



PROJECT MUSE®

Gender and American Jews

Harriet Hartman, Moshe Hartman, Sylvia Barack Fishman

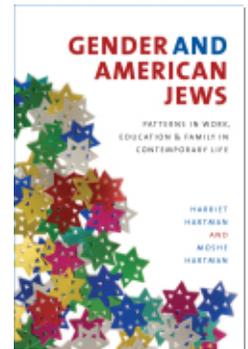
Published by Brandeis University Press

Hartman, Harriet & Hartman, Moshe & Fishman, Barack.

Gender and American Jews: Patterns in Work, Education, and Family in Contemporary Life.

Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2009.

Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/15685>

CHAPTER 5

Dual-Earning Patterns of American Jews

Given the high labor force participation rates of both Jewish men and women, it is expected that in a high proportion of American Jewish couples, both spouses will be working in the labor force, that is, as dual-earner couples. The main purpose of this chapter is to explore the patterns of dual earning among American Jews.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, both American Jewish men and women are highly educated and highly represented in occupations characterized by high income and occupational prestige, even in comparison with those of similar educational achievement. Because both women and men share this high achievement relative to the broader population, there is an expectation of gender equality between Jewish women and men in this respect, and presumably between spouses. Relations between spouses often reflect status in the broader society (Hout, 1982), which makes gender relations between spouses of even greater interest. However, spousal relations often reflect tensions in the broader society as well, and certainly gender equality has been a focus of tension as gender roles have shifted and varied in the past few decades. How this affects Jewish men and women was explored in Prell's *Fighting to Become Americans* (1999), which shows that the tensions in gender role transitions played out not only in intimate relations between Jewish men and women, but also in terms of their status vis-à-vis the broader society. Gender equality in secular achievement can therefore not be assumed between Jewish spouses and is the subtext of this chapter.

Dual-earning patterns can vary in at least three ways. First, they vary in terms of the work hours involved—the husband's work hours, the wife's work hours, the combined work hours, and the husband's work hours in comparison with the wife's (e.g., Bielby and Bielby, 1989; Chenu and Robinson, 2002; Gilbert, 2005). A related issue is whether the wife is in the position of "secondary earner," with fewer work hours and more flexible

adjustments to family demands (Becker and Moen, 1999; Gershuny, Bittman, and Brice, et. al., 2005).

Second, dual-earning patterns vary in terms of the educational and occupational equality between husbands and wives in dual-earner couples (e.g., Schwartz and Mare, 2005). As we have already shown, there appears to be a tendency toward increased educational homogamy among American Jewish married couples as well as among couples in the broader population (Schwartz and Mare, 2005). There also appears to be increasing occupational homogamy among contemporary couples (Kalmijn, 1994), which would not be an unexpected tendency among American Jews. The transformation of American Jewry into a social and ethnic network, maintained to a great extent by similar social class, educational venues, and occupations (Goldscheider and Zuckerman, 1984), leads one to expect occupational and status homogamy among married Jewish couples.

In addition to the increased odds of meeting a marriageable partner of similar social status, there is also a possibility that, once married, spouses influence each other's achievement. There are three prevailing theories about the effects spouses have on each other's occupational achievement (Robert and Bukodi, 2002). (1) *Advantage redistribution among households* suggests that the husband's advantages in the labor market will depress the wife's occupational achievements, because her efforts will be more highly valued within the home than will his; this implies that even if the status of the husband and that of his wife are similar at the time of marriage, over time a traditional gender gap will develop, with the husband achieving an occupation that provides a higher income and more prestige than his wife. (2) *Advantage accumulation within households* suggests that households benefit from and therefore facilitate wives' work, and that shared economic, social, and cultural resources enhance the achievement of each spouse (Bernasco, 1994, cited in Smits, Ultee, and Lammers, 1996). (3) *Status similarity within households* suggests increased occupational similarity because of the similar backgrounds of the spouses. At the same time, empirical research shows some anomalies: among academic couples, occupational homogamy was found to have no effect on the achievement of spouses (Ferber and Hoffman 1997), and in some studies, husbands with working wives were found to be less successful in their careers than were husbands whose wives did not participate in the labor force (Bellas, 1992; Stanley, Hunt, and Hunt, 1986). In a cross-cultural comparative study, the husband's occupation was shown to produce both a ceiling effect and a facilitating effect on the wife's occupational achievement, the strength of which differed between countries (or cultural contexts) (Smits, Ultee, and Lammers, 1996). Our focus on Jewish dual earners will shed light on this controversy.

Third, dual-earning patterns vary in terms of gender equality in rewards from the labor force, including occupational prestige and earnings. Critical to understanding dual-earner couples is how much the wife contributes to the joint income (e.g., Raley, Mattingly, and Bianchi, 2006; Winkler, 1998; Winkler, McBride, and Andrews, 2005; Winslow-Bowe, 2006). Even when there is occupational homogamy, it may not imply gender equality in terms of these rewards, for a number of reasons. Men and women have different occupations within broad occupational classifications, as we have already seen. Income disparity between men and women appears to be greatest for most occupations that require the highest education and that yield higher incomes, as we showed in Chapter 4 and as Huffman (2004) has shown for dual-earner couples in the broader population, so that having the same occupation may not result in income homogamy. Also, women may take advantage of their husband's earnings to not work full time, which may in turn decrease both their earnings (both in the short term and as an accumulative disadvantage) and occupational prestige relative to their husband's (men are less likely to opt for such an arrangement).

Furthermore, intimate gender relationships often mirror tensions in the broader society, be it that of American Jews or, more generally, U.S. society (Prell, 1999). American Jewish women, having been at the forefront of the (third-wave) feminist movement, might be expected to display achievement equal to that of their husbands in their private lives. However, inasmuch as such equality might be threatening in intimate relationships, it is possible that family life is structured in such a way that it maintains some traditional status differences; indeed, some research has shown that marriages characterized by nontraditional status differences (where women earn a higher income or their occupation confers higher status than does that of their husband) are more vulnerable to dissolution (Gelissen, 2004).

For all these reasons, we are skeptical that, despite having strong human resources in their résumés, American Jewish wives will translate this into equal economic status with their husbands.

Most of the variation in dual-earning patterns has been related to husbands' and wives' educational levels, respective occupations, need for and desired income, and family roles (Winslow-Bowe, 2006). Husbands' and wives' relative education levels, occupations, and incomes have also been related to the likelihood and persistence of the wife's contributions to the family income (Raley et. al., 2006; Winkler, 1998; Winkler et. al., 2005). Sociocultural influences have also been explored, but primarily in terms of race or ethnicity (Winslow-Bowe, 2006) or other religions, usually Christian denominations (Heineck, 2004; Lehrer, 1995). Ammerman and Roof (1995) and Demmitt (1992) have explored how particular forms of religiosity

among conservative Protestants are related to dual-earning patterns; and Hertel (1995) and Edgell (2006) have explored whether wives' employment has affected their religiosity, but the samples are primarily Christian. Because American Jewish attitudes toward women's employment differ from those of Protestant and Catholic women (see, e.g., Harville and Rienzi, 2000), and because of Jewish women's relatively high level of education and tradition of labor force involvement, research on the relationship between Jewish involvement in the labor force and dual-earning patterns need not follow those of the broader U.S. population.

