

DEMOGRAPHIC DESTINIES

Interviews with Presidents of the Population Association of America

Interview with Suzanne Bianchi PAA President in 2000



This series of interviews with Past PAA Presidents was initiated by Anders Lunde
(PAA Historian, 1973 to 1982)

And continued by Jean van der Tak (PAA Historian, 1982 to 1994)

And then by John R. Weeks (PAA Historian, 1994 to present)

With the collaboration of the following members of the PAA History Committee:
David Heer (2004 to 2007), Paul Demeny (2004 to 2012), Dennis Hodgson (2004 to
present), Deborah McFarlane (2004 to 2018), Karen Hardee (2010 to present), Emily
Merchant (2016 to present), and Win Brown (2018 to present)

SUZANNE M. BIANCHI

PAA President in 2000 (No. 63). Dr. Bianchi died in 2013, at age 61, of pancreatic cancer. Unfortunately, we had not been able to schedule a past presidential interview with her prior to her death. Fortunately, however, she had been PAA Secretary-Treasurer from 1987 to 1990 and in that capacity, Jean van der Tak had interviewed her at Jean's home in Washington, D.C., November 8, 1989.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS: Suzanne Bianchi was born in 1952 in Fort Dodge, Iowa, where she grew up. She received all her degrees in sociology: the B.A. from Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, in 1973; the M.A. from Notre Dame in 1974; and the Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1978. She joined the Bureau of the Census in 1978; worked for two years in the Population Division; took leave of absence in 1980-81 to be a visiting assistant professor of sociology at the University of Illinois; and since 1981 [as of the date of this interview] has been with the Census Bureau's Center for Demographic Studies. Her research has focused on the occupational structure of the U.S. labor force, racial inequalities in income, housing, and family structure, and particularly women and children. Her publications include Household Composition and Racial Inequality (1981), American Women in Transition (with Daphne Spain, 1986), which was the first volume to appear in the 1980 census monograph series, America's Children: Mixed Prospects (Population Bulletin of the Population Reference Bureau, June 1990), and Family Disruption and Economic Hardship: The Short-Run Picture for Children (with Edith McArthur, Currents Population Reports of the Census Bureau, Household Economic Studies, Series P-70, No. 23, January 1991).

[Note that in 1994, Dr. Bianchi left the Census Bureau and accepted a position as Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland, where she became the founding director of the Maryland Population Center, which evolved from that university's Center on Population, Gender, and Social Inequality, which had been founded by Harriet Presser--PAA President in 1989. In 2009, she moved to UCLA, where she held the Dorothy Meier Chair in Social Equities and was Distinguished Professor of Sociology. Subsequent to her time as PAA President, she published two award-winning books: Lynn M. Casper and Suzanne M. Bianchi, Continuity and change in the American Family, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002; and Suzanne M. Bianchi, John P. Robinson, Melissa A. Milkie, Changing Rhythms of American Family Life, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006.]

VDT: Suzanne is the current secretary-treasurer of PAA. She has been in office since July 1, 1987, and will complete her three-year term at the end of June next year, 1990. We're speaking in my home in northwest Washington, D.C. Suzanne has come by here on her way from her office at the Census Bureau to her home, which is a few blocks north of here.

Suzanne, how and when did you first become interested in demography?

BIANCHI: I've been thinking about that. I've never said this to Omer Galle, but I think I first became aware of the sort of work that demographers do when I was reading things as an undergraduate and he and Walter Gove had an article, something on the effects of population density on behavior; it may have been in an urban course that I took. Of course, I've since met Omer. He must have written that fairly early in his career.

But I didn't really have a good demography course until I went to Michigan, and then the first course I took was with Ron Freedman [PAA President in 1964-65]. I liked that course very much and went on to take a sequence of courses.

VDT: You didn't do demography for your master's at Notre Dame?

BIANCHI: No. There I was more into survey research--methods and that kind of thing. I saw that Notre Dame wasn't really that good a place to be a graduate student. I didn't even do a master's thesis there. I had already applied to Michigan and been accepted and was going on. But I completed the coursework to get what was at Notre Dame a terminal degree in sociology--hedging my bets in case I never finished my Ph.D.; I'd have this master's in sociology.

VDT: What took you to Michigan?

BIANCHI: It wasn't so much demography, it was the Institute for Social Research, or so I thought at the time. It was a place where you could get good survey research training and the department itself had a practicum in survey research--the Detroit Area Study. I had this interest and took the coursework for demography, but at the time my main interest, probably, was in social stratification, social inequality, that sort of thing.

But Ren [Reynolds] Farley [PAA President in 1988] turned out to be the principal investigator on the Detroit Area Study for which I served as a teaching assistant. I was a teaching assistant for 1976 and this was the Detroit Area Study of the academic year 1975-76. It was Ren's investigation of racial residential segregation in Detroit. Howard Schumann was the director of DAS that year, Ren was the principal investigator, and there were three teaching assistants. The team of five of us worked fairly closely on the whole survey and eventually did a publication that may be our best titled one: Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs: Will the Trend Toward Racially Segregated Cities Continue?

From that interaction with the Detroit Area Study, although I didn't end up doing my own dissertation with those data on racial segregation, I formed a mentor-student relationship with Ren Farley and moved over to the Population Studies Center and proceeded to do a dissertation using census and Current Population Survey data, looking at the economic well-being of black and white households and what family compositional changes had to do with the trend in the economic status of whites and blacks.

VDT: That led to a publication that you and Ren wrote on . . .

BIANCHI: Yes, we've done things off and on on that topic, and Ren's done something on the whole range of topics of black-white relations. My dissertation was subsequently revised and published by Rutgers University Press. The title is Household Composition and Racial Inequality.

VDT: You finished your dissertation in 1978?

BIANCHI: Yes. I worked on revising it in the next year and the book came out in 1981. Our book on women [American Women in Transition] came out in 1986. Daphne Spain and I have joked that we need to come out with a book every five years; I don't think I'm going to make 1991.

VDT: What was that first demographic course you took at Michigan with Ron Freedman?

BIANCHI: It was a general population course for graduate students. It was a very good course and made me very interested in population. The second course I took was with Al Hermalin [PAA President in 1993] and that was the methods course--population estimation, projections, methodology. I think I also had a third course, probably from Paul Siegel, who was on the faculty then.

And Deborah Freedman was on my dissertation committee; one of the most valuable members of my committee. Every committee was made up of three persons from your department and an outside person; she was the person from economics. She put an incredible time into editing and making this piece a readable work. She taught me a lot, not only about the substance but about how to

write in an interesting fashion. I'll always be grateful to her for the time she put in as an outside member, but a very active member of my dissertation committee.

VDT: I was going to ask what your connections were with the Freedmans, whose interests really were more in the Third World.

BIANCHI: Right, except for Deborah. Deborah has had a fair amount of interesting work with the Detroit Area Study, where she and Arland Thornton [PAA President in 2001] went back to respondents interviewed in the DAS in the early 1960s. There's been a set of work that they have done on things related to U.S. families and changing family structure and attitudes about family and fertility that has been close to my own interests. She was very involved in the DAS at the time I was starting my dissertation research.

VDT: 1977 was when they did the reinterviews.

BIANCHI: Okay, they had just gone back into Detroit and Deborah was starting to get the data to look at.

VDT: Interesting what you say about Deborah. I interviewed her after I interviewed Ron Freedman this past June, in Ann Arbor. I'm so glad you're saying this about Deborah's care and interest in students. When I asked her a question that I always ask professors, "Who have been some of your leading students?", she sort of thought that she didn't have any students. But you're telling me that though she was an outsider on your committee, she took this special interest. Do you think that was in part because of the topic you were doing, or because you were a woman and she's a woman, or what?

BIANCHI: Actually, I think Deborah took an interest in a lot of the women, both economists and sociologists, who passed through the Population Studies Center. It was--at least in those days--a wonderful place to be, because faculty and students got together every morning for ten o'clock coffee.

VDT: They still do; I was invited to join them.

BIANCHI: Your schedule is very different when you come to a real job like the Census Bureau, but I remember while working on my dissertation always trying to get in in the morning by coffee time, because it was a very important part of the informal socializing.

Deborah probably had more to do substantively with the women who were economic demographers going through the program at the same time as I was--people like Barbara Devaney, who's now at Mathematica [Policy Research], and Roberta Barnes, who's at the Urban Institute. But there were a set of us in sociology. She took an interest not just in what we were doing--she was always interested in what people were doing professionally, academically, what they were writing and working on--but she also took an interest in how you were doing personally. There was a very motherly aspect to her that I think a lot of us appreciated greatly. So maybe she didn't have any students that directly worked with her, but there were a lot of people who felt very fondly, I think, about Deborah, and Deborah was a presence in their life at the Population Studies Center.

VDT: That's interesting to know. I had the impression that both Ron and Deborah were sort of paternalistic influences at the Center. Tell me a bit more about Ren Farley.

BIANCHI: One of your questions in the letter you sent was: Who in your career have been leading influences? I remember Harriet Presser getting up at the PAA meeting last year [1989] and talking

about why she had chosen Dan Price to introduce her [her presidential address]. He had been an important mentor in her life and it extended beyond how he influenced her academically. He realized that here was a good student and "I need to find a way to fund her."

Well, I would say that Ren has clearly been, if I think about it, my most important mentor in terms of initially supervising the dissertation and working jointly with me and others on the papers that came out of the Detroit Area Study. But over time, we've also become very good friends. He's very appreciative, I think, of people who work hard. He was appreciative, I think, of the hard work the teaching assistants did on the Detroit Area Study, and has given back to us many times over for his appreciation for that.

I've worked again closely with him in the last couple of years as secretary-treasurer and he as president of PAA [for 1988], and he just continues to be for me somebody whose friendship I value greatly, but also whose opinion about professional decisions or matters I also value greatly. I think those kinds of people are very unique and you don't run into them often in the course of a career. There are many people who are surprised that my dissertation chairman and I have continued to work together and be good friends. For many, a dissertation is something you do and you may never have much contact with the chair again. But in my case, he's been a very influential person.

He has this deep concern for the status of black Americans and he's devoted his career to that. That's been very important. I think he also has a concern for the status of women, an appreciation for the obstacles that can stand in the way of achievement on the part of minorities and women.

VDT: Well, it was fortunate for you that Deborah and Ren were at Michigan. But do you think there is something about Michigan that fosters these very special relations between professors and students? For instance, you mentioned the morning coffees, and I understand that the DAS has a different topic each year and it's specially set up to give training to students. Do you think that is rather unique in the field?

BIANCHI: I think the DAS is very unique. And I think the Pop Center itself is very unique.

VDT: How is it unique from other population centers?

BIANCHI: Well, actually, I don't know. The experience of students at Michigan in the Pop Center was probably more cohesive in terms of faculty and students interacting with each other than, say, students at Michigan within the sociology department in other areas. Being involved at the Pop Center was a unique and positive experience for a subset of sociology students at Michigan and a subset of economics students.

A place like Wisconsin, obviously, is a great place right now to be doing family. I think it's a bigger program, but I assume there also students have a lot of interaction with faculty, and I assume at North Carolina there may be that as well. But there are not that many places with a big population center where graduate students interact with faculty on a daily basis, informally and formally. Most graduate students wrote something with a professor along the way, at Michigan.

VDT: You mean joint publications?

BIANCHI: A joint publication. And that's a very important part of training--having a center where students were assigned to faculty and worked with them, but also ran into them informally. I think that was a very good setting. You've been there; it's located in a building off by itself. The other thing about Michigan is that graduate students themselves hung out there a lot at night.

VDT: You mean you came back to the Center?

BIANCHI: Right, and tended to work in their offices there at night. There is now a set of--they're still relatively young demographers, out maybe ten years of so--but a set of people that I see emerging as perhaps the people who'll be running the PAA in ten or 15 years, who were fellow students then. Michigan got a good set of students, I think, who had a lot of interaction with each other and those bonds extended over time and place. That seems to be true for the group coming out of Wisconsin also.

VDT: Who are some of those in that network, for you, from Michigan?

BIANCHI: For me--well, I think of people like Rob Mare [PAA President in 2010] and Judy Seltzer [PAA President in 2016] who are at Wisconsin, on the faculty there. The other thing that happened too is there's a whole set of Washington Michigan people. You may not have been there at the same time, but the fact that you are from Michigan put you into this network when you came to Washington. So, people like Jack Goodman, a prior PAA secretary-treasurer who had already left the Pop Center when I came there, I met after coming here. People like Kris Moore; she and I overlapped for one year at Michigan. I've since heard her do presentations here on teenage childbearing; some of the work she does is really good. There was a set of people I knew as students there who have emerged as very good people in their field. Linda Waite had left Michigan before I came, but there is also this Michigan connection to her, and she's just been elected first vice-president of PAA [and became PAA President in 1995].

VDT: She's on her way. Of course, Larry Bumpass [at Wisconsin since 1970], who's to be PAA president next year [1990], came out of Michigan.

BIANCHI: Right. There is a set of people that were at Michigan long enough before me that I am not as aware of their Michigan connection. But, yes, there's certainly a strong Michigan-Wisconsin connection.

VDT: That's come up several times in these interviews. Norm Ryder, in particular, said that when he was setting up the Center [for Demography and Ecology] at Wisconsin, they naturally drew upon the Michigan graduates because they were the best.

BIANCHI: And there's a big set of Wisconsin people here in Washington too, that I don't know as well as the Michigan set, but there's a lot of interaction. A fairly strong sort of Michigan-Wisconsin demography crew here in Washington. There are others I haven't mentioned who are PAA members--Jennifer Madans, who's at the National Center for Health Statistics. Stan Smith is actually down in Florida, but he does a lot on population projections.

The thing, too, about the Pop Center at Michigan was that it was a place where, at least when we were there, economists and sociologists mingled. So you had a set of economists, like Jack Goodman, with whom you became friends. In fact, I met my husband there. He was an economic demographer going through the economics program at the same time I was getting my degree in sociology.

VDT: What does your husband do?

BIANCHI: My husband, his name is Mark Browning, is an economist.

VDT: Oh, him! I didn't know he was your husband.

BIANCHI: He's at PEPCO. He's a PAA member who has sort of moved more toward the business demography interest and his work has become a bit more peripheral to what PAA does.

VDT: I want to get into that later--how the business demographers fit in.

BIANCHI: I guess because Washington is such a big employer of social scientists, there is a set of us who came out of Michigan, both in economics and sociology, who have ended up here.

VDT: That leads to my next question: How did you come to Washington? You mentioned that you spent a year at the University of Illinois.

BIANCHI: Right, that was after I had come. I was looking for a job--actually, Ren was the connection; Ren has always had a fondness for the Census Bureau. I was interested in nonacademic jobs as much as or more than academic jobs. Ren had a connection--perhaps from his Duke days; he was at Duke before he went to Michigan--with Larry Suter, who at that time was chief of the Education and Social Stratification Branch within the Population Division at Census. So Larry came to give a presentation at the Pop Center at Michigan and also talk to students who might be interested. He had an opening at that point. A year or two prior to that, he'd lost someone who'd moved onto another job--Linda Waite.

VDT: Great!

BIANCHI: People have joked because I ended up coming to take Linda's old job and started out in the education branch. Linda went from the Census Bureau to Illinois and when she and Rafe left, when Linda went to Rand, she didn't resign immediately and Illinois had a visiting position. And Mark Browning--not my husband then--had taken a job in the economics department at Illinois, so I was very interested in spending a year there. So I took Linda's job, as a visitor, for a year at Illinois. I remember Jack Goodman saying at the time, "Oh, you're going to Illinois. How do you feel about Santa Monica?"

VDT: That would be the logical progression! [The Rand Corporation is in Santa Monica, California.]

BIANCHI: But I never made it. [Although later she did move to UCLA.] I'm not sure I was quite ready to follow in Linda's footsteps at that point. When I first came out of graduate school, I had other job offers, but once I visited Washington I really wanted to move here. The Census Bureau seemed like it would be a good place. I had been analyzing census and Current Population Survey for my dissertation anyway and I would be continuing some of that work. And while there were certainly those on my committee at Michigan who, I think, frowned upon Michigan graduates taking a job at the Census Bureau--it was in status, at least, a lesser job than if you got a good academic job--Ren was not that sort of person. As I say, he always seemed to have a fondness for the Census Bureau. And he was encouraging; it could be a good job. And for me, it has turned out to be a good place.

VDT: I'm interested that you say that Michigan--perhaps it's not just confined to Michigan--somewhat looked down on nonacademic jobs. Do you think that may be true of many of these population centers, graduate departments?

BIANCHI: I think in general it is. Clearly, the stellars--those whom they consider their best students--

-will go to the top-tier universities; you only get one or so of those a year.

VDT: You mean one or so job openings in demography at a top university?

BIANCHI: People actually getting offers. The year before I was there, Rob Mare had gone from the Population Studies Center at Michigan to Wisconsin. The year I was there, Diane Colisanto--now with Gallup--had gone from the Pop Center to be an assistant professor at Wisconsin. Those were clearly the kinds of jobs that all of us looked up to. You're socialized to think that even if you don't personally want to do that exactly, that's what you should want to do and aspire to.

I think it takes a long while to come to grips with the fact that maybe for you--first of all, you may not have that option--but maybe it's not the kind of life style for you anyway. I think all of us at a place like Michigan were socialized to aspire, at least, to an appointment at a place like Berkeley or Wisconsin, maybe now North Carolina, Chicago--those kinds of places. And obviously not all the people that come out of Michigan are going to have those kinds of appointments, nor are they necessarily the best ones for some of us, I think.

VDT: Do you think the Census Bureau was perhaps regarded just a little bit below some of those top-echelon things, and certainly above business--say, your husband in PEPCO, for example?

BIANCHI: Certainly above business, because the Census Bureau does have a tradition of research. And at any point in time, it has at least a handful of recognized people doing demographic research. And it's clearly a big place for doing demographic research, at least if you're interested in the U.S., and there's an international group as well. I think it was clearly considered better than business.

It's always true, probably, that within the field of population and demography, there's somewhat less stigma attached to taking a nonacademic job than, say, within sociology. Now I was getting a degree in sociology with an area concentration both in population and in social stratification. But for the graduates of the other part, those who had nothing to do with demography, I think clearly there the idea was that you would take an academic job somewhere. I think more of us who are in demography are in nonacademic settings and there's somewhat less of a stigma than within sociology more generally.

VDT: I had the impression that since the sociology jobs were perhaps drying up in the academic world . . . Certainly, sociologists traditionally came to Washington, working in the government--perhaps not in business. Another interesting observation! You have obviously in your Census Bureau career done mostly research. You've been removed from the hurly-burly of hands-on dealing with, say, the 1980 census?

