THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NEGOTIATING COMPETING DESIRES:

HOW YOUNG PROFESSIONALS MAKE CAREER AND FAMILY DECISIONS

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Abstract

Researchers persistently document gender inequality in work and family roles. Yet, contemporary young adults in the United States increasingly espouse egalitarian attitudes towards careers and relationships. Further, workplace and family structures are changing, making equal work-family arrangements more possible than in the past. Do the egalitarian attitudes of young adults lead to egalitarian work-family outcomes? What processes link attitudes to outcomes? Does gender inequality in young adults' work and family roles persist? To answer these questions, I advance a framework for gendered projectivity and linked lives in Chapter 1 and apply it to the case of heterosexual young adult couples deciding to move for job opportunities. I argue that integrating the life course concept of linked lives with a social-structural theory of gender enables a closer assessment of the couple-level processes that challenge and reproduce gender inequality in work and family. Chapter 2 uses longitudinal in-depth interviews with twenty-one graduate and professional school couples (N=40) who were negotiating relocation for career opportunities to illustrate three decision-making pathways that contest and reinforce gendered work and family roles. Chapter 3 uses data from an original survey of career and family plans among professional school students (N=174) to show that although young professionals report wanting careers, families, and egalitarian relationships in the future, women do more mental labor to balance their anticipated career and personal obligations than men do. Chapter 4 examines data from an experimental vignette embedded in the survey. I find that attitudes toward gender, work, and family shift over time to compensate for structural gender inequalities in careers and family. These studies show how individuals' egalitarian attitudes can still lead to gendered and unequally shared work-family decision-making behaviors at the couple-level, which in turn can reproduce gender-unequal work and family outcomes.

Chapter 1. Introduction[1]

Research has documented gender inequality across a variety of career outcomes, including occupational sex segregation, women's nonlinear employment histories, gendered income disparities, and underrepresentation of women in leadership positions (Hegewisch & Hartmann, 2014; Huang, Evans, Hara, Weiss, & Hser, 2011; Huffman, Haveman, & Beresford, 2011; Mandel & Semyonov, 2016). Heterosexual women's disproportionate burden of responsibility for unpaid domestic chores, child care, and elder care in their families are thought to contribute to their disadvantage in the workplace (Chari, Engberg, Ray, & Mehrotra, 2015; Chesley & Flood, 2017; Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Hochschild, 1989). Cultural schemas, shared frameworks of meaning that link work to masculinity and family to femininity, support and reproduce this gendered division of labor (Bem, 1981; Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre, & Matheson, 2003; Blair-Loy, 2003; Blair-Loy, Hochschild, Pugh, Williams, & Hartmann, 2015; Valian, 1999).

Yet, cultural schemas for gender, work, and family, and the structural landscapes reflecting these ideas might be changing for contemporary young adults. Young women's rates of employment and young men's domestic involvement are increasing compared to their counterparts in the past (Dey, 2014; Maume, 2015; McGill, 2014; Ruggles, 2015). Further, most young adults report preferring egalitarian relationships (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015; Shu & Meagher, 2017). If traditional gender ideologies and material circumstances promoting a

[1] Parts of chapter 1 are published in an article by John Wiley & Sons, Ltd in *Journal of Family Theory & Review*. Permission is granted solely for use in conjunction with the thesis, and the material may not be posted online separately. The publication date is February 26, 2018. The full citation for the article is: Wong, J. S. (2018). Toward a theory of gendered projectivity and linked lives in the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 10(1), 126-140.

male-breadwinner and female-homemaker model of family no longer apply to young people, do their egalitarian attitudes lead to more equal work and family outcomes? What processes link attitudes to outcomes? Does gender inequality in young adults' work and family roles persist?

I draw on the life course perspective (Elder, 1994; Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003; Mayer, 2009) to guide my study of young adults' work and family decision-making. The life course perspective emphasizes:

1. Examining changes in individual lives over a long period of time
2. Contextualizing human experiences in life-time and historical time
3. Integrating life domains such as work and family
4. Understanding individuals' agency within structural and institutional contexts
5. Situating individuals in their relationships with significant others—linked lives
6. Considering the timing of life events

This perspective views family formation and career building as intertwined processes that are influenced by individual decisions rather than discrete events. They are shaped by socially significant others and the broader social and structural situations in which individuals are embedded. Work and family decisions made with romantic partners in early adulthood represent crucial turning points that can change the trajectory and outcome of an individual's career and family life in full adulthood and beyond. As the early-adulthood life stage is likely to include career building, relationship formation, and family formation—all within a relatively short timeframe (Rindfuss, 1991; Settersten Jr & Ray, 2010)—studying young adults who are actively launching careers and setting up their families allows me to see whether their egalitarian attitudes translate to more equal work and family arrangements than we have seen in the past.

Although the life course paradigm provides an appropriate framework for studying young men and women's joint processes of career and family-building, some criticize it for being theoretically weak because it is more like a set of heuristics for thinking than a strong theory that generates clear predictions and testable hypotheses (Bynner, 2016; Mayer, 2009). Further,

although the life course framework acknowledges the importance of situating individuals in their institutional contexts, life course research generally describes gender, race, and class differences in work and family activities without carefully theorizing them, thus undermining our ability to address issues of inequality (Wong, 2018). To address these concerns and extend this general framework to make sense of young men's and women's work and family activities, I integrate ideas from two other areas of scholarship. First, I draw on concepts from the sociology of the future (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Mische, 2009; Tavory & Eliasoph, 2013) to clarify the agentic processes of how individuals engage with macro-level factors to produce career and family behaviors and outcomes. Second, I use ideas from gender scholarship (Bem, 1981; Blair-Loy, 2003; Risman, 2017; Valian, 1999) to address the gendered nature of workplaces and families that differentially impacts men's and women's experiences in ways that can produce variable and unequal career and family outcomes.

In the rest of the introduction, I present a framework for how heterosexual young adults and their partners might build their careers and families together (Wong, 2018). Although I focus on family-building specifically, this process can be broadened to include career building, as work and family activities are often intertwined (Baird, Burge, & Reynolds, 2008; Shulman & Connolly, 2013). This framework provides a new way to look at couple-level negotiations of individual and structural constraints related to gender difference and inequality in work and family. The three empirical chapters following the introduction are stand-alone journal articles that apply various facets of my theoretical framework to the case of heterosexual young adults and their romantic partners deciding to relocate for professional career opportunities. Studying cases of young men and women actively pursuing professional careers allows me to more readily observe career- and family-building processes that might otherwise be less visible in more

general cases (Blair-Loy, 2001; Sewell Jr, 1992). I conclude by discussing how the case of contemporary young adult couples making work and family decisions as couples reveals processes that link egalitarian attitudes to gendered behaviors that can reinforce gender inequality in work and family outcomes.

Gendered Projectivity and Linked Lives

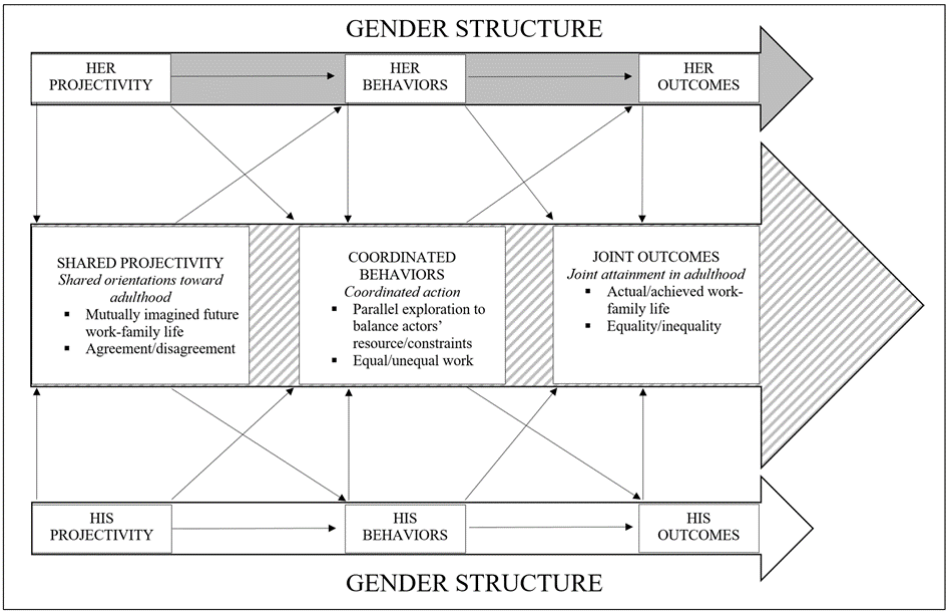
My theoretical integration of gendered projectivity and linked lives combines a concrete definition of agency from the sociology of the future (Mische, 2009) with the linked lives concept from life course theory to advance a deeper understanding of family formation processes during the transition to adulthood. In addition, this model integrates feminist and gender scholarship (Einspahr, 2010; Risman, 2017) to demonstrate how the gender structure patterns agentic processes in couple formation in ways that can reproduce and challenge social inequalities. Examining constrained and coordinated agency in the context of linked lives sheds light on an under-theorized process that can drive gender inequality. Although in this article I focus on theorizing gender inequality in heterosexual couples, empirical work I cite that considers race, class, and sexuality shows how the proposed model can account for diverse experiences. The proposed conceptual model for gendered projectivity and linked lives appears in Figure 1.

Projectivity: Theories of Agency from the Sociology of the Future

The way sociologists of the future conceptualize human agency can extend life course thinking about the increasingly variable family behaviors during the transition to adulthood. Sociologists of the future posit that "projectivity" (Mische, 2009)—expectations and aspirations for one's future—plays an integral role in human agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). According to Emirbayer and Mische (1998), agency is social action informed by the past,

anchored in the present, and oriented toward the future. The past manifests itself in action as habitual or routine practices. The schematization of social experience helps an actor unconsciously maneuver situations, especially unproblematic ones. The present appears in agency as deciding on, and executing, concrete action. Actors have the capacity to choose among practical courses of action in response to current situations. Lastly, the future presents itself in agency as experimentation. This projective part of action includes the imaginative generation of, and the creative reconfigurations of, possible trajectories of thought and action as they relate to actors' hopes, fears, and desires for the future. Actors construct narratives that serve as frameworks for possible forward-moving actions. Individuals' imagined storylines experimentally posit new solutions to emerging problems, including present and anticipated barriers to their imagined futures.

Figure 1. The Theory of Gendered Projectivity and Linked Lives



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This forward-looking conceptualization of agency is similar to concepts such as future orientation (Nurmi, 2005) and planfulness (Shanahan, Hofer, & Miech, 2003) that are used to theorize purposive action in the transition to adulthood. It is well-suited to studying family formation at this life stage because one of the developmental goals of emerging adulthood for youth from various backgrounds in the United States is to make futures—to explore family, work, and other identities and roles to set up individuals' future lives as full adults (Arnett, 2014b, 2015). Thus, the present conceptual integration draws on the idea of projectivity to make sense of young peoples' family formation activities during the transition to adulthood.

From this perspective, projections influence behaviors, which in turn shape actual outcomes. Projectivity, one's orientation toward family, work, and other facets of adulthood in the future, is the first element of this model and includes imagined future family and work roles and imagined future possible selves (i.e., what kind of person am I, and what kind of person do I want to be; Markus & Nurius, 1986). One can consciously or unconsciously imagine future selves, so projections can vary along several dimensions, including clarity, intentionality, and the imagined order and timing of events (Mische, 2009). These imagined future selves may also be seen as integrated and intertwined; young people think about how they might balance concurrent school, work, and family obligations in the future, for example (Baird et al., 2008; Shulman & Connolly, 2013). Youth recognize and can even endorse normative timelines for family-building during the transition to adulthood (e.g., James-Hawkins & Sennott, 2014), yet can project a different set of activities for themselves given their understandings of their unique opportunities and constraints (e.g., Hitlin & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2015).

Imaginings of one's possible futures guide behaviors, the second element of the present model. Behaviors are concrete actions or practical steps individuals take to build their futures. In

emerging adulthood, behaviors can manifest as explorations (Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Schwartz, Donnellan, Ravert, Luyckx, & Zamboanga, 2013), such as when some young people describe cohabitation as a test site for marriage (Rose-Greenland & Smock, 2013). Taken together, projections and behaviors capture agency in a way that extends the life course framework. Individuals imagine futures and can engage in specific actions to direct their trajectories according to their projections.

Finally, behaviors shape outcomes. Behaviors do not necessarily determine outcomes, but family outcomes such as becoming a parent may not manifest without concrete action. The attainment of family statuses can be measured by both the achievement of actual family roles (i.e., bearing a child and becoming a parent), as well as by the subjective formation of an adult family identity (i.e., feeling ready for marriage; Carroll et al., 2009). Family outcomes can also be measured in terms of their sequence and timing, as other scholars have previously done (Amato et al., 2008; Eliason, Mortimer, & Vuolo, 2015; Schoen, Landale, & Daniels, 2007).

Existing research supports the idea that individuals' understandings of, and expectations for, their futures affect their behaviors in ways that set them on distinct family-building pathways toward different outcomes. For example, some young people see emerging adulthood as the "age of possibilities" (Arnett, 2014b), and imagine many different ways their lives and families in the future can take shape. Others, especially those with limited educational or labor market opportunities, do not see such breadth (Aronson, 2008; Silva, 2012) – though research consistently documents young people's optimistic outlooks despite their recognition of structural barriers (Baird et al., 2008; Schoon & Mortimer, 2017). These orientations shape the actions young people take or do not take to build their futures and their families (Cech, 2016; Woodman,

2011). Finally, these behaviors result in various combinations of achieved adult family statuses (Amato et al., 2008; Osgood, Ruth, Eccles, Jacobs, & Barber, 2005; Schoen et al., 2007).

Gendering Projectivity

For the projectivity framework to better account for systematic variation in family-building practices and to follow the life course proposition of situating agency within structural and institutional contexts, a critical perspective is required to link life course thinking to issues of difference and inequality. A critical approach also enables examination of how family processes may challenge and reproduce broader social inequalities. Using the working example of gender inequality in family formation in the transition to adulthood, I now turn to feminist (Einspahr, 2010) and gender scholarship (Risman, 2017) to theorize how the projectivity sequence is embedded in a gender structure.

Einspahr (2010) provides a feminist framework for theorizing agency and structure as it relates to gender and its intersection with class, sexuality, and race. She posits that although individuals have agentic capacity, their choices and actions must be contextualized within the material and symbolic conditions of patriarchal domination—subjection to a society's system of unequal power relations between men and women—that differentially enables and constrains actions across gender. She argues that understanding men's and women's experiences requires understanding gender not as an individual identity, but as a social structure that works alongside other structures of race, class, and sexuality to produce complex patterns of domination.

Following Einspahr's work, I situate projectivity, behaviors, and outcomes, as well as the link between each of the three elements, within a gender structure characterized by unequal power relations between men and women, and that intersects with other structures of domination along lines of race, class, and sexuality. Men's and women's projections and behaviors

surrounding family formation may align with the gender relations of their social contexts—thus reinforcing the unequal gender order— or they can potentially challenge and resist them—thereby contributing to social change.

Risman (2017) provides further theoretical tools for conceptualizing the gender structure. She describes the gender structure as a multi-layered social system that ideologically and materially differentiates opportunities and constraints based on sex category. Gender operates at the individual-level as people develop gendered selves; during interaction as men and women face different cultural expectations of their actions even when they are otherwise similarly situated; and in institutional domains where resources are unequally distributed across gender.

Applying these ideas to the projectivity sequence, gender systematically structures young men's and women's expectations for their futures. Gender schemas, culturally-specific, non-conscious hypotheses about sex differences that lead to the development of gendered selves that shape men's and women's lives (Bem, 1981; Valian, 1999), underlie gendered projectivity. For example, research consistently documents that people assign traits such as agency, assertiveness, instrumentality, and task-orientation to men; the qualities of nurturing, expressiveness, and communality, on the other hand, are associated with women (Ridgeway, 2011). These gender schemas often differentially match the schemas for other work and family roles. Thus, women, who are seen as innately nurturing, may feel internally and externally pressured to invest primarily in, or to take responsibility for, family activities. Conversely, men, who are seen as instrumental, may feel pressured to pursue careers as they navigate family-building in the transition to adulthood.

In addition, gender structures behaviors. Because individuals are often held accountable for appropriately doing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987), the set of possible actions available

to men and women may differ, so navigating family-building in early adulthood can be gendered. For women to engage in full-time parenting and for men to forgo this behavior, for instance, is to successfully enact culturally-specific beliefs about gender. Another explanation for gendered behaviors relates to unequal access to resources across genders: gender is built into legislation and policy that systematically structures men's and women's family behaviors (Risman, 2017). For instance, after transitioning to parenthood, new mothers may take longer leaves from work than new fathers do—fathers may even increase time spent in paid labor (Astone, Dariotis, Sonenstein, Pleck, & Hynes, 2010; Gauthier & Furstenberg, Jr, 2005)—in part because some employers offer maternal, but not paternal, leave (W. Han, Ruhm, & Waldfogel, 2009).

Thus, outcomes of the projectivity-behavior sequence can be gendered and heterogenous. We might see gender differences in the stability or flexibility of men's and women's family outcomes and differences in the timing and sequencing of adult family transitions by gender. We might also see differences in the links between each factor of the projectivity model as gender schemas lead the cause-effect relationship to be less consistent for women (Valian, 1999), and differential access to resources enable and constrain behaviors in gendered ways (Risman, 2017). Thus, this model might predict greater variation in women's sequence of projectivity, behaviors, and outcomes compared to that of men in family-building in the transition to adulthood.

Existing research provides preliminary support for the gendered projectivity-behaviors-outcomes sequence in family formation in the transition to adulthood. Social psychological research suggests that young women tend to imagine more complex possible selves and envision pursuing goals in multiple domains such as being involved mothers as well as successful workers, whereas young men tend to see one or two pursuits related to paid work (Fulcher & Coyle, 2011). In fact, young women are more likely than young men to have already decided on

their future family roles, whereas young men are more likely to have not yet thought about their future family roles at all (Bass, 2015; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005). These gendered future orientations might interact with gendered structures to produce variation in family behaviors and outcomes among young men and women. For instance, men marry later than women (Furstenberg Jr, 2010; Settersten Jr & Ray, 2010), perhaps because marriage traditionally provides access to crucial economic resources and a meaningful adult identity for women more so than for men (Valian, 1999). Also, childbearing often accompanies heterosexual union formation for men, but the link between romantic partnership and parenthood is much looser for women (Furstenberg Jr, 2010). Indeed, the single-parent pathway to adulthood is more common for women than men (Oesterle, Hawkins, Hill, & Bailey, 2010; Osgood et al., 2005; Sandefur, Eggerling-Boeck, & Park, 2005), perhaps in part because motherhood provides unique meaning to some women's lives (Edin & Kefalas, 2005).

There is also evidence that the intersection of family and work differs by gender. For instance, cultural schemas and masculinized workplaces create an inherent conflict between work and family roles for some women that is not as salient among men (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Valian, 1999). Young women anticipate that work and family will conflict, but young men are less likely to think the same (Bass, 2015; Cinamon, 2006; Fulcher & Coyle, 2011). Such future orientations could influence behaviors—for example, leading young women, but not young men, to choose family-friendly careers (Bass, 2015)—that have consequences for adult outcomes.

Linking Projectivity

The final piece of the present model follows life course theory's call to examine linked lives by situating individuals within their significant relationships. If individuals uniquely positioned among systems of domination bring different resources and constraints to a

relationship, the process of coordinating them across actors as they navigate family-building can produce heterogeneous behaviors and outcomes that in turn contest or reinforce social inequalities. This perspective on linked lives reveals actors' relative power vis-à-vis one another, reflects the power relations of their broader social hierarchies, and offers a means to directly connect life course processes to those underlying social inequality.

Because romantic partners become important figures in shaping young adults' decisions and behaviors (Collins & van Dulmen, 2006; Shulman & Connolly, 2013), the present model focuses on the shared lives of monogamous couples. This framework could be extended to account for additional actors, such as young adults' parents and peers, to describe the process by which multiple actors coordinate their projections and behaviors beyond the romantic dyad. I also focus on different-sex couples as most germane to a working example of gender inequality in family formation, since the heterosexual romantic dyad constitutes a key site for the reproduction of, and resistance against, gender inequality in early adult family trajectories. When two heterosexual individuals form a romantic union, some of their future orientations, behaviors, and outcomes become linked in ways that are consequential for gender inequality within couples, although between-couple comparisons of same-sex and different-sex couples also reveal processes of gender-based inequality in family practices (e.g., Goldberg, 2013).

Tavory and Eliasoph's (2013) theory of coordinating future-making serves to link gendered projectivity regarding family formation across two individuals. Tavory and Eliasoph argue that social interactions are shaped by people's anticipations for what might happen next. These anticipations, or modes of future-making, take three forms: protentions, trajectories, and temporal landscapes. Protentions are moment-by-moment anticipations. These short-term anticipations constitute the part of an actor's present that is oriented to the immediate future,

such as wanting to avoid pregnancy in the upcoming month. Trajectories are longer-term plans or projects, such as desired fertility. Trajectories are strings of protentions that can be woven into a narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. For example, one could want to avoid pregnancy for the next 6 months, but could want to start trying to get pregnant after that, and hope to have a certain number of children by a certain age. Finally, temporal landscapes are overarching temporal orientations that actors experience as inevitable and natural, such as calendar time. Actors situate their trajectories in temporal landscapes, and imagine, for instance, that becoming a parent (trajectory) should ideally take place after completing school and getting married in an individuals' mid- to late-20's (temporal landscape)—even if that normative timeline does not match individuals' realities (James-Hawkins & Sennott, 2014).

Such modes of future-making—short-term protentions, long-term trajectories, and the backdrop of temporal landscapes—are loosely coupled, so when people interact, they need to orient each other toward their futures and must synchronize their orientations in order to make sense of and orchestrate their actions together. Yet, it is possible that people want to reach the same goal (shared trajectory) but employ different actions (protentions) to arrive there. Consider the case of an unmarried, low-income heterosexual couple learning about an unplanned pregnancy (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Edin, Nelson, & Reed, 2011). Both partners may want the child and imagine building a conventional family unit (shared trajectory). Yet the actual work of planning for the child's arrival may be left to the woman. The man, who may be disadvantaged by lack of access to traditional provider roles, may provide nominal but not material support for what his partner wants to do (different protentions across partners).

Even when individuals step through short-term goals in tandem, they may reach different outcomes. Returning to the same couple, the unmarried parents may agree that they want to end

their romantic relationship, but value maintaining the father-child and mother-child relationships (shared protentions and trajectories). Yet the child might be more likely to live with the mother than with the father, so she may come to feel solely responsible for childcare and restrict his access to their child, and he may feel unfairly barred from the child's life (divergent outcomes).

The idea of coordinating future-making proposes that family formation in the transition to adulthood is a process by which partners synchronize their gendered projections and behaviors in order to achieve joint outcomes and shared visions of the future. Indeed, emerging adult couples across race and class backgrounds express desires to achieve a joint life in the future that includes mutually imagined work and family roles, and shared ideas for balancing each partner's roles and activities (Domene et al., 2012). However, because projectivity is gendered, thoughts about the couple's future can vary systematically across heterosexual partners. For example, although young men and women across demographic groups ideally prefer gender egalitarian relationships in which both partners contribute equally to caregiving and earning (shared "Plan A"), men prefer a traditional division of labor whereas women prefer financial independence as the fallback plan (gendered "Plan B"; Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). Couples' projections can also vary in certainty. For instance, partners might not agree or be able to definitively state whether the relationship will lead to marriage or whether they plan to have children (Arnett, 2014b; Miller & Sassler, 2012).

