AT&T Management Forum Series

Management Forum

K MARY ROWE

Managerial Women And Men In A Changing Society – The '80s

A discussion with

Dr. Mary P. Rowe
Special Assistant to the President and Chancellor of M.I.T.

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Management Forum Series

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Mike Beilis, Manager Employee Communications

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Mike Beilis Manager, AT&T Moderator

Following is a transcript (audio output) of the program, Managerial Women And Men In A Changing Society - The '80s which was recorded by the AT&T Public Relations staff through the facilities of the AT&T participatory CCTV network.

MR. BEILIS: Good afternoon. I'm Mike Beilis and welcome to Management Forum. Our topic today is Managerial Women And Men In A Changing Society. Our guest is Dr. Mary P. Rowe.

Dr. Rowe is Special Assistant to the President and Chancellor of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She is the ombudsperson, if you please, responsible for upward information and communication of the many people that participate in that large institution of learning and to see that they are heard and that the corporation is responsive to their needs. It's a very interesting type of a concept for an institution of higher education. 3,000 or 4,000 people go through her office and that means...

DR. ROWE: Each year.

MR. BEILIS: Each year not each day, right. O.K. I don't know how she keeps that straight but I'm sure she's a very good listener as you've noticed. She has served as chief economist and director of a number of non-profit government research projects at Radcliffe, Harvard University and Abt Associates dealing with child care and equal employment opportunities for women. She has served as a delegate to international conventions studying the problems of child care and women, she is a member of the Massachusetts State Manpower Services Council and on a number of Boards of Directors. She has written many articles in the last several years which have been published in professional journals, and has a column in Parent Magazine. The topics that she has been writing about include "Why do women take and keep mostly low paying jobs?", "Prospects and patterns for women and men at work: to be able both to love and to work", and "Should mothers work?" She holds a Ph.D. in Economics from that great institution, Columbia University, and an honorary degree from Regis College. She is a mother of three children, a happy wife, and I also happen to know that she is a very outstanding gardener and knows how to use her time very wisely and prudently. She has traveled extensively, she has been in Nigeria, she's been in Asia and participated in Bell System Seminars, so we're delighted to have with us Mary Rowe.

DR. ROWE: Thank you. I'm really very glad to be here today, although every time I'm asked to talk about this topic about changing options for men and women, I think again how brave you have to be in order to talk about this topic at all. I remember once recently when I was going to talk about the topic "Why is There a Revolution in the Lives

of Men and a Revolution in the Lives of Women?" The person who did up the brochure said, "Dr. Rowe wants to know why men are revolting and why women are revolting?" I told him that the question might be misunderstood.

In fact, I can remember all kinds of incidents in which I learned that this is a very gloomy topic. I learned it was a very gloomy topic for the first time at M.I.T. at my first major faculty meeting. I was particularly interested because that day there was going to be a learned speech on equal opportunity by one of our more distinguished, and committed, and favorite faculty members. I crept in and sat down quietly beside a Dean whom I know and cherish. I heard this Professor give an impassioned speech about equal opportunity, which he ended by saying, "Now it's a tremendous amount of trouble; there's paper work everywhere; it's hard lines for all of us, but we really must do our duty and bring in more minorities and women to M.I.T." I felt a little sad about this gloomy speech so I wrote a note to the Dean on my left and said, "Dean, wouldn't anybody here stand up and say, 'look, having more minorities and women at M.I.T. would be fun!" He regarded me very glumly, and very somberly, and very sadly and wrote me back a note saying, "Oh, Mary, look around you; does anybody here know what fun is?"

I want to talk about four things today. The first that I will give you is the one true truth about changing sex roles. It's the one thing that we know absolutely for certain about the changing options for men and women. The second is some comments about why you might want to look at this topic in the first place, and especially at the question of new lives for men. The third is what we might all think about in order to cope; that is some nuts and bolts for a large organization in coping with changing options for men and women. And, finally, some brief comments about what I think it might all be like and why. In fact, I feel very hopeful as I look at the changing lives of men and women.

Now then for the "True Truth." The one thing that we all know for absolute certain, the real truth about changing sex roles, probably the *only* real truth is: that no two people have the same views of it. As you look around you in the room you can be guaranteed that there are at least as many beliefs about changing sex roles in the room as there are people. And everyone has very strong feelings about what is right in this area. I'm sure you know the old joke, (and it's a very important joke to me because I'm an economist), that if you laid all of the economists in the world end to end, they would still

point in all directions. So, even more so, is it true for all of us in our views about what should happen with sex roles. That then, is my first major point. That all of you, all of us, will be dealing in the 1980s with men and women, with families, children, lovers, friends, spouses, co-workers, bosses and colleagues, who don't agree with us at all, about what life is or should be with respect to men and women. And let me illustrate this a little.

If we look at the world that you and I grew up in, with everybody in the country distributed on a graph, from egalitarian beliefs to traditional beliefs, then most of us were brought up in a world where most people believed more or less the same things. We were kind of halfway in between the wildest extremes of traditional outlooks on men and women and very egalitarian outlooks. In fact, there weren't very many people at the extremes. If you're somewhat like me you probably grew up under the middle of the Bell curve.

But now we're looking at a very different world. There are lots more people who are very egalitarian indeed. In fact, in polls of high school seniors and M.I.T. graduate students, you'll find that the younger world coming along tends to be largely more egalitarian, and some of them are absolutely committed to 50/50 lives. Others have become more traditional: That is, we've got further extremes in the world that we're living in now, if the polls can be believed, (and if you listen to the young people around you, you probably believe it). Now, you may ask, what happens if my son or daughter at one end of this extreme meets and falls in love with somebody at the other end of the extreme? What happens if a boss at one end has an employee at the other?

That is, indeed, why we are here today. We are dealing with a world in which I don't think we'll go backward. We're dealing with a world where people disagree wildly about what men and women ought to be and how they ought to live. How, you may ask, did it happen? I won't bore you with all of the things that underlie the growing labor force participation rate for women between 1900 and 1979. Those are familiar topics to all of us. It was the growing need of the economy for workers in the services sector, the pill, the fact that women now are as well educated as men, the change in sex role ideologies with the women's movement. But many people are less aware of the corresponding decline in the labor force participation rate for men over the age of 16: (now down to about 78% of all men between 16 and 65, and dropping rather rapidly.) For women it's now well above 50%. So, we see now, the lives of men and women both very sharply changed from 1900, are growing more and more

alike. So much for paid work. How about unpaid work?

If you look at participation in homemaking and child care, the principal form of socially constructive labor in this society that is not paid, you can see a very rapid change in what's happened to employed mothers since about 10 or 15 years ago. Employed mothers, —(I don't know how many of you in the listening audience are employed mothers at this time, but)—employed mothers used to do about ten hours of homemaking a day, including child care and all other forms of homemaking. If you're an average woman, that's now dropped to about four and a half hours per day, including all forms of shopping and child care.