BIANCHI: Right, I have. It has its pros and cons. For me, the Census Bureau has been an incredibly good place, because I've gotten to do a lot of what I would want to do no matter where I was, whether I was an academic somewhere or in a think tank kind of place. I've had an unusual experience in that most of my time there, since 1981, I've been in this small Center for Demographic Studies. When I was in the branch under Larry Suter, you're more in the line of producing reports. The Population Division is somewhat more production-oriented; they have a set of Current Population Reports and census review and reports that they have responsibility for.

The downside of being off in the Center for Demographic Studies is you're not really in line. Larry Long is also there with me. And I think for the two of us, given our personalities and what we want to do, it's been a very comfortable place. There's always been some uncertainty about whether it will continue to exist.

VDT: Really?

BIANCHI: Yes--money. But it muddles along. Bill Butz [Census Bureau Associate Director for Demographic Programs] has been supportive of the idea of it, even if there hasn't been a lot of funds redirected toward it, and so it's continued to exist.

My feeling about the Census is that its main mission, its reason to exist, is to collect data and to get that out--the decennial census, but also the Current Population Survey, our oldest and most important survey. When push comes to shove, that has to be the activity that gets done, where the concentration is. But the Census Bureau is tolerant of researchers like Larry Long and myself, because the Bureau also from time to time is criticized for not doing enough research.

VDT: By whom?

BIANCHI: Well, sometimes by other agencies, who want information and don't want to go through a bunch of reports but want it in a readable publication. Certainly by the academics, and the media to a certain extent, I suppose. The Census Bureau can point to work by Larry Long or myself or some others and say, "Ah, but we do do research."

So the cost to us of not being central to the mission is that we aren't central to a lot of the key decisions that are made. But the benefit is that I think we are valued by the agency and we have a lot of autonomy--we've been given a lot of autonomy to do work that shows the usefulness of Census Bureau data.

There does come a question in the justification for continued collection or new data collection efforts of: Why should the American public cooperate with the 1990 census; what does the census do for them? And it's the research that's done by some of the people there as well as others that allows us to tell people: "Here's what we can tell you about yourself or here's how we can help you because we've collected these data and we've analyzed them and this is what it shows." So there's always been a great emphasis at the Bureau on doing research that shows the usefulness of the data that's understandable, that's written in prose that's not so sophisticated methodologically that the intelligent lay reader won't be able to follow it. There's that sort of thrust: What is newsworthy; what is something that people care about reading? And there's probably a lot more attention given to being cited correctly--hopefully--in the New York Times or the Wall Street Journal than having a publication in American Demographics or the American Sociological Review or whatever.

VDT: That leads right into what I wanted to ask about American Women in Transition, which is certainly readable and comes across to the public. But first I'd like to ask, do you have any influence on questions, changing questions or whatever, in the CPS, for example? You can show what can be done with the data, but can you also influence the data to some extent?

BIANCHI: It's tough with the CPS, because it's primarily a labor force survey. But there are certainly people more within the branches of the Population Division, people like Martin O'Connell, who works in the area of fertility, who do have a fair amount of input, within limits, to the questions that are asked. NICHD has in the past sponsored some of the fertility supplements. Certainly, the demographers in the branches responsible for subject areas have influence on questionnaire context. Of course, it's not like doing a Detroit Area Study where we came up with a questionnaire and tested it. It's a much bigger operation, with OMB review of questionnaire content and that sort of thing. And obviously with the decennial, there's virtually no ability to add questions. What can be asked is so limited and there are so many competing demands, that people at the Census Bureau have very little power to influence questionnaire content.

VDT: When did the Center for Demographic Studies get started?

BIANCHI: I think around 1980.

VDT: You were one of the first staff members?

BIANCHI: Yes. I left the Census Bureau after two years, from 1978 till the fall of 1980, and was on leave for an academic year at Illinois. There is the Intergovernmental Personnel Act, where the federal government can exchange personnel with state and local government. Joan Huber was head of the department of sociology at Illinois and I went there as a visitor for a year, on leave from the Census Bureau under this Intergovernmental Personnel Act. So I don't know quite if the Center was formed right before I left or after I left, but I returned to it when I came back in May of 1981, technically, I guess, assigned to Larry Long.

Daphne Spain was there at that time too. Ren was there as a visitor and told us that the committee for the 1980 census monographs wanted a volume on women and we submitted a proposal. I'm sure Ren was helpful. Jim Wetzel was the head of the Center at that time and he was also on the committee for the 1980 monographs, sort of the Census Bureau liaison to the committee.

VDT: I was going to ask how you got chosen to do that. You and Daphne submitted your proposal.

BIANCHI: Well, there were a couple of other proposals; I don't recall offhand who they were submitted by. I'm sure it helped tremendously that Ren was supportive of our proposal. We were not very well known. I had done some work in the area of women. Daphne's work had been in the area of urban studies, so she had done much less on women. But I'm sure that the friends we had on the committee, Ren Farley and Jim Wetzel, argued for our ability to do it. We had each published a book by that time.

VDT: Yours was your dissertation.

BIANCHI: Right. Daphne's was an edited volume on gentrification of neighborhoods; there wasn't much written on that yet. We were young and unknown to some extent, but we clearly had already established that we got things done. And I think we proved to them that we did.

VDT: Absolutely, you came out first [American Women in Transition, 1986].

BIANCHI: I always said I'd feel terrible about being so late with this monograph, except even being this late, it was done before the rest of the series. But to some extent we had an easier job too, because some of the monographs which were on small-area analysis really required census data that was late coming out. We often preferred the Current Population Survey data to census data for, say, labor force trends, so we weren't quite so reliant on having that 1980 census data that some of the other monographs were.

VDT: Did you work on it right from the time you came back to the Center?

BIANCHI: No. We wrote the proposal and then there was some lag before we knew we were going to be selected to do it. The data were late coming out. I think the authors had their first meeting in June of 1982. I didn't go to it; Daphne did. I was on my honeymoon. And Daphne ended up leaving the Census Bureau for the University of Virginia, so we collaborated over distance. The actual doing of it took place more in 1983 and 1984.

The other thing that I attribute our being first to was that Daphne and I ended up with a very hard and fast external deadline--an advantage to us that others may not have had--and that was that I became pregnant with my first child and the baby was due in September of 1984. When this became known, Daphne and I said we've got to get the draft completed by then. A perfect time to have our review committee going over it and reviewing it--each monograph had a review committee of four--would be while I was on maternity leave. We just buckled down and pushed to get it done. And I think we would have made it--much to the surprise, I think, of my Center team--except that my daughter was three weeks early. So there were a few things to tie up afterwards, but basically we did get a draft out to review, which was reviewed while I was on maternity leave. So I always attribute Jennie's arrival as sort of the real motivator to get the work done.

VDT: That's another question I was going to ask: How do you get it all done? I think a young working mother, professional mother, has to be more organized. But I want to go on a bit first about the book itself. It's been very influential. It's marvelously written. As you said, the aim of publications from the Center is that they should be written for the general public. It's interesting that you mentioned that there's more interest in getting cited in the New York Times. Was some conscious effort made to get it out to the media?

BIANCHI: There was some effort in that regard. Daphne and I, Ren, and others who were authors of monographs, Frank Levy, were not particularly pleased with the promotion of our books. We felt Russell Sage should have an interest in getting these books publicized widely. In some ways, it was nice that Daphne and I got our monograph done early, but there was also a problem in that it was done so much earlier than the next one--it was almost a year before the next monograph.

VDT: Frank Levy's Dollars and Dreams was the next one.

BIANCHI: I think that's right. Ren's was also one of the early ones [Reynolds Farley and Walter Allen, The Color Line and the Quality of Life in America, 1987]. But Russell Sage claimed it really wanted to promote things as a series and it wasn't geared up to really promote the book at the time it came out.

I can't remember how it happened, but a copy was sent to Jack Rosenthal, who was the New York Times person on the demographic beat; now it's Felicity Berringer here in Washington. And he did take a look and there was a short thing in the New York Times Book Review. The Census Bureau made some effort too. We have a prime list of persons who are notified when we put something on the press table from the Bureau and those people were alerted that the book was coming out.

But, interestingly, what received more media attention was a short 40-page pamphlet called, "American Women: Three Decades of Change," that was published by the Census Bureau. When Daphne and I set out to do the monograph, we said, "Well, what if we had to describe the status of women and what the trends have been and we only had six weeks to do it?" So we sat down and put together "Three Decades of Change." That was the thing that got a lot of attention. It was short. A lot of media people don't want to sift through a whole book, but 40 pages they can handle. And for us it provided an overview of the topics we were going to cover, showed us what places we needed to develop further or we didn't know much about, or where we had unanswered questions.

VDT: Was American Women four decades?

BIANCHI: It was three decades--1950 to 1980, roughly. In that short piece from the Census Bureau, there may have been a page and a half apiece on what was ultimately a chapter in the book, but we laid out the topics that we then developed in the book itself. That publication received much attention. We

got a request from the Joint Economic Committee of Congress to give testimony on the situation of women. And, like the PRB [Population Reference Bureau] Bulletins which are so useful in the classroom, our Bureau publication was more the size of thing you could assign to somebody in a classroom.

VDT: I was very pleased you quoted a number of Population Bulletins in your book. You covered a lot of material; it wasn't just Census Bureau material.

BIANCHI: Many of the census monographs have joint authors. I think Daphne and I were especially fortunate that our collaboration worked well. I would say it truly was a collaboration. We split up the areas, because you couldn't read everything, or one of us couldn't. And one would take the first pass at a chapter and then the other one would get it to go over or revise. Daphne writes very well. Of the two of us, she's probably the stronger writer in terms of writing prose that's readable.

VDT: She had been on the American Demographics staff at one point.

BIANCHI: That's right. When she left the Census Bureau, she started freelancing for American Demographics, as well as working on the monograph. She's now in the school of architecture at Virginia. She had been jointly with the urban planning department there, which is within architecture and sociology, but this year she's moved full-time into urban planning in the school of architecture.

VDT: It's very obvious that they would choose a woman for such a monograph. It was the first census monograph ever on women?

BIANCHI: Right. There are problems with the monograph. Clearly, given our age, we were more interested in the issues surrounding the combination of work and family, issues of younger women. It's short on issues of older women. There's some attention paid to widowhood and economic differences at different stages of life. One of, I think, the legitimate criticisms of the book is that it is focused more on the life cycle stage that we were in. On the other hand, in our defense, I would say that I think clearly for women that balancing of work and family is the important story in a large part of the last 20 years. So in some sense, it makes most sense to focus on that.

VDT: I agree. I like the way you ended up. I've got the book right here, a copy from the PRB library. And the way you laid it out--again, this shows your organization--you ask the question, then you answer it, and then you sum up at the end of each chapter.

BIANCHI: I'm thrilled to hear that from you, Jean, because I know you are an expert.

VDT: Well, if I had been confronted with manuscripts like this, wouldn't life as a demographic editor have been a joy! I like two particular quotes at the end; I'll just put them in the record: "Will it always be that women, more so than men, put the needs of children ahead of their own labor force advancement?" Now, you have pointed out that your generation, the baby boomers--and you were a leading baby boomer--have been the ones who have stayed in the work force through childbearing, but you still have the disadvantage that wives do not command a salary equal to their husbands' and certainly bear an unequal share of housework and child care.

Then this final thing: "One might view the 1970s as the decade in which individual women made personal adjustments in order to establish themselves in the labor market and achieve wage parity with men. They delayed marriage and children. They attended college in record numbers, began to major in non-traditional fields, and entered male-dominated professional and managerial

ranks. And the 1980s and 1990s may hold the answer to how effective these individual acts by the baby boom cohort of women were." Whether or not they will, "having made some sacrifice . . . in an attempt to combine raising children with the responsibilities of mid-level positions in organizations, they will have the opportunity to see if they emerge from their childbearing years with earnings and labor force attachments that are more equal to those of men than have been true for past generations of women." [American Women in Transition, p. 243.]

I believe this is the story. Have you seen the current issue of Newsweek? It's on "Family and the Future" and much of it is centered around just what you have treated there. Its treatment of the elderly is not so much of the current elderly, but the baby boomers when they get old. And certainly the problems of working women now, the day care problems. Nothing on equal sharing of household tasks, so that was a good point you made.

BIANCHI: Well, you know, reporters still call me fairly frequently, or they're directed to me about, "What's the story with women; what's the story for the 1990s?" And it really seems to me that increasingly the story may not be what's happening with women, but what's happening with the men in terms of housework and children. There's a certain amount of change that women will continue to make in terms of increased labor force participation, but those changes have been so dramatic that at some point you start to reach a ceiling. It's still only something like 70 percent of mothers of children are in the labor force and it may go a little higher, but we don't expect everybody to be in. So at some point, what's happening to women is not going to be changing rapidly, is not going to be as interesting. And what's happening for women, at least on the wage front, is going to rely on what's going to happen with men. The question is will there be an interesting story in the next decade on men in terms of the way they organize their family life or the attention they pay to their family life.

VDT: Good story. What about you? Do you have flextime, for instance, at the Census Bureau?

BIANCHI: Yes, we do. Another thing I've seen happen with government agencies that I wouldn't have foreseen even five years ago when we were working on this is there's been a tremendous push on the part of agencies to set up on-site child care centers. At the Census Bureau, for example, within the last two or three years, we have started a day care center. And I see it happening over and over at many of the agencies.

We have had such rapid changes in female labor force participation, particularly for married women with children, younger women, that there has been a period when things were out of sync. Those changes occurred before there were the institutional supports for the family. The optimistic view would be to hope that 10 or 20 years down the line, those things will be more in balance again. So when my daughter looks for her job, how she's going to arrange the care for children won't be quite such a big issue as it certainly has been for me and for other women of my generation.

VDT: Well, you certainly have been a leading generation. You've covered a lot of things I wanted to ask about the book, which was really a seminal book. An awful lot has been written about American women, the problems of working women, but I think you summed it all up here. What about your present research; what are you doing now?

BIANCHI: Well, you know Jean, to some extent your interests do follow biography, I think, and my life now is consumed by the needs of small children. But I have also become very interested in . . . Sam Preston had that wonderful address where he turned a lot of people's attention to the situation of U.S. children ["Children and the Elderly: Divergent Paths for America's Dependents," PAA presidential address, May 1984, published in Demography, November 1984]. You can't be interested in working women and what's happening with them and how they're balancing their lives without also

becoming aware of children as actors too and what's happening with their lives. So I've moved more now into work on the well-being of children.

There's been an added push at the Census Bureau; we have a new Survey of Income and Program Participation [SIPP] that collects longitudinal data for two and a half years. A lot of areas other people are covering, but nobody was looking particularly at the estimates we were getting for how much children's economic status declines following separation. So I began to look at SIPP data, comparing the estimates we were getting of the decline in children's well-being with other data, like that from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, to try to see if our estimates were reasonable. I'm working very hard on this now. And the Population Reference Bureau is giving me the opportunity to take a step back and look at the whole literature in the area. I'm doing a Bulletin on the well-being of children.

VDT: Great! I didn't know that.

BIANCHI: Which should be done very soon ["America's Children: Mixed Prospects," Population Bulletin, June 1990]. I wish I were a bit more on top of it, but I'm working very hard on it at the moment.

VDT: You're working on that in your office hours?

BIANCHI: Yes, that's my main . . .

VDT: I must say I'm glad you're coming out with a Bulletin, because you know Larry Long let us down. Larry Long's Bulletin on metropolitan America was supposed to be my last Bulletin [in June 1987] and it never materialized.

BIANCHI: This fall was when I was going to do the bulk of the work and I must say that PAA and its current situation, which we'll probably get to, has taken more hours away from my research than I had quite envisioned or intended. But I'm certainly at the moment really concentrating on what I want put in that Bulletin.

VDT: And that will be the central publication out of that work you're doing now?

BIANCHI: Right. Hopefully, the Census Bureau will issue in its SIPP series, P-70, a report on the economic well-being of children following parental separation. My target is to get this done the first quarter of next year [1990]. My co-author on that is Edith McArthur, now at the National Center for Education Statistics, but who was on the SIPP staff at Census. We gave a PAA paper last spring ["Family Disruption and Economic Hardship: The Short-Run Picture for Children," PAA Baltimore meeting, March 31, 1989] and are in the process of revising that for publication by the Census Bureau as a SIPP report [published January 1991, same title, Current Population Reports, Household Economic Studies, Series P-70, No. 23.]

VDT: Well, you are into issues that are of hot interest in this country now.

BIANCHI: I haven't done much lately on race or minorities, that sort of thing. Yet I still have a very keen interest, particularly how blacks are faring vis-a-vis whites. My dream, or hope--Ren and I have talked a bit about this--would be that perhaps within the next couple of years, he and I might--he at Michigan could certainly be director of DAS again--might possibly go back into Detroit again and do a second round on residential segregation and maybe some family structure. And then analyze the 1976

data we collected, which we never . . . What happened was we collected the data and as students working on it, we were all trying to get our dissertations done and get out of there. Ren analyzed it somewhat, but maybe not as fully as he would have liked, but if we can go back and assess change over time.

VDT: Go back to the same people, as Arland Thornton and Deborah did?

BIANCHI: No, we probably would not go back to the same people; we would probably do another cross-section of Detroit. This is all at the moment just in our discussing, "Wouldn't it be nice to do?" But I really am hopeful that after 1990, particularly when the decennial census comes out, that I will get back to looking at racial differences.

VDT: It might be particularly interesting at this time in U.S. history when we have just voted in a black governor [Wilder in Virginia], a black New York mayor--and what happened in Detroit?

BIANCHI: Coleman Young will continue. He's black. He's the one who's the fifth-term mayor of Detroit. It's also interesting--I'm looking at children right now--the family structure differences of blacks and whites have diverged. The trends are in the same direction, but they have diverged and the question arises of the well-being of this generation of black children as compared with the well-being of this generation of white children.

VDT: You and Ren did write on that in a paper that came out in the American Statistical Association ["Growing Racial Differences in Marriage and Family Patterns," American Statistical Association 1986 proceedings].

BIANCHI: Right. There was a paper that he was certainly the lead author on but that we put together. Even when I was doing my dissertation, it was pretty clear that what black women do, the choices they make or the constraints they face about marriage and children and the family, are very different than white women. People point to black male unemployment, that sort of thing, but I haven't seen a totally convincing explanation of, first of all, just why the differences, but why the trends should be diverging for black and white women over time.

VDT: Do you think it's been an advantage being a woman in your demographic research, because you're more sensitive to the problems there certainly would be for women but also other women, with blacks?

BIANCHI: I was trying to think about why I was interested in racial differences. One of the questions you had was: Why are you interested in women and minorities? I don't know for sure, except that I think that . . . While I was at Michigan, particularly in working on the Detroit Area Study, one of the other teaching assistants was a black woman, now a Ph.D. from Michigan. There was a set of my fellow graduate students who were black, whom I was fairly close friends with, and in our discussions of things, I began to have some appreciation for the differences in our background and how we perceived things.

