Managing Multiple Roles:

A Comparison of the Career and Family Path

Integration of Academic Men and Academic Women

Wendy A. Goldberg, Deborah A. Cohn, and Jacquelynne Eccles Parsons

The University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Submitted for review to the Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1980.

Abstract

To compare the family and career paths of men and women in academe and to study the relationship between participation in multiple roles and perception of role conflict, relevant survey data was collected from fifty female and thirty male faculty at a large midwestern university. There were significant differences between the family configurations and work histories of academic women and men and family circumstances had a greater effect on women's educational and career development. Household tasks and responsibilities were allocated in a sex-stereotyped neotraditional pattern, e.g., the dual-career women assumed the burden of accommodating to family needs and assuming household responsibilities while husbands "helped out". Nonetheless most women did not report experiencing great conflict in combining their multiple roles. When role conflict was reported, academic women cited problems with career development while academic men cited problems with their role as spouse. Role conflict data and coping strategies of academic men and women are discussed and explanations are offered for the discrepancy between academic women's behavior and their perceptions of role conflict.

The satisfactions and conflicts inherent in the attempt to combine career and family roles have been investigated extensively during the last decade, usually in the context of research on dual-career families (e.g. Rappaport & Rappaport, 1971). Since married professional women. unlike professional men, virtually all have spouses who are also professional (Epstein, 1970; Garland, 1972; Ginzberg, 1966), the families of academic women are typically dual-career, or more specifically, dual-professional (i.e. both spouses in academe, law, or medicine). By contrast, academic men do not invariably marry professional women and thereby have more options than their female colleagues when they consider ways to juxtapose career and family interests. Thus, one finds academic men in a variety of family typologies ranging from dual-career (or dual-professional), where both husband and wife are engaged in demanding, competitive, time-consuming occupations that require a high level of commitment (Mortimer, 1977; Hunt & Hunt, 1977; Epstein, 1970; Roe, 1964), to career-worker families where the spouse of the career person is employed in a job rather than a career (Mortimer, 1977), to the two-person single career arrangement in which the non-employed spouse actively assists the employed spouse's career (Papanek, 1973). The contrast in demands and responsibilities that characterize the dual-professional household of most academic women and the careerworker or two-person single career households of most academic men may. explain many of the differences between academic men and women in educational and career paths. Varying family typologies may also account for differences in perceptions of role conflict between academic women and men.

The present study examines the career paths and family configurations

of men and women in academe. The study provides an opportunity to contrast past and current educational, employment, and family patterns of women and men who share the same profession. Similarities and differences in multiple role involvement are presented. Data on specific differences in career and family patterns of academic women and men are discussed, as are the implications of these differences for multiple role conflict.

Pravious research

Research on the impact of the emergence of dual-career families on the participants themselves has focused on several aspects of multiple role integration: individual role conflict, individual role overload, division of labor within the household, and individual and household coping strategies. Specifically, women in careers are found to be more vulnerable to role conflict than men (Herman & Gyllstrom, 1977) and perceive career and family responsibilities as conflicting (Ginzberg, 1966). Making adjustments in one domain to accommodate the demands of another has resulted in a disproportionate number of professional women (relative to male colleagues) choosing not to marry or not to have children (Bailyn, 1974; Birnbaum, 1971; David, 1971; Mortimer, 1977). Women who choose to marry and have children still assume the burden of home responsibilities. Although professional men appear to be helping out more around the house (i.e. the neotraditional arrangement, Holmstrom, 1973), household task allocation remains stereotyped in dual-career families (Paloma & Garland, 1971; Bryson et. al., 1975; Holmstrom, 1973; cf. Berk, 1976 and Oakley, 1974 on housework division of labor). Men have traditionally not perceived the role of parent and

professional to be incompatible or contradictory. Men's subjective experiences, however, may be changing; there is some evidence that college educated men are beginning to report role strain stemming from a perceived inability to fulfill personal expectations for competence in professional and family roles (Heckman et. al., 1977; Hunt & Hunt, 1977; Mortimer et. al., 1976).

The present study

While research to date has identified the above issues as critical, few researchers have looked at the impact of a family on women's professional career development. Little data exist on the actual career paths of professional women across the adult life span (Brim, 1976) and little attempt has been made to compare the educational and career development of a set of professional women and men. We present data from our survey addressing these issues, showing that academic men and women have different educational and career histories as well as different family configurations.