What happened to employed *fathers* over these decades when women have gone into the paid labor force? Well, until very recently, nothing much. Employed fathers used to do about one and one-half hours per day, in home-making and child care, and up until very recently they were still doing an hour and a half in unpaid home-making. In fact, from the mathematical point of view, if you ask yourself the question, how can we predict how many hours of home-making and child care a female will do, you will find that it is a function of whether she has a husband and whether she has children and the ages and numbers of her children, and then whether or not she is in paid employment.

Then ask yourself the question: How would you predict what men would do in the home? What men did in the home was a function of what men otherwise did. That is, women spent their time in the home as a function of the lives of their husbands and children. Men spent their time in the home as a function of how they spent their lives out of the home. That's been a very consistent pattern until a year or so ago when we began to see a change in how some men were spending their time, in particular in homes where there was a wife who had a paid job and where there were children.

What do these graphs then mean? They reflect of course a sharp decline in the birth rate, and postponement in marriage and of child rearing. They reflect a total drop in homemaking that's being done by anybody. You know: we telephone instead of writing letters; we eat out instead of cooking. Many of us don't do housework at all any more. But still there is a crunch. There's a crunch especially if you look at this last graph. There are problems for women and problems for children and problems for men.

The problems for women largely derive from these facts: Employed mothers, on the average, work at least 10 or 15 hours per week longer than do employed fathers. One-eighth of them are heads of

household and another tenth earn as much or more than their husbands; that is they are the chief breadwinner in a husband/wife family. They earn on the average only 60% of the wages of men, but they bring in a total of almost a third of all family incomes as well as doing well over half of all unpaid work. Many women, then, think that the present situation is unfair and unstable, and has a lot of problems for them.

For kids the problems are obvious. And they're very simple. Who will take care of the kids? Will we have them at all?

And for men, also the problems are becoming much more obvious. In an office like mine, which is open on a zero-barrier basis, for any employee, faculty, staff or student at M.I.T. with a concern, I hear more and more from men. I listen to questions about divorce and custody. I hear men saying, "What did I live for, if my kids don't know me, and if they don't share my values?" I hear the same kinds of midlife crises that all of you do. The intense interest on the part of many men for a break, for a mid-life change, for a mid-life training program. I hear this even at M.I.T., (that bastion of technology): more and more about cooperation and a belief in humanness of the kind that Hazel Henderson was discussing here not long ago. And I hear a sense of fury also at the ill-health, and the dying-young that afflicts many men in our society.

As I listen to three or four thousand people a year in my office, I think that women are *tired* of being asked why they want a career, and, men, many of them, would *like* to be asked. Men are tired of being asked, why they would like to relax by cooking, or why they would like to play with the kids. Women, many of them, would *like* to be asked.

Many women that you know, and that I know would like more opportunities to be assertive, perseverent, ambitious, self-confident, creative and independent, to work with other adults, to receive equal pay for equal work. The men in my office would like more chances to be tender, to be nurturant, to be warm hearted and sensitive, to be expressive, to have their needs taken care of overtly instead of covertly. And men, like women, in national surveys report their families rather than their paid employment as the chief source of life satisfaction in their lives. Men, then, want equal satisfaction from hours lived.

In this vein let me tell you some surprising results of a study done with women who are playing multiple roles. There's a wonderful study called the "Superwoman study," that many of the women in the audience might be interested in. It was originally expected to

show how exhausted professional women are. The "Superwoman Study" deliberately sought out women who seemed to be doing everything. They took care of everyone in the office, they were brilliant and creative in the office, they took care of their husbands, they ran the PTA; that sort of quintessential woman whose house is even tidy, on top of the rest of it. And the researchers, as I say, expected to look at the abject exhaustion of people forced into performing perfectly in all of these multiple roles. But instead, as now dozens and dozens of adult women with these multiple roles have been interviewed, we're finding something else entirely, and something very interesting. These women seem generally delighted with their lives; they wouldn't give up any piece of it for anything. They don't want one dimensional lives, they want multi-dimensional lives. I think by the way that this is a pattern that black women in this country have shown all of us for many years. Now, women in droves. non-minority as well as minority women, are now saying, "Yes, I do want several different roles."

More and more men are asking the same question. Especially with retirement dates being pushed further and further back. We have more and more men asking, why do we have a serial life pattern, of education, then paid work, then retirement, instead of *mixed* patterns of education and paid work and unpaid work running all the way through a life cycle, perhaps on a kind of a bumpy pattern.

So—there are very powerful, one directional forces for changes in sex roles. There is everything that we know about the economy, the need for women workers in the paid labor force. There's everything we know about the psychology of both men and women, the growing desires for different kinds of options, for various kinds of roles for all of us, male as well as female.

We, as managers, deal with men and women who, like ourselves, are living in a world that they didn't make. The question that we come to next is, how do we cope?

Before I go on let me say one thing in parentheses. Many people will ask, in a discussion like this, if the engines for change of traditional sex roles are so strong, why ever did we *have* traditional sex roles in the first place? If you find yourself asking yourself, "Mary, isn't it *really* true that, at base, that men and women are really fundamentally different?" You might want to raise that question during the question period.

How can we cope then? We who are male and female managers and planners and vice presidents at AT&T and IBM and M.I.T. I'm giving of course only opinions, but my first suggestion is that you

work very hard to know your own feelings and those of your major subordinates, the people around you.

In fact, the questionnaire that you might have gotten as you came in is called, "Questionnaire for Discussions on Paid Work and Family Work."* I should emphasize that Mike Beilis does *not* want these questionnaires back, filled out or otherwise! They are really just questionnaires for people to read through, to talk over with their spouses, to pass around the office, to see what the people around you think. Remember that old adage about "save water, shower with a friend?" Well, you can save some time in finding out what this questionnaire is all about by reading it through with somebody else, particularly with people of different ages. Try it out on one of your kids and see if they differ with you on the answers. The first thing is, then, do the best you can to find out how you yourself feel about the egalitarian lifestyle that many people around you, including our children, may want.

My second recommendation, (if all else fails and you're backed up against the wall with some horrible problem that ensues because of changing sex roles) is to fall back on humor. If we have enough time, I'll tell you about the Great Poster War at M.I.T. This was a final desperate attempt to solve a major problem in a sex role arena in our particular corporation.