I think also . . . I'm from a working-class background. I remember getting to Michigan and starting to realize that here I was, with a working-class background, but someone who'd always done well in school. I got to Michigan and I remember this feeling of being very average and starting to realize that a lot of these people who were graduate students with me were maybe second-generation academics. When I went to college, my parents knew nothing about how to direct a child to go to school, because this was the first child who'd ever gone to college.

Also, when I got to college, I had a black roommate, and I grew up in a small town in Iowa and I could see that my parents were very disturbed just by the fact that she was black. I was disturbed by the fact that there I was at Creighton and they were leaving.

VDT: You were disturbed by their being disturbed?

BIANCHI: I noticed it. It's clear that people had different reactions. Julie, my roommate, and I may not have chosen each other, but to me it was very beneficial to share a room for this first year when you're away at college. She was from the Omaha [Nebraska] area. So there was a set of people that we had in our room and that I became acquainted with that I would never, probably, have selected to fraternize with.

VDT: Other blacks?

BIANCHI: Yes, other black women.

VDT: They must have been fairly unusual there.

BIANCHI: Yes, a fairly small subset of them at Creighton, this small Catholic college. In Omaha there was a section, a ghetto, blacks were segregated there as everywhere and the few blacks there were at Creighton tended to come from the Omaha area. And it was a small private school, so there was some recruitment too.

VDT: Only women?

BIANCHI: No, there were men as well. So more than now, and I miss that, I had at Michigan good friends who were black, women friends, and at Creighton certainly acquaintances who were black.

You know, sometimes coming from a working-class background into a setting like Michigan, you can feel sort of marginal. It gives you an appreciation for perhaps other groups, like blacks, who might feel also marginal in those kinds of settings. So maybe part of it is that.

VDT: What does your father, your mother, do?

BIANCHI: My mother was a housewife. There are six of us. I'm the oldest of six children, a good Catholic baby boom family. My father worked for a meatpacking plant on the assembly line. He was a union member, so he made reasonably good wages and it was one of those baby boom families where they could support a large family on one person's income.

VDT: Did you work your way through college?

BIANCHI: I was a National Merit semi-finalist and then my father's company provided scholarships, so I got one of those; that covered a lot of the expenses. I had other grants, work-study, that sort of thing. And I had a wonderful mentor who materialized there. After my second year I wasn't sure I could continue to afford to stay at Creighton and I was thinking about going to the University of Iowa. I had declared a major in sociology and there was a professor in the department and he and his wife--they didn't have children at the time--took me in and sort of like these au pair girls that are around Washington, in exchange for room and board, I cleaned house. That helped me financially to get through. And he was very instrumental in helping a group of us apply to graduate school, take the Graduate Record Exam, think about going beyond our undergraduate degree.

VDT: What's his name?

BIANCHI: His name is Jim Ault. In fact, I've just been asked to write a letter of recommendation for him for an award in support of women students that Creighton University gives out, which I hope he gets. It is pleasant to finally be able to repay in a small way someone I considered a really important mentor.

VDT: I was going to ask who have been some of the leading influences in your career and you said you'd thought about it and you gave a lovely accolade to Ren Farley and now to Jim Ault and you praised Deborah Freedman. Are there others you would add?

BIANCHI: They are clearly the more important and they are both men, Jim Ault and Ren Farley. I've been trying to think: Are there women who are important to me? Certainly, it's been a pleasure this year to work with Harriet Presser [PAA president 1989] and get to know and appreciate her better. One of the things I've realized, too, is that a lot of my coauthorships have been with other women. There it's more collegial, but those relationships, the support of those relationships in doing research, I would say have been for me extremely important.

VDT: That would include Daphne.

BIANCHI: I include Daphne. I would include Nancy Rytina, who actually is the daughter of Joan Huber out at Illinois. They don't have the same last name; Nancy is from Joan's first marriage. Nancy and I continue to be friends even though she has moved away from doing demographic research. She went back to Michigan and got an MBA.

VDT: Is she the one who was at Blue Cross/Blue Shield?

BIANCHI: She was for a while, and also at the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

VDT: Do you think there's something special about women that makes them able to work together on a professional job with perhaps more success than men?

BIANCHI: I don't know. For me, I guess, it was easier to be on an equal footing with other women. I'm trying to think, why don't I work with men at the Census Bureau? I don't write anything with men. Partly, it's interest. It's more likely that other women will be interested in the things I'm interested in--family, children, household composition.

In some ways, Larry Long has been a person who's influenced me--not somebody I work directly with, but influenced me as a sort of role model for doing research in a place like the Census Bureau. He's very good at figuring out what's newsworthy, what is important to do in terms of research so far as the Bureau is concerned. He writes well. He's perceptive about the importance of writing about things that are important and writing in a way that other people can understand. So watching that has given me some clues as to how to operate within the Bureau itself. But I don't have the same relationship with him, obviously, as with, say, someone like Ren, who is far more important in terms of being interested in the same areas that I am. And probably more interested in it from a social-worker aspect too, as well as the researcher on it. Not that we're social workers, but we have a true interest, I think, in the well-being of the groups that we're looking at.

One thing I'm always keenly interested in, of course, is the other women in PAA and how they're managing their careers and combining all the things they do.

VDT: That was a leading question; I'll ask it now. You're a woman balancing family and professional responsibilities, but also extra professional responsibilities, like being the PAA secretary-treasurer, in addition to your full-time office job. Do you think that's important?

BIANCHI: I do, although with PAA I joke that Ron Lee [1987 president] caught me at a vulnerable moment. I was coming back from maternity leave with my second child and you're a little at loose ends then: What are you going to do; how are you going to get back in again? He asked if I would do this and it seemed like a good thing to do.

It was also . . . Ron Lee was my husband's dissertation adviser. At Michigan when I was there, Ron was around. He was somebody I knew a little bit--he was an economist and I didn't know him well--but came to appreciate greatly. He's an incredibly intelligent person and a very nice individual as well. And I appreciated his skill in handling some of the affairs of PAA, the half year he was president which coincided with the beginning of my term [mid- to end 1987]. He was the one who asked if I would serve. Ren didn't put pressure on me, but he certainly let it be known that he thought if I wanted to do it, it would be a good thing for me and for the PAA. Ren was president-elect and how can you turn down your husband's dissertation chair and your dissertation chair?

VDT: Let's just finish up on your general career and then we get into PAA, which is part of your career. A question I asked ahead of time, so you know about it: What accomplishments in your career have given you the most satisfaction?--to date, because, of course, you're only mid-way.

BIANCHI: When I thought of that, I thought, I just don't feel . . . I mean, considering the people you are interviewing, I'm relatively young and inexperienced. But I would say that Daphne and I were both very pleased to get the monograph done and to feel, like, we could always have done a better job, but we felt we'd done a good job with it. That was certainly something. Obviously, completing your dissertation, but going on to revise it and get it published was also something that pleased me.

VDT: Did Rutgers Press come to you?

BIANCHI: I'm trying to think how that worked. I know Fran Kobrin was a reviewer. Rutgers, I think, came to me and said let us consider this and they sent it to Fran Kobrin--Goldscheider now. Anyway, they sent it out for a couple of reviews and the reviews were sufficiently encouraging that they came back and said, "We'll publish it."

VDT: Those are the two books--accomplishments.

BIANCHI: I guess those would be sort of the highlights to date. Also, I was pleased in some ways to be asked to serve the PAA as secretary-treasurer and most of the interaction I've had with the people in the PAA, the presidents, I think I'm going to look back on as a very positive and important experience, although at the moment that's a little hard to say. I'm so mired in that.

VDT: One last thing before PAA. I noticed that you were elected a member of IUSSP last year and I wonder if you see IUSSP as important.

BIANCHI: You know I don't do very much in the international area, but it seemed important to me in my role as a secretary-treasurer of the PAA that I become more knowledgeable about what was going on in IUSSP. So that was my primary motivation for joining, just becoming more aware of what's going on, of the publications that come out of IUSSP. I've never attended a meeting of the IUSSP.

VDT: Well, of course, the first one since you were elected, being in New Delhi [September 1989], wasn't practical for most people.

BIANCHI: The interesting one may be the 1992 conference on "Peopling the Americas," where I would think there will be more U.S. involvement.

VDT: And they hope the next general IUSSP meeting will be in my native land, in Montreal. You've pointed out that your interests have been focused on the U.S., but you have explained one reason you were attracted to IUSSP.

BIANCHI: For instance, right now I feel a real need, especially doing this Bulletin on children, I'm really curious about what's happening with fertility in the developed countries of Europe, because of what's happening with fertility at the moment in the U.S. The rate in the last year or two is up.

VDT: Inched up. It rounds off still to 1.9, but it's really above that.

BIANCHI: Yes, and the number of births is pushing toward 4 million. We also think it's a timing thing. Clearly, the baby boom generation didn't start having babies when everyone thought they would and they're not stopping quite on time. People tell me that in Sweden the rate is now 2 or something.

VDT: Yes. Carl Haub keeps close tabs on Sweden for the PRB Data sheet. He rounded it down to 1.9 in this year's 1989 Data Sheet, but he said, "You know, it's really 2.0." Amazing.

BIANCHI: And it's something like 1.5 down in Italy.

VDT: Italy is lowest at 1.3.

BIANCHI: Okay. That makes me wonder about--back to the thing we discussed about whether there are times when what's happening with women, their labor force participation and their fertility decisions, are very much out of sync with the institutional supports that there are to help them combine both. I don't know what's going to happen to U.S. fertility in the future, but the fact that Sweden is back up makes me wonder. There I have the impression that more of the family supports are in place for working women and this has allowed fertility to go back up slightly. I don't expect it to go way above replacement or anything. I have this feeling about U.S. women that there will be some of us--not all, but some--whose fertility will be pushed toward age 40, when maybe ideally, under other circumstances, we wouldn't have had our babies at age 20, but we might have preferred to have them more around age 30. And how much of that delay is related to what's in place in terms of supporting families? I think if I had a more full understanding of what's going on in Europe right now, that might help. In our monograph, we didn't do much on international comparisons, though we were always interested. Maybe it will be the project for five or ten years from now.

VDT: I was going to ask what do you think is the outlook for women and fertility in the U.S., and you've said, well, keep an eye on Europe; maybe they're just a bit ahead of us. And perhaps Europe's attitudes also toward the elderly, which will become such an issue in the U.S. when your generation gets there.

BIANCHI: Yes, obviously as more of the baby boom generation becomes older, there's going to be a lot more attention even than now on issues of aging.

VDT: How about the outlook for demography per se? It's interesting that you say that Michigan--perhaps they've changed their attitudes now, ten years down the road from when you were there--slightly looked down on nonacademic jobs. But what about applied demography, that seems to be taking more and more of a role in demography? Is that where the jobs are and will applied demography become more important simply because there will be more jobs there than in the academic world?

BIANCHI: I did say, too, that what I liked about demography was that it was a more applied field than, say, sociology in general or maybe economics--well, economics I think is more applied; there are more practitioners. But it's certainly a place where PAA could grow. There's a great demand out there, I think, and more and more people who don't have the same kind of Michigan training that I do but end up doing demographic work or being employed by businesses and state and local government, that sort of thing. I think there's a real tension within PAA about that.

VDT: I was going to ask about that.

BIANCHI: Yes. I think Bob Lapham, my predecessor, certainly, and Jack Goodman to some extent before him, wanted to see applied demographers more involved in PAA and help try to make that possible. But I think there's also a fairly strong part of PAA that still is more academic and more large population center. If we expand more in the direction of applied demographers, I think as an association, we're going to have to pay more attention to the issues they raise, the concerns they have, which can be very different from those of the sort of core academic demographer or large-population-center demographer. For example, there was an issue on this past Board agenda. The business and state and local demographers are very concerned about the American Sociological Association certifying demographers at the master's level.

VDT: Which they are requiring now?

BIANCHI: It's something you can do. And the PAA Board spent a lot of time on this two or three years ago and basically, I think, the Board's position is that PAA doesn't believe any certification is necessary or desirable, but we can't tell another association that they can't certify sociologists as demographers; you can't tell them what to do.

I had a sense that the Board thinks this is not a big issue; it's going to die its own death and not much is going to come of it. Whereas, I was on the phone this morning with Hallie Kintner, who's chair of the Business Demography Interest Group, and it's clear it still is a very big issue for that interest group and they're very concerned about it. I think there is a tension there and a feeling always on the part of the state and local and business demography groups, particularly with this last move to call them interest groups, that they're not represented, they're not in the mainstream.

VDT: Interest groups rather than . . .

BIANCHI: Committees. They were formerly called committees.

VDT: What's the difference between those two?

BIANCHI: Well, Ron Lee toward the end of his term was asked by Chris Taylor in Canada to form a committee on international migration. No one could see any particular reason not to have a committee and within the constitution and bylaws, it said it was a president's prerogative to form committees. Ron consulted with the other officers and said, "Sure, go ahead and form this committee, but you

realize that you won't necessarily have call on the resources of the Association; any requests would have to come from the Board."

Well, some of the Board members became concerned with the informal way this committee had sprung up. The concern was on this international migration committee and why this person was chair and why this composition. So, an ad hoc committee was formed to come up with rules. And they basically made what they saw as a distinction between operational committees of the PAA--Finance Committee, Nominating Committee, Public Affairs Committee--and those groups that were more organized around substantive issues--China Study and Exchange or demographers in the business world or state and local government issues--and suggested that they be called interest groups as distinct from committees and that they in the future have to go through a process of submitting to PAA a request to form an interest group and organize it.

That was adopted by the Board and I think many of the persons within the business group and state and locals saw it as a demotion in stature. They had been committees and now they were interest groups, when, I think, from the Board's perspective, it was to formalize how groups form within PAA. There's always this question of sections and it usually comes around to saying, "We're not really big enough to have sections, so people should be able to get together around subject matter interests." That's the purpose of the interest groups.

VDT: Do you think there's a threat that the business and state and local people will break off?

BIANCHI: Well, there has been some concern, particularly of the state and locals, and they may have another opportunity with this new government statistics section formed in the American Statistical Association and they could go there.

Paul Voss--who I must say was a wonderful Board member and truly a useful committee person in PAA--was trying to be an intermediary, I think; be attuned to their concerns but tell them that this wasn't a demotion, to make them interest groups. I get mixed signals about how dissatisfied they are. The current chair of the state and local group, David Swanson, has been less likely than his predecessors to communicate with the Board and to file reports. Hallie Kintner is the chair of business. She's been, on the other hand, very good about collaborating with the Board, keeping the Board informed, very organized. Business demographers in general are a very organized group. They know what they want. When they make a request, they've costed it out; they have their rationale for why it would be good for the PAA to give them whatever it is that they want.

I would be very upset to see either one of those groups leave the PAA. And I am concerned about their level of satisfaction. I have heard that the state and locals were more dissatisfied than the business demographers. I've heard that they were very dissatisfied and then I've heard that only a small subset of them were dissatisfied. I personally think that, more so even than the business demographers, state and locals benefit greatly from their attachment to PAA in terms of methodology, projections, estimations--the expertise of demographers. I think it would be a loss for both sides if they would decide to split from the PAA. And I don't think they would find in the American Statistical Association the substantive knowledge that they need to do their job. They wouldn't get as much input from the annual meeting, for instance, as they get from the PAA. So I would hope they would realize that. And that the PAA Board would continue to be aware of their concerns and make strides to see that the tension doesn't grow so high that they split.

One of the things we've done that is a positive step, I think, is in the selection of the new editor of PAA Affairs to give weight to having somebody who might represent the interests or be well connected to the interests of the state and local community. Signe Wetrogan--who I think will be a good editor anyway--brings an added liaison role with the state and locals [through her estimates and projections work in the Population Division of the Census Bureau]. That was why she was proposed as a person who would be a really good selection for the editorship of PAA Affairs.

BREAK

VDT: We've just had lunch and Suzanne had such interesting observations about combining a career with raising small children--her daughter, age five, in kindergarten at a local public school, and her son, who's three and goes to a day care center. [Suzanne Bianchi had a third child, a boy, in spring 1990.] You said right now you weren't sure you were doing the best possible job in all areas of your life.

BIANCHI: I was saying that I think that's probably fairly typical of working mothers, to feel like they're not doing a particularly good job some days--most days--when they're at the office and feel guilty about the time they're not giving to their children. You can't focus on one or the other solely. You have to be always juggling. There are times when you leave the office or you're not in because your children are sick and you're not getting work done, you're missing deadlines. There are times when you're missing the school's Halloween party because you're supposed to be at work or at a meeting. And the child care costs are tremendously expensive. Even women who are paid fairly well, if they look at child care costs as a proportion of their income, they feel like they're working for very little money.

But for me, anyway, I think it's important to take a longer-term perspective. Sometimes right now, I think, "Do I really have a career?" I'm torn between the needs of children and feeling that I'm not doing such a stellar job of what I do professionally. But really we do have careers. Many of the women I know feel like we're staying in--some of us have cut back to part-time--we're holding still; we're not making great strides. But for the time being, that allows us to balance family and career. I guess my perspective is, I'm going to have a lot of years in the labor force and my children are going to grow up relatively quickly and I won't have this. Then it's going to be very important to have other things like my work that are interesting to me, that can consume my energy and time when I have more energy and time. So it's important, at least for me, to hold on right now, try to balance the two, as difficult as that may seem, and hope that in the future when my children don't need me as much, I might still have a fairly good foothold in a career.

VDT: It's a great generation--the first in America--well, in almost any country--that has done it all, managed to handle family responsibilities and continue on with a career.

BIANCHI: Well, some people probably do feel that they're doing it all. But most of us who hear that think. . . Well, on a given day, your child's school just called and you're supposed to go get the child immediately. You have a 2 o'clock appointment that's been set up for three weeks that you're going to have to cancel. You get home and your house is in terrible disarray. And you think, "I'm doing it all? Huh!"

VDT: And it's not your husband that gets called to go pick up the child.

BIANCHI: True. I had an interesting example last week. On the Murch school form, the D.C. public school form, they ask specifically which parent is closer to the school so that if the child gets sick the one who can get there more quickly would be the one called. We filled the forms out; it was clear my husband was the person to be called. But the school nurse called Mother. Actually, then I called Father, who went to pick the sick child up. My husband said, "I'm going to get our son at day care too, because I don't think he's feeling very well." But 20 minutes after the school nurse called me about the older child, the day care center called me and said, "I think you should really come and pick up your son." Again, it was me they called. It's not just the men, it's the caregivers.

