning. I phoned some nearby friends to help, and it after turned out he (the younger son) had gone off to a rock concert with a friend...But in the meantime I had plenty of opportunity to feel that special pain of being far away by choice when your children are in need."

While Mrs. C and Mrs. D did not indicate they worry about their children when they themselves are absent from home, they noted that managing both household and a career that requires commuting is by no means an easy undertaking.

**Influence on Marital Relationship**

Another area with which prospective commuters would be concerned is the frequent separation from family and its possible impact on the
marital relationship.

More than half of the people in the group stated emphatically in the interviews that they are commuting for career reasons, and not because of some inherent benefits in the commuting marriage lifestyle. Mr. E commented:

"My wife and I agreed to pay an emotional price to attain professional development."

And Mrs. E noted:

"You don't get used to it. You only understand that is the way it is."

Mrs. F who sees her husband only once a month expressed a feeling of increasing dissatisfaction with the long periods of separation from her husband. She commented:

"The key problem has been in our relationship. Although it's pretty stable and pretty happy, it could have been a happy and growing relationship, which is the way it had been. We're apart and that kind of stability is not to be desired...

The other problem is loneliness; doing without something nice that you could have under other circumstances...

Another one is about children. We see each other only once a month, and it's difficult to decide about children when we see each other so infrequently. We can't discuss it continuously."

The spouses in each couple were asked if the commuting lifestyle has made the marital relationship closer. The answers to the question were mixed. Family H which experienced marital difficulty after the commuting period indicated that the relationship was very close during the commuting period. Mrs. E noted that the relationship has been very close since their marriage a year ago. Mrs. G was most excited about the commuting
arrangement. She commented:

"I think I have the best of all worlds—I have a good career and a very good relationship with my husband...It's intense when we see each other. It's honeymoon situation."

On the other hand, the older couples with children did not feel that the commuting arrangement had had any impact on their relationship. The following are comments of Mr. D, Mr. B and Mrs. A.

"I'm sure that adds a certain spice. But everything equal, I'll rather have her here."

"In one sense, I enjoy seeing her more when she is there because it is rare. On the other hand, I always enjoy seeing her."

"It certainly doesn't make the relationship any worse. But I don't think it makes us any closer."

Mr. and Mrs. C however, found some merits in the arrangement. Mr. C noted:

"I think it reduces tension to some extent. We both have strong personalities. It took us a while to get used to seeing each other every day when we both were visiting the same institution. We can be very tense with each other when there is something nagging us. Not seeing each other two days helps.

Mrs. C shared her husband's opinions:

"I think it has advantages. I don't believe in too much togetherness. It can be as bad as too much separation."

And also added:

"We have friends who have to do these work in three weeks straight. Their wives felt put upon. That's an unhappy situation."

The comment is supported by Mrs. H's remark:
"A friend of mine told me that in a way we were having an advantage because we did not have to suffer the strain that some people have to when they were physically together but could not make themselves available emotionally to each other. This is especially a problem for people when they write theses."

Five people in the group brought up the topic of sex in the interviews. One indicated the availability of sex was a problem; three did not think it was; while another one brought up a different aspect:

"She's to work so hard that for her it's very difficult to unwind when she comes home. It really is, and that has an impact on sex.

While concern for growing apart and spouse's having extra-marital relationships with others were issues prior to commuting, the same concerns did not seem to persist once commuting began. Mrs. G attributed the diminution of anxiety to the tremendous trust that exists between two people. She noted:

"I suppose logistically it is easy. But I have never done it, and have no desire to do so. I don't think having an affair with another person is more likely to happen than if we were living together."

The overall impression of the ten couples is that they seemed to have been very well adjusted to their commuting situation, and perhaps with the exception of Family H which encountered marital problems after the commuting period, all the marital relationships do not seem to be significantly affected by the commuting arrangement.

It has to be emphasized that marital adjustment and stability are influenced by many factors such as compatibility in personality, age, social background, ability to communicate with spouse, stage in the family life cycle, job satisfaction, work and family orientation of spouses, and attitude of husband towards wife's employment status. What this study
suggests is that there are cases in which married couples can successfully manage to pursue two full careers at separate geographical locations, and at the same time sustain marital relationships over extended periods.

**Career Gains and Loss**

Undoubtedly, the largest gain attained by the commuting couples is in their professional development. With the exception of Mrs. K who thought her gain in teaching experience was marginal, every commuter in the group expressed great satisfaction with and enthusiasm about their work. By undertaking the commuting arrangement, they have been able to exploit career opportunities that are rewarding and satisfying, and in a few cases, substantially improving the career prospects of the individuals. Mrs. J expressed immense satisfaction with her seven years directing the teaching program. Mrs. C and Mrs. F thought that their commuting has enabled them to establish good foundation for their teaching careers, Mr. C was very optimistic with his career potential at his present institution and thought the commuting decision was a good choice. Mrs. D expressed great enthusiasm for her research projects at the institution where she had taught for the past four years. Mrs. G thought she had the best of all worlds, and Mrs. A and Mrs. B were very excited about the challenges they found in their work.