The implications of the differing family arrangement options of academic women and men for household division of labor and multiple role management are also emphasized in our study. Investigation of the issues of household division of labor and attitudes toward role integration among academics is particularly interesting because academic institutions permit scheduling flexibility. Relative to other professional households, then, there exists in academic homes the potential for a more egalitarian allocation of housework and childcare tasks and responsibilities although we will see that this option is not being fully exercised. 1

¹Clearly, the extent of flexibility depends on the stage of the academic career path and varies with particular institutions. Thus, junior faculty facing tenure pressures and demands may experience more schedule constraints than their tenured colleagues.

Method

Subjects

The sample consists of 50 academic women, and 30 academic men of comparable age (women: 27.2 years to 64 years, \overline{X}_w = 42.19, men: 30.75 to 67.08, \overline{X}_m = 43.72) and religious affiliation. The results presented in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, refer only to the married and remarried sub-sample of the total population of academic men and women (26 men, 33 women). The age distribution of this group was nearly identical to that of the sample as a whole. Some of the analyses were further restricted to the subsample of the married population who had children (21 men and 27 women).

Procedure

Incorporating the existing literature (Bryson, et al., 1975; Campbell, et al., 1976; Hoffman, et al., 1978; Veroff, et al., in press) with the information obtained from an intensive set of pilot interviews, (Goldberg, et al., 1978) a largely close-ended questionnaire was designed.

Data was collected during the period from June 1978 to March 1979. A two-stage procedure was employed for data collection. Each subject was first sent a short background form. A longer questionnaire designed specifically for their life situation (i.e., whether they were married, had children, etc.) was then sent. Thus, the final set of subjects returned two questionnaires.

To obtain the female sample, all of the women faculty members (N=170) affiliated with the liberal arts & sciences and education colleges at a large midwestern university were contacted by letter. As the number of male faculty members affiliated with these two schools was considerably larger, a random male sample of 170 individuals was drawn, matched by department affiliation and professional status to the female sample. Approximately 10% of the 170 male and 170 female faculty members were unavailable due to factors such as illness and sabbatical leaves. Eighty-one (53%) of the women returned the background section of whom 50 (62%) subsequently returned the longer questionnaire, making the final response rate approximately 33% for women. The response rate for the male faculty members was lower: 54 (35%) completed the background information. Of this group, 30 (54%) returned the longer questionnaire resulting in a 25% response rate.

Results

Family Paths

<u>Marriage</u>: The distribution of results for the marital status of the whole sample is shown in Table 1. Men were significantly more likely than women to be married ($\underline{x}^2 = 5.82$, p < .05). Number of years married, however, was about equal for the sexes (average: 18 years). All but one of the women's spouses were employed or in school while 25% of the men's spouses were unemployed. Women were more likely than men to be married to other professionals($\underline{x}^2 = 9.64$, p < .01).

Insert Table 1 about here

Family size

Configurations of family lifewere also related to the sex of the respondent. Academic women had fewer children (\underline{x}^2 = 6.97, \underline{p} < .01). Careers were cited as more important in one's decisions to have fewer children by women than by men (\overline{x}_w = 3.85, \overline{x}_m = 1.95, \underline{F} = 7.85, \underline{p} < .01). When tested separately, neither spouse's employment status, own age, nor professional rank had a significant effect on one's family size.

Education and Career Paths

Data in this section came from time lines organizing the respondents' post-high school educational backgrounds and employment histories as well as from close-ended questions. Separate analyses of variance and chi square tests of association were conducted to determine the significant factors differentiating the education and career paths of married academic men and women. Regarding the course of graduate education, women took longer to get their Ph.D. $(\overline{X}_W = 8.64, \overline{X}_M = 5.7, \underline{F} = 5.37, \underline{P} < .05)$ and were older than men when they completed their Ph.D. $(\overline{X}_W = 33.29, \overline{X}_M = 28.17, \underline{F} = 8.33, \underline{P} < .01)$.