I realized this in having a household caregiver. I had an in-home sitter for two years when my children were very young, and typically in Washington, those are immigrant women. Actually, there's a group I'd like to study sometime. I had a friend who was more of a participant observer and I thought, "Gee, with my demographic approach and her participation, it would be fun." We were into the Jamaican community at that point. Those women want to deal with their female employers, the mother in the family. They shy away from bringing any concerns about raises in salary or job conditions or anything--never would she bring anything up with my husband; always to me. So you end up being the manager of the home, partly because women just do that, take it over, maybe not always trust their husbands to do it well anyway, partially because their husbands are unwilling, but partly also because the kinds of people providing the services or the people at schools tend to come to the mother--have these expectations that the parent to contact is the mother.

VDT: Just as you said, society has not caught up with the reality of mothers in the labor force. They'll have to change that. Let's go back to PAA. Can you remember the first meeting you attended?

BIANCHI: The first meeting I was aware of but did not attend was the 1976 meeting in Montreal, because I was a teaching assistant with the Detroit Area Study, we were in Detroit interviewing, and the demography students at Michigan wanted to go to the PAA, including the ones who were in Detroit interviewing. So we had to stay in the field an extra week to allow them to take a break to go to the PAA meeting. But the first one I actually attended was Atlanta in 1978 and I don't think I have missed one since then.

VDT: Can you remember Atlanta?

BIANCHI: Very well. I was getting ready to leave Michigan at that point and looking for a job, so part of my reason for attending was to talk to people like Hal Winsborough at Wisconsin, who had the 1940-50 census project--they made the public-use tapes from the 1940 and 1950 censuses--and he was looking for someone. And I remember talking to Linda Waite at that meeting, who was very pregnant with her first child and had left the job I was considering at the Census Bureau, and wanting to find out what it was like to be an employee at the Census Bureau.

I believe Richard Easterlin may have been the president who gave that . . .

VDT: Yes, 1978, that's when he gave his famous address: "What Will 1984 Be Like?" All the young women were going to stay home and have babies when the baby bust generation got to working ages, because there would be more jobs, higher salaries, for younger husbands. Here we're long past 1984 and it hasn't happened. He's changed his views on that--not too much, not entirely; he's still hanging onto them. I interviewed him last May in Los Angeles. What else can you remember about that meeting?

BIANCHI: I remember that the group of us who were graduate students at Michigan felt we couldn't afford to stay in that main hotel; we stayed in a rather divey hotel nearby. I've learned since that it's very important to sell the room block, to stay in the convention hotel. It's important to an association that they guarantee a certain number of rooms to the hotel; you need to have at least that many participants using rooms in the hotel. PAA does that. But in our case, we were looking for an off-site place that was cheaper and I remember walking over to the hotel for the meeting and Atlanta was wonderful; it was spring.

VDT: I just have to tell my hotel-room story from Atlanta. I always go to the Psychosocial Workshop before the PAA meeting and arrive after 9 o'clock or so on the Monday night. So I had marked my

reservation that I would arrive at that time and they're supposed to hold it. But they had nothing left but a two-story penthouse suite on the top of that skyscraper hotel, which is where I lived for a week. The crazy thing was there was this enormous round bed and I sprawled out on it and phoned my husband and said, "Guess where I am?"--and it was our wedding anniversary! [Laughter] I brought all my fellow participants, certainly from the workshop, up to view these magnificent surroundings.

BIANCHI: You probably had a suite better than the president.

VDT: Oh, indeed. What about changes in the meetings over the years, the flavor of the meetings?

BIANCHI: My participation has certainly changed. When I first went, I was much less serious. You went to a few sessions and you met up with old friends and there was much more of the social element. It's still important in that respect, but now as secretary-treasurer, I spend those days working. I'm in meetings pretty much from morning to night and actually attend fewer of the sessions than I did a few years ago. Someone says, "Can you come to the Public Affairs Committee meeting; it's at such-and-such a time?" and you say, "Okay," and don't get a flavor of what's going on in the sessions.

At Pittsburgh in 1983, even though people didn't like Pittsburgh, it was the time that Daphne and I were really starting to think a lot about the monograph. That's probably the meeting where I went to the most sessions. And Pittsburgh was less of a diversion, too, as a city. So for me that was a meeting where I got a lot out of going to sessions, amazingly, partly because we knew what we were looking for and between us we tried to attend all those session that related to chapters of the monograph. So that one, surprisingly, was a good meeting.

I enjoyed very much New Orleans [1988]. For one thing, it was very pleasing to me to see Ren Farley finally ascend to the presidency. And it was my first complete year as secretary-treasurer too--I'd come in in the middle of 1987--so I'd worked closely with Ren getting ready for that. That was my first time going through it with the eyes of a secretary-treasurer, seeing all that was involved and observing what Jean Smith at ASA [American Statistical Association] did for the meetings, what was involved in pulling the meeting off. I also thought New Orleans was a wonderful city--a playful city, anyway.

I also enjoyed Baltimore [1989] a lot for the same reason: being very involved as secretary-treasurer and wanting to hear the presidential address, being very interested in what Harriet was going to talk about ["Can We Make Time for Children? The Economy, Work Schedules, and Child Care"].

VDT: Because it was your issue.

BIANCHI: Right. It was an issue that I was keenly aware of, both personally and professionally. And because I'd had by then an opportunity to work with her and begin to appreciate her as a person, as well as someone whose work I've read.

VDT: Let's talk about women in PAA. You, of course, came in after the early 1970s when there was the women's movement in general and the Women's Caucus push for equal rights for women in the profession. Some people felt that women in demography had always done very well.

BIANCHI: Right. People keep pointing out, for instance, that several of our awards are named after women.

VDT: Right. We finally got a Robert Lapham award, the first one named for a man, after the Irene Taeuber, Dorothy Thomas, and Mindel Sheps awards.

So what is your feeling about women in the PAA? Harriet is just completing her tenure as

president. She's actually just the seventh woman president in the long history of PAA. There was the long hiatus between the women presidents in the 1950s, Irene Taeuber, Margaret Hagood, and Dorothy Thomas, and Evelyn Kitagawa in 1977. Evelyn Kitagawa, though I haven't interviewed her yet, I hear explains that as, well, the women had dropped out of higher education and were home raising the baby boomers; she was an exception. Then the next generation were those who were in the wave of increasing enrollment in higher education, which you pointed out so well in your book. What do you think explains the women coming on again, perhaps after a hiatus--in PAA, as an example of a professional organization?

BIANCHI: I don't know. I'm trying to think what the trends were. I assume there are more of us, but I don't know if that's changed so much as a percentage of the membership. I think there are more women that are good scholars and those are the kinds of people likely to be president of PAA and get elected to the Board. To some extent, it's name recognition and name recognition in terms of publications.

It was always interesting to me--not so much lately, but before Jane Menken was elected president and even the year she was president [1985]--that women at a fairly senior level, like Jane, would show up at the Women's Caucus meeting. That suggested that even they felt the need to have a Women's Caucus and be concerned about it. But it's very different with the Women's Caucus and the Sociologists for Women in Society, say. The Women's Caucus of the PAA was always very focused on professional things. When they would get together at the meetings it would be to push for a session on the program, but a session that always turned out to be rigorous in terms of the papers presented. I think the Women in Sociology are more political and more concerned about taking feminist stances on things. The Women in PAA seem like--it's not that they're not feminists, but they're more concerned about being good scholars, and that they also happen to be women and that women are good scholars. More the idea that you prove the worth of women by being very good at what you do.

VDT: Do you think that might be back in the early tradition, the fact that some of the leaders in PAA were women? Of course, there was Margaret Sanger who started PAA, who was not a scholar and she was pushed aside because she was an activist, would muddy the role of scientific research.

BIANCHI: Some would think of that as very conservative. You might describe women in PAA as buying very much into the male tradition of scholarship and what it takes. Personally, I think we're aware that we're women but I think there is a feeling that we have to do good work. It will be interesting to see what perspective you get from Harriet, because she's very much watching whether women are getting elected. For instance, of next year's [1990] slate, many of them are women. Our first vice-president is Linda Waite [who became president in 1995]; our second vice-president is Karen Mason [who became president in 1997]. Several of the new Board members, perhaps three out of four, are women. [For 1990-92: Mary Kritz, Margaret Marini, Beth Soldo--and Robert Willis.]

I served on the Board for a three-year term, 1984 to 1986, prior to becoming secretary-treasurer. Actually, now that I'm remembering this, I probably wouldn't have been there but in part for the fact that I was a woman. When that slate came out of the nominating committee, there was not one woman's name on the Board of Directors slate.

VDT: I remember that. Go on.

BIANCHI: Subsequently, petitions were circulated at the meeting and someone asked if I would be willing to run. I really at the time didn't have a very high expectation that I would win, but I agreed to run, and my name, Nancy Williamson's, and perhaps Susan Watkins--several were added to the slate. Of the four persons elected to the Board that year, I believe three were women. [Bianchi, Watkins, and

Williamson. John Bongaarts was the fourth person elected.

VDT: Women were making a definite statement then. And I think some people think that's still happening. For instance, Harriet Presser ran against Joe Stycos and he's an oldtimer whom everyone thought should have the chance to be president--Harriet would have a chance later--but Harriet won. Well, who's to say? She's a woman; she's popular; more name recognition, I suppose. How can you ballot name recognition?

BIANCHI: Right. There are certainly some very good women who've been on the Board over the six years or so now that I've been on the Board. There are some women I expect to see in the slot for future candidates for president. I would not be surprised to see, for instance, Linda Waite, next year's first vice-president, at some point in the future, or Julie DaVanzo, who's currently [1989] the first vice-president. But we're not the majority of the profession by a long shot.

The thing for me that's always interesting about women is to look at them--especially the ones elected to the presidency or whatever--look at their careers and how did they get to where they are and how did they balance that. Harriet was a single parent of a small child when she went back to graduate school and somehow she . . . I mean, what are their fertility decisions: Do they limit their family size to one, or two? I joke about tenure babies and full-professor babies--the distance between their first child and the second--but frequently it is the case. After you get to be tenured, you have the first child, and five or six years later when you make full professor, you have a second.

I'm also intrigued by examples such as Fran Kobrin Goldscheider or Sara McLanahan [who became president in 2004], who are women who are very well known and are people who had their children early on and then went back to graduate school and did the professional thing when their children were a bit older and obviously have gotten to the point in their careers where women of the same cohort had gotten. Sara, I would think, compares favorably with anyone in her age cohort, even though others did their careers in a more linear fashion like I did, where you go to school and get your degree and then you go get your job and if you have children, you delay them.

VDT: You think that perhaps they didn't lose anything by taking that time out?

BIANCHI: Yes. On average, I think that women who have their children early don't do as well economically, professionally, whatever, as people who have their children later and have their education earlier, and statistics bear that out. The people like Fran Goldscheider and Sara McLanahan may have been great researchers no matter how they did things. The fact that they're where they are is perhaps because they were much more activated to overcome what for many would have stopped a career, that is, relatively early childbearing.

It's interesting to me to see the many different ways in which women who are likely to play a leadership role in the profession have combined family and careers. I don't think I look at men that way so much, because it doesn't seem like it has to be quite such an issue for men. Although I do pay attention--for younger men, I often ask: "How many children do they have? Are they married? What does their spouse do?"

VDT: That's interesting, how people are coping. That's what I hoped you would talk about, because you are of the younger, leading forces in PAA. Let's talk about your being secretary-treasurer. I'd like to ask, for instance, about Bob Lapham [secretary-treasurer, 1984-87], whom you followed at the time he was ill. He was ill when you took over in July 1987?

BIANCHI: Yes, he was [died February 20, 1988]. It was incredible, I thought. Bob had been diagnosed as having his brain tumor a year prior, I think. He missed the San Francisco meeting; that

spring of 1986 he had started to have seizures. But by that fall of 1986, the November Board meeting, he was back, fully operational as secretary-treasurer, looking like perhaps he'd beat it. Bob said when he was first diagnosed they said he had at most three years, but it did go into remission. He was still active and energetic and looked great the next spring [1987] when we were in Chicago.

VDT: I remember. He was there with his camera taking pictures.

BIANCHI: Right. I had been asked if I would take over early in that year, 1987, so he had started filling me in on everything so I would see at least the paperwork that came through him and what he did. He was incredibly active. I remember my impression was, "This man is running around, is this what secretary-treasurers have to do?" But he said part of it was the DHS work he was doing. [Lapham was director of the Demographic and Health Surveys at the time of his death.] He was incredibly involved and active.

But we were supposed to have a transfer of the actual files and there was a period when it became a little difficult to get hold of Bob. Then his secretary told me he was back up in New York for another round of surgery; the tumor had started to grow again. He had a period of recovery and then he was clearly going to die. He had hopes of getting into an experimental program at Johns Hopkins, but didn't meet the protocol and was disappointed that summer not to get into that.

After his second round of surgery, he still looked great. In fact, he brought all the files out to me at the Census Bureau in that summer of 1987. He, a man who was at this time dying of cancer, went to great detail to lay out with me a whole list of, "Okay, in January this is what you have to do; in February this is what you have to do." Left me a very detailed list of what were the certain things you had to make sure you tried to attend to in each month of the year. Which is wonderful; I'll probably pass it on with not many changes to my successor. Organized the files; transferred them; did what he could.

It was very sad to meet with him, because he looked fine and yet he clearly had this cancer eating away inside him that was killing him. But he was very devoted to PAA and it seemed very important to him to do an orderly transition.

Then it became--actually, I've since worked fairly closely with his daughter Susan over the establishment of the [Robert Lapham] award--but he had a stroke later that year and was unable to communicate. He'd managed to transfer everything, but was not in good enough health to do anything after that. I was very impressed by that, given the circumstances that he was in, the way he left things and how much help he gave me in trying to do the transfer. Although, of course, there have been many times when if I could only have called him to ask a question--losing somebody who's that much on top of what's going on in the Association is very difficult. On a couple of things, I've gone back to Jack Goodman [secretary-treasurer, 1981-84], but it's so far removed for Jack that sometimes it's hard for him to be able to guide me as to what was done before.

VDT: Let's talk about what the secretary-treasurer does. Are secretary-treasurers chosen in part because they can get office backup, not just the PAA office, but your own at the Census Bureau?

BIANCHI: Definitely that's a consideration. The institution at which the secretary-treasurer is must contribute, does subsidize the PAA. In my case, it was negotiated with the Census Bureau that this would be a legitimate use of some of my time. I realized that with two small children I wasn't going to be able to do all this PAA work on nights and weekends--in fact, might be able to do a fairly limited amount on nights and weekends. Bill Butz had indicated to the Board that he was willing to have someone at the Census Bureau give time to this, and that's partly why I think they looked to the Census Bureau for someone.

Then also the institution has to provide--you have to have a secretary for certain things, so you have to have access to somebody else's time. And there are lots of mailings that I would do from the Census Bureau, and Bob and Jack did before me, so that it's not billed directly to the PAA. So you're definitely looking for someone who can give of their own time but also have some access to support staff and resources to be able to do the work.

VDT: And that's what you have had at the Census Bureau?

BIANCHI: Right, I have had.

VDT: Well, what do you do? Don't go through every month!

BIANCHI: Probably the most important things you do have to do with the two Board meetings [day before the spring annual meeting and in the fall]. You work out with the president the agenda for those meetings. You work with the finance committee chairman to set up an agenda for the finance committee meeting.

VDT: The finance meeting is at the PAA meeting?

BIANCHI: Usually the finance committee meets before and then makes a report at the actual Board meeting. They meet at the same time; same day usually. You nag everybody to get their reports in; you call; people call you if they have things they want to add to the agenda--that sort of thing. So there are two crunch times of activity before Board meetings, when there may be weeks when you do nothing but PAA, trying to pull all this together.

You are also trying to get the financial statements. Well, we have contracted with the American Statistical Association. They are supposed to provide us with quarterly financial statements, but our accounts have been far behind there. So I have, for instance, this fall spent a lot of time with an outside auditor who was computerizing the accounts and getting everything up to date and providing a ledger for keeping up accounts. So there's a fair amount of time being put into those financial matters and being on top of those.

Then at the beginning of each year, it's important that you make sure that the committees are all in order and that the president knows who to thank because they're leaving and who to appoint, where there are holes, that the award committees are on track--that sort of thing. And typically you're dealing with a new president who has a lot on their mind. They're trying to get a final meeting program together and they're preparing an address. So really the secretary-treasurer is the officer that needs to be on top of what in terms of committee structure and that sort of thing needs to be done and consults with the president, to the extent you can, in making the appointments.

Another important thing is that you handle the counting of the election ballots. The nominating committee gets the candidates and the business office gets the ballots out and serves as the address for receiving them. But the secretary-treasurer has to find . . . My first job as secretary-treasurer--you take over in July--was to get a chair for the ballot counting committee and say, "Call on your friends in the Washington area and get together a group of people who are going to count the ballots."

VDT: The only time I ever worked with Bob Lapham I was on the ballot committee. PRB's office then was close to GW; I counted at GW [George Washington University]. I remember driving home with Bob afterward.

BIANCHI: Well, you know about ballot counting. The secretary-treasurer's job after that is to do the follow-up on that. To call the current president and tell them who won and call the winners and losers

of the officers, so that they hear it first from you. And then to send out the notices of who's won.

VDT: Do you know who won for next year?

BIANCHI: It should have been in PAA Affairs, which is not out. Ron Rindfuss is to be president [for 1991].

VDT: That means Paul Schultz has lost a second time, I'm sorry to hear.

BIANCHI: You hate to make those calls. It's pleasant to call the winners. I don't like calling the losers, but it's important, I think, that they hear it first from those who counted the ballots.

Things come up with the business office. Many of the routine things are handled by the American Statistical Association office, through Jean Smith. But things come up and correspondence gets referred to the secretary-treasurer and you have to handle that.

VDT: What have been some of the leading issues while you have been secretary-treasurer?

BIANCHI: Currently, the most important issue is our future governance.

VDT: What does governance mean?

BIANCHI: Our organizational structure, I guess. The American Statistical Association no longer wishes to provide the management of the business affairs of the PAA. I would say that prior to their indicating that, one of the issues for the PAA had already become--actually, we had an ad hoc committee looking into that--how we were organized and whether that was satisfactory for getting done all the things we want to get done.

There is, I think, growing concern--on my part, certainly, after having been secretary-treasurer now for almost three years--but on the part of many others about operating an association that is still relatively small in size but does a lot of things with an all-volunteer set of officers and Board members and committee members. There's only so much that people can do on a volunteer basis, even if they have some agreement with their main employer to use some of their time to do PAA work. So there had been a committee looking into whether we needed some sort of staff person, at least on a part-time basis.

