

New Choices for Men and Women
in Work and Family

BABY
BUST

STEWART D. FRIEDMAN



Praise for *Baby Bust*

“What a wonderful book. Stew Friedman stands out as one of the few male voices in the field. He understands better than anyone else how leadership, life, and business can fit together. *Baby Bust* offers a fascinating glimpse into how young people think about their work, their families, and their futures. It’s a succinct and invaluable read for managers, politicians, and all men and women seeking to better understand how the world is changing and to support greater freedom of choice.”

—**Anne-Marie Slaughter, President and CEO,
New America Foundation**

“Provocative and practical, Stew Friedman’s *Baby Bust* draws on his landmark study to document the metamorphosis in men’s and women’s views and expectations for work and family. As more women are leaning in to their careers, more men today want to be actively engaged in fatherhood. But both see conflicts between work and family life that are increasingly keeping them from choosing to be parents. Revelatory and rigorous, this urgent call to action is required reading for anyone who wants both men and women to be able to choose the world they want to live in.”

—**John Gerzema, Author, *The Athena Doctrine:
How Women (and the Men Who Think Like Them)
Will Rule the Future***

“Stew Friedman has always been a trailblazer, and he has done it again! The provocative finding that 2012 graduates of Wharton are much less likely to plan to have children than those 20 years ago will receive a great deal of attention. More importantly, Friedman has probed the complex reasons why, and these are even more significant and telling. A must-read for everyone—employees, employers, and families—so that we can be much more intentional in creating the workplaces and family lives of the future.”

—**Ellen Galinsky, President, Families and Work Institute,
and Author, *Mind in the Making***

“Stew Friedman’s unique cross-generational study finds both a triumphant new freedom for men and women and, at the same time, an indication of the deep conflicts between what we value and the lives to which we aspire. *Baby Bust* is a game-changing addition to the literature on work and family. Stew clearly and compassionately tells the story from the perspective of both men and women, echoing the challenges we all face as we seek to do meaningful work and have a meaningful life in today’s frenetic and tumultuous world.”

—**Brad Harrington, Executive Director,
Boston College Center for Work and Family**

“Important data and fascinating insights about the revolution we are experiencing in work and family. A must-read for anyone seeking to better understand how the world is changing and what new models will require.”

—**Leslie A. Perlow, Konosuke Matsushita Professor
of Leadership, Harvard Business School,
and Author, *Sleeping with Your Smartphone***

“Stew Friedman’s *Baby Bust* is a wake-up call for business. The lack of strong business and public support for the positive enactment of caregiving, breadwinning, and career advancement has redefined what employees see as possible in their lives. The future economic health and well-being of the U.S. may be at risk. This eye-opening study raises the critical questions and provides practical ideas for change.”

—**Dr. Ellen Ernst Kossek, Basil S. Turner Professor of
Management, Purdue University, Krannert School of
Management and President, Work and Family
Researchers Network**

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STEWART D. FRIEDMAN

Wharton
DIGITAL PRESS
Philadelphia

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Published by Wharton Digital Press
The Wharton School
University of Pennsylvania
3620 Locust Walk
2000 Steinberg Hall-Dietrich Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19104
Email: whartondigitalpress@wharton.upenn.edu
Website: wdp.wharton.upenn.edu

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Ebook ISBN: 978-1-61363-033-4
Paperback ISBN: 978-1-61363-034-1

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Introduction

The Game Has Changed

In October 1987, I became a father. My mind flooded with questions. In the very next class I taught, I brought some of those questions to my Wharton MBA students in our organizational behavior course: “What responsibility do you have as future business leaders to nurture the next generation of people in our society? If you choose to become parents, how will you manage to do so in a way that works for you, your family, your business, and your community?”

Hungry for knowledge, they replied with a question of their own: “You’re the professor. Can you just tell us?” Thus began a conversation with students, colleagues, and thousands of people in public- and private-sector organizations around the world that I have been engaged in ever since.

The Baby Bust: New Choices and New Constraints

For me, tracking these issues has been the work of a professional lifetime. In 1991, I founded the Wharton Work/Life Integration Project at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. In one of our initiatives, we surveyed 496 members of the 1992 undergraduate class as they were departing, and established a baseline for our longitudinal study. Twenty years later, we repeated the survey for 307 members of the 2012 graduating class.