My third suggestion is that you should track your labor force as well as you can. See how people are voting with their feet. Find out how they are living. In preparing for this discussion today, I did my best to make an estimate, to figure out how the children are being taken care of by employees at AT&T who have the following characteristics: employees who have children under the age of 5 and who live in husband/wife, two-job, two-career families. In coming here, using the data available to me in the studies that I have, I would make an estimate that probably in about one-sixth of all of the AT&T families—that have the characteristic that there is a child under the age of 5 and that both parents are in the paid labor force—about one-sixth of those kids are being taken care of, at least in part, by the parents staggering their work hours.

There was an excellent article on this by Laurie Thomas, published in one of the Bell Telephone publications that Mike sent to me. But it's very common now, staggering of hours in the United States today. It can be really tough for those families. Sometimes it means that the parents don't even sleep together during the work week. Sometimes it works out absolutely beautifully. As I say do read the idyllic and wonderful article in the AT&T journal that Mike sent me.

In any case, find out how your work force is doing these things. If it's really true that a sixth of your young parents in two-job families are staggering their work hours, you will find that they are employees enormously under stress, who might welcome some discussion of this kind of thing within their work environment. In fact, if you have any kind of upward feedback channel, like the mediation and ombuds-person office that I represent at M.I.T., use it to find out how your employees are feeling about changing sex roles in their own lives. I think especially if you're in senior management, you may be fairly surprised at the kinds of things that turn up.

I remember vividly my first three months at M.I.T. I listened to everything that came into my office, 50 or 60 people a week, for the first three months. Then I wrote down a careful list, of everybody and everything that had come into my office, to discuss with my boss, Jerry Weisner. I thought he might like to know what it was I was doing there. (I carefully disguised the incidents; I boiled them down to one brief sentence each, and I made a list of everything that had come in). There were I guess 600 or 700 items on this long list. Jerry read it through very solemnly, and very thoughtfully, and finally he got to the end. And he said, "Mary, before you came, did any of this happen?"

We have then to plan for diversity. We need to be supporting our traditional family members and our egalitarian family members and everybody in between. You might want to look at such questions as the "variable market basket of benefits," where an employee can, as a young parent, choose for instance a partial subsidy for day care or a parental leave. Consider work scheduling changes, (which are underway all across the country and particularly in Europe). As many of you might know, there are plans for leave without pay, especially for exhausted mid-lifers like us, and "under-time" jobs. Because under-time jobs are creating such an interest in various corporations, let me raise this briefly here today. An under-time job is one where you would accept 2% or 4% or 6%, on a pro-rated basis off your salary, in return for 5, 10, 15 days off, on a planned and voluntary basis, on leave without pay. That is, the corporation doesn't suffer because they don't pay for those days off. The employee suffers less because pay checks are just reduced by a pro-rated percent throughout the year, (instead of having an employee lose pay for the days he or she doesn't come in). "Under-time" jobs can allow a corporation to plan better for down time, and can allow an employee to plan better for final exams or for having a baby, or for more of a vacation, or for taking time off to help a child who is preparing for examinations.

^{*}See page 29.

All kinds of flexible work hours are I think the hope of the future for everybody, from the egalitarian to the traditional and for men and women.

I don't want to talk too long. I came here prepared to talk about all kinds of things that AT&T could do in experiments and in support of men and women whose lives are changing. But I think I'll skip instead to my fourth point. This is how I myself look at the possibility of a world in the 1980s, where things have been very different than they were in the 1950s.

Suppose we imagine, for the sake of the discussion, families where both parents work three-quarter time in paid employment, and maybe use some day care. Suppose that they consider working three-quarter time on a year-round basis while they have young children. Later maybe it's three-quarter time on a three-years-in and one-year-off basis in midlife, for extra training.

A family where both parents work three-quarter time, would obviously be much more secure from the point of view of family finance and would of course have a higher income in this time of inflation. There would be more paid jobs in the American economy in time of unemployment. And also, it would help us deal with older people who don't wish to retire, (a question that we haven't really begun on a corporate planning basis to deal with yet and of which we don't know the dimensions yet.

Both men and women, if they were expected and had a chance to have paid and unpaid lives, would have more of a variety in their lives. They'd have at least one area-(at home)-with an enormous amount of autonomy over the creative work in their lives. They'd get to know their kids in a way that is denied now to a great many American men. Each would have two or three areas in paid work, family work and volunteer work for using skills, for acquiring more skills, for acquiring a sense of identity and purpose on a lifetime basis. Husbands and wives obviously would share a great deal more. A wife who has been in paid employment knows what the rat race is like, and a fellow who has stayed up all night with the measles knows what homemaking is like. Both men and women would be enormously more independent if left alone; more independent financially. and more independent with respect to being with and taking care of their kids. And both would have a great many more options to change jobs, to go back into training.

We could ask ourselves the question, would the country be more productive? Would adults be happier? Would men live longer? I don't think we know the answers to those questions but I'm entirely

hopeful as we look forward to a decade where we may learn. You remember that Freud once said that a healthy adult was somebody who really had chances both to love and to work. As I look at the decade of the 1980s and at the changing sex roles of both men and women, I see a generation where we might have women more independent, more assertive and creative, with many more chances to work. And with men much more in touch with taking care of other people, with many more chances to love.

Can we have some questions now?

MR. BEILIS: All right. I want to make sure that I'll ask you, if no one else asks you, the question about the Poster War at M.I.T.

DR. ROWE: The Great Poster War.

MR. BEILIS: Yes, but let's start with the audience here in New York and if you want to use the microphone remember you just press the button. Anybody want to open up with a question or a comment?

MS. O'BRIEN: Mary, I'd like you to speak to what AT&T might be able to do in the way of institutionalizing the whole concept of mentoring?

MR. BEILIS: Mary, excuse me, what is "mentoring?"

DR. ROWE: Mentoring, classically, is teaching by an older person who can open doors for you and give you skills. This person can tell you what excellence is, set high standards for excellence and hold you to them. Indeed I'm glad you asked, because if we're talking about women and minorities as well as white males and other humans, mentoring seems to be fairly different for minorities and women now.

Classic "mentoring," as Levinson described it, had the following characteristics. (First of all, I know that this may be a worry to many of you here who are over 40, so I want to begin by saying that the Levinsonian views about people over 40 seem not, I repeat, not, to be true for minorities and women, whether or not it ever was true for white males.) Levinson described a standard mentor/mentee path, in which a mentee under the age of 40 would acquire a mentor, usually about ten years older, and for a period of two to three to eight to ten years. There would be one, singular, close, intense relationship between them, in which the mentee learned a great deal, the

mentor taught a great deal and the mentee usually had few other friends. This intense relationship was of great use to the career of the mentee but had to break up in order for the mentee to get on with life. It often broke up in a fashion either acrimonious or full of grief or both. Now what happens with women and minorities now-adays seems often to be somewhat different. As well as we can study the mentorships for women and minorities, (and incidentally one of the six recent studies I know of was done in part by one of your own, Blain Davis of AT&T, in his year at Sloan School of M.I.T.)