Expectations about Jewish dual earning stem from Jews' high level of education, occupation, and income status relative to those of the broader population, which leads us to expect a higher proportion of dual earners, with long working hours. That the Jewish tradition has never opposed, and has even encouraged, the idea of women contributing to the family economy by working for pay outside the home (Baskin, 1991; Fishman, 1993; Wegner, 1988) adds to this expectation. At the same time, the family is central to Jewish life, and women are expected to take on major domestic responsibilities, which often curtail or interrupt labor force participation and achievement. Many highly educated Jewish women want both careers and families, in contrast to the feminist ethos, which in the past has pressured women to put careers first (Fishman, 1993). Some have suggested that the separate roles for men and women according to traditional Judaism might be expressed in traditional patterns of gender inequity with respect to education, hours of work, occupation, and earnings within Jewish couples, but Jewish tradition does not actually suggest that women need to be or should be inferior to their husbands in terms of secular education and occupational achievement, even if separate roles and obligations were condoned for domestic life (see also Wegner, 1988). Our previous research did not support the notion that traditional Judaism brought with it gender inequality within couples (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a).

Another factor to consider is marital status. Some research has suggested that second marriages differ from first marriages in terms of homogamy (Gelissen, 2004). The two prevailing theories are (1) that people learn from their first marriages that homogamy is desirable (*learning theory*), and therefore their second marriages are more homogamous than their first marriages; and (2) that remarriages are less homogamous because there is less selection in the marriage market (*marriage market theory*). Jewish intermarriage supports the second theory: 43% of remarriages are intermarriages, compared with 25% of first marriages. The figures are similar for both men and women. Kalmijn (1994) found, however, that economic homogamy is more important than cultural homogamy when couples enter into marriage

when they are older. Because remarriage takes place between people who are older than those marrying for the first time, marriage when one is older may be related to increased occupational homogamy in remarriage even as cultural homogamy (represented by religious identification) decreases. This may be a variant of “trading up” in remarriage—that is, giving up cultural homogamy for economic homogamy. However, there is no guarantee that the economic status (even if more homogamous) will be higher in remarriage. The last section of the chapter addresses this issue, and we explore its interaction with intermarriage in Chapter 10.

Previous research about American Jewish dual earners showed that in the past the proportion of dual earners among American Jews lagged behind that of the broader U.S. population. As immigrants, in 1911, only 8% of Jewish women were employed outside their homes (Fishman, 1993, p. 69), although they were often involved in moneymaking activities from their homes (Hyman, Baum, and Michel, 1976; Glenn, 1990; Weinberg, 1988). Even as they became more highly educated than most women in the United States, a large proportion of Jewish women did not participate in the labor force once they became pregnant or mothers, even through the 1960s (Fishman, 1993, p. 72). It was in a relatively short time, therefore, that the majority of Jewish families became dual earners: according to the 1990 NJPS, 55% of Jewish couples were dual earners (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a, Table 5.6, p. 180), quite comparable to the national U.S. proportion of dual-earner families (52.1%) at the time.

However, the patterns of Jewish dual-earner couples in 1990 were somewhat different than patterns found among dual-earner couples in the broader U.S. population (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a). For example, there was less occupational similarity between the spouses than expected. Unlike the pattern of dual earners in the broader population, in which husbands’ and wives’ employment seemed to be modified by each other’s characteristics, Jewish wives’ labor force participation and occupational prestige were related more to their own education and number of children than to their spouse’s characteristics. Jewish wives were more likely than wives in the broader U.S. population to have the same level of education as, or a higher level than, their husbands. We also found that more than half of the women in dual-earner couples had the same or higher occupational prestige as, or higher prestige than, their husbands, another unusual pattern, and that the proportion of “cross-class” couples was particularly large among American Jews (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a). Data on individual husbands’ and wives’ income were not available to make that comparison. Thus, it is with considerable interest that we turn to analyzing this subject among American Jews with the data available from the 2000–01 National Jewish Population Survey.

DATA

Using the 2000–01 NJPS, we include in our sample the 1,415 Jewish respondents who were currently married (and not separated). We excluded non-married “partners,” who would have introduced extraneous variations into the analysis, would have reduced comparability with other studies, and would have added fewer than 53 couples to the analysis (of whom 31 were same-sex couples, which would have introduced another set of variations into the analysis).

Dual-earner couples are designated as married couples in which the husband and the wife are both currently in the labor force. *Hours of work* are considered part time if they are employed 34 hours or fewer in a typical week; hours of work are considered full time if they are employed 35 hours or more per week. In the data set, actual hours worked were recorded in groups of work hours; the midpoint of the group was used in our analyses. For the spouse, the actual hours were given (and used for analysis).

Occupation is coded according to the 2000 Census codes, as in the preceding chapter. *Occupational prestige* is also coded as explained in the preceding chapter. *Income* was reported as annual earnings (before taxes) for respondent and spouse. *Household income* was reported as pre-tax household income for 1999.

DUAL-EARNING PATTERNS

Dual earners comprised 45% of Jewish couples in 2000–01 (down from 54.8% in the 1990 NJPS). This is lower than the proportion of dual-earner couples in the broader U.S. population (57.0% in 2000, 59.3% in 2001; based on the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 1968–2005, Table 23). This is even less in line with expectations, given American Jews’ high educational level, than was found in 1990, when the proportion of dual earners among American Jews was very similar to that found in the broader U.S. population (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a, Table 5.6, p. 180).

Because at least one of the spouses in younger couples may be pursuing higher education, and one of the spouses in older couples may be retired, we looked at the incidence of dual-earner families by respondents’ age and found that, indeed, a higher proportion of couples, around 74%, were dual earners in the 25–64 age groups (Table 5.1), more comparable to the broader population.¹ The low proportion of dual earners among those 65 and older, and the relatively older age of the 65+ age group among American Jews brings the overall proportion to the lower level reported above.

Husbands and wives in single-earner families are significantly older than husbands and wives in dual-earner couples, presumably because one

Table 5.1 Percentage of Dual-earner Couples for American Jews, by Age Group

Age group of respondent	% Dual earner
18–24	54.5
25–44	75.3
45–64	73.1
65+	27.6
Total	68.8
(<i>n</i>) ^a	(1,415)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

of the spouses in older couples has retired while the other spouse continues to work. Among single-earner couples, 31.9% of the husbands and 22.2% of the wives are 65 or over, whereas among dual-earner couples, only 9.1% of the husbands and 4.1% of the wives are 65 or over. As a result, the mean age of husbands and wives in single-earner couples is greater than the mean age of their counterparts in dual-earner couples.

In both single-earner and dual-earner couples, there is the traditional age difference, with most husbands being older than their wives by 2–3 years. In about 16% of the couples, wives are older than their husbands, but in less than 2% of the couples does this difference exceed 5 years. The mean age difference between husbands and wives is smaller among couples whose husband is under 65 (3–3.4 years) than among couples in which the husband is 65 or over (5.8 years).