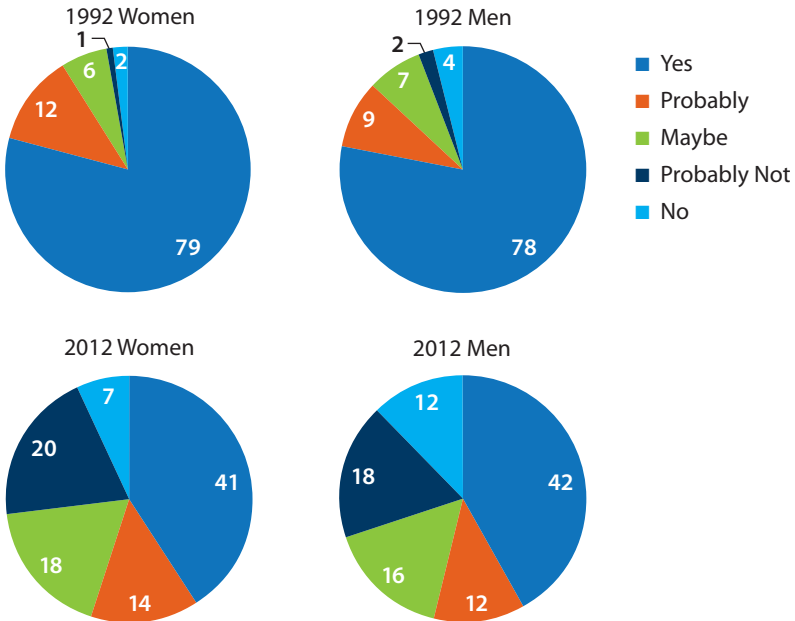
With few exceptions, members of the Wharton Classes of 1992 and 2012 aspired to be in long-term relationships. Roughly one-third of both cohorts were already in committed unions, and most of the rest expected to be headed that way. All told, 88 percent of the

2 INTRODUCTION

Class of 1992, the Gen Xers, were in or planned to be in a permanent relationship. For the Class of 2012, the Millennials, the number was only slightly lower: 84 percent. “Permanent relationship,” however, does not necessarily lead to “family,” as we traditionally have understood this term. And here the differences between the two classes were staggering.

In our sample, the rate of college graduates who plan to have children has dropped by about half over the past 20 years. *In 1992, 78 percent said that they planned to have children. In 2012, 42 percent did.* And these percentages were nearly the same for men and women. Millennial men and women are opting out of parenthood in equal proportions.

Do you plan to have or adopt children?



We are certainly not the first to observe a decline in birth rates, and this change in plans for children is not unique to young business professionals. It's part of a larger trend: a nationwide baby bust. Across the United States, births have dropped precipitously. In 1992 the average U.S. woman gave birth to 2.05 children over the course of her life. By 2007, this number had crept up slightly, to 2.12. But according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the average number of births per woman declined during each of the four years following 2007, dropping to 1.89 (preliminary estimate)—below the replacement rate of 2.10—in 2011.

The baby bust chronicled here has been even more dramatic. While the average 1992 graduate expected to have 2.5 children in his or her lifetime—well above the U.S. mean at the time—the average 2012 graduate planned to have only 1.7. But numbers can be deceiving, and these are so in one important way. Among those respondents in both 1992 and 2012 who planned to become parents, the number of expected children remained stable at 2.6. What caused the average of the expected number of children to plummet was the sharp decline in the portion of people who planned to have any children, through birth or adoption.

The baby bust, in short, is not about young people forming smaller nuclear families, that is, with fewer children. It is about the many who say they are simply opting out of parenthood altogether.

Many are writing about whether this is a good or bad thing for our society, and there are important arguments on both sides of the debate.¹ This book is instead about why both men and women are opting out of parenthood. And for men and women the reasons are quite different, signifying both new constraints and new possibilities.

I use our invaluable longitudinal data to tell the story of the baby bust and the radical changes that have occurred over these past two decades that have contributed to it. Most research on generational comparisons is cross-sectional, using information gathered in a snapshot from different age groups at one point in time; what's being

compared in such studies are not necessarily differences between generations but differences between people of different ages, for example, 42-year-olds and 22-year-olds. Many such differences have nothing to do with social and cultural currents over time but everything to do with individuals being older. Our study design, which I'll describe, offers a unique vantage point because we asked questions of 22-year-old students as each class was graduating—first, the Class of 1992, and 20 years later, the Class of 2012.

Drawing on our evidence from these promising young business professionals from the Gen X and Millennial cohorts, I offer ideas about what we can all do now to brighten the prospects for our future vitality. I hope this book will inspire fresh insights for how you can play your part in the work/life revolution now under way.

