

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CAREER AND FAMILY LIFE:
AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY OF YOUNG MANAGEMENT PROFESSIONALS

by

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ABSTRACT

Various patterns of structuring career and family life are available to young professionals at the entry phase. The choice of a particular work/family structure inevitably involves serious implications for both the career path and the content of marriage and family life. In this study, four distinct structural patterns were identified: the Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Neo-Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Dual-Career Family pattern, and a Radical Alternative structural pattern - the elimination of marriage and family life altogether.

The central concern was an evaluative assessment of how accurate or realistic the expectations of men and women were at the entry phase of career and family life. A sample of twenty-one young, unmarried subjects with minimal work experience was interviewed in some depth. The content of the expectational data obtained from the interviews was compared with the realities evident in the social science literature. The expectational data from each group were evaluated with respect to the realities associated with that particular structural pattern, not with any of the others.

The results indicate that the majority pattern preferred was the Dual-Career family. However, respondents in this group were generally the least realistic in their expectations concerning the specifics of their chosen pattern. It is argued that this gap between expectations and realities is understandable in light of the difficult and problematic aspects of this lifestyle. Institutional solutions aimed at facilitating the Dual-Career family enterprise are recommended.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The interrelationship of work and family is rapidly becoming a fundamental area of concern not only for the academic community, but for management as well. Changes in the structure of work and occupations has had a tremendous impact on family life, and the ever-changing patterns of the family are yielding serious implications for the job world. One essential factor precipitating many of these changes is the increasing participation of women in the labor market. A particularly significant trend is the rapid rise in the percentage of married women in the labor force. Giele points to the shortening of the child-bearing period as well as the decrease in the average number of children per family as reasons for this noticeable change. Another important development noted is the decrease in the number of people who remain single.¹ In addition, the employment rate of mothers has been on the increase.² Hayge suggests that the growing consensus on the desirability of controlling the number and timing of births as well as the increasing number of highly educated women as reasons for the rise in the amount of married women, even those with young children, in the labor force.³

¹Janet Zollinger Giele, "Changes in the Modern Family: Their Impact on Sex Roles," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 41, No.5, October, 1971, p. 764.

²U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, Bulletin no. 1630.

³Howard Hayge, "Labor Force Activity of Married Women," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 96, April, 1973, p. 31.

These developments in the occupational world have contributed to tremendous change in the fabric of American family life. Previously, work and family life was generally arranged around a fairly well-established structural scheme which may be labeled as the Traditional family pattern. The husband was the agreed-upon head of the household and sole provider, and the wife assumed primary responsibility for the care and maintenance of home and family. At present, however, a multitude of structural patterns exist which present a wide range of role allocations, ranging from a continuation of the traditional pattern to radical schemes of role reversal and other models which completely oppose the traditional paradigm.

The choice of a particular structure for integrating work and family has far-reaching implications for both the career path and the content of marriage and family life. In the process of deciding upon a given structural pattern, a person makes predications of sorts, in which he/she assesses the many ramifications of the choice along various dimensions; i.e., he/she may mentally weigh the advantages and disadvantages of a particular pattern in terms of career mobility and advancement, marital happiness, childrearing, household management, etc. The content of these predictions takes the form of data concerning attitudes and expectations. A great deal of literature has been accumulated regarding the consequences of the selection of a given structural pattern in these many areas. In addition, social scientists have assembled a large amount of evidence which serves to identify various psychological and sociocultural factors highly correlated with particular lifestyles. However, little information is available which deals with the actual content of the expectations which

serve as determinants of a given choice.

This study is an attempt to deal directly with this expectational data. In order to obtain such attitudinal information, a sample of twenty-one subjects was interviewed in some depth. All were young, unmarried men and women with minimal work experience. The choice of this relatively inexperienced group was deliberate as a means of dealing with expectational data alone, as much as possible, with attitudes formed without extensive exposure to either career or family life.

The central concern throughout was an evaluative assessment of how accurate or realistic these expectations were. In order to make conclusions about the relative accuracy of the expectations, two types of data were compared. First, there were data concerning the attitudes and expectations themselves which was obtained by means of the interview format described above. Second, data concerning the realities associated with given structural patterns were gathered from the body of empirical literature which has dealt with these issues. In particular, the literature on dual-career families was utilized extensively. In essence, it was perceived that the content of the expectational data obtained from the respondents interviewed could be evaluated by comparing it with the 'realities' evident in the social science literature.

It is important to note that a comparison of this sort is not without its inherent difficulties. First of all, the data from the literature were gathered at a very different point in time. Most of the subjects studied concerning work and family are now considerably older than the sample interviewed here. For example, the Rapoport study, published in

1971, dealt with couples who were essentially middle aged at the time the research was conducted. Clearly, the generational difference between the two groups is likely to make the comparisons somewhat difficult. In addition, the sheer historical time period in which the two sets of data were obtained is of considerable importance. At the time when the families in the Rapoport or Holmstrom studies embarked on the dual-career family pattern, it was indeed a radical and deviant lifestyle. In addition, the literature on professional and role innovative women deals with persons who embarked on careers when the social norms clearly denounced such activity for women and when the Traditional family structure was well established and rarely questioned. In contrast, the data concerning expectations and attitudes of young management professionals collected now reflect an era in which there is far greater acceptance of women professionals and the dual-career family. Obviously, longitudinal data collected tracing this group throughout their careers would be preferable and would serve to make the comparison between expectations and realities far less strained. However, obtaining such data is beyond the scope or means of a study of this sort. Instead, comparisons will be made bearing these caveats in mind wherever applicable.

In studying expectational data it is also necessary to include other information. The attitudes of the respondents cannot be fully understood or appreciated without a contextual reference. Towards this end, subjects' beliefs and expectations were supplemented with other data about them as individuals. This included a wide range of subjects from their family background, parents, siblings, past experiences to anything which served

to help shape or influence their beliefs, attitudes or expectations. These determinant data were also supplemented with similar evidence from the empirical literature in order to strengthen or lend credence to any conclusions proposed in this regard.

The importance of studying expectational data concerning choices of career and family life and assessing the relative accuracy of these expectations is readily apparent. Although decisions made and attitudes held by young professionals embarking on career and family life are not irrevocable, they do have some serious and long-lasting implications. Moreover, attitudes and beliefs concerning issues of family structure and working life tend to be established over a long period of time and influenced by a great number of factors and do not tend to undergo radical transition many times during the adult life cycle. Therefore, expectations held at the entry phase of career and family life have serious implications for a considerable amount of what follows subsequently. Thus it is important to evaluate the information used and the presuppositions held in this early phase, hence the necessity of studying expectational data. It is crucial that young men and women make these career/family decisions armed with accurate and relevant information concerning the consequences of the choice of a particular lifestyle upon the various aspects of their career and family lives. An analysis of their expectations will ultimately yield conclusions regarding the relative accuracy of the information used in this decision-making process.

It was hypothesized initially that in general, the expectations of

subjects interviewed would prove essentially simplistic and unrealistic. It was predicted that respondents would minimize difficulties inherent in integrating career and family life and would exaggerate their capabilities in dealing with any problems which might arise. It was also posited that women would probably have more realistic expectations than men and that they would ~~also~~ be more fully aware of the inevitable difficulties which result as a consequence of particular career/family decisions.

The information will be presented in the following manner. First, a brief description of the methodology employed to obtain the expectational data will be offered. This will include information on sample selection, interview format, and the general characteristics of the respondents. Second, the four major structural variations of integrating career and family will be considered individually. These include: the Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Neo-Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Dual-Career Family pattern, and a Radical Alternative pattern. Third, a series of specialized topics will be discussed. These areas have been singled out separately as they represent serious and substantive issues for career and family life and thus merit additional consideration. These include: Motivation, Achievement and Ambition, Marital Happiness, Children, and Division of Labor within the Home. Fifth, some of the major problems and strains evident in integrating career and family life will be presented. These may be roughly categorized as: Overload Dilemmas, Role Cycling Dilemmas, Identity Issues, and Occupational Barriers. Finally, some general conclusions will be offered as well as some recommendations for change.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

Twenty-one persons were interviewed. All were second-year graduate students at the Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. All were unmarried (none had been previously married) and had had minimal work experience at the time the interviews were conducted. Few had held full time employment of any sort, most having matriculated in graduate school immediately from college. With one exception, all subjects were between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-four; one subject was twenty-six.⁴ Ten women and eleven men were interviewed. One male subject was black, and two Oriental women were included in the sample, one Chinese-American and the other a native of Hong Kong.

Subjects were chosen at random from that portion of the graduating class which met the requirements of age, marital status, and minimal work experience specified above. Sloan School students were chosen purely for reasons of convenience as the author was a student there and had easy access to these people.

The selection of a young, unmarried and relatively inexperienced sample group was a deliberate one. Most studies relating to career and family life have been conducted with subjects who were married, older and

⁴There was some confusion as to the age of the twenty-six year old subject which was not resolved until the actual interview began. His comments were included nonetheless as his deviance from the rest of the sample in terms of age and work experience did not seem of great significance, i.e., his work experience was minimal and he was unmarried as well.

quite experienced. An attempt was made to assess expectations rather than to investigate empirical realities, hence the choice of a group which was relatively inexperienced along all of the relevant dimensions.

Graduate management students were chosen in order to further unify the sample group, thereby reducing intragroup variables and thus better facilitating subject comparisons. In addition, subjects anticipating business careers were chosen as a result of the author's personal interest in this particular career path. Second-year graduate students were felt to be an especially valuable sample because of the immediacy of the career/family issues in their daily lives. At the time when interviews were conducted, during the months of March and April, these students were actively seeking jobs, applying and interviewing throughout the country. These months are particularly difficult ones for this group as they are in the midst of making crucial career and life decisions. The author exploited the opportunity to interview these subjects while these concerns were foremost in their minds.

All subjects contacted agreed to be interviewed; none refused.⁵ Many in fact, were eager to be questioned. Several stated that they were quite interested in the subject matter and anxious to talk and share their thoughts with someone who had some knowledge in the field. One male respondent said, " I really want to come over and talk to you. I haven't been able to work a lot of these things out in my mind. Maybe if you'll

⁵Only one person initially contacted declined to be interviewed, and this was solely due to reasons of illness.

ask me some specific questions it'll force me to think about it better."

All interviews were conducted in the author's home. Interview sessions lasted between thirty minutes and one hour; however many people voluntarily stayed longer without being requested to do so. All discussions were taped, and brief notes were also written during the course of the conversations. The basic style was a free-form relaxed interview format. Questions were basically open-ended, and subjects were encouraged to speak about those things which they felt most important for the length of time they deemed appropriate. A minimum checklist of topics to be covered was used to assure that all relevant areas were covered during the course of the interviews.⁶

An interview format with a relatively limited sample was selected in preference to a survey or questionnaire with a larger quantity of respondents because of the nature of the information which was to be obtained. No attempt was made to acquire statistically significant data. Rather, a more in-depth view of the attitudes and expectations was deemed more appropriate. The very complexity of the issues concerning the integration of career and family life seemed to require an investigative approach which was fairly fluid and lengthy in terms of time allotted per respondent.

⁶See Appendix for checklist of topics covered.

CHAPTER III

CAREER/FAMILY PATTERNS: STRUCTURAL VARIATIONS

Various patterns of structuring career and family life are available to young professional men and women. The choice of a particular work-family structure inevitably implies serious ramifications. Consequently, respondents spoke at great length concerning the trade-offs involved in a particular lifestyle and showed strong preferences for one relative to other variations.

Initially, two clearly discernible patterns were identified. The first was a Traditional Career/Family pattern in which the husband assumes the role of breadwinner and the care of household and children remain the sole responsibility of the wife. Eighteen percent of the males interviewed (and obviously none of the females) expressed a preference for this basic structural type. At the other extreme was the Dual-Career Family pattern in which both spouses pursue careers and at the same time establish a family life together. Forty-five percent of the men and ninety percent of the women expressed a desire to structure their career and family lives in this manner.

However, a significant portion of the male sample could not be classified as adhering to either of these structural patterns. They were somewhat in between these two ends of the continuum, advocating a lifestyle which was fairly ambiguous and less clearly defined. For the sake of

nomenclature, this pattern was termed the Neo-Traditional Career/Family pattern. Thirty-six percent of the men were classified as belonging to this group. Despite the appeal of stating that these subjects expressed a unified set of expectations and attitudes, the considerable variation and structural ambiguity in their responses must be emphasized. Some were indifferent on the subject of their wife working. Others advocated that their spouses work, but interrupt their careers at periods when the demands of home and family were highest, and always when there were young children at home. The single unifying feature of this group was the fact that all insisted or implied that their wives, if they did work, must have careers which are subordinated to their husbands' in terms of time, commitment and salary.

A final structural variation was proposed by the remaining female subject which was labeled, for lack of a better term, as a Radical Alternative Structural pattern. In essence, this structure represented the elimination of marriage and family altogether, with total emphasis on career. The chart on page sixteen will serve to clarify the distribution of the sample among the four patterns.

The following will be an attempt to discuss these four structural patterns in some depth. The attitudes and expectations of the respondents in each category will be analyzed and discussed along many relevant dimensions. In addition, some general conclusions will be offered where appropriate in order to illustrate significant differences between the groups. Throughout, data from the interviews will be juxtaposed

with evidence from the empirical literature in order to gain insights concerning the central question of expectations versus realities.

CAREER/FAMILY PATTERNS: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE

Total Number of Respondents = 21
 Number of Males = 11
 Number of Females = 10

	Total Number	Percentage of Total Respondents	Number of Males	Percentage of Male Respondents	Number of Females	Percentage of Female Respondents
TRADITIONAL Career/Family Pattern	2	9.5	2	18.2	0	0
NEO-TRADITIONAL Career/Family Pattern	4	19	4	36.4	0	0
DUAL-CAREER Family pattern	14	66.7	5	45.4	9	90
RADICAL ALTERNATIVE Structural Pattern	1	4.8	0	0	1	10

A. THE TRADITIONAL CAREER/FAMILY PATTERN

Two of the males interviewed (18%) and obviously none of the females, expressed a desire to embark on career and family life in the Traditional pattern. They wanted to marry housewives and be the only real breadwinner in the family. They felt that community activities and charitable endeavors were appropriate, but viewed full-time employment for their wives as objectionable. One respondent described his feelings as follows:

"I guess in my gut I would like to have a wife whose primary occupation was a housewife, and who pursued all different kinds of interests during the day whether it was working with foundations or arts or music or cultural types of things. I would like to see myself as the primary, as the breadwinner in the family...I don't see marriage to a professional wife in the cards at all."

Both of these males had mothers who were full-time housewives, and both felt that their family background role models had a great deal to do with their own traditional outlooks with regard to marriage and family life, corroborating much of the evidence from the empirical literature concerning the effects of parental role models on attitudes. One subject expressed his views on the subject in the following manner:

"I would expect that I would represent not necessarily the norm...but more the traditional extreme...The role models of my parents and all of their friends were very much identical and very very old fashioned. All the women were housewives, and all of the men were the providers of the families...I came to Boston with those values and have had them shaken up quite a bit. I still do believe that what I would be most happy with is those same role models, where the man of the family, in the traditional sense, the ultimate decision-maker or has the ultimate responsibility."

The Traditional males both felt that the responsibility for child-rearing was an important factor precluding a spouse's employment. Both felt that professional women were deserving of respect and even likeable to some extent, but neither wished to marry one. They both expressed a desire to marry intelligent, educated women, nonetheless. These attitudes reflect, to a great extent, much of what is found in the literature concerning vicarious achievement. Papanek points to a typical American middle class pattern in which women fulfill their achievement needs either completely or predominantly through the accomplishments of their husbands. The most noticeable examples of this "two-person career" pattern are the corporate executives' wives as described by Whyte (1952, 1956) and the wives of government officials and diplomats. Papanek argues that this arrangement, in which the wife obtains "vicarious achievement" through their husbands' careers, "plays a particularly significant role...where an explicit ideology of educational equality between the sexes conflicts with an implicit (and now often illegal) inequality of occupational access."⁷ Papanek also notes that the fact that "...the women's activities are labeled as being outside the men's work orbit, while being within their ranking system, reinforces the ambivalence which characterizes most aspects of the two-person career."⁸

⁷Hanna Papanek, "Men, Women, and Work: Reflections on the Two-Person Career," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 4, 1973, p. 859.

⁸Ibid., p. 859.

Komarovsky's research at Columbia University reveals a similar pattern. Males interviewed in that study advocated equal educational opportunity and the like for women but retained a fairly traditional viewpoint regarding their own marital partners.⁹

In general, the Traditional males interviewed expressed attitudes in which expectations and realities were fairly congruent. Given their general attitudes concerning career, family and the interrelationship between the two, it is reasonable to conclude that they have chosen a structural pattern which matches these beliefs most optimally. In addition, their expectations concerning the particulars associated with their chosen structural arrangement seem to closely reflect much of what has been written in the empirical literature about the Traditional family pattern.

This structural alternative is clearly a socially acceptable one and serves to manage all the aspects of career and family life by simply dividing them according to traditional sex-role stereotypes. The man assumes major responsibility for career, and the wife for the home and family. This pattern has been quite operational for some time and most probably will continue to serve as an effective means of managing career and family life for those who view its benefits as outweighing its costs.

It is interesting to note that neither of the Traditional men expressed any reservations or doubt about the viability of their chosen pattern.

⁹Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: The Masculine Case," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 4, 1973, pp. 873-884.

They seemed unperturbed by the fact that their opinions may have been in the minority and exhibited few hesitations. They seemed relatively unconcerned about the fact that women were entering the labor force in overwhelming numbers, both in the blue collar and professional ranks, and did not seem at all aware of or worried about the growing dissatisfaction apparent in housewives across the nation. In general, they felt that the advantages of having a successful husband like themselves and a stable, traditional family life would more than compensate for the loss of any benefits that a career might have provided for their spouses. If their expectations are to be judged as at all unrealistic, it would undoubtedly be in this context; i.e., their unwaivering and unequivocal adherence to the Traditional pattern may not be an accurate reflection of the sentiments of the women who may in fact, serve as their partners in this career/family pattern

B. THE NEO-TRADITIONAL CAREER/FAMILY PATTERN

Four of the eleven male respondents (36%) and none of the female respondents expressed a desire to pursue their career and family lives in what may be classified as a Neo-Traditional pattern. Despite the organizational appeal of grouping these subjects in a single category, it must be emphasized that considerable variation and structural ambiguity was apparent in the lifestyles advocated by the various persons interviewed. The single unifying structural feature of this pattern was the fact that all advocated a career/family integration scheme in which the wife's career was clearly secondary to that of the husband. However, there were a range of possible formats in which this could occur. Some were indifferent concerning the subject of their wives working stating that it did not matter to them whether they worked or not. Others advocated that their spouses work but interrupt their careers at periods when the demands of home and family were highest, and always when there were young children at home.

Frequently, these subjects spontaneously pointed out the difficulties and problems encountered in childrearing with a working wife. Many advocated some sort of interrupted work pattern in which the woman relinquishes her job or career when her children are small but intends to re-enter the labor market at a later point in time after she is not longer needed full time at home. The literature reveals that "The 'interrupted' worker is nowadays perhaps the most generally approved model -- particularly for women with special skills or talents. It allows them to fulfill societal

expectations about what a 'good wife and mother' does when her infants are small...and, at the same time, holds out the expectation that they will not 'waste' their skills and talents but will use them effectively at a later date when their children do not need them so much."¹⁰

None of the males interviewed in this group were at all concerned with the sacrifices which must be made on the part of women who interrupt their careers in terms of advancement and responsibility. The literature on the subject unequivocally demonstrates that however acceptable the interrupted career pattern may be, it is almost entirely incompatible with top-level performance and achievement in the professional world.¹¹ It is tremendously difficult for women to rise to positions of senior responsibility after having been absent from work for a substantial period of time. "...however unprejudiced the work environment may be...there are few with sufficient resilience to overcome not only the strains of re-entry into the competitive world of work, but the extra effort required to make up for lost time, missed information, and the development of expertise."^{11A}

It is apparent that a small number of professional wives have alleviated these difficulties somewhat through the dual-career family enterprise which forms a partnership of husband and wife. Epstein has analyzed this

¹⁰ Rhona and Robert Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, Middlesex; England: Penguin Books, 1971, p. 21.