MR. BEILIS: We both can claim him.

DR. ROWE: Well, we will both claim him. What seems to be happening to women and minorities is this: their mentors may be of any age, older, peers, or younger, and the mentee also is of any age: over 40, under 40 (or 40.) Women and minorities appear to be acquiring multiple mentors and they appear never to lose them. Far from having to break away in an acrimonious or grief-stricken surge of independence, most women and minorities, as they discuss their multiple mentors, tell rather happy stories about that person as a friend for life. "I moved to San Francisco, but we still stay in close touch." Or, "he's still teaching me a lot about the things I need to know to keep up." A mentor, then, is somebody who helps teach, who sets standards of excellence and helps hold you to them, who opens doors and passes on skills. And the classic mentorship that used to apply to white males may or may not apply to white males now, and it appears not necessarily in a standard mold as it applies to minorities and women.

One of the things that I think we do know about mentors is that it helps to have one of the same race and sex as the organization you're in. You have to think about that carefully. We used to think about role models, that that person should be of the same race and sex, preferably of the same lifestyle, sexual orientation, and maybe hair color, as yourself. The appropriate mentor is presumably of the same race and sex as your organization and it doesn't matter if it's the same race and sex as yourself. If you are a black female growing up in a white male environment, it helps to have a white male mentor. If you are a white male getting ahead in a huge inner-city day care system, it clearly helps to have a black female mentor. Now then I can't even remember what your question was. Am I answering it?

MS. O'BRIEN: I wanted to speak to what AT&T could as a corpora-

tion do to enhance this process if in fact it's one that benefits the corporation.

DR. ROWE: It clearly benefits the corporation because it enormously enhances productivity and it helps good people get ahead. The implications for AT&T I think are that you help everybody in any job to have a traditional mentor for that job. That means that the men going into operator positions need traditional terrific operators as mentors if possible. And that the women going on in science and engineering and in top management if possible should have white male mentors.

At M.I.T. we've encouraged a widespread informal mentoring system, the basic organizational elements of which seem to be these: First, the top has to legitimate it and talk about it everywhere. In fact, I first learned of the enormous significance of this legitimation at AT&T. I was at a corporate policy seminar where I was told that a previous speaker, a learned psychiatrist from Boston, had said that the classic mentorship relationship between senior male and junior female would never work because of sex. (I was devoutly glad that I hadn't heard that before I went to M.I.T., I might have believed it!) What the sexualization questions do mean is that the natural diffidence that our society feels, in a senior male/junior female situation, needs to be spoken to openly. And the existence of male/female mentorships needs to be legitimated by top administration. That's the first requisite. And the other prerequisite for a successful mentorship program is that juniors are taught to go out and seek mentors: that it's right, that it's proper, that you can have multiple mentors, that you can learn something from everyone, no matter what a dinosaur he or she may be, and that you should yourself as a junior person go out and seek them.

MR. BEILIS: Can I amplify on Rita O'Brien's question. How do you go about in a corporation seeking a mentor? Is it legitimate?

DR. ROWE: Is it legitimate? Well, if it's been legitimated by the top administration then it's legitimate. How you go about and seek them is going to be extremely idiosyncratic to the environment you're in.

MR. BEILIS: Maybe I should have asked how do you legitimize it if you're a top administrator, to make it understood that it's perfectly all right to seek a mentor or a mentee?

DR. ROWE: You go about talking about it all the time, wherever you go, as the top administrator. Or as a manager. You make sure that everybody who reports to you, all of the line management underneath you, understands and believes that it's company policy to have skills taught downward, to have doors opened for the best people underneath, that you are not there to keep and sit on the talents underneath you, but to grow them and foster them, and help them get on with it. And of course this should be true for men and women, minorities and non-minorities.

MR. BEILIS: Very good. Let's go to Basking Ridge and Bob Sterrett and your audience.

MR. STERRETT: Given the changing roles of men and women, I'd like to ask Dr. Rowe, if she would, to go into a little more depth why a company of any size, particularly the size that we're accustomed to in the Bell System, why should there be any compulsion to be concerned about establishing so-called programs. What is the payoff?

DR. ROWE: What is the payoff? The payoff might be in many different kinds of terms. Flexible work hours classically are interesting in terms of payoff. They are thought to, (and actually have been demonstrated to) help to deal with lateness, with absenteeism, with sabotage, with worker turnover. They also help to deal with a kind of exhaustion that many of us feel as we try to deal at various times in our lives with our multiple roles.

We used to have studies that only showed how the family impinges on work life. That is, what is the matter with American families that are impeding productivity in American corporations? The new generation of studies, you'll all be delighted to hear, are in the opposite direction. They say, how is paid work life impinging on family life in the United States? The major Department of Labor studies that we have in the last two years show that about a third of American workers feel that their paid work inflicts pain upon, or otherwise interferes with, their family life. This is in a context where family life was reported (by both men and women) to be the chief source of satisfaction for American workers in the United States today. What does this mean for corporations then? It means that corporations (if they want workers that are loyal to a company and happy with themselves and maximally productive) will give thought to ways in which paid work can be designed to interfere less than it has done with family life, especially if that's in ways that will enhance paid work productivity,

and lower costs.

MR. BEILIS: That answer your question, Bob?

MR. STERRETT: Yes, that's fine for the moment.

MR. BEILIS: O.K. RRC, go ahead.

MS. HOWELL: Dr. Rowe, this is Susan Howell from the Comptrollers Department. Have you yet seen much interest on the part of major American corporations like ours in these ideas of under-time, three-quarter time, mid-life leaves and the like, or are these ideas still mostly confined to academic consideration and think-tank circles?

DR. ROWE: I think that's a very good question. Like the one before it. That is, why would a corporation be interested in this and are they really? When I first came to M.I.T. six and a half years ago, there was very little interest in these questions in real life, large corporations. Six years later, now, I see an enormous interest. It isn't just being invited here today. It's more and more frequent requests for consulting from major corporations all over the country. The reasons, I think, are many. It's partly the workers themselves, saying in droves, we really need help with this. It's partly that men are beginning to realize that they may in fact not get married and/or have children, unless there is some way of sharing child care and paid work more equitably with their wives. We see a generation of women who have, in the last five years, decided more and more not to get married, to postpone marriage, not to have children or to postpone childbearing, and to have fewer children than America has ever seen before for a sustained period. And that is a real question for society and for American corporations as well as for individual families. Workers of childbearing age are beginning to ask this question and managers have to deal with it.