There's a feeling that there's a lot of things that we can't do. For example, it's been pointed out to us that there may be money in foundations for an outreach effort to minorities in the U.S. There are very few black, in particular, and Hispanic minorities. But with the current organizational setup, there's really no way to easily manage some sort of outreach to minorities program. And you certainly don't want to go to foundations for money unless you know how you can spend it. It's been a continuing problem with the money we do get from the Hewlett Foundation, the lack of a person who has the time to really coordinate the outreach efforts that we have. We do have some money from Hewlett for outreach to LDCs.

VDT: How do you use that?

BIANCHI: It's not a lot of money. It was supposedly to provide subsidized subscriptions to Demography--which we do. This year we've also subsidized membership renewals for members that are in LDCs. Managing that money, which is a fairly small amount, has been one of the most time-consuming parts of my job. It hasn't been done very well and it's because you don't have the time to really get on top of it. So there was the feeling that if we had somebody who was at least a part-time

staff person, who could begin to network with other associations, find out what they're doing on certain issues, we might be able to get grant money and manage some of these extra programs that would be desirable. Now all that has been thrown up in the air with the need of PAA to just get a transfer to some other association or to hire paid staff, whatever, to manage its business affairs.

VDT: The business affairs consist of reminding people to renew, making arrangements with hotels for the meetings, that kind of thing?

BIANCHI: Yes that, and serving as a general contractor for handling of publications, copyediting, and seeing that they get printed and mailed and keeping the financial accounts. And with AStatA no longer wanting to do that and wanting to be rid of us fairly quickly . . . They say they would be just as pleased to be done with us by the end of the year, but I think Barbara Bailer will carry us through the end of the year.

VDT: Barbara Bailer is now the head [executive-director] of ASA and she's sort of cleaning things up. Do you think she was instrumental in this move to push out extraneous work?

BIANCHI: We're trying to figure out what's going on. As she put it to us, ASA was not doing a very good job of managing their own affairs and they want to concentrate on their own affairs. If it were just a matter of money, that we weren't paying them enough for the services they were providing, they could ask for money. But they have made the decision to phase us out of their operations. I have the feeling there may be some inter-personal things going on, political things within the ASA, and we may just be part of the fallout. Yes, but consequently we are in this position of having to find, or decide on, another way of managing the affairs of the Association.

VDT: Well, it will be interesting to see how that works out. It's obviously another watershed, as was the time when Ed Bisgyer [former manager of PAA business affairs at ASA] and Andy Lunde got together back in the late 1960s [1966] and PAA finally had one paid outlet to do its work. [See, Anders Lunde, "How Ed Bisgyer and ASA Rescued PAA from its Business Morass," Vignettes of PAA History, PAA Affairs, Spring 1985.]

BIANCHI: That's right--from a totally all-volunteer effort that was doing everything. There the paid thing was to contract to another association. But we may be moving to the point where we have to decide whether we want somebody on the order of an executive officer or secretary or someone to pay attention to our affairs.

VDT: More like the big professional associations--American Statistical Association itself or the American Sociological Association?

BIANCHI: Right.

VDT: PAA is still rather small compared to these other professional associations.

BIANCHI: That's the problem, I think; we are rather small. At least until now, we've had inexpensive dues, relative to some organization like the American Sociological Association.

VDT: How much are they--much more than PAA?

BIANCHI: Oh, yes. They're graduated, but you fairly quickly get to the highest income category and

that's \$150 [per year].

If we went on our own, we could only afford a person or a person and a half, or something; I've talked about this to some of the associations. Then when that person leaves, you've lost the person who's doing everything for the association. So we are on the small side to go it alone, although there are some who feel we need to begin to have that. I think that's why we stayed with AStatA so long, even when sometimes some of the services they were providing left something to be desired--for example, the latest [1989] membership directory, which has all the mistakes in it.

VDT: I understand 30 percent of the phone numbers are wrong.

BIANCHI: Right, and trying to hassle with who's going to pay to reprint that directory.

VDT: Oh, you might do that?

BIANCHI: Yes, the intention is to re-issue.

VDT: Everybody would get a second issue--it's that bad?

BIANCHI: It's dreadful.

VDT: And it was very late to begin with, wasn't it?

BIANCHI: Right. So there've been a lot of things about the service that we're getting from the American Statistical Association that has been, I'd say, sub-optimal. But we're a conservative organization; PAA is risk-averse to making changes, I think. Perhaps we needed them to kick us out to move us in a direction . . .

We may have a rough couple of years, trying to get something else in place, getting that worked out. And I'm concerned at this point that we're going to have a substantial dues increase [\$45 to \$70] and that we'll lose members [which did not happen]. And we certainly have to make the membership aware of why we're taking the steps we are, and that takes time to do that. So these things consume me. But my hope would be that after a couple of years that perhaps we would have an association that is better run than it seems to have been in the past couple of years. Then we might be in a position to think about the things that we're not doing.

VDT: What would you like to change about PAA? You have to change the governance. You say there are more things PAA should get into. You mentioned the Hewlett money that's supposed to go to LDCs and that there could be more outreach to get more black and Hispanic demographers. Just to encourage more Hispanics and blacks to go into demography in the first place?

BIANCHI: Right. I think it's necessary to start at the undergraduate level. I see several sets of ideas about outreach either to developing countries or to U.S. minorities and the Board says those would be really desirable things to do as a profession and as an association. But I don't see us being in a position to be able to do those things without some sort of paid part-time staff person.

On the other hand, I'm not totally sure what the majority of the membership wants. I also think that more attention needs to be given, or it would be desirable to give more attention, to the interest groups we have, what we were discussing earlier, the business and state and local demography groups. Right now their main point of contact is through the secretary-treasurer and the reports they file with the Board twice a year.

VDT: You mean the main connection with all the committees is simply these reports?

BIANCHI: Yes. And I guess if someone had more time and energy, there could probably be better use made of the expertise within these committees and interest groups and certainly more effort made to liaison with them and keep the pulse on them. I'm feeling a little bit overwhelmed by the amount of things there are to do that now tend to reside primarily in the secretary-treasurer, who is not paid by the PAA to do those things.

VDT: Give me an example of one of those.

BIANCHI: Well, an example is that I have spent every day since the beginning of October with the majority, or at least an hour or two, of my time consumed by matters having to do with PAA. Now this is unusual, in that we're going through this crisis. In October before the Board meeting, I did virtually no Census Bureau work. Part of it has been intensified this fall by AStatA saying they weren't going to continue with us. Right now there are a set of things. I need to find a lockbox for our accounts, for instance, which requires calling around to banks and seeing what the services are and what the relative costs are. There are a set of administrative things as well as more substantive things that it's almost impossible, I think, for an all-volunteer set of officers to do, other than what's the most critical. You can't do all of them. You start to make decisions.

One of the things Bob Lapham wanted to do and then he became too sick--there's been this continuing problem that there's a small amount of money in the Hewlett grant for outreach to LDCs which we have a hard time spending. Bob was going to devise, based on his experience of three years, guidelines for what he thought was most needed and how we might best spend that money, and then he was never able to get to it. Another thing the secretary-treasurer does once a term is we apply to Hewlett for money because that money helps support part of our work with the Population Resource Center. It provides the money for the travel grants for members to go to the IUSSP meetings. I have found that although there are lots of good ideas for how to spend the Hewlett outreach funds, it's not as easy as it might seem and I have to worry about that. What I may suggest, actually, is that I continue to worry about that after leaving as secretary-treasurer. You almost need some time in the role to learn what the Hewlett money is spent for and what the application procedure is. That's an example of something that's not getting enough attention and even raises the question of whether we should be asking Hewlett for money for that activity. It's not that we lack ideas of how to spend the money, it's that we lack the time and structure to get a program off the ground and get it operational.

VDT: It's good to have that on record. We'll see what the future holds, how things will change. Is the membership still just around 2,600?

BIANCHI: Around 2,700 [2,679 at end 1989]. It hasn't really grown.

VDT: No, it's fluctuated about there since the mid-1970s. Why do you suppose that is?

BIANCHI: I don't think we've made a tremendous effort. I think if we wanted to grow, we could do a lot more in the way of membership recruitment and marketing. Those are a couple of other areas where, if we had a paid staff attention, we might pay more attention to what we do in terms of membership recruitment. We might pay more attention to liaison with the media and promoting articles in Demography or the annual meeting papers.

VDT: That hasn't been done since the 1981 meeting. Cynthia Green and I manned a press office and we got some coverage, as you know.

BIANCHI: That's typical, I think. Occasionally, when there are individuals who are willing to put in the time and energy, we do something. But there wasn't something that kept that going.

VDT: No, that was the 50th anniversary meeting and we were in Washington, so we wanted to do that. I thought Gordon De Jong was going to issue more press releases for Demography.

BIANCHI: Gordon is. One possibility is to go to Hewlett, which is a foundation that funds outreach and education, and ask them to help support someone to help with the four issues of Demography and the annual meeting, presenting in a readable fashion what some of the highlights are. But that remains to be seen.

VDT: You're going to have to go pick up your daughter. A couple of final questions. Do you have your successor as secretary-treasurer lined up?

BIANCHI: No, we don't; we're working on it. Because this ad hoc committee was coming in with a recommendation, I was waiting to see what the secretary-treasurer's job might look like in the future.

VDT: Ad hoc committee?

BIANCHI: There was an ad hoc committee, chaired by Jeff Evans, to look into the organizational structure of PAA. It was formed last spring and they came with a report to the Board. Actually, they had moved in the direction of recommending that we keep our business arrangement with the AStatA--this was before AStatA said they wouldn't do it--but that the next secretary-treasurer might be sort of an executive officer where at least 20 percent of their time was paid. We may enlarge it so it wasn't just the Washington area. Right now, the secretary-treasurer tends to get selected from those willing to do it in the Washington area, because of the business office. Start to move slowly in the direction of having a paid staff person, but with the understanding that there would be areas in which we weren't doing what we wanted to do and that person would begin to move in that direction.

VDT: But that's been on hold, since there's this practical matter of who's going to do the business management?

BIANCHI: Right. So I wanted to see what happened. It's hard to approach somebody and say, "Would you be secretary-treasurer?" when you weren't quite sure what you were approaching them with. I'm still not quite sure, but Harriet and I are starting to pinpoint people in the Washington area that might be receptive to being considered. And I'll probably approach them with, "Look, this is what my job consists of. I think you have to assume that we'll replace AStatA with something and your job will look the same, but you won't be dealing with the American Statistical Association."

VDT: One last thing. Why is it that the business [annual membership] meetings are so poorly attended now? Aren't people interested in the workings of PAA? Now, you obviously are and there is a core group of you who are.

BIANCHI: Is your impression that they were much better attended in the past?

VDT: Oh, yes. But . . . I've asked this question of several and they point out that in the early 1970s, just before you came in, there were some hot issues--the women's issue, resolutions on abortion. I've just been transcribing Dudley Duncan's interview. He said he and Beverly walked out of PAA about

that time because those meetings were getting too political, but at least it meant there was a terrific turnout at the business meetings.

BIANCHI: Perhaps if there was a big issue on our organizational structure and management to be decided there might be a big turnout. [Prior to the constitutional revision of 1974, PAA policy could be decided by vote by members present at the business meeting during the annual meeting. "Hot" issues of the late 1960s and early 1970s--abortion, women's rights, U.S. family planning aid--raised by members, e.g., the "Concerned Demographers," at the business meetings led to some "free-for-all," as Larry Bumpass described it in his interview. Concern about "packing of the galleries" for votes that could then determine PAA policy led to changes instituted in 1974. The "business" meeting, now formally "a general membership meeting," is designated as "a forum for open discussion of the affairs of the Association," but policy--including policy on strictly PAA affairs, such as the Association's structure and management--is decided by the Board or mail referendum of the members.]

VDT: Why are there not more people who are interested in the workings of PAA?

BIANCHI: I don't know. I don't know if they're more diverse or more loosely attached. If they're more loosely attached, we may lose more of them because of the dues increase.

VDT: Maybe they're loosely attached to the profession too.

BIANCHI: That could be. In some sense, what goes on in the business meeting could, I guess, be considered fairly dull. Or maybe people feel they sort of know it anyway. I must confess I tended not to attend business meetings until fairly recently.

I think for a lot of the membership, they feel like they're basically getting what they want out of PAA. They're getting the journal, the newsletter, a decent annual meeting, and things are running well. That's fine with them. That's the involvement they care to have with the Association. That's understandable. They came to the meeting to see their friends, talk to their colleagues, not to attend business meetings. As long as they can be sure that the business is basically being taken care of . . .

VDT: And thank goodness, it is--as it has been, very well, in the last three years. I think that's a good place to end, Suzanne.

Thank you very much. Now you have to go to your family home.

[Continued] I've just asked Suzanne what her working day now is.

BIANCHI: I was working full-time until recently. With children, I've switched to part-time.

VDT: You were working full-time?

BIANCHI: I went in early. I went in at 7, 7:30, to 3:30.

VDT: Phew! Your husband looked after the children in the morning?

BIANCHI: My husband gets the children where they have to be in the morning. He's better able to deal with little people in the morning than I am. I basically get dressed and get out of the house and get to work.

VDT: What time do you leave for work?

BIANCHI: I try to leave by 6:30; it's 6:30, a quarter to seven.

VDT: That means you're getting up at . . .

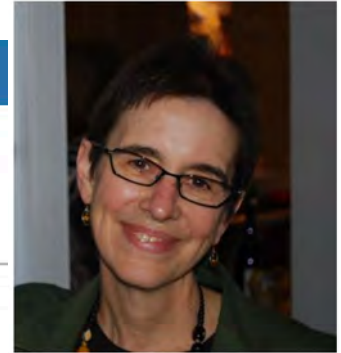
BIANCHI: I don't spend a lot of time getting ready these days. I'm getting up 5:30, quarter to six.

VDT: Oh boy!

BIANCHI: Now since this need to pick up Jennie in kindergarten, I have been leaving the office instead of--a normal workday would be leaving at 3:30 or 4--but I've been leaving more like 2, around 2 o'clock or a little after, to pick her up.

VDT: You come in at 7 and leave at 2.

ACADEMICS & FACULTY



Suzanne M. Bianchi

Obituary: Suzanne Bianchi, 61, UCLA sociologist who studied American family life

Meg Sullivan | November 14, 2013

Suzanne M. Bianchi, a UCLA sociologist who helped define the field of family demography with her research into the dramatic changes in the American family in the latter half of the 20th century, died Nov. 4 at her home in Santa Monica, Calif., a short time after being diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. She was 61.

Bianchi, the first holder of UCLA's Dorothy Meier Chair in Social Equities and a distinguished professor of sociology, was former president of the Population Association of America, editor of the well-respected journal *Demography*, past chair of the executive committee of the California Center for Population Research at UCLA and former director of the Maryland Population Research Center at the University of Maryland, College Park.

The author of numerous award-winning books and articles, Bianchi is best known for investigating the rapidly evolving ways in which contemporary American women and men juggle the demands of their work and family lives. She studied women's employment, how wives and husbands divide housework and time with children, and how women take care of their children and aging parents.

"What happened on the road to gender equality?" Bianchi once asked rhetorically. "A lot of work happened," she answered.

As a modern feminist and working mother, Bianchi came to embody the work she conducted on the evolving American family and gender roles, using her life experiences to motivate her academic pursuits. She was noted within her field for her pragmatism, dedication and curiosity, as well as her mentoring abilities, from which dozens of scholars across the country have benefited.

"Suzanne's death is a tremendous loss for family demography and sociology, to which she contributed so much, and to the network of collaborators, students and former students that she nurtured during her too-short career," said Philip Cohen, a former student and University of Maryland, College Park, sociologist.

Until Bianchi's research, social scientists assumed that mothers' involvement in the workplace kept them from home, and that the loss of time with their mother harmed children. Bianchi found that even though mothers' labor-force participation had increased, the time they spent with their children had changed very little. In an attention-grabbing address that she delivered to the Population Association of America in 2000 and in the books and articles she wrote afterwards, Bianchi showed that employed mothers adjusted their work hours, did less housework, slept less and partook in fewer leisure activities in order to be able to spend more time with their children.

At the same time, children's lives also changed, with fewer siblings and more time away from home in preschool and other child-centered activities, so that even mothers who were not employed outside the home spent less time with children because children were busy elsewhere. Bianchi eyed the widespread impact of her findings with a measure of ambivalence.

"My one concern is that I have given the impression that women have found it quite easy to balance increased labor force participation with child rearing, to reduce hours of employment so as to juggle childcare, and to get their husbands more involved in child rearing; and that fathers have found it easy to add more hours with children to those they already commit to supporting children financially," she once said. "I do not think these changes have been easy for American families, particularly for American women.

"Why have women so increased their hours of paid employment?" she asked. "Many observers would emphasize constraints — men's poor labor force prospects — and this is probably part of the story. But this explanation is not sufficient, for it gives too little attention to the dramatic change in opportunities for women and in women's own conceptions of what a successful, normal adulthood should entail."

Bianchi once described her research agenda as having three acts. In the first, she focused on the time people spend working for pay and on how women balanced family time and employment. Her books "Balancing Act: Motherhood, Marriage, and Employment Among American Women" (1996) and "American Women in Transition" (1986), both written with University of Virginia environmental and urban planner Daphne Spain, were published during this period.

The award-winning 2002 book "Continuity and Change in the American Family," which she wrote with University of Southern California sociologist Lynne Casper, marked the start of the second act of Bianchi's research. In this phase, she studied time at home, gender differences in housework and the ways in which the division of labor determined just how pressured women and men felt by the demands of work and family life. She wrote "Changing Rhythms of American Family Life" (2006) with University of Maryland, College Park, sociologists Melissa Milkie and John P. Robinson. The book received awards from both the family and population sections of the American Sociological Association.

In the latest phase of Bianchi's research, she was studying transfers of time and money between parents and children, especially when parents launch adult children by helping them financially and looking after grandchildren and when adult children help their aging and infirm parents with errands and intense caregiving. At the time of her death, she was writing a book with UCLA sociologist Judith Seltzer on parent-child relationships in later life.

For all the variation in her research interests, Bianchi remained true to certain themes.

"In all three acts of her career, Suzanne remained interested in gender differences and the intersection of work and family life," said Seltzer, director of the [California Center for Population Research at UCLA](#) and a professor of sociology in the UCLA College of Letters and Science. "She always identified puzzles in the social world and tried to solve them by rigorous empirical studies, often requiring her to collect new data."

In August, Bianchi received the Distinguished Career Award from the family section of the American Sociological Association.

Bianchi's career as a demographer began when she joined the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1978. Eventually, she rose to become the bureau's assistant division chief for social and demographic statistics in the population division. In 1994, she joined the faculty of the University of Maryland, College Park, as a professor of sociology. There, she became founding director of the Maryland Population Research Center, as well as chair of the sociology department. She joined UCLA's faculty in 2009.