The career paths followed by academics were also affected by the respondents' sex. Men's career paths were more continuous than women's (i.e., fewer interruptions, $\underline{x}^2 = 5.65$, $\underline{p} < .05$). When men made a break, it occurred during graduate training. In contrast, women had interruptions before graduate training (25%), during graduate training (37.5%), post Ph.D. but before entry into first career position (12.5%), and after entry into academic positions (25%). Different reasons for taking career path breaks

were cited; women were equally divided between birth of child/child care and education, while men cited education and public service. No men made breaks in their career paths for child care.

Relatedly, women were more likely to make adjustments to their spouses' careers. In particular, women had both made more adjustments for their spouse's career than had the men $(\underline{x}^2=4.0,\,p<.05)$ and reported a greater willingness to consider relocating geographically to accommodate their spouse's career. In fact, regression analysis indicated that sex $(\underline{r}=.40,\,p<.01)$ and professional rank $(\underline{r}=.35,\,p<.05)$ were highly significant predictors of respondents' willingness to move for their spouse's career; non-tenured women were the most likely to report a willingness to move.

Men's employment pattern was characteristically more traditional than women's (\underline{x}^2 = 3.99, p < .05), i.e., men followed the conventional progression through the academic ranks whereas women's career paths were more frequently interspersed with non-academic employment. While the lengths of time spent in each academic rank by women and men were not significantly different, more men than women had received tenure (\underline{x}^2 = 6.67, p < .01). Differences in tenure status between the sexes were not, however, a function of any major lifecycle variables we assessed. Thus, neither age (tenured: $\overline{x}_w = 45.0$, $\overline{x}_m = 47.2$), family size, having a professional spouse, nor having interruptions in one's career related to tenure status in this sample.

Division of Labor

Two measures were employed to assess the division of labor in the respondent's household. The first relied on the respondents' reports of the percentage of time spent (0-100%) by themselves, their spouses, children,

and hired help in carrying out sex-stereotyped household tasks (e.g cooking, car maintenance). The second measure assessed who had the responsibility for insuring that these tasks were done. By using conventionally defined sex stereotypes of household tasks in both division of labor measures, we were also able to characterize the degree of sex-stereotyping in academic women's and men's households.

The family roles of academic men and women can be differentiated along several dimensions of division of labor within the household. These results are summarized in Table 2. Compared to their male colleagues, academic women performed significantly more cooking chores, conducted more social arrangements and tended to do more food shopping. In contrast, academic men participated more than academic women in the traditionally masculine domains of car maintenance, household finances, and house and yard maintenance. Academic men and women did not differ significantly in their involvement in child care (which was quite low for both due to children being schoolaged), housecleaning, arranging children's activities or major household purchasing.

Insert Table 2 about here

Further analyses yielded valuable refinements of the division of labor configurations within the households of academic women and men. For academic men, the distribution of participation in some tasks varied with the employment

[&]quot;More" throughout this section refers to a comparison of the relative percentages of time spent on tasks by each spouse, children, and hired help rather than the absolute amount of time. However, recent findings from time use studies indicate that the same number of hours are devoted to housework and children-related tasks in households of working and non-working women (e.g., Hill, 1980). Consequently, it is not unreasonable to use these relative percentages for comparison purposes.

status of their spouse. Academic men in two-person single careers (i.e. wives not working outside the home) performed significantly less cooking and more house and yard maintenance than either the academic men with working wives or the professional husbands of academic women (see Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here

Interestingly, self reports by academic men with working wives for their household task participation did not differ significantly from the figures cited by academic women for their husbands' participation. In other words, the employment status (working, nonworking) of mens' spouses played the most important role in determining the mens' involvement in household labor. The particular type of the spouses' employment however did not appear to influence mens' involvement with domestic responsibilities.

A comparison of academic men with their wives (working and nonworking combined) and academic women with their husbands yielded similar configurations for both households. As seen in Table 4, the highly significant results indicate that women in both situations executed many more of the feminine—typed tasks than did their husbands. Women performed more cooking activities, more child care, more cleaning, more foodshopping, more social arrangements, and more children's activities than men. On the masculine—typed tasks, academic men and the husbands of academic women engaged in significantly more house, yard and car maintenance than did their wives. In academic women's house—holds, men were more involved in house finances than were their wives. Major household purchasing was rather equally distributed in the households of both academic women and men.