The news is both bad and good. We found evidence of new challenges that are thwarting the family *and* career ambitions of young people today. Millennials foresee more intense conflicts between these two aspects of life. The time requirements of work have shot up astronomically (by 14 hours per week), and student debt has increased.² People are drowning in the deluge of data incessantly streaming at them.³ Competition in the labor market has escalated, and we found that our Millennials feel pressure to conform to a narrow set of career paths. Being a parent is still very important for most young people, but many just don't see how they can manage it, so they are planning lives without children.

At the same time, we also observed greater freedom for men and women to choose paths that are meaningful to them, ones not prescribed by traditional expectations or narrowly defined gender role stereotypes. That is, for Millennials, being a man is no longer inextricably linked to being a breadwinning father, and being a woman is no longer synonymous with motherhood.

We also found that men and women are now more aligned about how to navigate *who* in a dual-career relationship should “lean in” to their careers and *when* they should do so. While some

gender-stereotypical differences about family roles and dual-career relationships linger, today's young men *expect* to see women as peers in the workforce; they are more cognizant of the impending difficulties they, as men, will face in resolving conflicts between work and family life; and those young men thinking about having children see engaged fatherhood as a way of contributing to society. This is a gigantic leap forward for *mankind*, one that has positive repercussions for women and children. Millennial men are increasingly willing to experiment with new family and work models that enable both partners in a relationship to have more of what they want in life. Twenty years ago we saw a wide divergence between men and women on family role expectations; now there's more agreement about what it takes to make long-term relationships work, promising greater collaboration and mutual support.

A Different Conversation

The earthshaking resonance of Anne-Marie Slaughter's 2012 *Atlantic* article, "Why Women Still Can't Have It All," followed by the 2013 supernova that was Sheryl Sandberg's *Lean In* book-cum-social movement are compelling testimony to how much has changed. Back in 1987 it was strange for a man to be talking about work and family at a business school known mainly for its strength in finance. "Why," some of my colleagues wondered, "focus on this women's issue?" Thankfully, our new shared cultural understanding is that it's not a women's issue, but a human issue.

In addition to the continuing (albeit slow and insufficient) rise of women into positions of power, and more influential women speaking out and providing models for the new generation, men in positions of authority now recognize that they want something different for their children and are more inclined to try creative approaches. Further, given the increased desire that we and others have observed in young people to do work that matters and heals,⁴ companies interested in competing successfully in the labor market

are adjusting their brands as employers by emphasizing social impact, enhancing flexibility, and embracing diverse employee lifestyles.

We are all part of the work/life revolution now. Our collective failure to address adequately the issue of integrating work and the rest of life has *finally* emerged as the critical economic, social, political, and personal issue that it is, and it is deservedly capturing serious attention and accelerating experimentation with new models for work and family for men and women.

Everyone has an opinion because, for the first time, everyone has a stake and a voice. It affects you, whether you're a 60-year-old male CEO whose daughter is confronting the glass ceiling or whose son faces real constraints in his ability to figure out how he's going to fit your grandchildren into his life; a 25-year-old with no children who's managing a 45-year-old struggling to take care of his teenage children and aging parents; or single or married, gay or straight.

In Slaughter's *Atlantic* article we learned the story of a powerful woman with the courage to pull the curtain back and reveal the structural impediments to her being as available for her children as she wanted to be. It was a watershed event that tapped into the electrifying current of intergenerational differences, and it opened this discussion to a worldwide audience. Yet there had already been a body of evidence on what is needed and what works. Fifteen years ago, for example, our study of Wharton and Drexel⁵ students resulted in a detailed 10-point action agenda (echoed in Slaughter's recommendations) that called for:

1. Reshaping the division of labor at home
2. Changing society's gender role ideology through education and socialization
3. Helping young people choose careers that fit their values
4. Teaching employees how to generate support from others
5. Investing in what employees do outside work

6. Creating work environments that value employees as whole people
7. Training managers to take a new look at work processes
8. Demonstrating the economic value of investing in family friendliness
9. Authorizing employees to think and act like entrepreneurs
10. Expanding childcare options, including through public-private partnerships

Of course, we were not the only ones advocating for such changes back then.⁶

As women (and some men) have worked for decades to help women enter and advance in the workforce, as women's presence in the workforce has grown so that a new generation of children has been raised by working parents, and as the changing (though not fully changed) division of labor at home strains *both* men and women, we have entered a new world. But our policies and organizational norms have not kept pace with these changing realities. Though there's been some progress, we still need more flexible career paths, better-quality child care, executives who recognize and respect the whole person, and more that I'll spell out in chapter 5.

Society is now ripe for more substantial change; there is at last the chance for long-known solutions to take root in fertile ground. We have reached a new level of collective awareness—which is good news for those who care about creating a more just society where men and women can participate in the spheres of work and home as they choose.