In addition to direct career gains, a few commuters indicated there are indirect benefits as well which are attributable to the separation of work and family. Mr. E expressed great appreciation for the fact that he could work long hours totally free from family demands during the week. Mrs. D and Mrs. B also noted the advantage of being away from their families when they are at work, as Mrs. D commented:
"I can completely separate my work from my home life. When I am at work, I am clearly at work. When I am at home, I am clearly at home. There is no conflict between the two roles...My husband and I never have arguments over my getting home late for dinner."

Note that this deliberate segregation of work and family could be a very good way to avoid frequent disagreements over priorities of work and family—a potential area of conflict in the two-career family.

Mrs. A whose work relies heavily on creative ideas had another interesting perspective. She noted:

"As far as I personally am concerned, I would probably diminish my value to my employer were I to move to the city where I work. I bring another point of view with me from the East, every Monday morning, as well as a different background from those people with whom I work."

Several commuting couples have both spouses working in the same professions, and on the job communications are frequent. Perhaps the flow of ideas between institutions facilitated by commuting couples is more valuable than recognized.

Frequent absence of one spouse from home could place undue burden on the other spouse which in turn could affect the career involvement and development of the other.

A close friend of Family D had expressed concern over possible adverse effects on Mr. D's career caused by the great family demands placed on him created by Mrs. D's regular absence from home. Mr. D acknowledged that he probably would have done more research had he not had to devote so much time to his family. But he added:

"When two people do something like this, they have to compromise. If I were to work to my full potential, she would have to sacrifice. When we both try to do a little bit, both have to compromise. It's clear that I'd probably work harder than I do if she was home all the time."
Had it been Mr. D who commuted instead of Mrs. D, people would probably not have the same negative attitude towards the family's commuting arrangement. It is a manifestation of the traditional sex-role ideology which says that the woman's place is in the home.

Summary

Commuting involves substantial financial costs, and to different extents, physical and emotional strains. Impacts on marital relationship differ among the families due to variations in age, family status, commuting pattern, personalities and other factors. While most people reported no apparent influence of commuting on their marital relationships, some experienced slight losses while some others noted positive gains.

Almost all commuters were tremendously satisfied with their career development made possible by their undertaking of commuting activities. Some even noted advantages in segregating work from family created by the arrangement.
CHAPTER IV

RECAPITULATION: SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has attempted to explore the various facets of the commuting lifestyle--of ten career couples. By being able to exploit career opportunities beyond the geographical boundaries imposed by the spouse's work location, commuters share the mobility enjoyed by unmarried colleagues and those who are the only ones working in their family.

At the end of the first chapter, several questions were raised:
a) Is the commuting lifestyle a feasible way to accommodate two careers in a family?; b) What are the costs and benefits involved?; and c) Does undertaking the commuting arrangement significantly benefit the career advancements of participants?

Information gathered in the interviews strongly support the position that the commuting lifestyle is indeed a feasible way of family living. The fact that at least four families with children have undertaken it for extended periods of time--over two years--during which all family functions were performed adequately, if not also satisfactorily; and that there was no apparent adverse influence on either the development of children or of the marital relationship suggest strongly that the answer to the feasibility question is affirmative.

However, this does not mean that the lifestyle is recommended for every two-career family. Responding to an interview question on whether the lifestyle should be recommended to others, almost everyone interviewed gave a very cautious, qualified affirmative response. The qualifications are concerned with self, spouse, marital relationship and facilitating factors. People who live apart from the spouse have to be basically
strongly motivated to work, independent, self-reliant, and capable of managing household without assistance. The importance of supportive attitude and behavior on the part of the spouse, both of which are important to make the arrangement viable for any length of time was stressed by a few people. Strong commitment to the marriage, basic trust in the spouse, openness and ability to communicate effectively, are viewed as essential for sustaining the marital relationship, given frequent separations. Facilitating factors that are crucial for the operation, and which are not the least important, include good health for all family members, financial capability, availability of good transportation and human service systems, abundance of physical energy, and efficient and effective organization of household and childcare.

To these qualifications, I would add that the families that have been successful with the commuting arrangement had the willingness to try, the determination to overcome the difficulties, the resourcefulness and flexibility to adjust to the circumstances and the unwavering commitment to both family and career.