¹¹ B. N. Snear, Re-Entry of Women to the Labour Market After an Interruption in Employment, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1971, pp. 17-34, 113-135.

^{11A} Rapoport and Rapoport, op. cit., p. 22.

pattern in some depth in the case of the husband-wife law partnership. In the couples studied it was found that "...the law partnership serves two recruitment functions for the woman, at the point of entry into the profession and later at the point of re-entry, if she should retire for a while."¹² This innovative solution is obviously unavailable to most men and women in managerial careers, and hence it is not surprising that most respondents did not envision anything comparable. Furthermore, it seems as if this work/career scheme also demands considerable sacrifice on the part of the wife. Indeed, however appealing this arrangement may appear to be as a solution to the problems encountered by the interrupted professional career, it is not without its costs for the woman in terms of achievement, advancement, and prestige. It seems that the wives in family partnerships are always found doing the dull or supportive background work for the firm and rarely handle the critical and important cases. "Typically, they do the less visible and less prestigious work of law: research and library work and specialties such as trusts and estates (probate work), matrimonial and custody cases and real estate law."¹³

In general, the attitudes of Neo-Traditional males toward the labor participation of women were somewhat ambivalent. They expressed no strong

¹²Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "Law Partners and Marital Partners: Strains and Solutions in the Dual-Career Family Enterprise," Human Relations, Vol. 24, No. 6, 1971, p. 555.

¹³Ibid., p. 553.

objections to a working spouse, yet in general, did not see themselves married to professional women. They tended to view marriage and family life as male dominated to a certain extent; however, they did not insist on the total control that was emphasized by the Traditional males interviewed. One Neo-Traditional man expressed these attitudes quite clearly;

"Being the chauvinist that I am, I'll probably be the final decision maker in my household. I'll probably end up running things. I probably don't want to be, but I'll probably end up being it, given the woman I'll probably marry. I've always been attracted to women who are very bright but who need a bit of guidance or for my advice...I don't know if I could handle a high-powered professional wife, maybe a secretary or something."

When asked if he could envision being married to a woman whose career objective was similar to his own he replied:

"You see, now you're trespassing on my male ego."

The ambivalence evident in the attitudes of the Neo-Traditionals is further apparent in their strong opposition to a wife whose salary was greater than their own. As one male stated:

"I've thought about that, and I guess I decided that my virility would be threatened if she made more money than I did."

Komarovsky's data reveal an attitude of ambivalence toward career women similar to that which was observed here. In her study, college males advocated contradictory norms of male intellectual superiority and intellectual companionship between the sexes. They manifested ambivalent attitudes toward both the full-time homemaker and the career wife; their imagery of both types contained both attractive and repellent traits.

Komarovsky points out that despite these ambivalent attitudes, men exhibit little signs of stressful repercussions. Their belief in the feasibility of the interrupted worker pattern seems to have solved the problem, at least in their own minds. "By and large, the respondents assumed that the women's 'career and marriage' issue was solved by the sequential pattern of withdrawal and return to work. If this doomed women to second-class citizenship in the occupational world, the outcome was consistent with the conviction that the husband should be the superior achiever."¹⁴ However, a convincing argument may be made that such ambivalence on the part of males may serve to cause or exacerbate role conflicts in females as it places the women in a double-bind situation of sorts. If they remain single and opt solely for careers, they are accused of having failed as women. If they choose marriage and motherhood and do not educate themselves for careers, they are not considered to be desirable and intelligent mates.

A look at the family backgrounds of the Neo-Traditional males interviewed reveals patterns similar to the attitudes they espoused. All except one had mothers who entered and re-entered the labor market and/or school at various stages in their family life cycles. All took considerable time off from work for childrearing, and all had jobs which supplied only supplemental money, if any, to the total family income. One male spoke at great length about the influence of his upbringing on his attitudes con-

¹⁴Komarovsky, op. cit., pp. 873 & 880.

concerning his spouse working:

"The type of upbringing I had where my mother didn't work, and when she worked it was just a job basically to keep busy or to provide a little extra income, but no real career. I suppose ingrained there's the fact that the male is the supporter of the family...It would bother me if she [my wife] had the \$50,000/year job and I had a \$10,000/year job doing menial work, whereas, and this sounds very inequitable, but given my upbringing, it might not bother me if I had the \$50,000/year job and she had the \$10,000/year job."

Neo-Traditional men frequently pointed to social trends concerning female employment and equal opportunity as having influenced their attitudes about their wives working. In general, they felt that given the fact that women seem to be working in greater numbers, it seems probable that their wives might also work. One male who came from a very traditional home felt that he now is open to the idea of a working wife for these reasons. He commented:

"I would expect that my wife would want to work. This has changed over the last five to ten years. Beforehand, being a housewife was a very honorable profession and something that the women were able to do evidently without getting bored. At the present, most of the girls I talk to just go nuts if they had to sit around the house. They want something that takes up their activity, and generally, that kind of activity is work. So I think the whole attitude and placement of women in work has changed, and on that basis I would say that I would definitely prefer a working woman, just because that's the norm now."

However, despite his support of working women, when questioned whether he would prefer marriage to a professional woman or a working woman in a lower level job, he expressed strong preference for the latter, citing the hypo-

thetical example of a clerk in a department store as the sort of job function desirable for his future spouse.

Neo-Traditional men also expressed somewhat mixed feelings in their assessment of the personalities of professional women and businesswomen in particular. While they viewed these women as admirable, they tended to find them lacking in certain womanly attributes. As one respondent pointed out:

"The problem with business at this point is that it develops certain qualities very well, and other qualities it tends to leave alone. Qualities of the head it brings along very well...It doesn't develop other qualities...like generosity, compassion, understanding of others, etc. And the problem of marrying a businesswoman would be that those kind of qualities would not be brought to the marriage...And I would want those qualities brought in."

This attitude reveals a common misconception about career women, that they are unfeminine, hard, non-maternal, etc. Tangri investigated certain personality traits associated with occupational role innovation among women and argued that many of the character assessments made by the public at large regarding innovative women are far from accurate. In her study, women were classified as Role Innovators if they expressed a desire to enter occupations with less than thirty percent women in them, i.e., where women are underrepresented relative to their proportion in the experienced, college educated civilian labor force. It was found that role innovate women did not reject the core female roles of wife and mother; nor did they think of themselves as masculine women.¹⁵

¹⁵Sandra S. Tangri, "Determinants of Occupational Role Innovation Among College Women," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, pp. 264, 271.

In general, the Neo-Traditional males interviewed expressed attitudes in which expectations and realities were fairly congruent, although not to the extent of the Traditional males discussed previously. Given their general feelings concerning issues of career, family, and the interrelationship between the two, it may be argued that these men have selected a structural pattern in which these expectations will best match the inevitable realities which will occur.

As was the case with the Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Neo-Traditional lifestyle in which the woman works voluntarily and intermittently is socially approved, perhaps even more so today than the Traditional model. However, this support does not compensate for the costs the woman in the Neo-Traditional family must bear in terms of career advancement, prestige, and satisfaction. The fact that none of the women interviewed mentioned this lifestyle as an operable one for them is no accident. An interrupted career path is clearly incompatible with high level advancement in the professional world, and the fact that none of the Neo-Traditionals deemed this important is noticeable indeed. However, as Komarovsky points out, this fact, even when noted by males, may produce little anxiety or stress as it confirms their belief in a male dominated household.

Nevertheless, the overall ambivalence evident throughout the interviews with the Neo-Traditional males suggests that they are unsure and unsettled about a great many things. Viewed objectively, their beliefs are extremely contradictory as was the case in Komarovsky's sample as well. Their generally ambivalent beliefs and expectations do not necessarily

work themselves out with time. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that these men will embark on career and family life armed with thoroughly ambivalent and contradictory expectations and yet bear little burden for their conflicting beliefs. Most probably they will choose the marital partners they described, whose achievement needs and ambitions will be suppressed or whose working lives will be subjected to a continual entry and re-entry into the labor force.

C. THE DUAL-CAREER FAMILY PATTERN

Five out of the eleven men interviewed (45%) and nine out of the ten women (90%) expressed a desire to structure their career and family lives in what may be classified as the Dual-Career Family pattern. Rapoport and Rapoport define the Dual-Career Family as one in which both heads of a household pursue careers and at the same time establish a family life together.¹⁶ They distinguish this type of pattern from the more general "dual-worker family" using the term career to specifically designate "...those types of jobs which require a high degree of commitment and which have a continuous developmental character."¹⁷

1. DUAL-CAREER MALES

All of the Dual-Career males interviewed expressed a strong desire to marry career women; in fact, most stated that they would never consider marriage to a woman who was not strongly motivated in terms of her own career. A few of their remarks will serve to illustrate the intensity of their feelings on this issue:

"I can't imagine having a spouse who didn't work...
A permanent housewife - no way! Why? Cause she'd be
so dull!"

¹⁶ Rhona and Robert Rapoport, "The Dual-Career Family: A Variant Pattern and Social Change," Human Relations, Vol. 22, No.,1, 1969, p. 3.

¹⁶ Rapoport and Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, p. 18.

"It's important for me to have a wife who works... The kind of girls I've dated...they all seem career-oriented. I've never really met a woman, that I've liked or any woman that I know that just didn't seem to want to have a career."

"My expectation is that my wife would have a career. The sort of woman I'd be attracted to would be one who had a fairly independent life, who would establish her own life...I would suspect that it would be a woman who had her own career."

In general, Dual-Career males were fairly open-minded and flexible regarding the institutions of marriage and family as well as concerning their own careers. When questioned as to who should be the head of a household or final decision-maker, these subjects responded with fairly well thought out ideas and solutions. In general, their appreciation of the difficulties involved integrating career and family life was much richer than that of the other males interviewed. Their statements below illustrate their viewpoints on the subject.

"Oh my God! I think it's disgusting for one person making decisions...I think household responsibilities should be roughly equivalent, based also upon what the other activities of the two people are. For example, if someone's got a sixty-hour a week job and the other person's got only twenty, you naturally expect the person with twenty to be doing more of the home stuff."

When asked what the situation would be if he were the one with the twenty hour per week job and his wife the sixty he replied:

"I'd do more of the home stuff."

Another spoke as follows on the same subject:

"It doesn't seem to me that you'd have one specified head of the household in terms of final decision-maker. I've never been quite convinced that the theories of partnerships where when it comes right down to it one

person's got to make the decisions. Maybe in some fields someone would do it more than the others, and that's something I'd expect you'd just sort of work out in practice. And maybe it would just vacillate from time to time."

When asked how they would feel if their wife's income was greater than their own, many were not the least bit bothered. In contrast to the Neo-Traditional males discussed previously, most of the Dual-Career respondents viewed this as a rather moot point. They responded as follows:

"Fine."

"It wouldn't bother me. We'd probably have a very high joint income so I'd be happy."

"I don't think I would care, as long as I felt that we were still worthy of one another's respect."

However, a couple did have some hesitations:

"(chuckles) I don't know. Maybe it would actually bother me when it came right down to it because I haven't worked out all of the elements of sexism that went into my background. But I would hope it wouldn't bother me."

"I view it as a mixed blessing. Certainly, I'd be happy for her that she was doing so well, But you can't help feeling a little out of place."

The Dual-Career males interviewed came from diverse family backgrounds. The Rapoport note that "...dual-career family husbands tended to come from families in which, if there were other children, the others were girls."¹⁷ In this sample, however, the males did not conform to the Rapoport characteristics. Although all Dual-Career males had at least one sister, many had

¹⁷Ibid., p. 26.

brothers as well. No overall trend could be ascertained regarding relationships with parents. They were not found to have closer relationships with their mothers, as was the case in the Rapoport study. Most felt that they were close to both or neither of their parents.

In general, Dual-Career males did not look to their own family backgrounds for role models in determining their intended lifestyles and views regarding career and family life. Two had mothers who were full-time housewives; three had mothers who pursued interrupted career paths. As one stated his viewpoints:

"I definitely feel that a woman, if she did have a professional career, that she'd be perfectly able, has a right to certainly follow that. And if we had children, I could certainly understand a day care center or having someone come in to take care of the children...In my house, my mother stopped working for I guess, fifteen years. That was more or less expected. I don't think my father ever went to the supermarket or things like that. I sort of reject all of that. I just have very different feelings. I could see joint housecleaning and joint cooking. I certainly wouldn't expect a woman to give up her career."

One respondent who came from a very large family and whose mother was a full time homemaker clearly rejected that way of life for himself.

"It's a different situation...When my mother was finishing school there weren't the availability of positions. Another thing is that my mother had six kids. Who the hell is going to work with six kids? ...I can't see myself married to someone who's really a housewife with six kids -- very unlikely."

In general, Dual-Career males tended to be quite flexible in their opinions as well as with regard to planning their future career and family lives. None had any marriage plans in the foreseeable future, and most

said that it was either possible or probable that they would be married after five years or ten years. None responded with the definite and positive answers common among Traditional and Neo-Traditional males. They tended to view marriage for themselves as a fairly unstructured arena which if chosen, would conform to their needs rather than adapting to conventional family patterns. They often proceeded to analyze social institutions in some depth, striving for their own personal definitions and styles of integrating career and family life.

"At this point I'm not convinced that marriage is all that necessary, but I kind of think that that will happen. I'm not quite convinced of the need for it, except for the social implications, and social conformity. Now on the other hand, the only things that really restrain me from it are things which might fall out in the next five years...I certainly know a lot of people who feel the way I do...maybe it's somewhat of a cultural phenomenon. It's a generation of people who came out with fairly liberal ideas on things and a lot of questioning of institutions in general, and marriage was one of those that really got questioned. I think it's definitely a cyclical thing. People have been getting married for a long time, and I'm sure they'll continue."

Dual-Career males tended to demonstrate a fuller understanding of the complexities involved in integrating and managing their career and family lives than did the other males interviewed. They often spontaneously spoke of hypothetical solutions to problems they thought might arise. All expressed the desire to have children but also appreciated the complexity and further logistical difficulties that this would involve. However, all felt confident that they would be able to work things out in a manner which would

allow both themselves and their wives to pursue active and interesting careers.

"I think there are some logistical difficulties, sure. When the kids are small it's hard to have two people working like dogs and take care of the kids. I think it's manageable, not easy, but manageable, baby-sitter, day-care, or whatever. I think having some money gives you greater choices. What goes with having money though often, if that you don't have time, and that gives you less choices. In terms of childcare, I'd change diapers and all that. I'd even quit my job for a while if I wanted to."

Dual-Career men often pointed to deficiencies in the social system which make it difficult for the two-career family. They strongly advocated reforms which would result in institutional support for dual-career professional families. They viewed communal childcare facilities, not as necessary evils, but rather as positive structural alternatives to child-rearing in the traditional nuclear family setting. Commenting on problems he might anticipate in managing a dual-career family, one articulate male noted:

"There would be problems in the conventional sense in that that mix of lifestyles hasn't been exhibited too much by our society. I tend to believe that it could be worked out. There definitely are conflicts in terms of taking care of children, I'd say for the most part, with two people at work. That sort of living style doesn't really fit into our society very well at this point. There are societies where children are taken care of communally, and think very well. But our society really isn't set up for that, although I think there are people that do it. And I'm really fairly convinced that it can be done. It's mostly just a matter of commitment on the part of both people and acceptance of that situation."

In general, Dual-Career males seemed to be just as ambitious and achievement oriented as their Traditional and Neo-Traditional counterparts, as reflected in their answers concerning career objectives and goals. However, in discussing their career plans, they tended to place greater emphasis on the quality of their working lives in addition to mere success along conventional parameters. When asked to prioritize the variables most important to them in their present choice of a job, all stressed qualitative elements as important factors in any job they would consider. One finance major stated:

"My criteria in looking for positions has been:
(1) Where the people I work with really seem bright and really are doing a good service; (2) What the quality of supervision will be ... (3) Whether the firm makes some intention of developing its employees ... (4) How well they treat their employees, including considerateness, planning, ... I want a place that's really got an interest in their people besides telling you that 'people are our greatest asset'. And also the integrity of the place has to be good."

Another, who planned to do budgeting and financial analysis in the public sector noted:

"One of the real important things is working in a nice atmosphere, and in some ways, I think that's more important than what I'd be doing. The people should be nice. And there should be a lot of interaction between people on the job, that it's not the kind of job where they close you in a room and make you work."

In general, there was a considerable gap between the expectations expressed by the Dual-Career males interviewed and the realities evident in the empirical literature. Although their attitudes concerning the inter-relationship between career and family life were far more progressive and

creative than either the Traditionals or Neo-Traditionals, the content of their expectations was less congruent with the available data than was the case in the other two groups.

The mere fact that these men were relatively more aware of the complexities actually involved in career and family life is not in itself significant. Given the existing realities of the occupational and social worlds, the Dual-Career family enterprise is a rather more difficult and problematic lifestyle to undertake as compared with Traditional and Neo-Traditional career/family structural types. Hence, a comparison between the groups along this dimension is meaningless. Rather, each group's expectational data must be assessed in accordance with the realities associated with that particular structural pattern, not with any of the others. When evaluating the expectations of Dual-Career males from this perspective, they seem far less realistic. Other than the overload or time shortage mentioned, few anticipated any serious problems in their dual-career families. All were overwhelmingly confident that things could be easily worked out if both parties cared about one another and held similar beliefs about the important issues. In general, their ideas and expectations lacked operational content. When asked how they would manage specific things, most replied that these details could generally be worked out without too much difficulty, and failed to even suggest a possible strategy or two.

To a great extent, many of the comments of the Dual-Career men lacked a quality of immediacy or concreteness evident in their more traditional

male counterparts. Their answers were generally far more vague and nebulous. Where other men interviewed answered as if they were presently considering these questions or had dealt with them to some extent in the past, the Dual-Career males tended to answer in terms of the distant future, and their replies reflected a general quality of remoteness.

2. DUAL-CAREER FEMALES

As one would expect, most of the women interviewed (90%) cited the Dual-Career family pattern as their intended structural paradigm for the integration of career and family life. In general, these women had greater overall interest in and appreciation of the complexities and issues involved in the two-career family enterprise than did their Dual-Career male counterparts. Most of the women interviewed had spend considerable time thinking about the issues involved. They rarely responded with the "I never really thought about that" type of comments heard in interviews with males. In addition, they more frequently brought up many of the issues spontaneously and often anticipated the interviewer's questions -- further evidence of their familiarity with the subject matter. They tended to spend a greater amount of time speaking about family issues than career topics, a trend opposite from that of the male sample. It is interesting to note that in contrast to the Dual-Career males, the females were far more definite and assertive in most of their attitudes regarding career and family life,

the males being far less rigid in their conceptions and more willing to consider alternatives. The following discussion of specific issues will serve to illustrate these points as well as further characterize the Dual-Career women interviewed. Finally, an evaluative assessment of their expectations will be offered in light of the realities evident in the empirical literature.

In their in-depth analysis of dual-career couples, the Rapoport's have uncovered some patterns particularly in the wives, which may account for some of the deeper psychological motives behind their strong desire to pursue a career and simultaneously maintain a family life. Comparing dual-career wives with conventional family wives they found the following:

(1) Proportionally more dual-career wives come from higher social class backgrounds than do their conventional counterparts, as indicated by fathers' occupations.