If 20 years after we first asked graduates about “having it all” many are now saying that they are opting out of parenthood, downsizing their family ambitions, why should we be cautiously hopeful? Because we are finally discussing openly the elephant in the room: the world has changed, but our institutions have not. The

level of frustration has increased to the point where there is now the critical mass of interest required for propelling real progress. What is heartening about this moment is how many have joined the conversation. This will undoubtedly increase the options available for our companies, our families, our communities, and our selves. We've reached a tipping point, so there are grounds for optimism, even if the path ahead is fraught with significant obstacles.

About Our Sample and Methods

Our study design allows us to explore differences between two large samples of students from one of the world's leading business schools—privileged, ambitious, and highly talented young entrants to the professional labor market. One of the benefits of studying this group is that if *they* are having difficulty navigating the chaotic and increasingly fluid world of work, family, and society, then we can see our results as conservative estimates of the obstacles facing those who don't have access to the same resources—which is, of course, most people. However, this is a distinctive slice of American culture, so generalizations from our results must be made cautiously. Still, presumably these young people will be part of the leadership in our society to come, so these data provide a useful window into how the next generation envisions its future.

There are some important differences between the two cohorts in our study. The Class of 2012 was more likely to be female, international, and nonwhite, with proportionally more Hispanics and Asians. It was also wealthier and more left-leaning politically.

The curriculum at Wharton changed somewhat during this time, too. But the fact that all were selected for, and completed, this program gives us a powerful and relatively rare means for contrasting these two generations. We have survey data from two points in time 20 years apart, so we are able to see generational differences without having to worry about the effects of individuals' aging, with

retrospective recollections colored by all that has intervened.

Because of changes in society over these two decades, members of the Class of 1992 and those of the Class of 2012 grew up not only in different generations, but also in different families. Graduates in 2012 were more likely to grow up with a working mother. This difference reflects nationwide trends in maternal employment.⁷ Compared to 20 years ago, far more of today's young people grew up in either dual-career households or households with female breadwinners. Parents of the Millennials in our sample were better educated, too. In 1992, 45 percent of respondents' fathers and 22 percent of respondents' mothers had earned a graduate or professional degree; this compares to figures of 58 percent and 47 percent, respectively, in 2012. No doubt these dissimilar family experiences (at least in part) helped to shape each cohort's values and aspirations.

After gathering our data, we conducted hundreds of statistical tests to assess differences between our Gen X and Millennial samples. This book does not provide details about these analyses, which are available on request, but all the findings reported here met the standard for statistical significance. When we indicate, for example, that Millennial women are more likely to value helping others through their careers than their Gen X counterparts, this means that the chances of the pattern of responses observed in the two samples being the same is less than 5 percent, so we can conclude with confidence that the difference we observe is not occurring by random chance—that the Millennial women in our sample actually do care more about helping others than did the Gen Xers.

Many of our findings are not included in this book, but you can find simple descriptive statistics for responses to both surveys at www.worklife.wharton.upenn.edu. Finally, to fill out the picture, in 2012 we interviewed members of both the Class of 1992 and the Class of 2012. Select quotes from these interviews appear in the following pages.

In This Book

In chapter 1, I describe what we observed about the baby bust's context: the impact of the digital revolution, new pathways for early careers, definitions of success (for career and family) held by men and women, and the aspirations both have for their futures.

In the following two chapters, I explain why men and then women are now less likely to plan for children. For men, the key factors are an increase in anticipated conflict between work and other parts of life, a decrease in their identification with the role of breadwinner, and economic constraints due to debt. Women, on the other hand, are less likely to plan for children because of their increased focus on social impact, greater emphasis on building networks with friends and in their careers, changes in how they view their health, and a decrease in religious affiliation.

Chapter 4 compares, then and now, how men and women think about what “family” means and their relationships with their life partners. A crucial finding here is that men and women now share more common ground in their attitudes and aspirations about work and family than in the past.