Insert Table 4 about here

A closer examination of the data revealed some absolute differences between academic women and the working and nonworking wives of academic men. To elucidate this finding, we compared the division of labor tasks performed by academic women, nonworking wives of academic men, and working wives of academic men. A summary of these results appears in Table 5.

Insert Table 5 about here

When compared to nonworking wives, academic women engaged in significantly less child care, less arranging children's activities, less cooking, less food-shopping, more major household purchasing, more car maintenance, and more house and yard maintenance. The only task for which academic women and non working wives of academic men did not differ was house finances.

There are also several chores for which the distributions for academic women and working wives of academic men differ significantly. Academic women perform less child care, less housecleaning, less car maintenance, and less house finances. Academic women and working wives do not differ on time spent cooking, food-shopping, arranging children's activities, arranging social activities, major household purchasing, or house and yard maintenance. When compared to nonworking wives, working wives of academic men do less cooking, less food-shopping, and more house finances.

Outside help: When employed, outside help assisted primarily in child care and housecleaning duties. Fifty-six (56) percent of academic women sought hired help to perform an average of 62% of the housecleaning. In academic men's house-holds, 23% utilized hired help to do an average of 32.5% of the cleaning. Less than half of the academic women (42%) and only 10% of the academic men reported hiring help for child care though again this might reflect the children's ages. In academic women's households, hired help were involved in 21% of child care

while in the academic men's homes, they carried out only 10% of the total child care.

<u>Children</u>: In 43% of academic women's homes and in 24% of men's households, children assumed about 12-13% of household chores.

Responsibility for Division of Labor: Households of academic women and men appeared to be quite sex-role stereotyped when responsibility for ensuring the execution and completion of household tasks was examined. Both academic men's and women's mean scores differed significantly from the score for "equal sharing of responsibility" in the direction of the sex-typed pole. Thus, house-keeping (academic women: $\underline{p} < .001$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .001$), shopping (academic women: $\underline{p} < .01$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .01$), social arrangements (academic women: $\underline{p} < .01$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .01$), social arrangements (academic women: $\underline{p} < .01$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .05$) and emergency care (academic women: $\underline{p} < .08$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .05$) emerged as the females' responsibilities while house, yard, and car maintenance (academic women: $\underline{p} < .01$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .001$) and house finances (academic women: $\underline{p} < .05$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .01$; academic men: $\underline{p} < .001$) remained the provinces of the men.

To determine whether academic women's households were more or less stereotyped than men's, t-tests were conducted on the distributions of difference scores from the mean. No significant differences were found on the degree of sex stereotypy of responsibility for household tasks. Extent of stereotypy for task responsibility was also examined within the male sample, comparing households with working and nonworking wives. Again, significant differences were not found.

Perception of Role Integration

Seven-point Likert-type scales were used to assess respondents' perceptions of factors influencing the degree to which marriage, family, and career goals could be successfully integrated. Academic women and men in all age categories reported a general satisfaction with their current division of labor (2 way age x sex ANOVA on

satisfaction with division of labor was not significant), and did not differ in their perception of the difficulty of combining marriage and career. Other lines of evidence indicated that the women perceived multiple role integration to be more troublesome than did the men. Academic women, more than men, cited the burden of keeping up home and career ($\mathbf{F} = 11.76$, $\mathbf{p} < .001$), and lack of time ($\mathbf{F} = 10.23$, $\mathbf{p} < .01$) as personally salient obstacles for dual-career couples. Additionally, women who worried about coping with role demands also found it difficult to integrate career and family (rho = .61, $\mathbf{p} < .01$) and reported hot having enough time to keep their homes clear (rho = .45, $\mathbf{p} < .05$). Women who claimed that multiple role combination was personally difficult were less satisfied with themselves as career persons (rho = .40, $\mathbf{p} < .05$), perceived marriage to be a hindrance to a woman's career in general (rho = .43, $\mathbf{p} < .05$) and believed that it was difficult for women in general to combine these roles (rho = -.44, $\mathbf{p} < .05$). Or conversely, women who had little difficulty managing multiple roles also characterized marriage as an advantage for women in general.