At older ages, I think that corporations are interested now because of the "mid-life crises," the mid-life dropoff in productivity, in highly technologically-oriented institutions like yours and mine, and then finally because of the changes in the retirement laws. The real questions are, as the society changes, how can people be in happy productive work on a lifetime basis with interludes and changes. These questions are also being widely asked in Europe, for instance in Germany. So, the quick answer is, yes, American corporations are showing, in the last two or three years in particular, an extraordinary

response, just as men's lives are demonstrably changing now in the time-study budget surveys.

MS. HOWELL: Have you yet seen any corporations actually institute programs like this or are they still mostly in the inquiring, thinking, listening, talking stages?

DR. ROWE: Well if you think on an international and worldwide basis, we are probably the last industrialized country to be asking these questions. Germany for instance is working on the notion that we should be mixing educational periods, childbearing periods, highly productive periods, time-off periods, and that maybe we shouldn't have retirement at all. Germany has been thinking and discussing those thoughts in major corporations now for years. So also in Sweden. In Japan there is the notion of corporation family support systems. In Europe the notion of child allowance and parental leave systems, for instance, has been in place and working for a long time.

Before I get back to this country and to your question, let me give you one more statistic about Sweden. Six years ago Sweden instituted a paternity leave system, in addition to their maternity leave system, and everybody wondered, would men use it? The first year about 2% of all eligible new fathers took paternity leave and the second year it was 4% and the third year it was 6% and the 4th year it was 9%. And when I last heard, it was estimated at 15%. That's a 1970s program, changing very rapidly.

Now back to this country, which is as I say the last major industrialized country to be dealing with these questions, openly, explicitly, at a top management and public policy level. I see a lot of nascent programs in place. Certainly leave without pay, mid-life career changes, paternity leave programs are now becoming quite common though not very frequently used by men yet. That is, we're still in that 2%/4% bracket ourselves. Do I speak to your question?

MS. HOWELL: Yes, thank you.

MR. BEILIS: All right, we'll come back to New York. Anybody have a question?

MR. SHARWELL: Mary, I'm Bill Sharwell. How would you advise a woman in an institution like this one to get interconnected with or integrated with the male network?

DR. ROWE: How would I advise a woman to get connected with a male network. We're all in a male network, Bill!

MR. BEILIS: What is a male network for? Some of us who are not very familiar with the male network, what is it? How does it work?

DR. ROWE: I think Bill's question is a superb one. How can a woman be there, when things of policy importance are being discussed, at whatever level and in whatever kind of office she's in? I've got the same old prescription that we used to have for men. You do absolutely fantastic work, you volunteer for extra work, you appeal for mentorship from every competent white male who's willing to help you, and you take some initiative and responsibility yourself for entering into that system. Now then a lot of us are willing to do this the first time and then doors get slammed. It quite frequently happens to minorities and women, that they're the only person in a group who is not introduced. Or people will sit around the room talking about a new program, and then one guy says to another, "let's continue this discussion over lunch," and off they go, leaving her behind. I think in those situations, after having taken the initiative the first time, that with the first rebuff she must take the initiative the second time. And, in a polite, humorous, sweet-tempered, civilized, and pig-headed fashion—she continues to do it. What do you think, Bill?

MR. SHARWELL: I agree with your answer and I like the stress you place on the necessity to take the initiative. But I think that requires a considerable degree of self-confidence and security and somehow that has to grow. And I think that as it does maybe time has to pass. I hope not too much. But I think your answer requires probably more self-confidence and security than either of the sexes involved can muster at this point.

DR. ROWE: I'm glad you speak to that question for both sexes too. One of the most salient things about women in a traditionally white male environment, like say the upper reaches of M.I.T., or for men taking care of a two-year old in a park, where all of the other parents of two-year olds are female—one of the most salient characteristics of both of those people is an intense sense of loneliness and lack of self-confidence. By the time he's been asked for the third time if his wife has died, or if he's on vacation and how come he's on vacation the whole year, or by the time she's been looked through, or left

behind for lunches for a year, it undermines anyone's self-confidence. I totally agree with you that sense of loneliness and lack of self-confidence is the major barrier. And the only sort of cheerful thing I have to say is that "time," as you bespeak it, really does seem to help, if by time we mean experience.

Again, as we look at the studies of peoples' attitudes about sex roles, and about paid and unpaid employment for both men and women, we're finding that attitudes follow work experience. That is. she needs to have some attitude of independence or she wouldn't take a paid job in the first place. He needs to have some attitude of courage and delight in children or he wouldn't be taking care of his kids in the first place. Attitudes to some extent will get you into the work environment, but a much stronger change takes place in the next direction. That is actually doing the work leads to a very much stronger change in attitudes. As we test "self-confidence" and "cheerfulness at doing the job" and the "self-perceived sense of creativity on the job," and all of those other things that we love to test, attitudes seem to change remarkably, and very swiftly, after the first year of a non-traditional work experience in which he or she actually gets their hands on some new pattern. So I agree with you that time helps. The more women who persistently knock on the doors at the male network, and the more men who persistently take responsibility with respect to their kids, the easier it becomes every successive month.

MR. BEILIS: O.K., maybe we ought to hear something humorous. Tell us about the Great Poster War.

DR. ROWE: The Great Poster War at M.I.T. I remember it very vividly, because it taught me an enormous amount about the possibilities for social change in matters of sex roles, in a corporation like ours, (which is to say a traditionally white male corporation.) There was a department at M.I.T. which I'll refer to as Department X which had a large collection of what the men in it referred to as erotic art. The men in Department X thought this huge collection was erotic art but the women thought it was pornography. There was a wide sense of despair among the dozens of women in this very large department and they came to see me about it my first week when I didn't know M.I.T.

I had no idea how things worked, and I knew that the subject of pornography vs. erotic art was a very tense and passionately held one, and I had no idea whatsoever what to do about it. But as the women came in in ones and twos from Department X to complain

about the pornography, I listened with more and more concern. I said all of the things that any of us would say, like, "Have you gone to see your manager?" And they would say, "Yes, I went to see the manager, and he said 'Well you know the spirit of academic freedom reigns at M.I.T.' or 'We don't want censorship here.' Or, 'but it's erotic art.'"

I should explain incidentally that we're not talking about a calendar. We're talking about huge posters up and down the walls, and in and out of the offices, and great piles of magazines of the Playboy variety that were often and fiercely read during lunch hours. The women indeed complained that they were being petted and pawed and that they were seen as sex objects; that they would never be seen as professionals, that they would never be promoted, and things indeed were at a pretty pass.

Anyway, several months down the pike, after having sent them to this manager and that manager, and this manager and that manager, (in the style to which all of us managers have become accustomed.)