Nonetheless, these shared projections can direct coordinated—albeit gendered—behaviors. Partners can engage in parallel role exploration and work together to build the life that they see for themselves. Because the gender structure differentiates the actions available to men and women, different-sex couples' joint actions need to balance each partner's resources and constraints, and this balance may take on an unequal form. For instance, previous research (e.g.,

Moen & Orrange, 2002; Wong, 2017) describes a strategy among some young couples to balance work and family (the shared projection) in which they decide that lower-earning wives should modify their career plans to accommodate their higher-earning husbands' careers (the gendered, coordinated behavior). These behaviors may change as couples try out strategies for action. In cohabiting to practice living together and enacting their imagined work and family roles (Rose-Greenland & Smock, 2013), for example, partners may try performing different, complementary roles, or can try to deliberately share in all productive and reproductive labor.

Lastly, coordinated behaviors influence joint outcomes. Life events such as relationship formation, the transition to cohabitation, and the transition to marriage are often studied as individual-level outcomes even though they might be better conceptualized as shared ones. Certainly, couples' outcomes can differentially impact men and women. Parenthood, for example, is a couple-level outcome because it involves two people—it can be the result of deliberate, coordinated behaviors (planned pregnancy), or the result of less-coordinated behaviors (unplanned pregnancy)—but motherhood and fatherhood are different experiences (Brown, 2009; Fagan & Farrie, 2009).

Existing research generally supports the model's usefulness for studying gender inequality in family formation in the transition to adulthood. For example, several scholars have suggested that male partners act as agents of women's socialization (Barber, Yarger, & Gatny, 2015; Killewald & García-Manglano, 2016; Moen & Orrange, 2002). One study describes a pattern among young couples in which husbands' careers create a framework out of which wives have to develop and fit their own career and family aspirations (Moen & Orrange, 2002). His projectivity (his career plans) shapes her projectivity (her career aspirations and family expectations) and their vision of their future as a couple (strategy to balance work and family).

These projections inform the couple's behavior (he has the lead career and she becomes the trailing spouse primarily responsible for domestic labor), and their outcomes (they establish a neo-traditional marriage). Another study suggests that some young Black women's unintended pregnancies—which disproportionately become their responsibility (outcomes)—are related to less consistent contraceptive use (behaviors) in part because they believe their partners would be happy about a pregnancy (his projectivity shapes hers; Barber et al., 2015).

The Current Study

The following three chapters apply my framework for gendered projectivity and linked lives to the case of heterosexual young professionals making early career and family decisions. I conducted longitudinal interviews with both partners of professional and graduate school couples deciding whether to move for career opportunities, collected longitudinal survey data on professional school students' career and family plans, and ran an experimental vignette survey study. These multiple sources of data allowed me to closely examine different components of the gendered projectivity and linked lives framework.

Chapter 2 illustrates the gendered projectivity and linked lives sequence. I interviewed both partners of 21 couples (N=40) three times over the course of twenty months as they negotiated relocation for career opportunities. This chapter describes Time 1 projections, Time 2 behaviors, and Time 3 outcomes at the individual- and couple-levels. Chapter 3 takes a closer look at young professionals' projections about their desired future career and family lives. I analyze both the interview data from the Time 1 interviews with the twenty-one couples, and additional survey data of career and family plans from 174 professional school students. I show that although men and women both report wanting careers, families, and egalitarian relationships, they perform unequal amounts of mental labor to make work and relationship

plans, with women doing more mental labor to balance these various plans. Chapter 4 uses experimental survey data from the same professional school students to examine the gender structure in which the projectivity sequence is embedded. This study tests whether young professionals make different assumptions of how the projectivity-behaviors-outcomes sequence will unfold depending on the gender of the hypothetical person experiencing the sequence. In Chapter 5 I synthesize my empirical findings and discuss their theoretical, methodological, and policy implications.

Chapter 2. Competing Desires: How Young Adult Couples Negotiate Moving for Career Opportunities[1]

Most heterosexual couples in the United States are dual-career or dual-earner couples (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), making the "two-body problem" associated with work relocation an increasingly common issue. Previous research documents women's disadvantages in family migration (geographic relocation of a family unit for an individual's economic opportunity), such as interrupted employment and lower earnings after moving (Cooke, 2003; Geist & McManus, 2012; McKinnish, 2008; Winkler & Rose, 2000). Yet, most research examines migration decisions after they have occurred, meaning they capture outcomes rather than the processes shaping the decision. Documenting the negotiation process is essential for understanding *how* career decisions reproduce gendered outcomes despite attitudinal shifts toward egalitarianism.

To address this gap in the literature, I ask: How do heterosexual, young adult couples make career and relocation decisions? To answer this question, I conducted a longitudinal interview study of twenty-one, opposite-sex couples who were considering relocation for one or both partners' career opportunities. Drawing on England and Kilbourne's (1990) spousal bargaining theory, I analyze 118 interviews to show how partners negotiate their ideal work-family arrangements given structural and cultural constraints, and examine how these processes reproduce or contest traditional gender, work, and family roles. On one bargaining pathway, partners, and men in particular, engaged in practical work (took concrete actions) to devise

[1] An edited version of Chapter 2 is published as an article by Sage Journals in *Gender & Society*. What appears in Chapter 2 is "version 2" of the article, the version accepted by the editor for publication before copyediting and formatting. The full citation for the article is: Wong, J. S. (2017). Competing desires: How young adult couples negotiate moving for career opportunities. *Gender & Society,* 31(2), 171–196.

innovative work-family arrangements that maintained egalitarian desires. On another negotiation trajectory, couples, and women in particular, performed emotion work (Hochschild, 1983) to change their egalitarian desires and adopt neotraditional arrangements (both partners work, but men's careers are prioritized). On the final pathway, men deferred to women's desires, unintentionally shifting the emotional and practical labor of work-family balance onto women, and ultimately reproducing a gendered division of labor. These processes show how contemporary heterosexual young adults contest and reproduce gendered career and family trajectories in the stalled gender revolution (Gerson, 2010).

Background

I use England and Kilbourne's (1990) spousal bargaining theory to understand couples' decision-making. They suggest that gendered contributions to the relationship (household labor or financial resources) determines partners' relative bargaining power, and that unequal bargaining power shapes spousal negotiations. They posit that heterosexual women usually have lower bargaining power in family decisions because women are more likely to make domestic relationship investments that are specific to that relationship (e.g., raising a partner's child), and mostly require a partnership to realize the returns on those investments. Men's labor market investments, conversely, are general and portable, and do not require a partnership to be realized. Thus, women have more to lose economically by exiting a marriage (England, 2000) and are therefore more likely to defer to their partners' demands and less able to negotiate a better deal within their partnerships.

According to this framework, women are disadvantaged in family migrations decisions. Indeed, previous research shows women are more likely to become "tied movers" (Mincer, 1978)—one who moves with a spouse despite personal economic losses—and "tied stayers"—

one who forgoes a personal economic opportunity to prevent an economic loss to another. Men are less often deterred by their wives' loss when considering a job opportunity (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Brandén, 2014; Shihadeh, 1991; Tharenou, 2008). Even couples that intend to compromise over career and relocation decisions (Challiol & Mignonac, 2005) reproduce a male-leader, female-follower pattern (Green, 1997; Hardill & Wheatley, 2010; Nivalainen, 2004).

Consequently, women disproportionately absorb the costs of moving for their husbands' career opportunities, or forgo building their own careers altogether. Women experience lower earnings directly after moving, and over the life course more generally (Cooke, 2003; Geist & McManus, 2012; McKinnish, 2008; Winkler & Rose, 2000). Gendered migration also accounts for women's non-linear work histories (Han & Moen, 1999) and underrepresentation in high-power positions (Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2009).

Although family migration research documents dual-career women's disadvantages, most studies consider the decisions as outcomes (whether the couple moves and the associated consequences) and fewer examine them as a process (how the couple makes their decision). These studies provide indirect evidence to support the bargaining model by documenting migration outcomes, but they do not offer direct evidence by detailing the decision's progression. By examining this process, we can understand how career decisions produce gendered outcomes despite changing attitudes toward egalitarianism (Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015).

England and Kilbourne (1990) recognize decisions as processes, and propose an initial bargain in which couples decide *who* makes the domestic and labor market investments. They propose that early investments in the partnership will set partners' baseline levels of bargaining power; after this "fundamental transformation," gendered power imbalances drive couples' bargaining. Despite identifying this initial bargain that impacts couples' future negotiations,

England and Kilbourne do not fully describe it. Their model suggests that whoever has more accumulated power would lead decision-making, but this framework may not apply to an early bargain among contemporary young adult couples in which both men and women have careers, and thus do not have a clear superior/subordinate divide between partners. What else shapes these decisions?

Extending England and Kilbourne's (1990) bargaining model, I advance a theory of "competing desires" to analyze young, heterosexual dual-career couples' initial bargaining around career moves. I suggest that within a couple, men and women have ideals or desires for how they wish to balance work and family. They can compete within the individual, across partners, and with the couple's reality. I argue that couples' bargaining over early career decisions is about reconciling these "competing desires" so that they align across partners and match their reality.

Cultural schemas, socially constructed frameworks that are shared and publicly understood, inform individuals' desires. Gender schemas direct people's ideas about men and women's normative and ideal behaviors and attitudes (Bem, 1981; Valian, 1999). They underlie what Blair-Loy (2001, 2003) calls the devotion schemas. The work devotion schema is a middle-class, masculine model of single-minded commitment to demanding professional careers that calls men to invest in consuming professions while expecting wives to provide domestic labor. The family devotion schema assigns household responsibilities to women, and prescribes that women find fulfillment in intensive motherhood and prioritize family over other commitments. Because the schema for men aligns more closely with work while the schema for women aligns more closely with family (Jacobs & Gerson, 2015), men may desire investing in careers while women may desire investing in family as they negotiate work-family balance.

Internalized schemas also interact with structural conditions to shape desires. Contextual realities like occupational sex-segregation constrain the options available to dual-career couples, and generally favor husbands' careers (Benson, 2014; Tenn, 2010). For instance, in most two-earner families, husbands out-earn wives (Bertrand, Kamenica, & Pan, 2015). Husbands also tend to have geographically clustered jobs while wives work in geographically dispersed occupations (Benson, 2014). When couples account for such factors in their negotiations by favoring the better-paying or the geographically constrained career, results favor husbands' careers.

Yet, cultural and structural landscapes have changed for younger cohorts. Young women's workforce participation, and young men's domestic involvement, are increasing (Dey, 2014; McGill, 2014). Further, most young adults report preferring egalitarian relationships (Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). Although these changes suggest that younger cohorts are more likely than their predecessors to want both careers and families, many still feel that competing workplace and family demands will prevent them from achieving this ideal (Gerson, 2010). How do young couples reconcile their desires with gendered structures and schemas as they bargain over work-family arrangements?

I suggest that partners need to perform emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) and do practical work – take concrete actions – to maintain their particular desires, or change them in themselves or in their partners as they negotiate work-family roles within a particular structural and cultural context. Couples can do emotion work to maintain egalitarian desires by resisting the prescriptions of the gender, work devotion, and family devotion schemas. They can perform practical work by asking for flexible work arrangements, evenly contributing to domestic

responsibilities, or sustaining long-distance commuter relationships that accommodate individuals' pursuits while maintaining a sense of family (Van der Klis & Mulder, 2008).

Or, couples could change one or both partners' desires if partners' ideals, or if realities and ideals, are mismatched. Workplaces that still privilege men over women, and cultural schemas that link family to femininity (Brines, 1994; Hochschild, 1989; Kramer, Kelly, & McCulloch, 2015) make it challenging for couples to equally share responsibilities (Gerson, 2010). To make life livable, partners may do emotion work to give up egalitarianism and favor a neotraditional arrangement. Young professional women may work especially hard to change their desires for work and family (Blair-Loy, 2001). Then, couples may perform practical labor to prioritize men's careers and women's domestic involvement.

Data and Methods

I apply the competing desires framework to the case of heterosexual, young adult couples deciding to move for academic and professional career opportunities. Following previous scholars' methods (e.g., Blair-Loy, 2001), I use this extreme case of decision-making to illuminate processes that might occur in more general cases of career moves, but may be less visible. Examining young professional partners with similar earning potential allowed me to observe competing desires in an initial bargain rather than a bargain driven by power differentials. Further, this group's desires for highly specialized careers with specific job search processes and a high likelihood of geographic relocation made career negotiations explicit. Finally, studying this privileged group with economic and social resources to navigate structural and cultural barriers enabled me to observe variation in negotiation processes. When I began data collection in 2013 the U.S. unemployment rate hovered around seven percent (U.S. Bureau of

Labor Statistics, 2014) and the U.S. budget sequestration reduced the supply of certain jobs. Yet, as I show, some couples responded creatively to suboptimal job markets.

I recruited twenty-one graduate and professional school students from universities in the Chicago, Illinois area to participate in this study. All students were in the final year of their degree programs and were conducting a national search to start another credentialing program or job immediately following graduation. I also recruited students' opposite-sex spouses or romantic partners. Partners did not need to be in the same field as their significant others to participate, but were required to have or want careers requiring specialized training. Nineteen partners agreed to participate and two declined, resulting in a total of forty participants. Thirty-two respondents were White. Their ages ranged from 22 to 35, with a mean of 28. The median relationship time was five years, and the median marriage duration among married couples was two years. All respondents reported being very committed to their relationships at the beginning of the study, despite variation in marital status and differing attitudes toward the institution of marriage. I describe how marital status and these attitudes impacted decision-making in more detail in the results section. All couples were childless at the beginning of the study.

I used quota sampling (H. W. Smith, 1975) to ensure representation of key characteristics in my sample. First, I split my targeted sample into three theoretical categories to analyze how the career leader's gender shaped decision-making: 1) The woman is pursuing an immediate career opportunity; 2) the man is pursuing an immediate career opportunity; and 3) both partners are pursuing immediate career opportunities. I then split my targeted sample into three broad academic and professional fields to identify how specific career requirements shaped the negotiation, and how competing desires influenced the process: 1) Social Sciences and

Humanities; 2) Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM); and 3) Professional Schools (Public Policy, Medicine, Business, and Law).

I conducted three semi-structured in-depth interviews with each participant over 20 months. The length of time between the initial and final interviews ranged from seven to 15 months. I conducted the first face-to-face interviews from January to April 2013. Time 1 captured aspirations and expectations as couples navigated their applications. I conducted the second in-person interviews from April to July 2013 when individuals received concrete school or job offers. Time 2 captured the bargain for actual career arrangements. Lastly, I conducted follow-up phone interviews from August 2013 to August 2014 to assess couples' outcomes. Time 3 captured evaluations. If respondents lived outside the Chicago area, I conducted phone interviews instead of face-to-face interviews at each time point. Only two respondents missed any interviews: one missed the Time 2 interview but participated at Time 3; another declined to participate at Time 3 after his relationship ended. In total, I completed 118 interviews.

This prospective design with multiple points of data collection offers a direct means to compare attitudes and actions. Had I conducted just the first interview, I would have only captured the decisions couples expected to make. Had I conducted just the final interview, I might have only gotten narratives of decision-making that justified outcomes. Further, I interviewed both partners separately to assess differences in work and family desires across individuals (Hertz, 1995). This design proved useful: I might not have identified the process in which one partner withdrew from decision-making had I only interviewed one half of a couple.

The interviews at Times 1 and 2 lasted one hour on average. I conducted most interviews in a private office at the University of Chicago to protect my subjects' confidentiality. Some participants chose to be interviewed at coffee shops or their own offices or homes. The Time 3

phone interviews lasted 35 minutes on average. I conducted these interviews from the same office or from a quiet room in my home. I audiotaped and took notes during all interviews.

I transcribed all interviews for analysis. First, I open-coded (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) the factors that respondents deemed important at each time point. I noted respondents' structural circumstances and coded their emotional and practical responses to them. Then I coded changes in respondents' narratives between Times 1 and 2 to determine whether they changed or maintained their desires and/or practical approach, or something else. For example, at Time 1 Liz was looking for work on the East Coast and in the Bay Area, but at Time 2 Liz saw her pursuit of work as "completely unfair" to her partner and had stopped applying altogether. I coded this process as "change desires" because she emphasized her desire to advance her career at Time 1, but prioritized her relationship at Time 2. Next I examined the combination of partners' decision processes to code couples' responses to unfolding events. For instance, Liz's partner Hank was open to moving with Liz at Time 1, but at Time 2 he asserted a preference to continue working in Chicago. I coded Hank's process as "change desires." Taking their two processes together, I characterized Liz and Hank's decision-making trajectory as changing desires at the couple-level. I further noted that Liz performed more emotion work than Hank during this process. Finally, I grouped couples that responded similarly to unfolding events.

Results

Maintain Desires

One process of decision-making involved partners, and men in particular, doing practical work to maintain desires. Eight couples, most of whom were pursuing women's or both partners' opportunities, followed this pathway. At Time 1, couples performed the practical work of making meticulous plans to achieve an egalitarian outcome. At Time 2, when realities confronted

ideals, both partners, and especially men, performed practical labor to devise contingency plans that enabled couples to maintain their egalitarian desires. Men actively helped women maintain careers throughout the bargain by altering their own job searches to accommodate hers, and choosing jobs in locations with the most opportunities for her. By Time 3, most couples moved together, and both partners found work in their respective fields.

These couples consistently shared the work of coordinating two careers and the relationship, thereby challenging the prescriptions of the work devotion schema in men, the family devotion schema in women, and traditional gender schemas more generally. These couples' marital status and attitudes toward marriage may have influenced their trajectory. Most were married or seriously considering marriage, and many saw marriage as a promise to account for both partners' careers. Table 1 summarizes the couples that maintained desires.

Vanessa, a scientist at an environmental consulting firm, and her fiancé Alex, an environmental science postdoc, met in graduate school but entered the job market at different times. When Vanessa neared graduation, they worked together to identify places that could accommodate both careers. They decided to look for work in Washington, DC. Vanessa would move first, and they would live apart while Alex finished his postdoc. Vanessa pointed to structural factors related to their careers in describing their desire to target Washington, DC at Time 1:

> What I really want to do is climate change consulting in the U.S. I knew it would open more doors, working in DC. I wanted to be in DC. DC's kind of a hotspot for environmental science. Plus [Alex] wants to be a professor. There are a lot of good opportunities [for him] in DC. DC was kind of like this perfect middle ground—all roads led to DC.

Vanessa evinces an identification with the work devotion schema, and a desire for both partners to work.

Table 1. Maintain Desires

COUPLE Marital status Whose career opportunity	**TIME 1:** Men and women perform practical labor to target mutually beneficial cities	**TIME 2:** Men perform practical labor to devise contingency plans	**TIME 3:** Men and women perform practical labor to carry out their decision
Vanessa and Alex Engaged His opportunity	Target Vanessa's city	Alex shifts plans to accommodate Vanessa	Alex moves in with Vanessa, both employed
Jared and Hannah Unmarried His opportunity	Target Hannah's city	Jared shifts plans to accommodate Hannah	Jared moves to Hannah's city, both employed
Peter and Anna Engaged Both partners' opportunities	Target select cities	Peter shifts plans to accommodate Anna	Peter moves in with Anna, both employed
Will and Katie Married Her opportunity	Target select cities	Will chooses area with most opportunities for Katie	Move together, both employed
Ashley and Jake Married Her opportunity	Target one city	Jake puts plans on hold to help Ashley find a job	Jake finds Ashley a position. Move together, both employed
Jeff and Joyce Married His opportunity	Target select cities	Jeff shifts plans to accommodate Joyce	Both stay, both employed
Nora and Rick Married Both partners' opportunities	Target select cities	Rick facilitates job opportunity for Nora	Move together, both employed
Cristina and Anthony Married Both partners' opportunities	Target select cities	Anthony chooses area with most opportunities for Cristina	Move together, both employed

In addition to wanting careers, Alex and Vanessa were engaged and wanted a family in the future. However, their attitudes toward family-building strayed from the prescriptions of the family devotion schema. Their engagement symbolized a joint promise to support each other's careers. Alex explains:

> The engagement is kind of a way of saying we should plan a little bit around each other in our job searching and things like that, and kind of coordinate our priorities so both of us can be employed and happy in the same place in the near-ish future. And so my job search was both for me to get an awesome job, but also to have my future wife have a job in the same place as me.

Getting engaged ensured that Alex and Vanessa could pursue their respective careers knowing that the other would support their professional ambitions.

At Time 2, despite encountering unfavorable circumstances, Alex continued doing practical work to realize the couple's egalitarian goals. Alex failed to get an academic job in the DC area at Time 2. Yet, because the couple chose a location amenable to both careers, Alex could continue pursuing other opportunities in Washington, DC:

> I didn't get any offers at all and so I shifted my attention completely to finding work in the private sector. I looked for nothing outside of DC. DC is a large enough area, and there's enough stuff in environmental and energy science that I should be able to find a job here. It has the right kind of jobs, and Vanessa lives there. She already has a job there and we were planning to move in together and so it was just—I am not going to find something somewhere else because I don't want to.

Contesting the masculine work devotion schema's call for men to single-mindedly pursue their careers, Alex expressed a desire to keep the couple together and emphasized Vanessa's job in explaining why he altered his own job search. By Time 3, Alex joined Vanessa in Washington, DC and started an environmental consulting job.

Men's power in the workplace sometimes facilitated the couple's ability to maintain desires. Nora and Rick, a married couple planning two academic science careers, also exhibited

this labor-intensive process of compromise. Nora was finishing her PhD, and Rick was finishing a postdoc at Time 1. Though Rick was nominally the career leader because he was searching for faculty positions while Nora was looking for postdocs, their search was a joint one. Rick said at Time 1:

> I am extremely clear and up front. I sat down [at each department], and the first thing I told the Chair is, "I have a wife that is in science, and if she doesn't have a future as a tenure track faculty [member] then you need to tell me right now because otherwise I wouldn't consider [taking the job]."

Contrary to the work devotion schema's call for men to expect wives to provide domestic labor, this statement demonstrates the importance of Nora's career to Rick. He actively sought opportunities for his wife as he looked for his own. His desire for both partners to have careers and a family persisted at Time 2:

> It boiled down to quality of life and opportunities for Nora, so we are going to Southern University. She can actually do a postdoc [nearby] at Private University or State University, so she's following up with Private University. My original inclination was Northern University because they gave me a lot more money, but you know, it was not the department for us because they didn't know what to do with the request that I made for a spousal hire. And that rubbed me the wrong way. Southern University specifically told her, and told me, that they are going to interview her for a tenure track position in three years. That was part of the commitment when I signed. When they called her and told her what the process was going to be, she was very happy with it. So we decided for Southern University.

Because Northern University would not give Rick and Nora a life with two academic careers and a family, they declined the offer at Time 2, even though taking a position at Northern University would have benefitted Rick's career.

Rick and Nora continued compromising as they transitioned into parenthood and their new jobs at Time 3. Nora described their rhythm:

> He is an absolutely great dad, and so accommodating when we were in Chicago and [I was] trying to finish up my dissertation. Rick and [the baby] had a little office on the fourth floor of the building where my lab was located. I would be

> working in the lab looking at a microscope and when she would need to be fed I would run upstairs or he would bring her down to me so I could nurse her. In that way I finished gathering all my data for my dissertation. That was really great … you can kind of see the give-and-take. The last few months in Chicago were really all about me getting finished [with my dissertation]. Now we're here and he had these grants due … the focus of our family shifted from getting Nora's dissertation done to getting Rick's grants done. I think it's good to see how that give-and-take works.

