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THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE RABBINIC DUAL-CAREER FAMILY

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for ordination

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DIGEST

In this study the researcher interviewed a pre-selected group of ten rabbinic dual-career couples for the purpose of identifying their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes as related to their dual-career relationships. A rabbinic dual-career couple is defined as one in which at least one partner is a rabbi, and the other spouse is similarly engaged in a career. This study was done in the hope that the information gleaned from these couples would contribute to a better understanding of the issues facing rabbinic dual-career couples, and to a strengthening of those relationships.

These rabbinic dual-career couples shared their responses to questions in four areas: work and work-related issues, rabbinic marital concerns, children and childcare, and the division-of-household labor.

Based on the couples' responses, the researcher concluded that each of these marriages represented a combination of two marital patterns: an equal partnership, and a junior-senior partnership. Couples' relationships were equal partnerships in that spouses were extremely committed to each other's work, and shared equally in the family's decision-making process. The male, however, is still the senior partner in these marriages, in that his job (as rabbi) takes priority within the relationship. His wife is the primary caregiver for their children, and is still responsible for the daily maintenance of the home.

The researcher also found a change in congregational expectations of the rabbi's spouse, due to their understanding of the demands of the spouse's career. While they may strongly desire the spouse's involvement, their expectations of his/her participation at synagogue functions has been greatly reduced.

Couples discussed the benefits their dual-career marriages had for their children. These included a positive female role model and the portrayal of the dual-career marriage as a viable and desirable option for them to emulate. Couples felt that one limitation of their dual-career marriages was a lack of sufficient time for their children. Couples also shared their advice for newly ordained rabbis in dual-career marriages.

The thesis concludes with a list of options and opportunities for rabbinic dual-career families in the coming decade.

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I thank God for our past,

But even more for our future.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE DUAL-CAREER LITERATURE

This chapter will examine the relevant literature published in the past ten years on the dual-career family in America. Additionally, it will focus on the specific literature of the changing nature of Jewish and rabinnic marriages and families in the context of the dual career trend.

The profile of the "average" American family is rapidly changing. In the past, the "average" American family was thought to be made up of two children, a working father, and a housewife mother. Today that description fits only 5 percent of American families. The typical elementary school student today lives with two employed parents.[1]

Twenty years ago there were about nineteen million two job families; by 1980, more than half of all women worked for pay outside the home, and 52 percent of all married couples were part of a dual-earner family.[2]

In any dual-earner family, the balance between work and family life is not easily maintained. Dual-earner families have less time for non-work activities than do traditional families; more attention to outside employment would seem to mean less time for family interaction, childcare, home maintenance, and leisure activities.[3]

Dual-career couples, the focus of this study, would seem to reveal even greater tension between work and family life than dual-earner couples, in which job prestige and commitment to career advancement may

be less pronounced. For our study, a dual-career couple may be defined as a couple in which the marriage (or family) is intact and both husband and wife are engaged in high-prestige, highly responsible occupations to which both are extremely committed.[4] As such, the dual-career couple represents a major break from the traditional marriage and family arrangement. Before we examine the issues couples are confronted with in a dual-career marriage--sex role stereotypes, job priorities, household management, childcare--we need to briefly examine the various types of marital relationships in order to see the transformation in relations between husband and wife required of the dual-career couple.

A. Development of Marital Relationships

In their work, Men, Women and Change, Letha and John Scanzoni list four types of marital relationships, each consisting of these two major components: the instrumental side (earning family income, performing household tasks), and the expressive side (love, empathy, companionship). The balance between these areas of marriage is affected by the roles of men and women in each of four types of marriage.[5]

The earliest type (both historically and developmentally) of marriage pattern is the owner-property relationship. In this marriage, common in the 19th century, the power in the decision making process lies exclusively with the husband, the wage earner and provider of the family. The wife has no rights or power; she takes on a status of chattel. The wife has no independent existence from that of her husband; legally, she is considered a non-person.[6] Her instrumental

role was that of homemaker and childbearer. Her primary expressive role was to provide sexual gratification for her husband; the husband's role was to provide the women with the security of an income-earning partner to share her life with.

The second type of marital relationship is that of the head-complement marriage pattern. This type of arrangement is similar to the owner-property model in the fact that the husband continues to be the sole wage earner while the wife remains in the home. The difference between the two patterns lies in the way the partners view their arrangement. In the head-complement marriage, the wife is no longer viewed as property, or as an extension of the husband; rather, the husband and wife have a designated partnership, each fulfilling duties that are essential for maintenance of the marriage. The wife's opinion is now given greater weight in all decision-making areas; though the final decision still rests with the husband, in his role of provider. The husband, in turn, though still "the head," is now also concerned with his wife's feelings, concerns and sexual needs. She is his complement, someone who "rounds out" his life. In short, both partners have a vital role to play in the marriage; the husband is expected to function as the family's "head," while the wife is expected to function as the family's "heart."[7]

The third type of marital structure is that of the senior partner-junior partner relationship. This type of arrangement occurs when the wife enters the paid labor market. Her income means that she is no longer dependent on her husband for survival. Additionally, her

economic input gives her a greater say in the decision-making process. As Scanzoni states,

> The point to be stressed is that the actual or potential power stemming from a wife's employment removes her from the position of being an adjunct to a benevolent head whose ultimate jurisdiction is undisputed.[8]

Despite the increased level of power and opportunity for the wife, the husband, as senior partner, still has the ultimate power in terms of job priority and career advancement. This is due to the three main limitations of the senior partner-junior partner marriage:

1. A belief that the priority of the husband's career should always be emphasized (i.e., "He's the main breadwinner"). As such, the primary responsibility of providing for the family is still his.
2. The wife's corresponding less-than-total commitment to her career (it still being her duty to care for household duties).
3. The wife's moving in-and-out of the labor force at various times to have and take care of children.[9]

The remaining type of marriage to be examined is that in which both husband and wife are equal partners. In equal partner marriages, both spouses are equally committed to their careers, and each one's occupation is considered as important as the other. There exists a role interchange in that both partners take on wage-earner as well as domestic roles. Equal power is shared between both husband and wife in the decision-making process, and marriage is viewed by both partners as not necessarily including parenthood. Finally, both partners feel they

have a right to their careers and that their work is a vital part of their identity.[10]

Both the junior-senior partnership and the equal partner relationship are possible options for those engaged in a dual-career marriage. While the ideal type of relationship for the dual-career couples would seem to be the equal partnership, the couple may fluctuate between both marital patterns due to a number of factors including if and when they decide to have children, the nature and demands of their work, and the stage of life they are in. What distinguishes the dual-career family is the commitment of both partners to a life plan which will afford full participation in work.[11] This "life-plan" must take into account the issues (as previously mentioned) that must be dealt with if both partners are committed to their work and if they are to succeed in their endeavors. What we must now examine is data concerning the ways these couples are confronting these issues.

B. Work-Related Issues

Work (as Scanzoni writes) beyond the method for achieving sustenance, is a means of individual achievement, self-worth, prestige, social status, fulfillment, service to others, and power and influence.[12] For partners in the dual-career marriage, how they view their own work and each other's work, has a direct and substantial effect on both their marital satisfaction and the success of their marriage.

Not surprisingly, the primary factor for determining the couple's marital satisfaction in relation to work, is the husband's attitude on his wife's employment. Indeed, husbands' attitudes toward their wives' employment are consistently strong influences on the wives' actual participation in the labor force.[13] As a 1973 Department of Labor study indicates, "whether or not a married woman is employed is strongly related to how her husband feels about the matter."[14]

The educational level of the husband plays a key role in his attitude on his wife's work. A 1975 study demonstrated that the higher the husband's education, the more positively he would feel about his wife's work. The less educated men held more negative views, as they (in their perceived role of provider) could interpret their wives' working as a sign of failure on their part, or an inability to provide.[15] Lower wage-earning, blue-collar husbands are often threatened by their idea of their wives working: "When a wife works, she is always tired . . . consequently, your marriage, home and sex life change completely for the worse."[16] Indeed, since these husbands are lower wage earners, their wives' incomes represent a greater percentage of the total of their family income than they would if they were in a family in which the man is better paid.[17]

As opposed to blue-collar families, in most dual-career families one would expect the man to possess a higher level of education, and thus feel positively towards his wife's work. Though only a limited amount of research exists, a study of older males found that ". . . wives' accomplishments, perhaps reflected in higher status occupations,

may be a source of satisfaction for men as well as providing material benefits and reducing financial pressures."[18] Furthermore, a study by Benin and Nienstedt (1985) determined that while marital happiness is the strongest determinant of overall happiness for dual-career couples, the added element of job satisfaction for both partners produces an overriding "global happiness."[19] Thus job satisfaction interacts with marital satisfaction to produce a more balanced, more complete form of happiness. Since both husband and wife are involved in the workplace and the home, they are able to share more fully the different aspects of their lives. While the husband of the housewife may be able to escape work problems by going home, being happily married and satisfied with his work does not create as much overall happiness for him as it does for the husband married to a working wife.[20]

In contrast, an earlier study (1983), found that men in traditional marriages felt more successful at work than men in dual-career marriages. This, however, can be explained according to whether or not the men in these dual-career marriages have any children.

Childless men, the study concludes, have usually delayed their career entry; by starting their careers later, they enjoy less prestige and other overt signs of success, and thus tend to feel less successful.[21] Interestingly, the authors of the study found that males with children, those in single-career and in dual-career partnerships measured their lives by different standards of success. Males in one-career marriages view their success according to their ability to function in the traditional role of provider. As in the previous two

studies, males in a dual-career family enjoyed sharing marital roles and the financial advantage of a two-paycheck marriage. Indeed, because there is less at stake in terms of financial security, men in dual-career families have a greater degree of flexibility in their attitude toward their careers, and "can pursue self-development through work rather than having to accommodate rigidly to the workplace in (their) pursuit of success."[23] In summary, and as the study concludes, men in dual career families feel more "self-actualized" than men in single-career families. It would thus seem that these men are most satisfied in their dual career marriages.

Education plays an important role, in how women in dual-career marriages approach their work; similar to her husband, as her educational level increases, so does the likelihood of her participation in the labor force.[24] Therefore, we would expect women in dual career marriages, with advanced degrees, to have a strong desire to work in their chosen careers. Indeed, for women who work in their chosen profession, we might expect a higher degree of marital adjustment to be necessary, in contrast to marriages without career-oriented wives. One example of this is that women with five or more years of higher education have an especially high separation and divorce rate.

This high divorce rate was the basis for a study by Houseknect and Macke, who posed the question, "Does the higher rate of separation and divorce among professional women reflect a lower level of marital quality within the marriage?" What they found was that it is not the women's employment status that is important in determining marital

adjustment; rather, it is the extent to which the husband and family accommodate the wife's employment. As they write: "Having a supportive husband seems to be a major factor . . . one who shares similar values and beliefs, especially about women's employment."[25] The study concluded that while some professional women may get divorced due to a marriage that causes disruptions in their career, it is not the wife's work that need adversely affect the level of quality of the marriage. Rather, the quality is affected by the ability for the husband to adapt, to take on other roles than the traditional one of provider, roles such as homemaker and caretaker of the children.

The husband's capacity for role adaptation within the dual-career marriage and family has to do in large part with how androgynous they are, or are willing to become. "Androgyny" is a term used to describe individuals who are less restricted by conventional sex roles. An androgynous person integrates psychological attributes of masculinity and femininity into his or her self-concept, providing for a wider range of social behaviors.[26] For the male in the dual-career relationship, this translates into his ability to add domestic (often viewed as feminine) duties to his responsibilities at work. Indeed, the husband in a dual-career marriage, due to his commitment to his wife who pursues a career, is more likely to take on some of the household responsibilities traditionally performed by the wife.[27] A further study of household management and childcare responsibilities will be covered later on in this chapter. The importance of and need for an androgynous

development on the part of the male cannot be overstated; it is vital for the success of the marriage:

> . . . being androgynous is frequently seen as a means of reducing the extreme stress experienced by men and women in dual-career marriages. Since the wife works, the couple are by definition in a nontraditional relationship . . . the situation demands that the couple expand its notions of appropriate sex-role behavior . . .[28]

The last issue to be studied with regards to work and the dual-career couple is job priority. This remains an issue for the equal partnership model of marriage as well as for the junior-senior partnership model. One way to gauge which partner's job has priority is to examine the issue of job mobility: "which partner would move to advance the other's career, even if such a move would hurt their own career?" Two trends seem to have emerged, both of which suggest a clearly positive view by the husband of his wife's employment.

The first pattern is that families with employed wives are less migratory than are families with nonemployed wives. The fact that many dual-career couples are increasingly stationary suggests that a greater equality is being formed between both partner's careers. A primary motive for this geographic stability is the wife's earned income. As the wife's contribution to the economic well being of the family increases, the family becomes less mobile because the opportunity cost of moving becomes greater.[29] In other words, the wife's job has a high priority.