The financial cost of the commuting arrangement is substantial—a factor which limits the solution to professionals with high family income. Although most of the families interviewed in this study have joint incomes of over $30,000, commuting and extra accommodation costs still constitute a significant portion of their family expenses. Some young couples feel that the high commuting costs take away their capability to acquire assets, which is a factor of less concern to older, financially more established and better salaried families.

The emotional cost is another issue. Commuters live separately from spouse and children, if there are any, when they are at work, and
have little time to be spent with the family during the few off-work
days. The regular and lengthy periods of separation from one's family
is probably the greatest deterrent for most two-career families who may
choose the commuting alternative. As many people indicated in the inter-
views, they are paying an emotional price for their careers—they commute
solely because each spouse is strongly committed to having a career and
if there were comparable career alternatives near home, they would not
have chosen commuting as a solution.

The drain on physical energy incurred by frequent travelling did not
seem to be a major issue. Only a few commuters found their travelling
tiring, but most indicated that the effect was minimal.

Undoubtedly, the primary benefit from undertaking the commuting arrange-
ment is the commuter's ability to pursue career opportunities beyond geo-
graphical limitation of the spouse's work location. This benefit is espe-
cially significant in cases in which the alternatives are clearly inferior
to the commuting solution from the career stand point. A good example
Mrs. F's situation in which the alternative was not working at all. Al-
though she is presently dissatisfied with the commuting arrangement under
which she sees her husband only infrequently, she indicated that she had
no regrets for having chosen the commuting alternative which had provided
her an excellent start in her career.

Another advantage which commuters noted concerns separation of work
and family. Being totally free from family demands, commuters enjoy great
flexibility in their schedules when they are not at home. A few commuters
expressed that they greatly appreciate their opportunities to devote long
hours to work with no competing family responsibilities.

Whether commuting has contributed significantly to the career advancement
of the individual depends on the situation. The contribution of commuting to Mrs. J and Mrs. K's teaching credentials was marginal. However, both Mrs. A and Mrs. B have made significant gains in their careers since they began commuting. For other commuters, the arrangement has enabled them to have valuable work experiences and considerably improved their career prospects.

**Suggestions for Future Research**

The findings in this study suggest many variations in work, family, social patterns, divisions of household labor, attitude towards commuting as a lifestyle, areas of stress and strains, and time horizons among the commuting families which are likely to stem from variations among themselves in terms of family background, occupations, age, family status, career stage, years married and commuting pattern. For example, family F who commute on a monthly basis are dissatisfied with the commuting arrangement's effect on their marital relationship, which was not indicated by couples who commute on weekly basis. One hypothesis would be that dissatisfaction with the arrangement increases with the duration of separation.

Younger couples in the group seemed to establish social relationships independent of their spouses, as opposed to older couples who prefer not to socialize independently. Another hypothesis would be that age influences social patterns of commuting families.

Families C and D which both have young children indicated that they do not intend to discontinue the arrangement on their own initiative, whereas Mrs. G who is currently enjoying tremendously her lifestyle indicated that she planned to discontinue the arrangement some time in the future in order to have a family. Still another hypothesis is that families
with children are likely to expect to continue commuting indefinitely, while families without children but desire to have some intend to terminate the commuting arrangement within a definite period of time.

Further research on commuting families could compare various aspects of the lifestyle and variations in motivation and attitudes among the families among groups who differ in the dimensions such as age, family status, career stage, commuting pattern and occupation.

This study only examined the career and family stage of the ten commuting families at a certain point in time, and therefore could not answer fully the question of whether commuting significantly benefits career advancements of the individuals who commute.

From one perspective, commuting could be a self-selection process in which only very highly motivated and extremely capable people engage in the activities for limited periods of time. Since through the mechanism of commuting they have overcome a major barrier to their competition in the labor market, they would fare far better to their competition in the labor market, they would fare far better than the average person with the same qualifications. Further research is needed to investigate this question of self-selectivity.

Another suggestion is in the method of search. This study relied on personal network which proved to be an effective way of identifying a small number of commuting couples needed for an exploratory study. For more extensive research, access to alumni list of universities and membership list of professional organizations would be very helpful. Couples could be identified through responses to preliminary questionnaires. Ginzberg (1966) and Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) employed this approach.

Concluding Remarks

The conflicts between career and family for any individual who has
to confront them are never easy to resolve. The ten families in this study have demonstrated in their great resourcefulness and adaptability to circumstances in resolving the conflict by adopting commuting patterns befitting their career and family requirements. I think they have provided excellent examples of how to manage both career and family successfully without compromising for either one. I would conclude with quotes from Mrs. F and Mrs. C:

"I feel strongly that it is wrong to ask a woman how you can take a job in such and such a place when your husband is not, and are you serious about your job...