A somewhat different picture characterized academic men's attitudes toward role integration. In contrast to the finding reported for academic women, the pattern of generalizing from personal experience to the plight of men as a whole was not indicated by our male sample, i.e., correlations between role combination difficulties for self and perceptions of problems for men in general in managing multiple roles were not significant. Some men did find the demands of professional and marital commitments to be difficult. Academic men, like academic women, who found combining career and marriage to be difficult also worried more about role demands (rho = .47, \underline{p} < .05). When men cited difficulty juggling multiple roles, the spouse role emerged as the most problematic; men who were concerned about role demands were dissatisfied with themselves as spouses (rho = .62, \underline{p} < .01), but were satisfied with their performance as career persons and

parents. In contrast, when women reported difficulty in juggling multiple roles, it was their role as a career person with which they were most dissatisfied.

Summary and Discussion

The results strongly supported our hypotheses and the current literature regarding the differential family configurations of academic men and women. Fawer women than men were married. Of the married sample, women were more likely to be married to other professionals. Since women tend not to marry beneath their occupational status (cf. Bernard, 1972), marriage, for the academic woman, almost by definition connotes a dual-career relationship, whereas this is only one of several possible arrangements adopted by men. The greater variability in the occupational profile of their spouses affords academic men a wider variety of family arrangements from two-person careers to dual-professional careers.

We had suggested in the introduction that women's educational and career paths reflected the differential family typologies available to them as compared to their male colleagues. While our data provide support for this hypothesis, an adequate test requires a comparison between the career paths of men who find themselves in different family constellations. Our dual-career male sample was too small to permit such comparisons, but future research on this issue seems warranted.

Career related factors influenced women's marital circumstances more than those of men. Career also played a significant role in women's decisions concerning children as evidenced by attitudinal and behavioral measures. Not only did women report career as a major influence on decisions regarding number of children, but, in fact, women had smaller families than did their male colleagues.

Hypotheses concerning the differential nature of men's and women's educational and career paths were also confirmed by the results; family circumstances had a more profound impact on women's career development. Our data showed that women's progression through graduate training and academic employment was often constrained by obligations to their husbands and children. While others have speculated this to be the case, our results (on the frequency of family-related interruptions, etc.) provide tangible evidence that women's careers are less linear than those of men and that women attribute this to family responsibilities.

As in other professional households, domestic tasks and responsibilities in academic homes were not equally distributed. A neotraditional arrangement characterized the division of labor in the households of academic women and men with working spouses. Dual-career men (i.e. academic men and the husbands of academic women) more frequently engaged in, and were primarily responsible for, conventionally-defined masculine tasks. And, dual-career women (i.e. academic women and working wives of academic men) still occupied traditionally feminine domains. Given that traditional masculine chores demand less time and are performed far less frequently than women's daily domestic tasks (e.g. mowing 3 lawns vs. cooking), the neotraditional arrangement still places the time-consuming aspects of housekeeping on the shoulders of women.

All in all, having an academic wife did not invoke greater male participation in housekeeping and child care activities. Also the inherent relative flexiblilty in the schedules of academic men does not appear to

Findings from a recent time use study (Hill, 1980) indicate that in the average American family, female-stereotyped tasks take approximately 4-5 times the number of hours per week as male-stereotyped tasks.

be having an impact on their participation in household tasks and respnsibilites. It would be interesting to further test the effect of employment flexibility by collecting spousal data from academic men married to
lawyers and doctors. According to our model, these professional wives
should have more institutional constraints than their academic husbands.
The relative roles of sex-stereotyping and occupational constraints in
determining household division of labor could then be investigated.

Our sample does not appear to utilize the coping strategy of structural role redefinition (Katz, 1975). That is, academic couples do not seem to be actively redefining traditional domestic roles. This finding, however, is consistent with previous research on professional couples, which also concluded that reallocation of division of labor remains an under-utilized coping strategy.

Children are also a relatively untapped resource. Although academic women's households demonstrate a greater reliance on children for assistance in housecleaning than do men's, less than half the academic women report any assistance from their children, despite the fact that the children, on the average, were old enough to share in these tasks.

Our data also afforded an opportunity to contrast the home life of working and nonworking women. When compared to academic women and working wives of academic men, nonworking wives represented the most traditional population, assuming more of the feminine chores and fewer of the masculine tasks. Consistent with this observation, academic husbands with nonworking wives were also more sex-stereotyped in their behavior (e.g., they spent less time cooking and more time engaged in house and yard maintenance).