Among dual-earner couples in which the husband is 65 or over, the age difference is particularly large (7.1), suggesting that in these couples it is probably the wife who has continued to work full time after the husband semi-retires. As Table 5.2 shows, the dominant pattern of dual earners in all age groups is that the husband and wife both work full time, but the older the husband is, the lower the proportion of dual-earner couples in which both spouses work full time, the lower the percentage of husbands working full time while the wife works part time, and the higher the percentage of both husband and wife working part time and the wife working full time with the husband working part time.

Like their counterparts in the broader U.S. population, Jewish dual-earner couples work long hours, 43.6% working a combined total of 80 or more hours per week. This is quite comparable to the average of 82 hours per week of the dual-earner couples in the broader population (NSCW, 2002).

Table 5.2 Full-time and Part-time Employment by Husband's Age, for American Jewish Couples

Husband's age	25-44	45-64	65+
Both husband and wife employed full time (%)	58.0	65.1	36.5
Husband employed full time, wife employed part time (%)	36.4	27.2	20.2
Wife employed full time, husband employed part time (%)	2.9	3.9	12.5
Both husband and wife employed part time (%)	2.7	3.8	30.8
Total (%) (<i>n</i>) ^a	100.0 (355)	100.0 (499)	100.0 (56)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

Jewish men in the labor force are more likely to be working full time than are women (Table 5.3), with an average work week of about 46 hours. As a result, there is a traditional difference in that husbands worked longer hours than wives in the majority of Jewish dual-earner couples (58.8%). In 27% of dual-earner couples, husbands and wives worked the same number of hours; and in 14.2%, wives worked longer hours than their husbands. As mentioned earlier, this is more likely to be the case for couples in which the respondent is over 65.

Husband's hours of work are not significantly different in single-earner and dual-earner couples (46.2 vs. 45.3%). However, wives in dual-earner couples are almost twice as likely to be working full time than are working

Table 5.3 Hours of Employment in American Jewish Single- and Dual-Earner Couples (Ages 25-64)

	Dual-earner couples	Single-earner couples
Husband employed full time (%)	92.9	93.4
Husband's mean hours of employment per week	46.1	47.6
Wife employed full time (%)	65.6	67.0
Wife's mean hours of employment per week	36.8	37.1
(<i>n</i>) ^a	(955)	(216)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

wives in single-earner couples (presumably because they are older). On average, wives in dual-earner couples work significantly more hours (34.9) than wives in single-earner couples (31.2%, *t*-test significant at $p = 0.063$). When we confine our analysis to the main labor force participation ages of the respondent (25–64), these differences disappear (Table 5.3).

Educational homogamy is the same for Jewish dual-earner couples and single-earner couples (38.4% in each group). However, there is a much higher proportion of husbands with a higher education than their wives among single-earner couples than among dual-earner couples, as might be expected. In more than 70% of educationally heterogamous single-earner couples, husbands have more education than their wives, compared with 56% of dual-earner couples. This is a result of wives in dual-earner couples having higher educational attainment: more than 40% of dual-earner wives have graduate degrees, compared with 24.9% of single-earner wives; conversely, 21.5% of single-earner wives have no college education, compared with less than 10% of dual-earner wives. The higher education of dual-earner wives leads to considerable occupational and income similarity among American Jewish spouses, as we shall see later.

In terms of the broad occupational categories, there is a similarity in the occupations of Jewish dual-earner husbands and wives (Table 5.4). More than one-third of husbands and wives have occupations in the same general category, with an especially high proportion of couples (22.4%) in which both husband and wife have professional occupations. Almost half of wives and 41% of husbands have professional occupations; somewhat

Table 5.4 Occupations of American Jewish Dual-Earner Couples

Occupation	Husband (%)	Wife (%)	Both (%)
Management/executive	13.3	11.3	2.5
Business/finance	8.5	6.5	1.3
Professional	41.2	44.5	22.4
Technical	2.1	4.2	0.3
Service	3.4	4.3	0.6
Sales	15.3	11.2	3.3
Office/administrative support	2.8	10.8	0.8
Foreman, skilled/unskilled	6.9	2.2	0.8
Other	6.5	5.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	33.0
(<i>n</i>) ^a			(1,191)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

higher proportions of husbands than wives are in management/executive, business/finance, sales, and blue-collar occupations; and somewhat higher proportions of wives have technical, service, and office/administrative support occupations. This distribution follows the traditional pattern of “female” and “male” occupations, but is less differentiated than in the past. In 1990, using similar classifications of occupations, we found that more than 20% of wives would have to change occupations to have the same occupational distribution as their husbands (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a, p. 188). In 2000–01, this percentage decreased to 16.5%.

Collapsing these categories to upper-/upper-middle-class (professional, managerial/executive, and business/finance); middle-class (sales, office/administrative support, technical); and lower-/lower-middle-class (blue-collar, service) occupations, we find that more than half (52%) of husbands and wives have occupations in a similar class, whereas 47% are in “cross-class” marriages, a percentage somewhat higher than that in 1990, when we found that about 41% of dual-earner couples were “cross-class” and 58% were in a similar occupational class. In 1990 we found an unusual pattern in that that these cross-class couples among American Jews were disproportionately ones in which the wife’s occupation was in a higher class than her husband’s. In 2000–01, this pattern shifted, so that in about half of cross-class couples, the wives had higher-status occupations than their husbands, and in the other half, the husbands had higher-status occupations than their wives.

Table 5.5 Occupations of American Jewish Dual-Earner Couples, 1990 and 2000–01

Occupation	1990		2000–01	
	Husbands (%)	Wives (%)	Husbands (%)	Wives (%)
Professional, technical, academic	44.5 (328)	48.4 (357)	43.8 (516)	51.7 (580)
Managerial, administrative	17.9 (132)	15.0 (111)	22.6 (259)	16.8 (212)
Sales, clerical	17.3 (128)	27.9 (206)	19.5 (215)	21.5 (262)
Blue collar, service	20.3 (150)	8.7 (206)	7.3 (123)	4.5 (99)

Data sources: NJPS, 1990 and 2000–01; Hartman & Hartman, 1996a, Table 5.10.

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with datasets.

One of the reasons for this is that the occupational distributions have become less “traditional”: wives’ occupations have become more similar to their husbands,’ with a higher proportion of women (as well as men) now in professional, management/executive, and business/finance positions than in 1990, and with fewer spouses in blue-collar or service occupations, especially men (Table 5.5; see also Chiswick and Huang, 2006). (Keep in mind that the occupational classification changed from 1990 to 2000, so that several categories of occupations are collapsed for comparability.)

Another way of comparing occupational attainment of husbands and wives is to look at occupational prestige scores. For both husbands and wives, these scores are slightly higher in dual-earner than in single-earner couples (Table 5.6). There is considerable similarity between the prestige scores of husbands and wives, whether they are in single-earner or dual-earner families. Indeed, in 48.4% of dual-earner couples, the husband’s occupational prestige score is higher than the wife’s; yet in 41.2% of couples, the wife’s occupational prestige score is higher than the husband’s. In 10.5%, the occupational prestige score of the husband is equal to that of the wife.