The second pattern is that increasingly, more career-oriented wives are initiating family moves, with husband and children following.[30]

Interestingly, in the same study that reported the above finding, when asked about their family's last move, most couples reported that the husband's job had the most influence on the decision. Nevertheless, the husbands interviewed said they would be willing to move if their wife was offered a promotion or a better position. Both husbands and wives agreed that the move for the wife's better position should be made only if the husbands could find satisfactory work.

What the results indicate, then, is that the dual-career family is less likely to move, given a more equal status between the jobs of both the husband and the wife. While the husband's job may still have the greater priority, as evidenced by the interviewees' recollections of their last family move, these dual-career families are moving towards a more balanced, more equal view of both partner's jobs.

Thus far, we have examined the role of work within the dual-career marriage. Having done so, we must now investigate the dual-career marriage as it plays itself out in the home.

C. Children and Family

The dual-career marriage differs substantially from the so-called traditional marital arrangement. The wife's primary functions now extend beyond the realm of mother and homemaker. The initial question to be asked then is whether the mother's working outside the home has any adverse effect on her ability to rear her children. The second area we must examine is how dual-career couples (given the demands of both

partner's careers) are attempting to insure adequate care for their children.

The evidence reported in several studies has shown that a mother's employment in itself has no detrimental effects on her children.[31] Indeed, a study done by Lois Wladis Hoffman (1963) described only one instance in which a mother's work might have a detrimental effect on her children. Hoffman found that children, whose working mothers felt guilty about working, may be negatively affected. She cautions, however, that it is not the mother's employment that is the problem, but rather the mother's attitude. Guilt-ridden working mothers try to assuage their guilt by overindulging their children (doing fewer chores, less homework).[32] It is their feelings about work, rather than the work, that causes this adversity. Hoffman states that these children played more with younger children than with their age mates, they were less likely to initiate interaction with their classmates, and their academic performance was not up to par.[33]

On the other hand, working mothers can have a definitely positive effect on their children, especially on girls: "daughters of career mothers are likely to be high-achieving and to have less restrictive self-concepts because of the role models their mothers provide."[34]

Another study by Stephan and Corder (1985) confirmed Hoffman's findings on the positive aspects of mothers' careers on the children of a dual-career marriage. The authors found that not only will daughters from dual-career families be more likely to work outside the home upon reaching adulthood, but that sons would be positively affected as well.

They found that sons of a dual-career marriage would be far more likely than sons from traditional families to find wives who want careers, as well as children. Thus, as they conclude, a positive feedback loop is created in which dual-career families produce children who will form dual-career families when they marry.[35]

As discussed earlier, one of the new options created by the development of the equal partner marriage is the expressed belief that parenthood is not a requirement of a marital arrangement. Increasingly, dual-career couples are deciding either not to have children, to postpone having children, or to have fewer children. This is again the result of mutually expressed commitment by the partners to their careers, and a realization of the time commitment necessary for the rearing of children. Interestingly, Scanzoni has found that dual-career couples who are planning to have children conscientiously control the spacing and the number of children they will have in such a way as to maximize the wife's career interest.[36]

Indeed, it is almost exclusively the woman who makes the career sacrifice, if the dual-career couple is intent upon having children. Even if the woman is planning to return to work after only a brief time, she is still most often the primary caretaker of the children during their pre-adolescent years. This issue of childcare is the litmus paper test for identifying the couple as a junior-senior partnership, or as a truly equal relationship. Unfortunately, research indicates that most dual-career couples have to travel a long road before the husband equally shares in the role of parent. As one study noted,

> The area of childbearing provides perhaps the greatest set of societal expectations that work against the dual-career lifestyle. The presence of children may especially affect the woman's involvement in her career, since wives in dual-career families have reported that they undertake major responsibility in most areas of childrearing at the expense of time devoted to career.[37]

Two other studies underscore this notion. A 1983 study demonstrated that while working women spent more than seventeen hours per week with their children, husbands reported spending only seven-and-a-half hours with them.[38] A more recent Boston University study illustrates the fact that the wife's primary responsibility is ongoing; working women are six times more likely to have to stay home with a sick child than are their married male counterparts.[39]

For women in dual-career marriages, primary responsibility for the children often means the task of finding adequate care for their children during the mother's working hours. The problem is especially acute for career wives with pre-school age, less so for children enrolled in elementary school (where supervision is provided during the school day), and less still for parents with teen-agers, who are no longer in need of constant supervision.

It is evident that no overall solution has been found to the dilemma of dual-career couples ability to provide supervision for their children. Seemingly, four options have emerged.

One option for dual-career parents is to place their children in a day care center, in which varying numbers of such children are supervised and cared for. Regarding a possible concern about a

weakening of ties to the mother as a result of using such a center, research has shown that attendance at day care centers of high quality neither benefits nor harms intellectual development of the children, nor does it weaken emotional ties with their mothers. Indeed, in terms of social development, research further indicates that day-care-reared children, when compared with age-mates reared at home, interact more with peers in both positive and negative ways.[40]

Despite the advantages of day care centers, the majority of dual-career couples choose not to use them. Cost may be a factor for some couples, though other, less easily identifiable concerns may also dissuade others. A 1976 Census Bureau report found that only 4 percent of children of working mothers attend a day care center. Indeed, the more recent Boston University study (cited earlier) also found that few of the employees surveyed used formal childcare arrangements, such as day care centers.[41]

Two other options are far less structured, yet are much more in use than the day care centers. The first of these is an informal arrangement whereby the child, depending upon age, spends either the day or the after-school hours with a relative or family friend. The other option for school-age children is the "latch-key" option, in which children simply come home alone and stay at home alone until a parent arrives. A final option exists for some career mothers, who are able to arrange their job scheduling so as to provide coverage during the children's after-school hours.

For some mothers in dual-career marriages however, the desire to spend time with their pre-school aged children leads them to work part time for those initial years. For these women, the career sacrifice is worth what they perceive is a greater gain--the additional time for "bonding" with their children. Indeed, a new trend is emerging in which mothers who planned to continue working full time during their children's primary years, decide to interrupt their careers to spend a few years with their children. This may indicate a realization that a strong and unique bond exists between mother and child, despite a couple's prior plans to both work full time after their child's birth. Similarly, it suggests that the imbalance in terms of parental time spent with especially young children may be unavoidable.

A recent New York Times magazine article highlighted three such career women. All three were ambitious, professional women in their thirties, who attended good colleges and graduate schools; all achieved success in the workplace, and postponed childbearing so as to continue to perform at maximum level at their jobs; and all, after weighing the demands of work and family, chose to become stay-at-home mothers. All three women plan to return to work in a few years, but they are also aware that their decision will probably penalize them in their careers. Indeed, the costs can be substantial. As Economist Sylvia Ann Hewlett points out, these women's future earnings will be 13 to 19 percent lower for the rest of their working lives.[42] Yet the benefits for these outweigh the losses, as one career mother comments: "I see motherhood

as a very special part of being a woman and I think when the kids are little it would be a lot of fun to be home with them."[43]

Finally, there are some encouraging signs that the business community is starting to respond positively to the mother's need either for flexible scheduling or for time off. Some companies, including Procter and Gamble, have established day care centers in or near their offices. Other companies, realizing that successful career women can be a tremendous asset to their firms, are providing more flexible scheduling and longer maternity leaves. As one company's personnel director emphasized,

> We've seen mothers leaving to be with their young children and we understand that pull--that's why we're looking for ways to accommodate them. . . . We have some very high quality professional women, and we want to keep them.[44]

Having focused on the child-related issues faced by the dual-career couple, we turn now to a study of the couple's domestic management.

D. Domestic Management and Decision Making

We begin now a twofold study of the dual-career couple's domestic affairs: the distribution of household labor between husband and wife, and the role of power within the home and its resultant impact on the couple's decision-making process.

Regarding the balance of household labor within dual-career homes, women still continue to assume the primary responsibility for homemaking tasks.[45] In fact, the Boston University study reported that career wives spend four times as many hours per week in home chores than do

their husbands.[46] This is true despite the fact that women in the labor force have lower levels of domestic responsibility than women who are not employed.

A study by Maret and Finlay supports the finding of this unequal participation in household chores. They found that two-thirds of dual-earner wives surveyed reported sole responsibility for grocery shopping, cooking and washing clothes. Men shared responsibility for only two tasks, house cleaning and dish washing.[47] A similar study by Condran and Bode confirmed these findings. Surprisingly, the former study found that the wife's educational level makes no difference in the amount of her household duties. Rather, it is her earning ability that holds the key to correcting the imbalance in household labor. As the wife's income increases, her share of household responsibilities decline; the greater the similarity in earnings between spouses, the greater the sharing of domestic responsibilities.[48]

Indeed, it is apparent that as men witness the "role interchangeability" of their wives between homemaker and worker, they will find it both more acceptable and necessary to take on the androgynous role of homemaker; as men and women approximate equality in the workplace, they will move toward more egalitarian sharing of duties in the home.[49] Yet as Condran and Bode caution, "Attitudes and sympathies may have changed but husbands still don't wash the dishes very often."[50]

The dual-career marriage also significantly alters the traditional balance of power within the relationship and the decision-making process. Power is the ability of having one's way or achieving one's

goals--even though others may resist. Power is linked with one's involvement in the economic-oppportunity system. In the traditional marriage the power always rested with the husband, "the provider" of the family.

The strongest evidence for change in the decision-making process is the wife's entrance into the labor market. As a career person, her economic input into the marriage is substantial. As such, she has an economic right to an equal say in that process. Furthermore, it would seem that if both partners are committed to a dual-career lifestyle, such a commitment would extend to a sharing of power in the home as well as in the workplace. The extent of that sharing would be dependent on the type of marital arrangement, whether a junior-senior partnership or an equal partnership.

Before concluding our examination of the secular dual-career literature, we need now examine a new marital pattern that Scanzoni failed to include, yet one that is becoming a distinct possibility for dual-career couples: wives-as-senior-partners.

E. Wives-As-Senior-Partners (W.A.S.P.s)

In a study by Atkinson and Wade (1984), the researchers attempted to determine the characteristics of what they determined should be another logical pattern in Scanzonis' typology, that of the wife as senior partner. They defined such marriages as those in which marriage and family life are organized around the wife's career rather than the husband's. The authors of the study argue that:

> Wives-As-Senior-Partners is not the opposite of husbands as senior partners, but rather a unique marital pattern that combines traditional male role prescriptions with traditional female role prescriptions for both wives and husbands.[51]

This pattern is important to us as it represents a potential model for marriages in which the female is the rabbi. (Indeed, two of the wives included in the study were ministers.)

There were five findings of note:

1. Wives were employed in traditionally male jobs and earned more money than their husbands.
2. A majority of wives had been previously married, indicating that the wife's status may have made those marriages less tenable; similarly, in 58 percent of the marriages, couples knew that the marriage would revolve around the wife's career.
3. The flexibility of the husband's job, both in terms of time scheduling and in his ability to move for the wife's job.
4. The absence of children in such marriages.
5. The fact that while the wives spend slightly more time on household duties, husbands in W.A.S.P. marriages do substantially more household chores than husbands with unemployed wives or husbands in most dual-career marriages.

To be sure, such marriages are not without costs. Indeed, respondents reported that being perceived as a deviant was a major deficit of their marital pattern. Husbands were perceived as lazy and unmasculine, wives as domineering and manipulative. Yet for all its costs, the authors conclude that this pattern may become

> . . . a (viable) alternative pattern that is more likely to provide maximum joint profit than the pattern currently followed. The W.A.S.P. marital pattern is an alternative that is currently being chosen by some couples and is increasingly likely to be considered by others.[52]

Our discussion of the dual-career literature completed, we turn now to an examination of the literature concerning the changes in both the Jewish family and Rabbi's family.

F. Changes in the Jewish Family

The Jewish family has also been affected by the dual-career phenomenon. Indeed, both the trend towards such marriages should be exacerbated in the Jewish community, due to the higher levels of education achieved by Jewish males and females, as compared to the rest of the population. As mentioned earlier, the higher the level of the husband's education, the more positively he will feel about his wife's work. Similarly, the higher the wife's educational level is, the more she will desire to use her career training. Thus, we can reasonably expect the dual-career marriage to have a growing presence in the Jewish community, as more couples attempt to maximize their educational and occupational opportunities of both partners.