A very important relationship between work status of women and household division of labor emerged from this study. Division of labor configurations varied depending on whether a woman was employed outside the home: her particular occupation was not a critical factor. Academic women and working wives married to academic men were more similar to one another than to nonworking wives. Being employed outside the home, i.e., being in a dual-career or careerworker family, means having less time available for carrying out household responsibilities. The level of committment required by the job, however, does not seem to have as major an influence on the magnitude of the shift in the woman's time involvement with household tasks as one might expect. Given the total time demands placed on academics by their profession, one has to wonder how these academic women are managing, especially when one compares the support provided by their spouses to the support provided by the wives of the academic men (see Table 4). There are some academic women in our sample who claim that insufficient time to keep homes clean is a personally salient dual-career obstacle. These are the same women who report worrying about coping with role demands. The source of conflict for these academic women might stem from the fact that they feel they should be able to maintain a beautiful home without insisting on additional support from their spouses but are finding it impossible given the demands placed on them by their profession.

It appears from our data that there is a slight move toward egalitarianism in households of academic women. Specifically, we found less sex-typing of cooking and house and yard maintenance in these households than in the homes of academic men with working wives. Academic women are performing more of a masculine task and their professional husbands more of a traditionally feminine chore, but this shift away from sex-typing does not constitute role reallocation or an equalitarian division of labor in terms of time spent on household maintenance since the academic wives are still assuming the major burden of female-

typed housekeeping tasks (cf. Hill, 1980 on time spent on various house maintainance tasks.)

There were some differences between the working wives of academic mendand academic women's involvement in house clearning and child care. Neither of these differences reflected greater involvement of the husband. It was partially accounted for by a difference in the utilization of hired help; academic women hire more outside help than academic men with working wives. Only slightly over half of the academic women, however, hired outside help. Thus, it appears that turning to outside help is providing needed support for some but not all academic women. Almost half are relying totally on family resources to get the jobs done. However, to assess whether these women are putting in as many hours par week on these tasks as the total of time put in by both the academic women and their hired help in households that use outside hired help would require a study of actual time use in these households.

Marriage, those that did also worried about coping with role demands. This finding corroborates recent literature suggesting that highly-educated men are increasingly perceiving role conflict. Men who expressed concern about coping with role demands were particularly worried about their performance as a spouse. If men are worried about this role this may be an indication of future change in men's spousal roles. This area certainly seems to warrant further investigation.

A similar pattern emerged for academic women, i.e., those who experienced difficulty combining career and marriage also worried more about coping with role demands. These women, however, unlike their male colleagues, were most bothered by or less satisfied with their performance in the role as professional while the men were least satisfied with

their role as a spouse. Apparently, while experiencing a conflict in multiple career and family roles, women are focusing their attention on the impact of the conflict on their professional development while men are focusing their attention on the impact of the conflict on their fulfillment of role as spouse or on their marital satisfactions. Why this might be true and the implication of this difference for coping strategies merits further investigation.

Unlike their male colleagues, women generalized from their personal circumstances to the condition of women in general. In other words, women who found multiple roles particularly burdensome attributed these problems to women as a whole. This observation is especially interesting as it is not consistent with the sex difference literature on attributions of success and failure which would predict that women would tend to draw a dispositional attribution (e.g., "I'm not smart") for failure on a given task whereas men would be more likely to infer a situational one (e.g., "the test was difficult").

These results on problems with role integration are striking, especially given the fact that relatively few men and women report much stress in combining multiple roles. Even in the households of academic women, the roles in the family appear to have become crystallized in traditional patterns which the expectations of women and their husbands then perpetuate. The lack of significant sex differences on satisfaction with current division of labor and difficulty in combining marriage and career might reflect a tendency on the part of women to "accept as inevitable that they will bear the major responsibilities for child care and domestic activities" (Bryson, et al. 1975). Women may simply expect to function in a higher state of stress, an outcome of multiple role conflict, and so consider this condition to be normal.

References

- Bailyn, L. Family constraints on women's work. In R.D. Kundsin (Ed.),

 Women and success: The anatomy of achievement, New York, William Morrow,
 1974, pp. 99-102.
- Berk, S. The division of household labor: Patterns and determinants. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Northwestern University, 1976.
- Bernard, J. The future of marriage. New York: World, 1972.
- Birnbaum. J. Life patterns, personality style and self esteem in gifted family oriented and career oriented women. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Michigan, 1971.
- Brim, O. Career paths and personality consequences: A memorandum for discussion.