(2) Many more of the dual-career family wives had mother who worked than did the conventional wives, and those dual-career wives whose mothers did not work showed a greater tendency to have been frustrated with their housewife roles than was true for the conventional wives.

(3) Dual-career family wives tended to come from smaller families than conventional wives. They tend more to be only children, or first children, and even when they are part of a larger set of siblings, they tended to be separated in some way, e.g., by a large gap.

(4) Dual-career wives tended to experience longer separations from

their parents during childhood than did their conventional counterparts - sometimes through evacuation in the war, sometimes through attending boarding schools.

(5) Somewhat greater overall tension was reported in the early family backgrounds of dual-career wives as compared with conventional wives. The general impression in these families is that there is less reason to idealize family relationships or to place full confidence in the conventional type of family relationships as sufficient for one's personal needs and aspirations.¹⁸

As there were no conventional women in the sample considered here, it is somewhat difficult to assess the relevance of some of these characteristics in terms of the professional women in this study. The occupations of the mothers of Dual-Career women interviewed varied considerably. None had mothers who were merely housewives. Four had mothers who pursued minor part-time careers on and off as supplemental to their homemaking activities. Five had mothers who held serious careers in which they held full-time employment during times except when young children were at home, i.e., the interrupted career pattern mentioned earlier. One had a mother who pursued an uninterrupted full-time career. This corroborates, to a great extent, the Rapoport's second characteristic of dual-career women mentioned above. In addition, many of the women whose mothers did only part-time,

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 24-5.

supplemental work stated that their mothers often felt tremendously frustrated with the lack of significant achievement in their lives. One outspoken respondent spoke at great length regarding her mother's dissatisfaction with her primary role as housewife and the effect that this frustration had on her own career development:

"The whole reason for all this motivation we [my sister and I] have is my mother is this very unhappy housewife. And she always blamed her situation on the fact that she wasn't educated enough, didn't have a good job. She always said that if she had had a good job, she'd have left my father years ago and all this. But she was a slave to the house because she didn't have a good education; she never finished college and all this. And her sort of goal in life was to send her two daughters to ivy-league schools, to seven sister colleges, so we could have these great careers. And her reason was so if we ever wanted to leave our husbands, we could. I mean, she's got her own problems, that way. But we were always very pushed, and it was always, 'Don't wash the dishes - go study. I'll wash the dishes,' you know, 'Go read!'. And it was always this sort of push, push, push all the time, And it wasn't you'd get rewarded if you got A's; it was expected. And it was always expected that we'd go to a women's college; we both did. It was always, 'Go out and get a good career. Make a lot of money, so you can have your own independence,' and it was a constant thing. When we were eight years old, my mother would come in and say, 'Oh my God, your father! If I had finished college I would leave right now!' That kind of thing. You know, it was always living proof that you should go out and get this good job. And I'm sure that's why we did it...We always thought it was a good idea, and because it was expected of us."

Another expressed a similar situation, supporting Caplow's finding that the housewife at fifty comprises the most conspicuously maladjusted segment of the population.¹⁹

¹⁹Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.

"My mother is reasonably bright, and she did virtually nothing with her life. Especially when I was in high school, she nearly went crazy. She just hated it around the house. She's too bright to do nothing. She saw me leaving in a few years and it just got to be terrible. She was very negative. She had a terrible time. She wound up doing an awful lot of volunteer activity which to me was equivalent to work, and that really saved her. But she just got to be so sour around the house...If she'd been working...it wouldn't have been the same. My mother's stagnating. She's too bright to sit around the house, and she had help in the house. She was doing nothing! She would just sit there all day. She was bored and she went crazy!"

It is a noticeable fact from the empirical literature that among older married people, women were found to be more unhappy than men, have more problems, feel more inadequate as parents, have a more negative and passive outlook on life, as well as show a more negative self-image than their married male counterparts.²⁰ Chesler also notes the unusually common incidence of involuntional melancholia among middle-aged, middle-class women in our society.²¹ Birnbaum investigates the issue of self-esteem in intellectually gifted women during the mature adult years by sampling a group of "with distinction" alumnae of a large prestigious university some fifteen to twenty-five years after graduation consisting

²⁰N. Bradburn and D. Caplovitz, Report on Happiness, Chicago: Aldine Press, 1965; and G. Gurin, J. Veroff, and S. Feld, Americans View Their Mental Health, New York: Basic Books, 1960.

²¹p. Chesler, Women and Madness, New York: Doubleday Books, 1972.

of twenty-nine homemakers, twenty-five married professionals with children, and twenty-seven single professionals. The results from her data reveal that "...of the three groups the homemakers were the ones with the lowest self-esteem and the lowest sense of personal competence, even including child care and social skills. These women also felt least attractive, expressed most concern over self-identity issues, and most often indicated feelings of loneliness."²²

The Dual-Career women interviewed here whose mothers held jobs and had fairly active working lives did tend to perceive the influence of their mother's role on their own lives. One respondent whose mother worked as a chemist stated:

"I think that my mother working and the fact that my mother was a chemist and that she did very well in school probably put me in a different position than people whose moms were just completely housewives. I mean she and her sister, who has always worked and never got married are really into if you want to have a career and do stuff, that's what you should do. And my mother always said, 'Well, I don't think you should get married right away. You should go out and work and do all the stuff that you want to because once you get married you're going to have a lot more responsibilities and be tied down!..You see other people whose mothers just sat around and got married and that's all they did, never worked, and their daughters are sort of like that. Even though they're at school, they're going to get married and they'll never use their degree..."

The remainder of the Rapoport characteristics do not seem very appropriate in light of the data from this sample. In the Rapoport study, the

²²Judith A. Birnbaum, "Life Patterns and Self-Esteem in Gifted Family-Oriented and Career-Committed Women," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, pp. 398-9.

"only-lonely" child syndrome seems applicable, but not in our case. It is true that many psychologists have noted that highly innovative and creative people tend to have come from an early background of personal loneliness. And indeed, this "only-lonely" child syndrome²³ seems to be operative to a certain extent in the Rapoport study, given the characteristics of dual-career family wives which they noted above. When these women embarked on the dual-career family pattern, it was indeed a deviant lifestyle; hence it is not surprising that 'creative-type' people would have been motivated to pursue it. As the pattern has become more prevalent, a unified psychological explanation of motivation proves wholly inappropriate. "As this tendency becomes more firmly established, it becomes clearer that there is a range of motivations underlying participation in a given pattern or work and family activities, for both husbands and wives. The assignment of a typical motivational syndrome with connotations of deviance and pathology becomes increasingly inadequate as a descriptive device, and it becomes more important to see each individual and couple in complex terms of strengths and weaknesses."²⁴

In her study of occupational role innovation among college women, Tangri found that for Role Innovators, reasons for choosing a vocation and continuing in it appear to be individualistic and for personal satisfaction

²³Rapoport and Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, p. 25.

²⁴Ibid., pp, 26-7.

rather than altruistic or security reasons.²⁵ This is also a fairly accurate characterization of the Dual-Career women interviewed in this study.

As one woman stated:

"I want my career to ultimately serve me, rather than me serving it...If they want to transfer me out to Cincinnati, I won't go, even if it means losing a promotion or something. I'm not the kind of person where my career is all important and that's what everything else is geared to...I'm in a very selfish stage right now. I want to have a chance to do things I haven't done. I want to be happy on a sort of day to day basis, be able to buy the things I want, do the things I want, and just kind of hang-out."

In addition, Tangri found that role innovative women were highly independent and autonomous. In contrast to the Traditional woman who expects to live through and for others, the Role Innovator expects to make a **life** for herself through her own efforts. Moreover, Tangri notes that this emphasis on autonomy is further strengthened by a tolerance for later closure on choice of occupation. "She appears to rely upon her own opinions, considers herself somewhat unconventional, and has others depend on her."²⁶ The women interviewed here exhibited these same general characteristics. They tended to view the postponement of marriage as highly desirable. Most felt that establishing their careers must precede any sort of marital commitment. Holmstrom's study of two-career families

²⁵ Tangri, op. cit., pp. 255-273.

²⁶Ibid., p. 264.

reveals a similar pattern. A common characteristic found in the professional couples interviewed there was the incidence of unusually long courtships and fairly late marriages.²⁷ The Dual-Career women interviewed in this study spontaneously spoke of their conscious intentions to delay marriage. One woman who recently broke off an engagement, discussed this point at some length:

"I just realized it was totally the right choice [not to get married]. My whole life would be narrowed too much geographically, as a woman, as a person...Now I still am very pro-marriage...but I guess I'm willing to wait. I don't care so much when. I used to think of my mother who got married at twenty-seven, oh that's old. I more and more am not feeling that way. I think it has a lot to do with a sense of security and independence within myself that is continuing to grow."

Another woman interviewed was quite emotionally involved at the time and living with her boyfriend, yet was consciously severing the relationship and postponing marriage for reasons she discusses below:

"I feel I'm too young at this point to get married. I have this guy I've been going out with for two and a half years, and we live together now, but I'm not going to stick around in June, (he has a job in Boston); I'm not going to stay here because of him. So that's a decision right there that I'm not ready to get married. I could look for a job here, but I'm not. I don't want to stay in Boston...He's willing to follow me, so to speak, but I don't even know if I want him to...I still have a lot of things I want to do before I get married. I'd like to travel a lot and I'd like to live abroad if I could, stuff like that. And I don't know if I ever will, but I mean I'm not ready to give up all that stuff I couldn't do if I were married. Plus, I don't want to be married yet...I see myself getting married late, around thirty probably."

²⁷ Lynda Lytle Holmstrom, The Two-Career Family, Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972, p. 15.

In contrast to the Dual-Career males interviewed, the Dual-Career women had far more reservations about marriage and all that it would entail. Although Dual-Career males sometimes questioned the viability of the institution of marriage per se, the women tended to accept the institution and stress the difficulties inherent in managing both a career and family life. In general, they were far more pessimistic regarding the possibility of obtaining success in both spheres of life simultaneously. They often spoke at great length about the problems and conflicts involved and were far more aware than the males of the difficulties they might encounter. One highly ambitious finance major expressed herself as follows on the general theme of marriage:

"It's one of the things I'm most apprehensive about because I've done a fair amount of reading about how women who are in executive positions cope with a relationship, a commitment like marriage. And the picture has seemed pretty bleak... Naturally, I want to do both because I think especially if you're in an executive-type position with a lot of pressure, there are all these demands on you. I think it's very important to have a relationship that's emotionally fulfilling. So therefore, marriage would obviously be a desirable thing, and yet it's a hard thing to manage... Marriage is not absolutely necessary, but it does add some stability to a life that's very high-paced, fragmented, and otherwise not at all stable."

Tangri also found that role innovative women expressed more doubt about their ability to succeed and about identity. She felt that this was a reflection of the fact that the roles they had chosen were more difficult in standards of performance and more ambiguous in social meaning.²⁸

²⁸Tangri, op. cit., p. 271.

Along other dimensions, however, the Dual-Career females were far more definite and rigid than their male Dual-Career counterparts. When questioned about decision-making within their households, most held very firm views on the subject. All except one woman interviewed insisted on completely egalitarian decision-making. One woman even expressed the desire to be making most major decisions herself, thereby contradicting the accepted pattern of male dominance within the family.

"I'm bratty enough that I'd like to make the final decision, but I don't know if that would work. Well, if I'm married to someone who also likes to have the final decision, that could be a real hassle, unless you could work it out...If someone was pushing me around or had more say, I don't think that I would be really happy."

On the subject of their spouse's employment, the Dual-Career women were equally opinionated and assertive. All nine Dual-Career women said that they would not consider marriage to a man whose career was not at least equal to their own. Most preferred professional husbands. On the issue of whether they would mind if their spouse made less money than they, only two of nine stated that they would not care, and even these two added that it would probably bother the man, hence making the situation unlikely. However, when questioned about the corollary of a husband having an income substantially greater than hers, most women viewed this as non-objectionable, and some as highly desirable, evidence of some adherence to traditional sex role stereotypes. One marketing major expressed a fairly common viewpoint on the subject:

"I would like him [my husband] to make at least as much money as I do because it turns out, I'm very

touchy on this money business. I really don't want to be taken advantage of and end up paying more than half because I'm making more. And if I married a plumber I would say, 'Well, this apartment's very expensive, but I want to live here,' so I end up paying for it. And I would feel like I was supporting him and I would feel very resentful."

When asked if she would feel equally uncomfortable if her husband made substantially more than she did, she replied:

"No, I don't think I would. I think I'd enjoy taking advantage of it."

Answers to this question in particular tended to reveal attitudes of considerable ambivalence as well as some adherence to traditional male/female stereotypes. Although many praised the egalitarian marriage in general, their attitudes in particular areas seemed to contradict their overall picture of the ideal marriage and family life. For example, one woman anticipating a career in finance who described herself as extremely career-committed spoke as follows:

"Psychologically I would probably actually like to see my husband as successful if not more successful than I. I do want to work my whole life; I do want to have a career...I guess there's a little in me that sort of says the man's the professional head of the household. I'm working because I want to work. If I'm single my whole life, I'm working because I have to work also. But married and not needing to work, I would like to feel that I'm just working because I want to work and enjoy what I'm doing."

In summary, it is difficult to supply a simple characterization of the nine Dual-Career women interviewed. All were highly ambitious and motivated with strong traits of independence and autonomy. They were

quite aware of many of the complexities and problems involved in the career/family pattern they had chosen and had mixed feelings about their abilities to cope with them. In general, they tended to endorse an egalitarian marriage and family life in which both spouses contribute approximately equally in decision-making. They were generally ambivalent about marriage and often expressed a conscious intention to delay their marital decision until they had established themselves in their careers. Nevertheless, all ultimately hoped to marry. Their underlying adherence to at least a portion of conventional sex role stereotypes was revealed in their comments on specific issues.

In general, there was a considerable difference between the expectations expressed by the Dual-Career women interviewed and the realities apparent in the empirical literature. Although they seemed more concerned about and interested in the career/family issues than any of the male respondents, even the Dual-Career men, the actual content of their expectations was less congruent with the available data than was the case with any of the other groups.

Perhaps the most noticeable gap between expectations and realities was evident in their comments regarding their choice of marital partners. All nine Dual-Career women said they would not consider marriage to men whose careers were not at a level of prestige at least equal to their own, and almost all objected to a spouse whose income was lower than theirs. This expressed desire to marry an intensely career committed man represents a clear lack of appreciation and understanding of the complexities and pro-

blems involved in the dual-career family enterprise. As Bailyn points out, a marital combination of this sort is not likely to be successful. "...marriages of men whose exclusive or primary emphasis is on their careers to women who themselves place store on integrating a career with their family lives are not very happy."²⁹ Ideally, these Dual-Career women would be better suited to marriage with men whose career aspirations were of equal social status, but whose professions did not demand the time and energy commitment of top level business management; e.g., marriage to a school teacher or professor would prove more optimal.

Again as with the Dual-Career males, these women spoke over-confidently about their abilities to handle most conflicts and problems provided that both they and their spouses cared sufficiently about one another and were in agreement on the important issues. Their ideas and expectations also lacked operational content, and they failed to suggest any strategies for solving specific problems when asked to supply them.

²⁹Lotte Bailyn, "Career and Family Orientations of Husbands in Relation to Marital Happiness," Human Relations, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1970, p. 103.

D. A RADICAL ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURAL PATTERN

Although the dual-career family seems to be viewed by most women interviewed as a viable enterprise with which to structure career and family life, not all respondents felt it to be adequate. The demands of maintaining both a career and a family have often proved too arduous for some women. They feel that high level professional attainment is somehow incompatible with a full marriage and family life. One vocal respondent in the female sample (10%) expressed this viewpoint. The very fact that this woman felt so strongly that professional success was not possible for a woman who desires a family life makes this case worthy in itself of some analysis. Often, the more radical or extreme viewpoints serve to clarify many of the issues relevant to the majority.

This particular woman was a highly ambitious career woman. Her ultimate career goal was to reach top management of one of the largest American corporations. When asked if she had any plans regarding marriage, she replied:

"I'm never going to get married. That's a strong statement...I cannot see getting married in the foreseeable future. I don't have time for it...It might be possible to have a meaningful relationship with someone where you're never expected to be home, where if a problem arises at 6:30 and you're supposed to go someplace for dinner at 7:00, you don't have to go. There probably are such relationships, but I don't think I would be comfortable with such a relationship. And given what I want for my life and the kind of relationships I'd feel comfortable with, the two aren't compatible."

When asked what she wanted from life and why she viewed the two spheres of life for her as inherently incompatible, she responded as follows:

"I want to go far in the world. I want to work a lot and do a lot, and have no constraints. This is what I want for my life -- to have no constraints on my time. To be able to devote all my time to whatever I want to and getting up to go someplace if I feel like getting up and going someplace. And the kind of relationship that I need for it to be meaningful requires some time, and right now I'm not ready or don't believe I'll be ready for a long time to give that time to anyone."

Although this woman's particular solution to the problems of integrating career and family life -- eliminating the family sphere altogether, may seem a bit extreme, it does serve to illustrate certain key dilemmas faced by others who attempt the dual-career enterprise. A recurrent theme apparent in her discussion was the reference to the limited amount of time available for the professional woman. Due to the shortage of adequate time, certain sacrifices must be made. The empirical research on dual-career families reveals that this problem of overload is a serious one. Indeed, among all of the dual-career families studied, a common source of strain and difficulty reported is the sheer physical overload of tasks to be accomplished. Both husbands and wives in these professional couples are without the conventional 'back-up' of a wife at home to handle household responsibilities, child care, and social arrangements. In Holmstrom's study, most of the professional women expressed this strain in terms of the pressure for time they experienced. As one woman pointed out, "...when the alarm goes off in the morning it's like the horses off

at the races." The dual-career husbands also brought up the same point; as one man noted, "At least over the past year, in terms of time, our lives have been pretty much like a countdown for a rocket."³⁰ The Rapoport's argue that the strains of overload are made even more acute by the fact that both having children and a family life as distinct from simply being married was highly important to these couples. "The overload, then, is not a simple arithmetical one of increased number of tasks to be accomplished, but one far more difficult to assess, which is related to the duality of emotional commitment and concern."³¹ And often, these overload dilemmas are further aggravated by a social-psychological overload arising from normative conflicts, sex role identity maintenance, network management, and role-cycling.

All of the couples interviewed by the Rapoport's emphasized the importance of good physical health and energy as a prerequisite for making the dual-career family a viable enterprise. The most common situation observed was the rearrangement of the domestic side of their lives. The professional women were also very conscious of having to make choices and set priorities, recognizing that there was not enough time or energy to do all that they might have wanted to do.

The most common consequence of the overload was the fact that there

³⁰ Holmstrom, op. cit., pp. 88-9.

³¹ Rhona and Robert Rapoport, "The Dual Career Family," p. 9.

was 'very little slack left in the system.' Leisure and recreational activities tended to be the first things sacrificed in light of tasks assigned higher priority. Many reported giving up community involvements, gardening, leisure reading, and 'time for oneself' among other things.

Thus it seems clear that this woman's 'radical' solution does, in fact, respond to a very real problem which faces all professional women - namely, the shortage of time due to an active and committed professional career. She ~~was~~ prepared to give up a great deal for high achievement in the professional world and ~~was~~ not unaware of the trade-offs she is consciously making.

"They [my parents] think that marriage is a very enjoyable aspect of life and that I will be missing a lot by avoiding it. And I don't know that I'll avoid it forever; maybe when I'm seventy and retired I'll get married (laughs). I just think you only have twenty-four hours in a day, and you have to decide how you want to spend it."