The most significant cause of the dual-career trend in the Jewish community was the rise of the women's movement in the 1960s. Until then, Jewish women were still expected to make "careers" of marriage and homemaking. Ironically, this trend prevailed despite the fact that these women went to college and studied for careers. Dr. Manheim Shapiro, a Jewish communal worker, explains that

> . . . it was assumed, first, that their attendance at college would enable them to make a better (marital) match, and second, that it would be better to have a higher income and a more pleasant occupation between schooling and marriage.[53]

The Jewish woman of the 1980s, recognizing the opportunities provided by a dual-career marriage, is far more likely to put her educational talents and abilities to use. Jewish women have not rejected the role of caring for others, but they are more likely to carry out that task through work that has a salary attached to it.

The Jewish woman's career pursuit has also become an economic necessity for most Jewish families. Gerald Bubis told a 1980 Federation Convention in Detroit that it costs fifty thousand dollars a year for a Jewish family of four to live Jewishly. The wife's income is an additional source of money necessary to achieve that goal.[54]

What are the implications of the mass entry of Jewish women into the career market? The greatest impact would seem to be on the rearing of children. As women try to balance home and career, they may opt for fewer children, to have no children, or to delay having children, to give time for developing their careers. The potential results of the former two options, namely, having fewer or no children, could substantially affect Jewish population levels in the future.

Second, if the trend carries over from the general studies of dual-career marriages, these Jewish dual-career marriages will be more subject to divorce, as <u>both</u> husband and wife strive towards successful careers.

Third, the entrance of large numbers of Jewish women into the work force will significantly impact the volunteer force in American Jewish organizational life. Women, who traditionally served in sisterhoods and organizational committees, will have much less time available for such activities. Volunteer groups will have to alter their structure or find new membership groups to prevent the depletion of their ranks.

Fourth, while these women will have less time for volunteer activities, they will choose to take on greater leadership roles in causes that interest them. For synagogues, the indication is that career women will want an equally prestigious role in temple life, serving as Board Officer or President, as opposed to Sisterhood Chairperson. These women represent a new pool of motivated, resourceful leadership for synagogue projects and governance.

Fifth, in planning any activities for children, synagogues will have to take into account the demanding schedules of working mothers.

Sixth, the increasingly common dual-career marital arrangement within the Jewish community may have a substantial impact on the congregants' views of the rabbi's family, and their expectations of it. While more sympathetic to its needs, they may need it, more than ever, to be a model.

G. The Rabbi in the Dual-Career Marriage

This thesis is a pioneering examination of the special situation of the rabbi in the dual-career marriage and family. The rabbinic dual-career pattern has an unusual and unique dimension in that the

rabbi is a public leader. As such, his/her life and his/her family life occur "in a fish bowl," viewed both idealistically and critically in the same glance. For the congregant, the rabbi, his/her family, and his/her family life are all expected to be models worthy of emulation.

For the rabbi in the dual-career marriage, this role as "model" presents a difficult, twofold challenge. First, he must resolve the tensions in balancing the responsibilities of his demanding, unpredictable career with his new responsibilities in the home, for the success of his marriage. Second, he will need to realize that the success of his family as role model, will depend on how successful he and his spouse are in showing the viability of their dual-career marriage. These two challenges are heightened in the emerging number of women rabbis, who most likely assume the role or the characteristics of the "wife-as- senior-partner."

The job of the rabbi has long been recognized as a stressful one. In his study on Role-related Stress in the Rabbinate, Leslie Freedman found that more than 75 percent of rabbis surveyed found their jobs either moderately or very stressful; additionally, he found rabbis to have a distress level greater than 63 percent of the general population of the United States.[55] This statistic may give an indication that the demands of time, energy, and constant availability have made the rabbi's job a difficult one not only for him, but for his family as well. The rabbi's role within the family is often limited by his role as rabbi. The familiar comment, "being a rabbi isn't just a job, it's a way of

life," typifies the role dissonance for the rabbi; it becomes difficult for him to separate himself from his role and responsibilities as rabbi.

Indeed, this role dissonance operates among clergy of all faiths:

> Many clergy were trained to understand that their commitment to God would be actualized by being always available to respond to all requests from parishioners. Some clergy feel guilty when they take a day off or when they refuse a parishioner's request because they've already made plans with their own family. Understandably some wives are rightly angered when family plans are habitually shelved because of parishioner requests for the pastor's attention. When a pastor equates his commitment to serve God with an ever-available stance in regard to any request from parishioners, he is unwittingly modelling a style of family living. This style can be seen as one in which work is more important than relationships and where the interests and commitments of the husband are more valid than those of his wife and children.[56]

Norman Mirsky, Professor of Social Science at the Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, believes that careerism, in general, is undermining family life within the Jewish community. He comments the rabbi and rabbi's family are of particular interest to us:

> The rabbinate is a career and as such it is expected to be the central focus of one's life. If one has children, they must be planned. If one has family--they must be ancillary. Rabbis are expected to have children, but they must be carefully scheduled.
>
> Family thus becomes a leisure-time activity. If it drains too much energy from one's career as a rabbi, then it is something to be examined. Energy can be drained in many ways: loving too much, caring too much, being too passionate. Persons who are successful in their careers schedule the expenditure of their emotional as well as their physical energy. Possibly families are too emotionally draining for people who are set to make their mark in the public

> domain. And this applies to any relationship that withdraws energy from career work.[57]

Mirsky argues that defining oneself, one's being, purpose, and self-worth according to one's career, is harmful to relationships and families, as well as to the overall well-being of the Jewish community. Mirsky's concern is that the rabbi's career is not intended to be merely reflective of the current careerism, but rather, to be symbolic of it.

In response to Mirsky's position, Dr. Allene Stiffman (a health professional married to a rabbi), wrote that the rabbi must be cautious to leave sufficient time for his family, despite the demands of his career. In doing so, he sets an example for his career-oriented congregants:

> If the family is conceived as an integral part of a career/lifestyle, then time with the family isn't a pitstop away from the career; then it is an integral part of Jewish spirituality and the Rabbi's family becomes an expression of his/her Judaism. Rabbis should be prepared to develop an integrated lifestyle. If they separate career and family, they will fail not only their families, but also in their career. The congregation will not see them as effective role models for a Jewish lifestyle.[58]

Hence, we would expect these stresses and difficulties to be exacerbated in a rabbinic dual-career marriage, in which the rabbi must add even more domestic and childcare responsibilities to his/her load, and even more scheduling adjustments, to coordinate both he and his spouse's career.

Another issue for the rabbi in the dual-career marriage is the role of the spouse. The traditional role of "rebbitzen" is no longer viable for a wife with a career. It is similarly not viable, for the career

male spouse of a woman rabbi. This may have a significant impact on the congregants' expectations of the rabbi's spouse: will they be understanding of the rabbi's spouse's career needs and time commitment, or will they still want a more traditional model of the rabbinic family? Will their own increasing participation in dual-career marriages facilitate this understanding, or will it cause them to want the traditional rabbinic family model even more, as a "stabilizing force" in their rapidly changing lives?

The answer lies, in part, on the congregants' ability to break from their traditional notions of the rabbi and his family, as described by Edwin Friedman in his book Generation to Generation:

> Members of the congregational family tend to think about their minister and his or her family as one colony of cells in the congregational body. But such fusion in this kind of thinking can work in both ways: not only do such members of the congregational family have higher standards for their leader's own personal family than they do for their own, but also, the perceived holiness of the minister also rubs off on those related to him or her.[59]

All these issues--role interchangeability, job priority and mobility, domestic management and childcare responsibilities, the option of "Wife-As-Senior-Partner," congregational expectations and the rabbi's family's role as model--must be confronted by the rabbinic dual-career marriage.

Having reviewed the relevant literature, we turn now to a study of specific rabbinic dual-career couples, and how they respond to the challenges their marriages pose.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

The following chapter will detail the processes of selecting the informants, designing the interview guide, and collecting the data. It will also discuss the limited focus of this study.

A. Selection of Informants

This thesis was designed to study the rabbinic dual-career marriage. As such, all couples interviewed were required to have at least one partner currently engaged in a career in the rabbinate. As mentioned earlier (in Chapter One), a dual-career couple may be defined as a couple in which the marriage (or family) is intact and both husband and wife are engaged in high-prestige, highly responsible occupations to which both are extremely committed. As such, all rabbis were required to have spouses whose careers met this definition.

Couples were selected from a list given by a source in the Los Angeles area, who was in a position to know a number of rabbis and their spouses. Nine couples were selected from this list. One additional couple was later interviewed in Cincinnati, bringing the total number to ten. The criteria for selection aimed to achieve a commonality of certain characteristics while maintaining a diversity of backgrounds.

The interviewer included a majority of couples with children, especially those in their primary years. This was due to a desire to

increase the effectiveness of the study, by drawing on their experiences of balancing careers and care for their children. Nine of the couples had children, six of these had children in their primary years.

In seven of these marriages, the husband was the rabbi in the family. The study parallels the current prevalence of such marriages in the rabbinate.

The wives in these marriages represented a number of careers, including the fields of health sciences (mental and physical), education, administration, and the entertainment industry. Two wives held the degree of doctor of philosophy.

The three other marriages were included because they represent relatively new trends in the rabbinate. Two of these are marriages in which both husband and wife are rabbis. The third marriage is one in which the wife is the partner in the rabbinate.

It was important to find rabbis, both male and female, engaged in some way with a congregation. This was done in order to study rabbis' and spouses' perceptions of congregational expectations. Three rabbis were not congregational rabbis; they were included because they worked in an administrative capacity related to congregational work.

B. Interview Guide

The interview guide was designed to cover four components of the rabbinic dual-career marriage: work, rabbinic marital issues, children and childcare, and household management and decision making. The questions were based on the issues discussed in the review of the

literature: they were designed to be open-ended, and to allow for a discussion by the interviewees. The interview guide is included in Appendix One.

The first section dealt with the unique "fish bowl" lifestyle of the rabbi's family. Questions were asked about the time demands made of the rabbi, and the congregational expectations of the rabbi and his or her spouse.

The second unit dealt with the areas of domestic management and decision making. Questions were asked about the division of labor within each couple's household, as well as the way in which the couples reached a major decision.

The third section dealt with the issues of children and childcare, including inquiries to determine the primary caregiver, and the career sacrifices made by that provider of child supervision.

The fourth and final section covered the areas of work and work-related issues. Questions were asked regarding the gratifications of each partner's career, and about their feelings concerning their spouse's work. Couples were also asked about job mobility, about "workaholic" patterns, and the extent to which they share work experiences and social networks.

At the end of the interview, couples were given the opportunity to add their own unprompted comments, feelings and suggestions about their dual-career marriages.

C. Data Collection

Once the list of potential couples was compiled, contact was established by a telephone call. During these phone calls, basic information was given to couples regarding the nature of the study, and interviews were scheduled. These calls were followed up by letters confirming the time and place of the interview. All those called stated a willingness to be interviewed, though some were unable to do so because of time conflicts with the interviewer's schedule.

Nine of the interviews were held in the Los Angeles area during the November 1986. This location was chosen due to the preponderance of rabbinic dual-career couples in the area. This allowed the interviewer to conduct a substantial number of interviews in an intensive manner. A tenth interview was later conducted in the Cincinnati area. The interviews were approximately one hour in length.

At the outset of the interviews, the researcher stated the goals, purpose and background of the study. Permission was asked to tape record the interviews, and in all cases the permission was granted. The researcher also collected data in written process notes recorded during and after the interviews.

The tapes were later transcribed by a service in the Cincinnati area. Transcriptions were coded by couple, questionnaire section, sub-section and question. Answers were then analyzed and compiled for use in the subsequent chapter.

D. Limited Focus of the Study

This thesis is a qualitative rather than quantitative study. It represents the opinions, feelings, and perceptions of the specific population group studied. It does give us important information about how this group is responding to the issues involved in a rabbinic dual-career marriage.

Another variable involved the fact that all but one interview took place in the Los Angeles area. There may be similar or overriding factors for couples living in the Los Angeles area that may be specific only this region, which were not taken into account.

One final variable was the interviewing (with one exception) of only Reform rabbis. The information gathered therefore represents only the rabbinic dual-career couples affiliated with the Reform Movement.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

A. Work and Work-Related Issues

This section will focus on the dual-career rabbinic couples' attitudes toward work, both their own, as well as their partners. The respondents shared their views on their careers and their spouses' career. The respondents also addressed the issues of job priority and mobility, and their social networks as they relate to their careers.

1. Gratifications of Rabbis' Careers

Of the ten husbands interviewed, nine were engaged in careers in the rabbinate. It was expected that, given the prior knowledge of extensive graduate training, those who made the choice to become a rabbi, would be actively choosing careers that were gratifying. In fact, the long years of study indicate not only their search for gratification, but also their high level of dedication to their careers.

Indeed, every rabbi-husband interviewed spoke of the benefits of their career. One rabbi described one of his gratifications:

> There are many gratifications. One of the reasons I do what I do is that I really believe in helping Jews feel better about doing Jewish things and being better Jews. I see the synagogue as the primary vehicle for that. So my job, when you strip everything else away, I suppose, could be characterized in this way.