These results are very consistent with those obtained in 1990, when we found that in 51% of dual-earner couples, wives had the same occupational prestige or higher prestige than their husbands (Hartman and Hartman, 1996a, p. 191).

As might be expected, dual-earner couples have slightly higher household incomes than single-earner couples (but the *t*-test was *not* significant at $p < 0.05$; Figure 5.1).

One reason that the difference in household income is not greater between single- and dual-earner couples is that the husband’s income is significantly higher in single-earner couples (mean \$125,586 vs. \$95,678; *t*-test = 0.024).² In contrast, the wife’s income is significantly higher in dual-earner couples (\$40,000 vs. \$56,304; *t*-test = 0.004).

In two-thirds of dual-earner couples (on which we have income data for both husband and wife; $n = 311$), husbands earned more than wives; in 15%

Table 5.6 Mean Occupational Prestige of American Jews in Single-Earner and Dual-Earner Couples

	Single-earner couples	Dual-earner couples
Husband	54.3	56.8
Wife	52.3	53.9
(<i>n</i>) ^a	(316)	(955)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

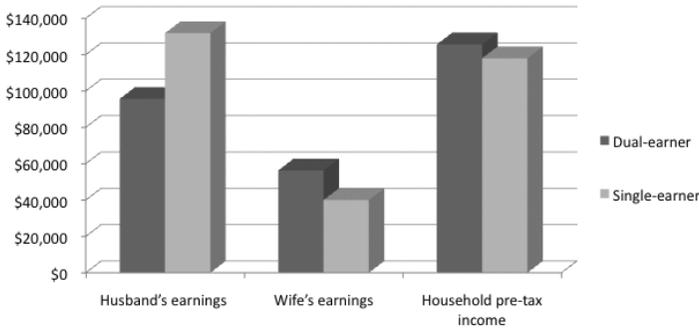


Figure 5.1. Mean annual earnings for single-earner and dual-earner couples.

of couples, wives earned the same as their husbands; and in 17%, wives earned more than their husbands. This is a somewhat lower proportion of wives earning more than their husbands than in the greater U.S. population, in which 24.1% of wives in dual-earner families earned more than their husbands (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2003a). Other research has found this proportion to vary between 20% and 30% (Tichenor, 1999; Winslow-Bowe, 2006; Winkler, 1998). One reason may be that wives are more likely to earn more than their husbands when their husbands earn lower incomes, which is less likely among Jewish men than in the broader population (see discussion in Winslow-Bowe, 2006).

Another way of looking at the couple's income is to consider what proportion of the couple's dual income comes from the wife. Among American Jews, the average of 38.7% contribution is quite comparable to the estimate of the National Study of the Changing Workforce, according to which women in dual-earner families contribute on average an estimated 40% of family earnings (Bond, 2002, p. 9). Among full-time workers, the average contribution of wives among American Jews is 43.8%; among part-time workers, it is 30.5%. In about one-third of the couples, the wife contributes 50% or more to the couple's income. Among wives employed full time, the percentage of those contributing 50% or more to the couple's annual income is even higher, 42.7%.

Nock (2001) defines "marriages of equally dependent spouses" as those in which wives contribute 40–59% of the family income; among American Jews, nearly half (46.3%) of dual-earner couples fall in this category (not considering non-earnings income), compared with 30% of dual-earner couples in the broader U.S. population (Nock, 2001). Raley et al. (2006) found that in 12% of all couples, wives earned at least 60% of the total income; among American Jews, more than 16% of wives earned at least 60%

Table 5.7 Multiple Regression Analysis of Wife's Income Advantage (Husband's Age <65)

Independent variable	Standardized coefficient (β)	Unstandardized coefficient	Significance
Wife's age	.016	0.000	.715
Husband's age	.034	0.000	.421
Number of children under 18 in household	.038	-0.005	.396
Wife's education	.046	0.006	.368
Wife's educational advantage over husband	.117	0.024	.004
Wife's weekly work hours	.192	0.002	.000
Wife working more hours than husband	.187	0.033	.000
Wife's occupational prestige	.042	0.001	.361
Husband's occupational prestige	-.007	-0.000	.868
Husband's annual earnings	-.398	-0.000	.000
Multiple <i>R</i>	.612		
<i>R</i> ²	.375		
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(364)		

of the dual income. So American Jewish wives in dual-earner couples appear to contribute a higher proportion of the earnings than do wives in the broader U.S. population.

Given the relatively high proportion of American Jewish wives earning nearly the same as or more than their husbands, our data allow us to test some of the explanations for the growing phenomenon of wives' income advantage. The prevailing (and competing) explanations are (1) that differences in economic resources and investments between husband and wife predict whether or not a wife will have an income advantage over her husband; and (2) a life course perspective, which suggests that life-cycle stage, age, and presence of children predict whether or not a wife will have an income advantage over her husband (there is also a sociodemographic explanation, which is not addressed here because we are using data from a fairly homogeneous sociodemographic group) (Winslow-Bowe, 2006).

We use a multiple regression analysis with the wife's percentage of the dual income as the dependent variable (Table 5.7). The independent variables indicating the life-cycle stage are the wife's age, husband's age, and number of children under 18 in the household. We limit the analysis to husbands who are under 65, so that we are not confounding the analysis with husbands being semi-retired and therefore earning less money. The

independent variables indicating the human capital investments and economic resources are the wife's education, whether she has more education than her husband, the wife's hours of work, whether she works more hours than her husband, her occupational prestige, her husband's occupational prestige, and the husband's income.

We find that the wife's income advantage increases when she has a higher education than her husband, she works more hours, and her husband has a lower income. Her income advantage is not significantly related to her age, her husband's age, her level of education (only her education relative to her husband's education), her occupational prestige or her occupational prestige relative to that of her husband, the number of hours the wife works relative to her husband, or the presence at home of children under 18. These results lend considerable support to the explanations of wives' income advantage that are related to human capital and employment, because the main explanations for the wife's income advantage in this population are her hours of work, her educational advantage over that of her husband, and her husband's lower earning power. However, that neither her level of education nor her occupational prestige is related to her income advantage suggests that this may be a transitory phenomena related to her husband's (possibly temporary) lower earnings, as has been suggested in studies of the broader population (Winkler et al., 2005; Winslow-Bowe, 2006).

Among Jewish couples with children under 18 in at home (531 couples), 72.3% are dual earners. The proportion of dual earners is lower for those with no children under 18 at home, probably related to their older age, and for those with more than four children at home (Table 5.8). But the proportion of dual earners among those with one to three children at home is 73–75%, well above the proportion for the general U.S. population, 67% in 2002 (Bond, 2002, p. 4).

Table 5.8 Percentage of Dual-earner Couples for American Jews, by Number of Children Under 18 in Household

Number of children under 18 in household	Single earner	Dual earner	Total (n) ^a
0	36.7	63.3	100.0 (490)
1	27.2	72.8	100.0 (184)
2	25.3	74.7	100.0 (166)
3	27.4	72.6	100.0 (62)
4 or more	41.0	59.0	100.0 (39)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

Number of children decreased slightly in younger cohorts of American Jews from 1990 to 2000–01 (possibly because couples were waiting longer to have their first child), but this tendency is found mainly among single-earner couples, not dual-earner couples (Table 5.9). In fact, as we have already seen, having up to three children at home does not deter both parents from working.