Throughout her career, Bianchi made significant contributions to the social and population sciences. Her innovative studies with time-use data encouraged widespread use of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' American Time Use Survey and contributed to international data collections on time use. She was principal investigator on a new research approach to studying transfers between parents and children in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, the premier survey for studying economic inequality in the United States.

"The public-use data she created will influence research on American families for generations to come," said Stefan Timmermans, chair of the UCLA Department of Sociology.

Bianchi served in many professional leadership roles, both elected and appointed. In addition to serving as president of the Population Association of America and editing the journal *Demography* (2004–2007, with Johns Hopkins University demographer Kenneth Hill), she chaired the family and population sections of the American Sociological Association and served on National Academy of Sciences committees, including, most recently, the committee on the Future of Social Science Surveys (2010–11).

"She was a valued member of advisory boards and committees for professional organizations because of her fairness, good nature and ability to get things done in a seemingly effortless way," Seltzer said. "These qualities made Bianchi an exceptional mentor to junior colleagues and students. Her attention to fostering the careers of the next generation came from her unwavering belief in a bright future."

Bianchi was born in Fort Dodge, Iowa, in 1952 to Rita and Pesho Bianchi, a housewife and a meat-packing plant employee. Having graduated as valedictorian of her high school class, Bianchi was the first in her family to go to college. She attended Creighton University as an undergraduate and received a master's degree from Notre Dame University. By the age of 26, she had obtained her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

"Her Midwestern values stayed with her, keeping her grounded in what is important in life," said Jennifer Browning, Bianchi's oldest child. "She succeeded in achieving a balanced work and family life, although she would have been more likely characterize it as a constant striving rather than an achievement."

Bianchi often said that her career demonstrated the importance of having a fully involved and supportive husband, recall friends and colleagues. She was married for 31 years to Mark Browning, a retired economist with utility PEPCO and a fellow Ph.D.

In addition to Browning, whom she met in graduate school, Bianchi is survived by children Jennifer, James and Jonathan; her mother, Rita Bianchi; and five siblings.

MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT AND TIME WITH CHILDREN: DRAMATIC CHANGE OR SURPRISING CONTINUITY?*

SUZANNE M. BIANCHI

Despite the rapid rise in mothers' labor force participation, mothers' time with children has tended to be quite stable over time. In the past, nonemployed mothers' time with children was reduced by the demands of unpaid family work and domestic chores and by the use of mother substitutes for childcare, especially in large families. Today employed mothers seek ways to maximize time with children: They remain quite likely to work part-time or to exit from the labor force for some years when their children are young; they also differ from nonemployed mothers in other uses of time (housework, volunteer work, leisure). In addition, changes in children's lives (e.g., smaller families, the increase in preschool enrollment, the extended years of financial dependence on parents as more attend college) are altering the time and money investments that children require from parents. Within marriage, fathers are spending more time with their children than in the past, perhaps increasing the total time children spend with parents even as mothers work more hours away from home.

The most revolutionary change in the American family in the twentieth century, I would argue, has been the increase in the labor force participation of women, particularly married women with young children. The only other trend to rival it in importance is the increase in divorce and non-marriage that removes fathers, but usually not mothers, from day-to-day child rearing. Many would argue that even this trend in family disruption is intertwined with women's dramatic movement into the paid workforce (Becker, Landes, and Michael 1977; Bumpass 1990; Cherlin 1992; but see Oppenheimer 1997 for a critique).

The puzzling thing about the reallocation of mothers' time to market work outside the home is that it appears to have been accomplished with little effect on children's well-being. In 1984, in an insightful and provocative presidential

address to the Population Association of America (PAA), Samuel Preston argued that the mix of public and private investment in the United States might be poorly serving the nation's children. In that address, he posed the following question:

How, you might ask, can we talk about the neglect of children without mentioning their abandonment by mothers heading into the labor market? The answer is that it's not at all clear that mother's work is a source of disadvantage for children, at least not as a direct determinant. Recent reviews of studies of the effect of working mothers on child development find very few and inconsistent effects, far less clear-cut than those associated with marital disruption...(Preston 1984:451)

My own reading of the literature, from a vantage point of an additional two decades of research, is that Preston's basic conclusion still stands. A number of studies have used the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to assess the effect of maternal employment on children's cognitive ability and behavioral adjustment. Maternal employment may have some negative effects when employment occurs early in the first year of life (Belsky and Eggebeen 1991; Blau and Grossberg 1990; Han, Waldfogel, and Brooks-Gunn 2000), perhaps for middle-class sons (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn 1991; Desai, Chase-Lansdale, and Michael 1989; Greenstein 1995), though even here the evidence isn't entirely consistent (Parcel and Menaghan 1994), or when maternal employment is combined with other stressful conditions such as the birth of another child or unusually long work hours for the father (Parcel and Menaghan 1994). But given the effort that has been devoted to searching for negative effects of maternal employment on children's academic achievement and emotional adjustment, coupled with the scarcity of findings (either positive or negative), it would appear that the dramatic movement into the labor force by women of childbearing age in the United States has been accomplished with relatively little consequence for children.

I find this situation perplexing. How could the time allocation of our family caregivers, women, change so dramatically without a negative effect on the time and attention children receive? Perhaps the time mothers spend with children does not matter all that much, although maternal education tends to be associated positively with the "quality" of mothers' activities with children and with children's cognitive development (Bianchi and Robinson 1997; Datcher-Loury 1988; Hill and Stafford 1974, 1980; Leibowitz 1974, 1977;

*Suzanne M. Bianchi, Center on Population, Gender, and Social Inequality, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; E-mail: sbianchi@socy.umd.edu. This is a revised version of my presidential address to the Population Association of America, delivered in Los Angeles on March 24, 2000. Funding for this research was provided by the National Science Foundation and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation's Program on Working Families. I gratefully acknowledge the research assistance of Marybeth Mattingly and Gwyndolyn Weathers. I thank Wendy Bruno and Jason Fields of the U.S. Census Bureau for providing information on preschool enrollment trends and children's living arrangements. The address benefits from collaborative work with Lynne Casper, Philip Cohen, Melissa Milkie, Liana Sayer, and John Robinson. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Daphne Spain and Steven Nock, and to my colleagues at Maryland, Laurie DeRose, Sonalde Desai, Joan Kahn, Harriet Presser, Stanley Presser, and Reeve Vanneman, who provided comments on earlier drafts of this address.

but see Behrman and Rosenzweig 1999, and Desai and Alva 1998, who question the *causal* relationship between maternal education and children's well-being). But if that is the case, then why wouldn't removal of mothers' time, especially among the highly educated mothers now increasingly employed outside the home, ultimately harm children?

Some of our most influential theoretical traditions suggest that mothers' time with children should be consequential for good child outcomes and that activities that interfere with maternal investment in children are problematic. In sociology, Coleman's (1988) notion of social capital is invoked increasingly in the discussion of child outcomes and parental investments. Coleman argued that children might be experiencing a decline in social capital, not only because of more family disruption, but also because mothers' time was being removed in two-parent homes by greater maternal employment. He asserted that because there are more households where all parents are working outside the home, parents (usually mothers) are removed from neighborhoods during the day; in contrast, in the past, they were presumably more available to supervise not only their own children but also their neighbors' children (Coleman 1988:S111). As a consequence, family and community control of children may be disintegrating, and antisocial behavior by youths may be increasing.

More influential in the demographic and the economic literature on the family is the work of Gary Becker (1991), which focuses attention on parental time investments in producing "quality" children. In this theoretical tradition, parents desire children, derive utility from raising children, and hence engage jointly in bearing the cost of rearing children. Typically mothers divert large amounts of time, forgoing earnings, to rear children, while fathers take on the role of primary income provider to the family. Parents specialize according to their comparative advantage, and (ideally) children receive both the time and the money investments they need. When this does not happen, partnerships become less stable and children become less likely to receive adequate parental investments.

In recent years, a number of PAA presidential addresses have highlighted the importance of parental time investments in children. In addition to Preston's (1984) address, to which I have already alluded, Harriet Presser (1989) argued in 1989 that structural changes in the workforce were making it increasingly difficult for parents to balance work and family so as to spend time with their children. In 1990 Larry Bumpass (1990) suggested that "family relationships occupy an important but ever-shrinking space in our lives" and posed the question of whether changes in the family were interfering with adequate care of children. In 1995 Linda Waite (1995), noting the often acrimonious debate about whether the family was disintegrating as an institution, elaborated the benefits of marriage, including benefits for children such as greater, more consistent parental investment. In 1999 Andrew Cherlin (1999) discussed the role of parental divorce in children's lives and argued that a lack of parental involvement causes modest long-term negative consequences for

children, although extreme positions on parental investment were not advancing social policy.

Family demographers seem to agree that the lack of two-parent families—increasingly because they are not formed or because, once formed, partnerships are unstable—is problematic for children (Cherlin 1999; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994). The most compelling evidence is that a father's absence harms children because money does not flow to them (Furstenberg, Morgan, and Allison 1987; Garfinkel, McLanahan, and Robins 1994). Lack of a father's involvement may disadvantage children in other ways, but the findings on those aspects are far less definitive (Amato and Gilbreth 1999; V. King 1994).

Family disruption, however, has not withdrawn mothers from children nearly so much as it has removed fathers—except insofar as it compels greater labor force participation by mothers. Yet if one believes the research, children suffer tremendously when men withdraw money; when women withdraw time, however, it is of little consequence for children. When mothers bring home money, is the result so positive as to overshadow any effect of their time forgone in the home? If this is the case, it is little wonder that mothers have turned increasingly to providing financially for their families, following fathers' lead as to how to care best for children.

I want to suggest a somewhat different answer. Perhaps the increase in female employment outside the home has occurred with less reallocation of time away from child rearing among parents than would first appear. Why has women's movement into the paid workforce not been accompanied by a dramatic decrease in maternal time with children?

First, we tend to overestimate maternal time with children in the past. Because we know relatively little about women's nonmarket activities, we tend to exaggerate the amount of a mother's time in the home that is actually available for investment in children.

Second, in our amazement at how rapidly women's market work has trended upward in the United States, we may have failed to appreciate how much working mothers do to protect investment in children even as they enter the paid labor force. This leads us to overestimate how much market work currently takes mothers away from their children.

Third, childhood is not fixed and unchanging: Smaller families reduce the number of years with very young children, and more preschool-age children spend time outside the home in school-like settings regardless of their mother's employment status. At the same time, older children need time and monetary investment for an extended number of years as more attend college. These changes in children's lives tend to minimize differences in maternal time with children, as families both with and without employed mothers are affected by changing notions of "what children need."

Fourth, and perhaps most controversial, women's reallocation of their time probably has changed men. The increase in women's market work has facilitated the increase in men's involvement in child rearing, at least within marriage. In the United States, most of children's "time-intensive" preschool years are still spent in households with two parents rather

than one; therefore this shift in men's behavior is extremely important in enhancing parental time with children.¹

In sum, my thesis is this: The movement of women into paid, outside-the-home work should have resulted in declining time investments in children. Probably it has done so in regard to fertility: Americans are having fewer children and spending a smaller proportion of their adult lives parenting (Hogan and Goldscheider 2000; R. King 1999). Among those who decide to have children, however, mothers' increased market employment has not decreased the quality—and perhaps not even the quantity—of time invested in children.

Why not? Because in most settings and at most times, the great majority of mothers have not had the luxury of overindulging in time with children. Because of our failure to measure adequately what women do with their time, we overestimate maternal investment in children when mothers are in the home and fail to understand how much mothers do to protect their time with children when they leave home for paid work. As income rises, often we also fail to consider how children's lives—how children spend their time and how we think children *should* spend their time—change so as to alter what maternal investments are possible or necessary. And, finally, in our frequent lament about what men are not doing, we may be missing what they *are* doing. That is, we also may be underestimating how much women's changed market roles are altering men's domestic roles, including men's investment of time in child rearing.

A NOTE ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON MOTHERS' "WORK"

Before I elaborate on the evidence for my thesis, I wish to acknowledge my intellectual debt to those who research women's labor in developing countries or historical settings. In the past three decades, a burgeoning literature on women's productive and reproductive labor has emerged: demographic and anthropological investigation of women's work in developing countries as well as social and economic histories of the relationship among women's employment, use of nonmarket time, and care of children in the United States and other developed countries. This body of research questions the taken-for-granted relationships between maternal employment and care of children in developing countries and asks related questions about the interleaving of mothers' (and daughters') productive activity and family care in historical settings in the United States and Europe (see, for example, Goldin 1990; Sassler 1995; Tilly and Scott 1987).

Demographers have been particularly interested in women's work in developing countries because of the presumed relationship between maternal employment and outcomes of key interest, namely fertility decline and child survival. In the United States and other developed countries, women with fewer children are more likely to be employed; also, over the long term, women's employment reduces fer-

tility (Angrist and Evans 1998; Cramer 1980). Research on this connection in developing countries is much more equivocal: The relationship between fertility and maternal labor force participation is often nonexistent, and sometimes even positive (Lloyd 1991; Mason and Palan 1981). The failure to replicate the negative association between fertility and maternal employment, combined with the great variation in women's economic activities across developing countries, has pointed to the need for a broader assessment of patterns of women's time use in order to understand what determines fertility and child survival outside the West (DeGraff and Anker 1999; Donahoe 1999; Lloyd 1991; Van Esterik and Greiner 1981).

Research on developing countries also has illustrated the need to reexamine childcare before assuming that women's nonmarket activities are compatible with child rearing but that women's market activities curtail their time with their children. For example, ethnographic studies call into question how easily nonmarket work and childcare can be combined in some agricultural settings (e.g., work on Nepal by Levine 1988 and on the Embu of Kenya by Paolisso, Baksh, and Thomas 1989). Care of children other than "mother-care" (e.g., child fostering or care by grandparents or older siblings) is common in many contexts, and care by mothers is often rather insensitive to the extent of mothers' economic activity. Desai and Jain (1994), for example, showed that mothers' time spent in direct childcare in rural India did not vary greatly with the extent of mothers' involvement in economic activity. Even among the least economically active women in their sample, mothers spent no more than 1.5 hours per day in childcare. Children received much more attention than an hour and a half per day (it was more on the order of four or five hours), but most of the time someone other than their mother cared for them.

Almost two decades ago, Mason and Palan (1981) pointed to numerous factors that needed to be considered in attempts to determine when women's work limits their time in bearing and rearing children: factors such as what labor (and educational) opportunities are available for children, parents' willingness to allow older siblings to care for younger siblings, the sheer availability of older siblings or other household members such as grandparents or elder relatives to attend to children while the mother does things other than caring for her own children, and the relevance, to parents' and children's time use, of parents' views of what children will be doing in the future.

In developing countries, interesting descriptions have emerged on the role of older children, usually daughters, as mother substitutes in care of younger siblings (e.g., Ho 1979; Holmes and Tiefenthaler 1997; Paolisso et al. 1989; Tiefenthaler 1997). In the historical literature on developed countries, the use of daughters as family caregivers is often noted. For example, in a study of childhood at the turn of the twentieth century among immigrant working-class families in the United States, David Nasaw (1985) describes how older daughters tended younger siblings on tenement streets while their mothers took in laundry, did piecework,

1. Despite the increase in single parenting, almost 70% of children under age 6 live with two parents. (Tabulations were provided by Jason Fields, U.S. Census Bureau, based on the detailed household relationship matrix collected in the 1996 Survey of Income and Program Participation.)

and cooked and cleaned for boarders to earn additional income for their families.

In sum, the research on women's work and childcare in the developing countries (and historically in the United States) suggests that we must broaden our analysis of mothers' time use beyond an examination of hours in the paid labor force if the goal is to understand changes in what mothers do for and with children. Furthermore, we must be attentive not only to the "investors" but also to the recipients of parental time: children, and how their lives may be changing. And finally, we must assess who within the family may be substituting for mothers as they reallocate time to paid market work outside the home. Historically, and in developing countries, daughters or older female relatives often fill this position. In the contemporary United States this work is unlikely to be done by daughters, but fathers (as well as grandmothers; see Bumpass and Raley 1995; Presser 1989) deserve investigation.

DO WE OVERESTIMATE THE NONMARKET TIME THAT MOTHERS INVEST IN CHILDREN?

It is difficult to estimate changes in parental time with children in the United States because we have relatively little direct measurement of trends in time use. Keith Bryant and Cathleen Zick (1996a, 1996b; Bryant 1996; Zick and Bryant 1996) have done the most careful and most extensive work on maternal time with children, piecing together trends from time diary studies conducted between the 1920s and the early 1980s—that is, from studies in which interviewers walk respondents through the previous day, recording all activities sequentially as they occur (Juster and Stafford 1985; Robinson and Godbey 1999). Bryant (1996) notes that diary studies were conducted as early as the 1920s, in part because of the concern that industrialization would lead to "too much leisure" for men as jobs were automated but to "too much drudgery" for women as they continued to be responsible for the least automated workplace, namely the home. Because of data limitations, Bryant and Zick's analysis is restricted to white, two-parent families with children, and they examine only the time in which parents report that they are engaged primarily in family care.

Per family, Bryant and Zick show virtually no change between the 1920s and 1975: They estimate that mothers spent an average of 1.2 hours per day in care of family members in both the 1920s and the 1970s. Also, Bryant and Zick (1996a:373) argue that their 1920s estimate may be too high because of a bias in the data toward middle-class, rural families who tended to spend greater amounts of time in direct childcare. Per child, their estimates suggest an increase from 0.6 to 0.9 hour per day in direct care, primarily because families were smaller by 1975. These estimates may seem low because they capture only the time in which mothers report that they are directly involved in caring for children; they do not include time that the mother spends with children while she is engaged in other activities such as housework.

Why might mothers in the 1920s, when maternal employment rates were much lower than in the 1970s, have

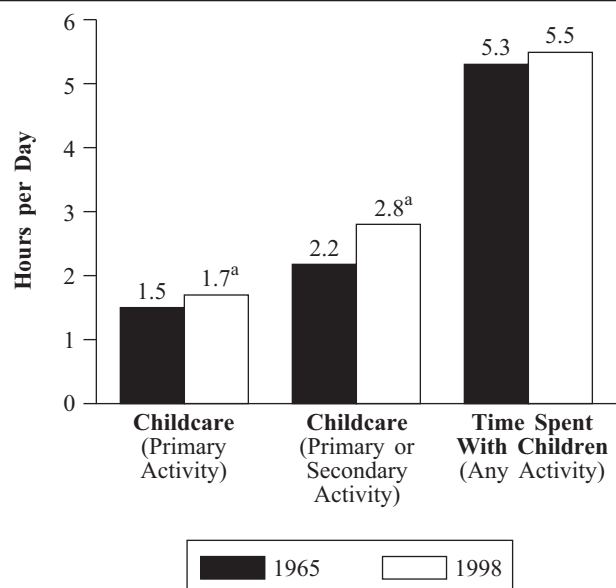
spent so little time in direct childcare? Bryant and Zick remind us that almost half of the population was rural in 1925, compared with only about one-quarter of the population in 1975. Mothers on farms in the 1920s tended to be engaged not only in childcare but also in unpaid family work and domestic chores, which were more onerous and presumably more time-consuming than in 1975 (Bryant 1996; Cowan 1983; but see Vanek 1974, who finds no change in housework time). Larger families at the earlier time also provided more older children who could mind younger children and substitute for mothers.