Another rabbi, working in an academic environment, spoke of the joys of working together for a higher purpose:

> I think there are many. I guess the opportunity to feel that somehow generally that what I do is making the world somewhat of a better place. The opportunity to work with people in an intimate way. A chance to really be part of people's lives, to dialogue, and to learn more about them and to learn more about the experience of being alive.

Other rabbis cited the diversity of challenges and opportunities as sources of gratification:

> I'm writing, teaching, counseling, being confronted by situations also every week that I never imagined before. People keep coming up with new variations that you have to deal with and I love it. And also my creativity. I like starting things, starting programs. I've started a project for nursing homes there. I've begun an awareness of getting lesbian Jews in my congregation. I do a lot of outreach work with intermarried people, Jews by choice. And all that is brand new to Temple and has happened since I got there. I'm working with refugees from Central America. I really like starting things. It's been an enormous source of satisfaction, seeing people join in when I start something.

One such rabbi found the diversity to be:

> . . . remarkable. The range of things they have to do, the range of skills that I have to develop and try out, I get to study, and teach. I get to be with people and help people. I get to be involved on a political level for an institution that as community is wider, those are all things that I get . . . things that are important to me, the center of my life. I don't have to live a religiously fragmented life. I think I'm very fortunate and can't imagine what I would feel if I was not a rabbi.

These men specifically chose a career in the rabbinate to produce gratifying results; as such, we would expect them to have a strong commitment to those rabbinic careers, both in time and dedication.

2. Gratifications of Wives' Careers

All the wives interviewed for this study expressed the importance and personal meaning of their careers in a vivid and passionate manner. Indeed, their comments give ample evidence of that commitment.

One wife, a psychologist, expressed the personal fulfillment her career provides:

> Well, there's tremendous gratification to what I do. There is tremendous gratification to making people's lives better, improving the quality of their lives. There are tremendous gratifications to finding out that there are parts of me that are actually worth something. I think I've developed a great deal as a person, and have developed a sense of how the world works as it impacts on me. The sense that the world is a real place with consequences, and that you are responsible for your actions, is what you learn in a work setting.

Another wife, with a doctorate in special education, describes her attachment to her career (she is currently not working, as a result of a move made for her husband's career):

> For me personally, from my own career, I think on an intellectual level it's very satisfying. I think there was also a sense I had of independence being a working person that is missing for me now. In trying to say this clearly, it's not a question of my not contributing to the family. It's not a question of money, we're not in a position, thank goodness, where my income, my income is complementary. But I think not working, and this is strictly for me personally, doesn't give me enough definition. I kind of flounder with what to do with my days, and they seem to be very uncreative and irrelevant.

One wife, involved with interfaith work, found that her career broadened her world, beyond that of a rabbi's wife existing solely in Jewish surroundings:

> I feel strongly in the work I do, the creation of programs, the elimination of discrimination and prejudice, and I feel very strongly that it is important to work in the community in which one lives, and trying to reduce those kinds of tensions, and I think it works really well with [name] career. And I think it adds to our focus rather than having just a view of just the Jewish community with that sense of being insular. So for me it brings me out of this insular community that is very wonderful and very comfortable, and very much who I am. But it takes me into what I feel is more the real world, and I have a sense of independence. Just a sense of being capable of just doing more than one level.

Three of the wives were rabbis. They expressed some of the same gratifications as did their male rabbinic counterparts. One spoke of the challenge and diversity of her congregation:

> I like helping people, I really do. It gives me a great deal of fullness, to be able to be the person that people turn to at important times. I also like influencing, I like the kind of power I have in my position. So, it's a mixture of things that are more appealing of being able to do something good for somebody, and also, really being able to mold people's behavior, which doesn't always work. You have a lot more power than you think you do when you get into it. So those are the gratifications.

These wives expressed a strong desire for and attachment to their careers. Moreover, their careers provide them with a sense of identity, purpose, and personal fulfillment. It is this commitment that leads them to make the dual-career marriage a vital and viable option.

3. Husbands' Attitudes Towards Wives' Work

Husbands were asked to share their feelings regarding their wives' career, as a way of determining their attitudes as a partner of a dual-career marriage. Men have always been in the work force; however, it is the women's work that transforms them into a dual-career couple.

Interestingly, one of the strongest responses came from the husband of a rabbi, who is a rabbi himself:

> I love it. I really love her work. I find it satisfying too, because I'm very proud of her. Some of my best friends, some people I feel very close to are in her congregation. Some people who will become [daughter]'s and [daughter]'s not just baby-sitters but aunts and uncles. I've just become very close to the whole work situation. It goes beyond work for me actually. I stop thinking of myself in a professional way with many people from her congregation.

Another rabbi also expressed his support for his wife's career:

> It's easy to answer about her career for me. She's very good at what she does, and I get a tremendous amount of satisfaction and pleasure out of watching her do the things that she does. And being with people. My suspicion is, not so much a suspicion, but my sense of what she gets out of her career is the satisfaction of being with people and touching people's lives in some ways that are meaningful for them.

The overwhelming majority of husbands, at least on a theoretical level, strongly supported their wives' careers; most (as described above) even derived personal satisfaction from those careers. One rabbi, who works in an administrative capacity for a Jewish organization, told of the bond he and his wife share as a result of her work within the Jewish community as well:

> She's very good at what she does. I don't have any question about her competence in what she does. And because of that confidence, I think that people respect her and there have been some nice human relations things that have happened. My perception is that she's had some significant gratifications as a result of either individual programs or projects, or long-term general picture. And that's gratifying to me since I'm in a related field. I mean I can understand. If she were in microbiology, I'm not sure I'd ever understand really what she was doing.

One rabbi, however, articulated the feeling that while he supports his wife's career (she is a rabbi), at present his career takes priority over hers:

> Well, the way we have designed things so far is that my position has more or less set the tone for where we've been, for example. So the concerns that we have had are always with how can we shape our lifestyle the way we want it, and her career into it. So my concerns with her career are the shape it takes, in consideration of the values that we have for our home and family life.

The issue remaining for us to examine is the extent to which these husbands' positive attitudes towards their wives' careers transcend the purely theoretical commitment, and manifest themselves in the real, day-to-day behavior as marital partners; that is, do they actually function in a junior-senior partnership or in an equal one?

4. Wives' Attitudes Toward Husbands' Work

The majority of the wives took great pride in their husbands' careers. As mentioned earlier, all except one are married to rabbis. Most often, the feelings expressed were similar to the following:

> I'm really proud of him. I really feel that he is an established rabbi. I think that the ideal rabbi is someone who can really operate on different levels, and get along well with people and be intelligent and have something to say. And I just feel really proud because I think that's the kind of

> rabbi that he is. I see him growing, and that's very exciting. I see it in his sermons, I see it in how he deals with people. It's just interesting, of course I can't be totally objective, but at the same time there is a part of me that can look at him. I know a kind of scaling of others of our age who are out there, and I like what I see. And it feels good to look at a spouse and feel proud. And feel that they're really doing something worthwhile.

For the one wife (who is a rabbi) whose husband is not a rabbi, the pride in her husband's work (in the sciences) was equally as evident, despite her lack of understanding regarding several aspects of his profession:

> I don't understand any of it. I understand very little of it, but I respect very much that he has this ability in an entirely different realm than I do, and because of that ability I care about it, I learn about it. I like the idea that we function in different ways, and because of that we tend to think we perceive things in different ways as well. Not dangerously differently, but in neat ways so that we can educate each other.

The majority of wives who had rabbis for husbands were aware of the tremendous demands of the profession. One wife articulated those concerns:

> I think sometimes that it has an underlying constant strain to it and I do worry about that accumulated strain and stress. There's always . . . there always seems to be a major problem of one sort or another. Also, there's an insecurity to it, a tremendous insecurity to it. You don't know if you're completely accepted enough and that you might not have to move on someplace.

The question that remains for us to study in this area is whether the demands of the rabbinate are such that an equal partnership is

possible or viable, and whether or not, then, the women must retain primary responsibility for domestic and child-related functions.

5. Career Sacrifices, Geographic Moves and Job Priority

Spouses were asked if they had to make any career sacrifices or geographic moves for their partner's career, and under what circumstances they might do so. These questions were asked in order to determine which, if any, career held priority within their relationships.

While many of the rabbis' wives were uncomfortable in articulating that "they gave something up" in their own careers to advance their husband's position, their responses to the question of relocation indicated clearly that the husband's job took priority.

Many defended this position by stating that they have a career that can be transported anywhere, while the options of their husbands are limited.

One wife openly stated this position:

> Yes, I gave up my job for this career move for [name]. My feeling was my skills, given my profession, are transportive. There's a wealth of jobs I can find, anywhere. Being a rabbi, and I think that's an issue that rabbinic families alone have to confront more in the future, you have a very limited pool of places that you can go to, and the openings come at very infrequent intervals. It it's an ideal or a wonderful career move for the rabbi, whether the rabbi is a man or a woman, then in that case, as was for [name], this was a wonderful opportunity. An opportunity I encouraged him to take.

While it is true that the rabbi's family may be subject to more geographic mobility than most, men in the corporate world are also

subject to making similar moves to advance their careers. Thus, for most wives with rabbis as husbands, this argument is somewhat discounted. These moves symbolize the career priority of the husband, as another wife commented:

> When we moved it was because of his career. He needed to move, and he was offered the job here, and I did not want to move here, and I made very little secret about it. So, we moved here. And I was just in the middle of my internship. We are not in equal places of stature in our careers, which I think some women, or some people might see that as a source of tension which I don't perceive here. I am very happy to have what I have in my career. I guess I don't feel ambitious in that. I think [name] is the more ambitious of the two of us. And is really in a much higher place relative to all the other contemporaries or colleagues than I am. So I think that's where the tension would be. I cannot imagine that I would be offered something that we would have to go there.

A middle-aged wife made a similar comment:

> Probably it hasn't happened because of making [name]'s job the career focus. I mean, I've liked every place that we have lived, and have been perfectly comfortable moving. We have lived here 10 years, and I guess after about a year I thought "God, I never want to move. I finally feel like I've lived some place. And our kids have gone straight through all these schools." Now when I look at the ages of our kids, this is just a year later, if something extraordinary happened and someone said do you want to move to Australia, I would probably say yes.

Apparently, then, while most of the husbands expressed strongly positive feelings about their wives' careers, and expressed their commitment to them on a theoretical level, in reality, their careers still have the ultimate priority moving to another community demands an important career sacrifice of their spouses. One such rabbi expressed

his commitment to his wife's career in terms of his willingness to move for her. Nevertheless, their recent relocation was done for his benefit:

> It wasn't that big of a geographic move, but it was a life-changing one in many ways. When we were in a situation that was ideal for her, in terms of her daughter being very accessible all the time, I was unhappy, in my previous job, or I wasn't unhappy necessarily, but I was not fulfilled and satisfied in a lot of ways. She was pushing and urging and working and trying to help change my job, doing whatever she could to facilitate that for me as well. So that I would be happy. And I would be prepared to do the same for her.

Finally, a significant distinction emerged in the case of two men (one a rabbi) who are married to rabbis. Both men made career sacrifices for their rabbinic spouses. It appears that for these men, who are comfortable with marriages in which the wife is in a traditionally male-oriented profession, their readiness to make such sacrifices symbolizes the full equality and compatibility of their marriages. One wife described the sacrifice made by her husband:

> First, when I was ordained, [name] had been ordained a year before, and was working in New York. So we stayed in New York and worked congregations around. I had just an assortment of very intimate and part-time jobs that year. The big sacrifice was made by [husband's name] because I wanted to go to graduate school in L.A. He came out here with me without a job, and had to search around and find one. It took him a while, and he had to make himself a whole new career.

He commented as well on subsequent sacrifices that he has made:

> I've been very tempted for example by chaplaincy positions in other cities. I'll see the Jewish Home for the Aged in San Francisco available. I'll see a job in Philadelphia or St. Louis, or a hospital job

> which I would really love. And it means uprooting [name] from what she is doing. And it means uprooting ourselves from family here, extended family. And I simply throw the newsletter away so I stop thinking about it, because the priority is family.

For most marriages, however, the husband's career took priority. Nevertheless, the husbands remained deeply committed to their wives' work, and felt enriched by it.

6. Sharing of Work Experiences

As a rule, all couples reported sharing work experiences with one another, including consulting each other and exchanging advice. One rabbi articulated it best:

> We approach it as a team. And it's the way I perceive the relationship. Even in my own job, I'm theoretically the expert here in terms of what I'm doing, but so much of what I'm doing doesn't have to do with whether I know a particular story from Talmud of Midrash, but how you effectively deal with people, how you manage money, getting what you want to have happen. And she's as good at that as I am. So I consult with her all the time about, most of the time, about everything I do.