She is also aware of the social and psychological pressures and difficulties which will inevitably affect her during her life as a single professional woman and spoke of these things quite candidly:

"The funny thing is I feel peer group pressures as far as social choices are concerned. Like I went to a dinner Friday night and everyone was coupled but me. And sometimes that's a strange feeling. And it will be happening more and more as I get older, but I think I can cope with it. There's a pressure to be with someone, because when you go to those things, although you socialize and talk to some people, at some moments, it's always nice to have someone at your side for when you're between talking to people. And it's just awkward going along. But I think I can handle that."

However, on the positive side, she pointed to some advantages of the single lifestyle. Basically, she felt that the life of an unmarried or uninvolved woman was far less problematic.

"Right now all my female friends are facing questions about male relationships, and I'm just sitting back and laughing at them. No, I think that's a wrong statement, sitting back and saying, I'm glad I'm not part of that."

In addition, the fact that it was only a member of the female sample and not of the male sample who opted for non-marriage as a response to conflicting career and family demands is in itself significant. Clearly, these issues and problems are felt more acutely by women than men. Inevitably, it is the woman who sacrifices more in the struggle to achieve in the professional world, at least at this point in time. Ultimately, this woman is deciding not to make these sacrifices by making a conscious choice to simplify her life, perhaps by making a larger sacrifice.

Generally, this woman expressed attitudes in which expectations and realities were highly congruent. Given her beliefs and ideas concerning career, family and the interrelationship between the two, it is reasonable to conclude that she has chosen a structural pattern which matches these attitudes most optimally. In addition, her expectations concerning the high demands on successful professional women seem to closely reflect much of what has been written in the empirical literature on the subject.³²

She also seemed quite aware of the trade-offs she was making by eliminating family life altogether, and she seemed to be making conscious and

³²Fogarty, Allen, and Walters, Women in Top Jobs, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1971.

informed choices. She was also cognizant of the social disapproval she might have to face as a single woman and seemed well prepared to handle such difficulties, although she did not attempt to minimize them in any way.

Although this structural solution may seem radical or unfortunate to many, its operational aspects should not be ignored. Clearly, the option of a dual-career family was available to this woman, but she chose not to attempt it. It is not that she was unconcerned with or unattracted to the prospect of enjoying a fulfilling marriage and family life. Quite the contrary, she simply believed that top-level professional achievement for a woman was unobtainable when combined with the demands of home and family. Instead of achieving a modicum of success in both areas, she preferred to excel in one and consciously chose the professional sphere.

The above chapter has been an attempt to discuss the four structural patterns for dealing with career and family life cited by the subjects interviewed. These included: the Traditional, the Neo-Traditional, the Dual-Career, and a Radical Alternative - the elimination of marriage and family life altogether. The expectations expressed by the respondents espousing each of the structural patterns were compared with the realities apparent from the empirical literature. The following will be a brief summary of the results, a discussion of the conclusions, and a general

presentation of some important issues involved in the integration of career and family life for both men and women.

The majority of males interviewed (54.6%) expressed a desire to embark on career and family life in either the Traditional or Neo-Traditional family patterns. On the dimension of expectations versus realities, the responses of these males indicated a fairly strong congruence between the attitudes they expressed and the evidence available in the empirical literature about these two family patterns. The remainder of the male respondents (45.4%) advocated the dual-career structural pattern and expressed attitudes in which there was a considerable gap between expectations and the realities of this particular career/family pattern.

The vast majority of females interviewed (90%) cited the dual-career family pattern as their intended structural paradigm for the integration of career and family life. Their remarks indicated a wide gap between their expectations and the realities apparent in the academic literature, even more so than was the case with their dual-career male counterparts, and certainly more so than any other group. The final woman interviewed opted for a radical alternative structural pattern in which marriage and family life was eliminated altogether. In contrast to the dual-career females, this woman expressed attitudes in which expectations and realities were highly congruent.

Considering the sample in its entirety, it is evident that the dual-career family pattern is the structural type preferred by the majority. (66.7% of total respondents advocated this lifestyle.) The

choice of this pattern inevitably involves considerable problems and necessitates a great deal of sacrifice on the part of both husband and wife. However, it is important to note that on the whole, those subjects who consciously desired this style of living were less realistic in their expectations than respondents in any of the other three groups. This may be due in great part to the fact that the innovative style of life they have selected is, in reality, more problematic than more traditional patterns. Conventional family structures are supported both formally and informally. However, the dual-career family is still a minority pattern. Hence, these families are forced to manage all of their lives and problems with their own innovative patterns as they are without any real precedent and operate without the approval of their sociocultural environment. Thus by embarking on a deviant experiment, they are forced to solve their problems and deal with strains on an individual level and often find themselves battling against institutional and social pressures. And consequently, much of the academic literature has been devoted to describing some of the individual solutions devised by these families in their attempt to cope with the dilemmas facing them. Viewed from this perspective, the lack of realistic content in the expectations of Dual-Career men and women seems more understandable.

In general, the academic literature reveals that the relationship between professional success and family life is a highly complex one for both men and women who embark on careers. In the case of women, it is difficult to distinguish the relative influences of the demands of

family (husband and children) and the discouragement provided by the occupational world as a whole, as causes of the lowered ambitions observed repeatedly in empirical studies. In the case of the women lawyers, "most of the women in family partnerships admitted to modifying their initial ambitions in law, typically setting their sights lower. But this was true of all the women lawyers interviewed, no matter what their type of practice."³³ However, Epstein is unable to make definitive conclusions on the basis of this finding. "It is difficult, therefore, to assess whether the family partnership serves to 'cool the woman out' more than she is cooled out by the profession or the occupational world at large."³⁴ Nevertheless, the Rapoport's' study of 'eight-year out' graduates seems to show rather conclusively that "Women tend to shift their levels of aspiration downward as they encounter difficulties in trying to pursue careers and family life at the same time, while these experiences act in the reverse for men."³⁵ In his study of educated women, Ginzberg makes a similar point: "The data indicate that a woman's involvement in work will be determined first by her family situation and second by such factors as her educational achievement, her field of specialization, her location and her career plans."³⁶

³³ Epstein, op. cit., p. 558.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Rhona and Robert Rapoport, "The Dual Career Family," p.5.

³⁶ Eli Ginzberg, et. al., Life Styles of Educated Women, New York: Columbia University Press, 1966, pp. 82-4.

Pleck's discussion of the interrelationship of career and family life adds some theoretical perspective. He stresses the differential permeability of the boundaries between work and family roles for each sex. "For women, the family role is allowed to intrude into the work role... the boundary between work and family is highly permeable, but only in one direction, and this permeability leads to inter-role conflict in women."³⁷ For men, the boundary between work and family is also highly permeable, but in the opposite direction. "...demands from the work role are assumed to take priority over family needs."³⁸ He argues that male and female roles are evolving so as to establish role boundaries which are more symmetrically semi-permeable in both directions.³⁹

In light of the above, the gap between expectations and realities which was quite evident in the interviews with Dual-Career women is more understandable. These females are embarking on perhaps the most problematic career/family lives of all the subjects interviewed. They will feel the difficulties and pains of trying to maintain a career and family life simultaneously most acutely, and they will be forced to make the most sacrifices. In addition, it is this group of women who are choosing a lifestyle in which the lack of institutional supports will be most apparent.

³⁷ Joseph H. Pleck, "Work and Family Roles: From Sex-Patterned Segregation to Integration," presented at the American Sociological Association, August, 1975, p. 13.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

Only in this context can their unrealistic expectations be discussed and appreciated. The responses of the one radical woman opting to eliminate family life altogether serve to further emphasize the difficulties encountered by women who attempt high level achievement in the professional world concomitantly with rich and full marriage and family lives.

CHAPTER IV: SPECIALIZED TOPICS

The following section will include a discussion of four topics which are of critical importance in the interrelationship of career and family life: Motivation, Achievement, and Ambition; Marital Happiness; Children; and Division of Labor Within the Home. These areas are of such complexity and significance that each will be presented individually. The relevant issue pertinent to each topic will be offered and analyzed through a perpetual reference to relevant portions of the academic literature. In discussing each subject, conclusions will be drawn concerning the relative amount of 'reality content' associated with the expectations of respondents, and comparisons will be made between males and females as well as between members of the four structural groups outlined in the previous chapter.

First a discussion of the issues concerning motivation, achievement, and ambition will be presented. In this context, several important problems will be considered. Motivations behind and explanations for the increasing labor participation of women, particularly professional women will be analyzed. In addition, the topic of achievement motivation will be discussed in some detail. The claim that women are deficient in motivation to achieve will be critically examined through an assessment of the recent empirical research in this area. It will be argued that women are not less motivated to achieve. Towards this end, a more enlarged model for achievement motivation will be offered. In addition, the relevance

of the concept of a 'Motive to Avoid Success' will be analyzed both through reference to the theoretical and experimental evidence observable in the literature as well as by means of an examination of the results of a projective test administered to subjects in this sample. Comparisons between male and female respondents will be made, and overall conclusions about achievement motivation will be presented.

Second, a discussion of marital happiness will be offered. The relationship of career-family orientation and marital happiness will be investigated by means of an examination of the relevant social science literature in the area. In addition, the responses of this sample along the dimension of marital happiness will be analyzed. Finally, an evaluation will be made concerning the differential amounts of realistic content found in the expectations of the various groups of respondents.

Third, the important topic of children will be considered. The issue of the proper style and means of childcare will be investigated. In particular, the subject of maternal employment and its effects of childrearing will be analyzed in some detail. Reference will be made to the extensive body of empirical literature on the topic, and the attitudes and expectations of the male and female respondents in this sample will be presented. In addition, some important conclusions will be offered on the dimension of expectations versus realities.

Finally, the subject of division of labor within the home will be presented. Various strategies for the allocation and division of household responsibilities will be considered through a a discussion of

the expectations and attitudes of the subjects interviewed in this sample as well as an examination of the academic literature on the topic. Again, some important conclusions and inferences will be drawn.

A. MOTIVATION, ACHIEVEMENT, AND AMBITION

It seems clear that there has been a rapid increase in the number of working women and in the incidence of the dual-career family. Sheer statistics, however, fail to reveal the reasons behind this noticeable trend. The economic, demographic, and social trends which have led to this increase are fairly well established. Changes in the family because of urbanization, industrialization, and the separation of work from the household initially led to the increase in women's participation in the labor force. The process of industrialization separated the family from the workplace and precluded the woman's previous contributions to her family's agricultural, craft or commercial activities. In addition, societal affluence and the increasing education of women, as well as the changing values and trends toward zero population growth, small family size, early childbearing, and close spacing of children have resulted in women's greater desire and capacity to pursue careers.

These broad sociological explanations, however valid, fail to explain the increasing participation of women in the labor force from the motivational level. A common misconception maintains that women work as a hobby or merely for 'pin money'. Several important studies have pointed out that one of the primary reasons for the increase

in working women is an economic one.⁴⁰ Klein's study of British married women workers points out that when the reasons for working outside the home are analyzed, financial considerations are the major factors regardless of their husbands' incomes or their level of education.⁴¹ Rapoport and Rapoport's intensive two-year study of sixteen British dual-career families confirms the importance of financial considerations in motivating women to pursue careers.

The financial gains are more important than are frequently acknowledged. Very often in writing about working women, the observation is made that highly-qualified women tend to work out of intrinsic interest while those with lower qualifications tend to work more for the money. Be this as it may, the financial return is an important element in the career development picture from several angles...the families emphasized how important it is for dual-career families to have a relatively high income, because they have relatively high standards for domestic living, child-care, clothing and transportation and so on.⁴²

Contrary to popular belief regarding the lack of achievement moti-

⁴⁰Joan E. Crowley, Teresa E. Levitin, and Robert P. Quinn, "Facts and Fictions About the American Working Woman," Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1974. Also: Work in America: Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare, Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1973, p. 63; James A. Sweet, Women in the Labor Force, New York: Seminar Press, 1973; and U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau, College Women, Seven Years After Graduation, Resurvey of Women Graduates -Class of 1957, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966, Bulletin 292, p. 41.

⁴¹Viola Klein, Britain's Married Women Workers, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1965, p.37.

⁴²Rhona and Robert Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, p.296.

vation in women, Crowley, et. al., report data from a large national sample in the United States which suggest that women are not more satisfied with undemanding jobs than men, nor are they less concerned with job challenge and the opportunity to advance.⁴³ Thus at least an equally important motivational variable explaining the increasing participation of women in the labor force is that women pursue careers because they are intrinsically satisfying and contribute greatly to their self-esteem and self-image and consequently to their overall satisfaction with life. An examination of the data from the ten women interviewed in this study reveals strong support for this explanation. In fact, to a great extent, it is difficult to discern any strong differences in the stated career motivations and ambitions of the female subjects as compared to the male respondents interviewed. Nor were any distinct contrasts noted in terms of the type of career paths described or functional areas preferred by the two groups.

In light of this finding it seems appropriate to examine some of the empirical literature on achievement motivation. In general, it is argued that a productivity differential exists between the two sexes, women being said to be less productive, less motivated to achieve, and less able than their male counterparts. The measure of achievement motivation most frequently used in these arguments was developed by McClelland,

⁴³Crowley, et. al, loc. cit.

et. al., It correlates quite well with subsequent academic performance, and arousal conditions emphasizing leadership and intelligence have been found to lead to increases in achievement motivation scores in male subjects. It was also observed that achievement motivation in men is highly correlated with personality characteristics such as independence and competitiveness.⁴⁴

The attempt to transfer this model of achievement into a feminine context has met with little success. Entwistle found that females' scores on achievement motivation do not correlate well with actual academic performance.⁴⁵ In addition, Alper and Greenberger report that females are generally not responsive to arousal techniques stressing intelligence and leadership.⁴⁶ Many researchers have concluded from this evidence that females are simply not motivated to achieve. However, other scholars suggest an alternative explanation arguing that "...as traditionally defined and measured, achievement motivation is a masculine characteristic, with little applicability for females."⁴⁷ They disagree with the tradi-

⁴⁴D. C. McClelland, J. R. Atkinson, R. A. Clark, and E. L. Lowell, The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

⁴⁵D. R. Entwistle, "To Dispel Fantasies About Fantasy-Based Measures of Achievement Motivation," Psychological Bulletin, 1972, Vol. 77, pp. 377-91.

⁴⁶T. G. Alper and E. Greenberger, "The Relationship of Picture Structure and Achievement Motivation in College Women," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1967, Vol. 7, pp. 362-371.

⁴⁷Aletha H. Stein and Margaret M. Bailey, "The Socialization of Achievement Motivation in Females," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al., New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 151.

tional viewpoint that females are motivated more by the desire for social approval than by an internalized desire for excellence. Rather they point out that females generally express achievement motivation in activities that are defined as feminine in a cultural context.⁴⁸

In their 1970 research on a cross section of Detroit adults (aged 18-49), Veroff, et. al., suggested that the social context for evaluating achievement is of paramount importance. In essence, they interpret high achievement motivation as the "...successful competition with standards of excellence" and contend that the interpretation of the concept requires some social referent for defining both the standard of excellence and successful competition.⁴⁹ Using the technique of factor analysis, they were able to isolate six varieties or components of achievement motivation: Assertive Competence Motivation, Task Competence Motivation, Fear of Failure, Social Comparison Motivation, Future Achievement Orientation, and Hope of Success. Within this framework they were able to discern some clear sex differences in the levels of achievement orientation along the six dimensions. Women were found to be lower in assertive competence motivation than men in activities which require assertiveness via power, autonomy, and achievement, especially at the cost of affiliation or acceptance by others.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 153.

⁴⁹Joseph Veroff, Lou McClelland, and David Ruhland, "The Varieties of Achievement Motivation," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 173.

However, women were found to be higher in hope of success and lower in fear of failure. The researchers note that these findings do not fit the common stereotypes regarding female achievement and point out that they may in fact be artifactual. Nevertheless, they offer the following tentative interpretation:

...Women are explicitly taught to value achievement only under circumscribed settings. They do not especially learn to value assertive competence. Furthermore, if women are put in a constrained setting where achievement is clearly relevant, they evidently anticipate gratification in successful performance more than men do and are not as inhibited by potential failure as men are.⁵⁰

An interesting dimension studied by Veroff, et. al., is that of task competence motivation. As distinguished from the well-known concept of assertive competence motivation, this motivation focuses on a person's absorption in a task, perhaps not having so much to do with the immediate probability of his or her being socially successful. Men and women differ significantly along this dimension, suggesting "...different meanings of task motivation for the two sexes."⁵¹ For women, emphasis is placed on effectance or enacting a task regardless of immediate or ultimate payoff, on absorption in a task. For men, emphasis is placed

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 187-8.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 201.

on power, on risk-taking, as an impersonal recognition of a challenge to one's own power or capacity. Veroff, et. al., suggest that these sex differences are socialized very early in girls and boys in preparation for the traditional achievement roles expected of men and women in our society. It is argued that persistence in task motivation is the achievement orientation critical to such continually demanding tasks as homemaking and motherhood, while responsiveness to power challenges is the achievement orientation most suited for successful performance in the occupational sphere.⁵²

Other research work has emphasized the importance of certain key cognitive variables in understanding achievement behavior. One such variable is the belief or expectation about the likelihood of being successful or not. Such expectations have been shown to influence subjects' choices of activities as well as the level of their performance.⁵³ Crandall's studies demonstrate the importance of differential expectancies in explaining sex differences in achievement behavior. The results consistently show that males had generally higher initial expectancies for success than did females; and when objective ability estimates were made, males tended to overestimate their future successes relative to

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³B. Weiner, I. Frieze, A. Kukla, L. Reed, S. Rest, and R. M. Rosenbaum, Perceiving the Causes of Success and Failure, New York: General Learning, 1971.

their ability level while females tended to underestimate same.⁵⁴

A second cognitive variable of importance in explaining achievement behavior is the way in which people assign causality in explaining their successes and failures. Weiner, et. al., point out that the four most frequently cited causes of achievement outcomes are: ability, effort, luck and task ease or difficulty. They suggest the two-dimensional model for classifying attributions of success and failure as shown below:⁵⁵

Variability of Cause	Source of Cause	
	Internal	External
Stable	Ability or lack of ability	Task ease or task difficulty
Unstable	Effort or lack of effort	Good luck or bad luck

In general, women appear to have attributional patterns which are the

⁵⁴V. C. Crandall, "Sex Differences in Expectancy of Intellectual and Academic Performance," in Achievement-Related Motives in Children, ed. by C. P. Smith, New York: Russell Sage, 1969.

⁵⁵Weiner, et. al., loc. cit.

result of as well as serve to create lower self-esteem. Women tend to rely more upon luck as a causal explanation for both success and failure than do men, suggesting the general dimension of external locus of control.⁵⁶ They consistently take less responsibility for and feel less pride in their successes and less shame for the failures than do their male counterparts.

The relationship between achievement motivation and attributional patterns is far from clear. Bar-Tal and Frieze (1973) found that high achievement-motivated females tend to make maximal use of effort as a causal factor in explaining their successes. In addition, they found "...that high achievement motivation was related to higher estimates of ability for both male and female subjects although this finding was stronger for men than women."⁵⁷ However, researchers cannot clearly establish a directional relationship between achievement motivation and attributional patterns. "It is not clear if an underlying motivation produces certain attributions or if what has been labeled as a motivational variable is the result of certain learned patterns of explaining success and failure."⁵⁸

⁵⁶I. H. Frieze, "Women's Expectations for and Causal Attributions of Success and Failure," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al., New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975, p. 164.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 166.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 166-7.