Bryant and Zick acknowledge that employment outside the home reduces time spent caring for children, other things being equal. Increases in female employment rates should have reduced maternal time with children during the period they examine. Their results, however, indicate that the reduction would be overestimated without considering changes in family size, observing who was actually looking after children in the large families of the 1920s, and investigating the competing "unpaid" work that mothers were doing instead of childcare at the earlier time. In addition, Bryant and Zick note that over time, as mothers moved into the paid workforce, average educational attainment also increased. More highly educated mothers spend more time in direct childcare, other things being equal.

What about recent decades, when the most dramatic changes in mothers' labor force participation occurred in the United States? In Figure 1, I compare mothers' time with children in 1998 with comparably collected data for 1965. The figure shows three measures of time with children: time when the main (or primary) activity was a childcare activity,² time when childcare was mentioned as a secondary use of time in response to the query "Were you doing anything else?" (e.g., cooking dinner but also helping a child with homework), and time in which a parent reported any activity (childcare or other) "with children" present. Despite increases in single parenthood and maternal employment, when we compare mothers' reports of the hours per day they spend caring for children directly (either as a primary activity or with the addition of secondary activities) or time with children in any activity, mothers today report spending as much time with their children as did mothers during the baby boom, if not more. If we were to adjust for the smaller family sizes in 1998, these estimates suggest that mothers may be spending significantly more time per child than during the "family-oriented" 1960s.

One of the most thoughtful investigations of parental time with children was conducted by Steven Nock and Paul Kingston (1988) with time diary data collected on two-parent families in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They asked a question similar to the one I pose here: Why has there been so little evidence that increased maternal employment results in negative child outcomes? From their investigation of single-

2. The time diary data collections include the following under childcare: child and baby care, helping/teaching, talking/reading, indoor/outdoor play, medical/travel/other child-related care.

FIGURE 1. CHANGE IN MOTHERS' HOURS OF CHILDCARE AND TIME WITH CHILDREN

Sources: "Americans' Use of Time" (1965–1966); Bianchi and Robinson (1998–1999).

Notes: Estimates are based on one-day "yesterday" time diaries collected from 417 mothers in 1965–1966 and 273 mothers in 1998–1999, all with children under age 18 at the time of the interview. Childcare includes child and baby care, helping/teaching children, talking/reading to children, indoor/outdoor play with children, medical/travel/other child-related care.

^aTest of 1965–1998 difference in means is statistically significant, $p < .05$.

earner and dual-earner, two-parent families, they concluded that dual earners did not substitute "quality" for "quantity" of time with children: Employed mothers, on their longest workday, spent less time with children than did nonemployed mothers (with no significant differences on Sunday), and spent less direct "quality" time with children: less time educating or playing with preschool-age children, and less time "having fun" with children of all ages.

The most striking feature of Nock and Kingston's findings, however, was that most of the time nonemployed mothers spent with their preschoolers was not devoted to childcare or direct play; rather, the mother was engaged in cooking and doing household chores at that time. Nonemployed mothers spent more than twice as much time per day with their preschoolers (nine hours, compared with a little over four hours), but the difference in time for direct childcare and play/education was less than one hour. Nock and Kingston found an additional one-hour difference in "having fun" with preschoolers; this included activities such as trips to museums and movies, which a high-quality childcare setting also might provide. For school-age children, they found no differences in childcare or play/education time between employed and nonemployed mothers, although nonemployed

mothers spent a couple of hours more with their children on weekdays: 40 minutes more "having fun" with their children and the remainder with the children present while they did household work.

Nock and Kingston (1988:81) suggested that perhaps part of the reason why children of employed mothers suffered so few negative effects was that even nonemployed mothers spend a relatively small portion of their time interacting directly with their children, and this tends to minimize differences between employed and nonemployed mothers. Whether or not this assessment is correct depends on the importance, to children, of their mothers' (or fathers') "being there," because the large difference between employed and nonemployed mothers lies in the time when mothers are available but not directly engaged in activities with their children. In a world of cellular phones and beepers, it also raises the question of whether working mothers (and fathers) can increasingly fill children's need to have parents "on call" without being physically present in the home; this question is only beginning to be researched (Galinsky 1999; Waite 2000).

DO WE OVERESTIMATE HOW MUCH MOTHERS' MARKET WORK CURTAILS TIME WITH CHILDREN?

I am not arguing that women's market work outside the home does not reduce time spent with their children, especially very young children. Virtually every time diary study shows that employed mothers spend less time with their children than nonemployed mothers (Bryant and Zick 1996a, 1996b; Gershuny and Robinson 1988; Hofferth forthcoming; Nock and Kingston 1988; Robinson 1989; Robinson and Godbey 1999; Zick and Bryant 1996). The question, first, is this: How significant is the reduction in time with children, and how large is the gap between mothers who do more and do less market work? Second, do changes occur in the types of activities that, if reduced, we would expect to lead to less desirable child outcomes, or do mothers protect the most "valuable" time with children?

If the rapid increase in mothers' labor force participation is to translate into equally dramatic reductions in time children spend with at least one parent, one or more of several conditions must be met. First, children would have to be virtually always available to be "invested in" when parents are working; this is highly unlikely, once children reach school age and are required to spend a sizable number of hours away from home during the school year. Second, if dramatic differences between employed and nonemployed parents are to occur, parents would have to invest in their children during most of the hours when they were not employed. This too seems unlikely, given the evidence (just reviewed) that even "stay-at-home" mothers spend much of their day engaged primarily in activities other than childcare. Finally, working parents would need to make little attempt to maximize their coverage of hours when children were in the home by adjusting work schedules. Yet research suggests that fathers are important childcare providers when mothers

work outside the home (Casper and O'Connell 1998), and shift work is common in two-parent homes with young children (Presser 1989, 1999).

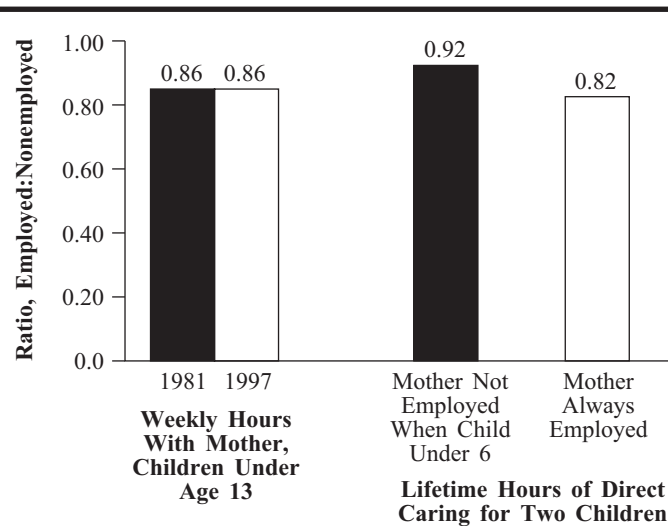
Studies vary in their estimates of how much labor market hours reduce maternal time with children; these estimates are affected by estimation procedures and covariates included in multivariate models. In tobit regressions, for example, controlling for child's age, which is the most significant determinant of childcare time, Zick and Bryant (1996) estimate that the effect of each additional hour of maternal employment is as small as a three-minute decline in direct childcare per day. Larger estimates are offered by Nock and Kingston (1988), who examine total time with children and show the importance of the time of day when mothers commit hours to the paid workforce. Maternal hours of market work between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. reduce time with children twice as much as hours of employment between 9:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m.: an estimated 42-minute reduction in time with children, compared with a 22-minute reduction. Yet even the more "costly" time period does not result in an hour-for-hour reduction in time with children for each hour of market work.

John Sandberg and Sandra Hofferth (1999) provide estimates (from a child's point of view) of the average weekly (waking) hours a child spent with his or her mother in 1981 and 1997. In 1997, a child of a working mother spent four fewer hours per week with his or her mother: 27 waking hours compared with 31 hours for children of nonemployed mothers. Taking a ratio of the estimates, Sandberg and Hofferth report (as shown on the left-hand side of Figure 2) that children with employed mothers spent 86% as many hours with their mothers at both time points as did children with nonemployed mothers.

Zick and Bryant (1996) use time diary data for two-parent families to construct synthetic estimates of the number of hours mothers will spend in childcare activities while raising two children to age 18. Their "lifetime" estimates suggest that mothers who are not employed when their children are under age 6 but who seek employment when their children reach school age spend 92% as many hours in childcare activities as do mothers who remain out of the labor force throughout their children's childhood. (See the right-hand panel of Figure 2.) Mothers who are employed throughout their children's childhood are estimated to spend 82% the number of hours spent by nonemployed mothers on childcare activities. (Zick and Bryant also provide a second, model-based set of estimates showing even smaller differences in time with children by maternal employment: no difference between nonemployed mothers and those who do not work during the preschool years but are employed later, and 91% as many hours devoted to childcare by mothers employed throughout their children's lives as by mothers who are never employed.) The suggestion, again, is that mothers who are employed spend less time with their children, but perhaps—as Nock and Kingston (1988) argued—not much less time.

How could the time investments in children be so similar for employed and nonemployed mothers? We must enter-

FIGURE 2. RATIO OF EMPLOYED TO NONEMPLOYED MOTHERS' HOURS WITH AND CARE OF CHILDREN



Sources: Sandberg and Hofferth (1999); Zick and Bryant (1996).

tain the possibility that working mothers may "shed load" in other areas, reallocating priorities to protect time with children. Candidates worth mentioning here are housework (exclusive of childcare), volunteer work, sleep, and free-time pursuits.

With respect to housework, the evidence is equivocal: Housework hours declined significantly for working mothers between 1965 and 1995, as shown in Figure 3. Housework hours declined more steeply, however, for mothers not employed outside the home (Bianchi et al. 2000). The reduction in time spent on household chores is widespread among women, and the hours "gained" are just as great for nonemployed as for employed mothers. The unanswered question is whether employed and nonemployed mothers are equally likely to use these additional hours for activities involving children.

With regard to volunteer activities, it is difficult to gain a clear picture of trends over time (Hayghe 1991), but a number of studies indicate that hours of employment crowd out hours that women commit to volunteer activities (Caputo 1997; Lichtenstein 1983; Robinson and Godbey 1999; Segal 1993; Statham and Rhoton 1985). Time diary data for 1998 suggest that employed and nonemployed mothers' time allocations differ in other ways as well: Employed mothers report less sleep (55 hours per week, compared with 61 hours reported by nonemployed mothers), spend slightly fewer hours in personal care (69 hours compared with 74 hours), and report significantly fewer "free-time" or "leisure" hours (29 versus 41 hours).³

The argument that mothers protect time with children even as they increase their rates of labor force participation

3. Unpublished tabulations from Bianchi and Robinson (1998–1999).

FIGURE 3. DECLINE IN HOURS OF HOUSEWORK: EMPLOYED AND NONEMPLOYED MOTHERS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18

Sources: "Americans' Use of Time" (1965–1966, 1975, 1985, 1995).

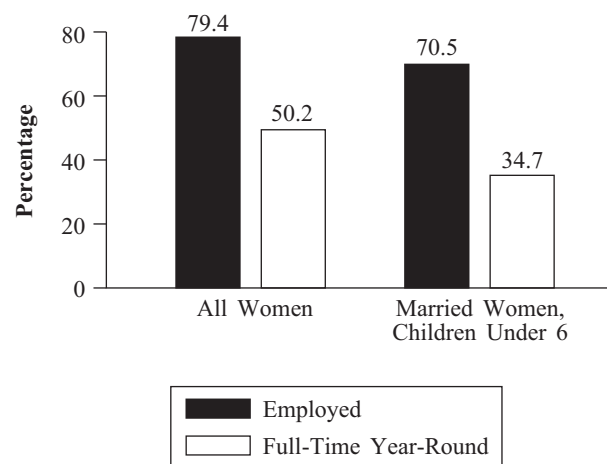
is also supported by a closer look at a factor we have measured relatively well, consistently, and continuously across time: women's annual employment rates and hours of market work in the March Current Population Survey (CPS). Although women's labor force rates certainly have risen dramatically in the past three decades, particularly for women in the most intensive childbearing and child-rearing years, we may have emphasized the *trend* at the expense of attending to the *level* of maternal employment in the contemporary United States (Cohen and Bianchi 1999).

The two most commonly used indicators of women's paid work are the percentage in the labor force (or the percentage employed) and the percentage of the employed who are full-time workers. According to March CPS data, close to 80% of women age 25 to 54 worked in 1998, and about 70% of those who worked for pay were employed full-time, year-round (see Figure 4). These rates of labor force attachment are very high.

Yet because full-time, year-round employment is usually calculated as a percentage of the employed, the sizable minority of women *not* in the labor force in a given year is often left out of employment trends. On the basis of *all* women age 25 to 54, about half were employed full-time (35+ hours per week), year-round (50+ weeks per year) in 1998, unquestionably more than the 32% reported two decades earlier. This means, however, that half of the women of prime working age are not working full-time and year-round in any given year. That percentage declines to 35% employed full-time, year-round for married women with children under age 6. Mothers—at least when they have some economic

choice—continue to balance paid work with child rearing by curtailing hours of work that conflict with periods of the day or times of year when their children are at home.

By far the modal experience, at least for a married mother of preschoolers, is to be working either less than 35

FIGURE 4. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED AND PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED FULL-TIME, YEAR-ROUND: WOMEN AGE 25–54

Source: Cohen and Bianchi (1999).

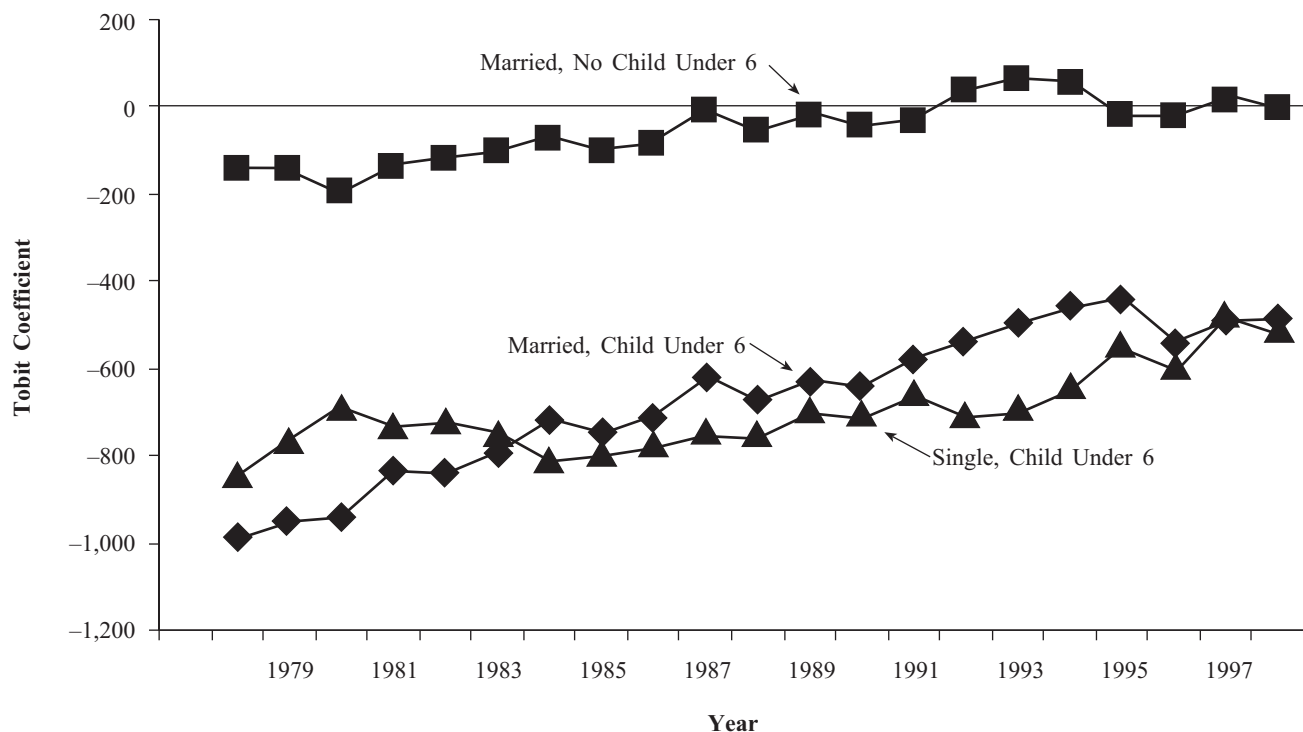
hours per week or not at all in a given year when she has young children in the household. Figure 5, which plots the trend in tobit coefficients estimating annual hours of paid work, shows that marriage by itself no longer depresses paid work. Children under age 6 are much less a deterrent to market work in 1998 than in 1978, but young children still exert a sizable downward pressure on both single and married mothers' commitment of time to paid employment.

Recent work by Klerman and Liebowitz (1999) suggests that mothers may sort into two fairly heterogeneous groups around the birth of the first child: Some remain highly committed to the labor force, and others embark on a much more intermittent work career. Heterogeneity between "committed" full-time working women and others would be consistent with historical evidence on women workers (Goldin 1990; Smith and Ward 1989). Despite extraordinarily high rates of labor force participation before the birth of their first child (80% employed, although only 50% employed full-time), only about one-third of mothers have returned to full-time work six months after the birth of their first child. For the majority of mothers—those either not working or working part-time six months after their first birth—there seems to be continued sifting across time as the first and second

births are accommodated. These estimates suggest that one-third of new mothers remain firmly attached to full-time work during their childbearing years, while two-thirds follow other patterns during the years when childcare demands are most intense.

We also find other, indirect evidence that women may be doing something beyond curtailing work hours to accommodate care of children, something sizable enough to affect wages. Jane Waldfogel (1997) shows that children depress mothers' wages, in part because mothers work more part-time years over their children's lives than do fathers. This fact, however, is not sufficient to explain the whole wage penalty. Waldfogel hypothesizes that women minimize "work and family conflict" by shifting occupations or jobs, altering their place of work—that is, making changes that enhance their ability to retain control of their children's lives but also exact a price in terms of their own earnings trajectories. Employers also may change their perceptions of women workers who become mothers, and may engage in discriminatory practices. Paula England and Michelle Budig (2000) estimate a wage penalty for each additional birth, even in recent cohorts and in fixed-effects models that should correct for unobserved heterogeneity among women of different parities.