Such sharing indicates each partner's respect for his or her spouse's view; indeed, the fact that both partners work, adds a higher dimension to their sharing. They are able to empathize with more of each other's affairs and concerns.

There was only one exception to this. Things said in confidence to a husband or wife in the role of rabbi were not shared. Most rabbis felt that if something they heard in a counseling setting would harm their spouse's opinion or perception of someone, they would refrain from sharing it. One rabbi suggested:

> I've been told things, even sometimes by members of this congregation, who said I just really want you to know about this. It's not that they don't feel comfortable with him, but that sometimes people share a confidence because they feel they can with you, and there are times I haven't told him, just because I felt that's what the person wants.

Another rabbi echoed that thought:

> If I think it would be detrimental to the person or to [name]'s view of the person, and it would make it impossible for him to deal with them in the same way, I wouldn't say it. But if it is really something that is burdening me and I need to share it sometimes I'll tell him.

Interestingly, most spouses of rabbis had no difficulties with this; in fact, they seemed to accept it as part of their spouse's career:

> Regarding his position as a counselor, I feel integrity in terms of his ability to counsel and listen to others, and to maintain that privacy very highly, and I've seen it over the years. I don't know if it's because I haven't heard something, or whatever. And I really do respect the ability to not have to talk about it, number one, because it's the ethical thing to do. And I don't need to hear everything.

Thus, overall, these dual-career rabbinic couples sought out each other's advice, and found that their sharing of each other's career concerns added a positive dynamic to their marriages.

7. Definitions and Perceptions of Workaholism

Couples were asked to define the term "workaholic," as a means of later measuring their perceptions of the intensity with which they approach their work. Presumably, that intensity or lack of it could

have some bearing on their ability to engage in other relationship functions, including childcare and domestic concerns.

Not surprisingly, respondents gave similar definitions for the term "workaholic." Most identified an obsession with one's career, to the extent of defining one's being solely through one's occupation. Three respondents voiced these components best:

> Maybe a workaholic is somebody who, when given the opportunity to either be at work or away from work, and everything else being equal, would choose to be at work.
>
> I think it's a person that can't separate themselves from their work. A person who doesn't have a sense of themselves independent of what it is that they do.
>
> I would define it as someone who does not have the perspective to know anymore how much he or she is working, and how much he or she is consumed by the work, and fails to have a perspective, lacks the ability to distinguish between work and non-work.

When spouses were asked to rate themselves on a ten point scale (ten signifying an intense workaholic) according to their definitions, an interesting finding emerged: while none of the women, including the female rabbis, ranked themselves higher than a 6, three of the men placed themselves at 8 or higher, with two more ranking themselves between 7 and 8. Thus, half of the husbands (five of the nine rabbis) rated themselves in the upper range of the scale. For these male rabbis, this strong identification with and attachment to their work reflects a number of factors. Certainly, it may be a manifestation of their subconscious feeling of having the ultimate role of provider, or a

feeling of constant responsibility for the welfare of others, as one rabbi explained:

> I don't work the extensive hours that I do because I enjoy that more than the other things that I could be doing. I am envious of those people who have the time to pursue their hobbies and to be in that kind of setting. I really enjoy doing those things, but when I do them I shut out the work. I'm a workaholic in the sense of always having a keen sense of responsibility.

The fact that a significant number of these husbands are so involved in their rabbinic work may have a definite impact on the amount of time they have available for family concerns and responsibilities. Moreover, their lack of availability for these familial obligations may have a negative impact on their wives' careers.

8. Socializing Networks

Couples were asked to identify who they spend social time with, as a way of identifying whether or not one spouse's work-related friends and contacts emerged as the dominant social group, and to see if there was any sharing of the couple's different work networks.

Every couple reported that they had only a minimal amount of time for any socializing. Many of the couples, living in the same area they grew up in or went to college in, said they spent time with childhood friends or people from their college years.

While no consistent pattern emerged, it was evident that each of these couples had a combination of social networks, consisting of old friends, extended family, some congregants, and other rabbis and their spouses. To that extent, it is apparent that despite the dual-career

nature of the couples, the rabbi's network (whether through rabbis or congregants at his or her place of work) continues to predominate in every couple's social network.

We have now explored the various aspects of the dual-career rabbinic couple's overall attitudes toward each other's work. We turn now to an examination of the findings dealing specifically with the rabbi's workplace, and its effect on his or her marriage and family, and his or her dual-career marriage's effect on it.

B. Rabbinic Marital Issues

The rabbinic profession is different from most others in that it requires a life lived "in the public eye." Many congregants have ideas and expectations not only of the rabbi, but also for of his or her family. For the dual-career rabbinic family, this life "in the fish bowl" raises new issues about the model they present, their ability to fulfill congregant's expectations, and the ability of congregants to adapt to a new type of rabbinic family. This section explores these issues.

1. Rabbis' Perceptions of Work as Compared to Other Professionals

Rabbis were initially asked to compare themselves with other professionals (doctors, lawyers) as to how their job affects the amount of time they had to spend with their spouse. This was done to see how the rabbis perceived the demands of their unique profession, and to highlight any difficulties their profession presents to their marriage, due to those demands.

The majority of rabbis interviewed perceived that the biggest difference between themselves and other professionals was the inordinate number of evenings and weekends their work required. As one rabbi explained:

> I see my experience is that my life is kind of 7 days a week, 24 hours a day on the job. If I don't have an evening where I have to do something, then it's like a surprise. When I take a look at this particular month, I see that there's one evening that I don't have to do something for the temple, because I scheduled in the theater a month ago with my wife. And other than Thanksgiving which happens to be this month, every night this week, for example, every single one there's a meeting.

While some rabbis stated that their profession was much like a doctor's in terms of time commitment, many pointed out that even a doctor can exercise greater control over his time. As a rabbi noted:

> If you were to call your physician, and it wasn't his night on, or he was not in his office, you get his service and you find someone covering for him. Or, if it were an emergency, you go to a hospital emergency room and you'd accept the services of the physician who was there. When you want your rabbi, you want <u>your</u> rabbi. There's no rabbi to cover your rabbi. So whereas a doctor has either partners who can cover his off hours, or a service, or an emergency room that people can go to, the rabbinate doesn't have an emergency room. So the rabbi is on call 24 hours a day.

Indeed, as one female rabbi surmised,

> I get a sense that people feel more comfortable to demand the time of a rabbi, than they would of any other professional. I think that with any other professional, if they needed that professional service, they'd be much more deferential about it. The expectation is much more clear in the rabbinate that you be available for that. I'm already feeling that to a great extent. They don't apologize for it, let's put it this way. If you have to be at a meeting every night of the week, and they know that

> you've been in a meeting every night of the week, they don't say "Gee, I'm so sorry that you have to be in a meeting every night of the week."

Thus, the time demand of evenings and weekends can pose a significant problem as far as the time a rabbi has available to spend with a spouse engaged in a career. While the working spouse's schedule may limit the flexibility of time, most often their evenings and weekends are still open. Given the fact that the rabbi is usually busy during those times, a strain can emerge due to the lack of time for discussion, growth, and intimacy. Another female rabbi summed it up:

> I think that being a rabbi is a very all-consuming profession, and that it is not a 9-5 position. It's something that takes your weekends, it takes many of your evenings, and of course your days. It really does affect the amount of time a family can spend together, all the more so if both are pursuing their careers at the same time. Their responsibilities may be such that they can't spend the time together; they both could be working at different times. So it makes it particularly difficult.

2. Creating Sufficient Time for Relationships

Given the strong time commitment of rabbi's careers, particularly nights and weekends, couples were asked how they found sufficient time for the healthy maintenance of their relationships. One couple's comments typified the difficulties involved:

> I don't think we've solved how to find sufficient time for each other. We set a date to go out for [name]'s birthday, three weeks after his birthday. That was the first time we could both find a date to go out.

In fact, the couples that were most successful in finding time for one another were the couples that pro-actively created it by blocking

out specific hours in their days or evenings during their weeks. One rabbi created a daily time, despite his hectic schedule, to share with his wife:

> I end up having to schedule time with my wife. For me to assure, and what I've done all along, being with her, I . . . we see each other for dinner every night, so I schedule an hour and a half from 5:30-7:00. I schedule in my wife. That time, for an approximate hour and a half, is time with my wife except for Tuesday nights. Here I have to start teaching at 6:30 so I do it from 5:00-6:30, but I make sure I have an hour and a half at the end of the day that we're together, when I go home for dinner before I come back here again. If I didn't do that, I could fill up <u>all</u> the time, and I would just get swallowed up.

Four other couples set aside a specific evening during the week. One couple called that period "our time," and continues to plan for it, despite a reduction in expectations:

> And the Monday night, I thought originally was going to be real creative and we were going to come with these grand ideas, but all we want to do is go out and sit in the restaurant, and look at each other. It becomes basically eating, but just alone, we don't combine it.

Indeed, this type of unstructured activity was the norm among all four couples. While it was important for couples to spend time together, the attempt was made to make this "structured time" as unstructured as possible, in the sense of keeping it "natural" and spontaneous despite the fixed time parameters.

The remaining couples, upon hearing of the use of such "structured time" among other dual-career rabbinic couples, also concluded that it represents the most viable of options. One female rabbi, who just

started a new position, commented that such "time structuring" will have to be used in her marriage:

> I don't think we plan yet, but I'm starting to realize that we're going to need to do that, to plan a time, and keep some time sacred. In fact, we were talking about it over dinner. But I'm so new at this job, and both of us are so new living here that we haven't done it.

Thus, for dual-career rabbinic couples, "creative time" may be one solution to the time dilemma, but it is one that must be actively pursued.

3. Difficult Decisions--Rabbinic Responsibility and Family Life

Rabbis were asked to respond to a situation in which they were forced to choose between congregation and family, again for the purpose of highlighting the unique and unpredictable time demands made on the rabbi, and the effects of those demands on the rabbi's spouse and family. Spouses were also asked to comment on their feelings about the decision.

Rabbis were given a situation in which they were asked to leave a family event (i.e., child's birthday party) because a congregant has informed them that their (the congregant's) spouse has been in a serious automobile accident.

All rabbis interviewed commented on the difficulty of the situation and the need to use sound judgment to determine if the emergency was so severe as to require their immediate attention. One rabbi explained how she would use such judgment:

> I think initially what I would do would be to call on the phone and find out if there was anything I could do to handle the situation temporarily on the phone, until I would be able to leave later on and go and handle the situation more appropriately. I would try not to have to leave my family situation immediately, unless it were something really impossible to deal with in any other way. I think of a situation that actually happened in our congregation when it's impossible to say no. Somebody actually committed suicide in our congregation, and if somebody's committing suicide, you can't say "Gee, I'm sorry, I would rather stay at my father's birthday party." But I think that one has to be very careful in drawing a line and not allowing congregants' major occasions to take precedent over our major occasions.

All the rabbis interviewed said that if the situation was judged to be an urgent one, they wouldn't hesitate to go. Nevertheless, as one rabbi pointed out, the situation presents a difficult dilemma:

> If it's something where I can stay at my child's birthday party for part of it, and then leave if I think it would really help family to be there, I would probably leave early from the birthday party, even though I would feel very conflicted about it. I have constant guilt feelings about my family.

Interestingly, while Rabbis realized the difficulties of the situation, most felt that their children would be understanding and able to cope with it. As one rabbi said:

> In all those kinds of circumstances you have to make a judgment as to whether they need your immediate attention and presence, or whether what you are currently involved with can be allowed to finish. So, I would have to respond to that particular circumstance. If I heard a call that someone had been in a car accident and was seriously hurt, you could tell from the call that the person was greatly upset, I would more than likely say good-bye to my current connection and go. I think that under those conditions the rabbi needs to be present to the person. And the kids haven't had to deal with that as far as I can recall, but I think they can handle it. They know that their dad's a rabbi and that

> sometimes that could happen, and he wouldn't be available for them at that precise moment. You make up for it. You know, we would find a way to find one-on-one time if that occurred. I would probably go.

Surprisingly, this issue seemed to be resolved for the rabbis' spouses, all of whom expressed support for whatever might be their partner's decision. Moreover, they too felt that the children would get over such a situation, as one mother jokingly explained:

> For example, he [rabbi] missed our youngest's pre-school graduation. You know, every once in a while she wings that at him. And it's not that great. . . . It will be a major issue when she goes to a psychiatrist some day. [laughs] But that happens.

One rabbi's spouse commented on the positives such a situation teaches:

> I was going to answer that I think the children, it also teaches the children a <u>good</u> value and a <u>good</u> sense of what it means to be a rabbi, and the full responsibilities. I think it's important that they have this understanding, and you would take the time to share with them that this is something <u>Abba</u> has to do. And there will be another time. But they learn, unfortunately, it is part of the responsibility.