The work hours of couples with children has been of major concern, because long work hours reduce the amount of time parents have for family life, and their children in particular. Among American Jewish dual-earner couples with children at home, the average combined hours of work are 79 per week. In the broader U.S. population, however, the average work hours of a couple with children at home is considerably higher, 91 per week (Bond, 2002, Figure 9, p. 4). Whether the lower figure for American Jews reflects a conscious effort of parents to spend more time at home, possibly related to the age of the children at home, and/or reflects the higher average incomes of American Jews than those of the broader population, awaits further research (with more data than are available in the NJPS). What we analyze here is how hours spent with the family and income are related to the number of children of married couples.

Research shows that families strategize ways to maximize time spent with children within their working schedules, including “scaling back” on work hours (Becker and Moen, 1999). It is clear that, in American Jewish couples, it is the wife’s hours of work that fluctuate with number of children rather than the husband’s (Table 5.10), consistent with the notion of wives as “secondary earners,” whose labor force commitments are manipulated to balance role conflicts and overloads accompanying multiple family and career demands.

Table 5.9 Mean Number of Children for Single-earner and Dual-earner American Jewish Couples, by Husband’s Age, 1990 and 2000–01

Husband’s age	1990		2000–01	
	Single earner (male breadwinner)	Dual Earner	Single Earner	Dual Earner
18–34	1.9 (77)	0.9 (180)	1.7 (165)	0.8 (88)
35–44	2.2 (130)	1.6 (303)	2.4 (53)	1.9 (133)
45–64	2.4 (115)	2.0 (260)	2.2 (141)	2.0 (285)
65+	2.2 (51)	2.1 (31)	2.1 (244)	1.7 (35)

Data source: NJPS, 1990 and 2000–01.

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

Table 5.10 Mean Hours of Employment in Single-Earner and Dual-Earner Couples, by Number of Children under 18 in Household^a

	Number of children under 18 in household				
	0	1	2	3	4+
<i>Husband's mean hours of work</i>					
Single-earner	42.9 (118)	49.0 (78)	47.8 (83)	51.0 (20)	48.6 (14)
Dual-earner	44.0 (469)	45.5 (204)	48.0 (198)	46.1 (61)	45.6 (23)
<i>Wife's mean hours of work</i>					
Single-earner	30.8 (97)	33.7 (27)	35.3 (15)	— ^b	— ^b
Dual-earner	37.9 (470)	35.7 (206)	30.7 (194)	28.0 (61)	25.9 (24)
<i>Couple's combined mean hours of work</i>					
Single-earner	81.9 (456)	81.2 (201)	78.7 (191)	74.2 (60)	71.5 (22)
<i>Husband employed full time (%)</i>					
Single-earner	38.9	78.0	78.6	82.4	87.5
Dual-earner	86.8	91.0	94.4	91.1	82.6
<i>Wife employed full time (%)</i>					
Single-earner	13.3	55.9	64.7	— ^b	— ^b
Dual-earner	71.3	66.4	50.0	33.3	21.7

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

^bFewer than 10 cases of wives participating in the labor force.

When the husband is the single earner in the family, his work hours hardly fluctuate with the number of children at home. Those with no children at home are less likely to be working full time and thus have fewer work hours on average; these are probably either young husbands, balancing education with work, or older husbands who are semi-retired. Among husbands with one to four or more children, however, the percentage of those who work full time increases with the number of children, and work hours hover around 50 per week on average. Similarly, among dual-earner families, more than 90% of husbands with one to three children are working full time, and their work hours hover around 46 hours per week. While a slightly lower percentage of husbands with four or more children are employed full time, their work hours are still about 46 hours per week. So generally men's work hours do not fluctuate according to number of children at home.

Wives' work hours, on the other hand, clearly respond to the number of children. So few wives are the single earner of a married couple with young children at home that we could not analyze their work hours. But among dual earners, the proportion of wives working full time is lower with each additional child at home, dropping from 71.3% when there are no children at home to 21.7% when there are four or more children at home. Work hours fluctuate accordingly, from an average of 37.9 among dual-earner wives with no children at home to 25.9 among dual-earner wives with four or more children at home. Accordingly, the combined work hours of the couple are 81.9 on average among those with no children or one child at home, and drop to 71.5 among those with four or more children at home. Still, this is a large workload and is far from the optimal 60-hour work week advocated by some (Browning, Miller-McLemore, Couture, Lyon, and Franklin, 2000; Hill et al., 2006).

To get a better idea of the influences on the wife's hours of work, the main variation among dual earner's hours of work, we performed a multiple regression analysis with the wife's hours of work as the dependent variable; the independent variables were her age and education, her husband's age and education, the number of children under 18 at home, and the husband's hours of work (Table 5.11). We found that the number of children at home has the strongest relation to the wife's hours of work, significantly lowering the number of hours she works. The lower the husband's educational level, the greater the number of hours the wife works, and the higher the wife's educational level, the more hours she works. Husband's hours of work, his age, and her age were not related significantly to the wife's hours of work. Thus, her hours of work appear to respond clearly to the number of children at home, but also to the need for her income (as indicated by the husband's educational level) and her ability to bring in income (as indicated by her educational level).

Table 5.11 Multiple Regression Analysis of American Jewish Wives' Mean Hours in the Labor Force, Among Couples in Which Husband Is Employed

Independent variable	Unstandardized coefficient	Standardized coefficient (β)
Wife's age	0.005	.004
Husband's age	-.097	-.084
Wife's education	1.372	.110*
Husband's education	-1.770	-.158*
Number of children under 18 at home	-3.287	-.290
Husband's hours of work	0.085	.074
Multiple <i>R</i>	0.316	
<i>R</i> ²	0.100	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(607)	

*Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

The relationship between number of children and earnings is not as simple as the relationship between number of children and hours of work. On average, husbands with children earn more than husbands without children, whether or not they are in dual-earner couples. Dual-earner husbands earn less on average than single-earner husbands, generally (as we saw earlier) and comparing single-earner and dual-earner husbands with the same number of children (Table 5.12). Thus, when there are no children at home, husbands in single-earner households earn more than husbands in dual-earner households, and the same is true for households in which there are one to four or more children at home. Furthermore, husbands' earnings in single-earner households appear to be greater the more children they have—up to four or more children, when income is lower than it is among those with three children. Among dual earners, earnings are also greater the more children they have, up to a point; with four or more children, however, dual-earner husbands' income is lower even than that of dual earners with one child at home. Among wives, however, earnings are affected to a much lesser degree by number of children at home than are hours of work. Only in households in which there are four or more children is the wife's income considerably lower than in other households. The proportion of earnings the wife contributes decreases slightly with each successive child, but remains at 32% even with four or more children. As a result, the combined income of the couple is greater with each additional child up to four or more children and is lower in households with four or more children than in households with fewer children.