Given a favorable institutional context, Nora and Rick continued contesting the gender and devotion schemas by combining childcare with work and by alternating prioritizing each person's career. Ultimately, they converted their egalitarian desires into a devotion to share all responsibilities.

This trajectory reveals progress in the gender revolution. Partners navigated and even leveraged structural circumstances together to challenge cultural notions of gender, work, and family. For some men, being egalitarian partners meant actively empowering women to invest in their careers. This logic reduced gender differences in partners' work-family roles and pointed couples toward egalitarian relationships in the future.

Change Desires

On another bargaining pathway, structural and cultural forces pushed couples, and women especially, to do emotion work to change desires. Seven couples, nearly all of whom were pursuing men's opportunities, followed this trajectory. At Time 1, like the couples that maintained desires, these couples performed practical labor to make an egalitarian arrangement. However, at Time 2, when reality fell short of ideals, these couples performed emotion work to change their desires and facilitate decision-making. Because the rigid aspects of the gender and devotion schemas linking paid labor with masculinity and family to femininity made it difficult for professional men to forgo careers and adopt primary caregiving roles, men emphasized their desire to work, and women did emotion work to justify compromising their own careers to

prioritize his. By Time 3, many couples moved for men's jobs, and five women were unemployed.

The emotional labor of invoking traditional schemas for gender, work, and family to change desires reinforces these gendered cultural notions. Most of these couples were married or wanted to marry, so they rarely considered relationship dissolution an option; doing emotion work to resolve their situation made life livable. Table 2 summarizes the couples on this trajectory.

Brad was a PhD student pursuing academic jobs in Europe at Time 1. His wife Emily, who had a doctorate in history and worked at a museum, liked this plan because she had a professional network abroad. Brad said:

> We both like living there. There are more posts that I would be interested in taking, and if we start a family they won't ask me to work 70 hours a week and I'm going to have time to see my kids. And it's easier for her to have kids and get work at a museum. She has a friend who decided to go back to European University, and then worked at an anthropology museum. She's like, hey if you hear of anything that opens up at the museum let me know. She's contacted her old advisers. I contacted my old advisers and was like, hey I really want to come back.

Brad and Emily both did practical work at Time 1 to get an academic job for him, a museum job for her, and a family together.

Table 2. Change Desires

COUPLE Marital status Whose career opportunity	**TIME 1:** Men and women perform practical labor to target mutually beneficial cities	**TIME 2:** Women perform emotional labor to change their desires	**TIME 3:** Women perform emotional labor to justify being tied movers or tied stayers
Bryan and Mindy Unmarried His opportunity	Target one city	Mindy quits her job so Bryan can take his offer	Move together. He works but she is unemployed
Cheryl and Gordon Unmarried Her opportunity	Target select cities	Gordon convinces Cheryl to take unpaid position	Move together, both employed
Liz and Hank Unmarried Her opportunity	Target select cities	Hank convinces Liz to put off job national search	Both stay, both employed
Brad and Emily Married His opportunity	Target select cities	Emily quits her job so Brad can take his offer	Move together. He works and she stays home with baby
Joseph and Rebecca Married His opportunity	Target select cities	Rebecca quits her job so Joseph can take his offer	Move together. He works but she is unemployed
Leslie and Andrew Married His opportunity	Target one city	Andrew convinces Leslie to move without a job	Leslie moves to Andrew's city. He works but she is unemployed
Lauren and Thomas Married His opportunity	Target one city	Thomas convinces Lauren to move without a job	Move together. He works but she is unemployed. Relationship dissolves.

At Time 2 Brad had no job offers, and Emily was pregnant. These structural conditions created a discrepancy between the couple's original desires and their reality. To reconcile this mismatch, the couple did emotion work to change their desires: they invoked traditional schemas to redirect their feelings and formulate a new plan. They decided Brad would apply for technology jobs in California and Emily would quit her job and follow him. Brad described the emotional process:

> None of that worked out, so we were talking about the possibilities for when we have the baby. We could live in Chicago on not very much money because it's cheap. She could go to work while I stay home with the kid. I didn't really want to stay at home, and she could probably do more good with the child, for the first six months especially, than I could. If I had the choice, I'd go to work. So she said I should look at other places. At first I got very mad at her because I didn't want a job, I just wanted somewhere to hide out. I was like, what's the point in that? A couple days later I was like, yeah you're right, I don't know what's out there. It turns out there's this whole world of data science. So we looked into doing that, and there's work.

The gender and devotion schemas shaped Brad's feelings and then helped him change his desires at Time 2. Brad initially reacted negatively to his unsuccessful applications ("I just wanted somewhere to hide out") because the work devotion schema calls men to find fulfillment in their professions, and he was unable to enact this model. Continuing to follow the same masculine work devotion schema, he stated that a non-traditional arrangement in which he stayed home with the baby was unappealing. Finally, Brad evoked traditional gender schemas to help him see Emily as better able to identify with the family devotion schema: "She could probably do more good with the child" than he could.

Brad's changing desires shaped Emily's emotion work at Time 2. Emily relinquished her expectations to work and began prioritizing her desire for family:

> I thought I'd be looking for work [in] Europe, which would have been great. I'm still sorry we're not going there. I lived there for a long time, I've got a great support network, it's easy to get work there of the type I can do. It made me feel

> really uncomfortable at first to feel like I was putting my husband's career first. [But] I try to encourage him as much as possible because it'll be good for him … he's got to go where the work is.

Initially Emily expressed disappointment at relinquishing her expectations to work. Then she used the family devotion schema to quell her discomfort at "putting [her] husband's career first." It directed her to "encourage him as much as possible" to "go where the work is" because "it'll be good for him." Notably, Emily's emotion work targets both partners' desires.

Emily's pregnancy further prompted her to do emotion work to change her desires:

> [Then] we found out [I was pregnant]…. So that changed the way I was thinking about moving [to California]: the option of staying home and working from home became realistic. Financially it makes much more sense. In terms of the baby's health, having someone at home makes much more sense. If I stay home and take care of the baby—I wouldn't have to get some kind of position to do the sort of research I like to do. I could stay at home, and instead of working … I could work part-time on my [research].

She stated that their new plan made financial sense. The plan also matched cultural models for gender, work, and family. Consistent with the idea that women prioritize family, Emily said she could "stay home and take care of the baby," insisting it would benefit the baby's health. She also minimized the necessity of full-time work, proposing to work part-time from home.

Although at Time 2 Emily was disappointed to give up working, at Time 3, after having moved to California for Brad's job, she expressed fulfillment in traditional motherhood:

> There were a lot of positives, but it's got to be the baby. I mean [the baby is] pretty great. I literally can't imagine not being here with [the baby]. It's not an option that I expected to have. It's an option that I'm glad I have. I honestly didn't feel that [I would] be able to manage that. Thinking about how after three months [of maternity leave] ended, I'd have to go back to work … I mean staying home is challenging and all that stuff, but actually, generally speaking it's a lark. It's fun. It's work, but it's so much fun.

Like the women in Blair-Loy's (2003) study, Emily converted her desire for family into a devotion to family by Time 3. She "literally can't imagine" being apart from the baby and was

glad she could stay home. The salience of traditional schemas helped men and women change desires during an initial bargain by allowing them to find meaning in their decision. Brad and Emily's process shows how structural conditions (lack of academic jobs, availability of data science jobs) combine with cultural factors (schemas that support traditional arrangements) to shape couples' decision-making.

This process also emerged among couples in which women had the immediate career opportunity. Liz was working for a research company, completing her master's in public policy, and planning a national job search at Time 1. Her partner Hank, a finance trading assistant, saw New York and San Francisco as good options for both careers. However, Hank admitted feeling ambivalent about moving at Time 1:

> I like Chicago much more than I like New York. I mean, I don't really know if I want to go somewhere else because I have a job here, and the stress [of moving] wouldn't be there. There are a lot of opportunities for me here, and I still have a job. At the same time, you only live once. It's not time to be like, oh I have to get a job, and stress about getting a job. So I think we're just taking it as it comes.

Hank had a good job and liked Chicago. Further, he anticipated that moving and finding another job would be stressful. Yet, he tried to manage his emotions and continue negotiating throughout Liz's job search.

Hank's ambivalence conflicted with Liz's desires, so Liz did emotion work to resolve the discrepancy and remove tension from their relationship. While at Time 1 Liz envisioned working on the East Coast or in the Bay Area, at Time 2 Liz completely stopped applying. Hank's preference to continue working in Chicago grew more pronounced over time, prompting Liz to change her desires to move for her career:

> Three years ago when I was applying for school, Hank and I were at the phase in our relationship where I thought, "well this is going to be fun until I want to make this big decision [to move for work], and I'm going to make that decision and Hank's either going to come along or not." Or, I just imagine he can hitch his

> wagon to my star and I can just drag him along, just pop him on my back and live the life I want to lead without actually thinking about him, and I definitely wish that was not the case. That was completely unfair to even imagine that, and that was really immature of me, and now I've come to realize that. Going through [this process has] just made me think about "what [do] I want my life to look like?" more than "what do I want my professional career to look like?" and the rest will follow.

Liz did emotion work to de-emphasize desires for work and prioritize desires for family. Drawing on traditional gender and devotion schemas, Liz framed her pursuit of career opportunities as "completely unfair" to Hank at Time 2. Because the work devotion schema traditionally prescribes commitment to work for men but not women, Liz felt unable to prioritize her career and have the rest fall in place because that was gender-inappropriate. Additionally, the family devotion schema pressed Liz to consider family first ("what [do] I want my life to look like?"). Like Emily, Liz performed emotion work to cede desires for work and identify with the family devotion schema. At Time 3, Liz and Hank remained in Chicago and continued at their original jobs.

This trajectory illustrates how contemporary young couples reproduce gender inequality. Structural circumstances sometimes activated cultural schemas that pushed couples to change their egalitarian desires. Invoking the gender and devotion schemas helped couples justify and reinforce a neotraditional division of labor they did not originally want.

Defer to One Partner's Desires

One unexpected bargaining process involved one partner withdrawing from decision-making to give the other, in principle, freedom to make an individual choice. In practice, deferring to one partner's desires left the responsibility of coordinating two careers and maintaining the relationship to that other person. Six couples followed this pathway. As most couples were pursuing women's opportunities, the "hands-off" partners were almost exclusively

men who said they supported women's desires at Time 1, but did not actively engage in decision-making at Time 2. They explained it was not their place to make choices for their partners. By Time 3, most women were able to achieve their desires for two careers and a relationship despite having hands-off partners: They arranged for both partners to work, with some choosing long-distance relationships to have it all.

Men's withdrawal from decision-making inadvertently shifted the practical and emotional labor of juggling two careers and the couple's future onto women, thus reproducing a gendered division of labor. These couples' marital status and feelings toward marriage may have shaped their bargain. They were more likely to be unmarried and showed greater variation in their attitudes toward marriage, including ideological opposition to the institution, indifference ("marriage is just a piece of paper"), and desires for marriage in the future. But all couples felt their relationship could adapt to each partner's individual choices. Table 3 summarizes the couples that deferred to one partner's desires.

Karen was a STEM PhD student and her partner Jacob was a lawyer. At Time 1 Karen anticipated starting an academic postdoc that would be ideal for both partners' careers and their relationship:

> Over the past month and a half I have been interviewing for postdoctoral positions. I'm currently trying to get more information about the specifics so that I can make a decision about where to go. But I know that I have at least two offers and I will potentially have more. There's a laboratory at Northeast University and one at Eastern University, and I may also have offers at Northern University, Southern University, and Western University. I suppose the best possibility would be Eastern University because [Jacob] could potentially get a job in Pennsylvania where he has already passed the Bar [exam].

Table 3. Defer to One Partner's Desires

COUPLE Marital status Whose career opportunity	**TIME 1:** Women perform practical labor to apply to mutually beneficial cities	**TIME 2:** Men defer to women's desires, shifting all practical and emotional labor onto women	**TIME 3:** Women perform emotional and practical labor to carry out decision
Amanda and Louis Unmarried Her opportunity	Amanda targets Louis' city	Amanda pursues remote work to accommodate Louis	Amanda moves in with Louis, both employed
Karen and Jacob Unmarried Her opportunity	Karen targets select cities	Karen considers a second job search to accommodate Jacob	Karen moves and they are long-distance. Both employed
Julie and Max Unmarried Her opportunity	Julie targets Max's city	Julie makes special work arrangements to accommodate Max	Julie moves in with Max, both employed
Samantha and Josh Unmarried Her opportunity	Samantha targets select cities	Samantha chooses a location ideal for her career	Samantha moves and they are long-distance. Both employed
Cassandra and David Unmarried Both partners' opportunities	Target select cities	Cassandra chooses a location ideal for her career	Cassandra moves and they are long-distance. Both employed. Relationship dissolves
Stephen and Janelle Married Her opportunity	Janelle targets one city	Janelle and Stephen stop talking about her career plans	Both stay. He works and she stays home with baby

Karen performed practical work to achieve her desires to "have it all." In contrast, although Jacob agreed at Time 1 about the ideal outcome, he expressed ambivalence about navigating the job search as a couple:

> I would prefer if she would go to a place where I could waive in [to the Bar without taking another exam], or I had family. I'm not a big fan of California. No job opportunities. Can't waive in, it's terrible for attorneys. If we go to Eastern University, I could work in Pennsylvania where I'm licensed. I grumbled about California, but I was excited about Eastern University. I think it is more on her plate. I mean, I tell her if she finds me a job there I'll go. I'll go anywhere if there's a job there, but we haven't really gotten down to it yet.

Jacob supported Karen's job search in theory ("I'll go anywhere"), but had limited involvement in making the decision process a success in practice. He thought coordinating a career-related move was Karen's responsibility ("it is more on her plate").

Jacob withdrew from negotiating at Time 2 when both Eastern University and Northeast University reneged on their offers to Karen. Western University in California offered Karen a position, but Jacob was not licensed to practice there. Given these structural conditions, Jacob did not see any decision to make:

> It just kind of is inevitable. I couldn't go to California. I don't really have any job options I could do in California, and I'm not licensed there so I'm limited. For California I would have to take the [Bar] exam and it's a hard exam so it's not really a feasible plan. I haven't figured out—I'm sticking [in Chicago] for a little while longer. She doesn't really have any other options. Everything else fell through. She has to go to California.

Jacob considered it "inevitable" that he would have to stay in Chicago while Karen would have to move to California, and so did not engage in bargaining. Contrastingly, Karen describes the practical work she put into decision-making at Time 2:

> I didn't think I'd end up with this kind of a situation. So I talked to Jacob, like, what would be best for you? And he said, well basically Chicago would be best for me. So I considered staying in Chicago a bit. I knew that there were other things that I could be qualified to do that might be good fits, and I would just need

> to do another search. I discussed it with my graduate advisor and she said she didn't think it would be a great idea in the long term. Then I said [to Jacob], that's just really not a great idea in terms of my career, to stay in Chicago. So he said, well then you should really take Western University because you have this offer. So after a while I decided that I didn't want to risk losing this offer.

There are clear differences in the amount of practical work each partner put into the negotiation. Karen actively explored other options, but Jacob's reactions to Karen's efforts were limited, so she eventually decided to accept her only offer and attempt a long-distance relationship. At Time 3, Karen moved to California and Jacob stayed in Chicago. Karen took responsibility for their situation:

> I wish I had communicated more with Jacob before I did the postdoc search so that we would have a better idea of, you know, what happens if this is the only opportunity? I wish I had been a bit broader in my search when I applied for postdocs. That would have given me more options.

She insisted she could have done more to avoid this outcome. Jacob did not express similar sentiments; the only thing he said he would have done differently was "given her more instructions on where I would have wanted to move." Karen and Jacob ultimately reproduced traditional roles—coordinating the couple was primarily the woman's responsibility.

Women on this pathway consistently did more logistical and emotion work than men to negotiate work-family balance. Julie and her partner Max both wanted medical careers. Max chose a residency program in Utah knowing "it wasn't ideal for our relationship because it would have probably been better to go to places like New York City where there would be more programs for [Julie] to apply to." When it was Julie's turn to apply to residencies, Max evinced a nominally egalitarian opinion at Time 1:

> It generally isn't a huge expectation for her to try to come [to Utah]. She picked a lot in the West just because I'm here, but I think there's a lot of good programs out here as well. I said, "Yeah, I think those are fantastic choices." I don't think I have much to say, other than I'm supportive of her applying everywhere, and if

> she found a place she really wants to go more than anything, she should go and we would make it work.

Although Max was "supportive of her applying everywhere," Julie picked programs exclusively in the West because of him. Max's narrative belies Julie's investment in the relationship, which is apparent in the extra work Julie put into trying to match at Max's hospital:

> I went to Utah to do an away rotation there. If you really need to end up in an area, it's sometimes a good idea to do a rotation there so that the program knows who you are. If you go and work really hard and they like you, it can be a boost up. In OBGYN [away rotations are] not required unless you have a really good reason for why you want to end up at a certain place. So because I had a really good reason why I would want to end up in Utah I ended up going out there.

Julie's away rotation could advance her career by increasing her likelihood of matching to the residency program in Utah, but even Julie admitted her applications would benefit the couple more than her career. She said, "Would Utah be number one if Max wasn't there? I don't know." By Time 3, Julie moved in with Max and started a residency at his hospital.

This pathway points to new challenges to achieving equal partnerships. Advocating women's freedom of choice appears egalitarian, but there are consequences to this logic: "choice feminism" (Ferguson, 2010) reproduces a gendered division of labor by shifting the work of planning two careers and maintaining a relationship to women. This process could further reproduce gender inequality in career outcomes and bargaining power if women decide to invest in their relationships at the expense of their careers.

Discussion

This study documents career and relocation decisions among twenty-one heterosexual, young adult couples. Longitudinal in-depth interviews reveal three gendered negotiation trajectories that show how work-family decisions contest and reproduce gendered outcomes. On the maintain desires pathway, men supported women's careers by actively adjusting their own

plans to accommodate hers. This pathway illustrates how young adults contest gendered work and family roles, suggesting progress in the gender revolution. On the change desires pathway, women performed emotion work to relinquish desires for career and justify a neotraditional division of labor. This trajectory reveals how young adults reproduce gendered work and family roles despite their increasingly egalitarian attitudes. When partners cannot both "have it all," they use existing schemas for gender, work, and family to facilitate decision-making (Swidler, 1986), thereby reinforcing them. Finally, on the defer to one partner's desires pathway, men withdrew from decision-making, inadvertently leaving the work of decision-making to women. This pathway represents a new barrier to egalitarianism.

Findings indicate that responsibility for achieving work-family balance for the couple often falls to women. Cultural narratives of "superwomen" (Woods-Giscombé, 2010) who are "experts" in work-family balance (Blair-Loy, 2003) may contribute to this gendered division of responsibility. Women's responsibility for doing the majority of the emotional and practical labor on the change desires and defer to one partner's desires pathways meant that many women eventually compromised their desires to make the couple's life livable.

Marital status shaped couples' negotiations. Marriage sometimes protected egalitarian desires because for some couples, marriage represented a commitment to supporting each person's ambitions and sharing all responsibilities. Thus, responsibility for achieving balance was distributed across both partners. This pattern supports the idea that marriage has become more individualistic among younger cohorts—partners develop independent selves within the marriage, roles are flexible and negotiable rather than gender-differentiated, and communication is paramount (Cherlin, 2004). This marital ideology could lead to more egalitarian partnerships.

These findings also extend the spousal bargaining theory. Desires shape couples' starting point in an initial bargain. When couples have to reconcile desires with reality, gendered relative power stemming from men's structural and cultural advantage in the workplace shapes the kind of work men and women do to resolve their situation. Some men leverage their power to maintain the couple's desires. In these cases, structural factors facilitate an egalitarian outcome. Some men's power incites women to change their desires to accommodate the couple. In these cases, cultural schemas linking masculinity to work and femininity to family make structural barriers seem insurmountable. Changing desires helps people cope with reality by allowing them to see their constrained choices as meaningful and their unequal outcomes as desirable and justifiable. Because it is women's responsibility to make life livable for the couple, it is up to women to change desires. Other men's power allows them to shirk responsibility for reconciling desires and reality. Structural and cultural advantage means men have less to lose if they do not work to achieve balance.

Future research could address this study's limitations. Academic and professional couples represent an extreme case of decision-making, and their process may be more deliberate than that of others. Interviewing non-academic couples could reveal other negotiation pathways. Studying couples earlier on their educational pathways and over a longer period of time could capture whether and how bargaining changes with relationship time. For instance, longer-term research may reveal how deferring to one partner's desires will shape gender inequality if and when couples bargain over childcare.

Chapter 3. Gendered Mental Labor in Young Professionals' Career and Family Plans

Research shows that progress toward gender equality in work and family is uneven and stalled (England, 2010; Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). Gender inequality persists in a variety of paid labor force outcomes (Hegewisch & Hartmann, 2014; Huang et al., 2011; Mandel & Semyonov, 2016), as well as in the distribution of unpaid domestic responsibilities (Chari et al., 2015; Chesley & Flood, 2017). Despite changes in labor policies and cultural attitudes toward gender, women's employment outcomes lag behind those of men (Aronson, Callahan, & Davis, 2015; S. Han, Tumin, & Qian, 2016), and housework and childcare remain mostly women's responsibility (Killewald & García-Manglano, 2016; Miller & Carlson, 2016). Some scholars point to gender differences in plans for careers and family as contributing to these unequal outcomes (Bass, 2015; Goldin, 2006; Greene & DeBacker, 2004; Hakim, 2000; Orrange, 2003). Yet, others suggest that contemporary young men and women are making increasingly similar career plans (Cech, 2016) and are increasingly likely to expect to contribute equally to both work and family responsibilities in their relationships (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015).

This article interrogates whether contemporary young professional men and women continue to make different career and family plans. I also examine whether there are gender differences in young adults' mental labor (Daly, 2002; Darrah, 2007; Offer, 2014)—the thinking that is required to organize, coordinate, and manage tasks and duties—when making joint work-family plans with their opposite-sex romantic partners. Analyzing data from in-depth interviews with both partners of twenty-one graduate and professional school couples and a survey study of 174 professional school students, I find that men and women do similar kinds of mental labor to

plan their individual careers: all young professionals report thinking about their career plans and talking about them with romantic partners. When men and women with similarly ambitious career plans have to balance them as a couple, some partners share mental labor and plan two careers together, others direct both partners' mental labor toward planning one partner's career first, and a final group consists of partners who do mental labor individually to separately plan their respective careers. In the realm of relationships, family, and work-family balance, I find that women do more mental labor than men when thinking about when to have children. When men and women navigate family and work-family balance issues together as a couple, I find that some partners share mental labor to make family plans; others push off family plans for the future. Finally, in some couples, one partner—usually the woman—does the mental labor of making relationship and family plans for both partners.

Findings show that although men and women share preferences for careers, families, and gender-egalitarian relationships in the future, women do more mental labor than men to anticipate future family responsibilities and balance them against their career obligations in the context of the couple. Understanding the unequal division of mental labor in this relational setting reveals a micro-level, interpersonal process that undermines young men's and women's shared egalitarian attitudes toward work and family and contributes to gender inequality in career and family outcomes.