All the rabbis stated that they expected other rabbis to respond in a similar fashion; that is, if the call was urgent, one wouldn't hesitate to go. There are limits, however, as one rabbi explained by the use of a story:

> There's a story I tell, which even though it's not true, it was a congregant's perception that it was true. A friend of mine in the congregation, who will go nameless, once told me about their rabbi, Rabbi So-and-So, was wonderful, just the most terrific person in the world. And he's so terrific,

> that when his son was being ordained, something came up, a funeral or something with a very prominent member of the congregation, and he couldn't go to his son's ordination. And the conclusion is what a wonderful rabbi. Now, I happen to know that's not true. That he postponed going for a day, but he was there for the ordination or whatever. But it's the perception, and in a way it used to bother me a lot that story that somehow this ultimate selflessness was a virtue. The rabbi would have been crazy if he hadn't gone to his son's ordination no matter who died, because a rabbi . . . it's not like he had to do open-heart surgery. But I think it's a very large issue.

Indeed, while the rabbi may feel at peace with his or her decision, the congregants' perceptions and expectations have a substantial impact on the rabbi and the rabbi's spouse and family.

4. Congregational Expectations

Prior to the dual-career movement, the traditional pattern for most synagogues was for the rabbi and his spouse to be the symbolic "parents" of the congregation, with the rabbi at the helm and his spouse operating as his unpaid assistant. Not only was the rabbi's spouse (usually the wife) supposed to involve herself in the synagogue in a substantial way, but also, the rabbi's family was to be a role model with which congregants could identify.

With the emergence and increasing numbers of dual-career marriages in the rabbinate as well as in the congregations, rabbis and their spouses were asked to comment on the congregation's expectations of the rabbi and his or her spouse, and on any changes in those expectations brought on by the dual-career trend. Rabbis and spouses were also asked

if, despite this trend, they still feel the rabbi's family should be a role model for congregants to follow.

When asked to comment on the congregational expectations of the rabbi, most replied noticing little change in the demands placed on the rabbi, as one rabbi commented:

> I think they're never ending. I really do. It's not malicious, it really isn't. And people will talk a very good line, about recognition about how important it is for rabbis to have their own time, to go to home to their families. The reality is that if they want you, they want you then. I'm already experiencing it very clearly. I teach classes, and after the classes, no matter what time, I have students who want to come in and talk to me. And they'll come in, come to my office, door, and say "Gee I know you really want to get to your husband," and then walk in and proceed to sit down and start the conversation. So my husband will call in the middle of it and say, "Where the hell are you," and sometimes we haven't eaten dinner, or whatever it is. And, I don't think, I never before noticed how selfish people are when their own needs are at stake. But they are extremely so. There's very little recognition of the needs of the rabbi.

Nevertheless, most rabbis felt that the expectations made of them came with the territory and didn't see them as a significant burden.

Clearly, the most important finding to emerge concerned the change in the congregational expectations of the rabbi's spouse. This change is largely brought about by the entrance of women into the work force. A bi-level, somewhat contradictory congregational attitude was perceived by both rabbis and their spouses. On the <u>rational</u> level, congregants, realizing the demands of a rabbinic spouse's career (perhaps, in part, due to their own experiences in a dual-career family), have dropped almost all expectations of the spouse in regards to his or her

involvement in synagogue affairs. On the emotional level, however, the congregants' attachment to the traditional notion of the rabbi's family (perhaps as a constant in a time of an increased frequency of marital instability), leads them to strongly desire the spouse's presence and participation. Hence, while the expectations have substantially diminished, the desire for spousal participation is still ever-present. One rabbi expressed this attitude succinctly:

> With women today, I think you'll find--especially with the younger congregants that they assume you're just like them. They assume you're probably working. I would say that a congregation welcomes as high a profile [in the congregation] as the woman spouse wants to have, and probably my experience, I think, only if there was a complete absence of the spouse would there be any ill feelings about it.

While rabbis expressed pleasure at the reduction in congregational expectations of their spouses, they also sympathized with the congregants' emotional desires for their spouses' involvement, as another rabbi commented:

> This is a profession that is a very emotional profession in which the rabbi's job, whether male or female, is so much dealing with the non-irrational aspects of human lives that you can't put rational judgments on things and not say it's not fair. Well, I'm going to get upset because they want my wife to be involved.
>
> I have a lot of friends, rabbi colleagues, who really get angry because of any expectations that the congregation seems to have of their spouse. And they hire me, they don't hire her. And that's true. But me is also her. I'm not an individual isolated person, I'm part of a family unit, part of a relationship, and the relationship is a model of certain things.

A third rabbi, married to a female rabbi, also shared his comments of the new differences between congregants' expectations and desires:

> I think there are very few expectations now of the family, although there is a great desire in my congregation for involvement in my family just as I feel it from [name] temple. Her temple in particular loves it when I call myself the rebbitzen. They really enjoy it. I was invited to give the sermon there, and remarked on how it was unusual for the rebbitzen to be invited to give the sermon. And they liked that. They liked my involvement. My temple feels the same way about her. She has come down there, in a number of programs. When the children come, they're crazy about having them there, and they do ask when will we see them, etc. But there are no structured expectations.
>
> They love it when the family participates. But no demands whatsoever, which is quite different from how it was until very recently in most places, from what I understand, and what I observed growing up.

Indeed, perhaps because of this reduction in expectations, some of the female spouses felt very comfortable with the term "rebbitzen" being applied to them. They attributed their acceptance of the term to a new image of the rebbitzen, as one wife explained:

> It doesn't bother me. I interpret it differently than the way it was, say, forty years ago. When I think of the rebbitzen, I think the rebbitzen [name]. She's married to the rabbi, and she was like his right arm. They went everywhere together. If he was called two in the morning, and it was the hospital and someone was ill, she would drop everything and go with him. She would get out of bed and go with him to the hospital. She was his extension, and a very high profile in the community. Very much loved and appreciated, and yet she gave her all to the congregation to the detriment of her spending the time with her children. And the children at the time resented it when they were growing up.

> I never felt that there's been major expectations for me to do more than I want to. I have always felt that it is really up to me to find what my niche is. In both congregations I've been involved mostly in a teaching capacity. And this one I'm running a women's group with the cantor, and that's been very satisfying. The previous one I taught in their school in adult education and various other things. And yet it's different from what previous rebbitzens did. I'm bringing my specific talents, and I feel very good about that.

The use of the term rebbitzen is a less complicated issue for men married to women rabbis, as most congregants only identify the female spouse with that traditional role. But, as one such husband kidded, the question does come up:

> People come up to me, a few people--I can tell the difference between somebody who is just being a yutz, and is trying to wind me up, and somebody who is just being nice. There are people who come, and you know from the way they've said it, they build a conversation with you, and then they say it because you know it's got to be on their mind and they want to know what it is I call myself. So, you know, it's a friendly conversation. Some people come up and say, "This must be the rebbitzen," or like, "Do people ever call you the rebbitzen?" And my standard response is, "Only once." And you know,, well, what can I say. So I think they get the message.

Finally, given the fact that the congregational expectations for the rabbi's spouse is changing, rabbinic couples were asked to discuss how they felt about being religious "role models" for their congregants.

Interestingly, while a few couples expressed some discomfort over the responsibility for serving as such "role models," all felt that their congregants still had a right and a need to expect that of them and their marriages. As one rabbi noted:

> They want the rabbi's family to be a model of Jewish living, and they want the rabbi to care deeply about Jewish life and them, and I think also there's an expectation that the rabbi's wife care deeply about Judaism and them. I think people accept differences, but I think there is an underlying expectation that somehow your home is where the model of Jewish living goes on.

Clearly, congregational expectations of the rabbi's spouse have changed substantially as a result of the dual-career trend. While the congregation may still desire the spouse to be involved in synagogue life and may still expect the rabbinic couple to be a religious role model, it is evident that the dual-career movement has had an impact on both the synagogue and the congregants who sustain it. Specifically, congregants now expect less attendance of the rabbi's spouse at synagogue functions.

5. Messages Transmitted by the Rabbinic Dual-Career Marriage

The unique "fish bowl environment" in which the rabbi and his spouse live provides them the opportunity to act as role models in much more than a strictly religious sense; they are also able to transmit other ideas and values, based upon the type of marriage they have, and the way in which each partner functions within that marriage. Hence, all the couples were asked to identify what messages their dual-career marriages transmitted to their congregants.

Two different though connected messages emerged, the first of which is the portrayal of women as competent, committed, career-oriented professionals, with an equal right to pursue their career interests. As one rabbi concluded, "I think it's a wholesome message. It gives them a

sense that their rabbi is married to a person of substance, that it's a model, and sometimes a challenging one."

The second message is the way in which the rabbi's marriage is able to successfully adapt itself to accommodate the wife's desire to pursue her career interests. As such, it serves as a viable model for other families. As another rabbi stated,

> I think it communicates a sense of an equality in a relationship that one person isn't sort of subservient, by definition, to their spouse. It communicates certain respect that the rabbi has for his/her spouse, and therefore, is kind of modeling again of a relationship. It also communicates how people negotiate their lives together. And since you live in a fish bowl when you're a rabbi in a congregation, it also is kind of an object lesson in the art of relationship negotiating, how you can still be a team and be independent.

Thus, the rabbi's dual-career marriage can transmit positive messages to the congregation. What remains to be seen, and what we will now examine, is how these rabbinic dual-career couples confront the issues of childcare and domestic management, in view of the professional commitments of each partner's career.

C. Children and Child-Related Issues

Rabbis and their spouses were asked a series of questions concerning their children and the care of those children, to determine whether their commitment to a dual-career marriage manifests itself as a junior-senior partnership or as an equal partnership. The difference is determined not only by the opportunity for both partners to work, but also by the balance of responsibilities within their home.

An interesting finding emerged regarding the number of children in these rabbinic dual-career families. While it is possible that these couples will have more children, eight of the ten couples interviewed had no more than two children. One of these couples made the decision to have just one child, while another couple is delaying having children in order to devote more time to their careers. Thus it seems the findings for these rabbinic couples would seem to be consistent with the prevailing trend among dual-career couples to have fewer children.

1. Care During Primary Years

One of the difficulties faced by dual-career couples is the question of how to balance their career responsibilities with the demands made by children, especially during their primary years. Indeed, how is the child taken care of during those early years? In the case of the rabbinic dual-career couples studied, the results are clear--of the nine couples that had children, the mother was still the primary care-giver in eight of them. This held true regardless of whether the mother continued to work full time, switched to a part-time schedule, or stopped working entirely during these early years.

For mothers who continued to work on either a full-time or part-time basis, their primary care-giving evidenced itself in the amount of time spent with children after hours at daycare or elementary school. Most often, these late afternoons and evenings are the busiest times for their husbands (all rabbis). As such, it was the mothers who had the responsibility for the family's childcare demands.

Mothers who chose daycare centers for their pre-school age children generally had positive feelings about their choice. One rabbi's wife explained her situation and feelings:

> I stayed home, I was not working for the first six months of each child's life and I nursed. I was home during that period, and went back to work in both cases on a half-time basis after that. The children . . . you want to know where they were? One of them went to a day care center that was run by a church, and the other went to a private home, a woman who would do day care, which was wonderful, across the street and a wonderful situation. In both cases, it worked out very well.

Another couple expressed similar feelings, despite the costs of such childcare:

> It costs $550 for the little one, and for the older one, with a milk charge now, it's about $350. And so that's $900. But we have chosen day care because it sort of stems from being at a day care center and having such a positive experience with that.
>
> Seeing our older one thrive in that setting. Because of how well he gets along with other kids. So we didn't want somebody in our home.

Indeed, none of these couples expressed the desire for a nanny or nursemaid for their children. Three mothers were in work situations in which they were able to either directly or indirectly supervise their children. One of them shared an amusing anecdote in this vein:

> [Name] was 4 at the beginning of May, and I took her to my office with me from the time she was 10 days old. Fortunately, I work in a place where that was acceptable. It was summer and I had a very flexible kind of schedule. All the secretaries still laugh about when I got 10 minutes into an interview at one point and never mentioned the fact that I was wearing a baby on the front of me. I had become so accustomed to it.

2. Career Sacrifices

While many women in these rabbinic marriages were required to curtail the amount of time and involvement they could give to their careers, most felt that the sacrifices were well worth the gains such a choice afforded them. Indeed, most enjoyed the increased opportunities for "bonding" with their children. As one mother concluded,

> It's something you just accept. I feel comfortable with the choices that I've made but they have been choices. If I have the need for more status or money, more of a high caliber career, we would have to make other alterations in our family system. My general feeling is, that at least for this period of my life, that I would rather not put all of that energy into a career, and save some for the kids.