Table 5.12 Earnings in Single-Earner and Dual-Earner American Jewish Couples (Ages 25–64), by Number of Children under 18 in Household^a

Number of children under 18 in household	Single-earner		Dual-earner			
	Husband's mean annual earnings (\$)	Wife's mean annual earnings (\$)	Husband's mean annual earnings (\$)	Wife's mean annual earnings (\$)	Couple's mean annual earnings (\$)	Wife's earnings as percentage of couple's earnings
0	106,250 (37)	42,065 (38)	83,224 (240)	54,349 (250)	139,493 (227)	41.1 (227)
1	131,250 (51)	67,812 (16)	99,578 (128)	64,223 (125)	168,021 (120)	39.1 (120)
2	117,596 (48)	— ^b	107,250 (111)	51,500 (109)	159,067 (104)	36.8 (104)
3	173,125 (13)	— ^b	125,916 (44)	63,750 (39)	182,000 (39)	33.3 (39)
4+	133,409 (11)	— ^b	83,250 (12)	45,250 (11)	131,111 (10)	32.0 (10)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

^bLess than 10 unweighted cases in cell.

Occupational Combinations

The top 10 pairings of occupations of husbands and wives, which are shown in Table 5.13, are either egalitarian or traditional: it is most common by far for both husband and wife to be professionals. In 6 out of 10 of the most common combinations (more than 40% of the sample), both husband and wife are in professional, managerial/executive, and/or business/finance professions. In 2 of the top 10 pairings of occupations (about 7% of the sample), we find the traditional combination of the husband being in a professional occupation and the wife in sales or office/administrative support. In only one combination (5% of the sample) is the wife a professional and the husband in sales. Together, these top 10 combinations account for more than half of the occupational combinations; all other combinations account for less than 2% each (or less than 30 unweighted cases).

Even when men and women have the same occupation, let alone are in the same broad occupational classification, traditional gender patterns may be preserved, with husbands earning more than their wives, working more hours, and having higher occupational prestige. With the high qualifications of American Jewish women (like those of men), however, there is a greater

possibility of parity between the spouses. With the high proportion of both husbands and wives in management/executive, business/finance, and professional occupations, it is also possible that occupational homogamy may enhance each spouse's achievement. We therefore looked at the median income, mean occupational prestige, and mean hours of work of husbands and wives in each of these occupational combinations (Table 5.14).

The first observation to be made is that in all occupational pairings, except when both spouses are in managerial or executive occupations, husbands earn more than their wives annually. However, the wife's occupational prestige is either similar to or higher than that of the husband in 7 of the 10 combinations; it is lower than the husband's when the husband has a professional occupation, while the wife is in office/administrative support, sales, and business/finance. We can also see that, in all of the pairings, husbands work longer hours than wives; the gap is narrower when both spouses are employed in management/executive positions or in sales positions. The fact that the wife is in the same occupational group as the husband does not seem to influence the income gap, the occupational prestige gap, or the hours gap, as the two summary measures at the end of the table show; however, spouses who are in the same occupational group tend to earn more and have higher occupational prestige than spouses in different occupational groups. This suggests that being in the same occupational group as one's spouse confers some advantage in terms of occupational achievement and rewards.

Table 5.13 Ten Most Common Combinations of Occupations among Currently Married American Jewish Couples

Husband's occupation	Wife's occupation	Total (%)	(n) ^a
Professional	Professional	22.4	(267)
Management/executive	Professional	6.0	(71)
Sales	Professional	5.1	(61)
Professional	Sales	3.8	(45)
Business/finance	Professional	3.7	(44)
Professional	Management/executive	3.6	(43)
Professional	Office/administrative support	3.4	(41)
Sales	Sales	3.3	(39)
Professional	Business/finance	2.6	(31)
Management/executive	Management/executive	2.5	(30)
Total		56.4	(672)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

Table 5.14 Income, Occupational Prestige (PRS), and Hours of Employment for Top 10 Occupational Combinations in American Jewish Couples

Husband's occupation	Wife's occupation	Wife's income as percentage of husband's income	Husband's PRS	Wife's PRS	Husband's weekly hours of employment (mean)	Wife's weekly hours of employment (mean)	Combined couple	
							weekly hours of employment (mean)	weekly hours of employment (mean)
Management/executive Professional	Management/executive Professional	— ^b	51.3	51.4	45.9	42.8	87.0	(30)
Sales	Sales	65.5	62.9	60.0	45.9	35.1	81.5	(267)
Management/executive Professional	Professional	81.8	44.9	42.7	46.0	40.2	88.0	(39)
Business/finance Professional	Professional	52.4	52.1	59.9	47.3	36.1	83.4	(71)
Professional	Management/executive	84.0	54.4	58.6	46.9	34.2	80.4	(44)
Professional	Office/administrative support	64.7	59.7	53.8	47.6	40.2	87.2	(43)
Professional	Business/finance	52.0	61.5	43.2	42.8	28.0	68.9	(41)
Professional	Sales	51.5	63.0	54.3	52.4	34.4	85.6	(31)
Sales	Professional	55.6	57.6	40.2	44.4	37.9	81.4	(43)
Spouses in same broad occupational group (summary)		53.8	45.8	57.3	43.5	36.3	81.9	(61)
Spouses in different broad occupational groups (summary)		79.1	58.3	56.6	45.6	35.2	82.2	(392)
		78.0	51.2	51.3	45.7	35.8	81.3	(795)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

^bLess than 10 cases in unweighted sample.

Since some of the gap in wages may also be a result of the wife's fewer hours of work, Table 5.15 presents data confined to couples in which both the husband and wife work full time (i.e., 35 hours per week or more). However, the number of cases in each group is, of course, reduced when we impose this condition, and in some of the groups there are 10 or fewer cases to analyze, so we collapsed the occupational pairs, classifying husband's and wife's occupations as managerial/executive, business/finance, professional, or other.

Where both spouses are in managerial/business/professional occupations, the wife's income is 67.7% that of the husband's, their occupational prestige scores are equal, and they work nearly the same number of hours per week on average. As a point of comparison, women working full time in management, professional, and related occupations in the broader U.S. workforce made 71.0% of men's earnings in 2004 (Chao and Utgoff, 2005, Table 18, p. 50), a percentage not very different from that of Jewish women's earnings in relation to men's.

When both spouses are in other occupations, such as sales, service, office support, or blue collar, the women make only 56.5% of the husband's salary on average, despite having higher occupational prestige and working nearly as many hours. This suggests greater parity among those couples in which both have greater human resources, and a wider gender gap among those in less prestigious and less well paid occupations. Thus, the wider disparities in income in high-status occupations found in the overall distributions of men's and women's income (shown in the preceding chapter) are not replicated within married couples.

When only one spouse is in a managerial/business/professional occupation, the relative contributions of each spouse to the couple's income are commensurate with their occupational status. That is, when the husband has a managerial/business/professional occupation and the wife does not, she makes only 58.6% of his earnings and contributes only 37% to the couple's income; her occupational prestige is nine points lower than his; and she works four fewer hours per week than he does. When the situation is reversed and it is the wife who has the manager/business/professional occupation and the husband does not, the wife makes 123.5% of the husband's earnings and has higher occupational prestige than he does, although on average she still works somewhat fewer hours per week than he does. Because of women's disproportionate representation in the professional occupations, there are more of the latter than the former among spouses with occupations in different broad occupational groups.