FIGURE 5. TOBIT ESTIMATES OF ANNUAL HOURS WORKED, AS DIFFERENCE FROM SINGLE WOMEN WITH NO CHILDREN UNDER 6, 1978–1998



Note: Controls for age, education, other income, and race or ethnicity.

Source: Cohen and Bianchi (1999).

Claudia Goldin (1997) also estimates that only a small percentage (14%) of college-educated women, even in recent cohorts, reach midlife having successfully combined marriage, motherhood, and economic success in the labor market—that is, with earnings that begin to approach those of comparably educated men.

These trends, taken as a whole, at least raise the possibility that part of the reason why women's increased employment has not been found to have many direct, negative effects on children is that time with children does not vary greatly with employment, and has been far more stable across recent decades than might be indicated at first by the rise in maternal employment rates.

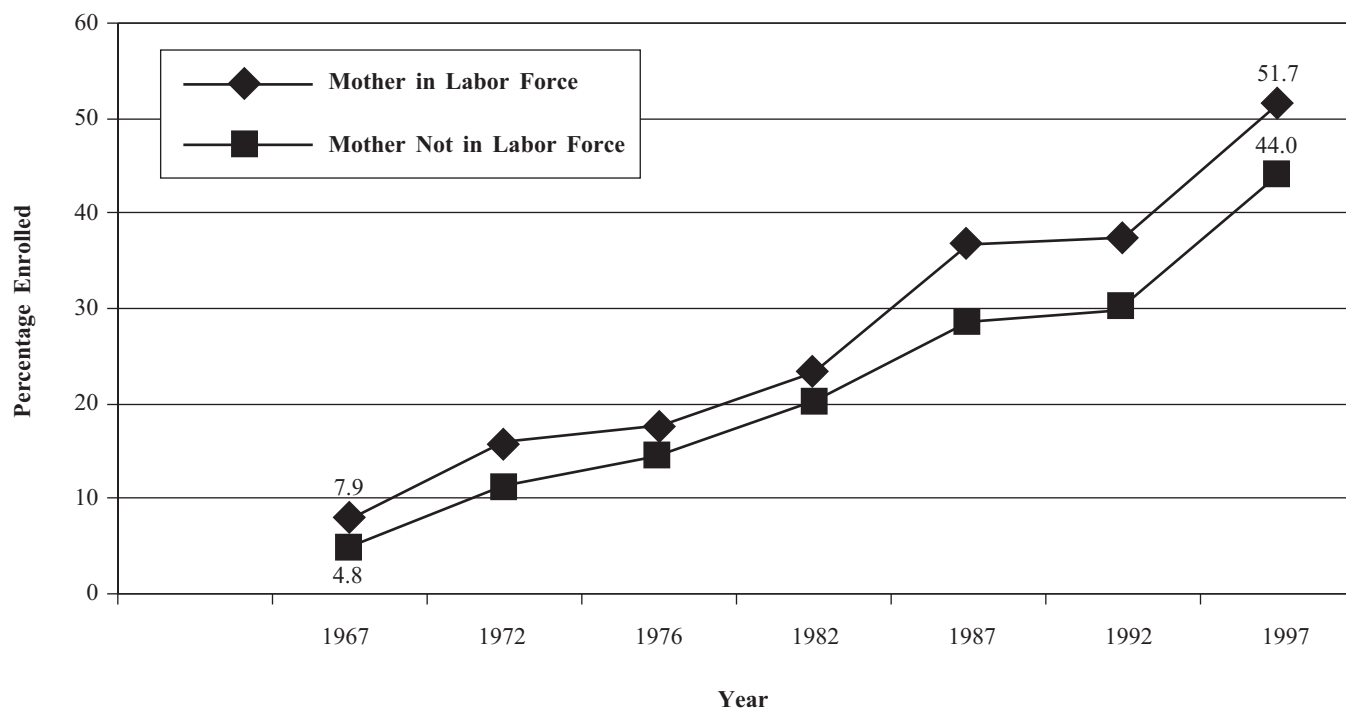
DO WE OVERESTIMATE HOW MUCH TIME CHILDREN ARE AVAILABLE TO BE "INVESTED IN"?

One of the few school enrollment changes in the past few decades has been the increase in preprimary-school enrollment, involving children ages 3 to 5 who are enrolled in some type of educational setting for at least part of the day or part of the year. When researchers began tracking these trends at the Census Bureau, they supposed that the increase in maternal labor force participation was propelling the enrollment growth: More working mothers created demand for

early education as part of childcare, for full-day kindergartens, and so forth. And indeed, for children of working mothers, the line trended upward from less than 10% of children of this age enrolled in the late 1960s to over 50% currently. The surprising development was not the trend for employed mothers (Figure 6, upper line) but the trend for nonemployed mothers (Figure 6, lower line). The level of preprimary enrollment remains lower for children of mothers not in the labor force, but has climbed as rapidly as for children of employed mothers.

Children who spend at least part of their day or part of the year in educational settings are generally removed from parental care for the hours in those settings. At least during the school year, school-age children are mandated to be away from home for a relatively large number of hours during the day (six to eight, depending on the length of the school day, whether transportation to and from school is provided by others, and the child's after-school activities) unless they are home-schooled. Thus, for large periods of time, it would be quite difficult for parents to spend time with their school-age children. The numbers for preprimary enrollment suggest that the removal of children from the home has begun at younger ages; at these ages, in the past, children would have been available for continuous, home-based (maternal) care.

FIGURE 6. PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN AGES 3 TO 5 ENROLLED IN PREPRIMARY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, BY MOTHER'S LABOR FORCE STATUS: SELECTED YEARS



Source: Casper and Bianchi (forthcoming).

Note: Preprimary enrollment includes nursery school programs, child care settings with educational programs, Head Start, and full- and part-day kindergartens.

This has happened in the homes of both employed and non-employed mothers.

These enrollment trends are indirect indicators, but they raise the possibility that along with the increase in mothers' paid work, perhaps in part as a consequence of mothers' movement out of the home, we have changed the standards of what constitutes good mothering. It has become widely acceptable even for "stay-at-home" mothers to place preschool-age children in nonmaternal care, at least for some hours per week. We also have changed our notions about the good use of children's time, especially for preschool-age children, in the United States. Today children have fewer brothers and sisters with whom to interact; regardless of the mother's employment status, they are often judged to "need" prekindergarten socialization to launch them on their educational careers.

In other ways as well, children's lives change more generally in all types of families, even if the initial impetus for change is the employed mother's increased need for childcare. Not all children's families can afford summer programs or camps or after-school lessons. As family income rises, however, in part because of the mother's increased earnings, more children today than in the past engage in these activities, which take them outside the home and away from their parents' direct care. These childhood experiences are probably defined more strongly by social class than by whether the mother works outside the home, though mother's employment is a component of the family resources that help determine social class.

Determining causality may be hopelessly complicated because changes in mother's time use, children's time use, and family income are determined jointly. For my argument here, however, sorting out causality is less important than the end result: a redefinition of childhood that tends to push mothers toward market work because "good" childhoods increasingly include components that cost money. When mothers engage in market work, they initially create demand for childcare services provided by day care centers and summer camps. But as "quality" programs emerge to meet this demand and as mothers' earnings increase, we see an increase in the array of (expensive) choices for the way children spend their time.

Children as well help to redefine what makes a "good" childhood (Corsaro 1997). Especially as they grow older, children want to spend time in settings where their friends are; and if those settings are increasingly day care centers, after-school programs, and summer camps rather than neighborhood streets and backyards, children probably also pressure parents to provide those experiences.

As the general level of affluence and educational attainment rises, parents desire increasingly to provide their children with educational experiences. Children still require substantial investments of parental time, especially in their preschool years. Smaller family sizes, however, reduce the proportion of all child-rearing years spent with time-intensive preschoolers. At the same time, the lengthening of children's dependency (in many cases beyond age 18, as more children

attend college) shifts the time demands toward older children. The type of time investment required by older children, however, differs from the direct and constant supervision needed at younger ages (Teifenthaler 1997; Zick and Bryant 1996).

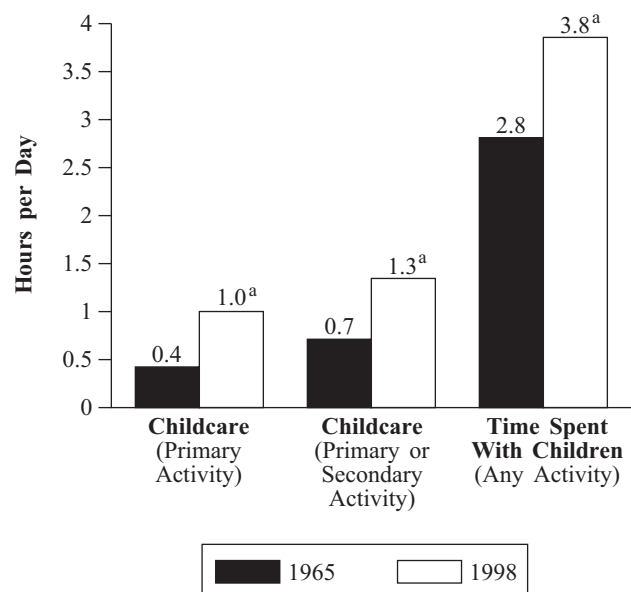
With the rise in the educational expectations for children, there has been an increase in the proportion of parenting years requiring sizable monetary investment in children. Parents provide both time and money, but the change in the nature of childhood may be presenting mothers with increasing pressures or incentives to invest in (older) children's lives in much the same way as fathers traditionally have done in the United States: by providing not only time but income to buy specialized child services. As educational requirements for successful entry into the labor force are ratcheted upward, the ultimate in this type of "quality" investment, of course, is college education. Even before college, however, special classes, travel with school groups, camps, and summer programs offering educational experiences give parents ample opportunity to provide income as well as time in an attempt to enrich their children's lives and enhance future opportunities. If "good" mothers provide what children need most, and if children increasingly require extended years of financial support to become successful adults (or at least if we think they need such investments), mothers' calculations about how to allocate time between market and nonmarket activities will include their guesses, hopes, and expectations about what their children need (currently and in the future) and how they meet those needs most effectively.

DO WE UNDERESTIMATE HOW MUCH TIME FATHERS ARE SPENDING WITH CHILDREN?

If the only change in the past 30 years had been that more mothers now work for pay, children should be spending less time with parents. This point, however, includes the assumption that mothers and fathers have not made other adjustments to accommodate this dramatic change. Mounting evidence suggests that mothers, on average, have not reduced their time with children and that fathers, at least married fathers, have significantly increased the time they spend with children.

I can calculate three direct measures of married fathers' time with children from roughly comparable time diaries in the United States, conducted in the mid-1960s and the late 1990s. The data and measures are the same as shown earlier for mothers. Figure 7 depicts how much time a married father reports that his main activity is a childcare activity, how much time he says his main or secondary activity is childcare, and how much time he says he is with his children, no matter what the activity. Each measure shows an upward trend for married fathers.

Most interesting are the relative estimates of mothers' and fathers' time with children shown in Figure 8: In 1965 the time fathers reported spending primarily on childcare was about one-quarter the mothers' estimate of their time with children; this figure increased to 30% of mothers' estimates if secondary childcare time was included. By 1998, fathers' (primary) childcare time was 56% of mothers' time, and 45% of mothers' time when secondary childcare time was added.

FIGURE 7. CHANGE IN MARRIED FATHERS' HOURS OF CHILD CARE AND TIME WITH CHILDREN

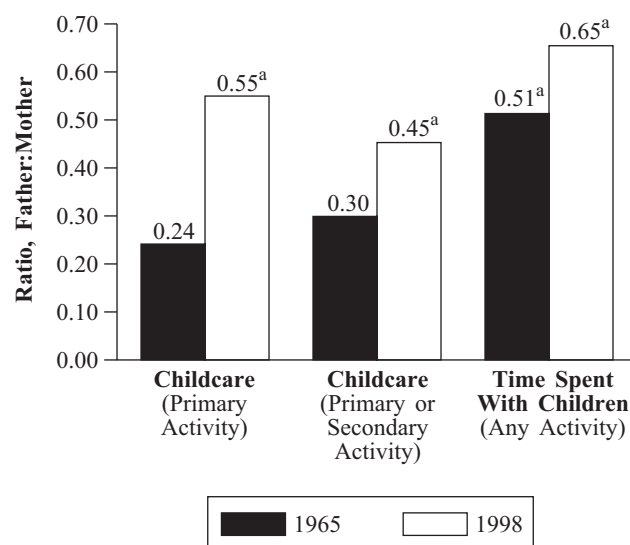
Sources: "Americans' Use of Time" (1965–1966); Bianchi and Robinson (1998–1999).

Notes: Estimates are based on one-day "yesterday" time diaries collected from 326 married fathers in 1965–1966 and 194 married fathers in 1998–1999, all with children under age 18 at the time of the interview. Childcare includes child and baby care, helping/teaching children, talking/reading to children, indoor/outdoor play with children, and medical/travel/other child-related care.

^aTest of 1965–1998 difference in means is statistically significant, $p < .05$.

In 1965, fathers reported having children with them about half as often as did mothers. By 1998, fathers' time with children was two-thirds that of mothers. Recall from Figure 1 that fathers' time with children relative to mothers' time did not increase because mothers' time decreased; mothers' time held steady or increased. Instead married fathers' time with children increased because it expanded faster than mothers' time, although from a low base in 1965. (At both time points, fathers more often than mothers had their spouse present when spending time with children, and this "joint" time is included in the estimates.)

Any single set of numbers, such as these, is not compelling. Time diary samples tend to be small (e.g., estimates in Figures 7 and 8 are based on only 194 fathers in 1998 and 326 fathers in 1965), and diaries are subject to limitations connected with recall. Other sources, however, offer noteworthy corroboration. John Sandberg and Sandra Hofferth (1999) report parallel findings based on time diaries for children under age 13. Despite the increase in single parenting and in maternal employment, children's time with at least one parent changed little between 1981 and 1997. In two-parent families, children's time with mothers and fathers in-

FIGURE 8. RATIO OF MARRIED FATHERS' TO MARRIED MOTHERS' HOURS WITH CHILDREN, 1965 AND 1998

Sources: "Americans' Use of Time" (1965–1966); Bianchi and Robinson (1998–1999).

Notes: Estimates are based on one-day "yesterday" time diaries collected from 358 married mothers in 1965–1966, 326 married fathers in 1965–1966, 194 married mothers in 1998–1999, and 141 married fathers in 1998–1999. Ratios are averages across married men and women with children under age 18, not couples married to each other.

^aTest of 1965–1998 difference in means is statistically significant, $p < .05$.

creased sufficiently to counteract any decrease of time in the home associated with increased maternal employment.

Similar findings also characterize several other industrialized countries (Niemi 1988). Michael Bittman (1999a, 1999b) shows that fathers' (and mothers') time in childcare increased substantially in Australia between 1974 and 1992. The age profile of fathers' time with children also shifted so as to suggest that fathers are much more involved in infant care now than in the past. Fischer, McCulloch, and Gershuny (1999) show similar trends for Britain: an increase in childcare time on the part of fathers (and mothers) between the mid-1970s and 1999, with an especially sharp rise since 1985 for those with children under age 5. Heather Joshi (1998: table 2) showed, in her 1996 presidential address to the European Society for Population Economics, that men's share of work in the home (including childcare) increased from around one-quarter in the 1960s or early 1970s to 35 to 40% by the late 1980s in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Denmark.

CONCLUSION

Even during periods of rapid transformation in women's position in society, such as we could argue has taken place in

the United States in recent decades, change in the family, our most important sphere, sometimes occurs more slowly than we realize. On the basis of the evidence I have provided, I conclude that mothers' time and attention to children has been far more constant over the past few decades (and that the gap between employed and nonemployed mothers regarding time with children is far smaller) than we might have expected, given the increase in women's labor force participation.

Research on developing countries and historical work on developed countries have led me to reevaluate the situation in the contemporary United States, where we assume that market work is generally incompatible with child rearing. Much of what women do has not been measured adequately because it is outside the realm of market work; this failure limits our understanding of the changes in the lives of mothers, fathers, and children. If we are interested in child quality and parental investment, we need more accurate assessments of all uses of time, both reproductive and productive.

We especially need to broaden our concern about inequality in parental investment so that we assess time as well as money. Increase in parents' educational attainment, along with the decline in family size, tends to be forgotten in assessments of trends affecting children's well-being; yet for some children, these factors may have greatly enhanced parental time. Research by Steve Martin (1999, 2000) suggests that delayed childbearers, who tend to be well educated, are increasingly likely to raise their children in stable marriages, whereas early childbearers, who often are not well educated, may be increasingly likely to raise their children outside marriage. We may be seeing a bifurcation of parents and children into two groups. In one group, the fathers are not present and the mothers have neither adequate time nor money to invest in children. At the same time, in another group, both mothers and fathers are able and willing to spend time and money on their children as never before.

I conclude that mothers, for the most part, continue to be "sweepers" (to borrow a soccer analogy), even in the United States today. Their job is to be ever attentive to what needs to be done to assist in covering the goal—to what they must do to ensure their well-being and that of their family. In protecting the goal, first things come first: Mothers may have the luxury of worrying about providing fun, stimulation, and educational outings for their children, but only after they can ensure that their children are clothed, well nourished, and safe. If they have more to attend to than is possible for one person, they ultimately step back and allow others to provide the "fun" or "rewarding" contributions if that step is needed to get the job done.

Married women in the West were the last to move into paid market work. The historical and anthropological literature yields an image of mothers' time as residual time: picking up the slack, doing whatever cannot be allocated to children or adult relatives, or is not considered appropriate for men. Mothers do both what it makes sense to do and what has to be done, whether it makes sense or not, because no one else is available, able, or willing to do the job.

My one concern is that I have given the impression that women have found it quite easy to balance increased labor force participation with child rearing, to reduce hours of employment so as to juggle childcare, and to get their husbands more involved in child rearing; and that fathers have found it easy to add more hours with children to those they already commit to supporting children financially. I do not think these changes have been easy for American families, particularly for American women. Why have women so increased their hours of paid employment? Many observers would emphasize constraints—men's poor labor force prospects—and this is probably part of the story. But this explanation is not sufficient, for it gives too little attention to the dramatic change in opportunities for women and in women's own conceptions of what a successful, normal adulthood should entail. Yet I suspect that every mother has felt self-doubt about the path taken, and has been concerned about whether she has done the best thing for herself and/or her children, and that these feelings continue to give women pause and to slow change both in the marketplace and at home.

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