Matina Horner revolutionized the theoretical literature on female achievement by her concept of the "Motive to Avoid Success - M_s" which was developed in an attempt to explain the major unresolved sex differences observed in the research on achievement motivation. She argued that most women have a Motive to Avoid Success, that is, a disposition to become anxious about achieving success because they expect negative consequences such as social rejection and/or feelings of being unfeminine as a result of succeeding.⁵⁹

In a replication of her 1968 study, Horner again found the fear of success imagery in the women's responses. The only difference in the later results has been an increase in the extent to which fear of success imagery or negative consequences was expressed by male subjects. However, Horner points out that the content of the stories differed significantly between the two sexes, even in the cases where both expressed success avoidance. "Most of the men who responded with the expectation of negative consequences because of success were not concerned about their masculinity but were instead likely to have expressed existential concerns about finding a 'non-materialistic happiness and satisfaction in life.'"⁶⁰ These reports tended to reflect a changing attitude toward accepted norms

⁵⁹Matina S. Horner, "Toward an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts in Women," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al., New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 207.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 211.

for success and achievement in our society. The women, on the contrary, who responded with high fear of success were concerned with the discrepancy between achievement and their feminine identity. Hoffman's data reveal a similar pattern. Women tended to report a fear of success resulting from anticipated affiliative loss or social rejection while males high in fear of success imagery tended to question the value of achievement per se.⁶¹

In order to assess attitudes toward female achievement in this sample, all subjects were administered Horner's projective test. Each person was given the verbal cue: "At the end of her first year in medical school, Jane found herself at the head of her class," and was asked to complete a fictionalized narrative based upon that opening line. In the female sample, few strong achievement-related conflicts were detected in the projections. The majority of women respondents, sixty percent, related stories in which Jane's achievement was viewed in a thoroughly favorable light. A few of their narratives will serve to illustrate the general tone of their responses to the achievement cue:

"She spent three more years in her brilliant medical career. Graduated top of her class. Got an internship in one of the top hospitals. Became a brilliant neurosurgeon and lived happily ever after."

"Jane continued her fine record. Got an internship at Mass. General and became a fine and great doctor. She set up a practice in Boston, She worked in a

⁶¹Lois W. Hoffman, "Fear of Success In Males and Females: 1965 and 1971," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al., New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, pp. 221-230.

clinic, not a private practice. She gained the respect of her peer group of doctors and the community for the work she was doing. She married a doctor."

"She had always been high in her studies. She was proud to be at the head of her class. And later her career work indicated that she was first at other things. As a doctor she worked particularly hard and was quite dedicated and made some inroads in medicine."

Only two female respondents (20%) told stories revealing strong negative success imagery. Their stories were similar to those found in the literature in which Jane suffers personally due to her academic success, particularly in terms of affiliative loss. The following example will illustrate:

"She found it difficult to cope with because people resented her being number one because she was a woman, also because it's always difficult to be number one in any class. People look at you in awe and it's difficult. So she just started to do deliberately poorly in her second and third years and wrecked her career. She got a bad internship in a crummy hospital, and she regretted what she had done out of insecurity."

The final two women held generally positive attitudes toward feminine achievement, yet were somewhat ambivalent about it. For example, one woman commented as follows:

"Jane decided that she didn't have to worry about her grades and could just do what she wanted because she had already proved that she was capable of what she was doing. She continued on in medical school and probably had a lot of people against her because she was head of her class. But as long as she didn't care what other people thought, she'd do fine and become a great doctor."

In order to determine their attitudes toward female achievement, the male respondents were given the same cue concerning Jane. Eight of the eleven male subjects (73%) supplied narratives in which only positive things happened in Jane's life as a result of her success. A few of their replies will illustrate their thoroughly favorable attitudes:

"'Wow! What am I doing here?' said Jane. 'I guess medical school is a lot easier than I thought.' She slacked off, had fun and still got her M.D."

"She continued and graduated at the top of her class. Decided to specialize and became a radiologist and a pathologist. Married a doctor. They're now living on Park Avenue and have a joint income of over two hundred thousand."

"Jane went through medical school doing very well. She went on to become a doctor. Got married, had a family and went on being a doctor."

Three of the men interviewed (27%) offered narratives indicating somewhat ambivalent attitudes toward success. However, as was the case in both the Hoffman and Horner studies mentioned earlier, the negative success imagery found in these stories had little to do with issues of feminine identity. Instead, they tended to question the value of achievement per se. The following examples will illustrate the general attitudes apparent in these accounts:

"She felt that she was working too hard, and it wasn't worth it. She decided that she now knew she was brighter than anyone else or as bright and decided that she better get some of the other aspects of her life moving. She decided that she had to start seeing people more. She was tired of her current boyfriend. And she would make a conscientious choice to enjoy herself a bit more. She'd proven whatever she needed to prove and that was O.K."

"She felt satisfaction at having achieved such a level, and almost felt like she had to perform this well just to prove to herself she was in the right field. However, she also had mixed feelings and that maybe she was giving up something by spending so much time in her pursuit of this particular profession. However, she wasn't sure exactly what she should do about it because she knew if she achieved anything less she wouldn't be happy."

It is interesting to note that the attitudes toward female achievement evident in the responses to the projective test had no correlation with the structural career/family patterns preferred. All of the Traditional males and all but one of the Neo-Traditionals recounted stories revealing positive imagery about Jane's success. Of the three ambivalent accounts, two were told by Dual-Career males and one by a Neo-Traditional, by the classification scheme discussed earlier. Several possible explanations may be offered for these somewhat surprising results. (1) It is possible that the projective test did not provoke honest and sincere attitudes regarding female achievement and success. (2) It is also conceivable that men who desire Traditional or Neo-Traditional family structures have generally positive attitudes concerning successful females, but simply would prefer not to marry them. Or (3) The negative achievement imagery questioning the value of achievement and success itself may be viewed as reflecting a fairly modern and progressive attitudes; hence, it is not surprising that few Traditional men would include such comments in their narrative accounts.

A look at the literature on achievement motivation reveals that in

general, the sex differences in achievement are not as great as is commonly thought. Crandall found that females were not more unrealistic in assessing their abilities in comparison with males; the sexes simply err equally in opposite directions. In data from subjects from elementary school to college, girls tended to underestimate their ability, while boys tended to overestimate.⁶² In the area of verbal comprehension, vocabulary and verbal reasoning the evidence is mixed. Oetzel summarizes the empirical studies of vocabulary and finds six in which females were superior, three in which males were superior, and eleven in which no statistically significant differences were found. Among the studies of verbal reasoning cited, males were superior in three studies, females were superior in two studies, and no difference was found in a sixth study. In terms of abstract thought, females were superior in three studies, males in two studies, and no difference was found in three studies.⁶³ Theiner also found no overall sex difference in abstract thought.⁶⁴ And in a review of the literature, Sherman states that "...a broad conclusion of male superiority in reasoning and abstraction

⁶²V. C. Crandall, "Achievement Behavior in Young Children," in The Young Child: Reviews of Research, ed. by Hartup and Smothergill, Washington D.C.: National Association for the Education of Children, 1967, pp165-185.

⁶³R. M. Oetzel, "Annotated Bibliography," in The Development of Sex Differences, ed. by Maccoby, Stanford, Calif.:Stanford University Press,1966.

⁶⁴E. C. Theiner, "Differences in Abstract Thought Process as a Function of Sex," Journal of General Psychology, 1965, Vol. 73, pp. 285-290.

that includes the verbal area appears unjustified at this time."⁶⁵

Much of the literature argues for a distinct sex difference in cognitive approach. Males are said to have an analytical, field-independent approach, while females tend to show a global, field-dependent cognitive approach, reflecting their relative abilities in experiencing items as distinct from their backgrounds. Sherman suggests that the male superiority along this dimension may be exaggerated and argued that males appear to be superior only on analytical cognitive tasks involving spatial perception. "Use of the term 'analytical cognitive approach' implies a generality which is by no means established...It is recommended that these terms be discontinued in favor of the more neutral term 'field independence'. The real source of the difference may lie in the spatial character of the tasks and not in the analysis."⁶⁶

The bulk of literature reports consistent evidence of male superiority in tasks involving space perception.⁶⁷ Male superiority in spatial skill may partly account for their known superior performance in aspects of mathematical problem-solving, geometry, engineering, architecture, and the physical sciences. Sherman notes that performance in these areas may be

⁶⁵Julia A. Sherman, "A Summary of Psychological Sex Differences," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 297.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 298.

⁶⁷L. E. Tyler, The Psychology of Human Differences, New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1965.

related to conventional sex-role stereotypes. "Of particular interest is the fact that these tasks are generally accepted as masculine in our culture. Performance on problem-solving tasks correlated, for both sexes, with a measure of masculine sex-role identification (Milton, 1957). When sex-role identification was controlled by means of an analysis of covariance, performance differentials between the sexes were reduced to insignificance."⁶⁸ Carey found significantly improved performance of female, but not male subjects on problem-solving tasks by means of a pep talk which emphasized the social acceptability of success at problem-solving.⁶⁹ As Sherman argued, the whole question of the effects on women of lack of intellectual stimulation and frustration of competence motivation deserves much more study.⁷⁰

Gurin suggests that lower levels of achievement and motivation in women may be explained in great part by their expectations. She points out that knowledge and perceptions of the market may influence the behavior of female workers in the market. "The evidence shows that we must distinguish supply characteristics that represent personal deficiencies that may lower productivity from those that reflect the realities of the current situations faced by women and minorities. Their perceptions of the market, beliefs about opportunities, and awareness of channeling

⁶⁸ Sherman, op. cit., p. 299.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 297.

processes may indeed affect their expectancies of success. These expectancies are an important aspect of motivation but in no way imply productivity deficiencies in the old, traditional sense."⁷¹

In general, it has been argued that many of the achievement differentials observed may be explained by the differential socialization patterns operative in the two sexes. Research has demonstrated distinct differences in the behaviors positively reinforced in both neonates and young children. Little boys are rewarded for mastery strivings and instrumental independence through which they develop skills with which to cope with their environment and increase their self-confidence. On the other hand, little girls are taught that effectiveness, safety, and approval lie in the affectional relationships. "The idea expressed by Kagan (1964) that boys try to 'figure the task' and girls try to 'figure the teacher' seems rooted in early childrearing practices and reinforced by their later experiences."⁷²

Recent findings regarding achievement-related conflicts have found an increased incidence of a Motive to Avoid Success among male as well as female subjects. Apparently, a trend toward questioning the value of achievement per se is increasingly evident. The literature on mid-life

⁷¹Patricia Gurin, "The Role of Worker Expectancies in the Study of Employment Discrimination," Presented at a Workshop on Employment Discrimination, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, January, 1974.

⁷²L. W. Hoffman, "Early Childhood Experiences and Women's Achievement Motives," in Women and Achievement, ed. by Mednick, et. al., New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 135.

crises as well as trends toward rejecting promotions among managerial ranks are further signs of the changing values of the American labor force.⁷³ Perhaps the more diffuse achievement patterns found in women are more optimal in post-industrial society in contrast to the single-minded striving for mastery observed in men. As Hoffman writes, "The ability to suppress other aspects of the situation in striving for mastery is not necessarily a prerequisite for mental health or a healthy society."⁷⁴ Thus, the further study of achievement behavior among women may serve a dual purpose: a clearer understanding and appreciation of the forces producing, inhibiting, and influencing feminine achievement as well as a more enlightened attitude of the society at large toward achievement. Ultimately, more humane and productive socialization patterns, childrearing practices, and educational methods will result from an increased understanding of both male and female achievement patterns and motivation.

⁷³R. Beckhard, "The Executive You're Counting on May be Ready to Mutiny," Innovation, May, 1972, pp. 3-10.

⁷⁴Hoffman, op. cit., p. 146.

B. MARITAL HAPPINESS

The issue of marital happiness is an important one for persons embarking on career and family life. Decisions made in the occupational sphere, the selection of a marital partner, as well as the choice of a structural pattern to integrate career and family life will all have serious implications for marital happiness. The following will be an attempt to discuss these matters and develop some tentative conclusions on the subject.

The available evidence indicates that career-family orientation is a highly important dimension with respect to marital happiness. However, despite this fact, in a study of some two hundred British women, all university graduates of the year 1960 and their husbands, Bailyn found that career-family orientation was not an important issue for couples when making marriage decisions. "...there is hardly any relation between husbands' and wives' orientations; career-oriented men are no more likely to marry traditional wives than are those whose emphasis is more on their families; nor do women who hope to integrate a career with their family lives show any preference for either family or career orientation in the men they marry."⁷⁵

The Traditional male respondents in this study expected to structure

⁷⁵Bailyn, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

career and family life in what Bailyn labels as the Conventional pattern. This arrangement in which traditional wives are married to career-oriented husbands serves to clearly differentiate family roles by sex, with the man primarily oriented to his career and his wife primarily to the home. The expectations of most Traditional men interviewed emphasized that marital happiness was clearly obtainable and consistent with their pattern of structuring career and family life if one is committed to it and is prepared to do some sacrificing. One Traditional respondent discussed the subject in the following manner:

"As I mentioned before, establishing a successful marriage and home life is my major objective in life. I want to be a good provider and have a well-balanced life and a family that I can be very proud of...And I think the whole job-career orientation I see within that framework."

With regard to whether sacrifice was necessary for a successful marriage and family life, he replied:

"I see it as a tremendous amount of sacrificing. I think any relationship between any two people takes a tremendous amount of sacrificing. I mean so many times you think you're giving more than your fifty percent and so does the other person, and you just keep giving and giving, and I think the more you keep giving, the more successful the relationship is. I can see myself giving up my time and my energies to make my relationships with my wife and my children work and work smoothly. I don't see it as something which happens naturally. I see it as something you work at."

Despite these sincere and well-meaning expectations and attitudes, the issue of marital happiness within the Conventional pattern is not as

obvious and easily obtainable as the Traditional males seemed to believe. Bailyn argues that when one considers the separation of interests implied in the Conventional pattern, with the husband primarily concerned with his work and the wife with the house and family, it becomes far less obvious why such a pattern is assumed to be such a satisfactory one. Empirically it was shown that marital happiness was increased under conditions that minimize the built-in separation of interests in this pattern. Thus Bailyn reports that the more children in Conventional families, the less likely they are to have happy marriages. High work satisfaction for the husband was found to be negatively related to marital happiness. In addition, it was found that the Conventional pattern was the only one in which marital happiness was negatively associated with income - in which there was a higher percentage of happy marriages when income was low than when it was high.⁷⁶ Viewed in this context, the expectations voiced by both Traditional males, that marital satisfaction on the part of their wives and themselves will result from their reaping the rewards of their prestigious and high-paying careers seem quite unrealistic.

An argument frequently directed against women professionals and dual-career families maintains that this lifestyle is destructive in terms of the marital relationship and results in considerable marital unhappiness. This position still remains unproven. On the contrary, as Pleck

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 104-5.

points out, "...when other variables are controlled, married female employment...when freely chosen, has no negative effect on marital happiness or satisfaction as assessed by usual measures."⁷⁷ Orden and Bradburn found that marital happiness when both husband and wife work is related to whether or not the woman works by choice rather than by necessity. That is, if the woman choose to enter the labor market, both husband and wife experience greater marital happiness than if the woman is forced into the labor market by necessity.⁷⁸

In general, the evidence from the literature reveals that the Dual-Career women interviewed in this study had generally realistic expectations regarding the possibility of obtaining marital happiness, yet their views on the choice of marital partners were unrealistic in terms of maximizing marital happiness. This seemingly contradictory conclusion may be explained in the following manner.

On the whole, the women respondents interviewed were far more concerned about the possibility of marital happiness than were the men. Many brought up the issue spontaneously and spoke at great length regarding their mixed feelings about the possibility of achieving in the professional world while simultaneously enjoying a fulfilling marriage and family life. When asked

⁷⁷Pleck, op. cit., p.3.

⁷⁸Susan P. Orden and Norman M. Bradburn, "Working Wives and Marriage Happiness," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 74, January, 1969, pp. 392-407.

which was more difficult to achieve, a successful career or a successful marriage, one woman replied:

"What a comparison! Marriage has to be worked at all the time. And a career does too in different ways. Putting them both together is hard. They take some complementary types of working and some non-complementary. Primarily the non-complementary is just time. They each take time, and there's only twenty-four hours in a day...It's a hard thing to answer. They're both hard to work at. For me, the marriage I'm looking at, it would probably be as hard in a marriage as in a career. But for some people who would be very content doing what the husband wanted to do or a husband not being as aggressive...Marriages can be made simple. It depends if someone has the idea, 'You go into marriage and therefore it has to be successful.'"

When asked if she felt this way she said:

"I would like to...but in truth, no."

It seems as if these pessimistic expectations are fairly realistic. Their insistence on marrying men whose careers were at a level of prestige equal to or greater than their own will not serve to maximize their marital satisfaction according to the literature. Bailyn reports quite strong data from her investigation of marital happiness associated with various combinations of career and family orientations revealing that "...marriages of men whose exclusive or primary emphasis is on their careers to women who themselves place store on integrating a career with their family lives are not very happy."⁷⁹ These Dual-Career women would thus be far better suited to marriage with men whose career aspirations were of equal

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 103.

social status, but whose professions did not demand the time, energy, and commitment of top level business management. Bailyn further argues for the relative importance of the husband's orientation as compared to that of his wife in determining the personal satisfaction associated with a particular family pattern. "The husband's mode of integrating family and work in his life is crucial for the success - at least in terms of marital satisfaction - of any attempt of his wife to include a career in her life."⁸⁰

A great deal of research and interviews with dual-career families emphasizes the importance of the attitude and orientation of the husband in relation to marital happiness.⁸¹ In each of the couples studied by the Rapoport, it was important to the husbands themselves that their wives developed their work lives as they did. For the wives, it was important that their husbands approved of and facilitated their careers in various ways and, indeed, that they actually wanted them to work. "The avoidance of excessive rivalry and envy which may accompany such situations seems to hinge on the individuals' capacity to take a joint perspective on the occupational situation, i.e., to see the work of each member as contributing something to the whole in which both have major

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 108.

⁸¹ See for example: Erwin L. Linn, "Women Dentists: Career and Family," Social Problems, Vol. 18, Winter, 1971, p. 397; and Jessie Bernard, Academic Women, New York: World Publishing Co., 1966, pp. 230-40.

investments."⁸² Holmstrom reports that in her study of professional couples the husband was almost always very supportive of the wife's career according to both the wife's report and the husband's report.⁸³ The crucial importance of the husband's attitude in relation to the professional woman's career has led scholars in the field to make the following recommendations:

...whatever plans are made for the recruitment of women -- and this would hold for any learned profession -- must of necessity include men. The preparation of men is as intrinsic a part of preparation for women's careers as that of the women themselves.⁸⁴

There is evidence, as a matter of fact, that identifying the conditions under which men find it possible to give primary emphasis to their families while at the same time functioning satisfactorily in their own careers may be even more relevant to the problem of careers for married women than the continued emphasis on the difficulties women face in integrating family and work.⁸⁵

In this context, it is appropriate to evaluate the expectations of Neo-Traditional and Dual-Career men on the subject of marital happiness. Again, as was the case with other issues, a general attitude of ambivalence

⁸²Rhona and Robert Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, pp. 284-5.

⁸³Holmstrom, op. cit., p. 134.

⁸⁴Bernard, op. cit., p. 231.

⁸⁵Bailyn, op. cit., p. 108.

pervaded the comments of the Neo-Traditionals. Neo-Traditional men expressed a considerable degree of doubt and hesitation concerning the probability of their establishing a good marital relationship. When discussing his ideas concerning career and marriage life, one marketing major spontaneously recounted the following narrative indicating an obvious ambivalence with regard to the possibility of maintaining two careers within a family while simultaneously striving for marital happiness:

"The reason why I've thought about this is because I worked with somebody last summer, and he and his wife both had careers and they were very close. And the wife got a job as vice-president of a major bank in San Francisco. She didn't have an M.B.A. and he did, and it was quite a step for her. And he was very proud of her. So he started looking for a job in San Francisco so that they could move out there. Well, he didn't have a job, and so they decided that she would go out first and he follow in a couple of months when he got a job. Well, he never got a job, and there was a six month delay in his getting out there and he came back and now they're getting a divorce. That's a situation I could foresee as being troublesome."