It is interesting that, when we compare the mean incomes of husbands and wives in couples with the same or different occupations, husbands who

Table 5.15 Income, Occupational Prestige (PRS), and Hours of Employment for Top 10 Occupational Combinations in American Jewish Couples (in which Both Spouses Are Employed Full Time)

Husband's occupation	Wife's occupation	Wife's income as percentage of husband's income	Husband's PRS (mean)	Wife's PRS (mean)	Husband's weekly hours of employment (mean)	Wife's weekly hours of employment (mean)	Combined couple weekly hours of employment (mean)	(n) ^a
Spouses in same broad occupational group (total)								
Mgr/Bus/Prof ^b	Mgr/Bus/Prof ^b	71.4	57.1	57.1	48.0	44.2	92.1	(338)
Other	Other	67.7	58.2	58.2	47.7	44.2	91.9	(250)
Spouses in different broad occupational groups (total)								
Mgr/Bus/Prof ^b	Other	56.5	42.1	45.5	47.5	46.6	94.2	(88)
Other	Mgr/Bus/Prof ^b	81.0	49.6	51.8	46.8	44.3	91.1	(198)
Mgr/Bus/Prof ^b	Other	58.6	55.5	46.4	46.5	42.7	89.2	(86)
Other	Mgr/Bus/Prof ^b	123.5	44.3	53.9	46.3	43.8	90.1	(112)

^aUnweighted n in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

^bMgr/Bus/Prof denotes managerial/executive, business/financial, professional occupation.

have managerial/business/professional occupations earn 7% more when their wife is in a similar occupation than they do when she is in a different occupation (data not presented). This is also true for men in other occupations whose wives are in other occupations; they make on average 35% more when their spouse is in a similar occupation. However, this is not true for wives; the median income of wives in managerial/business/professional occupations is the same whether or not their husband is in the same occupational group; wives in other occupations, when their husband is in a similar occupation, make on average 30% *less* than wives whose spouses are in managerial/business/professional occupations. This suggests that wives add more to their husbands' "backstage wealth" when they have the same occupation as their husbands but that husbands do not provide a similar advantage for their wives.

In summary, despite considerable occupational homogamy, the traditional pattern of gender difference within marriages is prevalent among Jewish couples, with husbands earning more and working more hours than their wives. Also along traditional lines, occupational homogamy appears to contribute to the income achievement of husbands, but not to that of wives. Occupational prestige of spouses, however, is much closer to being equal than is income, and in some occupational combinations, the parity of both prestige and income is greater than in other occupational combinations.

REMARRIAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

Considering remarriages in comparison with first marriages among Jews, there is no difference in terms of occupational homogamy. However, when we compare husbands' remarriages to husbands' first marriages, and wives' remarriages to wives' first marriages, we find a significant relationship between occupational homogamy and remarriage for women, but not for men. That is, there is more occupational homogamy in couples when the wife has remarried than when she is in her first marriage, but the couple's occupational homogamy does not vary according to whether the husband is in his first or later marriage.

One possible explanation for this, as already suggested, is that women's high-status occupations make them more vulnerable to marital dissolution, because marriages in which women have the same status as, or higher status than, their husbands are at greater risk for marital dissolution (Kalmijn, Loeve, and Manting, 2007), and this is a more likely scenario for women in high-status occupations than for women in lower-status occupations. This would make women whose status is similar to or higher than that of their husband less likely to be or stay in first marriages. At the same

time, women’s higher economic status may make them more attractive in the (re)marriage market, so they are more likely to remarry. To reinforce this explanation, there is some evidence that women’s economic status is increasingly considered an advantage in marriage markets in the broader population (Sweeney, 2002).

To explore this in our sample, we compared husband’s and wife’s occupational groups, educational attainment, income, and occupational prestige in first marriages and remarriages for both men and women (Table 5.16). We found that in men’s remarriages, there are fewer spouses in the same occupation than in men’s first marriages; among women, however, there is a higher proportion of spouses in the same occupation among the remarried than among those in first marriages. Among both men and women, there is a higher proportion of wives with a higher education, income, and occupational prestige than their husbands in remarriages than in first marriages. The differences in income are small but in the same direction.

These findings suggest that, indeed, higher-status women are more likely to remarry but that the marriage market for remarriage is such that it may be more difficult for men seeking remarriage to find occupationally homogamous partners.

If the percentage of remarried women who have a higher status than their husbands tends to be greater than that of women in first marriages, what can we say about them in comparison with women who never married

Table 5.16 Occupation, Education, Income, and Occupational Prestige in First Marriages and Remarriages of American Jews

	Men		Women	
	In first marriage	Remarried	In first marriage	Remarried
Husband and wife in same occupational group (%)	34.5	27.5	28.9	35.1
Wife’s education > husband’s education (%)	18.5	31.7	32.4	38.3
Wife’s median income > husband’s median income (%)	14.0	15.2	25.3	28.3
Wife’s occupational prestige > husband’s occupational prestige (%)	40.9	51.3	59.8	77.5
(n) ^a	(322)	(100)	(478)	(113)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

Table 5.17 Occupation, Education, Occupational Prestige, Income, and Age of American Jewish Men and Women (Ages 25 and Over), Employed Full Time, by Marital Status

	In first marriage	Remarried	Divorced, not currently married	Never married
<i>Women</i>				
Mgr/Exec/Bus/finance/ professional (%)	63.6	65.5	60.7	55.7
B.A. or higher (%)	74.7	70.3	68.0	59.3
Mean occupational prestige	53.47	53.78	53.08	49.35
Median annual income (\$)	47,500	52,500	42,500	42,500
Mean age	44.9	49.1	49.8	37.5
(n) ^a	(478)	(113)	(106)	(217)
<i>Men</i>				
Mgr/Exec/Bus/finance/ professional (%)	64.8	51.4	61.2	57.1
B.A. or higher (%)	77.7	60.2	59.4	70.2
Mean occupational prestige	54.94	53.36	52.61	53.22
Median annual income (\$)	77,500	72,500	77,500	52,500
Mean age	46.1	50.2	48.6	37.7
(n) ^a	(322)	(100)	(135)	(204)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

or divorcees who have not remarried? Does remarriage boost women’s achievement in comparison with that of other women who used to be married and have not remarried or women who never married? In the top half of Table 5.17 we present the proportion in managerial/executive, business/finance, and professional occupations, proportion with bachelor’s degrees or higher, median annual income, mean occupational prestige of women in first marriages, remarried women, divorcees not currently married, and never-married women; in the bottom half of the table we present the same data for men. For a point of reference, we also present the mean age in each group.

Comparing currently married women who are in first marriages as opposed to remarriages, we see little difference. That is, remarried women may have a higher status than their husbands, but not because they have a higher status than women in their first marriages. Remarried women earn a somewhat higher median annual income, but they are comparable in occupation, education, and occupational prestige to women in first marriages. What is much more striking is the comparison between men in first marriages and remarriages: men who have remarried are less likely to be in

managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations; have a lower educational level; have slightly lower occupational prestige; and earn slightly lower annual incomes.