Nevertheless, there was considerable concern voiced over the effects such a choice would have on their career growth, as one mother shared:

> That's something which I wonder about. I'm worried about it, there's no question about it. Before we had children, I would say I was one of the people that was very career-oriented. I never thought I would feel that way about children that would transform my life in so many wonderful ways. But I really was concerned about getting a good job, and making my mark, and being able to grow professionally. And now, as I look to job possibilities in the future, I can say yes I have three Master's degrees. I have a counseling degree, an education degree, a rabbinic degree. And yet the resume shows part-time work. It doesn't really show that I have put out that kind of full-time commitment to my job that needs to be done. And I wonder whether when I really do start looking for a job, whether that will really be to my detriment, will it really prevent me from getting the kind of job I want to have. Or will they say, well she's really been into a lot of different things, and she's more enriched for having had a child. But you know how people are--practical minded. They look at

> what you have done in the past and what your track record is. So, I also am concerned that if I want to develop my career, I have to start doing something about it, and I can't continue working on a such part-time basis.

Thus, while these women accepted their role as primary care-giver, they were also aware of the career sacrifices that such a choice required.

3. Care of a Sick Child and Disciplining

An interesting finding emerged regarding the caring for a sick child. Very often, the question "who usually stays home and takes care of your child when he is sick?" is used in studies of dual-career couples, as a means of determining which partner is the primary care-giver. Whereas we have already identified the mother as that parent, we would expect the answer to the above question to be her as well. Yet the opposite held true. In almost every couple interviewed, the rabbi (which in most cases was the husband) responded that due to the flexible scheduling of his daytime hours, he was the one that usually adjusted his schedule so that he could care for the sick child. Thus in spite of the fact that it is the mother who normally (in these couples) exercised the primary care for her children, the father (as rabbi) was, in certain instances, able to adapt his schedule child's needs, and in so doing allowed the mother to continue working on that particular day. The question this raises (to be explored later in this study) is why the rabbi, given the flexibility of his daytime schedule, is unable to care for his children on a more regular basis than merely during times of illness.

Regarding the area of discipline, couples reported that both partners handled situations as they occurred. As such, the primary care-giver (the mother) usually handled the greater number of such situations, because of the disproportionate amount of time they spent with the children. Nevertheless, for most couples, the major disciplinary decisions and responses were achieved by a consensus of both partners.

4. Effects of Dual-Career Marriage on Children

Couples were asked to share their perceptions as to the advantages and limitations which their dual-career marriages have on their children. The biggest advantage they perceived was role-modeling they provided for their children, and especially for their daughters.

The initial aspect of this role-modeling was the portrayal of the mother with a strong commitment to a career. As one mother explained,

> For my daughter, she will see that both male and female, her role models, both father and mother, both are involved in her life in every way, care about her, love her, and yet are also professionals. That they are trying the best they can to balance all this. And that she can really strive to become whatever it is that she wants to in her life. By and large, there really are not too many things that we restrict her from.

Another expressed similar thoughts about his wife's role:

> In terms of [mother's] role, her beauty is (a) that [daughter's name] knows that a female can do anything she wants to do. By this generation, there's no "You can't go to Cornell, and you can't be a rabbi, or you can't be a doctor." That's not in [daughter's] head. But she's extraordinarily close to her mother, having a woman who is this high-powered professional as her mother has been in [daughter's] younger years, gives [daughter] the

> nourishment of knowing that she can do whatever, whether she wants to be a secretary or a psychologist.

A woman rabbi shared her thoughts on the career options her young daughter already sees, and the importance of her own role modeling:

> I think it sets an example for our daughters. [Name] wants to be a rabbi and a doctor.
>
> She feels very strong, confident, and sure of herself. She has enormous self-confidence, and she sees limitless possibilities for herself in the future. She also wants to be a model, she told me.

A second aspect of this role-modeling was in the portrayal of the dual-career marriage as a viable option for their children. As one parent, herself a child of a dual-career rabbinic family, explained,

> Since I'm the child of the two profession family, I have to say that I'm very hopeful about what kind of feelings our kids can get about having two parents that work. I think that they'll realize that I would make a very poor person to stay at home all day long, and that their lives would be more exciting, more full, and have more variety, and have more good time with us because we're both doing something that we love to do. We gave them the opportunity to see that they can do that in their lives as well. That they don't have to be stuck in any way.

Two other parents spoke of the increased sharing of roles by men and women in dual-career marriages:

> I see my children, at a young age, not having a lot of the sexist image I even remember growing up with. Everything from their literature causes them to really understand that both mom and dad work, both mom and dad do the dishes. Both mom and dad can get a meal on the table. At this point I think it's a very positive image for them to see.

> I'll tell you the positive from my viewpoint. It narrows the differences between the sexes, I think, for the children. It teaches the children that men have responsibilities in the home as well as women, and women have responsibilities out of the home as well as men, and allows them not to get into stereotyped roles. I expect my boys to learn that they can cook and they can run a household and that. And I think that is positive.

Finally, these couples expressed the belief that their marriages (due to time commitments to career as well as to home) would give their children a greater sense of independence and self-assurance. Indeed, as one husband commented,

> My theory is, I don't know if it's borne out by fact, but if you're the kind of family where both parents are working, and both parents are successful or feel successful in their careers, that they are self-assured, their children should also turn out to be a little bit more self-assured.

The sole limitation expressed by parents was their inability to provide enough time or attention to their children. As one parent noted,

> Time management becomes a much more important part of your life when you have a dual career. It's probably the single, biggest issue to cope with when you have dual career families. How you can get done what needs to be done, and therefore, who's available to do it. How you're going to see each other and spend time with whomever is in the family.

Yet most parents felt this limitation was compensated for by the advantages that their dual-career marriage gave their children and that their children could learn from this limitation as well. As one mother concluded,

> I think the limitation is definitely the degree of time and attention that can go on in a household. And if everyone needs a little time or everyone is exhausted, I think that the kids probably sense

> that. And I'm sure that has an effect. I hope the effect is one of a sense of independence, of feeling good about themselves, a sense of understanding life.

D. Household Management

One of the issues dual-career couples face is that of trying to fulfill all the demands that maintaining a household requires, despite the work commitments of both partners. How the work is divided can tell us a great deal about the couple's ability or inability to break from traditional sex roles.

Additionally, it is in the home where the couple's decision-making processes take place, both in terms of economic as well as non-economic decisions. As such, the affairs of the household represent an important component of our study of the rabbinic dual-career couple.

1. Division of Household Labor

Rabbinic dual-career couples were asked to respond to a series of questions designed to determine the division of household labor within their homes, and whether or not that division was based according to traditional sex roles. Questions were based in part on a similar study by Condran and Bode (1980). Five questions were asked of each couple:

a. Who does the dishes?

b. Who does the cooking?

c. Who does the general cleaning?

d. Who does the household repairs/mows the lawn/takes out the garbage?

e. Who pays the bills?

The first three questions represent tasks traditionally performed by the wife, while the last two represent those tasks traditionally performed by the husband. The final question also relates to the issue of power and authority within the relationship, since it is economically based.

The findings based on these questions are striking: despite the dual-career nature of these rabbinic couples, the first four household responsibilities were still divided according to "traditional" sex roles. The findings for these questions were that women:

a. washed the dishes in five of ten homes, while sharing the responsibility in three others

b. did the cooking in seven of those homes

c. did the cleaning (or laundry) in eight of those homes.

The findings also illustrated that men still performed the household repairs (or mowed the lawn or took out the garbage) in the majority of homes.

Thus the wife retains the primary responsibility for the daily upkeep of the household, despite the fact that she is also engaged in a career. This correlateth our earlier finding that the wife is still the primary caregiver to the children of the rabbinic dual-career marriage. Indeed, the greatest measurable adjustment of the husbands was in the washing of dishes (four reported either sole or shared responsibility).

One couple's story of how they reached their decision on the distribution of household labor typifies how this pattern evolved:

Husband: Our approach to it has been characterized by the fact that she has been part time. Just by sheer time she has done the overwhelming majority of things, in terms of cooking, maintenance, and bookkeeping sort of responsibilities.

Wife: And it's changed. When we were students, in graduate school together, we really shared things, because that was what our time was like. We both were taking classes at HUC, and we really divided up a lot of household chores.

I know I felt that was only fair. I mean, when I had a female roommate we divided up the chores, and I felt that it was important that was something that we do, in a way we start out on equal footing. And I knew that in the future, when we had children, things may change. But that seemed like a fair way to do it, to start out. And granted we probably divided things up a little bit sexist, but he took out the garbage.

Husband: We really did slip into that mode, and I think that the way we intellectualized it was that even though pressure of this one huge institution that I was dealing with, and she was going here for a few hours and there for a few hours, so it seemed different even though the hours were all coming up pretty similar.

Wife: And what was kind of amazing was how easy it was to slip into the old roles of male responsibility vs. female responsibility. And there were times when I would resent that. There were times when I thought [name], "I really want you to take care of this and that." But by and large that became a part of our lives. And now, with a child and my working part time, it just makes sense.

Thus on the day-to-day, practical level, the distribution of labor is still largely divided along traditional lines.

An important exception this pattern emerged in the responses to the fifth and final question, "who pays the bills." The economic nature of this task makes it a prime indicator of how power is distributed within

the marriage. "Traditionally," the task is performed by the husband, as a means of exercising his power within the marriage. Given the tendency of rabbinic dual-career couples thus far, one might expect the husband in these marriages to pay the bills.

The findings, however, are different and surprising. Of the ten relationships studied, wives paid the bills in five of them. One more wife shared this responsibility with her husband. Thus the wives either paid the bills or shared in this task in the majority of these marriages. It appears, then, that despite the tendency against role interchangeability in the areas of child care and household duties in the day-to-day realm, the husband's realization of and commitment to his wife's career manifests itself in this willingness and acceptance of her right to an equal role in the economic power-sharing of the relationship.

2. Budgeting and Decision Making

Interestingly, every couple interviewed commented that they had no monthly budget. The implications of this are twofold: first, the income generated by these dual-career families is such that an exact control over monthly expenditures is no longer necessary. Second, the lack of a formal budget once again represents an increased amount of power for the wife, who is no longer under a budgetary restriction or allowance set by her husband.

These couples' decision-making processes confirm this increased sharing of power. All couples reported the practice of making mutually

agreed upon decisions, in economic as well as other issues. One spouse gave an example of how this works:

> We have been married two years at the end of this month, and we really haven't had any issues where one of us will be really adamant about something and the other will not be interested in it at all. I really want to go Israel and [name] really doesn't. So we're trying to find out a compromise for doing that. He wants to go to England. So we'll work out some kind of compromise, but they don't become major issues of contention.

Thus the rabbinic dual-career couple confronts a variety of issues. While some involve contradictions between ideals and actualities, all involve their attempts to make such marriages work.

The next section examines what they have learned from these experiences in their dual-career relationships.

E. Advice for Newly Ordained Rabbis in Dual-Career Marriages

Couples were asked to share their advice for newly ordained rabbis and their spouses who are in dual career marriages. It was hoped that this question format would provide a means for couples to share their insights on rabbinic dual-career marriages, including any suggestions that could be used by other couples in a similar situation.

The overwhelming majority of comments dealt with the rabbinic dual-career couple's need to set priorities and to communicate with one another on an intensive basis.

Regarding the setting of priorities, spouses emphasized the increased need of such priority setting for dual-career couples, who

must balance the demands of the home and the workplace. One rabbi urged couples to set priorities and limits early on:

> I guess the thing I would say to people is to really project what your life is going to be, and draw some of those lines and make your own expectations before you start out. Now, obviously talking about it isn't the same as doing it, but it gives you a base to work from.

Another rabbi cautioned newly ordained rabbis to consider the time demands of the job, in considering a position:

> I would say to try and set priorities before you get a job. If your priority is not family at this moment, then you can both go off and do your own thing. But if your priority <u>really</u> is family, and you mean that without just saying it, then take a job that isn't going to be seven days a week, but may only be five and a half or six days. This will allow you, maybe, to spend some time with your family, as much as possible.

Indeed, the ability and willingness to accommodate each other's needs and the family's needs was also expressed by a third rabbi:

> I think the first word that comes to my mind is be flexible. You have to always be willing to adjust your hours and your travel methods, and a lot of things around your work to accommodate the spouse and what he or she is doing, and then to jointly share the responsibility for parenting. The idea is to find the right balance between your needs, your spouse's needs, and the kids' needs in order to feel good about what is going on.

Regarding the need for communication between partners, one rabbi expressed the need to face issues as a team, despite the difference in career interests:

> My advice to them would be, consider what's best for your relationship first, above everything else, that if your relationship isn't good, then you're not much good to anybody else anyway, and you're ineffective. So regardless of who's working and how your careers are, . . . perceive yourselves as a

> team, and approach every decision, including career decisions . . . how involved you're going to be in the other's career, and what's the best decision to make that will strengthen our team as a marriage, and our relationship. What's best for that. And then whatever is best for that will, seems to me, be the best for you as an individual, and therefore empower you to be as effective as you can in your career, whatever your individual career may be.