Young Adults' Plans for Work and Family

Previous scholarship points to gender differences in career and family plans that may contribute to gendered and unequal outcomes in these realms of social life (Greene & DeBacker, 2004; Hakim, 2000; Hitlin & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2015; Markus & Nurius, 1986). For example, preference theory (Hakim, 2000, 2002) suggests that gender differences in men's and women's

values regarding careers and families can lead men and women to make different plans for work and family life, which then contributes to gender-unequal outcomes in these areas. Similarly, research on possible (Markus & Nurius, 1986) or future selves (Greene & DeBacker, 2004) suggests that gender differences in individuals' expectations for their identities and future roles can lead men and women to pursue different work and family goals. For instance, cultural schemas for gender (Bem, 1981; Blair-Loy, 2003; Valian, 1999) may lead men to plan to work in higher-paying, male-dominated fields to maximize their earnings and fulfill a traditionally masculine provider role (e.g., Schmidt, 2017). Women, on the other hand, may expect to take on a greater share of family responsibilities, and thus plan to find work in more flexible, female-dominated fields that allow them to take on a traditionally feminine caregiver role (e.g., Trotter, 2017).

Finally, research on planfulness or planful competence (e.g., Clausen, 1991; Hitlin & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2015) suggests that self-reflexive perceptions of structural constraints and opportunities can lead men and women to make different career and family plans as they navigate a gendered society. For instance, because masculinized workplaces (e.g., Acker, 1990) and perceived "biological realities" of childbearing (e.g., Ceci & Williams, 2011) create an inherent conflict between work and family for some women that is not as salient among men (Blair-Loy, Hochschild, Pugh, Williams, & Hartmann, 2015), women and men may make different plans for work and family that lead to gendered outcomes in these realms (Bass, 2015; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005).

However, other work suggests that contemporary young men's and women's career and family plans are converging. Some research finds that young men and women have similar career plans and report similar reasons for pursuing those careers (Cech, 2016). Additional

research shows that young men and women increasingly prefer egalitarian relationships and expect to equally share family responsibilities (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015).

Given mixed findings in previous studies, I ask: Do young men and women continue to make different plans for their careers and families? If there are gender differences in work and family plans, we might continue to see gender inequality in work and family arrangements. If men plan to be primary earners, and if women plan to be primary caregivers, we may continue to see women lagging behind men in their careers while shouldering the majority of the domestic responsibilities. If there are no gender differences in plans for work and family, we might see increasing equality in these roles. Alternatively, a lack of gender difference in plans for career and family may still lead to gender inequality in work and family outcomes. Previous research points to institutional barriers like inflexible workplaces and lack of family-friendly policies that prevent young people from seeing their plans for egalitarianism come to fruition (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015).

I propose an additional barrier to equal outcomes as young men and women make plans for work and family: relationship constraints, or barriers that arise when actors attempt to coordinate their thoughts and behaviors to reach a goal together, can prevent men and women with similar plans from realizing their egalitarian desires. Relationship constraints limit individuals' ability to freely act on their own to turn plans into actual outcomes. To overcome relationship constraints, actors have to do mental labor to account for one another's plans and structural circumstances as they try to achieve career and family goals as a unit. Disjunctures between actors' plans, plans that come into conflict across partners of a couple, and plans that conflict with the couple's structural realities can divert men and women from their intentions for equality in work and family.

How do heterosexual young professionals balance their plans with those of their partners to realize egalitarian outcomes in work and family as a couple? I suggest that couples have to do mental labor to make joint plans for equality in their careers and relationship. Mental labor refers to the thinking that is required to organize, coordinate, and manage tasks and duties (Daly, 2002; Darrah, 2007; Offer, 2014). Partners' individual and joint self-reflection, recognition of personal abilities and external constraints, and discussions to develop plans can set men and women who endorse egalitarianism on a path to reach equality in work and family outcomes.

If men and women plan to have different, gendered, and complimentary roles in work and family, they may not need to do much mental labor to coordinate their plans because cultural and structural forces favor a traditional division of labor (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2003; Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Valian, 1999), and plans for the man to pursue career-related goals while the woman pursues family-related goals do not conflict. If men and women plan to have different, but non-complimentary roles in work and family—for instance, if one person plans to have a traditional division of labor whereas the other plans for an egalitarian one—they have to do more mental labor to account for and modify one another's plans, and to find ways to compromise in order to make shared plans while accounting for structural and cultural contingencies. If men and women plan to have the same work and family roles—if both people want careers and active family roles—they also have to perform a lot of mental labor to ensure their plans do not come into conflict, not only with one another, but also with external cultural and structural forces. Mental labor in this situation might involve constantly assessing external constraints and opportunities and brainstorming several contingency plans to balance two careers and achieve equitable sharing of family responsibilities.

Data

Data come from two related studies of career launch among graduating professional and graduate school students. These students provide an ideal case for examining work and family plans. Career decisions and planning are salient for these young professional adults transitioning from school to work. Further, these individuals are in their mid- to late-twenties and have entered a life stage in which many contemporary college-educated Americans start planning and making decisions about long-term relationships, marriage, and having children (Arnett, 2014a; Arroyo, Payne, Brown, & Manning, 2012; Manning, Brown, & Payne, 2014).

From January to April 2013, I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with partnered and married heterosexual graduate and professional school students in the final year of their degree programs as part of a larger longitudinal study on how couples negotiate relocation for career opportunities (Wong, 2017). I used department email list announcements, flyers, and snowball sampling to recruit graduate and professional school students and their romantic partners from universities in the Chicago, Illinois, area to participate in this study. I used quota sampling (H. W. Smith, 1975) to ensure representation of key characteristics in my interview sample, including gender, marital status (partnered but unmarried vs. married), and field of study (Social Sciences and Humanities; Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics [STEM], and professional school [Public Policy, Medicine, Business, and Law]). I excluded single students from the interview study so I could better assess how students with immediate relationship considerations make plans for balancing work, relationships, and family. My final interview sample includes N=40 subjects, 21 students and 19 of their romantic partners (21 couples with two partners declining or unable to participate).

To contextualize the patterns that I found in the interview study in a larger sample, I developed a longitudinal survey of early career and family plans among professional school students in the final year of their social work (MSW), public policy (MPP), business (MBA), and computer science (MSCS) degree programs at a Midwestern university. I chose these programs because they vary in their gender composition. The MPP and MBA programs have roughly equal proportions of men and women, whereas the MSW program is 82 percent women and the MSCS program is 18 percent women. I recruited participants via personal emails, announcements on department and student organization email lists, posts on student research opportunities websites, and flyers posted around campus. This targeted sampling method, while not nationally representative, allowed me to systematically access information from a range of young professionals who can be difficult to reach given a lack of a comprehensive sampling frame, departmental and institutional restrictions barring access to contacting students for research, and the students' limited time due to their demanding degree programs. Data for this article come from Survey 1, a baseline survey collected between October and December 2016. Survey 1 includes complete data on 185 respondents' preferences, expectations, and plans regarding their careers, romantic relationships, childbearing intentions, and work-family balance. I do not use these data to make generalizations about the entire population of young professionals; rather, I use them to corroborate my interpretations of the patterns I find in the interviews. As I am interested in within-couple gender differences, I exclude 11 homosexual respondents from the survey analyses, leaving an analytic sample of N=174.

Interview and survey respondents' demographic characteristics appear in Table 4. Seventeen of the 40 interview respondents (42.5%) were pursuing STEM careers, 12 (30%) were pursuing social science or humanities careers, and 11 (27.5%) were pursuing professional careers

(law, public policy, medicine, or business). Among the 174 survey respondents, 29.9% were pursuing an MS in computer science, 29.3% were pursuing an MPP, 20.1% were MBA students, and 16.1% were MSW students. The remaining 4.6% were pursuing other professional degrees, such as an MD or JD. Both interview and survey studies included equal proportions of men and women (20 men and 20 women in the interview study; 51.1% women in the survey study). The average age of interview and survey respondents was 28. Thirty of the 40 (75%) interview respondents were White. There was greater racial variation in the survey study, with 54.4% of respondents reporting their race as White, 29.1% reporting their race as Asian, and 5.0% reporting their race as Black from a check-all-that-apply survey item. About 16% of respondents identified as Latinx. The interview study only included partnered participants, with half the interviewees being married. The survey study included single (42.9%), partnered but unmarried (35.1%), and married (22.0%) respondents.

Table 4. Interview and Survey Participants

Interview Subjects (N=40) – Interviews conducted Jan-Apr 2013			
Field (N/%)		Average Age	28
STEM	17 (42.5)	Race (N/%)	
Soc. Sci./Hum.	12 (30.0)	Non-White	10 (25.0)
Professional	11 (27.5)	White	30 (75.0)
Gender (N/%)		Relationship Status (N/%)	
Men	20 (50.0)	Married	20 (50.0)
Women	20 (50.0)	In a relationship/engaged	20 (50.0)
Survey Respondents (N=174) – Surveys fielded Oct-Dec 2016			
Program (%)		Race/Ethnicity (Check all that apply) (%)	
MBA	20.1	Latinx	15.9
MPP	29.3	White	54.4
MS Computer Science	29.9	Black	5.0
MA Social Work	16.1	Asian	29.1
Other	4.6	Other	0.6
Gender (%)		Relationship Status (%)	
Men	48.9	Single	42.9
Women	51.1	Married	22.0
Average Age	28	In a relationship/engaged	35.1

Methods

In the interview study, I asked students and their partners in separate interviews to describe their work and family plans as they navigated the final year of the students' degree programs and their career launch. Specifically, I asked all subjects to talk about their immediate career plans for after graduation; how they discuss these plans with their partners; their long-term career plans; and how they see their careers fitting in with their personal and family plans. I conducted interviews in a private office at my university or at a location of the participant's choosing. The interviews lasted one hour on average. I recorded and transcribed all interviews, and then open-coded (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) them to identify instances of mental labor (e.g., anticipating future events, detailing contingency plans and timelines, phrases like "I [don't] think about" or "I have [not] thought about") and major themes in how respondents talked about their career and family plans in the short term as well as for the next few years.

I designed the survey study after I completed the interview study. I wrote survey questions to reflect the questions and topics in the interview study, but used large social science surveys like the General Social Survey and the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health to guide the exact wording whenever possible to ensure validity of the survey items. The key survey questions assessing respondents' career and family plans for this study are:

1. In the upcoming year, are you planning to look for work, apply for further education, or something else?
   (1=respondent plans to look for work, 0=look for work option not selected).
2. What type of work do you plan to take?
   (most common answer was business or management position; 1=business or management position selected, 0=this job not selected)
3. Which of the following best describes your search or application process?
   (1=apply widely with no geographic restrictions, 0=apply with geographic restrictions)

4. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about my career plans.
   (1=strongly agree, 0=strongly agree is not selected).
5. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about my partner's career plans.
   (1=strongly agree, 0=strongly agree is not selected).
6. In your relationship, who brings up the topic of your career plans more often?
   (1=respondent brings it up more often, 0=partner brings it up or both partners equally bring it up).
7. Looking to the future, do you intend to have a child at some time?
   (1=definitely yes, 0=definitely yes not selected).
8. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about the best time to have a child.
   (1=strongly agree, 0=strongly agree is not selected).
9. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about having a child.
   (1=agree, 0=agree is not selected).
10. Which arrangement best describes your ideal relationship?
    (1=both careers equally important, 0=both careers equally important is not selected)
11. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about balancing work and romantic relationships/family.
    (1=agree, 0=agree is not selected).

I estimate a series of logistic regression models to identify any gender differences in students' mental labor and work and family plans as measured by these survey questions. I controlled for students' age, race/ethnicity, degree program, and relationship status. I analyzed the surveys and interviews simultaneously when I completed Survey 1 to iteratively develop a holistic analysis using all the data.

Results

The interviews and surveys show that on the whole, men and women make similar plans to achieve their career goals. Couples vary, however, in their strategies to balance both partners' ambitious career plans. The survey data show that women do more mental labor than men do to think about issues related to relationships, family, and work-family balance. This gender difference also appears among some couples in the interview data; these couples show a pattern in which women do the mental labor to make relationship and family plans for both partners.

Individuals' Career Plans

Few gender differences in career planning appear in the survey and interview data, suggesting that young professional men and women are similarly planful with regards to their careers. When coupled men and women have equally ambitious plans for work life, they engage in various strategies to balance their two plans together.

Table 5 contains odds ratios for logistic regressions predicting answers to six questions measuring professional school students' plans and planning behaviors for their careers in the year following their graduation. The first odds ratio from a logistic regression predicting plans to look for work in the upcoming year (vs. not planning to look for work) shows that women's odds of selecting that plan is 2.17 times that of men ($p<0.05$). This pattern indicates that women may have clearer ideas about what they will do after graduating from their degree programs than men do.

Table 5. Plans for Career

Logistic regression predicting women's odds of (ref. men)…	N	Odds Ratio
Planning to look for a job in upcoming year	168	2.17*
Planning to take a business or management position	105	0.58
Applying for jobs without geographic restrictions	111	1.16
Strong agreement with: "My partner and I frequently talk about my career plans"	93	1.79
Strong agreement with: "My partner and I frequently talk about my partner's career plans"	93	1.60
Selecting "I bring up our career plans more often"	92	1.88

*$p<0.05$. All models control for age, race/ethnicity, degree program, and marital status.

However, none of the other logistic regressions show differences in men's and women's career plans: men and women have similar odds of planning to apply for business or management jobs, the most commonly selected job among the survey respondents, and have similar odds of planning to apply widely for jobs without making geographic restrictions.

Further, mental labor in career planning across men and women is similar. I find no gender differences in students' reports of talking with their partners about their own career plans, talking with their partners about their partners' career plans, or in whether respondents report more frequently bringing up the topic of career plans in their relationships than their partners. Overall, these young men and women are equally planful about their individual careers.

Couples' Career Plans

If young professional men and women are equally likely to do mental labor to think about their individual careers and make similar plans for work, they may need to do additional mental labor to strategize how to balance these ambitious plans if they are partnered with one another. Interview data reveal three patterns in how young professional, opposite-sex couples made career plans together as a couple. "Equal Sharers" jointly performed mental labor to plan two careers. "Sequential Planners" directed both partners' mental labor to plan one person's career first and expected to plan the other person's career later. Finally, "Independent Planners" did mental labor separately to plan two individual careers.

Equal Sharers were partners who shared the mental labor of planning two careers together. These men and women spoke about their own and their partner's career plans as being part of a broader, couple-level plan for their joint life together. Equal Sharers articulated very specific steps to achieve two professional careers. Jared and Hannah displayed this pattern of shared mental labor. Jared was a medical school student applying for medical residencies. He was in a long-distance relationship with his partner Hannah, a business consultant who was accepted to an MBA program. In describing their two career plans for the coming years, Jared shared all the particular details related to location and timing of both careers so that both partners' plans would align over the next several years:

> The whole plan while we were doing long distance was for me to go to residency in [East Coast city] in order to be in the same place when she's in business school. So I applied to all the hospitals in [East Coast city]. I wouldn't apply anywhere else. For me [medical residency is] three years, so she decided to work another year in [East Coast city], go to business school for two years, then both [of us] would be getting a job at the same time, three years from now. It's a lot of logistics.

Jared's assertion that "it's a lot of logistics" highlights how much mental labor he and Hannah did to coordinate their two career plans. Further, his plan to apply exclusively for residencies in the same city where Hannah would pursue her MBA shows the interdependence of their two career plans.

Cheryl and Gordon had similarly intertwined career plans and shared mental labor to jointly orchestrate their next steps. Cheryl was applying for geographically-restricted postdoctoral fellowships in pursuit of an academic career. Gordon was planning to change careers and pursue a nursing degree while Cheryl completed her postdoc. Both partners reported constantly talking about the concrete actions they were each taking to formulate and execute their shared plans. For example, Cheryl said:

> We were just talking about this today—about getting the prerequisites in place for him for either Southern University's nursing program or Northeast University's nursing program [because] these seem like the most likely possibilities [for my postdoc].

This quote demonstrates how involved one partner was in developing the other's career plans. In sum, Equal Sharers' mental labor and career planning was shared across partners, interdependent, and accounted for both partners' longer-term career goals.

Sequential Planners were couples that jointly planned one partner's career at a time. These partners thought in detail about and made specific plans for one career first and stated that they would then do the same for the next partner once the first career was settled. This pattern of mental labor was gendered, with women directing their mental labor to helping men plan their

careers first. Joseph and Rebecca's experience demonstrates this pattern. Joseph was finishing a chemistry PhD and planning a career in industry. His wife Rebecca had a chemistry master's degree and worked in a research lab. The two planned Joseph's job search together, and stated that planning Rebecca's job search would come next. Joseph said:

> The plan would be for me to get a position first so we know the area and then she is going to start applying. Rebecca has actually compiled most of the job stuff—we have a huge spreadsheet we go through and I make cover letters—so in perusing [job ads for me] she kind of sees what's available for her. Her position is probably easier to get, is what we're thinking, because she has [a master's] degree and two years' experience in a position, which is really important [for chemistry jobs].

Joseph describes the mental labor he and Rebecca did to evaluate each person's job prospects, as well as the mental and practical labor of compiling job ads to plan his career first.

Partners Bryan and Mindy also used this strategy to plan two careers. Bryan was planning an academic career in the social sciences and Mindy was planning to complete additional schooling to advance her teaching career. Mindy's mild frustration with Bryan delaying his graduation prompted the couple to focus mental labor on planning his career launch. Mindy said:

> Definitely over the past few years I was like, are you ever going to do this and get going? That put the fire under him to get his dissertation done. The two of us had decided, let's start thinking about where do you actually want to end up in the future, what are good cities for both of us to have careers. It's kind of like being in limbo when you're waiting for your partner to figure out what's going on because I don't want to put down roots, start a program, or start a job that I can't move. I would rather know what's going on with him first before I figure out what I'm going to do.

Mindy indicates that she cannot make her career plans until she knows Bryan's career plans, so she directed her mental labor into initiating a conversation about getting Bryan to complete his degree and start his career. Overall, Sequential Planners did mental labor together to plan one career first—generally the man's career—and expected to direct attention to the other partner's career—the woman's career—once the first person was more settled in his or her job.

A final group of partners were Independent Planners. These men and women did mental labor individually to separately plan each person's respective careers. Independent Planners described planning their careers in parallel, but not necessarily jointly like the couples who shared mental labor. Cassandra, a social science PhD student partnered with David, also a social science PhD student, describes this broader pattern well in talking about her and David's plans:

> I'm looking at postdoctoral fellowships with the aims of having more options [for faculty positions] down the road. David is kind of in the same boat. We are mostly doing our own thing, together. You're more likely to solve the dual-body problem in the long term and have the kind of career you want if you are willing to tolerate distance now and just pursue the best opportunities available, so we haven't really been trying very hard to be in the same place. I don't want one of us to totally sacrifice our career.

Because David and Cassandra thought they would be better off in in the long-run by investing as much as possible in their respective careers, the two made plans to individually pursue the best options available to them without considering much else in the short-term. Josh, a STEM PhD student whose partner Samantha was applying to medical school and planning a career in medicine, similarly endorsed two partners pursuing their individual plans independently in the immediate future, even if it meant the couple would be in a long-distance relationship:

> She's going to apply to a wide range of schools. I think it's pretty much decided that wherever she gets in, she's going to go. I wasn't going to leave my PhD program in the middle. I'm going to wait until I get my degree here. If she were out of town [doing medical school] then hopefully I'd work longer hours and then finish, so that would be the end goal. The faster I can get out, then I could go join up with her.

Like Cassandra and David, and the Independent Planners, Josh thought that each partner focusing on their respective career plans would work out best for a the dual-career couple in the long-run.

Individuals' Relationship, Family, and Work-Family Balance Plans

Whereas survey and interview data show that young professional men and women are similarly planful regarding their individual careers, I find evidence that mental labor to think about and plan for relationships, family, and work-family balance is unequally shared across men and women. At the individual-level, women do more mental labor to think about family issues than men do. Further, in some couples, women do mental labor to make relationship, family, and work-life balance plans for both partners.

Table 6 contains results from five logistic regressions predicting plans and mental labor regarding having children and balancing work and family in a relationship. The first regression predicting intentions to have children shows no statistically significant gender differences (OR=1.66, $p>0.05$), indicating that men and women have similar odds of planning to have children in the future. However, the next regression predicting strong agreement with the statement, "I frequently think about the best time to have a child" shows that women have 4.04 times higher odds of strongly agreeing with the statement compared to men ($p<0.05$), indicating women do more mental labor to think about having children. Non-statistically significant findings in the third regression predicting agreement with, "My partner and I frequently talk about having a child" suggests that men and women are similar in how frequently they talk about this topic with their partners. Taking these two findings together, it is possible that women are doing mental labor to think about the timing of having children a lot more than they are sharing mental labor with their partners to actually talk about children.

The next two regressions predict answers to questions concerning work-family balance in relationships. Men and women have similar odds of endorsing "both careers equally important" as the ideal way to balance careers in a relationship, suggesting that all young professionals in

the study are equally likely to plan for egalitarian relationships. However, the final regression shows that women have 0.29 times the odds of agreeing that they and their partners frequently talk about balancing work and romantic relationships/family ($p<0.05$). These patterns suggest that although men and women both want to have egalitarian relationships, women are less likely than men to think that they and their partners share mental labor to talk about balancing careers and family to achieve their desired equal relationships—perhaps because women do this mental labor alone.

Table 6. Plans for Relationships, Family, and Work-Family Balance

Logistic regression predicting women's odds of (ref. men)…	N	Odds Ratio
Definitely intending to have a child at some time	168	1.66
Strong agreement with: "I frequently think about the best time to have a child"	143	4.04*
Agreement with: "My partner and I frequently talk about having a child"	78	2.65
Selecting "both careers equally important" as ideal relationship	168	1.70
Agreement with: "My partner and I frequently talk about balancing work and romantic relationships/family"	93	0.29*

*$p<0.05$. All models control for age, race/ethnicity, degree program, and marital status.

Couples' Relationship, Family, and Work-Family Balance Plans

Interview data help to interpret the survey findings in the dyadic context. I find three patterns in how young, professional, opposite-sex couples made relationship and family plans together as a couple. "Active Sharers" were partners who jointly and deliberately performed mental labor to think about relationship and family issues. "Postponers" did no mental labor to plan relationship and family matters and pushed off making these plans for a later date. Lastly, "Solo Planners" showed an unequal distribution of mental labor in which women thought about relationship, family, and work-family balance issues for both partners in the couple.

Active Sharers were couples who described sharing mental labor and actively planning for relationships and family. These couples were not all Equal Sharers who jointly did mental labor in career planning, but the shared nature of these plans was similar in both cases. Katie and her husband Will, both STEM PhD students, described the stages of their shared mental labor to start planning having children. Katie said:

> We want to have a family soon. We have always known what each of us want to be in terms of a family and how many kids we want. We decided right before we got married that we weren't going to have kids until either my last year of PhD or afterward. Every year we'd talk about it again and every year we have the decision of, are we financially ready? So right now, the idea is within the next year to actually have a serious discussion, what we will do, in terms of the steps, nutrition, and seeing a gynecologist, everything like that. Like what do we need to do in order to prepare to have a kid?