I finally said in despair, "why don't you get together and talk about it?" So they put up posters in the ladies' rooms saying, if you want to talk about the pornography in this department, come and eat lunch with us on Thursday. To their great surprise about 100 women turned out. They talked among themselves. Finally one very secure, self-confident, cheerful lady went downtown to the Combat Zone in Boston. She bought herself a poster 6' x 2' which depicted a nude male in what was described to me as a highly turgid condition. This poster was put up on the wall of the chief offender. The chief offender immediately began to be ribbed and teased for being gay, which was not the intent of the women, who had no heterosexist feelings against the gay folk at M.I.T.

Indeed when the poster began to be in danger, our self-confident and sturdy lady rescued it. She took it back to her office and she laid back to wait for a week. A week later she put it up on her own wall. And underneath it she put a large sign that said: WHEN I LOOK AT A MAN ALL I CAN SEE IS HIS BODY. She left her door open, on the day of the NIH site visitors, (the government visiting body from outside) who came at the time that the multimillion dollar contract at Department X was going to be renewed. Anyway, as you can well imagine, all hell broke loose. Our self-confident and sturdy lady was called on the carpet by all of the managers and she was chewed out steadily for an hour in which, so she reports to us, she said absolutely nothing. She said she looked studiously at the floor for a whole hour. Finally, when she was asked if she had anything to say for her-

self, she said "Gentlemen, you have said it all." Now one of the things I want to tell you about the use of humor, is that not only did all of the erotic art disappear from Department X, but ever since, wherever I've told this story, it's worked most effectively in reducing the incidence of erotic art and/or pornography.

MR. BEILIS: We have a question that was submitted in advance from New Jersey. Please comment on the strong sense of competition between women rather than supportive sisterhood.

DR. ROWE: The question of competition among women, as distinguished from sisterhood, is one of enormous interest to us at M.I.T. I have two feelings about this. One is that competition is normal among women as it is among men and, second, *ferocious* competition isn't necessary among either men or women. This was a very pointed question for us at M.I.T. because we live in a situation where there is something called tenure slots. That is only a few people in each academic department can get tenured; and only a few people can be top administrators. It's rather like being in the pyramid at AT&T where only a few people can go all the way to the top. And when I came to M.I.T. six years ago there were many different departments where two women were ostensibly competing with each other, in a situation which I'm sure exists here at AT&T in many different departments and in many different places. I wondered what would happen.

When we first began to address this question we got a lot of the women together. I would talk individually with each person in the pair. They would also come in to see me together and we also had lots of faculty meetings with many of the junior women. And they decided in ones and twos, in most departments, and I'm talking now about many such pairs, that they would do everything that they could to support each other. Because, (whether or not they were in competition for the same slot over the five year period of fighting for tenure) they were also two against the multitudes. I'm talking about a time when we had two dozen women on a faculty of 1,000. In ones and twos, then these women in each of many different departments. decided that they would work for each other in any way they could. Whoever didn't get in would at least have her career enhanced as she went out. What actually happened was that in every case the first woman who got through helped pull the other with her. I was just amazed. I learned that sisterhood is indeed extremely powerful. They helped build each other networks, they introduced each other's

ability to the notable white males inside M.I.T. and out, they talked about each other's work, they talked about each other in Washington where the funding comes from, they talked about each other on consulting trips everywhere, they raised each other's standards, and extraordinarily enough in each of these pairs, both women have been making it through to tenure. So my answer to the question then would be two things. One, is that of course there's some competition in all men and women and second, maybe we need less of it than we've thought heretofore.

MR. BEILIS: To add to that question because you're actually talking about managerial style, there was another question from New Jersey, Mary. It says Dr. Rowe, do you believe men and women in practice have different managerial styles and objectives? That is, are men better at competition and women better at fostering teamwork? This question of managerial style relates closely to some issues that we are currently coping with in matters of employee morale.

DR. ROWE: I think the people who are raised to be competitive are better competitors than those raised to be nurturant. How we were raised is in some way sex-linked for people your age and mine. But by no means absolutely so. We all know lots of men raised to take care of other people, and lots of women who are just terrific in athletics, and other competitive activities, like embroidery contests, beauty contests, and debating. So I don't think "all women" are anything, or "all men" anything, but that traditional socialization patterns for women are to presume that we will learn how to take care of other people and to cooperate. And not enough so for men. Just as the traditional socialization patterns for young males are to presume that you will do well on the playing field. And enough options in that arena haven't been opened to women.

You know, many of us, especially several years ago, were fond of looking at our national leaders and saying, "Why don't these men appear to care about other human beings?" If you look at the lives of men like that, who appear not to take care of other human beings, you may find that never, as a child, did they have a chance to take care of an aged aunt, or another child, or even a pet, or perhaps even a plant. I mean it is in fact possible to meet white males, in this competitive society, who have never taken care of any living thing in childhood or adulthood. And if we confront such a man in his competitive adult life, I think it isn't at all surprising if such a person doesn't appear to be particularly nurturant. So maybe this present

generation of women has on balance, on the average, in the aggregate, more experience of being expected to take care of other people, and to be able to believe that we might be good at it. So my answer would be a kind of complicated one. I don't think it's genetic. I don't think that all men and women are anything, but maybe some men didn't have a chance to be nurturant, just as many women haven't had a chance to be successfully, peacefully competitive.

MR. BEILIS: Ed Mendyk, any questions at RRC?

MR. MENDYK: Mike, I do have a question. It strikes me, Dr. Rowe, getting back to a question that Susan Howell asked earlier, that there are no corporations in this country that are supporting the types of programs that you have uncovered in Europe. It strikes me from experience that the key to any successful transfers or role reversal rests on a cornerstone of a good day care or more importantly, afterschool care program. The question is: Do you know of any such programs in Europe where corporations are supporting that activity?

DR. ROWE: A very good question indeed. There are lots of programs in Europe, notably in France and notably in Japan, and also outside of Europe, where there are child care subsidies in programs. And there are some in this country. By and large the economically most successful ones in this country are where an employer chooses to give some part of a child care subsidy rather than trying to finance totally a child care program. That is it may make sense to help a parent in finding and paying for appropriate child care, as the parent may deem most suitable for that child, rather than trying to organize company child care programs. There are maybe 50 or 100 companyrun child care programs around the country. And there are also more numerous examples around the country where child care subsidies, flexible hours, under-time jobs, parental leave and leave of absence programs exist. So it isn't as if there weren't any programs of that sort in this country. It's just that they are still few, if growing, in numbers.

MR. BEILIS: Mr. Callahan in New York has a question.