Divorced women who have not remarried are less likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations, have a somewhat lower educational level, and have a lower median income than women currently married. Divorced men who are not currently married have a lower educational level than men in first marriages (though it is comparable to that of men who have remarried), have higher occupational attainment than remarried men (but lower than that of men in first marriages), have lower occupational prestige than currently married men, and earn an income comparable to that of men in first marriages. Never-married men and women have educational levels that are comparable to those of men and women in first marriages, but lower occupational attainment, income, and occupational prestige; however, they are considerably younger, even when we restrict the analysis to those 25 and older.

To minimize the effect of age on these findings, we limited our comparison to women and men aged 45–64, who had had time to complete their education and to achieve career stability (Table 5.18). Among women, those currently in their first marriage stand out in that there is a somewhat higher percentage who have earned college degrees, but those who have never married stand out in that they have non-managerial/business/professional occupations and lower occupational prestige. Non-remarried divorcees stand out in that they earn a somewhat lower income. Among men, we see that divorcees, whether currently married or not, have the lowest educational level and occupational prestige; remarried men have the lowest proportion of managerial/business/professional occupations; and never-married men have the lowest income. These findings appear to corroborate the notions that (1) stable marriages reinforce human capital (echoing the argument put forth in Waite and Gallagher, 2000)—or that higher economic status of men and women matters a lot in the Jewish marriage market—and (2) divorced men have lower educational and occupational achievement (possibly a precursor to divorce). We see little evidence of a marriage penalty for women or a “ceiling” effect for the occupational achievement of married women. Divorcees and single women do not have higher educational or occupational achievement than married women.

One conclusion from the comparison between unmarried divorcees and currently married women in first marriages and remarriages is that marriage does not appear to dampen Jewish women’s occupational achievement and/or that their economic characteristics are indeed considered a plus by their marriage partners. A second conclusion is that it is not that remarried

Table 5.18 Occupation, Education, Occupational Prestige, Income and Age of American Jewish Men and Women (Ages 45–64), Employed Full Time, by Marital Status

	In first marriage	Remarried	Divorced, not currently married	Never married
<i>Women</i>				
B.A. or higher (%)	62.3	53.3	57.1	53.4
Mgr/Exec/Bus/finance/ professional (%)	64.3	65.2	66.9	39.0
Mean occupational prestige	53.91	54.29	53.54	48.05
Median annual income (\$)	52,500	52,500	47,500	52,500
(n) ^a	(382)	(118)	(160)	(92)
<i>Men</i>				
B.A. or higher(%)	79.7	63.3	59.3	73.2
Mgr/Exec/Bus/finance/ professional (%)	64.9	48.5	60.4	60.3
Mean occupational prestige	54.58	53.53	52.72	54.88
Median annual income (\$)	82,500	72,500	77,500	52,500
(n) ^a	(301)	(127)	(112)	(75)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

women differ so much from women in first marriages, as that remarried men differ from men in current marriages and from women who have remarried. Men who have remarried tend to have lower educational and occupational achievement relative not only to their wives (as we saw earlier) but also to currently married men in first marriages and to divorced men who have not remarried.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We began this chapter by investigating to what extent American Jews are distinct from the broader population in terms of dual earning. Comparison with the broader population shows that married Jewish couples are more likely to be dual earners than are couples in the broader population and face problems of long work hours similar to those of couples in the broader population. In comparison with 1990, the proportion of dual earners among American Jews has increased (as it has in the broader population). Today few are working at what has been deemed an optimal combined work week of 60 hours, something that communal agencies might note.

When they have children, however, Jewish dual earners work on average fewer hours than do parents in the broader population, and this is accomplished mainly by the wife adjusting her work hours so that she is working

part time. In contrast, men's work hours show very little correlation to the number of children at home; if anything, husbands work more hours when there are more children at home. This indicates that the typical working married Jewish mother acts as a secondary earner whose employment and hours can be manipulated to meet the family's needs or demands, which are indicated in our data by such variables as number of children at home, husband's income, and occupational prestige.

This pattern of the wife being a secondary earner, adjusting her work hours according to the family's needs, may allow Jews to preserve the familism that has long been central to Jewish culture, and it may be facilitated by the relatively high social status that Jews enjoy. It may be that this pattern is more common among Jews because they are able to manage with a single earner who is making a good salary, often a better one than single earners in the broader population. Certainly we see that, among our Jewish couples, the lower the husband's income, the longer the wife's hours of employment, no matter how many children under 18 they have at home.

American Jews are also characterized by relatively higher educational and occupational homogamy than the broader population, although as in the broader population, when the educational levels of the couple are not equal, it is usually the husband who has a higher education. Although there was somewhat less educational homogamy among American Jewish married couples in 2000–01 than among Jews in 1990, both husbands' and wives' education increased. There was more occupational similarity between spouses in 2000–01 than there was in 1990, and the pattern of a high proportion of wives having higher occupational prestige than their husbands continued from 1990 to 2000–01. There was a slightly lower proportion having similar incomes, which may be related to the fact that greater income similarity in the broader population is characteristic of lower-income families. Jewish wives make larger contributions to the joint household earnings than wives in the broader population of dual earners.

American Jewish couples have a relatively high incidence of occupational homogamy, especially when both spouses are in professional occupations. Nevertheless, even when spouses have similar occupations, similar educational levels, and similar hours of work, traditional patterns of achievement are the most common, with husbands having higher annual earnings and occupational prestige than wives. Furthermore, occupational homogamy results in higher income for husbands but not for wives, suggesting that wives facilitate husbands' achievements when they share the social capital of occupations, but not vice versa. We do find greater parity among husband's and wife's achievements when both are in managerial/

executive, business/finance, or professional occupations as compared with other occupational combinations.

Alternative theories abound in this field of inquiry about the interplay between husbands' and wives' occupational status, and its interaction with remarriage and cultural homogeneity. Our analysis of occupational achievement and homogeneity of husbands and wives among American Jews, married and remarried, offers some insight into the contradictions. First, our data show that the dynamics are different for husbands and wives and, second, that it is important to take into account wives' economic status. How economic homogeneity interacts with cultural homogeneity or intermarriage will be explored in Chapter 10.

Occupational homogeneity is more common among women who have remarried than among women who have remained in their first marriages. Remarried women are also more likely to be in marriages where they earn more than their husbands, have higher occupational prestige, and have higher educational attainment than their husbands than are women in their first marriages. This suggests that the relatively high economic status of Jewish women makes them more likely to succeed in the (re)marriage market. On the other hand, Jewish men who are divorced (whether or not they have remarried) tend to have lower occupational achievement than their counterparts in first marriages, which is one reason that women in second or later marriages are more likely to have a higher status than their husbands.

Comparing the married with the non-married (whether divorced or never married) shows that marriage is related to higher educational and occupational achievement for both men and women. It does not appear to result in a "marriage penalty" or "ceiling" effect dampening women's achievement in this subcultural U.S. context. The findings reinforce Waite and Gallagher's (2000) contention that marriage is good for economic status; but they could equally reinforce the importance of economic status in the Jewish marriage market.