Katie and Will's shared mental labor of aligning preferences and expectations for family and regularly talking about having kids stretched over years, from before they married through the end of Katie's PhD program. Partners Peter and Anna, both who came to the U.S. to pursue STEM careers, also did long-term mental labor to postpone their relationship and childbearing plans until after their PhD programs. As Peter was getting ready to end their long-distance relationship and pursue the couple's family plans, he said:

> I am really tired of this [long distance]. Anna's really depressed by things like all her friends are getting married, they're starting their lives and she cannot because we kind of postponed our lives for six years and said no, we will do science. So now we are thinking of [starting a family]. The priority is, I need to get a job [in the city where Anna found a job] that will have some stable income. If I have a job, this will be the best opportunity to start a family because we will be living in the same apartment, we'll have some extra money that we can save, and that would make sense because a child would require some extra finances.

For Peter and Anna, being together in the same city and having financial stability would support their plans to start having children after having jointly decided to delay their relationship and

family plans in pursuit of STEM careers. Overall, both partners in Active Sharer couples were deliberately doing mental labor together to make concrete relationship and family plans.

Postponers skipped doing mental labor altogether by pushing off making relationship and family plans until sometime in the future. Postponer couples were focusing on their career plans first and said they would think about relationship and family goals later. Spouses Cristina and Anthony were both graduating from the same public policy master's program. Cristina was looking for government jobs and Anthony was applying to PhD programs. Cristina said coordinating her job search and his PhD applications was their priority, so they were not thinking in a focused or specific way about their family plans:

> Not right now, basically because we don't have jobs. I cannot manage uncertainty—I paralyze myself when I need to apply for jobs in five cities. I mean it's too much for me, and I think for him too. But we have talked several times about having kids. Uh, I would say probably in four to five years.

Because their career plans were so uncertain, Cristina and Anthony were not talking in a concrete way about having children. They had a vague timeline for having kids—four to five years from that point—but neither gave many details about their plans for family.

Alex, a STEM postdoctoral fellow, and his fiancée Vanessa, a scientist at an environmental consulting firm, were another Postponer couple who put off thinking about family. In addition to being busy trying to establish careers, neither felt ready for children. When asked about whether they had talked about children or made family plans, Alex said they talked a bit about children, and then jokingly said:

> Five to seven years from now, that's when we'll start maybe child planning, but there's a whole step ladder of fun stuff to do before we get there. Step 1 children stage is having cats [laughs], at least that's how I look at it. Then you upgrade and you get a dog. We'll figure it out in the future.

Alex's joke about having pets as the initial stage of planning to have children reveals that he and Vanessa, unlike the Active Sharers, were not seriously doing mental labor to concretely plan on having kids soon. Like the other Postponer couples, Alex felt that they would "figure it out in the future."

Solo Planners were couples in which women shouldered the mental labor of making relationship and family plans for both partners. Many women ended up with this responsibility because their partners did not think to make plans at all. Thomas was a JD student and his wife Lauren was a social science master's student. Thomas planned on taking a clerkship after graduating and Lauren planned to apply to PhD programs. Both had clear career plans for the upcoming years and knew all the details about each other's work plans, but when asked about their family plans, the partners reported different things:

> Thomas: [Starting a family is] not something that we discuss as something in the very near future. Maybe in a year or two, but those conversations have mostly been abstract. I guess I hadn't really thought about a timeline.
>
> Lauren: We talked about [having children] a lot when we first got married. I'd like to have kids in the next three years. I think if I finish my coursework then have a kid, I think that that's the best time to have a child while I'm in grad school. So Thomas would be working and I have a couple of years where I have a little more flexibility with my time.

Whereas Thomas said the couple's discussions about having a family have only been abstract, Lauren said they talked about having children a lot when they first married. Further, whereas Thomas said that he had not thought about a timeline for their family plans, Lauren gave a detailed description of a timeline for having children that also considered both partners' careers.

Partners Julie and Max, both pursuing medical residencies to launch their careers in medicine, also displayed this uneven balance of family-related mental labor. Julie had done a lot

of mental labor to coordinate her anticipated activities in work and family and also gave a detailed outline of her ideal work-family timeline:

> I am a fore-planner, so yeah, I have thought about [marriage and children] … in my head, I'm like, maybe we get engaged in those next two years and we get married not that long after that, and then when I'm a third- or fourth-year resident, that's a much better time while I'm doing my residency to maybe start a family.

Her partner Max did not similarly do this kind of mental labor, so Julie often had to prompt Max to think about these issues. When asked whether they talked about Julie's work and family timeline together, she said:

> Not really … I mean we've kind of talked about [marriage] in a roundabout way, like "if I come here what's going to happen?" was the question. He was like "oh, well we'll live together and … I guess we'll see what happens." I'm like, okay what does that mean? But that's where we are in the conversation. Max is a very typical guy where it's like if you don't push him to talk about it, he doesn't even think it's an issue.

Although Julie had thought a lot about how she would like to coordinate her work and family activities in the near future, Max did not share the mental labor of making plans for the two of them as a unit. Solo Planners' pattern of mental labor reveals that even when partners share the same goals—wanting to be married, wanting to have children—men and women can be disproportionately burdened with the mental labor, and eventually the practical labor, of coordinating the couple to actually reach their goals. As one woman in the Solo Planners group put it, "He's like, it'll work out, we'll make it happen. He's always the optimistic one, and I'm the practical [one] who ends up doing more and making the initial first steps."

Discussion

This study examines the mental labor young professional men and women do to make career and family plans and explores how they coordinate these plans with their opposite-sex partners. I find that men and women do similar mental labor to make individual career plans. The

lack of evidence of a gender difference in how students think about their own careers aligns with other work indicating that men and women are equally ambitious and thoughtful in their plans for work (Cech, 2016). This pattern suggests that policies aimed at encouraging professional women to invest in their careers are insufficient because women already want and plan to achieve as much as men do in their careers.

When heterosexual partners have to coordinate their two ambitious career plans, they use three strategies to direct their mental labor. Equal Sharers jointly do mental labor and make interdependent career plans. Sequential Planners direct all mental labor to planning one career at a time, usually the man's career first. Finally, Independent Planners do mental labor individually to plan two separate careers.

Gender differences do emerge in men's and women's mental labor to make relationship, family, and work-family balance plans. Although some couples were Active Planners who shared mental labor in this realm, the majority of couples were Solo Planners who disproportionately assigned women the mental labor or Postponers who pushed off doing mental labor completely for some future point in time. Among Solo Planner couples, women were more able than men to give exact details and precise timelines to achieve their desired family lives and work-family balance, indicating that women were more likely to have done mental labor to work through these issues. Indeed, survey data indicate that professional women were more likely to think about the timing of children and were less likely to think they and their partners equally shared mental labor to talk about work-family balance. These subtle differences point to ways that men and women continue to enact gendered roles despite their endorsement of egalitarianism.

Postponers avoided doing mental labor to make family plans altogether. It is unclear without further longitudinal data whether these couples would eventually share mental labor to actively make joint family plans, or fall into the Solo Planner pattern of women doing more mental labor than men to plan the couples' personal lives. I speculate that when these couples have to make concrete plans for work and family, if women have privately done more of the mental labor to think about these tradeoffs, they will be more prepared to compromise their own plans to make the couple's broader plans a success. Women may fill in for men who have not thought about careers and family relationships in as much depth, and this process could lead to continued gender inequality in men's and women's work and family behaviors and outcomes.

Chapter 4. How Should Couples Pursue Career Opportunities?

An Experimental Vignette Study

Research has documented patterns of gender inequality across a variety of career outcomes, including occupational sex segregation, women's nonlinear employment histories, gendered income disparities, and underrepresentation of women in leadership positions (Hegewisch & Hartmann, 2014; Huang et al., 2011; Huffman et al., 2011; Mandel & Semyonov, 2016). In particular, a robust literature on family migration—couples or families moving for one person's economic opportunities—has shown that heterosexual women are more likely than men to interrupt their own employment to move for their partners' careers and are more likely to forgo their own career opportunities if it means having to relocate their partners and families (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Brandén, 2014; Cooke, Boyle, Couch, & Feijten, 2009; Geist & McManus, 2012; Lersch, 2016; Mincer, 1978; Shauman & Noonan, 2007). Gendered family migration reinforces women's disadvantage in their careers compared to their partners and compared to other men more generally.

Gender schemas linking careers to masculinity and family to femininity (Blair-Loy, 2003; Valian, 1999) and the structural conditions reflecting and reinforcing these cultural frameworks (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy et al., 2015) have been cited to explain why women are more likely to move for men's jobs (Lersch, 2016; Shauman & Noonan, 2007). However, these structural and cultural landscapes may be changing as women increasingly participate in the paid labor force (Ruggles, 2015), more men take on family responsibilities (Maume, 2015), and attitudes toward gender, careers, and relationships become increasingly egalitarian, especially for contemporary young adults (Shu & Meagher, 2017). Shifts toward egalitarianism in both gender ideologies and

institutional policies may change how people approach family migration and the two-body problem.

This article uses data from an experimental vignette embedded in an original longitudinal survey study to assess whether gender ideologies surrounding work and family continue to influence how young professionals think heterosexual couples should balance two careers in a relationship when one partner is offered a job opportunity requiring geographic relocation. I find that over time respondents become more likely to endorse pursuing a career opportunity when the woman rather than the man in the story receives a job offer. Exploratory analyses of the longitudinal survey data on respondents' own career experiences suggest that young men and women may increasingly perceive women to be disadvantaged, and men to be relatively advantaged, in the labor market as time passes. Real experiences of gender inequality in the workplace may explain why they are more likely to advocate for the fictional woman than the fictional man to pursue a career opportunity requiring family migration. Results indicate that gender attitudes among young professionals may not only be becoming increasingly egalitarian, they are increasingly acknowledging women's systematic disadvantage in their careers and relationships and men's relative advantage in these areas, and thus espouse attitudes that adjust for this inequality.

Gender Inequality in Family Migration

Research consistently shows that heterosexual women are disadvantaged in family migration compared to their partners. Women are likely to move for their partners' employment opportunities, making them "tied movers" (Mincer, 1978) who take personal economic losses to move with partners and families. Furthermore, these women are not likely to take a job if they think it will negatively affect their partners' careers, making them "tied stayers" (Mincer, 1978)

who forgo personal economic opportunities to prevent their partners' and family members' losses, economic or otherwise. Men, in contrast, are less often discouraged by their partners' losses when considering job opportunities requiring relocation (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Brandén, 2014; Lersch, 2016; Shauman & Noonan, 2007). As a result, women are disproportionately likely to experience interrupted employment and lowered earnings following a family move (Cooke et al., 2009; Geist & McManus, 2012) and may experience slower growth in their careers due to forgone opportunities. Being a tied mover or a tied stayer reproduces women's disadvantage in their careers over the life course.

Scholarship points to gender schemas—cultural frameworks that direct our expectations about how men and women behave—that connect masculinity to work and femininity to family (Blair-Loy, 2003; Valian, 1999) to explain these gendered patterns of family migration (Lersch, 2016; Shauman & Noonan, 2007; Wong, 2017). Occupations coded as masculine tend to be held by men and tend to be more geographically clustered and higher-paying (Benson, 2014; Bertrand et al., 2015), so family migration for these careers ultimately favors moving for men's careers. Further, Shauman and Noonan (2007) show that even after controlling for structural factors sorting men and women into different occupations with varying levels of geographic restrictions and monetary benefits, families are more likely to move for husbands' careers than for wives' careers. They conclude that gender roles in heterosexual families can explain these family migration outcomes. Finally, recent qualitative work also suggests that rigid gender schemas linking masculinity to work make it particularly difficult for men to forgo careers, so even when couples endorse egalitarianism, they more often make accommodations to move for men's career opportunities (Wong, 2017).

Yet structural and cultural landscapes are changing, especially for contemporary young adults. Young women are more likely than their counterparts in the past to have careers (Ruggles, 2015), young men are increasingly sharing family responsibilities (Maume, 2015), and dual-earner and dual-career couples have become the norm in the United States in the twenty-first century (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). In addition to these material changes, young people's attitudes toward work and family are increasingly egalitarian, with nationally representative survey data suggesting that 75 percent of millennial women and 88 percent of millennial men reject a traditional gendered division of labor (Shu & Meagher, 2017). Given these patterns, we might expect current cohorts of young adults to have different orientations toward family migration and the two-body problem. The gender of the person offered a job opportunity requiring geographic relocation might not be as predictive of family migration as it was in the past. This study uses data from an experimental vignette about a young heterosexual couple deciding to move for one partner's job opportunity to test whether the gender of the job receiver shapes how young people think couples should balance two careers in the context of family migration.

Other researchers have used experimental vignettes to study attitudes toward gender, work, and family (Jacobs & Gerson, 2015; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015), but they usually only administer vignettes to study participants at one point in time. Given that major life changes such as the transition to marriage, becoming a parent, and making education- and career-related changes have been shown to change gender attitudes (Endendijk, Derks, & Mesman, 2018; Kim & Cheung, 2015; Zhou, 2017), there is reason to conduct vignette studies on gender, work, and family over time. Changes in marital and parental status are associated with becoming more traditional in gender, work, and family attitudes (Endendijk et al., 2018; Kim & Cheung, 2015),

but for women, continued employment following these family changes is actually associated with increasing egalitarian attitudes (Zhou, 2017). This study administers a vignette three times over the course of one year to respondents who are experiencing changes in their own relationship and employment situations—young adults aged twenty-two to thirty-two years old, in professional degree programs, and who are about to graduate and enter the labor force—to confirm whether this pattern can be detected in an experimental setting.

Data and Methods

I designed an experimental vignette as part of an online longitudinal survey of career plans among professional school students. Respondents answer survey questions about their current work/school status, their current relationship and parental status, and their opinions about having children. They are then presented with the vignette and asked several questions about the hypothetical situation. Finally, they answer questions about their career plans for the upcoming year, their mental health, and (in the Fall 2016 survey) their demographic background. The vignette presents a story about a heterosexual, dual-career couple deciding what to do when one of the partners is offered a career opportunity that requires geographic relocation. The vignette section opens with, "I am going to ask you about things that might happen to a young professional couple. Please read the following scenario and answer the questions." The text of the vignette appears below:

> Michael and Emily met in graduate school and have been in a relationship for four years. They agreed when they started dating that they should take turns pursuing professional opportunities. For the last two years they have been living together in Denver, where they moved when Michael was offered a job at a biomedical research lab. Emily also does biomedical research, and works at a hospital.
>
> Michael was recently offered a better position at his company's Boston office, but it's Emily's turn to make a career move since he chose the lab in Denver. They have been discussing several options:

A. Michael could accept the offer and Emily could move to Boston
B. Michael could decline the offer and stay in Denver until Emily is ready to make a career move
C. Michael and Emily could each follow their careers and try a long-distance relationship
D. Michael and Emily could each follow their careers and end their relationship

The experimental manipulation is whether the man (Michael) or the woman (Emily) in the story is offered the job, resulting in two versions of the vignette. The two versions are exactly the same except that the names of the partners are switched:

> **Emily** and **Michael** met in graduate school and have been in a relationship for four years. They agreed when they started dating that they should take turns pursuing professional opportunities. For the last two years they have been living together in Denver, where they moved when **Emily** was offered a job at a biomedical research lab. **Michael** also does biomedical research, and works at a hospital.
>
> **Emily** was recently offered a better position at her company's Boston office, but it's **Michael's** turn to make a career move since she chose the lab in Denver. They have been discussing several options:
>
> A. **Emily** could accept the offer and **Michael** could move to Boston
> B. **Emily** could decline the offer and stay in Denver until **Michael** is ready to make a career move
> C. **Emily** and **Michael** could each follow their careers and try a long-distance relationship
> D. **Emily** and **Michael** could each follow their careers and end their relationship

In version 1, Michael is offered the job and the couple has to decide whether he should take it and move together (option A), forgo it and stay together (option B), pursue a long-distance relationship (option C), or break up (option D). In version 2, Emily is offered the job and the couple has to decide whether she should take it, forgo it, try long distance, or break up. Respondents are randomly assigned to read one version of the vignette and then asked to answer the following questions:

1. In your opinion, which is the best plan, all else equal?
   (Choose from Options A-D)
2. In your opinion, what are the two most important things for Michael and Emily to consider when making this decision?

(R's place a "1" and a "2" next to their choices)
   a. Whoever makes more money
   b. Whoever has a stronger career identity
   c. Their previous agreement to take turns pursuing opportunities
   d. Each person being able to pursue their available opportunities
   e. Staying together in the same city
3. Who do you identify with most in the couple?
   (R's select either Michael or Emily)

This experimental design allows us to explore whether the gender of the person being offered the job in the vignette affects what people think couples should do when faced with making work-family decisions. Experimental vignettes can be analyzed without controlling for respondent characteristics because respondents' backgrounds are unrelated to their assignment to either version of the vignette (Mutz, 2011). Further, the experimental design only requires a minimum of twenty-one cases per condition to detect an effect (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007).

One hundred seventy-six respondents answered the vignette questions in Survey 1 (Fall 2016). These professional school respondents in the final year of their degree programs are ideal subjects for the vignette study because they will likely make similar decisions in their own lives. They may have spent time thinking about these kinds of work-family issues, and thus can better relate to the story. One hundred seventeen of the original 176 respondents (66 percent) completed Survey 2 (Spring 2017), and 124 respondents (70 percent) returned for Survey 3 (Fall 2017). Survey 2 was administered around the time of the professional school respondents' graduations and can capture changes in their work-family attitudes at a time when their structural circumstances were changing (graduating and leaving school; launching careers after completing professional degrees). Survey 3 data was collected one year after the baseline survey and captures the professional school respondents' actual work and family outcomes postgraduation. In Surveys 2 and 3, respondents are assigned to read the same version of the vignette that they received in Survey 1.

First, I describe results of the random assignment to each version of the vignette to confirm that external factors are unrelated to experimental condition. I also describe how respondents identified with each partner in the hypothetical couple. Then I present descriptive results of respondents' selections of best plans for the hypothetical couple from each survey in a set of figures. I show the results for all respondents, and then separate the descriptive findings by gender to identify whether men and women think about gender-work-family issues differently.

Next I conduct a series of multinomial logistic regression analyses in Stata 15 predicting the multinomial log-odds of choosing the various best plans for the hypothetical couple. Model 1 is a bivariate analysis of the effect of vignette version (1=Emily offered job, 0=Michael offered job) on the multinomial log-odds of choosing "forgo job," "pursue long distance," or "break up" compared to the baseline outcome, "take job and move together." Although the experimental design means I do not have to control for extraneous factors, I run additional models with several key control variables to confirm the findings in Model 1. Model 2 controls for respondent gender (1=Female, 0=Male). Model 3 analyzes the effect of vignette version on the multinomial log-odds of choosing various best plans for the couple in the story while controlling for the person in the couple with whom the respondent identifies (1=Identifies with Emily, 0=Identifies with Michael). Finally, Model 4 adds both respondent gender and an indicator for the person in the couple with whom the respondent identifies to the analysis. The full set of four multinomial logistic regression models is run separately for each of the three surveys.

After running these regression models, I present additional descriptive statistics to aid interpretation of the multinomial logistic regression findings. First, I examine how respondents rank the two most important things for Michael and Emily to consider when making their decision from this list of five factors: 1) Whoever makes more money; 2) Whoever has a stronger

career identity; 3) Their previous agreement to take turns pursuing opportunities; 4) Each person being able to pursue their available opportunities; and 5) Staying together in the same city. I present the most commonly reported combination of first-most-important- and second-most-important-priorities by vignette version in each of the three surveys. Then, I examine respondents' employment characteristics in each survey and use either χ^2 tests or t-tests, depending on the measure, to identify gender differences at the descriptive level. I look at respondents' full-time employment status (1=Working full-time, 0=Not working full-time); current income in dollars; plans to look for work in the upcoming year (1=Planning to look for work, 0=Not planning to look for work); expected salary in dollars; current division of labor among partnered respondents (1=Both careers equally important, 2=R has the lead career, 3=R's partner has the lead career); and ideal division of labor among all respondents (1=Both careers equally important, 2=R has the lead career, 3=R's partner has the lead career).

Results

Checks on experimental assignment and other factors that could be related to experimental condition appear in Table 7. Results indicate that the two versions of the vignette were successfully randomized across respondents. Respondent gender, age, race, and degree program were unrelated to vignette version in Survey 1. In subsequent surveys, respondents continued to read whichever version of the vignette they were assigned in Survey 1. Men reading about Emily getting the job offer were overrepresented in Survey 2, whereas women assigned to this vignette version were underrepresented (57.89% vs. 41.67%, $\chi^2(1)=3.08$, p=0.079). In Survey 3, men reading about Emily getting the job offer were again overrepresented, and women reading this version of the vignette were underrepresented (59.023% vs. 42.86%, $\chi^2(1)=3.24$,

p=0.072). I control for respondent gender in the multinomial logistic regression models to adjust for these marginal associations.

Identifying with specific characters in the story (Michael or Emily) could be related to experimental condition and affect respondents' selection of best plans for the hypothetical couple. Table 7 shows that most respondents identify with Emily when they are assigned to read the version of the vignette in which Emily is offered the job (proportions range from 68.18% in Survey 1 to 74.6% in Survey 3). Fewer identify with Emily when they are assigned to read about Michael receiving the job opportunity (proportions range from 34.09% in Survey 1 to 44.26% in Survey 3). These patterns suggest that respondents may consider whoever receives the job offer to be the "main character" of the story and be more inclined to identify with him or her.

I then checked how respondents' gender related to their identification with the fictional partners. In all three surveys, higher proportions of women than men identified with Emily (proportions among women range from 66.67% in Surveys 2 and 3 to 67.82% in Survey 1 compared to 34.48% in Survey 1 to 52.46% in Survey 3 among men). When I further examined how respondent gender related to identification with characters in the story separately for each version of the vignette, I found that in all three surveys, about half of women, and fewer than a quarter of men, identify with Emily when they are assigned to read about Michael getting the job offer. Among respondents assigned to read about Emily receiving the job opportunity, over three-quarters of women (reaching a peak of 92% in Survey 2) identify with her, and 48.94% of men in Survey 1 to 71.22% of men in Survey 3 identify with her. These patterns indicate that respondents "match" their own gender to the characters in the story. However, men may be more likely than women to identify with whoever receives the job offer, regardless of the gender of the fictional job receiver in the story. Further, this pattern becomes more pronounced over time.

Thus, regression models include an indicator variable for the person in the story with whom respondents identify to adjust for these patterns.