The Dual-Career men tended to be even more skeptical concerning the possibility of a successful marriage and family life. They saw this area as inherently complex and difficult, and they frequently doubted whether they themselves would be able to find marital satisfaction in the traditional sense. As stated previously, they generally hoped to structure marriage according to their own personal norms and ideals and did not put much faith in merely following traditional models. When asked which he saw as more difficult to achieve, a successful career or a successful marriage, one Dual-Career male replied:

"Marriage of course...I think a good relationship is hard to find. I think it's hard for people to get along, and it's hard to find the right person. It's hard for me, hard for my friends. Part of it's timing. I don't think there are many people I know who really think when they get married it's really forever, I mean, they'd like it to be forever, but I don't think there are many people who would bet a lot of money on it. One is that people are more independent; second they're not willing to put up with anything...People feel like they really have complete choice, and that's hard to live with."

In summary, it is exceedingly difficult to make any definitive conclusions regarding the expectations of Neo-Traditional and Dual-Career men with respect to marital happiness. In general, they seem more concerned and skeptical than their Traditional male counterparts and seem fairly cognizant of the innumerable variables and pitfalls inherent in attempting to secure both a happy marriage and a successful career. Two tentative hypotheses may be offered to explain the differences observed: (1) It is possible that the greater apprehension and skepticism on the dimension of marital happiness evident in Dual-Career and Neo-Traditional males reflects their general richer and more complex appreciation of the problems and issues involved in integrating career and family life. Or (2) Perhaps the Traditional men are consciously choosing a lifestyle in which the difficulties are actually less numerous and the chances for marital satisfaction and happiness far greater. The fact that their structural pattern is socially acceptable and fairly widespread may make it far less risky and problematic, indicating a realistic assessment on the part of these men concerning the possibility of successful and happy married life.

C. CHILDREN

Children and their upbringing is another crucial issue for the young management professional. The Rapoport's note that the mere fact of having children has a very powerful effect on both men and women, although in different ways. Their survey of highly qualified women reveals that having a child means a drop not only in actual work participation but in ambition as well. For men, this family event seems to have the opposite effect.⁸⁶ The literature on the effects of married female employment on children's psychological well-being has been extensive. In general, the fear of the possible disintegration of the family and damage to children has not been supported by research findings. The consensus today appears to be that when other variables are controlled, married female employment has no clear positive or negative effect on children's well-being,⁸⁷

The Rapoport's study reveals that although there were indeed problems raised by mothers having careers, these problems are unusually well taken care of in two-career families. "...the kinds of competent individuals who are in dual-career families tend to make arrangements for childcare which compare favourably with what would have occurred had the mothers

⁸⁶ Rhona and Robert Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, p. 20.

⁸⁷ F. I. Nye and L. Hoffman, eds., The Employed Mother in America, New York: Rand McNally, 1963; and L. Hoffman and F. I. Nye, eds., Working Mothers, San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1974.

stayed at home."⁸⁸ On the contrary, these researchers as well as others have noted certain advantages for children in dual-career families. These children tend to be particularly independent and resourceful. Furthermore, their helping with family tasks seems to afford them with a sense of competence and social worth in that they are contributing something, in a tangible sense, to the total welfare of the family. There is also a "...certain sense of 'special' merit, deriving from mother's work role. Often children in these families show pride in their parents' accomplishments...The fact that both parents have interests allows a greater range of role models for children of both sexes, and this enlarges the area of occupational life and experience they can know at close hand."⁸⁹

In this sample, attitudes toward maternal employment varied considerably. Four of the eleven men questioned felt that children definitely suffered from a working mother. Three were ambivalent, noting both positive and negative effects; and three felt that children benefited if their mothers were employed. The answers were fairly standard. Subjects against working mothers noted that children would definitely lose in terms of moral upbringing, attention, love and general welfare. Those advocating maternal employment felt that parental affection was to be measured in quality not quantity and argued that children with two working

⁸⁸Rhona and Robert Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, p. 299.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 300.

parents tended to be more independent, capable, and self-sufficient.

As one explained it:

"I don't think children suffer from a working mother.
...My intuitive feeling is they are much better off
with a working mother who enjoys her job and enjoys
what she's doing than with someone who's dissatisfied,
sitting around the house all day."

As could be predicted, those men who stressed the positive effects of a working mother tended to be Dual-Career types by the classification scheme mentioned earlier. All those emphasizing the negative ramifications were Traditionals or Neo-Traditionals. A particularly unique and interesting reply came from one Neo-Traditional man who felt that the question was phrased improperly. He elaborated on the negative effects of either parent working as follows suggesting again the ambivalent and questioning approach of Neo-Traditional men in general:

"I think children suffer from a working father.
Have you ever seen the kids whose fathers are rising to the top? The kids suffer from that. Therefore, if you have kids, you better...I am going to make some allowances in terms of career plan. Maybe it looks good for appearance to have two kids, but you better be able to commit yourself to time to bring them up. I think you're a sexist! Working mothers! How about working fathers?"

As could be expected, the women were far more positive than the men regarding the effects of maternal employment on children. Nine out of ten (90%) felt that children benefited from rather than suffered from a working mother. Many stated that they knew housewives who were poor mothers and stressed the quality versus quantity issue mentioned above. Some who had had mothers who worked felt that they had significantly

benefited from this childhood experience. The following response reflects the general tone of the women's comments:

"If there is a good system of day care or they can find a good babysitter or something like that, it is O.K. The point is the child learns to be more independent. And I think a knowledgeable mother is very important for the development of the child, too. I mean it's not the amount of time you spend with your children that's important; rather, it's how you spend your time with them - the quality."

It is interesting to note that a significant portion of the female sample was seriously considering eliminating children altogether due to demands from their careers. Only three of the ten women interviewed stated that they would definitely want to have offspring. Five out of ten (50%) stated that they seriously doubted if they would ever want to have children, one (the Radical noted earlier) asserting that she had definitely decided against it. The two remaining women were ambivalent. One woman spoke at some length about her feelings concerning children in the following manner:

"I don't know. It's hard for me to say. I don't really like kids all that much, but the idea of not having children seems very foreign to me, too. I was brought up all my life, 'Oh, when you have kids,' and to not do it seems very strange. But I am really considering doing it, especially if I get married late. I mean, I would want to be married a while before I had kids. And by then you're thirty-five and already it's getting kind of late. It's dangerous physically, aside from your lifestyle and all. And I think of myself now as a kind of selfish person. I don't know how willing I would be to share my time and my money and all that."

In that the literature reveals no clear positive or negative effect

on children of maternal employment, it is fairly difficult to assess the content of the respondents' expectations on this issue. Where an evaluation can be made, however, is along the dimension of whether their expectations have any realistic operational content. In this context, the attitudes of the Traditional males seem quite operational. Clearly, adequate childcare is readily available through the conventional family pattern. The Neo-Traditionals tended to stress childcare through an interrupted career on the part of their wives, and this also seems quite operational and realistic. Dual-Career males were the least realistic in their provisions for childrearing. All planned to rely on day care facilities and/or domestic help, but few recognized the difficulties inherent in relying solely on those sources of childcare. The literature reveals that the availability of competent and reliable domestic help was the most frequently cited concern of dual-career couples. And certainly, the extent and quality of day care facilities is not optimal at the present time.

Perhaps the most interesting and surprising results were evident in the responses of the females interviewed. It is highly significant that fifty percent of the women doubted seriously if they would ever want to have children. All of these women cited the problems of lack of time and emotional energy due to their active professional lives as well as the logistical and health problems due to their late marriages as reasons inhibiting them bearing children. Clearly such a statistic

reveals expectations concerning the high demands of the dual-career family pattern which are extremely realistic. The fact that half of the female sample was considering eliminating children altogether represents perhaps an extreme solution, but an operational and realistic one, nonetheless.

In addition, the point made by many Dual-Career men and women stressing the positive aspects of maternal employment supports much of the recent academic writing in the area. Many writers have noted the advantages for children of career women in terms of the negative effects of the mother's over-involvement and father's lack of involvement in the early socialization process in traditional child-rearing patterns. In Holmstrom's study, twelve of the sixteen professional mothers interviewed felt that it was good for the mother, for the child, or for both, if someone else does part of the rearing.⁹⁰ Philip Slater argues that there is a self-perpetuating cycle of sex segregation and sex antagonism which occurred both in ancient Greece and in modern middle class America. He proposes that "a society which derogates women produces envious mothers who produce narcissistic males who are prone to derogate women."⁹¹ Slater proposes that the more the male imprisons the female in the home and absents himself from it, the more powerful the female within the

⁹⁰Holmstrom, op. cit., p. 78.

⁹¹Philip E. Slater, The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family, Boston: Beacon Press, 1968, p. 45.

home and over the children. He points out that the Greek mother was very ambivalent towards the male child - alternatively accepting him as an idealized hero and then rejecting his masculine pretensions. This type of maternal behavior, threatening to the son, produced males with a narcissistic personality structure. When adult, such males dealt with their fear of mature women by disparaging them -- reassuring themselves that they had nothing to fear from so poor a creature. The disparaged women, in turn, raised another generation of narcissistic males - hence the perpetuation of the syndrome. Slater argues that the sex segregation in modern middle class American families also results in maternal ambivalence.

The middle-class female in modern America is expected to make a full time activity out of a task - childrearing - which, throughout the history of mankind, has had to be worked into the interstices of a busy life. Whatever her talents, then, she tends to be hired as a kind of maternal Pygmalion - a molder of live persons. This is a task for which she may or may not be suited, but into which some frustration and resentment must inevitably creep, since she is unable, in such a setting, to realize her talents and is barred from the kinds of stimulations which her husband obtains through his work. As in the case of the Greeks, the male child is the logical vehicle for these frustrated aspirations, as well as the logical scapegoat for her resentment of the masculine monopoly in the major professions.⁹²

Rowe makes other arguments against traditional childrearing practices and advocates an androgynous approach to childcare in which "...there would

⁹²Ibid., pp. 450-51.

be a social and legal presumption that performance of these duties would be negotiated between spouses, on a continuous, life-time basis, with equal moral rights and responsibilities."⁹³

Whether or not Slater's conclusions about maternal ambivalence and male narcissism are justifiable, it does seem to be the case that the husband's greater participation in domestic life will have certain positive results. Clearly, it will lead to an increase in the children's exposure to their father as compared to conventional families, thereby at least partially correcting an unfortunate imbalance in the traditional child care and socialization situation in our culture.

⁹³Mary P. Rowe, "Child Care for the 1980's: Traditional Sex Roles or Androgyny?" Massachusetts Institute of Technology, January, 1976, p. 25.

D. DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE HOME

The division of labor within the home is another important dimension from which to analyze a particular career/family structural pattern. However, even in the case of dual-career families, it is extremely difficult to conclude whether the division of labor is or is not stratified along traditional sex-role lines. As is often the case, there appears to be considerable variation along this dimension.

A look at the evidence from the empirical literature will provide some perspective on the issue. Hedges and Barnett found that in professional families where both partners work, sexual division of labor is apparent. Women tend to shop, prepare dinners and do laundry, while men do repairs, carry trash and do heavier chores. However, these researchers did note that childcare, washing dishes, and cooking breakfast were tasks that both spouses often shared.⁹⁴ Garland's analysis of dual-career families suggests that conventional patterns of male dominance and sexual stratification of roles in the home are more prevalent in these 'progressive' families than one would ordinarily expect.⁹⁵

In the case of Epstein's law partnerships, traditional patterns also

⁹⁴Janice N. Hedges and Jeanne K. Barnett, "Working Women and the Division of Household Tasks," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 95, April, 1972, pp. 10-11.

⁹⁵T. Neal Garland, "The Better Half? The Male in the Dual Professional Family," in Toward a Sociology of Women, ed. by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1972, pp. 199-215.

prevailed. The wives assumed primary responsibility both for management of the home and care of the children. "All believed that the household was the wife's primary responsibility and it was expected that she would be on tap for household crises."⁹⁶ Walker's time budget data indicate that in the aggregate, there was no variation in mean husband time in family roles (about 1.6 hours per day) associated with their wives' employment status. Thus, husbands appear to contribute about the same amount of time to their families whether or not their wives work. A slight increase was noted (to 2.1 hours per day) when there were infant children present, but otherwise the independence was found to hold when age, class, number of children and other variables were controlled.⁹⁷ Blood and Wolfe, however, published an opposite finding. They reported an increase in husbands' performance in family roles when their wives were employed.⁹⁸ Oakley's study indicated that husbands of working wives are more likely to increase childcare than other forms of household work.⁹⁹ On the other

⁹⁶ Epstein, op. cit., p. 560.

⁹⁷ K. Walker, "Time Spent by Husbands in Household Work," Family Economics Review, June, 1970, pp. 8-11.

⁹⁸ R. Blood and D. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives, New York: Free Press, 1960.

⁹⁹ A. Oakley, "Are Husbands Good Housewives?" New Society, February, 17, 1972, pp. 377-79.

hand, using data from a Swedish sample, Dahlstrom and Liljestrom found that husbands of working wives tended to increase time spent in housework but not childcare.¹⁰⁰

Holmstrom's data complicate the picture further. The professional wives studied were not completely responsible for performing all household tasks themselves. Besides being aided by hired domestic help, these wives often received substantial assistance from their husbands. In slightly over a third of the couples interviewed in her study, the husband did at least three of the nine major housekeeping tasks cited at least half of the time. In addition, over two thirds of the professional women Holmstrom interviewed gave positive replies concerning how they felt about the division of labor within their homes. One woman interviewed described how essential her husband's help with the housework had been as follows: "We share evenly, and I think this is one of the important things if a woman is going to be active professionally that she have a husband who is considerate and helpful."¹⁰¹

In light of the evidence from the literature above, it is appropriate to examine the attitudes of the respondents in this study along the dimension of division of labor within the home. The majority of the males

¹⁰⁰E. Dahlstrom and R. Liljestrom, "The Family and Married Women at Work," in Dahlstrom and Liljestrom, eds. The Changing Roles of Men and Women, London: Dukworth Publishers, 1962.

¹⁰¹Holmstrom, op. cit., pp. 59-72.

interviewed here felt that they would take an active part in household work; nine out of eleven (81%) expressed this general viewpoint. The two Traditional men, however, felt that the wife should take responsibility for the bulk of the housework, the role of the husband being supplemental at most. Most of the males interviewed felt that they were fairly progressive in this area and remarked that anything other than an equitable division of labor between them and their spouses would be inappropriate and unfair. However, when the issue of childcare arose, these same men were far less anxious to take an active role. Only two men (18%) said that they would consider assuming at least half of the childcare responsibilities, and only one of these felt that the active professional lives of both spouses might result in considerable difficulties in terms of household management. He commented as follows:

"Idealistically I would like to see it shared. But a lot of your studies probably say, well, I don't know what they say, but maybe they say that some people think they're going to share it, and then they get in~~a~~ to their career and they don't have time and nobody wants to do any work or something like that. But at this point it seems like I would like to divide the labor pretty evenly."

The attitudes of the female sample were fairly mixed. Five of the nine Dual-Career women (55.6%) insisted on an equitable division of labor within the home both in terms of housework and childcare. A few of their remarks will serve to illustrate their strong feelings on the subject:

"I feel that housework really should be equal. It doesn't have to be a really rigid thing, but if I feel that each person is contributing a fairly equal amount then I'd feel comfortable. Apparently, it has been a problem for women who are now in those circles, but I guess it's just one of the things I would insist on basically. It's just one of the things that I guess I wouldn't stand for."

"I believe in equitable division of labor. There's no way I'm going to work and do all that junk; too! That's ridiculous!"

"Housework must be split half and half. I even get to mow the lawn sometimes."

"I think it should be divided. I don't want to do all of it, and I don't expect anyone to do all of it."

The remaining four Dual-Career women (44.4%) felt that although their husbands must provide substantial assistance in household tasks, they would probably end up doing more than half themselves. These women also expected to assume the majority of the childcare responsibilities.

"In terms of the homemaking situation, I could see the woman pulling a little more than the man, in terms of some men haven't had the background...You can't change by just getting into a new situation, you can't change what people have been used to."

"It's not necessary for it to be equally divided, but it should be shared. I'm not the type of person who would divide everything absolutely fifty/fifty. But mainly it's a concern for each other...Both should share in childcare. But I'd probably take time off."

It is somewhat difficult to evaluate the subject of division of labor within the home. Both the Traditional men and the one Radical woman have highly realistic strategies for dealing with household tasks, the former allocating the majority of the responsibilities to their non-working

wives and the latter minimizing the sheer quantity of tasks and assuming all responsibility herself. The attitudes of the Neo-Traditional men were again ambivalent and generally unrealistic. Their insistence on an egalitarian division of labor within the home seems grossly incompatible with the inevitably demanding professional lives. However, on the issue of childcare they were more realistic.

As with the discussion of children considered previously, the Dual-Career men and women were extremely unrealistic in their expectations. All assumed that a fairly equal division of labor was very easily manageable and few anticipated any problems. In particular, the women who felt they could manage more than half of the housework and the majority of the childcare without sacrificing at least a portion of their professional achievement were by far, the most unrealistic of respondents.

A look at the academic literature reveals an overall social trend toward more equal division of labor within the home. The Rapoport notes that changes in contemporary society are producing a more egalitarian kind of marital relationship and a diffusion of traditional role definitions for men and women.¹⁰² Many social scientists argue that couples are working out new and creative solutions based upon the reallocation of familial and occupational roles on the basis of skills and interests,

¹⁰²Robert and Rhona Rapoport, "Work and Family in Contemporary Society," American Sociological Review, 1965, Vol. 30, p. 384.

using sex-correlated elements where appropriate, but not necessarily according to conventional constraints.¹⁰³ Pleck makes a similar point in his discussion of changes in work and family roles. "Where traditional sex role norms prescribed the specialization of work and family responsibilities by sex, a new option for the integration of work and family roles for both sexes is now emerging."¹⁰⁴ In general, data from studies with two-career families point to conclusions similar to these. Although the burden of concern about home and family seems to rest most heavily on the wife, it appears that there is a great deal of negotiation going on in these families in attempting to arrive at an optimal solution for all concerned, and these solutions frequently involve the participation of husbands in many traditionally 'female' tasks.

¹⁰³ Alice Rossi, "A Good Woman is Hard to Find," Transaction, Vol. 2, November/December, 1964.

¹⁰⁴ Pleck, op. cit., p. 1.

CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS AND STRAINS IN THE INTEGRATION OF CAREER AND FAMILY LIFE

It is no accident that a significant portion of the literature on career and family life has been devoted to discussing the problems inherent in integrating the two spheres. Managing a high-powered professional career while simultaneously developing a successful marriage and family life is indeed a difficult endeavor. In this context it is interesting to note that as the status level of occupations increases, the proportion of working women who are unmarried also increases. This pattern is opposite to the one observed in men, where those in lower status occupations are more likely to be unmarried,¹⁰⁵ indicating that the problems encountered in integrating career and family life are probably more acutely felt by professional women than men as well as being more numerous in quantity when objective measures are made. The following will be an attempt to discuss the four major problems evident in the empirical research: overload dilemmas, role cycling dilemmas, identity issues, and occupational barriers.

Each issue will be discussed and references will be made to the literature where relevant. Comparisons between male and female responses

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth M. Havens, "Women, Work and Wedlock: A Note on Female Marital Patterns in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, January, 1973, pp. 975-81.

will be made, and the attitudes of the various groups will be assessed along the dimension of expectations versus realities. Towards this end two fundamental questions will be posed: (1) How aware are the respondents of these problems and strains? and (2) How realistic are their coping strategies for alleviating or minimizing them?