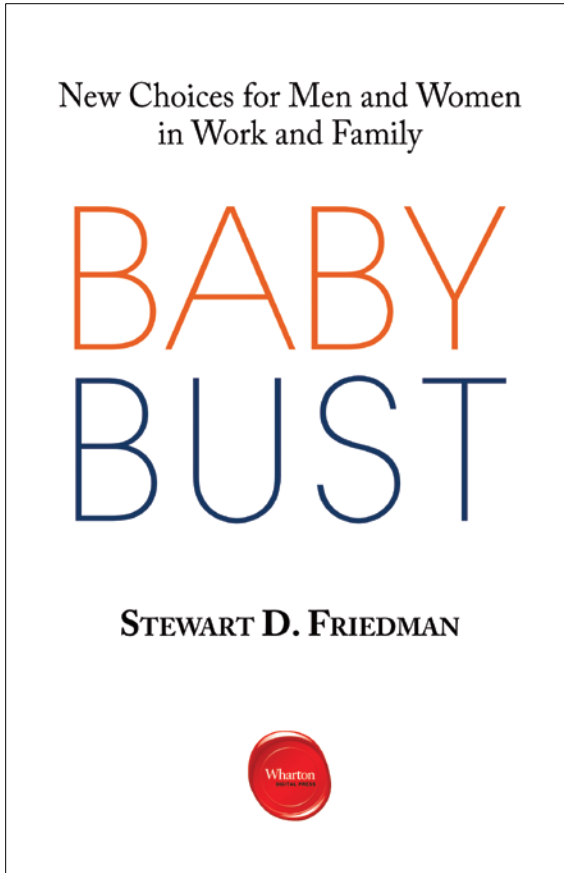
In the final chapter, I provide ideas for actions we can all take—as a society, in our businesses, as individuals, and in our families—that I hope will inspire you to think and act differently. And there is a section specifically addressed to men. The conclusion is an invitation for you to join in this voyage of discovery.

I believe there is great opportunity for us to make things better, now and for future generations. Our progress as a society depends on our taking intelligent action now to increase the range of possibilities for men and women, at all stages of their lives, to pursue what matters most to them. It will not be easy, because much of what's needed involves cultural change. And that is accelerated by a clear-eyed awareness of how the world is different now.

We hope you enjoyed this excerpt from Stewart D. Friedman's

BABY BUST

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wdp.wharton.upenn.edu/books/babybust

About the Author

Stewart D. Friedman has been at The Wharton School, where he is the Practice Professor of Management, since 1984. In 1991 he founded both the Wharton Leadership Program, initiating the required MBA and undergraduate leadership courses, and the Wharton Work/Life Integration Project.

Stew served for five years in the mental health field before earning his PhD in organizational psychology from the University of Michigan. In 2001 he concluded a two-year stint (while on leave from Wharton) at Ford Motor, serving as the senior executive responsible for leadership development worldwide. In partnership with the CEO, he launched a portfolio of initiatives to transform Ford's culture; 2,500-plus managers per year participated. Following these efforts, a research group (ICEDR) described Ford as a "global benchmark" in leadership development.

Stew is the author of the award-winning best seller, *Total Leadership: Be a Better Leader, Have a Richer Life* (Harvard Business, 2008). Now translated into many languages, this book describes his challenging Wharton course (originally produced at Ford), in which participants do real-world exercises to increase their leadership performance in all parts of their lives by better integrating them. They do so while working in peer-to-peer coaching relationships and using an innovative social learning website that Stew's team designed and built. The Total Leadership program—which marries the work/life and leadership development fields—is used by individuals and organizations worldwide, including in an NIH-funded project on improving the careers and lives of women in medicine. The Total Leadership website was chosen as one of *Forbes's* best for women.

Stew's other publications include the widely cited *Harvard Business Review* articles "Work and Life: The End of the Zero-Sum

Game” (1998) and “Be a Better Leader, Have a Richer Life” (2008); and the *Academy of Management Executive* journal article “The Happy Workaholic: A Role Model for Employees” (2003). His *Work and Family—Allies or Enemies?* (Oxford University Press, 2000) was recognized by the *Wall Street Journal* as one of the field’s best books. In *Integrating Work and Life: The Wharton Resource Guide* (Jossey-Bass, 1998), Stew edited the first collection of learning tools for building skills for integrating work and life. He also edited *Leadership Succession*, which was recently rereleased by Transaction Books.

He has advised many organizations, including the U.S. Departments of Labor and State, the United Nations, and two White House administrations. He gives high-energy keynotes, conducts interactive workshops, and is an award-winning teacher. The *New York Times* cited the “rock star adoration” he inspires in students. Stew was chosen by *Working Mother* as one of America’s 25 most influential men to have made things better for working parents and by Thinkers50 as one of the “world’s top 50 business thinkers.” The Families and Work Institute honored him with its Work Life Legacy Award.

Stew blogs at hbr.org, and you can follow him on Twitter @StewFriedman.



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Wharton Digital Press was established to inspire bold, insightful thinking within the global business community. In the tradition of The Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania and its online business journal, *Knowledge@Wharton*, Wharton Digital Press uses innovative digital technologies to help managers meet the challenges of today and tomorrow.

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