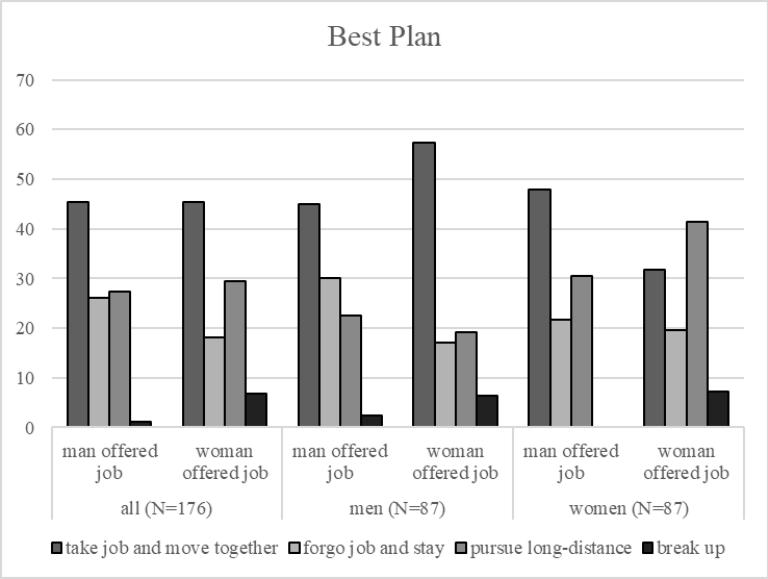
Table 7. Factors Associated with Experimental Condition

	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3
Proportion reading vignette in which Emily (vs. Michael) receives a job offer	50% N=88	49.57% N=58	50.81% N=63
Differences in random assignment by:			
Gender	Not sig.	Marginally sig.	Marginally sig.
Race	Not sig.	Not sig.	Not sig.
Relationship status	Not sig.	Not sig.	Not sig.
Age	Not sig.	Not sig.	Not sig.
Degree program	Not sig.	Not sig.	Not sig.
Proportion identifying with Emily (vs. Michael) by vignette version	Michael offered: 34.09% Emily offered: 68.18%	Michael offered: 33.9% Emily offered: 70.69%	Michael offered: 44.26% Emily offered: 74.6%
Proportion identifying with Emily (vs. Michael) by respondent gender	Men: 34.48% Women: 67.82%	Men: 36.84% Women: 66.67%	Men: 52.46% Women: 66.67%
Proportion identifying with Emily when Michael offered job	Men: 17.5% Women: 47.83%	Men: 12.5% Women: 48.57%	Men: 24.0% Women: 58.33%
Proportion identifying with Emily when Emily offered job	Men: 48.94% Women: 90.24%	Men: 54.55% Women: 92.0%	Men: 71.22% Women: 78.78%

Figure 2 displays the proportions of Survey 1 respondents who chose various best plans for the hypothetical couple by vignette version and respondent gender. Among all respondents, the most frequently chosen best option was "take job and move together"—45.45% endorsed this choice in both experimental conditions (man vs. woman offered the job, $\chi^2(3)=4.91$, $p=0.179$). Yet, analyzing the selection of the best plan for the hypothetical couple separately by the gender of respondents hints at some differences in the way men and women respond to the vignette.

Men most often reported that taking the job and moving together was the best plan, regardless of the version of the vignette they read. Nearly half of men (45%) reading about Michael being offered the job considered taking the job and moving together to be the best plan, and 57% of men reading about Emily being offered the job considered taking the job and moving together to be the best plan. In contrast, vignette version moderated women's selection of the best plan. About half the women (48%) reading about Michael being offered the job thought that taking the job and moving together was the best plan. However, the most commonly selected best plan among women who read about Emily being offered the job was pursuing long distance (41%).

Figure 2. Best Plan by Vignette Version and Respondent Gender in Survey 1



Multinomial logistic regression results in Table 8 corroborate the patterns in the descriptive data. The top panel contains the multinomial log-odds of choosing "forgo job" compared to the baseline category, "take job and move together," as the best plan. The second panel contains the multinomial log-odds of choosing "pursue long distance" as the best plan. The bottom panel displays the multinomial log-odds of choosing "break up" as the best plan.

None of the models across the three panels show statistically significant associations between vignette version or gender and the multinomial log-odds of choosing "forgo job," "pursue long distance," or "break up" as the best plan compared to the reference category "take job." These null findings suggest that the gender of the hypothetical person offered the job in the vignette does not affect respondents' selection of the best plan for the couple. This pattern runs counter to that found in previous family migration literature that suggests individuals would be more likely to support the man rather than the woman pursuing a job opportunity in a two-career couple.

Table 8. Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Best Plans in Survey 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Forgo Job (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	-0.363	-0.309	-0.291	-0.213
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.123		0.217
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			-0.216	-0.269
Constant	-0.553	-0.658	-0.489	-0.623
Pursue Long Distance (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	0.080	0.182	-0.079	0.135
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.809*		0.764+
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			0.482	0.124
Constant	-0.511	-1.018	-0.692	-1.036
Break Up (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	1.792	1.797	1.623	1.596
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.072		-0.138
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			0.514	0.578
Constant	-3.689	1.087	-3.884	-3.845
N	176	174	176	174

+p<0.10, *p<0.05

One statistically significant association appears in Model 2 in the second panel of Table 8. Compared to the men in the study, women respondents have higher multinomial log-odds of selecting "pursue long distance" as the best plan rather than "take job" (β=0.809, p>0.05). Controlling for vignette version, women are more likely than men in general to choose long distance as the best option for the hypothetical couple. This pattern stays marginally statistically

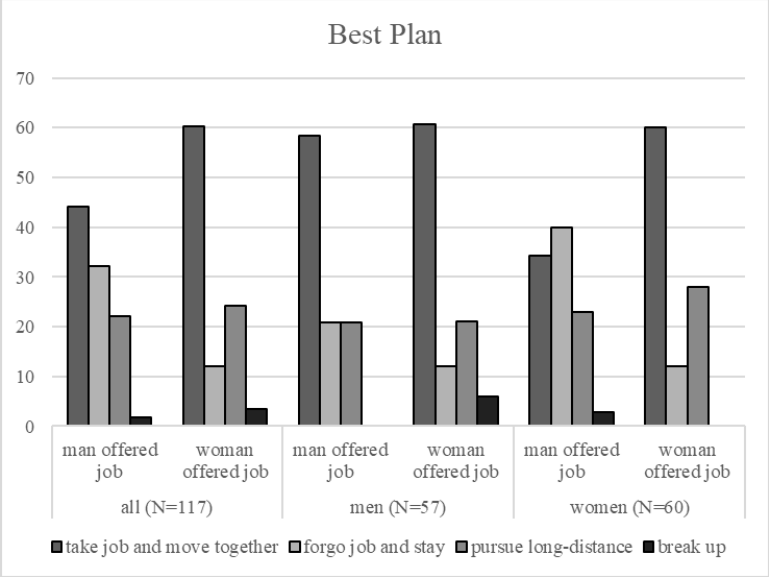
significant in Model 4 when controlling for the person in the story with whom respondents identify.

Taken together, vignette version was not associated with choosing different best plans for the hypothetical couple in Survey 1. Previous research on family migration may lead us to predict that respondents reading about Emily getting a job offer would be less likely than those reading about Michael getting a job offer to endorse the couple pursuing the job opportunity. However, I find that the gender of the job receiver is not associated with the selection of the best plan for the hypothetical couple. Overall, in Survey 1 respondents believed the couple should pursue whatever job opportunity comes up, regardless of whether it is the man's or the woman's career opportunity. I do find some evidence that women were more likely than men to choose long distance as the best option overall.

Respondents' attitudes about the hypothetical couple's situation might shift in response to changes in the respondents' own lives as they leave school and launch careers. Figure 3 displays proportions of Survey 2 returning respondents who selected various best plans for the hypothetical couple by vignette version and respondent gender. In Survey 1, 45.45% of respondents chose "take job and move together" as the best plan across both versions of the vignette. In Survey 2, "take job" was again the most commonly chosen best option across both experimental conditions, but the exact proportions of respondents endorsing this choice marginally significantly differed across vignette version. Forty-four percent (44.07%) of those reading about Michael getting the job said taking the job was the best choice, but 60.34% of those reading about Emily getting the job chose this option as the best one for the couple ($\chi^2(3)=7.23$, $p=0.07$).

Analyses by respondent gender continue to hint at differences between men and women in Survey 2. Again, men most often reported that taking the job and moving together was the best plan, regardless of the version of the vignette they read. However, the proportions of men endorsing this option are larger in Survey 2 compared to Survey 1. Fifty-eight percent of men reading about Michael being offered the job considered taking the job and moving together to be the best plan (vs. 45% in Survey 1), and 61% of men reading about Emily being offered the job considered taking the job and moving together to be the best plan (vs. 57% in Survey 1).

Figure 3. Best Plan by Vignette Version and Respondent Gender in Survey 2



The overall pattern of women's responses, on the other hand, changed in Survey 2 compared to Survey 1. Again, vignette version marginally significantly moderated women's selection of the best plan ($\chi^2(3)=7.05$, $p=0.07$). However, whereas 48% of women reading about Michael being offered the job thought that taking the job and moving together was the best plan in Survey 1, the most common response for best plan among women reading about Michael receiving a job opportunity in Survey 2 (40%) was forgoing the job and staying together. Among women who read about Emily being offered the job, the most commonly selected best plan in

Survey 1 was pursuing long distance (41%), but the most commonly selected best plan in Survey 2 was taking the job and moving together (60%).

Results in Table 9 confirm the descriptive findings for all respondents in Figure 2 and show some statistically significant differences in selections of best plan by vignette version. Model 1 in the top panel of Table 9 shows that respondents reading the vignette about Emily getting a job offer have lower multinomial log-odds of selecting "forgo job" as the best plan compared to those reading about Michael getting the job offer (β=-1.296, $p<0.05$). This finding persists when controls for respondent gender and an indicator for the person in the story with whom respondents identify are added in subsequent models. Thus, when the woman in the story receives a job offer, respondents are less likely to say the couple should forgo her job opportunity compared to endorsing the couple taking the job. This pattern runs counter to expectations based on previous literature, as respondents actually advocate for the woman more than the man to take a job opportunity.

Table 9. Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Best Plans in Survey 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Forgo Job (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	-1.296*	-1.203*	-1.450**	-1.253*
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.717		0.688
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			0.384	0.101
Constant	-0.314	-0.747	-0.448	-0.763
Pursue Long Distance (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	-0.223	-0.167	-0.295	-0.166
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.432		0.436
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			0.179	-0.009
Constant	-0.693	-0.940	-0.752	-0.937
Break Up (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	0.395	0.343	1.282	1.598
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		-0.420		0.910
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			-15.052	-15.453
Constant	-3.258	-3.063	-2.891	-3.337
N	117	117	117	117

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

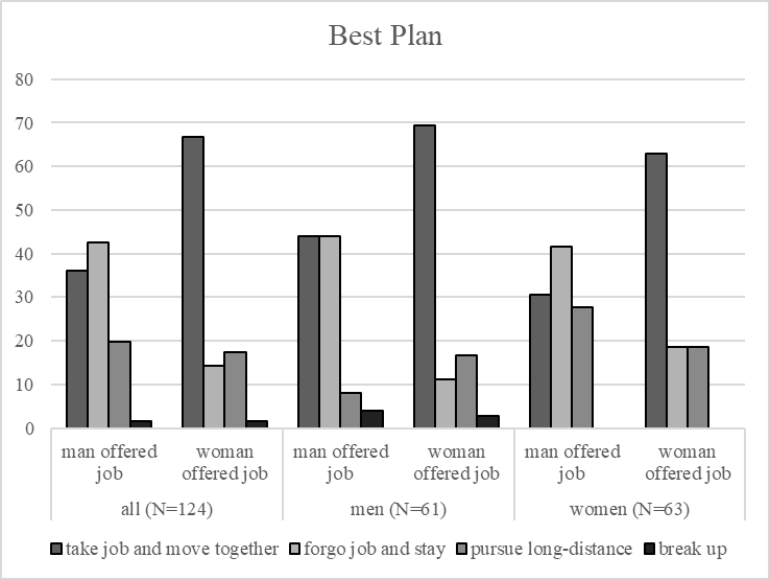
The second and third panels of Table 9 show no statistically significant associations between vignette version and the multinomial log-odds of selecting "pursue long distance" or "break up" as the best plan compared to "take job." Respondent gender and identifying with Emily are both unrelated to respondents' selection of the best option for the hypothetical couple across all regression models.

In sum, at Survey 2 respondents were less likely to endorse "forgo job" as the best option for the couple in the story if they read the vignette about Emily getting a job offer rather than the version in which Michael gets a job offer. This pattern contrasts with that in Survey 1, in which vignette version was unrelated to respondents' preferred options for the hypothetical couple. This pattern also runs counter to expectations based on previous research on family migration that suggests respondents might advocate for the man but not the woman to pursue a career opportunity in a two-career couple.

In Survey 3, the follow-up study conducted one full year after Survey 1, many respondents had transitioned away from school and into their postgraduation jobs. The experience of leaving school, looking for work, and starting new jobs may further change respondents' attitudes toward careers and relationships. Figure 4 shows the Survey 3 respondents indicating various best plans for the couple in the story by vignette version and respondent gender. Patterns of responses changed again in Survey 3. Whereas "take job" was the most commonly chosen best option regardless of vignette version in both Survey 1 and Survey 2, in Survey 3 the majority of those reading about Michael getting the job offer chose "forgo job and stay" as the best option (42.62%), and the majority of those reading about Emily getting the job opportunity chose "take job and move together" as the best option for the couple (66.67%) ($\chi^2(3)=14.52$, $p<0.01$).

In contrast to Surveys 1 and 2, men's responses to the vignette differed across version in Survey 3. Two options tied for the most frequently chosen among men reading about Michael getting a job offer: 44% of men said the best plan was to take the job and move together, and another 44% said forgoing the job and staying together was the best plan. However, when men read about Emily getting the job offer, 69.44% said taking the job and moving together was the best plan. Although men reading the two different vignettes generally thought taking the job was the best plan, forgoing the job became a notably common selection when men read about Michael's job opportunity ($\chi^2(3)=9.02$, $p<0.05$).

Figure 4. Best Plan by Vignette Version and Respondent Gender in Survey 3



Vignette version continued to moderate women's responses about the hypothetical couple's best plan in Survey 3. The most commonly selected option among women reading about Michael getting the job offer was forgoing the job and staying in the same city (41.67%), similar to the pattern in Survey 2. The most commonly chosen option among women reading about Emily receiving a job offer was taking the job and moving together (62.96%) ($\chi^2(3)=6.81$, $p<0.05$). This pattern is also the same as that in Survey 2.

Multinomial logistic regression models in Table 10 verify that vignette version changes respondents' selection of the best plan for the couple in the story. The top panel shows that across all models, respondents reading the vignette about Emily receiving a job offer have lower multinomial log-odds of selecting "forgo job" as the best plan (vs. "take job") than those reading about Michael receiving a job offer. For example, Model 1 shows that those receiving the vignette about Emily getting a job offer have 1.707 lower log-odds of selecting "forgo job" rather than "take job" as the best plan compared to those who received the vignette about Michael receiving the job offer (β=-1.707, $p<0.001$). This pattern persists across all models that include additional controls.

Thus, I find in Survey 3 that vignette version was statistically significantly related to respondents' selection of the best plan for the hypothetical couple. Respondents were more likely to endorse the couple taking the job and less likely to choose the couple forgoing the job when Emily rather than Michael was offered the opportunity. Again, this pattern runs counter to literature suggesting that respondents might be less likely to endorse the woman pursuing a job opportunity compared to a man with a job offer. Respondents actually favor Emily taking a job and are less likely to want her to forgo the career opportunity.

Table 10. Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Best Plans in Survey 3

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Forgo Job (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	-1.707***	-1.662***	-1.913***	-1.877***
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.319		0.197
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			0.601	0.570
Constant	0.167	-0.014	-0.100	-0.196
Pursue Long Distance (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	-0.734	-0.624	-0.840	-0.686
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		0.795		0.775
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			0.300	0.155
Constant	-0.606	-1.102	-0.729	-1.150
Break Up (ref. Take Job)				
Woman offered job in story (ref. man offered job)	-0.647	-0.907	0.212	0.183
Female respondent (ref. male respondent)		-13.618		-14.389
Identifies w/ woman in story (ref. identifies w/ man)			-15.032	-15.312
Constant	-3.091	-2.337	-2.626	-2.130
N	124	124	124	124

***p<0.001

Real Experiences Change Gender, Work, and Family Attitudes

Why would respondents become more likely to endorse taking the job and less likely to choose forgoing the job as the best option when reading about Emily getting the job offer compared to reading about Michael getting the job offer across the three surveys? In addition to asking respondents to choose the best option for the hypothetical couple, I also ask them to rank the two most important factors for Michael and Emily to consider when making this decision. Understanding changes in these priorities may help explain changes in the selection of best plan over time. The most commonly ranked priorities in each survey appear in Table 11.

In Survey 1, all respondents thought Michael and Emily should prioritize each partner's individual career opportunities, but also consider staying together in the same city. In Survey 2 and 3, respondents who read about Michael receiving a job offer most frequently endorsed each person's individual opportunities and the couple's previous agreement to take turns pursuing career opportunities as the top two factors to prioritize. Respondents who read about Emily

receiving a job offer, on the other hand, continued to prioritize individual opportunities and staying together in the same city. Respondents' prioritization of the couple's previous agreement to take turns pursuing opportunities when reading about Michael receiving a job opportunity can explain the increasing proportion of those selecting "forgo job" as the best plan over the three surveys. Respondents' continued prioritization of pursuing individual career opportunities while staying in the same city when reading about Emily receiving a job offer can explain the consistent selection of "take job and move together" as the best plan across the three surveys. Perhaps respondents may implicitly consider Michael to be advantaged in the labor market compared to Emily, so they hold him responsible for upholding the couple's agreement to take turns so Emily can make her career move. In contrast, because respondents may consider Emily to be disadvantaged in the labor market compared to Michael, they may feel more strongly that she should take whatever opportunities she can get despite the couples' prior agreement to take turns.

Table 11. Top Two Ranked Priorities for Couple to Consider

	Man Offered Job	%	Woman Offered Job	%
Survey 1	1. Each Individual's Opportunities 2. Staying Together in Same City	20.45	1. Each Individual's Opportunities 2. Staying Together in Same City	18.18
Survey 2	1. Each Individual's Opportunities 2. Agreement to Take Turns	16.95	1. Each Individual's Opportunities 2. Staying Together in Same City	27.59
Survey 3	1. Each Individual's Opportunities 2. Agreement to Take Turns	13.11	1. Each Individual's Opportunities 2. Staying Together in Same City	17.46

Respondents' own career circumstances may also be related to changes in their responses to the vignette. Respondents' employment characteristics in Surveys 1, 2, and 3 appear in Table 12.

As expected, more and more respondents started working full-time over the course of the three surveys. However, in Surveys 1 and 2 more men than women were employed full-time [27.06% vs. 11.24%, $\chi^2(1)=7.08$, $p<0.01$ in Survey 1 and 28.85% vs. 15.25%, $\chi^2(1)=3.01$, $p=0.08$ in Survey 2]. Many respondents had plans to look for work in Surveys 1 and 2, but in Survey 1 more women than men said they planned to find jobs in the upcoming year [70.79% vs. 55.29%, chi2(1)=4.49, $p<0.05$]. Further, men's actual and expected incomes were marginally significantly higher than that of women across all three surveys (t-test p's<0.10). This pattern further suggests that men and women in the same professional degree programs perceive and actually experience gender-unequal career outcomes. These patterns suggest that men and women with the same professional credentials make similar postgraduation employment transitions, but they may be harder for women, or otherwise take longer for women, to complete.

Table 12. Respondents' Employment Characteristics

Employment Characteristics		Survey 1		Survey 2		Survey 3	
Working Full-Time (%)	All	18.97	$\chi^2(1)=7.08$	21.62	$\chi^2(1)=3.01$	70.4	NS
	Men	27.06	p<0.01	28.85	p<0.10	67.74	
	Women	11.24		15.25		73.02	
Current Income ($)	All	47,195	t(31)=1.79	68,096	t(47)=1.85	87,560	t(96)=1.73
	Men	98,070	p<0.10	84,137	p<0.10	98,074	p<0.10
	Women	50,875		48,409		77,870	
Plan to Look for Work (%)	All	63.48	$\chi^2(1)=4.49$	55.45	NS		N/A
	Men	55.29	p<0.05	48.08			
	Women	70.79		62.07			
Expected Salary ($)	All	103,225	t(120)=2.03	90,290	t(86)=1.78		N/A
	Men	123,164	p<0.05	101,128	p<0.10		
	Women	85,156		81,663			
Division of Labor (%)							
Both careers equally important	All	56.57	$\chi^2(2)=19.43$	51.52	$\chi^2(2)=10.6$	53.33	NS
	Men	50.00	p<0.001	60.61	p<0.01	48.72	
	Women	62.26		42.42		58.33	
R has lead career	All	29.29		25.76		26.67	
	Men	47.83		33.33		35.90	
	Women	13.21		18.18		16.67	
R's partner has lead career	All	14.14		22.73		20	
	Men	2.17		6.06		15.38	
	Women	24.53		39.39		25	
Ideal Division of Labor (%)							
Both careers equally important	All	81.03	$\chi^2(2)=8.44$	83.49	NS	84.68	$\chi^2(2)=4.70$
	Men	74.12	p<0.05	78.43		80.33	p<0.10
	Women	87.64		87.93		88.89	
R has lead career	All	15.52		11.01		12.10	
	Men	23.53		17.65		18.03	
	Women	7.87		5.17		6.35	
R's partner has lead career	All	3.45		5.50		3.23	
	Men	2.35		3.92		1.64	
	Women	4.49		6.9		4.76	

Finally, gender differences exist in respondents' actual and ideal division of labor. In Survey 1 more men than women said their own careers were the lead careers in their relationships (47.83% vs. 13.21%), and more women than men said their partners had the lead careers in their relationships (24.53% vs. 2.17%) ($\chi^2(3)=19.43$, $p<0.001$). This general pattern persists into Survey 2 and 3 (although the χ^2 test is not statistically significant in Survey 3). Further, respondents' actual division of labor did not match their stated ideal division of labor. Over 80% of respondents in all three surveys said that ideally in their own relationships both partners' careers would be equally important. Higher proportions of women compared to men selected this division of labor arrangement as ideal across all three surveys (close to 90% for women in Surveys 1 to 3 vs. 74.12% of men in Survey 1 to 80.33% of men in Survey 3). Although 11.01% to 15.52% of respondents said having the lead career would be ideal across the three surveys, consistently higher proportions of men compared to women said that their own careers would ideally be the lead careers in their relationships (range from 17.75% of men in Survey 2 to 23.53% in Survey 1). These patterns suggest that not only are women disadvantaged in the labor market, heterosexual women are also disadvantaged in their relationships when both partners have careers.

Respondents may be attuned to women's structural disadvantages in both the labor market and their relationships compared to similar men because respondents experience these disadvantages themselves or they see peers and friends experiencing them; thus they might be more inclined to endorse Emily taking the job and not forgoing the career opportunity compared to when Michael is in a similar position.

Discussion

This study analyzes longitudinal experimental vignette data to examine whether the gender of the person in a dual-career couple receiving a job opportunity requiring geographic relocation affects how people think the couple should approach this family migration decision. Data from professional school respondents indicate that although the gender of the job receiver did not affect attitudes about how the hypothetical couple should approach the two-body problem at the baseline survey when students were still in school, the gender of the job receiver began to matter in the two follow-up surveys after respondents transitioned away from school and into their postgraduation jobs. Counter to patterns found in previous research that suggest couples are inclined to move for men's but not women's careers (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Brandén, 2014; Shauman & Noonan, 2007), I find that the gender of the job receiver in the story did not initially matter for young peoples' attitudes toward family migration. The lack of a gender effect indicates that young professionals may not think that couples should move for men's careers but not women's careers. Their responses to the vignette suggest that at least while the respondents were still in school, they think dual-career couples should move for any career opportunities that may come up for either partner.

However, over time, young professionals actually became more likely to endorse moving for the woman's career opportunity than the man's career opportunity. Compared to Survey 1, increasing proportions of respondents assigned to Vignette 1 in Surveys 2 and 3 thought Michael should forgo his job offer to wait for his partner Emily to make a career move. Conversely, increasing proportions of respondents assigned to Vignette 2 thought Emily should take her job offer and her partner Michael should move with her.