MR. CALLAHAN: Yes, Mary, I'd like to make an observation first because it came up just the other day. We have three boys at home and my wife has never worked since we got married. She came home the other day and our youngest boy is now a senior in high

school and she said you know I rushed home this afternoon again like I've been doing for about 20 years so I'd be here when he arrived home from school because all these years she sits down and chats with him about his school day and she said you know this is getting a little bit silly for me to be doing any more. And then I said, well. you know it is kind of interesting that our next door neighbors who are a Chinese family have three children about the same ages as ours and the mother has always worked and the father has always worked and they came home and took care of themselves and one of them has gone up and graduated from M.I.T., and another is a graduate of Brown and he's an intern as a doctor now. Have any studies been done in this area? My wife raised that question. She said does the family make the difference, or is anybody really looking at this. She asked me because she knows that in our business we have a lot of women working in AT&T now and she's wondering who is taking care of the children and how are they going to be affected by this?

DR. ROWE: Who is taking care of the kids is a critical question, and with three teenagers myself I have great sympathy for your wife's question. During the period of the 1960s and 1970s there have been about 1000 studies, in English alone, on the subject of what happens to the kids when parents are in paid employment. By the way I think your wife has "worked" all of these years; she just wasn't paid for it.

MR. BEILIS: So you owe her some back pay.

MR. CALLAHAN: I'll let her know that.

DR. ROWE: What happens to kids whose parents are in paid employment seems to depend on the following. First, it's obvious that kids need stable, responsive, consistent caretakers. There's every kind of study to underline each of those adjectives. Stable, responsive and consistent caretaking, especially for young children, can easily be shown to be of major importance to the health of the kids. Second, it doesn't have to be delivered by a genetic parent. And indeed multiple attachment figures, male and female, are perfectly the norm in many countries of the world and do just fine for kids.

Third, whether the kids thrive with parents in paid employment seems to depend a lot on what the parents think of it. That is, two parents who are each happy with their own paid employment, happy with the other's paid employment, and happy with being in paid

employment, at the time they have kids, are likely to raise children who are happy and productive and who honor that arrangement. But if any parent is either at home or in paid work who doesn't want to be there, the kids are likely to feel a very acute sense of strain. So, my outlook on this is not that there's "a right way to raise kids," except this: if the parents believe in and are happy about what they're doing, the kids are likely to thrive. And if the parents feel uncomfortable about it—(in any way: she's not in paid work and she feels that she should be; he is in paid work and he feels that he ought to be at home)—a parent that is unhappy about the arrangement is likely to have a child who is unhappy. So it's a complicated answer to your wife, but if she was doing what she felt best about, it should certainly have been best for your kids, assuming that you approved of it.

MR. CALLAHAN: Thank you.

MR. BEILIS: We have time for a quick round of questions, go ahead.

MR. GEILS: Thank you, Mike. First of all what is your room number there; we have some posters we want to send.

MR. BEILIS: At AT&T or M.I.T.?

MR. GEILS: All kidding aside, Dr. Rowe, I was thinking while you were talking, that some place I read or heard about the fact that both men and women are endowed with characteristics of the other person's sex in various fixes in quantity and I wondered whether you could say something about that in the studies you have made and your observations about how the male role qualifications or qualities show up in females and vice versa.

DR. ROWE: Supposing for the sake of the discussion that we were to look at not just traditionally male and female characteristics but all of the skills and abilities we know that men and women have. That is, not just nurturance and competition, but excellence at math and skills with numbers and that sort of thing. Again, there have been at least 1000 studies in English over the last 20 years on the innate abilities of men and women.

The best results that we have about cognitive abilities, (in intellectual functioning of all males and all females), could be summarized in a graph that looks something like this. The distribution for all men overlays the distribution of skills and abilities of all women by some-

thing like about 90%. That is, about 90% of us share roughly the same skills and abilities as those of the other sex, as well as we can test it on an intellectual basis. There maybe 5% here at either end, of men and women who are really quite a lot unlike each other. Now you could look at the distribution of how men and women actually spend their time, and you find that the distributions overlap a great deal less. That is, only a few men and women lead lives that are actually like those of each other. Most men lead lives that are unlike those of most women. This may be trivial, like he takes out the garbage and she cooks, or it could be very important, like he is the head of AT&T and she is the head of a huge system of child care centers.

The distribution of skills and interests, is a pattern by and large of overlap. The distribution of how people actually use those skills and abilities is a pattern of wide disparity. So if you're asking me whether men and women are just the same, no, I don't think that men and women are just the same, but most men and women share most of the same genetic abilities, as far as we are able to test it. Most of the differences in our behavior are probably cultural. By the way, an analogous question that I'm often asked, is "Do we have any reason to believe that men are any good with kids?" I don't know if anybody in this audience is worried about that question any more, but you will be glad to know that this also has been very elaborately studied. And, just as you suspected, men are terrific with kids. And, moreover, after they've taken care of kids, including young kids, for a few months or a year, they know they're good at it. And they stop asking he question are there any genetic differences between the abilities of men and women with respect to nurturance.

MR. BEILIS: As the mike was passed around I noticed Lee Berger wanted to ask a question.

MS. WOODWORTH: Mike, my name has changed. It's Lee Woodworth.

MR. BEILIS: Congratulations, Lee, go ahead.

MS. WOODWORTH: I would like you to comment on what impact the increase in the divorce rate has had, if any, on changing roles of men and women.

DR. ROWE: What impact has the increasing divorce rate had on changing roles? I'm usually asked in the other direction, what impact

have changing roles had on the divorce rate. There's a lot of evidence in both directions. With respect to your question, it's clear that when he is left alone with the children, and she's an incompetent homemaker, that he does, nobly and responsibly, take over child care and do a terrific job at it. And he may feel at once that he was deprived, before, of a chance to be with his kids. Many women also, left alone by divorce, go into paid employment or get into other creative activity, and find that they develop skills and abilities that they had no idea that they had. Their impetus for doing so is very strong. Many women drop into poverty right away, with a divorce, and they need right away to develop the skills and interests that means that they take over some of the role hitherto played by their men. Does that speak to your question?

MS. WOODWORTH: Yes, thank you.

MR. BEILIS: O.K., we have time for one more question from New York.

PARTICIPANT: I wanted Mary to speak to what we've heard quite frequently in the area of, I'd love to promote minorities or I'd love to promote women if there were just some competent ones around. I wonder what has happened at M.I.T. where clearly you have the whole philosophy of excellence. Have you had to lower your standards in order to obtain qualified minority or female faculty members?

DR.ROWE: I think that we would insist, up, down and across the board that we're not lowering standards. Indeed, one can cast aspersions on the whole "lowering of standards" myth anyway, but in the interest of brevity I won't do that.

Let me talk to the M.I.T. experience. Since 1969 we have had sexblind admissions: That is, we have tried to accept men and women on the same basis as each other, as well as we were able to guess what it was. We've recently tested now, 10 years later, the accomplishments of male and female students after four years at M.I.T. Dr. Weisner told me that he was very disappointed that women didn't come out ahead! But I'm delighted to tell you that the performance of males and females, after four years at M.I.T. is in the aggregate very much the same. You can't differentiate between the average academic performances of men and women after 4 years at M.I.T. even though they've obviously been socialized somewhat differently beforehand.