 Working paper presented at the Conference on Occupational Careers Analysis.

 Greensboro, North Carolina, 1967.
- Bryson, R., Bryson, J., & Licht, M. Professional pairs: Relative career values of wives and husbands. Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, Chicago, 1975.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P., & Rodgers, W. <u>The quality of American life:</u>

 <u>Perceptions, evaluations and satisfactions.</u> New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976.
- David, D.S. Career patterns and values: A study of men and women in science and engineering: Chapter V. <u>Bureau of Applied Social Research</u>. New York, N.Y., 1971.
- Epstein, C.F. Women's place: Options and limits in professional careers.

 Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Garland, N.T. The better-half? The male in the dual-profession family. In C. Safilios-Rothschile (Ed.), <u>Toward a sociology of women</u>. Lexington, Mass: Xerox, 1972.
- Ginzberg, E. Educated American women: Lifestyles and self-portraits. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

- Goldberg, W., Kinghorn, S., Goff, S., Parsons, J., Cohn, D., Favor, K.,

 Hogeterp, H., Rebecca, M. Professional women: Coordinating careers. In

 New Research on Women #3. Center for Continuing Education of Women, University of Michigan, 1978, 91-97.
- Heckman, N.A., Bryson, R., & Bryson, J. Problems of professional couples: A content analysis. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1977, 39, 323-330.
- Herman, J. & Gyllstrom, K. Working men and women inter-role and intra-role conflict. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 1977, 4, 319-333.
- Hill. M. S. Patterns of time use. In F. Thomasjuster & Frank P. Stafford (Eds.), Essays in the use of time among American households. in press.
- Hoffman, L.W., Thornton, A., & Manis, J. The value of children to parents.

 US Journal of Population, 1978, 11, 91-131.
- Holmstrom, L. The two-career family. Cambridge, Mass: Schenkmon, 1973.
- Hunt, J. & Hunt, L. Dilemmas and contradictions of status: The case of the dual-career family. Social Problems, 1977, 24, 407-416.
- Katz, M. Sex role training and coping behavior in a role conflict situation: Homemaking career conflicts. Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, Chicago, 1975.
- Mortimer, J. Dual-career families: A sociological perspective. Paper presented at the Symposium on the Two-Career Family. St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, April, 1977.
- Mortimer, J., Hall, R.J., & Hill, R. Husbands' occupational attributes as constraints on wives' employment. Paper presented to the American Sociological Association, 1976.
- Oakley, A. Women's work. New York: Vintage, 1974.

- Paloma, M.M. & Garland, N.T. The married professional woman: A study in the tolerance of domestication. <u>Journal of Marriage and the Family</u>, 1971, <u>33</u>, 531-540.
- Papaneck, H. Men, women and work: Reflections on the two-person career. In

 J. Huber (Ed.), Changing women in a changing society. Chicago: University

 of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Rappaport, R. & Rappaport, R. Dual-career families. London: Penguin, 1971.
- Roe, A. Personality structure and occupational behavior. In M.H. Borow (Ed.),

 Man in a world at work. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1964.
- Veroff, J., Douvan, L., & Kulka, R. Americans view their mental health.
 University of Michigan, in press.

Table 1

Marital	Status	x	Sex

	Ma	erried	Re	emarried	Se	parated	Di	vorced	Wi	dowed		ver	
***************************************	N	77	N	76	N	%	N	%	И	%	N į	%	
Women N=50		52%	1	2%	3	6%	9	18%	0	0	6	12%	<u>,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,</u>
Men N=30	24	80%	2	7%	1	3%	1	3%	1	3%	1	3%	