I think women need to be taken seriously. Insofar as the fact that I took a job apart from my husband helps to make a point to a few people who are in a position to hire women, so much the better."

"I think it will be worthwhile for women, particularly women, although for men too, to have some idea of the varieties of lifestyles that you can live with when you are married. Many people think if you get married, you live in the suburbs, and that's it, and would never think about the alternatives...I think there are a lot of possibilities...and I think it may change all the time even within the marriage..."
FOOTNOTES

1 See Lynda L. Holmstrom, The Two-Career Family (Cambridge: General Learning Press, 1972), page 31 ff. in which she gave examples of professionally trained women relocating with their husbands prior to their finding jobs for themselves at those locations, thus taking the risks of being well trained and unemployed. The reverse in which a husband would take such a risk is probably uncommon.


4 The following is a sample of these journal articles:


8 Bowen and Finegan, op cit., page 143.

9 Labor force participation rate for all married women in 1960 was 35.8%. Bowen and Finegan, op cit., page 116.

10 Bowen and Finegan, op cit., page 96.


15 Fogarty, et al., op. cit., page 296.

16 Fogarty, et al., op. cit., page 226.


18 Both Mr. and Mrs. H had completed only liberal arts college education when they decided to commute. But their decision was made on an ideological basis.

19 Fogarty, et al., op. cit., page 179.

20 Sussman and Cogswell, ibid.


22 Gary S. Becker, "A Theory of Marriage: Part I," *Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 81, No. 4, July/August 1973, pages 813-846. This is an economic analysis of marriage. Though some of the assumptions such as return to scale can be questioned, it offers a good framework for analyzing time and resource allocation of a family between work in the labor market and in the household.


25 Mary C. Howell, "Effects of Maternal Employment on the Child" (I) and (II) in *Pediatrics*, Volume 52., Nos. 2 and 3, 1973

27. Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., page 229

28. For discussions of division of labor in domestic work in families with working wives, see studies in Section III in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., and Chapter V in Holmstrom, op. cit.

29. Rapoport and Rapoport, op. cit. page 293.


31. Marital adjustment is influenced by many factors. Research suggests marital happiness is positively related to high occupational statuses, incomes, and educational level for husband; similarities in socioeconomic status, age, and religion of the spouses and affectional rewards such as esteem for spouse and husband's approval of change over the family life cycle. See Mary W. Hicks and Marilyn Platt, "Marital Happiness and Stability: A Review of the Research in the Sixties", Journal of Marriage and the Family, November 1970, pages 553-574.

Bailyn's study suggests marital happiness tends to be greatest when the husband regards both work and family as the primary source of satisfaction. Lotte Bailyn, "Marital Satisfaction in Relation to Career and Family Orientations of Husbands and Wives," Human Relations, Volume 23, No. 2, 1970.

Ridley suggests that a married woman's work satisfaction and marital adjustment are significantly related when she views work role as highly salient; and not significantly related she does not view her work role as highly salient. Marital adjustment tends to be high when both spouses are highly satisfied with their jobs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX

CHECKLIST OF TOPICS IN INTERVIEWS

I. Background
   A. Personal
      - age
      - education
      - occupation; perceived position in career path
      - income
      - number of children/age
   B. Marriage
      - how long married
      - first marriage or not
   C. Commuting
      - have been commuting for how long
      - amount of travelling

II. Decision
   A. Circumstance
      - opportunity/alternative
      - family status
      - career stage
      - precedence known, if any
   B. Factors
      - factors considered
      - weights given to each factor
   C. Geographical Location
      - why chose present location
   D. Attitude/Time Horizon
      - who suggested commuting first?
      - own attitude/spouse's attitude
      - time horizon
      - if happier with present situation compared to situation if you had decided not to commute?
      - change in attitude since decision was made
      - change in time horizon

III. Activities Diary/Practicalities
   A. Housework
   B. Children
      - childcare
      - adjustment to commuting routine
   C. Social Circle
      - see friends separately
      - see friends together
      - predominantly two-career couples
   D. At Work Activities
   E. At Home Activities
   F. Communication
      - number of telephone calls per week (routine and non-routine)
G. Commuting
   -pattern
   -mode
   -who pays expense? (Couple or employer)
   -what to do during the trip
   -strenuous?
   -prefer this to daily commuting?
H. Reaction of Others
   -neighbors
   -friends
   -kin
   -parents of children's friends
   -colleagues

IV. Key Problems and Advantages Perceived

V. Circumstances Under Which Commuting Would Discontinue

VI. Recommend Commuting to Others

VII. Impact on Marital and Family Relationship

VIII. Four Adjectives to Describe Self