In the case of minorities, there are special support networks run by faculty, students and staff for minority students. On the average, minority students take a little longer to get through. That is, they may take 5 years instead of 4, so we have that kind of statistical difference. But by and large if you take due account of the different socialization patterns coming in to M.I.T., at the time of leaving, there is very little evidence of lesser performance.

Now with respect to faculty and major administration staff, again, we really hold the line on standards very sturdily with respect to both minorities and women. Our own feeling is that it may be harder to recognize excellence in minorities and women, because so many of them have different early careers, but there's little problem in actually finding them if one really goes out to look. We think, incidentally, that our apparent success in finding excellent women for the faculty is related to the fact that M.I.T. is an institution of science and engineering. That is to say excellence in science and engineering is objectively rated. If she's a good physicist it won't be overlooked, because physics is an objective science relatively speaking. We think then that the highly technological orientation has actually enhanced our ability to find terrific minorities and terrific women because we can rate objectively. There's less racism or sexism in ratings of highly technical people.

PARTICIPANT: Yes, we talked some earlier about the productivity and the bottom line of some of these things that you've been talking about. When people talk about time management and so on I think there's been a lot of talk that, for example, workaholism is not a particularly helpful thing to a corporation over a period of time. Has there been any studies that show that a person who has a balanced family, and in paid employment, life is more productive or less productive than someone, particularly males, who concentrate on the paid employment life. It seems clear that in a worldly sense, in a society sense, the balanced kind of a life is better. But what about for the corporation?

DR. ROWE: It's very hard to answer your question because we don't know whether the productivity studies are affected by the kinds of people that have gotten into balanced lives. On the basis of the data we now have for men and women, those courageous innovative, creative men and women who have insisted on balanced lives seem to be more productive, and they certainly report themselves happier than normal. But we can't be certain. Maybe it's just that people who

wanted to do that, enough to fight to do it, are going to be more productive and happier when they can, or it may be that this group were all better in the first place.

It's possible that women who insisted on paid work as well as families and that men who insisted on families as well as paid work might on the average be brighter and more able and more creative. So the fact that our present studies appear to indicate that a balanced life for professionals looks a little more productive, doesn't really tell us whether it's selection or environment. On the other hand it's encouraging from the point of view of a corporation.

The easiest, quickest answer for a corporation, in terms of, "does it pay to get nontraditional people into paid employment?" is this: The upper echelons of American corporations have been largely populated with human beings from 20% of the population. That is, white males of a certain ethnic background or backgrounds, who are healthy and good looking. That's no more than a fifth of the population. If you posit that American corporations need all the incredibly brilliant talent they can for the 1% at the top, and also that abilities are randomly distributed, you can quintuple the availability of your best abilities at the top by opening up to people who are not handsome, healthy, white males of particular ethnic configurations.

MR. SHARWELL: It would be a fitting conclusion for me and I hope for others, if we asked you to give one line of advice to all of us who are trying to cope with the changing sex roles in the company and in American business. Could you sum it up in a one liner?

DR. ROWE: We all need a sense of Humane stoicism.

MR. BEILIS: Dr. Rowe, thank you very much for being with us today.

Questionnaire for Discussions on Paid Work and Family Work

How do you spend your time? (you may check off more than one category)

a) Husband:

Student

Teaching

Paid Employment

Homemaking Volunteer Work

Other

b) Wife:

Student Teaching

Paid Employment

Homemaking

Volunteer Work

Other

50%

Approximately what percentage of your total income does each of you contribute?

a) Husband:

100%

75%

50%

25% less than 25%

b) Wife: less than 25% (include Scholarships as income)

25%

75%

100%

Who should make family decisions regarding financial matters?

- a) Chief wage-earner
- b) Both wage-earners
- c) Husband and Wife
- d) Husband
- e) Wife

Who should make decisions regarding the home and children?

- a) Chief homemaker
- b) Both homemakers
- c) Husband and Wife
- d) Husband
- e) Wife

5)	Is it possible for either or both spouses to handle both a home and an outside career and do justice to them both? a) Either but not both b) Both can do it c) Wife only d) Husband only e) No opinion	9)	In your household, at present, how do you handle child care and homemaking? (Other than outside arrangements.) Yo may want to see if you and your spouse agree on the answers Child Care:% Husband% Wife Homemaking:% Husband% Wife
6)	If one spouse earns all the family income, how much responsi- bility for home and children would you ordinarily believe the other spouse should have?	10)	Which statement(s) would best correspond to your views of good child care and family life? a) If possible, children should be taken care of basically be
	a) Non-earning spouse takes care of home and children b) Both spouses should split it about equally c) Non-earner takes most but not all of the responsibilities d) Wives should, in principle, have% of child care and% of homemaking		one parent most of the time b) If possible, children should be taken care of by both parent equally c) If good arrangements are available, families and children are better off with:
	e) Husbands should, in principle, have% of child care and% of homemaking	And Comment of Comments and Comments of Co	i) Formal child care 0-20 hours/week ii) Formal child care 20-50 hours/week iii) Informal child care 20-60 hours/week
7)	If one spouse is studying full time and the other is neither in paid employment nor in school, how much responsibility for home and child care would you ordinarily believe the other spouse should have?	nericon de la composito de la	iii) Informal child care 0-20 hours/weekiv) Informal child care 20-50 hours/weekv) Formal and informal arrangements 0-20 hours/weekvi) Formal and informal arrangements 20-50 hours/week
	 a) Non-earning spouse takes care of home and children b) Both spouses should split it about equally c) Non-earner takes most but not all of the responsibilities d) Wives should, in principle, have % of homemaking and % of child care e) Husbands should, in principle, have % of homemaking 	11)	d) It depends on circumstances Do you wish your present pattern of homemaking and child care to change? a) No b) Yes - to one consistent pattern
8)	and% of child care If both spouses are studying, or studying and earning, or one is studying and the other is earning, how would you think that the responsibilities for home and children should ordinarily be shared?	12)	c) Yes - probably many times What circumstances would be most likely to change your patterns of child care and homemaking? a) Change in income expectations of husband and wife
	 a) Homemaking and child care be done by spouse with lightest load b) Both spouses should split about equally c) Wives should, in principle, have % of homemaking and % of child care d) Husbands should, in principle, have % of homemaking and % of child care e) It should depend entirely on the spouses' schedules 		 b) Changing opinions and lifestyles of friends, neighbors a society c) Availability of satisfactory child care arrangements d) Change in school or work situation of either or both spous e) More than one or all of the above f) Other

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