Another couple urged new ordainees and their spouses to seek some type of counseling, in order to improve communication and to facilitate a better awareness and understanding of the issues posed by a dual-career marriage. As one partner noted,

> I think marital counseling would be wise, to really sit down and help clarify values and things like that, and increase communication to the utmost. So whatever environment would provide, either establishing some kind of a network with other ordainees who have dual-career families, or a marriage encounter, or marriage counseling, anything like that. Maybe two people can communicate that effectively just their own circumstances. That is the most critical thing. To be able--before it gets tense and pressured--to communicate clearly and honestly and openly, lovingly and compassionately with one another about dreams, desires, fantasies, expectations, ambitions, things like that.

Finally, one couple's comments summarize our study of the rabbinic dual-career marriage. While they were hesitant to give advice, their thoughts leave us with a message of confidence and hope:

> I would say there's a lot of stress in the rabbinate. I don't think a dual-career family is either more or less likely to reach divorce. It does multiply stress in the home, but it also gives the chance for two happier people living together. But I would say that if you're going to have a dual career, you'll have to be very careful to share a lot of your lives with each other or else you'll be going off in two different directions.

I couldn't say that any better. I agree with that. It's terribly important to me that we both have careers. I think it's important for both of us to be stimulated by a variety of things. That's just our personality, so I hesitate to tell a whole group of people that what I do is going to be good for you. But I think there's infinite variety in the "dual." We found a formula which seems to be working, and I think it can work better. We're very happy for what we've found.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study the researcher interviewed a pre-selected group of rabbinic dual-career couples for the purpose of identifying their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes as related to their dual-career relationships. This chapter includes the conclusions of this study as based on the findings, as well as a list of options and opportunities for rabbinic dual-career couples in the coming decade.

A. Conclusions

The most interesting conclusion deals with the structure of the marriages under study. The rabbinic dual-career marriages studied each represented a combination of two marital arrangements: the junior-senior partnership and the equal partnership. (Only one couple had a fully equal partnership.) These relationships give strong support to the notion that the dual-career marriage is still evolving. Though these couples worked towards the equal partnership model and held strong belief in its value, the majority of their relationship activities demonstrated the junior-senior partnership.

The couples' commitment to an equal partnership was manifested in a number of ways. Husbands and wives were committed both to their careers and each other's careers. The husbands' commitment to and pride in their spouses' career was consistent with the studies that demonstrated

that the higher the man's education, the more positive he will feel about his wife's work. (All husbands had a minimum of five years of graduate study.) All couples shared work experiences, confirming their professed interest in and commitment to each other's careers. The only item not shared by the rabbinic partner was confidential discussions held with congregants which, if shared, might harm the spouse's relationship with that person. There was also no dominance of either partner's work networks in the couples' social lives, indicating an ability of the couples to interact socially with individuals outside of the rabbi's work environment.

Despite the tendency to assign household duties according to traditional sex roles, women in this study either paid the bills or shared in this traditionally male task. This indicates an equal sharing of the economic power within these relationships. Similarly, the decision-making process was a mutual effort in all these marriages, representing an additional attempt for equality.

One final indicator of this equal partnership is in the area of child discipline. Partners shared their "disciplinary power." Thus there was no mention of "waiting 'til daddy gets home."

Couples exhibited behavior patterns of junior-senior partnerships as well. The husband's (rabbi's) job took priority in the overwhelming majority of these marriages. (Women rabbis will be discussed later in this chapter.) This is evident in a number of areas.

Couples stated that the making of a geographic move would be or had been based on the opportunities for the husband's (rabbi's) career. These husbands tended toward higher ratings of "workaholism" than did

their wives. This represents a stronger attachment of these husbands to their work, as opposed to the wives, who had to lower career aspirations in order to balance work and home. Indeed, women were well aware of the career sacrifices they were required to make as a result of the "junior-senior" component of their marriages. The wife was still the primary caregiver in these marriages, whether she worked full time, part time, or elected to take time off. She still assumed responsibility for the daily maintenance of the house. These findings are supported in the dual-career literature.

These rabbinic dual-career marriages mirror many other dual-career relationships in combining these two marital models. One would hope that given the couple's professed commitment to each other's careers, and the continued existence of the dual-career trend, rabbinic dual-career couples will move toward a more equal partnership in all aspects of their marriages.

The extent to which this is possible is dependent not only on the rabbi and his or her spouse, but also on the congregation. Congregants have already demonstrated an ability to adapt to the needs of the rabbi's dual-career marriage, by reducing their expectations of the spouse's involvement, despite desire for such participation. Indeed, some rabbis' wives now feel comfortable with the term "rebbitzen," as a result of this reduction of congregational expectations of them. The congregants' ability to further adjust their expectations in relation to their rabbi will be discussed later in this chapter.

The rabbinic dual-career couples' perceptions of the effects that their marriages had on their children were consistent with the findings

discussed in the review of the literature. Couples expressed the benefits as being fourfold: first, the establishment of a positive, career-oriented female role model; second, the presentation of the dual-career relationship as a desirable option for their children's future marriages; third, a portrayal of role interchangeability, and the lessons inherent in that example; fourth, the transmission of a greater sense of independence and self-assurance.

Couples cited the inability to provide enough time or attention for their children as a limitation of their dual-career marriages. Couples felt that the benefits their dual-career marriages had on their children offset this limitation. Nevertheless, a potential exists that their children could be adversely affected if the parents feel guilt, as a result of their work. This concurs with the previously mentioned study by Hoffman.

Finally, additional research is required of marriages involving women rabbis, especially those in which the woman is the sole rabbi in the relationship. Research in this area would have to include a further investigation of the "wife-as-senior-partner" phenomenon as it relates to those rabbinic marriages. Perhaps the entrance of increasing numbers of women into the field will stimulate interest in such a study.

B. Implications for the Field - Options and Opportunities For the Coming Decade

1. Rabbinic dual-career couples, especially those in which the rabbi is newly ordained, need to realize, confront and understand the crucial decisions that lie ahead for them.

These couples should be aware of the prevailing combination of junior-senior and equal partnerships that exist in current rabbinic dual-career marriages. They should discuss the implications of this

"combination" tendency as relating to their own marriages. However, the unique and unpredictable time demands on the rabbi may make the "junior-senior" component a necessary one. Couples need further be aware of the need to balance the demands of family and career, and the need to pro-actively "create time" for one another, as a means of insuring sufficient time for the healthy maintenance of their relationship. Finally, they might seek to establish a support group of similar couples during their final years in rabbinic school, to provide a communal forum for a sharing of these issues and concerns.

2. Congregants should continue to change their expectations to include the rabbi and the scheduling demands placed on him (her).

If the rabbinic dual-career marriage is to move to a more equal partnership, adjustments need to be made in the rabbi's schedule. While his or her daytime schedule is flexible (as evidenced by his or her ability to take care of a sick child), the rabbi's busy schedule at night and on weekends conflicts with the time child supervision is most required. One possible solution is the holding of more meetings and classes in the rabbi's home, thereby giving the rabbi the opportunity to provide supervision for children. Another option is the congregation's willingness to give (either full or partial) parental leave during the first weeks and months following a child's birth. Such a leave would be similar to a sabbatical, already understood as a legitimate right of the rabbi.

3. The rabbi can be a primary catalyst in transforming his/her marriage to a more equal partnership, and in doing so, can set an example for congregants to follow.

In the end, the facilitator of a more equal partnership can only be the senior partner. One must be prepared to make career sacrifices similar to those made by a spouse. The rabbi must be the initiator of changes in scheduling designed to give him a more equal role in the care of the children. The rabbi must be committed to achieving parity with his or her partner, in the division of household labor.

While the partnership may never be entirely equal, there is substantial room for growth towards that end. In striving towards that goal, the senior partner (rabbi) sets a model of change not only for his or her family, but also for the congregation. As the dual-career marriage becomes a more permanent institution, couples may look to such models for their own marriage.

4. The rabbi has the opportunity to use the experience of a dual-career marriage in the enrichment of programming for the dual-career couples in a congregation.

Some of these programs include: the establishment of daycare centers within the synagogue, support groups for dual career couples that focus on the issues and tensions arising in such marriages, and the establishment of parenting centers offering family life education seminars for these couples.

In this way, the rabbinic dual-career marriage can achieve success through the enhancement of their lives together. This relationship can be a model which can lead to the strengthening of Jewish family life.

APPENDIX I

A. RABBINIC MARITAL ISSUES

1. Compared to other professionals, how does being a rabbi affect the amount of time you have for your spouse? Your family?

1A. How do you plan sufficient time?

2. How might you handle a situation in which you're asked to leave a family event (i.e., child's birthday party) because some congregant has informed you that his spouse has been in a serious automobile accident?

2A. (for spouse) How do you feel about that decision?

2B. How do other rabbis handle such situations?

3. What do you think are the congregational expectations of the rabbi's spouse and family?

3A. Are they reasonable? (Give examples; i.e., funeral calls)

3B. (to rabbi) What do you think are congregational expectations of your spouse?

3C. When there are differences between congregational expectations and your own, how are they reconciled?

3D. What changes are occurring in congregational expectations?

3E. Is the rabbi and the rabbi's home and family supposed to be a role model for the Jewish congregation (community)?

3F. What messages do you think your dual career marriage transmits to the congregation (constituency) you serve?

3G. What have you learned, if anything, from your experience that could help newly ordained rabbi in a dual career marriage?

B. HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

1A. How do you decide which partner does which responsibility?

1B. Is the work, on the whole, evenly divided? How so?

1C. Who does the dishes? How does that work out?

1D. Who does the cooking? How does that work out?

1E. Who does the general cleaning?

1F. Who does household repairs or mows the lawn?

1G. Who pays the bills?

1H. How do you feel about the current balance of labor?

1I. What would an ideal arrangement be?

2A. Who maintains and is responsible for the budget in your home?

2B. How do you reach a decision regarding the purchase of a major ticket item? How do you resolve differences in reaching such a decision?

2C. How do you reach other decisions?

C. CHILDREN AND CHILD CARE

1A. How many brothers and sisters do each of you have?

1B. (if kids) How many children do you have? (Are you planning on having more children?)

2A. When a child is sick, which one usually takes care of the child? Which one usually takes the child to the doctor? How's that decision arrived at?

2B. How is your child cared for during his primary years?

2C. Has it created any problems in terms of career growth?

2D. Take me through an average day for your child. How do you share the time needed for the child?

2E. How is the child's disciplining handled? Who usually takes care of it?

3A. What are some of the advantages that a dual career marriage has on your children?

3B. Are there some limitations or new issues?

D. WORK

(Ask Both)

1A. What are some of the gratifications of your career?

1B. How do you feel about your spouse's work (demands, stresses)?

1C. Have either of you had to give up something for the other's career? Can you explain?

1D. If one of you were offered a promotion that necessitated a geographic move, would you accept? Under what circumstances?

2A. Do you share work experiences with your spouse?

2B. Do you consult with each other regarding career related issues?

2C. Does your spouse offer advice? How do you react to it?

2D. Are there some work issues or experiences that you might not share?

3A. What's your definition of a workaholic?

3B. On a scale of 1 to 10, where would you locate yourself, if 10 would signify an intense workaholic?

3C. What steps do you take to ensure time for family and each other, since you both have full-time careers? How does this work out?

3D. Who do you relax with or spend time with--people from work, congregants, other rabbis, or outside friends?

3E. Thinking about your social life as a couple, how does each of you relate to the social network of the other?

4. Are there other aspects of the dual career rabbinic family that I haven't touched on? I mean the pros and the cons.

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[40]Scanzoni and Scanzoni, Men, Women and Change, p. 346.

[41]Grollman and Sweder, The Working Parent Dilemma, p. 6.

[42]Barbara Basler, "Putting a Career on Hold," New York Times Magazine (December 7, 1986), p. 160.

[43]Ibid., p. 160.

[44]Ibid., p. 160.

[45]Nock and Kingston, "The Family Work Day," p. 333.

[46]Grollman and Sweder, The Working Parent Dilemma, p. 5.

[47]Elizabeth Maret and Barbara Finlay, "The Distribution of Household Labor Among Women in Dual-Earner Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46 (May 1984), p. 360.

[48]Ibid., p. 362.

[49]Ibid., p. 362.

[50]John G. Condran and Jerry G. Bode, "Rashomon, Working Wives, and Family Division of Labor: Middletown, 1980," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 44 (May 1982), p. 425.

[51]Maxine P. Atkinson and Jacqueline Boles, "W.A.S.P. (Wives-As-Senior-Partners)," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46 (November 1984), p. 867.

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