Table 2

Division of Labor: Comparisons by Percentage of Time for Academic Women and Men

	,		
	Academic Women	Academic Men	
	Mean (%)	Mean (%)	t
	···		
minine sex-typed activities:			
cooking	65.33	30.64	4.64****
child care	44.63	36.07	n.s.
clearing	40.71	33.70	n.s.
foodshopping	58.73	43.5	1.94 ¹
arrange social activities	60.93	41.44	3.22**
arrange children's			
activities	49.75	37.67	n.s.
sculine sex-typed activities:	•		
major household purchasing	52.33	55.5	n.s.
car maintenance	18.35	75.46	-7.6***
household finances	37.83	59.22	-2.5治治
house and yard maintenance	35.00	60.83	-6.76***

l = p < .06 * = p < .05 ** = p < .01 *** = p < .001 *** = p < .0001

Table 3

Division of Labor: Comparison Among Men

- - National entra de la constituir de la co				
Activity	Husbands of Academic Av Womenl	Academic Mon with Working Wives2	Academic Men with Non-Working Wives3	1
	Mean (%)	Mean (%)	Mean (%)	
Cooking	a 30.4	40.2	ac 8.5	1
House and Yard Maintenance	53 _• 62	56.81	bc 78.33	
within row comparisons				
a, c p < .01				
ხ ღ < .05				
¹ Dual-career/dual-professional households	essional households			
² Dual-career/dual-profe	2Dual-career/dual-professional/career-worker households	lo]ds		
3 Two-person single career households	eer bouseholds			

Division of Labor: A within-households comparison

Table 4

	house and yard maintenance	household finances	car maintenance	major household purchasing	Masculine sex-typed Activities:	arrange children's activities	arrange social activities	foodshopping	cleaning	child care	cooking	Feminine sex-typed Activities:			
1000° > d = **** 100° > d = *** 10° > d = **	35.00	37.83	10.35	52 33		49.75	60.93	58.73	40.71	44.63	65,33		mean (%)	Academic Women	Households of
₽	53,62	60.27	80.35	47.67		30.95	34,44	46.15	22.29	33.95	30.36		mean (%)	Husbands of Academic Women	of Academic Women
	4.87**	4.43***	16.1****	5 5 2		3 03 **	6.01***	2.32**	3.49**	2.57*	7.29****		_rt		nen
	60.83	59.22	75.46	55,50		37.67	41.44	43.50	33.70	36.07	30.64		mean (8)	Academic Men	Househ
	33 42	48.95	23.67	52.77		59 ₂₃	60.23	63.24	59.76	58.73	69.91		mean (%)	Wives of Academic Men	Households of Academic Men
	8.06***	3 8	7.292****	n.s.			-4.8]****	-3.48**	4.81***	-6.86***	-6.77****		£Ť.		nic Men

Table 5

Division of Labor: Comparison among women

	Academic Women Mean (%)	Working Wives of Academic Men Mean (%)	Nonworking Wives of Academic Men Mean (%)
feminine sex-typed activities			
ccoking	65.33 ^{3****}	61.0 ^{3**}	90.51**** 2**
child care	44.632** 3**	58.64 ^{1**}	59.0 ^{1**}
clearing	40.712** 3***	56.79 ¹ **	63.3 ^{1***}
foodshopping	58.73 ^{3**}	57.33 ^{3*}	78.0 ^{1**} 2*
arrange social activities	60.93	62.67	57.5
arrange child- ren's accivities	49.75 ^{3**}	56. 36	67.5 ¹ **
masculica sex-typed activisies			
major household purchasing	52 . 33 ^{3**}	53.53	45.0 ¹ *
car maintenance	18.35 2** 3*	31.01**	9.01*
house finances	37.83 ^{2*}	50.01* 3**	46:02**
house and yard maintenance	35.00 ^{3***}	39.23	20.83 ¹ ***

^{1 =} mean different from academic women

^{2 -} mean different from working wives of academic men

^{3 =} mean different from nonworking wives of academic men

^{* =} p < .05

^{** = ·}p < .01

^{*** =} p < .001

^{1000. &}gt; q = ****

Acknowledgements

This study was supported in part by a National Institute for Child Health and Human Development traineeship to the first author, a Bush Fellowship in Child Development and Social Policy to the second author, and a Rackham Faculty Research Fellowship to the third author. Special thanks are given to Susan Goff Timmer for technical assistance. We also thank Hattie Hogeterp for help with preparation of the questionnaire, and thank Karen McConnelee, Stacy McCarthy and Esther Schaffer for their assistance. The manuscript benefitted from critical comments by Rosanna Hertz. Requests for reprints should be sent to Wendy A. Goldberg, 3433 Mason Hall, Developmental Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48109.