A. OVERLOAD DILEMMAS

The most obvious source of difficulty for persons with active and high-pressured professional lives is the shortage of adequate time to do all that they would want to do. The demands of their careers are so great that often little time is left over for other activities, resulting frequently in a sheer overload of tasks to be accomplished. Clearly, this is a far more serious problem for Dual-Career families than for Traditional or Neo-Traditional lifestyles. In the latter two structural patterns, the sharp division of labor and responsibilities along sex-role lines serves to minimize the overload and decrease the burden particularly for the husband whose career is of primary importance. However, in dual-career families, both husband and wife are without the conventional 'back-up' of a wife at home to handle household responsibilities. And often, these overload dilemmas are further aggravated by a social-psychological overload arising from normative conflicts, sex role identity maintenance, network management, and role cycling.

Despite the continual reference to problems of overload in the literature, most of the males interviewed did not expect it to be a problem. Two men, both Dual-Career types, made specific reference to the shortage of time as a problem in integrating career and family life. In addition, one Traditional male felt that his career would be so demanding initially, that marriage during that time would be impractical.

"The way I've thought about it is the first couple of years in business you pretty well work your tail off, and you really don't have too much time to do too many other things. It tends to taper off more over time. You work a lot more at first, and I'd hate to drag a wife through that kind of experience, knowing what that's like. It's settle down time when I leave New York City. That's how I figure it."

Two other males, one a Dual-Career and the other a Neo-Traditional, made oblique references to the overload issue by indicating the problems in caring for children due to the demanding careers of two professional parents. The six remaining men (54.5%) including one Traditional, three Neo-Traditionals, and two Dual-Career types failed to make any mention of the overload issue at all.

In general, the women interviewed were at least as unrealistic as the men. Only half of the women felt that time pressures and overloads would be a problem for them (included in this group was the one woman choosing to refrain from marriage and family life altogether due to career demands.) The other half sometimes discussed the question of time, but all brought up the feeling that it would not prove to be a problem for them provided they were efficient enough in managing their time. The following comments will serve to illustrate the general attitudes they expressed:

"I think you've got to be efficient with your time. if you've got a family...When I'm busier, I'm more efficient with my time. There's a direct correlation."

"I don't think that it will be that big an issue. It can be, and it's really a function of the person. I prefer to be busy. It seems to me that there's always a lot of wasted time anyway. And if you're

busy in your career, your leisure time you value a lot more because there's less of it and you want to spend it with your family. I don't see there being any real trouble. It just means being a little more organized and not wasting as much time as people do."

Generally, it seems as if the difficulties in terms of time in managing career and family life were quite unrealistically assessed by the bulk of respondents interviewed. The least unrealistic, of course, was the Radical woman who predicted overload problems to be so intense that she decided to avoid the whole issue entirely. Also fairly realistic were the Traditional and Neo-Traditional men who planned to divide career and family life along sex-role lines and ultimately avoid much of the overload problem in that manner. By far the most unrealistic of all were the Dual-Career males and females who grossly underestimated the overload dilemmas with which they would be faced in attempting to integrate career and family life by means of the two-career family pattern.

The research on dual-career families reveals that the problem of overload is a particularly acute one. In the Rapoport study, all of the couples emphasized the importance of good physical health and energy as a prerequisite for making the two-career family a viable enterprise. The most common situation observed was a rearrangement of the domestic side of their lives. In particular, the professional women were very conscious of having to make choices and set priorities, recognizing that there was not enough time or energy to do all that they might have wanted to do.

Some of the overload is usually reduced by delegating a portion of

the household tasks to hired help. Women were more likely to assign activities which they deemed impersonal - washing, cleaning, ironing, etc. to outside help, while retaining the responsibility for the more personal, people-oriented tasks for themselves, particularly childcare and feeding. Given the low value placed on domestic work as an occupation in our society, the dual-career couples had to devote a considerable amount of time and energy devising appropriate arrangements. A wide range of domestic help was utilized: full time and part time; live in and live out; nannies, au pairs, dailies, students doubling as baby sitters, domestic help of husband and wife, secretaries, unmarried mothers and their babies taking over part of the premises, as well as other solutions.

The most frequently mentioned methods of coping with overload strains found in the Rapoport study may be summarized as follows:

1. Deliberately to 'work' at leisure - to discipline oneself to take holidays, weekends in the country to unwind, frequent trips away, etc. to conserve health and energy deliberately as a human resource.
2. To delegate as much as possible of the less desired domestic chores and to provide adequate care for childrearing. Strategies to provide the child with the best possible environments - home, school, etc. consume major proportions of the time of the couples studied.
3. To modify one's work involvements in such a way as to be compatible with the other partner's and to diminish the strain of 'overspill' e.g. from an excessively complicated, demanding or otherwise difficult

work situation.¹⁰⁶

The above coping mechanisms were noted to emphasize the intensity of the overload problem for dual-career family members. Only in this context can the responses of the Dual-Career men and women interviewed be intelligently evaluated. In light of the evidence from the literature, it seems that their expectations along this dimension were highly unrealistic and grossly over-optimistic. The comments of the women respondents were perhaps the most noticeable. Their confidence in their abilities to handle the time difficulties through mere efficient time management seems overly simplistic, to say the least.

¹⁰⁶Rhona and Robert Rapoport, "The Dual-Career Family," pp. 12-13.

B. ROLE CYCLING DILEMMAS

There has been a great deal of literature on issue involving life cycles, both of families and careers. Frequently, the crucial phases in the family life cycle are designated as: engagement, honeymoon, marriage, parenthood, etc. Similar phases are outlined in the occupational life cycle. Even in traditional couples, career-family cycling dilemmas are often sources of considerable strain. As Aldous points out, "The peak years for child-bearing and child-rearing responsibilities for the man tend to be in the 22-to-35 year range, but this is the same period when occupation demands are highest and most worrying."¹⁰⁷ These career-family role cycling dilemmas are often felt more acutely in the dual-career family due to the further complication of having two spouses with demanding careers and no one to handle the overload or spillover discussed previously. Dual-career couples, consequently, are often far more aware of the role cycling problems and usually employ conscious strategies to minimize them, most probably due to greater necessity than anything else.

The evidence points to timing as a crucial means for resolving role cycling dilemmas in dual-career families. A common characteristic of the professional couples in Holmstrom's study was the incidence of unusually

¹⁰⁷ Joan Aldous, "Occupational Characteristics and Males' Role Performance in the Family," Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 31, November, 1969, p. 710.

long courtships and fairly late marriages.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to the traditional occupational and family cycles outlined above, many of the dual-career couples studied stressed the importance of having been occupationally established before having children. Most of the women tended to accept as 'inevitable' for the present that they would have to bear the main brunt of child-care and domestic organization, and hence it was frequently observed that dual-career wives tended to minimize role cycling strains by having their children in a compressed period and allowing their careers to be interrupted only minimally. This pattern was facilitated by the fact that due to their established career success, these couples usually had sufficiently high incomes to support the domestic service necessary to sustain their high-pressured lives.

In general, the males interviewed in this study were totally oblivious to anything even remotely connected with the subject of role cycling problems. Even when the issue was consciously mentioned by the interviewer and explained at some length, they tended to avoid any response and usually shrugged off the entire topic. A few of their responses will indicate their general lack of awareness and/or general disinterest:

"I'm not too familiar with those things, No, I don't anticipate any of those problems."

"I really don't have any thoughts about that. It all seems very remote to me."

¹⁰⁸ Holmstrom, op. cit., p. 15.

"I don't know. Next question, please."

In contrast to the men, the women were quite vocal on the issue of role cycling. Many brought up the topic spontaneously when questioned about marriage and career. All nine women who were considering marriage stated that they would consciously postpone marriage until they were fairly well established in their careers. All felt that an early marriage would be a disastrous mistake in terms of their career paths, and most doubted that they would be married after five years. Most stated that they were in no rush to get married and felt that at present, they were far more concerned with career advancement than their marital decision. Several cited the age of thirty as the optimal age for marriage for a woman seeking a career in management.

Many noted that their delayed marriages might make childbearing more difficult. Several stressed the health hazards of late childbirth and mentioned that due to timing problems, they might eliminate the idea of children altogether. The fact revealed previously that fifty percent of the women interviewed seriously questioned having children at all bears repeating in light of the subject of role cycling dilemmas. As one woman noted:

"I don't want to be married yet. I'll probably get married late, around thirty or so...If I get married late, children might not be possible. I'd want to be married for a while before having kids. By then, you're thirty-five already, and it's getting kind of late; it's dangerous physically."

In summary, on the dimension of role cycling, the women interviewed

were far more realistic than their male counterparts. The women had obviously devoted a good deal of time thinking about the issues and problems involved and frequently noted realistic and operational strategies for avoiding or minimizing many of the difficulties in this area. And in general, they seemed quite aware of the sacrifices and trade-offs these solutions might involve. The males, on the other hand, were highly unrealistic. Their general attitude reflected no awareness of or interest in these role cycling issues whatsoever.

C. IDENTITY ISSUES

Many writers have pointed out that men and women who cross socio-cultural sex lines tend to be characterized by a psychological confusion of sexual identity. This conflict often takes the form of an identity dilemma, i.e., whether the individual feels himself to be a 'good' or a 'real' man or woman. It is often assumed that women who enter the male world of competition and achievement would be highly motivated by competitiveness with men and as a consequence, would tend to emasculate their husbands. Many sociologists have emphasized that it is important to exclude wives from high status occupations in order to avoid husband-wife competitiveness and hence to preserve the solidarity of the family.

By confining the number of status-giving occupational roles of the members of the effective conjugal unit to one, it eliminates any competition for status, especially between husband and wife, which might be disruptive of the solidarity of marriage. So long as lines of achievement are segregated and not directly comparable, there is less opportunity for jealousy, a sense of inferiority, etc. to develop.¹⁰⁹

The responses of both Traditional men interviewed reflected a similar orientation. Both said that one of the reasons they would choose non-career women for wives was to avoid any competition for status in their marriages. Both felt that families with two professional spouses were

¹⁰⁹Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," Essays in Sociological Theory, New York: Free Press, 1954, p. 192.

difficult and rarely happy because of this problem. Their comments on the subject were as follows:

"I have a couple of rules: Never date a girl in your school and probably something I'd do that I've heard from others as also logical is never date anybody from your own work...If my wife made more money than I did I guess it would maybe make me feel a little inferior. ...I don't know if I've ever thought about it, and I don't know if I have to. I'm just wondering how society and friends would perceive it...They could question my abilities, and say, 'You're just this dumb slob, and you can't make money,' but then again, I guess from what I've been hinting at, I don't think there'll be that problem."

"I don't see marriage to a professional woman in the cards at all. I think one of the criteria I've somehow picked up of couples that have divorced that I have known well is the husband and wife both are pursuing the same kinds of interests and therefore there's a competitiveness which breeds an uneasiness between the two of them...I generally feel if my wife were in the same type of profession, it might get too competitive... Generally I see my classmates at Sloan that are women as competition in the classroom...I still have a hard time seeing women on the same level in terms of competing for exactly the same job. It bothers me to think a woman might get the same job that I might get...I guess I don't see women dominating the power structure of the financial and business world in the near future. All of the Wall Street clubs that are one hundred percent men...I really don't see women breaking into that world very quickly or in any great numbers in the next five or ten years. I think men have a comraderie when they're all together; there's a certain chemistry that goes on between a group of men sitting around without any women nearby. They tend to have the same types of common interests that a group of women sitting around with no men nearby might have. And somehow, as soon as you add one man into that group of women or vice versa, there's a change in the tone of the conversation and of the general content of what takes place. And I think men really enjoy the back-slapping, in some cases smoke-filled rooms, or oh laughing and joking about the secretaries. It's gone on for so many years that although most everybody

realizes that it should change, I really think that most of the men way up in the business world really question whether significant positions of responsibility and authority will be given to a lot of women in the near future."

As was noted earlier, Neo-Traditional males were somewhat ambivalent in this area. They expressed mixed feelings in their assessment of the personalities of professional women and businesswomen in particular. While they viewed these women as admirable, they tended to judge them as lacking in certain womanly attributes and generally preferred not to marry them.

Evidence from research with dual-career families does not corroborate this general characterization of career women. Although autonomy was a highly salient dimension for the professional wives, it was coupled with, rather than exclusive from a wish to be inter-dependent with their husbands. "The occupational world is used by all of our women as the area in which they develop their personal identities. This makes it possible for both husband and wife to relate as two individuals, each having a separate identity as a person."¹¹⁰ In Holmstrom's two-career families, thirteen out of twenty reported an absence of competitive feelings toward one another, and throughout the interviews with them there was no indications to the contrary.¹¹¹ However, it should be noted that in several cases, some competition was observed.

¹¹⁰ Rhona and Robert Rapoport, "The Dual Career Family," p. 16.

¹¹¹ Holmstrom, op. cit., pp. 105-6.

Identity dilemmas as well as the resulting problems of competitiveness are dealt with by many couples by establishing mutually agreed upon lines of tension. "Most families develop what we have termed a 'tension line' which is set up more or less unconsciously between the pair and recognized as a point beyond which each will not be pushed. Compromises are worked out within the framework of this tension line."¹¹²

The Dual-Career males and females interviewed here all felt that competitiveness would not serve as a problem area in their marriages. The men were generally in total acceptance of high achievement for their wives and felt that issues of rivalry, jealousy, and competition would simply never arise. Few of the Dual-Career men were concerned at all with identity issues. Occasionally, however, some would note that they might have to face some social disapproval in attempting the dual-career family enterprise. However, this was not as serious a problem for these men as is apparent in the literature on dual-career families. Perhaps due to the fact that much of the research on two-career families was conducted when it was a distinctly minority pattern, most dual-career couples in the literature report serious dilemmas arising from the discrepancy between personal norms and social norms. Because the dual-career family was somewhat unique, it tended to arouse disapproval and sometimes even envy from others. The Rapoport's argue that much of this disapproval arises

¹¹²Rhona and Robert Rapoport, Dual-Career Families, p. 292.

from the clash between their personal norms (i.e., what they felt was right and proper behavior for themselves) and social norms (i.e., the norms they felt people around them held).¹¹³ These strains from conflicting norms are felt most acutely at particular transition points in the life cycle where variant norms tend to collide with traditional norms:

- a. at critical transition points in the family life cycle (particularly birth of the first child);
- b. at critical transition points in the career life cycle of either partner (role enlargement or contraction); and
- c. at critical events in the life space of the children (e.g., illness, school problems, etc.)

It is difficult to evaluate how serious these dilemmas will be for the dual-career families in this generation in that the idea of professional wives and mothers, although far from being truly accepted, is somewhat more tolerated and arouses less disapproval and criticism.

However, identity dilemmas are far from resolved for the career women. It is still apparent that professional women find themselves in a double-bind situation. If they remain single and opt solely for careers, they are accused of having failed as women. If they try through marriage and motherhood to succeed as 'women' they impose severe occupational handi-

¹¹³Rhona and Robert Rapoport, "The Dual Career Family, " p. 13.

caps and strains on themselves. This double bind is clearly evident in Horner's well-known research on the motive to avoid success in intelligent women,¹¹⁴ and was noted throughout the discussion of attitudes toward feminine achievement which preceded earlier. The wife in the dual-career family has to cope with the strain produced from this conflict as does her husband, although to a lesser extent. In this context, it is appropriate to note the exaggerated comments of unqualified glowing admiration made by Birnbaum's married professional women in describing their husbands. "...given the realities of prevailing sex-role stereotypes, the married professional, despite herself, is to some degree uncomfortable with her husband's sensitivity and flexible responsiveness to her need. She may worry about whether he is truly strong and masculine, or whether she is truly feminine and responsive. There is evidence that often the married professional solves this nasty dilemma by firmly maintaining the real or fantasy-based conviction that her husband is brilliant and superior and competitively out of her league."¹¹⁵ From this Birnbaum concludes that although the married professional is certainly psychologically freer than most women, to seek personal distinction, it seems that she is free to do her best only because she is convinced that her husband could do still better. It should be recalled, however, that despite the strains from

¹¹⁴Matina S. Horner, "Femininity and Successful Achievement: A Basic Inconsistency," in Feminine Personality and Conflict, ed. by Barwick, et. al., Belmont, Calif.:Brooks/Cole, 1970.

¹¹⁵Birnbaum, op. cit., p. 412.

these identity dilemmas, working professional women, by the middle adult years hold themselves in higher regard than equally gifted non-employed women, as evidenced by self-esteem measures.¹¹⁶

Several of the women interviewed spontaneously brought up these identity conflicts. When asked if she thought any relevant questions had been omitted, one woman spoke as follows:

"Maybe you should have asked whether career women feel kind of lonely in a way. I mean with friends, because I'm lucky in a way in that my high school classmates, a lot of them, tend to be career women; a lot go to medical school, business school, things like that. But from other women, outside of this group that I met, they view me as a threat. I can feel their jealousy. It's hard to develop personal relationships with them. It's not that I don't want to, but they kind of shy away from me. And for the guys, on the one hand, they find me intellectually very challenging, but there's a lot of social functions they don't want to involve me. They're going out for a beer among a group of friends, and they won't ask me out to join them...I don't have that many girlfriends and if they exclude me from some of their social functions, there are times I may be left with nobody. And besides boy-girl relationships, I find it difficult to have friends... I don't know what to do, which group I should identify with. A good example is going to a cocktail party; I don't know whether I should associate with the men or associate with the wives...Sometimes I don't know whether I'm too feminine for the business world...On the other hand, sometimes I don't know whether I'm too aggressive and assertive and competent that people don't view me as a woman...Sometimes I just don't know how to act. And I think that if I'm not, the next generation will. We bear the responsibility in a way for future generations."

Clearly, identity conflicts have not been eliminated from the minds of professional women. Although they were definitely apparent from the con-

¹¹⁶Ibid.

tent of the interviews, there is evidence to suggest that they are considerably less severe than was the case a generation ago.

D. OCCUPATIONAL BARRIERS

The inflexibility of occupations often presents a serious source of strain for young professionals attempting to integrate career and family life. The professional world gives preference to full-time and uninterrupted work and demands that a person be devoted to a 'careerist' lifestyle. It requires an 'all or nothing' choice, a sacrifice which many women (and now many men as well) are unwilling to make, even though they would work very well and effectively at a more flexible pace. Holmstrom maintains that many of these occupational barriers "...are conditions of employment which are retained blindly as a matter of principle, rather than as a result of any rational evaluation about whether they are actually necessary for getting the work done."¹¹⁷ These requirements include a full-time schedule, an itinerant life for rapid advancement, professional entertaining, and so on. In addition, anti-nepotism rules are one more barrier to the dual-career family, for they automatically reduce the number of available jobs in a given location. Six of the twenty professional couples interviewed by Holmstrom had their jobs significantly affected by anti-nepotism rules.¹¹⁸

It is not surprising that none of the Traditional or Neo-Traditional men interviewed in this study were the least bit concerned with these

¹¹⁷Holmstrom, op. cit., p.3.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 48.

occupational barriers. Most accepted these facts as mere 'givens' of the business world and felt that it was consequently inappropriate and impractical to make evaluative judgements regarding them.

The Dual-Career males, however, were quite vocal about these issues. Finding two jobs near one another was cited as the most serious problem. Many alluded to executive mobility as a severe impediment to the dual-career family. When asked how he would cope with this problem one Dual-Career male replied:

"I'd hate to see either of us sacrifice our career. It's like the Mini-Max problem. You know, you want to minimize the maximum loss. You know, if it's a question of one person gaining and another person losing something, you'd rather have the maximum loss between the two of you to be minimized."

Many of the Dual-Career males mentioned discrimination against women in the occupational world as a source of difficulty in attempting dual-career families. As one mentioned:

"The one thing you don't ask is whether people will get treated equivalently out there. I don't think they will at all. I think that the women are going to get treated like shit, for at least another five years, probably considerably longer than that. I think it's going to be discreet discrimination from management, individuals. But I think they [women] are going to have a hard time establishing their credibility. I think they're going to have people head-nodding to them. I think they're just going to have a hard time. Some will be sophisticated harassment."