The reasons respondents gave for choosing these options for the hypothetical couple across the three surveys suggest that these young professionals became more likely to point to the couple's promise to take turns pursuing career opportunities when Michael rather than Emily received a job offer. Perhaps these young people consider heterosexual men to be advantaged in the labor market compared to their partners, so they are more inclined to hold Michael responsible for upholding the couple's agreement to take turns so Emily can make her career move. In contrast, perhaps because respondents consider heterosexual women to be disadvantaged in the labor market compared to their partners, respondents may be more likely to think that Emily should take whatever opportunities she can get regardless of the couples' prior agreement to take turns.

Consistent with previous research on gender attitudes changing in response to major work and family life events, respondents' own employment experiences over the course of their transition from school to work seemed to be related to changes in their responses to the vignette. Longitudinal survey data on respondents' own career experiences indicated that women completed transitions into full-time work more slowly than men did. Further, women were consistently disadvantaged relative to men across all three surveys in their expected and actual income—despite having completed the same professional degrees programs—and in their ideal and actual career arrangements in their relationships. Perhaps respondents became more aware of women's structural disadvantages in both employment and relationship contexts compared to similar men over time. As they experienced their own or their peers' relative difficulties launching careers and navigating relationships, they became more likely to endorse Emily rather than Michael taking the job and not forgoing the career opportunity.

Building on previous work that generally shows shifts toward gender traditionalism in response to life changes (Kim & Cheung, 2015; Zhou, 2017) and work that shows adherence to egalitarian attitudes when work and family are successfully balanced after a life course transition (Zhou, 2017), I show that relative difficulties completing work-family life transitions may spur attitudes that compensate for existing gender inequalities in careers and family. Perhaps these contemporary young professionals believe that when it comes to individual- and family-level decision-making, heterosexual women should lean in to their careers and heterosexual men need to support their partners in doing so.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Previous studies suggest that cultural schemas linking family to women and work to men (Bem, 1981; Blair-Loy, 2003; Valian, 1999) and the workplace and family structures reflecting this gendered logic (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy et al., 2015) can explain women's disadvantage in their careers and families (Chesley & Flood, 2017; Correll et al., 2007; Hegewisch & Hartmann, 2014; Hochschild, 1989; Huffman et al., 2011). Yet, these traditional gender ideologies, as well as the material circumstances of the labor market and of family life, have changed for contemporary young adults such that they are more likely to want—and are potentially more able to actually have—egalitarian work-family arrangements (Gerson, 2010; Maume, 2015; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015; Ruggles, 2015; Shu & Meagher, 2017). In this study I used longitudinal interviews and surveys to assess whether young professionals' egalitarian attitudes lead to egalitarian work and family outcomes. Examining the case of young professionals making early career decisions involving geographic relocation with their romantic partners, I documented couple-level processes that link attitudes to unexpected outcomes and found that gender inequality in young adults' work and family roles persists despite intentions for equality.

Summary of Findings

My framework for gendered projectivity and linked lives allowed me to distinguish between individual-level and couple-level attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes related to gender in work and family roles. The framework's longitudinal perspective also let me examine the processes that unfold over time that link attitudes to behaviors and outcomes. The major empirical finding of my study is that individual-level attitudes favoring gender equality in careers and families do not always translate into gender-egalitarian behaviors to achieve equal

work-family arrangements—or gender-equal outcomes in career and family roles—at the couple-level.

Egalitarian Attitudes

Findings from the three empirical chapters indicate that contemporary, young professionals endorse gender egalitarianism in work and family when asked about their attitudes and preferences. The twenty-one professional and graduate school couples I interviewed all initially said at Time 1 that they wanted egalitarian arrangements with two professional careers and an equal romantic partnership. Similarly, the 174 professional school students I surveyed consistently reported that they were invested in their careers and that they wanted children in the future. The majority of the survey respondents also consistently said the ideal relationship is one in which both partners share all responsibilities. These findings align with previous work that shows young adults prefer egalitarian work-family arrangements (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015). My vignette study even suggests that attitudes toward balancing work and family may be shifting to favor women.

Gender Inequality in Career- and Family-Building Behaviors

Despite these young adults' egalitarian attitudes, I found that their behaviors often deviated from their desires. Follow-up interviews with the twenty-one couples showed that structural barriers and cultural schemas—unfavorable labor market conditions combined with rigid cultural schemas that continue to tie work to masculinity—pushed some couples who endorsed egalitarianism at Time 1 to take actions that promoted men's careers at Time 2. For another group of couples, men who held seemingly egalitarian beliefs that women should be free to pursue their individual career opportunities inadvertently failed to take concrete action to support their partners' career endeavors. Men's unintentional lack of action reproduced a

traditional gender division of labor in that women became responsible for doing the work of building relationships that could accommodate two partners' careers.

Indeed, more closely examining these young professionals' egalitarian attitudes by looking at mental labor—the cognitive work required to begin turning attitudes and desires into actionable plans—in both the interviews and the surveys revealed gender differences in who does the work of anticipating work and family responsibilities and formulating plans to balance the two. Despite men and women both wanting careers, family, and egalitarian relationships, women were more likely than men to actually think about how to integrate family plans with career plans, at both the individual- and the couple-level. A major challenge in achieving gender equality in work and family, then, is recognizing the attitude-behavior mismatch and finding ways to better align actions and preferences.

Gender Equality and Inequality in Work and Family Outcomes

Egalitarian aspirations for work and family coupled with gender-unequal behaviors to achieve these desires led to heterogeneous career and family outcomes for the young professional men and women I studied. In the interview study, some women became unemployed when they gave up desires for their own careers and became tied-movers to pursue their partners' career opportunities. This pattern echoes past research showing that women are disadvantaged in family migration (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Cooke, 2003; Lersch, 2016; Shauman & Noonan, 2007; Tenn, 2010). I complicate this body of work by showing that sometimes family migration can result in gender-equal outcomes, as some couples in my interview study were able to achieve dual-career relationships. Yet, women were often required to do more emotional and practical work to achieve that egalitarian outcome. This finding suggests that studying outcomes exclusively might cause researchers to overlook instances of

gender inequality in work and family because inequality exists in the process but not the outcome.

The vignette study also suggests that work and family outcomes can inform and change attitudes toward gender, careers, and family. The men and women coming out of the same professional degree programs experienced different career launch trajectories and career outcomes over the course of the study. The men in the study enjoyed advantages in their careers and relationships relative to women. Experiencing this inequality firsthand might have changed their attitudes in favor of couples pursuing women's career opportunities to compensate for structural inequalities that persist in the labor market and the institution of the family. This finding extends previous work that finds that individuals' attitudes become more traditional over time as they experience barriers to egalitarian work-family arrangements (Endendijk et al., 2018; Kim & Cheung, 2015; Zhou, 2017).

Implications of Findings

This work has several theoretical and methodological implications. My empirical studies highlight the usefulness of the gendered projectivity and linked lives framework for better understanding the contestation and reproduction of gender inequality in work and family. My work shows that projections or attitudes about gender equality can be misaligned with behaviors. Further, both attitudes and behaviors can differ from outcomes. Researchers seeking to understand the nature of gender inequality in work and family can be more careful about distinguishing between attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes. I show that young professionals' attitudes toward gender, careers, and family are egalitarian and perhaps even favorable towards women's careers, but their behaviors and outcomes continue to vary from those attitudes.

Prior work has pointed to structural barriers like family-unfriendly workplaces to explain the mismatch between attitudes and behaviors and outcomes. By studying graduate and professional school students seeking to launch careers, an extreme case in which actors with high levels of agency face high levels of structural constraint (Blair-Loy, 2001; Sewell Jr, 1992), I was able to observe how some couples creatively navigated external workplace structures to build the egalitarian relationships they wanted. The focus of my framework on the couple-context enabled me to show that structural barriers are not the only challenges men and women face when they try to achieve egalitarian work-family arrangements. Disjunctures between individual actors at the level of the dyad—particularly unequally shared behaviors to achieve the couple's stated shared goals—also undermined couples' ability to have egalitarian relationships. Scholars could continue to theorize how partners' characteristics may shape individuals' attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes to understand the couple-level dynamics that challenge or reinforce gender inequality in careers and family.

Using the linked lives and gendered projectivity model to study gender, work, and family led to a number of methodological advancements in my research. First, the longitudinal design of my studies enabled me to capture changes in attitudes and behaviors surrounding gender, careers, and family. This over-time perspective let me understand how attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes can inform each other as they develop across a transitional period of the life course. Second, collecting information from both partners of a couple gave me more data to understand how seemingly similar individuals situated in similar structural contexts could experience different outcomes. Collecting both partners' perspectives gave me better insight on coordination and mismatches at the couple level that had important consequences on men's and women's career and family outcomes. Finally, incorporating experimental data into this project gave me a new

perspective on the relationship between gender ideology and individuals' attitudes toward careers and family. Conventional survey measures of gender attitudes like those found in the General Social Survey (T. W. Smith, Davern, Freese, & Hout, 2018) may not be able to capture changes in gender, work, and family attitudes that are shifting in favor of women.

There are also policy implications of this research. My work highlights the linked nature of romantic partners' lives and shows that career opportunities for one partner can be a career obstacle for another, and for women especially. Companies interested in hiring individuals can provide career services for individuals' partners and family members. Resume help for partners, getting partners networked to others in their occupational fields, and other such benefits can attract young professional workers who are likely to have partners who also have careers.

Professional degree programs and companies can provide career development training that ties personal, relationship, and family considerations into career planning. For example, a workshop about strategizing a career path could include both professional advice about the specific occupation and advice about how family life might be integrated with that career. Professional training could teach young workers—and men in particular—to consciously and constantly ask themselves how their own career situations might be affecting others around them. What are the costs associated with these career moves? Who bears those costs? What resources can I access to eliminate those costs? How do I create benefits for those who may be taking a loss so that I can pursue my own gain?

Companies can also continue to create structures and cultures that better facilitate a link between egalitarian attitudes and behaviors. Some work indicates that workers sometimes opt out of companies' programs or efforts to accommodate family responsibilities because workers fear being stigmatized for deviating from the ideal worker norm (Blair-Loy et al., 2015). Company

leaders can set examples by reminding employees of the accommodations that are available, by using the accommodations themselves, and by ensuring that no one is penalized for opting into these policies. For instance, remote work options or opportunities to transfer offices for employees who are navigating the two-body problem could be promoted and normalized so couples and families can better balance two careers.

Final Conclusions

This mixed-method dissertation asked whether young professional adults' egalitarian attitudes lead to egalitarian work-family outcomes. I proposed a new framework for linked lives and gendered projectivity to guide my close examination of the processes linking attitudes to outcomes. This work allowed me to understand whether and how gender inequality in young adults' work and family roles persist. I find that young professionals' preferences for egalitarian relationships can be undermined if partners cannot coordinate their actions to achieve equality given their particular structural resources and constraints. These couple-level processes can reproduce gender inequality in young men's and women's careers and family responsibilities. Future research can consider how race/ethnicity, class, and sexuality interact with gender to produce different kinds of inequalities within and between couples and families as they relate to workplace and work-family balance outcomes.

Appendix A: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for First Interview (Fall and Winter Quarter)

1. First could you tell me a little about yourself?
    a. What is your current program of study/job?
    b. What were you doing before you started this program/job?
2. How did you meet your current partner?
    a. When did you get married?
    b. Is your partner in school, or does he/she currently work?
3. Now I'd like to ask you about your immediate plans for after graduation.
    a. Are you planning to continue your education or are you looking for work? Do you already have a job lined up?
        i. (If applying to higher education) Can you describe how you chose these programs?
        ii. (If looking for work) Can you describe how you search for and apply for jobs?
        iii. (If already has a job lined up) Can you tell me how you found this job? Did you have any other job offers before you chose this one? Why did you choose this job over the others?
    b. Do you discuss these plans with your partner? Could you describe how those conversations usually go?
        i. Did your plans ever come into conflict with your partner's plans? How did you resolve that?
        ii. Are there things you both agree on about your post-graduation plans?
        iii. How do your visions of the future line up or diverge?
    c. (If waiting for program decisions or job offers) Can you describe the best outcome for you? Why is that ideal?
4. Let's talk about your long-term goals.
    a. What is your ideal job? Do you think you will have to change companies or relocate often for your career?
        i. Do you think your career path is compatible with your partner's?
    b. Do you ever think about starting your own family? Have you discussed this with your partner? Tell me more about that.
        i. (If considering family) Do you think that your current career plans are compatible with having a family? When is an ideal time for you to have children?
5. Let's reflect on your experience up to this point.
    a. Do you think your experiences and decisions would be different if you were not married?

    i. Do you think you got married too early?
b. What advice would you give to someone in a similar situation, given the experiences you've had?

Interview Guide for Second Interview (Spring and Summer Quarter)

Last time we met, you had plans to … (fill in for specific respondent).

1. Have any of your career plans changed since we last spoke?
    a. (If applying to higher education) Which programs did you get into? Have you accepted any offers? How did you choose this program? Did you discuss these decisions with your partner? How did those discussions go? What do you agree and disagree about?
    b. (If looking for work) What other jobs did you apply to? Have you gotten any offers? Which position did you take? Why did you choose this position? Did you discuss these decisions with your partner?
    c. (If already has a job lined up) Are you still planning to work at (fill in for specific respondent)?
    d. Can you describe any important decisions you made between our first interview and today's interview? How did you make that decision? Did you discuss these decisions with your partner? How did that conversation go? What did you agree or disagree about?
2. Have any of your partner's plans changed since we last spoke?
    a. Did you discuss these decisions together?
3. Let's reflect on your experience up to this point. How do you feel about your current situation as you move forward?
    a. Do you feel like you are taking the necessary steps to move forward in your professional life?
    b. Do you feel like you are taking the necessary steps to move forward in your personal life?
        i. Have you changed your mind about marriage and family since we last spoke? Why? Have you discussed your thoughts with your partner?
    c. Do you think you would be making different choices if you were single? What if you and your partner were married?
    d. What have you learned from your experience so far? Was there anything in particular that stood out to you during this process?
        i. What was the most disappointing part of your experience? What was the best?

Interview Guide for Follow-Up Phone Interview (Fall and Winter Quarter)

1. Where have you moved and what are you doing?
2. Did your partner move? What is he/she doing?
3. Have you noticed any changes in your work habits since you moved?
    a. Have you noticed any changes in your relationship since you moved?
4. How happy are you with the way things turned out?
    a. Was this a good move for you professionally and personally?
    b. Was this a good move for your partner professionally and personally?
5. Do you have any more plans for kids and family?
    a. Any other long-term plans?
6. Would your experience and the outcome be very different if you were not yet a married couple?
    a. What if you were single?
7. What have you learned from this experience of making career and relocation decisions?
    a. Was there anything in particular that stood out to you during this process?
    b. If you had to do it again, do you think you would have done anything differently? What? Why?

Appendix B: Survey Instruments

Survey 1 Questions (Fall 2016)

I am interested in how young adults make work and family decisions. Please answer the following questions about yourself, and your career and family plans.

Current Education or Career

First, I'd like to know about your current school or work status.

1. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    a. High school diploma or GED
    b. AA or AS
    c. BA or BS
    d. MA or MS
    e. PhD
    f. MBA
    g. MPP
    h. JD
    i. MD
    j. Other (Text box)
2. During a typical week, how do you usually spend the majority of your time?
    a. Working full time
    b. Working part time
    c. Unemployed (temporarily not working but looking for work)
    d. Going to school
    e. Keeping house or staying home with kids or family
    f. Other (Text box)
3. (If in school) What degree are you pursuing?
    a. High school diploma or GED
    b. AA or AS
    c. BA or BS
    d. MBA
    e. MPP
    f. JD
    g. MD
    h. MA or MS
    i. PhD
    j. Other (Text box)
4. (If AA, BA, MA, or PhD) In what field are you pursuing your degree?
    a. Social Science
    b. Biological Science

    c. Humanities
    d. Physical Science
    e. Computer Science/Information Technology
    f. Mathematics
    g. Engineering/Industrial Technologies
    h. Business and Management
    i. Social Work/Human Services
    j. Public and Protective Services
    k. Other (Text box)
5. (If working) What best describes your occupation?
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
    m. Food preparer or server
    n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
    o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
    p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
    q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
    r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
    s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
    t. Construction worker
    u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
    v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
    w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
    x. Military worker
    a. Other (Text box)
6. (If working) What year did you start your current job? (Text box)
7. (If working or in school) In what city is your work or school located? (Text box)
8. (If working) What is your annual income from your job before taxes? (Enter numbers only)
9. (If looking for work) What type of work are you looking for? Choose all that apply
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy

g. Lawyer or legal support worker
h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
m. Food preparer or server
n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
t. Construction worker
u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
x. Military worker
y. Other (Text box)

Relationship and Parental Status

Now I'd like to learn about your personal relationships.

10. What is your current marital or relationship status?
    a. Single
    b. Married
    c. Engaged
    d. In a relationship, but not married or engaged
11. (If married) What year did you get married? (Text box)
12. (If engaged) What year did you get engaged? (Text box)
13. (If partnered) What year did you start your relationship? (Text box)
14. (If partnered) Are you currently living with your partner?
    a. Yes
    b. No
15. (If partnered) In general, how happy are you in your relationship with your partner?
    a. Very happy
    b. Fairly happy
    c. Not too happy
16. (If partnered) How committed are you to your relationship with your partner?
    a. Completely committed
    b. Very committed
    c. Somewhat committed
    d. Not at all committed

17. Do you currently have any children that you are responsible for? (Do not count a current pregnancy)
    a. Yes (Text Box for # of children)
    b. No
18. Are you currently expecting a/another child?
    a. Yes
    b. No
19. Looking to the future, do you intend to have (a/another) child at some time?
    a. Definitely yes
    b. Probably yes
    c. Probably no
    d. Definitely no
    e. Don't Know

(If A, B, or E in previous question) I would like to learn more about your opinions on having children. Please answer the following questions:

20. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about the best time to have (a/another) child
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. Don't Know
21. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about having (a/another) child
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about having (a/another) child at all
    g. Don't Know
22. (If partnered and not F in previous question) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of having (a/another) child more often?
    a. I bring it up more often
    b. My partner brings it up more often
    c. I bring it up about as often as my partner does
    d. Don't Know
23. (If C or D in question 19) What best describes your reason for not wanting (a/another) child?
    a. I am not interested in taking care of (a/another) child
    b. My partner is not interested in taking care of (a/another) child

c. I want to invest in my career
d. My partner wants to invest in his/her career
e. Financial considerations
f. Health considerations
g. Personal freedom or other lifestyle considerations
h. Other (Text box)

Work and Family Vignettes

I am going to ask you about things that might happen to a young professional couple. Please read the following scenario and answer the questions.

Michael and Emily met in graduate school and have been in a relationship for four years. They agreed when they started dating that they should take turns pursuing professional opportunities. For the last two years they have been living together in Denver, where they moved when Michael was offered a job at a biomedical research lab. Emily also does biomedical research, and works at a hospital.

Michael was recently offered a better position at his company's Boston office, but it's Emily's turn to make a career move since he chose the lab in Denver. They have been discussing several options:

A. Michael could accept the offer and Emily could move to Boston
B. Michael could decline the offer and stay in Denver until Emily makes a career move
C. Michael and Emily could each follow their careers and try a long-distance relationship
D. Michael and Emily could each follow their careers and end their relationship

24. (If partnered) Which option sounds most like the way you and your partner approach job opportunities?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
25. In your opinion, which is the best plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
26. In your opinion, which is the second-best plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C

    d. D
27. In your opinion, which is the worst plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
28. In your opinion, what are the two most important things for Michael and Emily to prioritize when making this decision?
    a. Whoever makes more money
    b. Whoever has a stronger career identity
    c. Their previous agreement to take turns pursing opportunities
    d. Each person being able to pursue their available opportunities
    e. Staying together in the same city
29. Who do you identify with most in the couple?
    a. Michael
    b. Emily

Career Plans

Now I would like to learn about your plans for the future. Please tell me about your career plans for the upcoming year.

30. Are you planning to look for work, apply for further education, or something else? Choose all that apply.
    a. I plan to look for work
    b. I received a job offer and plan to take that job
    c. I plan to apply for further education
    d. I received a school acceptance and plan to attend a degree program
    e. I plan to continue in my current degree program or job
    f. I plan to volunteer
    g. I plan to travel
    h. I plan to stay home with kids or family
    i. Other (Text box)
    j. Don't Know/Unsure
31. (if applying for education/accepted to program) What type of degree do you plan to pursue? If applicable, choose all that apply.
    a. High school diploma or GED
    b. AA or AS
    c. BA or BS
    d. MA or MS
    e. PhD
    f. MBA
    g. MPP
    h. JD

    i. MD
    j. Other (Text box)
32. (If looking for work/have job lined up) What type of work do you plan to take? If applicable, choose all that apply.
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
    m. Food preparer or server
    n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
    o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
    p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
    q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
    r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
    s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
    t. Construction worker
    u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
    v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
    w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
    x. Military worker
    y. Other (Text box)
33. (If looking for work/have job lined up) What is your expected annual salary? (Text box)
34. (If looking for work/applying for education) Are you applying to places outside of your current city?
    a. Yes
    b. No
35. (If yes in previous question) Which of the following best describes your search or application process?
    a. I am applying for jobs/programs in one specific geographic area
    b. I am applying for jobs/programs that are dispersed, but have some geographic restrictions
    c. I am applying for jobs/programs that are dispersed, and have little to no geographic restrictions
36. (If have geographic restrictions) Which of the following best describes why you have geographic restrictions?
    a. I don’t want to live anywhere else
    b. My partner doesn’t want to live anywhere else
    c. My career has geographic constraints

    d. Reasons related to my partner's career
    e. Reasons related to my family or my partner's family
    f. Visa limitations
    g. Other (Text box)
37. (If have job lined up/accepted to program) In what city is your program or job located? (Text box)
38. Are your plans for the upcoming year ideal for your career?
    a. Yes, this moves me forward in my career
    b. No, this is not ideal for my career
    c. I'm neutral – this is neither good nor bad for my career
    d. I do not currently have a career
39. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about <u>my career plans</u>
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about my career plans
    g. Don't Know
40. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about <u>my partner's career plans</u>
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about my partner's career plans
    g. Don't Know
41. (If partnered and not F or G in the previous 2 questions) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of your career plans more often?
    a. I bring up our career plans more often
    b. My partner brings up our career plans more often
    c. I bring up our career plans about as often as my partner does
    d. We have not talked about our career plans
    e. Don't Know

Attitudes Toward Career and Family

Juggling work, romantic relationships, and family can be challenging, and people organize their responsibilities in different ways. I would like to learn about your opinions toward, and experiences with, balancing work, relationships, and family.

42. (If partnered) Which arrangement best describes your current relationship?
    a. I have the lead career/primary career
    b. My partner has the lead career/primary career
    c. We take turns having the lead/primary career
    d. Neither of us has the lead/primary career; both of our careers are equally important
43. Which arrangement best describes your ideal relationship?
    a. I have the lead career/primary career
    b. My partner has the lead career/primary career
    c. We take turns having the lead/primary career
    d. Neither of us has the lead/primary career; both of our careers are equally important
44. (If partnered) In your relationship, who do you think has the more flexible career?
    a. My career is more flexible
    b. My partner's career is more flexible
    c. Both of our careers are flexible
    d. Neither of our careers are flexible
    e. I do not have a career
    f. My partner does not have a career
45. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about balancing work and romantic relationships/family
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about balancing work and romantic relationships/family at all
    g. Don't Know
46. If partnered and not F in previous question: In your relationship, who brings up the topic of balancing work and romantic relationships/family more often?
    a. I bring it up more often
    b. My partner brings it up more often
    c. I bring it up about as often as my partner does
    d. Don't Know

Demographics

Finally, tell me about yourself.