Sixty percent of the women interviewed expected discrimination against women to be a problem for them. The remaining forty percent felt that it would be either a surmountable obstacle or felt that they would have certain

advantages as women.

In general, the literature reveals that dual-career families cope with occupational barriers in a variety of ways. Finding two jobs near on another is usually the major problem mentioned. Interviews with professional couples revealed that wives accommodated to their husbands' careers more than vice versa when deciding where to live. Nevertheless, it was found that the decisions made by these families were strongly influenced by the career interests of the wives. However, often the professional woman tends to find herself isolated from the mainstream of her profession. "Women are apt to be removed from the various advantages and disadvantages which come from full participation in the colleague group: for example, access to new unpublished ideas, social support, competitive pressure to keep up."¹¹⁹ Dual-career wives dealt with the pressure for single-minded commitment to career and the rigorous life pattern required for such devotion by taking a relatively small amount of time out for child rearing and other family obligations. Many also dealt with these pressures by innovative, ad hoc ways of coping with the conflicting demands of occupational success and family support.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

The above has been a discussion of some of the major sources of strain encountered in trying to integrate career and family life, and the various ways in which the subjects interviewed expected to deal with these difficulties. Also mentioned were the methods employed by dual-career couples in the literature to minimize strains and alleviate problems. It may be argued that these strains are a result of role conflict, to a considerable extent. For example, for the wife in the two-career family, typical roles or subidentities might include: wife, mother, housekeeper, and employee. Each subidentity competes for its share of a woman's total identity, and this competition is the source of role conflict. Hall notes that the inter-role conflict experienced by these women is often more a matter of role overload and competition for her scarce time than any *intrinsic* incompatibility. Men, on the other hand, usually have no fewer subidentities, but their roles are salient at different times, so that they do not produce conflict by operating simultaneously.¹²⁰ Killian's research on reactions to disaster reveals that there is a great deal of latent conflict in men's multiple roles which does not ordinarily appear because of sequential role performance, but may become evident when a man is simultaneously presented with urgent needs of both work and family.¹²¹ Women, on the other hand, experience a great deal of conflict due to the fact

¹²⁰ Douglas T. Hall, "A Model of Coping with Role Conflict: The Role Behavior of College Educated Women," Administrative Science Quarterly, p. 473.

¹²¹ L. M. Killian, "The Significance of Multiple-Group Memberships in Disaster," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, 1952, pp. 309-314.

that their multiple roles operate simultaneously. Hall develops a model of coping involving three strategies for reducing inter-role strain:

1.- structural role redefinition - dealing directly with environmental transmitters of structurally imposed demands, actively attempting to alter (reduce, reallocate, reschedule, etc.) these demands and coming to agreement with role senders on a new set of expectations. This type of behavior implies an internal rather than an external locus of control and represents coping, therefore, in the strict sense of the term, as opposed to defense, which involves altering one's feelings or perceptions in response to a situation.

2.- personal role redefinition - changing one's attitude toward and perceptions of one's role expectations, as opposed to changing the expectations themselves. An example is setting priorities among and within roles, being sure that certain demands are always met, while others have lower priority.

3. - reactive role behavior - coping solely through role behavior, when there is no associated attempt to change the structural or personal definition of one's roles, attempting to improve the quality of role performance so that one can better satisfy all of the demands of one's role senders. Implicit in coping through role behavior is the assumption that one's role demands are unchangeable and that a person's main task is to find ways to meet them.

In exploring the relationship between coping style and satisfaction,

Hall found that coping by means of structural role redefinition and personal role redefinition are positively (but not strongly) related to satisfaction, while reactive role behavior was found to be negatively (and more strongly) correlated with satisfaction. He further suggests that the critical factor in the resolution of role conflict seems to be simply having a coping strategy, in contrast to having a particular kind of strategy.¹²²

This model is quite relevant when applied to the data obtained concerning conflict resolution in dual-career families. Very often the professional wives studied in the literature reported coping with the dilemmas of multiple role demands in ways characteristic of Hall's structural and personal role redefinitions, or a combination of the two. The use of these two methods as opposed to the third - reactive role behavior, may be some of the source of the high self-esteem and self-worth measures found in the wives of dual-career families in the middle adult years, indicating the success of the coping strategies they employed.

¹²²Hall, op. cit., pp. 481-5.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Various patterns of structuring career and family life are available to the young professional men and women at the entry phase. The choice of a particular work/family structure inevitably involves serious implications for both the career path and the content of marriage and family life. In this study, four distinct structural patterns were identified: the Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Neo-Traditional Career/Family pattern, the Dual-Career Family pattern, and a Radical Alternative pattern--the elimination of marriage and family life altogether.

In the process of deciding upon a given structural pattern, a person makes predictions of sorts, in which he/she assesses the many ramifications of the choice along various dimensions. The content of these predictions takes the form of data concerning attitudes and expectations. This study has been an attempt to deal directly with this expectational data. In order to obtain such attitudinal information, a sample of twenty-one subjects was interviewed in some depth. All were young, unmarried men and women with minimal work experience.

The central concern throughout was an evaluative assessment of how accurate or realistic these expectations were. Towards this end, the content of the expectational data obtained from the respondents interviewed

was compared with the 'realities' evident in the social science literature. It was argued that an analysis of the expectations concerning choices of career and family life was important in light of the significance of the decisions made during the entry phase for a great deal of what follows subsequently during both the career and family life cycles.

It was hypothesized initially that in general the expectations of the subjects interviewed would prove essentially simplistic and unrealistic. It was predicted that respondents would minimize the difficulties inherent in integrating career and family life and would exaggerate their capabilities in dealing with any problems which might arise. It was also posited that women would probably have more realistic expectations than men and that they would also be more fully aware of the inevitable difficulties which result as a consequence of particular career/family decisions.

The results of the data reveal that the subject matter is far more complicated than was originally hypothesized. An analysis of the responses of the various subjects interviewed indicates that no useful overall conclusions concerning the expectational data as a whole can be made. Rather, the expectations of members of each of the four structural groups must be analyzed individually. Thus, the following will be an attempt to briefly discuss the results obtained from the respondents selecting the various structural patterns noted above. It is important to emphasize that the expectational data from each group were evaluated with respect to the realities associated with that particular structural pattern, not with any of the others.

Eighteen percent of the male sample (and obviously none of the females) expressed their desire to embark on career and family life in the Traditional pattern. Essentially this pattern allocates responsibilities according to conventional sex-role stereotypes in which the husband assumes the role of breadwinner and the care of the household and children remain the sole concern of the wife. In general, the Traditional males interviewed expressed attitudes in which expectations and realities were fairly congruent. Given their attitudes concerning career, family and the interrelationship between the two, it was argued that they have chosen a structural pattern which matches these beliefs most optimally. Moreover, their expectations concerning the particulars associated with their chosen arrangement closely reflect much of what has been written in the empirical literature about the Traditional family pattern.

Thirty-six percent of the male respondents (and none of the female respondents) expressed a desire to pursue career and family life in what was classified as the Neo-Traditional pattern. Despite the organizational appeal of classifying these subjects in a single grouping, it was emphasized that considerable variation and structural ambiguity was apparent in the lifestyles advocated by the various persons interviewed. The single unifying structural feature of this pattern was the fact that all advocated a career/family integration scheme in which the wife's career was clearly secondary to that of the husband. However, there was a considerable range of possible formats in which this could occur. For the most part, the Neo-Traditional males interviewed expressed attitudes in

which expectations and realities were fairly congruent, although not to the extent of the Traditional males discussed previously. Given their general feelings concerning the central issues of career and family life, it was argued that they have selected a structural pattern in which these expectations will best match the inevitable realities which will occur. However, an overall ambivalence was noted throughout the interviews with the Neo-Traditionals, suggesting that they were unsure and unsettled about a great many things.

Forty-five percent of the males interviewed as well as ninety percent of the females expressed a desire to structure their career and family lives in what was classified as the Dual-Career pattern. This structural variation was defined as one in which both heads of a household pursue careers and at the same time establish a family life together. In general, there was a considerable gap between the expectations expressed by the Dual-Career males interviewed and the realities evident in the empirical literature. Although their attitudes concerning the interrelationship of career and family life were far more progressive and creative than either of the other male groups, the content of their expectations was less congruent with the available data than was the case with either the Traditionals or the Neo-Traditionals. For the most part, the ideas and expectations of the Dual-Career males lacked a quality of immediacy or concreteness that was evident in their more traditional male counterparts.

There was also a considerable difference between the expectations expressed by the Dual-Career women interviewed and the realities apparent

in the empirical literature. Although they were more concerned about and interested in the career/family issues than any of the male respondents, even the Dual-Career men, the actual content of their expectations was less congruent with the available data than was the case with any of the other groups. The most noticeable gap between expectations and realities was evident in their comments on their choice of marital partners. Their expressed intentions to marry intensely career-committed men represented a clear lack of appreciation and understanding of the complexities and problems involved in the dual-career family enterprise. In addition, as was pointed out with the Dual-Career males, the ideas of the Dual-Career women lacked operational content, for the most part.

One woman interviewed felt strongly that high-level professional attainment was incompatible with a full marriage and family life. She expressed a desire to structure her life by means of what was termed a Radical Alternative pattern - the elimination of marriage and family life altogether. In other words, she planned never to marry nor have children. Generally, this woman expressed attitudes in which expectations and realities were highly congruent. Her expectations concerning the high demands on successful professional women closely reflect much of what has been written in the empirical literature on the subject. She was also quite aware of the trade-offs she would be making and cognizant of the social disapproval she may have to face. It was argued that although this structural solution may seem radical or unfortunate to many, its operational aspects should not be ignored. Clearly the dual-career

option was available to this woman, but she was choosing not to attempt it. It was pointed out that it is not that she was unconcerned with or unattracted to the prospect of enjoying a fulfilling marriage and family life. Quite the contrary, she simply believed that top-level professional achievement for a woman was unobtainable when combined with the demands of a home and family. Moreover, it was argued that often an examination of radical or extreme viewpoints such as this serve to clarify many of the issues and problems relevant to the majority.

In addition, four specialized topics were considered individually: Motivation, Achievement, and Ambition; Marital Happiness; Children; and the Division of Labor Within the Home. In discussing each subject, conclusions were offered concerning the relative amounts of 'reality content' associated with the expectations of the respondents, and comparisons were made between males and females as well as between members of the four structural groups outlined above.

First, the important topic of motivation, achievement, and ambition was analyzed in some depth, focusing primarily on issues involving female achievement. Motivations behind and explanations for the increasing labor participation of women, particularly professional women, were considered both through a discussion of the data obtained from the interviews as well as from the social science literature on the subject. In addition, the general topic of achievement motivation was presented in some detail. It was argued that women are not less motivated to achieve. Rather, it was

pointed out that the bulk of the literature on feminine achievement has utilized a narrow concept of achievement not applicable for women. Instead, a more enlarged model was offered. In addition, the extent of achievement-related conflicts in the sample interviewed was assessed by means of Horner's projective test. Both male and female attitudes toward feminine achievement were analyzed revealing a general lack of substantial conflict for the majority of respondents interviewed. It was also noted that the attitudes toward female achievement evident in the male responses to the projective test had no correlation with the structural career/family patterns preferred.

Second, a discussion of the topic of marital happiness was offered. It was argued that there is a strong relationship between career-family orientation of the spouses and the extent of marital happiness or unhappiness. The overall attitude of the Traditional males, that marital happiness was clearly obtainable and consistent with their career objectives and pattern of structuring career and family life was seriously questioned. It was pointed out that when one considers the separation of interests implied in the Traditional career/family pattern, it becomes far less clear why such a pattern is assumed to be so satisfactory. It was also argued that married female employment per se has no negative effect on marital happiness. However, it was concluded that although the Dual-Career women interviewed had generally realistic assessments of the possibility of obtaining marital happiness, they were nevertheless highly unrealistic

in their intended choices concerning marital partners. Finally, it was exceedingly difficult to make any definitive conclusions regarding the expectations of the Neo-Traditional and Dual-Career men with respect to marital happiness. In general, they seemed more concerned and skeptical than their Traditional male counterparts, and more aware of the innumerable variables inherent in attempting to secure both a happy marriage and a successful career.

Third, the topic of children was considered. In particular, the subject of maternal employment and its effects on childrearing was discussed in some detail. As could have been predicted, the men who stressed the positive effects of a working mother tended to be Dual-Career types, and all those who emphasized the negative ramifications were Traditionals or Neo-Traditionals. The women were far more positive than the men regarding the effects of maternal employment on children. Ninety percent felt that children benefited from rather than suffered from a working mother. In addition, it is interesting to note that fifty percent of the female sample was seriously considering eliminating children altogether due to excessive demands from their careers. In that the literature reveals no clear positive or negative effect on children of maternal employment, it was difficult to assess the content of the respondents' expectations on this issue. Rather, an evaluation was made as to whether their expectations had realistic operational content. In this context, the Traditional males were found to be highly realistic in their provisions

for childcare by means of the conventional family pattern. The Neo-Traditionals, who tended to stress childcare through their wives' interrupted careers were also judged as quite realistic and operational. Dual-Career men, who planned to rely on day-care facilities and domestic help were evaluated as the most unrealistic. And finally, the attitudes of the Dual-Career women, many of whom were considering the elimination of children altogether, were judged as fairly realistic.

Lastly, the topic of the division of labor within the home was presented. Along this dimension, both the Traditional men and the one Radical woman expressed highly realistic strategies for dealing with household tasks, the former allocating the majority of responsibility to their non-working wives, and the latter assuming all responsibility herself. The attitudes of the Neo-Traditional men were again ambivalent and generally unrealistic. And, as with the discussion of children, both the Dual-Career men and women were extremely unrealistic in the expectations. In particular, the women, who felt that they could manage more than half of the housework and a majority of the childcare without sacrificing at least a portion of their professional achievement were, by far, the most unrealistic of respondents on this issue.

Finally, some of the major problems and strains evident in integrating career and family life were discussed. These included: Overload Dilemmas, Role Cycling Dilemmas, Identity Issues, and Occupational Barriers. Generally the difficulties in terms of time and overload involved in managing

career and family life were quite unrealistically assessed by the bulk of respondents interviewed. The most realistic, of course, was the Radical woman who predicted overload problems to be so intense that she decided to avoid the issue entirely. Also fairly realistic were the Traditional and Neo-Traditional men who planned to divide career and family life along conventional sex-role lines. By far the most unrealistic of all were the Dual-Career men and women who grossly underestimated the overload dilemmas with which they would be faced.

As far as role cycling dilemmas were concerned, the males were generally totally oblivious to anything even remotely connected with the subject. The women, on the other hand, were far more realistic and often noted operational strategies for avoiding or minimizing many of the difficulties in this area.

The general topic of identity and related issues was a difficult one to summarize. Traditional males felt that working wives would result inevitably in social disapproval and competition within the conjugal unit. Neo-Traditional males were again ambivalent, both admiring professional women, yet avoiding marriage to them. Dual-Career males were the least bothered of all groups with identity problems, although these dilemmas were evident in a significant portion of the female sample.

Fourth, the subject of occupational barriers was considered. None of the Traditional or Neo-Traditional men were the least bit concerned with these issues, most accepting these facts as mere 'givens' of the business world. However, the Dual-Career men were quite vocal on these

subjects. Finding two jobs near one another was cited as the most serious problem. Also mentioned as problems by Dual-Career males were executive mobility and discrimination against women. It is interesting to note that in general, Dual-Career women were less concerned about the occupational barriers than were the Dual-Career men interviewed. Only sixty percent of the female sample felt that discrimination against women might be a problem for them in their careers.

Finally, it was argued that many of these strains were the result of role conflict, particularly for women. A model of coping involving three strategies for reducing inter-role strain was presented and discussed. It was argued that the use of structural role redefinition and personal role redefinition as opposed to reactive role behavior were more optimal strategies for resolving role conflict. Moreover, it was suggested that the high self-esteem and self-worth measures found in professional women in the middle adult years may be due to their success in utilizing these two successful coping strategies.

Considering the sample in its entirety, it is evident that the Dual-Career family pattern is the structural alternative preferred by the majority. (66.7% of total respondents advocated this lifestyle.) The choice of this pattern inevitably involves considerable problems and necessitates a great deal of sacrifice on the part of both husband and wife. However, it is important to note that on the whole, those subjects who consciously desired this style of living were less realistic in their expectations than any of the other three groups. This may be

due in great part to the fact that the innovative style of life they have selected is, in reality, more problematic than the more traditional patterns. Conventional family structures are supported both formally and informally. However, the Dual-Career family is still a minority pattern. Hence, these families are forced to manage all of their lives and problems with their own innovative patterns as they are without any real precedent and operate without the approval of their socio-cultural environment. Thus by embarking on a deviant experiment, they are forced to solve their problems and deal with strains on an individual level and often find themselves battling against institutional and societal pressures. And consequently, much of the academic literature has been devoted to describing some of the individual solutions devised by these families in their attempt to cope with the dilemmas facing them.

Viewed from this perspective, the lack of realistic content in the expectations of the Dual-Career men and women seems more comprehensible. In particular, the gap between expectations and realities most evident in the interviews with Dual-Career women is more understandable. These females are choosing perhaps the most problematic career/family lives of all of the subjects considered. They will feel the difficulties and pains of trying to maintain a career and family life simultaneously most acutely, and they will be forced to make the most sacrifices. In addition, it is these women who are choosing a lifestyle in which the lack of institutional supports will be most apparent. Only in this context can their unrealistic expectations be discussed and appreciated. The re-

sponses of the one Radical woman opting to eliminate the family life altogether serve to further emphasize the difficulties encountered by women who attempt high level achievement in the professional world concomitantly with rich and full marriage and family lives.

Despite the barriers against it, most scholars agree that the Dual-Career family pattern is unlikely to disappear. On the contrary, as was discussed previously, it seems fairly clear that economic, demographic, and social trends leading to the increasing labor participation of women will serve to make the Dual-Career family more prevalent in future years. Given this, it seems reasonable to argue that providing institutional solutions to the problems faced by the two-career family, thereby officially sanctioning and approving its existence, should be viewed as a desirable goal for modern industrialized societies. Some of these solutions include: domestic reorganization, the upgrading of domestic help professions, a massive improvement of and increase in the number of child care facilities, enlightened urban planning forming a closer relationship between residence and workplace, and changes in the occupational world allowing more flexibility. It seems clear that these changes aimed at facilitating the Dual-Career family are highly desirable and in some cases already underway. Throughout an attempt must be made to emphasize the importance of institutional solutions as opposed to the difficult and often inadequate individual solutions which have been devised by many two-career families. As Epstein points out, "Perhaps some of these [work/family] problems cannot be solved individually but

must wait for institutional solutions...or ideological input to remove the sense of 'guilt' men, women, and their children feel when their family does not match the image portrayed as the 'ideal'."¹²³

¹²³Epstein, op. cit., p. 562.

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APPENDIX

CHECKLIST OF TOPICS COVERED IN INTERVIEWS

I. Biographical Information

age
marital status
career objective
mother's vocation
other siblings in family
closer to mother or father

II.

immediate career plans: four top priorities in job choice
marriage plans: after five years, after ten years
children
sacrifice for career/sacrifice for family
decision-making within home
division of labor within home
attitudes toward spouse working; spouse's income
career/family problems anticipated
geographical move for husband/ for wife
maternal employment

III.

successful career versus successful marriage
organizational or institutional barriers perceived
peer groups pressures/family pressures
priorities after 10 years, after 20 years
overall time plan for career/family life
corporate or organizational changes desired
four adjectives to describe self
projective test: At the end of her first year in medical
school, Jane found herself at the head
of her class.