47. What year were you born? (Text box)
48. What is your gender?
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Other (Text box)
49. What is your sexual orientation?

a. Heterosexual/Straight
b. Homosexual/Gay or Lesbian
c. Bisexual
d. Other (Text box)

50. What is your race and ethnicity? Choose all that apply.
a. Hispanic/Latino
b. White
c. Black or African American
d. Asian
e. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
f. Native American/American Indian or Alaska Native
g. Other (Text box)

51. What is your religious preference?
a. None/Atheist/Agnostic
b. Protestant
c. Catholic
d. Christian
e. Orthodox Christian
f. Jewish
g. Native American
h. Buddhism
i. Hinduism
j. Other Eastern Religion
k. Islam
l. Inter-nondenominational
m. Other

52. Growing up, what was your mother's occupation?
a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
d. Architect or engineer
e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
g. Lawyer or legal support worker
h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
m. Food preparer or server
n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker

t. Construction worker
u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as car mechanic
v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
x. Military worker
y. Did not work outside the home
z. Other (Text box)
aa. Don't know

53. Growing up, what was your father's occupation?
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
    m. Food preparer or server
    n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
    o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
    p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
    q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
    r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
    s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
    t. Construction worker
    u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as car mechanic
    v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
    w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
    x. Military worker
    y. Did not work outside the home
    z. Other (Text box)
    aa. Don't know

General Well-Being

The last few questions are about your feelings.

54. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never

c. Sometimes
d. Fairly often
e. Very often

55. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt confident in your ability to handle your personal problems?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
56. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that things were going your way?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
57. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
58. Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy?
    a. Very happy
    b. Fairly happy
    c. Not too happy
59. (If partnered) Earlier in the survey you indicated that you are currently in a relationship. We know very little about how couples make decisions together, and we could learn more about this important topic if your partner also participates in this study. Below is a link to the survey that you may forward to your partner. We WILL NOT share your answers with your partner. Please indicate whether you will allow us to link your data to your partner's data for research and analysis purposes.
    a. I agree to allow the researchers to link my survey data to my partner's survey data
    b. I DO NOT agree to allow the researchers to link my survey data to my partner's survey data
60. To ensure that you receive the relevant follow-up surveys, please enter up to three email addresses that you regularly check. Your information will be kept confidential, and will only be used for research purposes.
61. If you would like to be entered into a drawing to win one of three $100 Amazon.com gift cards, please fill in your name and email address below. Your information will be kept confidential.

Survey 2 Questions (Spring 2017)

Current Education or Career

I am following up with survey participants as they make work and family decisions. Please answer the following questions about yourself and your career and family plans. First, I'd like an update on your current school or work status.

1. During a typical week, how do you usually spend the majority of your time? Check all that apply
    a. Working full time
    b. Working part time
    c. Looking for work (temporarily not working)
    d. Going to school
    e. Keeping house or staying home with kids or family
    f. Other (Text box)
2. (If in school) What degree are you pursuing?
    a. High school diploma or GED
    b. AA or AS
    c. BA or BS
    d. MBA
    e. MPP
    f. JD
    g. MD
    h. MA or MS
    i. PhD
    j. Other (Text box)
3. (If AA, BA, MA, or PhD) In what field are you pursuing your degree?
    a. Social Science
    b. Biological Science
    c. Humanities
    d. Physical Science
    e. Computer Science/Information Technology
    f. Mathematics
    g. Engineering/Industrial Technologies
    h. Business and Management
    i. Health, Family, and Consumer Sciences
    j. Public and Protective Services
    k. Other (Text box)
4. (If working) What best describes your occupation?
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant

c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
d. Architect or engineer
e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
g. Lawyer or legal support worker
h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
m. Food preparer or server
n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
t. Construction worker
u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
x. Military worker
y. Other (Text box)

5. (If working) What is your annual income from your job before taxes? (Enter numbers only)
6. (If looking for work) What type of work are you looking for? Choose all that apply
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
    m. Food preparer or server
    n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
    o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
    p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
    q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
    r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
    s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
    t. Construction worker

    u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
    v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
    w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
    x. Military worker
    y. Other (Text box)
7. Briefly describe any major changes related to your current schooling or work since October 2016. If you are in school, you may include details such as passing comprehensive exams. If you are working, you may include details such as changing companies or receiving a transfer or promotion. Include dates associated with these events if possible.
    a. My current schooling/work has changed since October 2016 (Text box)
    b. No changes related to my current schooling/work since October 2016

Relationship and Parental Status

Now I'd like an update on your personal relationships.

8. What is your current marital or relationship status?
    a. Single
    b. Married
    c. Engaged
    d. In a relationship, but not married or engaged
9. (If partnered) Are you currently living with your partner?
    a. Yes
    b. No
10. (If partnered) In general, how happy are you in your relationship with your partner?
    a. Very happy
    b. Fairly happy
    c. Not too happy
11. (If partnered) How committed are you to your relationship with your partner?
    a. Completely committed
    b. Very committed
    c. Somewhat committed
    d. Not at all committed
12. Briefly describe any major changes related to your marriage, relationship, or romantic life since October 2016. Include details such as starting or ending a relationship, or moving in with your partner. Include dates associated with these events if possible. Exclude updates about pregnancies and parenthood, as I will ask more detailed questions about that later.
    a. My marriage/relationship/romantic life has changed since October 2016 (Text box)
    b. No changes related to my marriage/relationship/romantic life since October 2016
13. Do you currently have any children that you are responsible for?
    a. Yes (Text Box for # of children)
    b. No
14. Are you currently expecting a/another child?

a. Yes
b. No

15. Looking to the future, do you intend to have (a/another) child at some time?
    a. Definitely yes
    b. Probably yes
    c. Probably no
    d. Definitely no
    e. Don't Know

(If A, B, or E in previous question) I would like to learn more about your opinions on having children. Please answer the following questions:

16. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about the best time to have (a/another) child
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. Don't Know
17. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about having (a/another) child
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about having (a/another) child at all
    g. Don't Know
18. (If partnered and not f in previous question) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of having (a/another) child more often?
    a. I bring it up more often
    b. My partner brings it up more often
    c. I bring it up about as often as my partner does
    d. Don't Know
19. (If C or D in question 15) What best describes your reason for not wanting (a/another) child?
    a. I am not interested in taking care of (a/another) child
    b. My partner is not interested in taking care of (a/another) child
    c. I want to invest in my career
    d. My partner wants to invest in his/her career
    e. Financial considerations
    f. Health considerations
    g. Personal freedom or other lifestyle considerations

h. Other (Text box)

Work and Family Vignettes

I am going to ask you about things that might happen to a young professional couple. Please read the following scenario and answer the questions.

Michael and Emily met in graduate school and have been in a relationship for four years. For the last two years, they have been living together in Denver. They moved there when Michael was offered a job at a biomedical research lab. Emily got a position at a hospital nearby, where she also does biomedical research. They agreed that they would take turns pursuing professional opportunities as they build their careers. Michael's supervisor recently nominated him to take a position at the company's Boston office that would advance his career. He wants to take it, but he knows that it is Emily's turn to make a career move since he got to choose the lab in Denver. His supervisor wants a decision in a month, so Michael and Emily have been discussing their options. They have come up several ways they could approach their situation:

A. Michael could accept the offer and Emily could look for a new job once they move to Boston
B. Michael could decline the offer and stay in Denver until Emily is ready to make a career move
C. Michael and Emily could follow their careers and try a long-distance relationship for a few years
D. Michael and Emily could follow their careers and end their relationship

20. (If partnered) Which approach sounds most like the way you and your partner approach job opportunities?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
21. In your opinion, which is the best plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
22. In your opinion, which is the second-best plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
23. In your opinion, which is the worst plan, all else equal?

a. A
b. B
c. C
d. D

24. In your opinion, what are the two most important things for Michael and Emily to prioritize when making this decision?
    a. Whoever makes more money
    b. Whoever has a stronger career identity
    c. Their previous agreement to take turns pursing opportunities
    d. Each person being able to pursue their available opportunities
    e. Staying together in the same city
25. Who do you identify with most in the story?
    c. Michael
    d. Emily

Career Plans

Your career plans may have changed since October 2016. I would like an update on your career plans.

26. Please tell me about your career plans for the next few months and the upcoming year. Are you currently planning to look for work, apply for further education, or something else? Choose all that apply.
    a. I plan to look for work
    b. I received a job offer and plan to take that job
    c. I plan to apply for further education
    d. I received a school acceptance and plan to attend a degree program
    e. I plan to continue in my current degree program or job
    f. I plan to volunteer
    g. I plan to travel
    h. I plan to stay home with kids or family
    i. Other (Text box)
    j. Don't Know/Unsure
27. (If applying for education/accepted to program) What type of degree do you plan to pursue? Choose all that apply.
    a. High school diploma or GED
    b. AA or AS
    c. BA or BS
    d. MA or MS
    e. PhD
    f. MBA
    g. MPP
    h. JD
    i. MD

    j. Other (Text box)
28. (If looking for work/have job lined up) What type of work do you plan to take? Choose all that apply.
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
    m. Food preparer or server
    n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
    o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
    p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
    q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
    r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
    s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
    t. Construction worker
    u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
    v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
    w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
    x. Military worker
    y. Other (Text box)
29. (If looking for work/have job lined up) What is your expected salary? (Text box)
30. (If looking for work/applying for education) Are you applying to places outside of your current city?
    a. Yes
    b. No
31. (If yes) Which of the following best describes your search or application process?
    a. I am applying for jobs/programs in one specific geographic area
    b. I am applying for jobs/programs that are dispersed, but have some geographic restrictions
    c. I am applying for jobs/programs that are dispersed, and have little to no geographic restrictions
32. (If have geographic restrictions) Which of the following best describes why you have geographic restrictions?
    a. I don’t want to live anywhere else
    b. My partner doesn’t want to live anywhere else
    c. My career has geographic constraints
    d. Reasons related to my partner’s career
    e. Reasons related to my family or my partner’s family

    f. Visa limitations
    g. Other (Text box)
33. (If have job lined up/accepted to program) In what city is your program or job located? (Text box)
34. Briefly describe any major changes related to your career plans since October 2016. Include details such as looking for different types of jobs, targeting new cities, or deciding to go back to school instead of working. Include dates associated with these events if possible.
    a. My career plans have changed since October 2016 (Text box)
    b. No changes related to my career plans since October 2016
35. Are your current career plans ideal for your career?
    a. Yes, this moves me forward in my career
    b. No, this is not ideal for my career
    c. I'm neutral – this is neither good nor bad for my career
    d. I do not currently have a career
36. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about <u>my career plans</u>
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about my career plans
    g. Don't Know
37. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about <u>my partner's career plans</u>
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about my partner's career plans
    g. Don't Know
38. (If partnered and not F or G in the 2 previous q's) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of your career plans more often?
    a. I bring up our career plans more often
    b. My partner brings up our career plans more often
    c. I bring up our career plans about as often as my partner does
    d. We have not talked about our career plans
    e. Don't Know

Attitudes Toward Career and Family

Juggling work, romantic relationships, and family can be challenging, and people organize their responsibilities in different ways. I would like to learn about your opinions toward balancing work, relationships, and family.

39. (If partnered) Which arrangement best describes your current relationship?
    a. I have the lead career/primary career
    b. My partner has the lead career/primary career
    c. We take turns having the lead/primary career
    d. Neither of us has the lead/primary career; both of our careers are equally important
40. Which arrangement best describes your ideal relationship?
    a. I have the lead career/primary career
    b. My partner has the lead career/primary career
    c. We take turns having the lead/primary career
    d. Neither of us has the lead/primary career; both of our careers are equally important
41. (If partnered) In your relationship, who do you think has the more flexible career?
    a. My career is more flexible
    b. My partner's career is more flexible
    c. Both of our careers are flexible
    d. Neither of our careers are flexible
    e. I do not currently have a career
42. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about balancing work and romantic relationships/family
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree
    f. Don't know
43. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about balancing work and romantic relationships/family
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about balancing work and romantic relationships/family at all
    g. Don't Know
44. (If partnered and not f in previous question) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of balancing work and romantic relationships/family more often?
    a. I bring it up more often

b. My partner brings it up more often
c. I bring it up about as often as my partner does
d. Don't Know

General Well-Being

The last few questions are about your feelings.

45. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
46. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt confident in your ability to handle your personal problems?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
47. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that things were going your way?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
48. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
49. Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy?
    a. Very happy
    b. Fairly happy
    c. Not too happy
50. To ensure that you receive the relevant follow-up surveys, please enter up to three email addresses that you regularly check. Your information will be kept confidential, and will only be used for research purposes.

51. If you would like to be entered into a drawing to win one of three $100 Amazon.com gift cards, please fill in your name and email address below. Your information will be kept confidential.

Survey 3 Questions (Summer 2017)

Current Education or Career

I am following up with survey participants as they make work and family decisions. Please answer the following questions about yourself and your career and family plans. First, I'd like an update on your current school or work status.

1. During a typical week, how do you usually spend the majority of your time? Check all that apply
    a. Working full time
    b. Working part time
    c. Looking for work (temporarily not working)
    d. Going to school
    e. Keeping house or staying home with kids or family
    f. Other (Text box)
2. (If in school) What degree are you pursuing?
    a. High school diploma or GED
    b. AA or AS
    c. BA or BS
    d. MBA
    e. MPP
    f. JD
    g. MD
    h. MA or MS
    i. PhD
    j. Other (Text box)
3. (If AA, BA, MA, or PhD) In what field are you pursuing your degree?
    a. Social Science
    b. Biological Science
    c. Humanities
    d. Physical Science
    e. Computer Science/Information Technology
    f. Mathematics
    g. Engineering/Industrial Technologies
    h. Business and Management
    i. Health, Family, and Consumer Sciences
    j. Public and Protective Services
    k. Other (Text box)
4. (If working) What best describes your occupation?
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician

d. Architect or engineer
e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
g. Lawyer or legal support worker
h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
m. Food preparer or server
n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
t. Construction worker
u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
x. Military worker
y. Other (Text box)

5. (If working or in school) In what city is your work or school located? (Text box)
6. (If working) What is your annual income from your job before taxes? (Enter numbers only)
7. (If looking for work) What type of work are you looking for? Choose all that apply
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer
    m. Food preparer or server
    n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
    o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
    p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
    q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
    r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
    s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
    t. Construction worker

u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
x. Military worker
y. Other (Text box)

8. Briefly describe any major changes related to your current schooling or work since June 2017. If you are in school, you may include details such as passing comprehensive exams. If you are working, you may include details such as changing companies or receiving a transfer or promotion. Include dates associated with these events if possible.
    a. My current school/work status has changed since June 2017 (text box)
    b. No changes related to my current schooling/work since June 2017

Relationship and Parental Status

Now I'd like an update on your personal relationships.

9. What is your current marital or relationship status?
    a. Single
    b. Married
    c. Engaged
    d. In a relationship, but not married or engaged
10. (If partnered) Are you currently living with your partner?
    a. Yes
    b. No
11. (If partnered) During a typical week, how does your partner usually spend the majority of his/her/their time? Check all that apply.
    a. Working full time
    b. Working part time
    c. Unemployed (temporarily not working but looking for work)
    d. Student/Going to school
    e. Keeping house or staying home with kids or family
    f. Other (Text box)
12. (If partner works full or part time) What best describes your partner's occupation?
    a. Manager, such as chief executive, advertising manager, or operations manager
    b. Business or financial specialist, such as purchasing agent or accountant
    c. Computer or mathematical specialist, such as software programmer or statistician
    d. Architect or engineer
    e. Life, physical, or social scientist, such as epidemiologist, chemist, or economist
    f. Community or social service worker, such as counselor, social worker, or clergy
    g. Lawyer or legal support worker
    h. Librarian or educator, such as museum curator or high school teacher
    i. Artist, designer, or media worker, such as photographer or radio announcer
    j. Healthcare worker 1, such as physician or surgeon
    k. Healthcare worker 2, such as nurse or dental hygienist
    l. Protective service worker, such as firefighter, security guard, or police officer

m. Food preparer or server
n. Building and grounds worker, such as janitor or maid
o. Personal service worker, such as recreation attendant, embalmer, or hairstylist
p. Sales worker 1, such as insurance sales agent or real estate agent
q. Sales worker 2, such as retail salesperson or cashier
r. Office or administrative worker, such as bookkeeper or secretary
s. Farming, fishing, or forestry worker
t. Construction worker
u. Maintenance and repair worker, such as auto mechanic
v. Production worker, such as meat packer, machinist, or tailor
w. Transportation worker, such as bus driver, flight attendant, or trash collector
x. Military worker
y. Other (Text box)

13. (If partnered) Who earns more money?
    a. I earn much more than my partner
    b. I earn somewhat more than my partner
    c. We earn about the same amount
    d. My partner earns somewhat more
    e. My partner earns much more
14. (If partnered) In general, how happy are you in your relationship with your partner?
    a. Very happy
    b. Fairly happy
    c. Not too happy
15. (If partnered) How committed are you to your relationship with your partner?
    a. Completely committed
    b. Very committed
    c. Somewhat committed
    d. Not at all committed
16. Briefly describe any major changes related to your marriage, relationship, or romantic life since June 2017. Include details such as starting or ending a relationship, or moving in with your partner. Include dates associated with these events if possible. Exclude updates about pregnancies and parenthood, as I will ask more detailed questions about that later.
    a. My marriage/relationship/romantic life has changed since June 2017
    b. No changes related to my marriage/relationship/romantic life since June 2017
17. Do you currently have any children that you are responsible for?
    a. Yes (Text Box for # of children)
    b. No
18. Are you currently expecting a/another child?
    a. Yes
    b. No
19. Looking to the future, do you intend to have (a/another) child at some time?
    a. Definitely yes
    b. Probably yes
    c. Probably no
    d. Definitely no
    e. Don’t Know

(If A, B, or E in previous question) I would like to learn more about your opinions on having children. Please answer the following questions:

20. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about the best time to have (a/another) child
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. Don't Know
21. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about having (a/another) child
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about having (a/another) child at all
    g. Don't Know
22. (If partnered and not F in previous question) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of having (a/another) child more often?
    a. I bring it up more often
    b. My partner brings it up more often
    c. I bring it up about as often as my partner does
    d. Don't Know
23. (If C or D in question 19) What best describes your reason for not wanting (a/another) child?
    a. I am not interested in taking care of (a/another) child
    b. My partner is not interested in taking care of (a/another) child
    c. I want to invest in my career
    d. My partner wants to invest in his/her career
    e. Financial considerations
    f. Health considerations
    g. Personal freedom or other lifestyle considerations
    h. Other (Text box)

Work and Family Vignettes

I am going to ask you about things that might happen to a young professional couple. Please read the following scenario and answer the questions.

Michael and Emily met in graduate school and have been in a relationship for four years. For the last two years, they have been living together in Denver. They moved there when Michael was offered a job at a biomedical research lab. Emily got a position at a hospital nearby, where she also does biomedical research. They agreed that they would take turns pursuing professional opportunities as they build their careers. Michael's supervisor recently nominated him to take a position at the company's Boston office that would advance his career. He wants to take it, but he knows that it is Emily's turn to make a career move since he got to choose the lab in Denver. His supervisor wants a decision in a month, so Michael and Emily have been discussing their options. They have come up several ways they could approach their situation:

A. Michael could accept the offer and Emily could look for a new job once they move to Boston
B. Michael could decline the offer and stay in Denver until Emily is ready to make a career move
C. Michael and Emily could follow their careers and try a long-distance relationship for a few years
D. Michael and Emily could follow their careers and end their relationship

24. (if partnered) Which approach sounds most like the way you and your partner approach job opportunities?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
25. In your opinion, which is the best plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
26. In your opinion, which is the second-best plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
27. In your opinion, which is the worst plan, all else equal?
    a. A
    b. B
    c. C
    d. D
28. In your opinion, what are the two most important things for Michael and Emily to prioritize when making this decision?
    a. Whoever makes more money
    b. Whoever has a stronger career identity
    c. Their previous agreement to take turns pursuing opportunities
    d. Each person being able to pursue their available opportunities

    e. Staying together in the same city
29. Who do you identify with most in the story?
    a. Michael
    b. Emily

Career Plans

Your career plans may have changed since June 2017. I would like an update on your career plans for the next few months and the upcoming year.

30. Briefly describe any major changes related to your career plans for the next few months and upcoming year since June 2017. Include details such as deciding to look for different types of jobs, targeting new cities, or deciding to go back to school instead of working. Include dates associated with these events if possible.
    a. My career plans for the next few months and upcoming year have changed since June 2017 (Text box)
    b. No changes related to my career plans for the next few months and upcoming year since June 2017
31. Are your plans for the upcoming year ideal for your career?
    e. Yes, this moves me forward in my career
    a. No, this is not ideal for my career
    b. I'm neutral – this is neither good nor bad for my career
    c. I do not currently have a career
32. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about my career plans
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree
    f. Don't Know
33. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about <u>my career plans</u>
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about my career plans
    g. Don't Know
34. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about <u>my partner's career plans</u>
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree

c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree
f. We have not talked about my partner's career plans
g. Don't Know

35. (If partnered and not F or G in the previous 2 questions) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of your career plans more often?
    a. I bring up our career plans more often
    b. My partner brings up our career plans more often
    c. I bring up our career plans about as often as my partner does
    d. We have not talked about our career plans
    e. Don't Know

Attitudes Toward Career and Family

Juggling work, romantic relationships, and family can be challenging, and people organize their responsibilities in different ways. I would like to learn about your opinions toward balancing work, relationships, and family.

36. (If partnered) Which arrangement best describes your current relationship?
    a. I have the lead career/primary career
    b. My partner has the lead career/primary career
    c. We take turns having the lead/primary career
    d. Neither of us has the lead/primary career; both of our careers are equally important
37. Which arrangement best describes your ideal relationship?
    a. I have the lead career/primary career
    b. My partner has the lead career/primary career
    c. We take turns having the lead/primary career
    d. Neither of us has the lead/primary career; both of our careers are equally important
38. (If partnered) In your relationship, who do you think has the more flexible career?
    a. My career is more flexible
    b. My partner's career is more flexible
    c. Both of our careers are flexible
    d. Neither of our careers are flexible
    e. I do not currently have a career
39. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: I frequently think about balancing work and personal relationships/family
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree

    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. Don't Know
40. (If partnered) How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: My partner and I frequently talk about balancing work and romantic relationships/family
    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree
    f. We have not talked about balancing work and romantic relationships/family
    g. Don't Know
41. (If partnered and not F in previous question) In your relationship, who brings up the topic of balancing work and romantic relationships/family more often?
    a. I bring it up more often
    b. My partner brings it up more often
    c. I bring it up about as often as my partner does
    d. Don't Know

General Well-Being

The last few questions are about your feelings.

42. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
43. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt confident in your ability to handle your personal problems?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
44. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that things were going your way?
    a. Never
    b. Almost never
    c. Sometimes
    d. Fairly often
    e. Very often
45. In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?
    a. Never

b. Almost never
c. Sometimes
d. Fairly often
e. Very often

46. Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy?
    a. Very happy
    b. Fairly happy
    c. Not too happy
47. To ensure that you receive the relevant follow-up surveys, please enter up to three email addresses that you regularly check. Your information will be kept confidential, and will only be used for research purposes.
48. If you would like to be entered into a drawing to win one of three $100 Amazon.com gift cards, please fill in your name and email address below. Your information will be kept confidential.

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